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The long-term effects of the European Capital of Culture program: a longitudinal study of Sibiu 2007

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Abstract

Due to the major ongoing global and regional changes that have occurred in recent decades, the concerns for culture have been embodied into policies, programs and strategies of various types and have gained significant importance, varying in distinct proportions from country to country, from one period to another. The European Capital of Culture program (henceforth, ECOC) is one of them. As the cultural sector has shifted towards a more market oriented approach due to cuts in subsidies, it is an engaging exercise to explore not only the economic consequences that follow such a program, but also the social impact that the ECOC has on the citizens of the participating community and their cultural life. By taking into account concepts such as cultural policy, tourism and urban regeneration, the following research concentrates on exploring whether the ECOC program has created cultural, economic and social long-term effects in the 2007 ECOC Sibiu, and on investigating those effects.

While measuring these developments, one can notice the multitude of factors that need to be taken into consideration, such as statistical data regarding the evolution of tourism or the evolution of cultural events that demonstrate the longitudinal evolution of these factors, as well as the community's point of view revealed through questionnaires. Therefore, this thesis is written by integrating both quantitative and qualitative methods, as the mixed method research has become "increasingly common in recent years" (Bryman, 2006), and also because this method represents the best way of following Sibiu's evolution.

The first analytical part starts by accounting Romania's concept of culture in order to create an adequate contextual framework for the evolution and the analysis of Romanian cultural policy. Subsequently, the cultural policy developments in the post-2007 era also represent an important part of the analysis. The second analytical section deals with the evolution of cultural tourism in Sibiu, both in the pre-ECOC era and in the post-2007 stage. Ultimately, the third analytical section primarily aims to assess the urban regeneration developments in the case of Sibiu, and their consequences in the post-ECOC timeframe. The results of the questionnaire complete the other methods employed in this research and aim to provide the community of Sibiu with a voice.

The main findings show that the ECOC program has produced a series of long-term effects in some areas, while in others not much has evolved. In the case of cultural policy, Sibiu's local authorities managed to create after 2007 two new strategies aimed at developing the county's cultural sector. When it comes to tourism, after 2007, the number of tourists increased, as well as the accommodation facilities and the employment rate. The urban regeneration process took place only in the center of the city, by mainly focusing on its historical center. After 2007, the local administration started developing new areas around Sibiu's periphery, rather than concentrating on rehabilitating its existent neighborhoods. Eventually, Sibiu's visibility has increased both on a national and international level while the local community's sense of pride has intensified.

Key Words

Cultural policy - Tourism - Urban regeneration - Long-term effects - European Capital of Culture - Sibiu

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1. Introduction

Whether we talk about the difficulties of the transition in the past tense, or, more recently, about the world economic crisis, social and economic problems remain the most important, and the concerns related to culture seem now, as they seemed in the past, a luxury that interest only those who are directly involved. Even so, these people, a few in number at a superficial glance, have started to gain power in order to pressure decision makers at all levels. In recent decades, due to the major ongoing global and regional changes, the concerns for culture have been embodied into policies and strategies of various types and have gained significant importance, varying in distinct proportions from country to country, from one period to another. The European Capital of Culture program is one of them. As the cultural sector has shifted towards a more market oriented approach due to cuts in subsidies, it is an engaging exercise to explore not only the economic consequences that follow such a program, but also the social impact that the European Capital of Culture has on the citizens of the participating community and on their cultural lives. Therefore, this study revolves around the following research question: "Can the European Capital of Culture program create economic, social and cultural long-term effects?". While trying to answer this question, this thesis concentrates on showing what are the actual long-term effects created in the city of Sibiu, by focusing on national and local cultural policies, the development of cultural tourism in the region of Sibiu and the effects of local urban regeneration strategies.

The European Capital of Culture program was initiated by the Council of Ministers of Culture of the European Community in 1985. The program was designed "in order to bring together the people of Europe" and celebrate the contribution of cities to the development of culture. The procedure for nomination is guided by the principle of rotation, which means that each of the member states of the European Union may propose one or more cultural capitals in the year set for each of them. The nominations are reviewed by an independent panel of experts in the cultural field. The jury is composed of two members named by the European Parliament, two appointed by the Council of Europe, two representatives of the European Commission and a member nominated by the Committee of the Regions (García & Cox, 2013). Over the years, the popularity of the program has expanded, as its cultural, social and economic influences are enhancing. From 1985 to date, 50 cities have been awarded this title, the first European Capital of Culture being Athens, while the current holders of the title are Pilsen and Mons.

Sibiu was appointed on 27 May 2004, following the final vote of the Council of Ministers of Culture of the European Union, as The European Capital of Culture for 2007, a title that was shared with Luxembourg. Sibiu is the first city in a country that was not yet a member of the European

Union (Romania) that succeeded in 2004, with the support of Luxembourg, to obtain the status of ECOC. Sibiu, known as *Hermannstadt* in German, is one of the most representative cities of Romania, both from tourism, cultural and economic perspective. This city, with a population of 147.245, is the most important center of the German minority in Transylvania, but is also the home of other minorities, such as Hungarians, Gypsies, Slovaks and Ukrainians. According to the European Union's guidelines, each city that hosts the ECOC program must choose a theme that represents its community. Therefore, the theme chosen by Sibiu and its motto "Sibiu: City of Culture, City of Cultures" aimed at highlighting the multicultural profile of its eight centuries history (Official Website Sibiu 2007). Even though multiculturalism is a part of Sibiu's community, the following thesis will not concentrate on this aspect, as is it not essential in answering the research question.

The reasons why Sibiu was chosen to be a European Capital of Culture are various: the distinct geographical landscapes and its historical, cultural, scientific and touristic peculiarities. Other relevant arguments in this regard are the geo-historical qualities (archaeological remains from the Neolithic), the monuments of art and culture, the geo-economic objectives (industrial and service units of regional or national importance) and also the tourist vocation of Sibiu's regions (Velcea, 2014). The program established by the 2007 European Capital of Culture proposed, in addition to the official recognition of an outstanding cultural heritage, to encourage the community to progress and imagine innovative ways of development through cultural action. The program was designed to promote cultural cooperation with the help of a cultural program of European guidelines, in order to provide opportunities for social inclusion, education, tourism, heritage and urban regeneration at all levels.

The analysis of the long-term effects of the European Capital of Culture program after Sibiu 2007 is of interest for several reasons. Firstly, from a societal point of view, this research represents a valuable source of information for both national and local authorities, but also for the inhabitants of Sibiu; to be more explicit, as this study is conducted 8 years after the fulfillment of the ECOC event, the present paper aims to uncover this program's capacity to have beneficial long-term effects on Sibiu's community when it comes to issues such as the employment of national and local cultural policies, the evolution of cultural tourism in the area, and, finally, the authorities' efforts in regenerating the urban infrastructure as a consequence of the ECOC program. In addition, as the 2021 ECOC will be hosted again by Romania, the candidate cities' authorities can access the main outcomes of this study in order to have a better understanding of the evolution of Sibiu as a key case study, to grasp the ECOC's potential to stimulate long-term effects, and, eventually, to learn

how to use this event for the benefit of their own community. After all, as a cultural program such as the ECOC "needs to be integrated into a total cultural strategy" (Richards, 2000, p.177), the present study exhibits its social significance in the ability to uncover both the positive and negative aspects that Romania is currently dealing with when it comes to the implementation of cultural events of this magnitude. Ultimately, the present paper's social significance is also granted by providing the community of Sibiu with a voice through the means of questionnaires.

Secondly, from an academic point of view, this paper aims to complement the existent range of academic studies which, on the one hand, focus on the ECOC program (in the case of Sibiu: Vasiliu, 2009, Richards & Rotariu, 2010; Richards & Rotariu, 2011; and other ECOCs: García, 2004; Palmer, 2004; García, 2005; Boland, 2010; O'Brien, 2010), and, on the other hand, deal with issues such as cultural policy (Van der Ploeg, 2006; Vestheim, 2010), cultural tourism (Richards, 2007; Quinn, 2009) and urban regeneration (Gonzales, 2011; Lähdesmäki, 2014). The novelty of this academic inquiry results from its multilateral focus on the above-mentioned theoretical concepts, but also from its implementation of questionnaires. In this context, it is of significant relevance to mention that the last survey conducted on the demographic of Sibiu with regards to the establishment of the ECOC program took place in 2008, a moment in time that was unable to evaluate the long-term effects of such an event. Therefore, the present timeframe, after 8 years since Sibiu held the official title of European Capital, represents an adequate opportunity to discern whether long-term effects occurred or not in the case of Sibiu and its implementation of the ECOC event.

1.1. Structure of the Thesis

This paper is divided into five main chapters where I analyze the issue of the long-term effects generated by the European Capital of Culture event that took place in 2007 in Sibiu. Following the introductory section in which the ECOC program and the city of Sibiu are presented, the second chapter addresses the most important theoretical concepts with regards to answering the abovementioned research question: cultural policy, cultural tourism and urban regeneration. It is important to mention that these three main topics have been chosen because they are interconnected, as cultural policy and cultural tourism have become significant components of economic and physical urban regeneration strategies in many European cities (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993). Each part of the literature review begins with a more general definition of each concept and develops to a more precise understanding related to the ECOC program, as such an approach is necessary in answering the research question. Chapter 3 follows the same threefold

structure as the literature review and focuses on defining the mixed method used for the analysis. In addition to the urgency of adopting a mixed method approach, I have chosen to combine a quantitative approach with a qualitative one because many of the previous studies related to the ECOC have also used a similar combination. The quantitative approach refers mainly to tourism data and urban regeneration data, whereas the qualitative method is concentrated on cultural policy and a questionnaire regarding the opinions of Sibiu's citizens. Chapter 4 is the analysis of the thesis and starts with a discussion of Romanian cultural policies and their influence on Sibiu and the ECOC event, as well as their progress in the post 2007 era. After this, the evolution of tourism in Sibiu and its impact on the community of Sibiu are taken into consideration, followed by an examination of the concept of urban regeneration in Sibiu and its subsequent long-term effects. Chapter 5 represents the final conclusion in which the most important findings related to the ECOC's long-term effects are presented, as well as the limitations of the study and further ideas for potential academic research.

2. Literature Review

The following literature review is created by taking into consideration theoretical concepts, such as cultural policy, cultural tourism and urban regeneration, which are able to help in the process of determining the European Capital of Culture program's long-term effects in the case of Sibiu. By accounting their relevance to the research question, it is important to mention that the three theoretical concepts that make the subject of this literature review are inherently linked with each other. Therefore, the following chapter is divided into three main parts. The first section starts with an explanation of the concept of culture, followed by an in-depth description regarding the concept of cultural policy. The second part is related to tourism and the evolution of cultural tourism, as a paradigm that can be found in direct connection with cultural policy. Lastly, the third part examines the role of urban regeneration in the development of cities - in general, and, as a consequence of cultural policy - in particular. It is important to mention that each of these three sections is designed to begin from a general approach and build up towards a more particular understanding with respect to the main research question of this thesis.

2.1. Cultural Policy

Culture has become one of the most dynamic component of our civilization. The dynamism and the search for new forms and ways of expression is the result and, at the same time, the engine of the information society that we live in. Each person may have drawn a different boundary around what is considered "cultural" (Schuster, 2003, p.1), but, in an unanimous acknowledgment, culture is a "whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group; it includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs" (Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies, 1982). The use of a broad definition for culture is a choice of cultural policy that can be found in many countries, either from the perspective of universality or cultural diversity.

With the "invention of cultural policy" in 1950 (Urfalino, 2004) - or its reinvention, as the broader sense of the phrase has been used prior to this date - the analysis of cultural policy was developed, as it represented an emerging area of research which combined political science, sociology, economics and philosophy, in relation to culture, the arts and their public policies. Additionally, at the World Conference on Cultural Policies in 1982, the importance of the increasing connection between culture and development has been emphasized, as culture is a component of the social system, and determines and is determined by other economic, demographic, political and

psychosocial aspects. Since then, this connection has evolved by following the progress of the concept of culture, as "the range of cultural activities of interest to policy has widened, and the coverage of cultural policy has extended" (Throsby, 2010, p.2).

Therefore, in present times, Western countries have an abundant and diverse literature about cultural policy, regarding its principles and its justifications, and the impact of public support measures for culture and arts (Dubois, 2015). But firstly, how is cultural policy defined? If public policy represents "the sum of government activities, whether pursued directly or through agents, as those activities have influence on the lives of citizens" (Peters, 1996, p.4), cultural policy can be seen as "the sum of its activities with respect to the arts (including the for-profit cultural industries), the humanities, and the heritage" (Schuster, 2003, p.1). However, David Throsby (1999, p.10) asserts that cultural policy has changed for many countries, as it has extended "beyond arts policy or heritage policy to embrace wider issues of cultural development and the role of culture in the national and international agenda". Additionally, Mulcahy (2006, p.321) supports the same idea that "a cultural policy encompasses a much broader array of activities than what was traditionally associated with an arts policy".

Throsby (2010, p.8) claims that cultural policy "may be explicit in that its objective is openly described as cultural, or implicit, in that its cultural objective is concealed or described in other terms". For cultural policy to function, it requires "a large heterogenous set of individuals and organizations engaged in the creation, production, presentation, distribution, and preservation of aesthetic, heritage, and entertainment activities, products, and artifacts" (Wyszomirski 2002, p.187). Additionally, cultural practices and cultural values can be promoted or prohibited by governments, corporations, other institutions and individuals (Throsby, 2010, p.8). In the context of a democratic society, cultural policy is the result of a process in which cultural opportunities and collective objectives are established in the order of their importance or urgency.

It is interesting to note that, when analyzing Europe's cultural policy, Lähdesmäki (2014) and Dubois (2015) focus their arguments on the idea that Western countries, such as France and Italy, have been more engaged in building national identity by creating cultural policies and prioritizing them on the political agenda, as they also define their national identities through the concept of culture. Dubois (2015, p.9) and Vestheim (2012, p.500) accommodate the idea that Western cultural policies are created by taking into account three principal policy rationales: the protection of artistic and historic heritage, the public support for artistic creation, and equal access to culture. By contrast, in countries that have been under a Communist regime, the interest for supporting the cultural sector has gradually decreased due to the economic and political transition after the fall of

the Iron Curtain. According to Ratiu's paper (2009, p.25), "the 1990s brought about major transformations in the philosophy of cultural policy toward a neoliberal discourse and model", as the state's function has shifted from dictating culture in the Communist era, and is now creating cultural policy as part of public policy and supporting an environment where culture can develop. Lähdesmäki (2014) claims that the reorganization of the collective perception on culture in Central and Eastern European countries has started to take place, by changing the image of the state from an institution that censors and forbids to a society where communication and cooperation are attainable. An effective cultural policy depends on the constant updating of such an open and flexible concept that is represented by culture, as there are significant disparities that can occur between the policy discourse and its implementation (Ratiu, 2009, p.65). Nevertheless, Lähdesmäki (2014) points out that many Central and Eastern European cities have developed plans in which they aim at presenting themselves through their culture and city space as *European* in order to demonstrate their social, economic and cultural progress.

Even so, there are studies which conclude that many optimistic forecasts about the benefits of liberalization in the Central and Eastern European cultural sector have not been attained (Mulcahy, 2006; Mokre, 2006). From a critical perspective, other studies (McGuigan, 2005; Goff & Jenkins, 2006) discuss the hegemony of neoliberal globalization and its implications for culture and cultural policy: the main argument is that today's culture is saturated by the market-oriented mentality that blocks alternative ways of thinking and imagining (McGuigan, 2005). Additionally, Goff and Jenkins (2006) argue that, by approaching and evaluating culture and cultural policy in economic quantitative terms, a more commercial cultural production is encouraged, and thus, the innovative forms of producing culture are discouraged, such as the marginal arts or emerging artists, and social criticism.

2.1.1. The European Capital of Culture's Influence on Cultural Policy

Cultural policy is established through a consistent set of guidelines for the development of the cultural sector, and it represents a reference system for any cultural action within an organisational structure. For instance, the notion of cultural policy has always been the focus of major international organizations such as UNESCO and the European Union. The European Capital of Culture program is an example of the cultural policy evolution, as it includes not only the arts, but also the economic environment, tourism, architecture, urban and regional development. The European Capital of Culture represents an efficient tool for cultural policy and has been thoroughly discussed by academics since the beginning of the program in 1985 (Booth & Boyle, 1993;

Richards, 2000; Gacia, 2004; Binns, 2005; Sassatelli, 2008; Nass, 2010; Campbell, 2011; O'Callaghan, 2011; Richards & Rotariu, 2011; Lähdesmäki, 2014).

Lähdesmäki's study (2014) discusses the idea that the ECOC action is considered to be a policy tool that seeks to concentrate on the diversity of culture in Europe. Lähdesmäki (2014) also argues that history has shown that communities which were connected through trade and intellectual exchanges have flourished as a result of the relationship between ECOC and cultural policy. Culture feeds on dialogue and creativity, and thus, with the help of the ECOC program, an increasing amount of European cities have started to concentrate on developing their cultural policies, as they are trying to become more attractive in a globalized world where the creative processes depend on the resources of creativity that go beyond the formal boundaries of a city or country (Lähdesmäki, 2014).

Additionally, other studies regarding cultural policy in relation to the ECOC concentrate on the urban studies area of research; in this context, European cultural policy may narrow down the multitude of cultural aspects that different European cities have to offer by homogenizing them (Groth & Corijn, 2005; Lehtovuori, 2010). Similar articles emphasize the idea that local governments and the EU must be cautious in providing "sufficient funds for cultural causes that benefit current and future generations" (Van der Ploeg, 2006).

In order to formulate a more thorough examination of the long-term effects of cultural policy in Sibiu, the following section aims to delineate the relationship between several former European Capitals of Culture and their employment of cultural policies. Academic studies consider Glasgow to be an interesting example that features both good and bad outcomes regarding cultural policy (Mooney & Johnstone, 2000; Mooney, 2004; Scott, 2004; García, 2005). Mooney (2004, p.328) reflects on the case of the 1990 ECOC, which was "the first ex-industrial city to develop a cultural-led regeneration program" by using cultural policy as a tool in the process; nonetheless, his study brings to light other aspects that have been ignored, such as the city's decay and poverty crisis. The 1990 ECOC has "improved the city's image while making it a more pleasant place to live [in]" (Mooney, 2004, p.329), by creating jobs in the service sector, as well as developing the cultural sector, but only for a short period of time, as the program did not supply "the transferable skills that people need to remain in the job market in the long-term" (García, 2005, p.861). Nevertheless, the ECOC program has played an important role in the development of Glasgow's cultural policy: culture has slowly become part of the city governance, as it brought together different actors that wanted to improve the city's image (Mooney, 2004).

It is interesting to note that "local circumstances shape the specific form cultural policy takes in a single locality" (O'Brien, 2010, p.125). For instance, when looking at the 2008 ECOC, Liverpool, O'Brien (2010) notices that the relationship between the cultural sector and the English local authorities has been weak or even non-existent before 2003, and that the development of a consistent cultural policy was not even part of the initial plan for Liverpool's future. Additionally, Liverpool's post-2008 cultural policy "does not appear to have been vastly transformed by the ECOC experience" (O'Brien, 2010, p. 125) due to lack of institutional concern.

Even if Glasgow and Liverpool shared similar characteristics in the past, both of them having an industrial component that defined their economy, they also represent "places of contradiction, of division, of inequality, of great wealth and of immense poverty" (Mooney, 2004, p.339), and their evolution in terms of cultural policy and as former European Capitals of Culture has proved to be different.

2.2. Tourism

Tourism represents another crucial component that this thesis focuses on, as it is a key element in evaluating whether long-term effects can be noticed as a result of the European Capital of Culture programs. In this sense, an extended range of studies take into consideration the importance of tourism in their analysis of the ECOC (Richards, 2000; Besculides et al., 2002; Campbell, 2011). The following literature review starts with a general approach tourism and builds up to what is of importance for this study, cultural tourism and the ECOC.

Tourism is a complex socio-economic global phenomenon, typical of modern civilization, rooted in the life of a society and influenced by that society's evolution. Tourism represents an essential activity in the life of a nation, and its development is connected to the freedom of movement - a fundamental human right (Tourism Bill of Rights and Tourist Code in Sofia, 1985). Guyer-Freuler (1884) first defined tourism as a "phenomenon of our time, based on the growing necessity to improve health and change the environment you live in, with emphasis on feelings for the beauty of nature as a result of trade development, industry and the improvement of means of transport". The World Tourism Organization stated in 1991 at the International Conference of Travel and Tourism in Ottawa that tourism represents "the activities of a person traveling outside his or her usual environment for less than a specified period of time and whose main purpose of travel is other than the exercise of any activity remunerated from the place visited". By addressing large segments of the population and responding to the people's needs for recreation and knowledge, tourism is characterized by a high dynamism, both on a national and global scale (Nita, 2008, p.13). Also,

through its mass characteristic and its complex content, tourism implies a vast human and material potential, with profound implications on the evolution of a society (Nita, 2008, p.13).

According to Page and Connell (2009, p.1), "tourism has experienced a rapid growth in the post-1945 period", especially in the last thirty years, as it has grown in significance. To be more precise, tourism has affected an increasing range of environments by attracting a wider range of new markets as opportunities for travel, while also being "part of a global process of change and development, known as globalization" (Page & Connell, 2009, p.4). Richards (2007, p.3) argues that if globalization is viewed as an integration process for economic, social and cultural systems, "then, tourism can be seen both as a cause and an effect of globalization processes". Even so, Richards (2007, p.3) states that "the processes of homogenization that accompany globalization have stimulated localization, as local communities work to establish new identities and reclaim their heritage".

Page and Connell (2009, p.9) point out that academics argue on the subject of tourism, by indicating its conceptual weakness and conclude that "there are no universally agreed sets of laws or principles that all researchers adopt as a starting point for the discussion of tourism". Tourism represents a multidisciplinary area of study (Gilbert, 1990), where each field of research analyzes this concept from its own point of view rather than from a universal perspective.

In social terms, tourism ensures people's access to the treasure of civilization and society, as it facilitates the exchange of opinions, ideas, thoughts, by understanding and engaging people and by directly contributing to the intellectual formation of individuals (Nita, 2008, p.13). Additionally, tourism has the potential to contribute to the promotion of social development through effects on employment, income redistribution and poverty alleviation. Nita (2008, p.13) also argues that the beneficial effects may include infrastructure modernization, with positive consequences on the living standard of the population in areas that become touristic destinations, for example cities that held the title of European Capital of Culture.

From an economic point of view, tourism is proving to be a factor of progress, with a large and positive impact on the development of a society. The economic field analyzes tourism by looking at its economic impact. Nistoreanu (2005) argues that for the national economy, tourism contributes to the diversification of the economic structures, which is achieved primarily through the creation of specific activities and even tourism sectors: leisure industry, travel agencies, tour operators, etc., or developing new dimensions to the existing ones: hospitality, food or transport industry. Another manifestation of the economic effects of tourism represents the contribution to ensuring a balanced monetary circulation, carried out both on national and international tourism (Nistoreanu, 2005).

According to Page and Connell (2009, p.4), "governments are recognizing the importance of tourism, in particular to national economies". Thus, by including the natural, cultural and historical resources in the national and international business sectors, and contemporary achievements in architecture and art, tourism becomes a growth factor in the economic and social system, a means of diversifying economic structures, an optimization factor in the global and local economic structure.

2.2.1. Cultural Tourism

Godde (2000, p.1) states that there are many different types of tourism; among others, she distinguishes between ecotourism, cultural tourism and alternative tourism. In this part, I will concentrate on cultural tourism, as this theoretical concept represents an important aspect in answering my research question. But what exactly is cultural tourism? McKercher and Du Cros (2002, p.3) observe that "this seemingly simple question is actually very difficult to answer because there are almost as many definitions of cultural tourism as there are cultural tourists". McIntosh and Goeldner (1986, p.7) define cultural tourism as a sum of "all aspects of travel, whereby travelers learn about the history and heritage of others or about their contemporary ways of life or thought". The World Tourism Organization has stated that cultural tourism includes "movements of persons for essentially cultural motivations, such as study tours, performing arts and cultural tours, travel to festivals and other cultural events, visits to sites and monuments, travel to study nature, folklore or art, and pilgrimages" (WTO Report, 1985).

Cultural tourism represents a tool for economic development, leading to economic growth by attracting visitors from outside the host community that are partially or generally motivated by an interest in historical, artistic, scientific components or related to the lifestyle, reality, traditions of a community (Nistoreanu, 2005). Therefore, cultural tourism is an interaction between the cultural, ethnic and historical components of a society or a place that is used as a resource for attracting tourists and generating economic development. Richards (2007, p.3) points out that tourists travel in every corner of the globe to be able to consume cultural resources, "but those resources are themselves becoming more mobile, as art exhibitions embark on global tours, musical are replicated on different continents, and the process of "McGuggenheimization" develops globally branded museums".

In the case of Europe, Richards (2001 p.3) states that cultural tourism has always been a difficult field for the European Commission in the past, "because neither culture nor tourism were specifically named in the Treaty of Rome as areas of competence for the EU". As a result, in 1984

the European Economic Community affirmed for the first time, through the Fontainebleau Agreement, the principle of abolition of borders and the desire to build a single Europe for all citizens. The elimination of the formalities which imposed restrictive international movement of persons is also a result of the united actions of international organizations such as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the World Trade Organization, UNESCO, the European Union and its cultural institutions. Even if it was initially created in order to support the economies of EU countries by providing a mobile work force (Directive 2004/38/EC), the Free Movement of Citizens Directive has also affected the European cultural tourism sector. Thus, tourism and culture have become very close in the European continent, which represents an important destination for those attracted by its rich culture and heritage.

This is why, after the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992, the EU adopted "a new approach to culture and tourism" (Richards, 2001, p.3). Richards (1996, p.10) states that the European cultural tourism market has become more competitive, as "the number of cultural attractions is growing rapidly". Page and Connell (2009, p.4) argue that this is happening as a result of major economic, political, social and cultural changes, but also due to the fact that "demand is escalating in countries formerly not engaged in international tourism activity, such as post-communist countries". As the European Union has started to add new members to its community, Eastern and Central European countries have started to open up new destinations that were added to the growing supply of European cultural touristic attractions. Cultural tourism has become an important component of the European Union's agenda, due to the fact that "staging cultural events has been one of the major forms of cultural tourism development in recent years" (Liu, 2014, p.499). As the European Capital of Culture program has spread all over the continent, it has managed to gradually add different cities, including Eastern and Central European ones, to its list of locations to visit. With the ECOC program granting an enhanced focus on cultural tourism, this theoretical concept becomes significantly important in analyzing the case of Sibiu's distinct employment of the ECOC program and its post-2007 long-term effects.

2.2.2. The European Capital of Culture and Tourism Impact

One of the most popular investigated area amongst scholars in relation to the topic of cultural tourism is the European Capital of Culture program (Richards, 2000; Campbell, 2011; Richards & Rotariu, 2011; Richards & Rotariu, 2013; Lähdesmäki, 2014). The process of enriching the cultural tourism offer is made under the pressure of two factors: the demand of the public, who has become more curious, and the attitude of local communities, which seek the benefits of the cultural

activities that they fund. Moreover, Richards (2001, p.2) argues that "cultural attractions play an important role in tourism at all levels, from the global highlights of world culture to attractions that underpin local identities". Therefore, it has to be mentioned that such a topic triggers a discussion on the idea of what are the most important outcomes and long-term effects of an event that generates cultural tourism on the host cities, such as the ECOC program, and how it has developed in different geographical spaces with a variety of socio-political backgrounds.

First off, what are the implications for the residents of the societies that are involved in cultural tourism and host major events such as the ECOC? Besculides et al. (2002, p.303) argue that "tourism can have both positive and negative outcomes for residents in communities where sharing and preserving their culture could be seen as conflicting goals". Host communities must think of both the positive and negative outcomes before providing opportunities for tourists (Besculides et al., 2002, p.304). Benefits can include "reciprocity, community pride, tolerance, and a stronger sense of ethnic identity" (Driver et al., 1991), as well as an active participation "in caring for and protecting their cultural heritage, as well as an arena to share their accomplishments with others" (Besculides et al., 2002, p.316). Richards (2007) points out that increased local incomes and support for local cultural institutions are also seen as positive outcomes of the ECOC. But cultural tourism and cultural events have the ability to impact a community in a negative way, as it is not without social, economic, and environmental consequences (Johnson et al., 1994, p.630). According to Martin and Uysal (1990, p.330), the residents' eagerness gradually decreases as tourism develops in their community:

"While the initial stages of tourism are usually met with a great deal of enthusiasm on the part of local residents because of the perceived economic benefits, it is only natural that, as unpleasant changes take place in the physical environment and in the type of tourist being attracted, this feeling gradually becomes more and more negative".

(Martin & Uysal, 1990, p.330)

Moreover, García (2005, p.856) argues that for the European Union "tourism growth and economic development are two of the strongest arguments presented as evidence of ECOC success today", but she states that "evidence of tourism growth and office relocation is not proof of improvement in local citizens' well-being". Therefore, in order to measure the long-term effects of an event such as the ECOC, Johnson et al. (1994, p.640) argue that "the opportunity to understand residents' perceptions during times of economic change is of great importance", as the people that

live in those communities are the ones that are directly affected. Their study also emphasizes the relevance of longitudinal analyses of the impacts of tourism, as they "are required in a complete understanding of the phenomena of resident perceptions" (Johnson et al., 1994, p.640).

In the European Capital of Culture area of interest, Greg Richards seems to be one of the most prolific and valuable sources of academic research. Accordingly, Richards (2000, p.168) argues that "in the increasingly competitive struggle to attract high spending cultural tourists, high profile events such as the European Cultural Capital event have been seen as decisive weapons". In his research, he observes an important growth in the number of tourists during the year in which a city holds the status of ECOC. Richards (2000) also notices that the cultural tourist has become one of the key points in the success of cultural development strategies of the Cultural Capital event. Further more, he argues that "cultural events are already a major pillar in the tourism arsenal of destinations, and this is likely to increase in the future as events take on a growing range of economic, cultural, social and image roles" (Richards, 2014, p.12). Therefore, in order to keep cultural tourism alive, events such as the ECOC must provide new reasons to re-visit cultural destinations after the cultural program has ended (Richards, 2014, p.13). Also, an event such as the ECOC must "add 'authenticity' to the tourism experience" (Richards, 2000, p.171). Taylor (2001, p. 7) complements this discussion by claiming that "in tourism, authenticity poses as objectivism, as it holds the special powers both of distance and of 'truth'". Therefore, if "cultural tourists increasingly search for "authentic" experiences of "everyday culture", cultural events like the ECOC must be rooted in society and in real life" (Quinn, 2009 in Liu, 2014, p.504).

Even so, Richards (2000, p.174) mentions that not all ECOC cities follow the same path, as "some cities have experienced significant rises in overnight visitors, but there have also been cases where the number of visitors has actually declined". Thus, he concludes that the ECOC event itself does not necessarily produce a long-term increase of staying visitors. Liu (2014, p.502) sustains the same idea and affirms that "the ECOC year has had a mixed effect on visitor numbers". For example, in assessing the case of Antwerp, the 1993 ECOC, the growing number of visitors was also attributed to another major event, the 1993 Eurosail, which was not organized as part of the Cultural Capital event, and managed to generate 2 million visitors out of the total of 5 million for that year (TFPA, 1994). Antwerp did not view the ECOC as an end in itself, but rather "as means of achieving the wider objectives of the city" (Liu, 2014, p.506), and has continued to promote itself as "Antwerp City of Culture" even after 1993.

Additionally, Glasgow, which was a host city in 1990, represents a case where the number of tourists was at a high rate only for a short period of time, as it has declined quickly after the event

(Myerscough, 1991). In the case of Glasgow, Myerscough (1991) also argues that the community has benefited from this event in terms of employment only during 1990, as unemployment in the tourism sector has increased after, but was lower than the national level. Moreover, the 2001 ECOC's strategy, focused not only on the imaging of Rotterdam as an attractive city for leisure and culture, but also aimed at creating a much wider range of visitors, by presenting the city as a good business environment or a place one can actually move to (Hitters, 2000, p.195).

Richards and Rotariu (2013, p.10) state that "all major events are supposed to boost the tourists' arrivals and increase the income of the organizing area". In the case of Sibiu, Richards and Rotariu's study (2011) can be of great importance to the present research as it shows that local tourism has increased and developed due to infrastructure improvements and product development required in order to sustain such a cultural phenomenon. While conducting a study on the variety of short and long-term changes and effects that resulted before and after Sibiu was a ECOC, in a more recent study of theirs, Richards and Rotariu (2013, p.1) have highlighted the fact that tourism can be quantified "not only in terms of increasing tourist numbers but also by the increase of local income from tourism and related sectors".

García (2005, p.863) has a more critical approach to the connection between cultural tourism and the ECOC, and argues the following:

"If the core objective is attracting tourism rather than enhancing the city's artistic and cultural life, hosting the Capital of Culture could be easily replaced by large business conventions, global sport competitions or any major corporate event, without mattering whether these events are sensitive or not to the character and cultural roots of their local hosts". (García, 2005, p.863)

Richards (2000, p.177) sustains the same idea and concludes that the Cultural Capital event is in itself "not enough to guarantee success in the highly competitive European cultural market", and, therefore, needs to be part of a total cultural strategy in order to ensure long-term success. Additionally, producing jobs in the tourism sector, which is not good in terms of pay, skills and security of employment, cannot be the only objective of the European program.

2.3. Urban Regeneration

From the very beginning it is important to account the fact that, if Richards previously emphasizes the need of a total cultural strategy, other researchers, such as Bianchini (2011, p.8), introduce the importance of the urban regeneration paradigm: the ECOC program must be a tool "in rebalancing production and consumption activities for a truly economically sustainable urban regeneration strategy". Under the circumstances that there is an inherent link between the ECOC program and urban regeneration, the following section seeks to explore this relationship.

In defining cultural strategies of cities, the approach on culture has changed over the years. Today, culture is an essential element of social development and urban regeneration. It is an indicator of the quality of life and individual and collective wellbeing. Culture has been placed on the urban development agenda of European cities, as their cultural renaissance has been encouraged by national policies and economic change (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993, p.1). Sharp et al. (2005, p. 1) state that "cultural policy intersects with the processes of urban restructuring and it is a contributor, but also an antidote, to the conflict that typically surrounds the restructuring of urban space". Therefore, the process of urban regeneration is also a result of cultural policy, and has become "an increasingly significant component of economic and physical regeneration strategies in many European cities" (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993, p.1).

In Europe, the official interest for urban regeneration started in 1980, when the Council of Europe organized a campaign for the revival of cities which pursued awareness of the public authorities and of the citizens on four topics of discussion: environmental improvement, the rehabilitation of existing housing stock, the stimulation of social and cultural initiatives in the cities and the citizens' participation in decision-making (Couch et al., 2003). It became clear that urban design is insufficient in order to generate urban development, as it should be connected to a long-term development vision assumed by the entire community and it must be linked to resources and public investment programs. Additionally, the private sector should be involved in urban development planning, both to coordinate investments and for its entrepreneurial capacity. Gradually, the European Commission's interest in urban regeneration has become an instrument in urban policy, as the EU and its various committees have changed "the focus of European policy from issues such as agriculture to an urban one" (Couch, 2003, p.4). Therefore, urban regeneration has become an essential activity in every European country due to the European Commission's policy objective, which now includes "environmental improvement, economic development and social inclusion as fundamental goals" (Couch, 2003, p.6). But the European Union's intention is to

build common principles of action, and not to create global policies at the community level to solve problems that are known and best dealt locally.

For instance, the Romanian Ministry of Regional Development and Public Administration (2007, p.3) defines urban regeneration as a process of "bringing to life the urban cooperative effort of municipalities, owners and other involved actors, in order to improve living conditions, increase environmental quality and social climate and strengthen the local economy". According to this definition, urban regeneration has three pillars: physical, economic and social. Depending on the situation, one needs to refer more or less to these three pillars when developing a plan for urban regeneration. Roberts and Sykes (2000, p.1) also sustain that the process of regeneration "involves the public, private and community and voluntary sectors working together towards a clear single aim to improve the quality of life for all". The quality of life is a barometer of satisfaction of being the citizen of a city, and it always involves many positive aspects: to be part of a well-defined social and active communities, to live in a functional and pleasant residential area, to use the public space to express yourself and to socialize, to have access to quality public services, to have access to education and culture etc. (Rogerson, 1999).

Couch (1990) states that there has been a transition from traditional urban renewal to an integrated regeneration approach, and he argues that a successful urban regeneration process should include social and environmental policies:

"Urban regeneration moves beyond the aims, aspirations, and achievements of urban renewal, which is seen as a process of essentially physical change, urban development (or redevelopment), with its general mission and less well defined purpose, and urban revitalization (or rehabilitation), which whilst suggests the need for action, fails to specify a precise method of approach". (Couch, 1990, p.2)

Additionally, Bianchini and Parkinson (1993, p.2) argue that local governments and their decision-makers see "the development of cultural policies as a valuable tool in diversifying the local economic base and achieving greater social cohesion", as they started to prioritize strategies that also include the urban regeneration of their cities. Therefore, each urban regeneration process should focus on implementing a plan with complementary solutions to the social, urban, economic, cultural and environmental aspects of a city. This means that each urban regeneration plan should act simultaneously on the physical space in which people live (which is essential, as it has an urban

component), but also on public services that people need (social, economic, environmental, cultural components).

It is important to note that urban regeneration is "an aspect of the management and planning of existing urban areas, rather than the planning and development of new urbanisation" (Couch, 2003. p.2). In other words, the urban regeneration's target is to solve the important problems of a city, namely those issues that prevent the city to grow organically. This involves creativity in perceiving problems as opportunities and, especially, in thinking specific solutions (Neto & Serrano, 2011). But, beyond this, Couch (2003) argues that each regeneration program represents an entirely new approach to problems and thinking creatively about solutions for an area or a city. Why? The principle is that each district, area or city actually has its own identity, "a unique development path, a unique set of problems, assets, and position in the regional and national context" (Ravetz, 2000, p. 277), and, therefore, this influences both its problems, as well as its opportunities. As a result, Couch (2003, p.3) argues that in most cases there is no single solution but a set of local solutions to complicated situations. For example, large cities have identified a similar problem: the old industrial sites that are now abandoned. Couch (2003) shows throughout his book that each city has offered a different regeneration solution for these areas, precisely because there have been identified very specific opportunities for these areas to be reinserted in the city's life.

An interesting case of urban regeneration is the city of Bilbao, that has become "an international focus for lessons in this field due to the 'Guggenheim effect'" (Landry, 2006, p.368). The Bilbao effect is defined as "the transformation of a city by a new museum or cultural facility into a vibrant and attractive place for residents, visitors and inward investment" (Lord, 2007, p. 32). But, according to Landry (2006, p.374), many urban specialists are now declaring that they are "bored of hearing about Bilbao", even if the reality is that "getting the Guggenheim was Bilbao's master stroke". Gonzalez (2011, p.1398) argues that "various cities across Europe are aspiring to become the 'Bilbao of the North': from Liverpool (Sudjic, 2002) to Aalborg (Jensen, 2007)". Also, Spanish cities like Valencia have tried to apply the same formula of urban regeneration, but many have failed in "sustaining the levels of quality and bending the gentrification process triggered by public investments to the city's advantage" (Landry, 2006, p.374). This fact sustains the argument that each city has a different type of evolution and distinct needs. Also, Bianchini (2011, p.9) argues that urban policy-makers should draw inspiration from the richness of local cultures and "should be better able to resist the temptation to imitate other cities, and respond to the problematic effects of globalization through locally tailored and embedded strategies".

2.3.1. Urban Regeneration through Major Events

The urban regeneration processes are linked to major events, such as festivals, the Olympic Games or the European Capital of Culture program. Quinn (2010, p.266) argues that "arts festivals, framed within an array of neo-liberal, culture-led urban regeneration strategies, are now a mainstay of urban tourism and urban policy-making", as a wide range of literature confirms the significant impact that is generated by these events across economic, political and socio-cultural fields. But, for such major events to function, they need a set of coherent goals and policy frameworks (Quinn, 2010, p.266). Moreover, all the small events that take place during a major event, such as the ECOC, should provide tools to enable regeneration and the strengthening of capacities of local communities to manage the events' results. Therefore, it is interesting to note that the efficiency of an urban regeneration program comes largely from the fact that citizens, as direct beneficiaries, should be involved early in the process, both in identifying problems and opportunities, and in evaluating proposed solutions. Also, a good urban regeneration project "leads to the highest achievement of human culture" (Landry, 2006, p.5).

Another interesting fact regarding major events is that they represent "an opportunity to generate the political will necessary to make investments that can lead to long-run economic growth" (Baumann & Matheson, 2013, p.3). These events typically require a significant investment in infrastructure before the actual event takes place "in order to accommodate the influx of tourism" (Baumann & Matheson, 2013, p. 17). According to Gonzalez (2011, p.1398) Barcelona has used the 1992 Olympics as "a catalyst for a major infrastructure and urban regeneration", but also for the development of cultural policy and tourism (Marshall, 2004).

2.3.2. The European Capital of Culture as an Urban Regeneration Tool

The European Capital of Culture program is renowned for its policies that have been used not only for cultural tourism, but also for the urban regeneration and economic development of the cities it takes place in (Mooney, 2004; Miles, 2005; Amin & Thrift, 2007; Coaffee, 2008; McCarthy, 2005; Pratt, 2008; Waitt, 2008; Boggs, 2009; Boland, 2010). Even so, Boland (2010) argues that opinions regarding the effects produced by the ECOC program are divided into two categories that expose different geographies of culture, different cultural experiences and different socio-economic realities: first, the official reports of the local and national authorities that declare the event to be a successful achievement in improving the image of the city; and second, the local people's critical perspectives, that believe this event is concentrated more on attracting investment, tourists, consumers and professional classes, rather than actually concentrating on the inclusion of the local

community and addressing the social needs of the city (Boland, 2010, p. 640). On the same note, O'Brien (2010) points out that there are scholars who critically question the purpose of the ECOC and its effects on urban regeneration (Jones & Wilks-Heeg, 2004; McGuigan, 2004; Mooney, 2004; García, 2005).

For example, the 1990 ECOC Glasgow has managed to gain international reputation due to "its successful regeneration from a depressed post-industrial city in the late 1960s to the attractive cultural and service-orientated city that it is today" (García, 2004, p.105). Glasgow represents an interesting case for both good and bad outcomes. Authors such as Bianchini and Parkinson (1993) or Sayer (1992) consider this city to be a symbol of urban regeneration through art. García (2004, p. 108) states that the 1990 Cultural Capital event has positive outcomes because it "was used as a catalyst to accelerate and provide a common deadline to many of the plans for city centre development that had started in the 1980s". But critical voices disagree (McLay, 1990; García, 2004; Mooney, 2004) with this idea and consider that the 1990 European cultural programme was "a cosmetic exercise rather than a committed attempt to explore the realities of the city and give its citizens a voice in ways that would survive the year" (García, 2004, p.106). As a conclusion, García (2004, p.108) suggests that in the case of Glasgow "hosting a major event with an arts focus provided a great opportunity for urban regeneration and secured long-term legacies both at a symbolic and a physical level", but, from an economic point of view, it showed a "lack of clarity about the city's long-term policy objectives" (Booth 1996, p. 9). Additionally, Boland (2010, p.633) shows with his study that many local residents of the 2008 ECOC Liverpool, who did not live in the city center, did not have any benefits, as they "felt excluded geographically, culturally and economically from the event". It is interesting to note that, even if the ECOC program was not a total success for many urban areas, it still managed to realize one of its key objectives: "to improve the international profile of the city and accelerate inward investment" (García, 2004, p.108).

3. Methodology

The aim of this research is to understand if the European Capital of Culture program has created cultural, social and economic long-term effects in the Romanian city Sibiu and what are these actual effects. While measuring these kind of developments, there are a multitude of factors that need to be taken into consideration, such as statistical data regarding the evolution of tourism or the evolution of cultural events that demonstrates the longitudinal evolution of these factors, as well as the community's point of view that shows if their lives have changed or not. Therefore, this thesis is written by integrating both quantitative and qualitative methods, as the mixed method research has become "increasingly common in recent years" (Bryman, 2006), and also because this method represents the best way of following Sibiu's evolution. Additionally, there are numerous previous studies conducted in this area, some that have taken the same approach on this topic as this thesis does. Richards and Rotariu's studies (2011, 2013) use a mixed method, as they combine quantitative and qualitative data in the analysis of Sibiu's long-term social and economic effects. Similarly, Richards and Wilson (2004) have used a combination of methods in their study which includes surveys of residents from the 2001 ECOC Rotterdam. García (2005) analyzes the longterm cultural legacies of the 1990 ECOC Glasgow, while Mooney (2004) focuses on a critical analysis of Glasgow's cultural policies by also incorporating a mixed method. This is a way of achieving the phenomenon of methodological triangulation that "refers to the use of more than one approach to the investigation of a research question in order to enhance confidence in the ensuing findings" (Bryman, 2004, p.1). Additionally, Webb et al. (1966, p.3) state that "the most persuasive evidence comes through a triangulation of measurement processes". Under these circumstances, this study follows a mixed methods approach.

In order to answer the research question, the following objectives have been set: (a) to create an inventory of the number of projects undertaken during the Sibiu 2007 - ECOC program (quantitative method through secondary data analysis); (b) to identify the evolution of tourism before, during and after the European Capital of Culture program (quantitative method through secondary data analysis); (c) to create an inventory of the expenses made in the development of the cultural and urban infrastructure (quantitative method through secondary data analysis); (d) to determine the development of cultural policy in the Sibiu area (qualitative method through policy analysis); and, (e) to determine if the program had a long-term impact on the city's community (both quantitative and qualitative methods through secondary data analysis on cultural participation and questionnaires).

3.1. Quantitative Method: Secondary Data Analysis

Secondary data analysis represents "in the broadest sense, the analysis of data collected by someone else" (Boslaugh, 2007, p. ix). According to Vartanian (2011, p.3) "secondary data can include any data that are examined to answer a research question other than the question for which the data were initially collected". This types of datasets can be found in many sources, from government reports to academic papers. Using secondary data has many advantages, especially if a study has been conducted by the government: data has already been processed and may involve a larger and more representative sample. For conducting this paper, secondary data analysis also represents a way of saving time and money, due to the fact that collecting data requires long periods of time and financial support; in this way, I am able to concentrate on other aspects that required more attention to be analyzed.

In order to achieve the above mentioned objectives I have collected statistical data from documents issued by the Municipality of Sibiu and the National Institute for Cultural Research and Training. Also, for a better understanding of Sibiu's evolution, data from the Romanian National Institute of Statistics and reports issued by the European Commission are taken into consideration, as they offer statistical information from before 2007 until the present year. Therefore, the secondary data analysis focuses on the interval of time ranging from 2000 and 2015, depending on which data is available; in this way, the evolution of tourism, urban regeneration and cultural policy can present a more longitudinal scope.

3.1.1. Cultural Tourism Data

For this study, I have chosen the topic of cultural tourism because it has the ability to highlight two important aspects of the analyzed area of interest: Sibiu's financial resources and Sibiu's economic development, both in relation to tourism. The European cultural program of 2007 has represented an opportunity to revive the tourism industry of the city and the county of Sibiu. In this case, Richards and Rotariu's study (2011) shows that local tourism has increased and developed due to infrastructure improvements required in order to sustain such a cultural phenomenon. Additionally, the European Association for Tourism and Leisure Education's reports are taken into consideration, as they present valuable information regarding the evolution of tourism. Therefore, most of the available data analyzes the development of cultural tourism and its financial and economic aspects. One of the most important studies for the present research is the one conducted by Richards and Rotariu (2011) due to its wide range of data sources that concentrate on the analysis of secondary statistical data. This study is considered to be "probably the first long-term

study of the cultural and tourism development of a city in a former socialist country in Central and Eastern Europe" (Richards & Rotariu, 2011). However, their study presents some gaps, as it lacks data for a couple of years.

Therefore, by accessing the website of the Romanian National Institute of Statistics, I was able to gather the necessary information for this part of my study. In order to show the evolution of cultural tourism in Sibiu, the following indicators were chosen: existing and operational tourist accommodation capacity, arrivals and overnights. The existing tourist accommodation represents the actual number of beds that exist, while the operational tourist accommodation is the number of beds available to tourists by taking into account the number of days in which the tourist establishments are open. Therefore, the operational tourist accommodation is calculated by multiplying the number of places with the number of days. The arrivals and overnights indicators are also important, as they represent the actual number of people that were registered, as well as the number of nights the tourists spent in Sibiu. With this information, I have managed to calculate the capacity utilization index of tourist accommodation by dividing the number overnights at tourist accommodation capacity in operation during each year, from 2000 until 2013, in order to show how demand and supply have evolved. Even though this data was collected from the National Institute of Statistics, it might considerably underestimate the exact number of arrivals and overnights, as many establishments do not report properly the number of entries in order to avoid taxes.

3.1.2. Urban Regeneration Data

One of the European Capital of Culture's objective is urban regeneration through cultural policy. If a regeneration program does not have a cultural component, it will not work (Grabble & Hugues, 1998, p.2). This is especially important for the city's community that needs to be energized in order to release its creative and entrepreneurial spirit. The achievement of a city's transformation cannot be done without the creation and implementation of urban regeneration policies. To achieve the expected efficiency, these urban policies, like any other kind of policy, must relate to changes that occur at some point in the macro-social and macro-economic plans, and respond to the specific needs of each community.

Therefore, my intention in this research is to demonstrate how the urban regeneration policy of the ECOC program can be reflected on the social and economic life of Sibiu's community. Due to the tight relationship between cultural policy, cultural tourism and urban regeneration that was emphasized in the literature review, as crucial elements of the ECOC program, this study examines the phenomenon of urban regeneration in Sibiu, in order to shape a complete picture of the long-

term effects produced or not by the ECOC event. For this, I have managed to elaborate an inventory of the investments that were made by the local government in Sibiu's cultural infrastructure prior to 2007, by taking into consideration heritage sites and cultural buildings. As this thesis concentrates on the long-term effects of the ECOC, I will analyze official documents issued by the city hall of Sibiu in order to see the evolution of Sibiu's urban regeneration programs. Additionally, an analysis of the municipality's budget will be performed, with data provided by the Romanian National Institute of Statistics and the 2007 Sibiu Association. Also, indicators such as the number of businesses, the number of employed people and the average monthly gross salary in Sibiu will be taken into consideration, as they show the evolution of Sibiu's economic sector.

3.2. Qualitative Method

3.2.1. Cultural Policy Analysis

Statistical data is not sufficient in order to perceive the entire setting that surrounds the effects of the European Capital of Culture event on the community of Sibiu. Richard and Rotariu (2013, p.7) state that "it is not enough to use official statistics to measure the impact of a major event", due to serious limitations generated by the under-reporting of businesses. Colby (2010, p.2) affirms that qualitative research provides a significant level of explanatory detail and depth that is usually hard to attain with other types of research. Additionally, he also highlights the fact that using a qualitative methodology is the optimal way of understanding how and why particular developments have occurred within a social context. Each city that held the title of European Capital of Culture in the past years has had different outcomes that can be related to their different political, social and economical contexts.

Accordingly, in order to sustain the quantitative research of secondary data, the analysis of the evolution of local and national cultural policies will be taken into consideration by using the policy analysis approach. In the attempt to explain cultural policies and follow their development, I try to "determine which of various governmental policies has most achieved a given set of goals in light of the relations between the policies and the goals" (Nagel, 1999, p.3). In this way, it is easier to understand what are the repercussions on the development of new regulations for the Romanian cultural sector.

Therefore, the period chosen for the research was divided into two parts: the first one is from 1990 to 1999 and the second one from 2000 until the present time, as the year 2000 represents the date when the first real Romanian cultural strategy was established. The 1990s are taken into consideration because they show that there were no cultural policies to refer to. This represents an

important component for the history of Romanian cultural policy. The second range of years includes pre-accession and post-accession of Romania to the European Union, and thus influences of European directives and programs funded by the EU on Romanian cultural policies can be traced.

Therefore, I have managed to make an inventory of the policies relating to culture, by studying the *Official Journal of Romania* in which all the major legislative documents are published. From 1990 until the present time, approximately 78 laws relating to culture were issued. While analyzing all of them, several aspects have emerged, such as regional differences of culture with regards to its terminology or the importance of local administration for the cultural sector. However, out of these numerous cultural policies, many of them were excluded from the analysis, as their content focuses on aspects that are not relevant to answering the research question of this study (for example, etc). Accordingly, the rest of the policies that deal with Sibiu and the ECOC program were further considered for the analysis. After carefully assessing the content of these 4 remaining policies, I have divided them into two categories: two policies issued in the pre-2007 era and another two policies from the post-2007 era. It is important to mention that while the first set of policies primarily deals with Sibiu's ECOC program, the second set focuses on Sibiu's regional development with respect to urban regeneration, education and culture.

The analysis on the effects of the development of cultural policies is made in particular on a local community level. The multitude and diversity of factors involved in such a development, generally complicate any analytical approach, more so at the level of medium and large communities. For this reason, the analysis is devoted to the particular local urban community of Sibiu, due to the fact that cities have both human and material resources to achieve cultural policies which give them a well defined identity, a community identity that increases their visibility and notoriety. Between development and cultural policy there is a bi-univocal determination: without development there are no cultural resources, and without cultural policy it is difficult to assert a community as a particular one at a national, European or global scale. In fact, this bi-univocal particularity underlies the strategies of the European Union in the field of culture, and is based on the assertion of particular identities and on accepting and promoting diversity.

3.2.2. Questionnaires

In addition to using different methods of assessing the relationship between the development of the city and the ECOC event, another longitudinal aspect must be taken into consideration. In order to understand the social impact that the European Capital of Culture event had on the population of Sibiu, it would be also necessary to analyze and take into consideration the people's opinions. Therefore, by using questionnaires, the qualitative side of the long-term effects has been analyzed, as Sibiu's community represents the one that was influenced the most by this event. Even though at first sight questionnaires represent a quantitative method, for the purpose of this study they are used mostly as a qualitative tool of analysis.

An important contextual element that urged me to choose questionnaires as a method of research is the complexity of Sibiu's community. Sibiu represents an area of multiculturalism, characterized by the existence of a "melting-pot" in which different cultural elements seem to be diluted, but, at the same time, come together by mutually reinforcing Romanian, German, and Hungarian cultural valences. This is a reason why the questionnaire was conducted in English, besides the desire to avoid risks of translation and understanding problems.

The questionnaire has been elaborated online by using the Qualtrics platform, and further disseminated on various Facebook groups related to Sibiu and similar online forums during the whole month of May 2015. Any person that lives in the area of Sibiu has the possibility to answer the questions that are created using a multiple choice method. The questionnaire is comprised of 21 questions which have been created to reflect the concepts that are discussed in the literature review, in order to have a better definition of the community's opinion and attitude towards the ECOC program: cultural policy, cultural tourism and urban regeneration. Using a questionnaire represents the perfect method of expressing the point of view of the community in a direct and trustworthy manner. Therefore, the questionnaire's main purpose is to confirm or discard the findings that were reached through other methods applied in this study, such as secondary data analysis for tourism and urban regeneration and content analysis for cultural policy. In other words, the questionnaire completes the other methods. In order to achieve their complementary purpose, the main outcomes of the questionnaire are placed in throughout the analysis and not in a distinct section. All of the answers of the questionnaire can be provided upon request.

4. Analysis

The analysis of this research follows the same structure as its literature review, so, the following section is divided in three main parts, each of them dealing with a separate conceptual topic but applied on the case of Sibiu, the long-term effects of the ECOC program on the city and its community. In this sense, the first analytical part starts by accounting Romania's concept of culture in order to create an adequate contextual framework for the evolution and the analysis of Romanian cultural policy. Subsequently, the cultural policy developments in the post-2007 era also represent an important part of the analysis. The second analytical section deals with the evolution of cultural tourism in Sibiu, both in the pre-ECOC era and in the post-2007 stage. The third analytical section primarily aims to assess the urban regeneration developments in the case of Sibiu, and their consequences in the post-ECOC timeframe.

4.1. Cultural Policy

4.1.1. Romania's Concept of Culture

In order to understand the production of cultural policies in Romania, their implementation and especially the way they produce different effects in different contexts, it is necessary to point out how Romanians understand the concept of culture itself, as the literature shows that there are large differences between how it is perceived and understood by different communities around the world.

Before 1990, the Romanian language had two meanings for the word politics: politics in itself and stratagem. After 1990, under the growing influence of the English language on the daily Romanian vocabulary, the direct import of the word 'policy' in the Romanian language created a situation in which the second meaning has transformed, gradually, into strategy. Now, the word policy is often used to refer to a strategy in almost every field, as all claim the need for specific policies from agriculture, industry, services, to international relations, and of course, in culture.

In order to clarify what is cultural for Romanians, I have used two of the European Commission reports, one based on a qualitative study conducted in 2006, and another that starts from a Eurobarometer survey, so a quantitative study conducted on the same 27 European countries in 2007. The first one, entitled "Europeans, Culture and Cultural Values, Qualitative Study in 27 European Countries. Summary Report, 2006", seeks to define the attributes of European culture in general, and the role of Europe in the field of culture, in addition to exploring the perception of the concept of culture and values. The same document indicates that there is a convergence of perceptions about culture in European countries. The Eurobarometer survey on the same topic conducted in 2007 highlights how Europeans understand the concept of culture. In the case of

Romania, 31% of the population associates culture with education and family, 25% with history, 25% understand it as traditions, whereas 19% with spirituality and religion. Also, by 'culture', a Romanian would understand a very broad field that includes the classical arts, theatre, cultural heritage, literature and the media. Additionally, if the European average is 77% in terms of culture as an important tool for individual development, Romania has a share of 67%.

Given the objectives of this analysis, regional differences within Romania are also relevant, as they influence the types of cultural events that take place in each area. If Voicu (2007) argues that there are some significant differences of perception about culture in different parts of Romania, Sandu (1999) highlights that its central area, Transylvania, and the Sibiu county (which is part of this area) in particular, has a more modern perspective on culture than other regions. With regards to Sibiu's understanding of culture, Table 1. reveals the answers to my questionnaire regarding the community's opinion on what forms of art they associated with the term 'culture'.

Table 1. The Community of Sibiu's Understanding of Culture in 2015

Forms of Art	Responses (%)
Paintings	66
Architecture	71
Religious (Iconography, Fresco)	40
Design	43
Contemporary Art	55
Music	67
Film	59
Photography	58
Theatre	77
Performance Art	45

Source: own elaboration based on data provided by own questionnaire "The long-term effects of European Capital of Culture in Sibiu". The respondents were able to choose more than one option.

As it can be noticed, these results indicate that 77% of the respondents associate 'theatre' with culture. Additionally, 71% agree that architecture represents culture, whereas 67% correlate music

with culture. These overall result can be an indication of what types of cultural events are preferred by the people of Sibiu, as well as the direction in which cultural policies tend to go in.

4.1.2. The developments of Romanian Cultural Policy in the post-Communist era

The following section aims to introduce the historical developments of cultural policy in Romania, as, such a discussion is required in order to emphasize the lack of interest of the governmental authorities when it comes to culture in general, and cultural policy in particular. To be more precise, this part is a testimony of the limited amount of cultural policies promulgated in Romania during the last 25 years. Additionally, the relevance of this section is granted by the singularity of the case of Sibiu, which stood out in an environment that lacked a coherent and precise interest in such political and cultural matters.

The analysis of the existent documents related to Romanian policies reveals that until 1994, one could not talk about cultural policy in Romania. The Communist regime did not use this terminology because the government of the time exclusively promoted a Socialist culture. In fact, the Romanian people did not have a 'ministry of culture', but a state authority called the "Socialist Council for Education and Culture". It is interesting to note that the Ministry of Culture was one of the first ministries created after the collapse of the regime in December 1989. The new ministry was authorized to establish and adopt "strategies" in various cultural fields. However, only after joining the Council of Europe in 1993, the Romanian ministry officials learned about the program created by the Council which evaluates the cultural policies of its members. Thus, the first attempt to start the Romanian cultural policy evaluation took place in late 1994. In such a new and convoluted situation, nothing about culture and cultural policies represented a priority for those who managed the more or less radical reforms of Romania. Therefore, the result of the evaluation started in 1994 was clear: a defined cultural policy in Romania did not exist. Six years later, two reports, an international one and a Romanian one, were completed under the European program mentioned above, and a ten-year strategy was established for the Ministry of Culture, with financial help that was made available by the European Commission under the PHARE program. This represented the first coherent strategy of Romanian cultural development. Even so, these reports lacked a critical reflection on the principles, the goals and the implementation of cultural policy and, subsequently, on their actual results and effects. Just a few months later, in January 2001, the new government reorganized the ministries and created the Minister of Culture and National Heritage.

The Romanian Ministry of Culture has slowly become the supporter, 'facilitator', protector and the advocate of culture, although cultural productions and activities have always been created by

others outside the political field. The first analyses of cultural practices, participation and cultural consumption that were needed in order to develop a cultural policy were initiated by the Concept Foundation (2000) and ARCULT (2002). Such specialized research were carried out systematically only after the establishment in 2005 of the Center of Studies and Research in Culture (transformed in 2009 in the Center for Consultancy and Research in Culture) by the Ministry of Culture, and, which, among others, offered an index of the Romanian cultural life between 1998-2004. Additionally, a series of cultural consumption barometers between 2005-2010 were also issued.

Clearly, the role of the Ministry is not to be a 'creator of culture' or to profit from culture, but to generate the necessary resources and income that can be redistributed according to the directions set out in their cultural strategy. Therefore, the laws and regulations made and implemented by the ministry are merely instruments of cultural policy. The main task of the Ministry of Culture is to provide a legislative context and framework in which culture can develop. This involves creating basic legislation that allows the development of cultural activities in a specific regulatory framework and applying, adapting or interpreting the existing general laws to suit the cultural sector. While searching for Romania's cultural policies, I have reached the conclusion that the government tends to adopt a large number of laws regarding culture and cultural institutions, but it also tends to modify or change the legislation according to the political regime. In this situation there is a risk of continuing and growing accumulation of unresolved legal issues, as policies keep changing with every political term. In addition, the existence of too many laws, many of which are constantly changing, causes a decrease, if not, a loss of transparency and efficiency in the cultural sector.

4.1.3. Local Cultural Policy

The national cultural policy in Romania, through laws and reforms launched starting with 1990, has firstly taken into consideration the need for structural adjustments to the new economic realities, to democracy and the liberalization of creation. Before it started to effectively support a strong cultural sector and democratize the access to culture, the Romanian central administration started to work on creating the basic conditions for further development. While researching official Romanian documents related to culture, I have discovered that some of the structural adjustments involved the decentralization of cultural services, the transfer of funding responsibility and management of cultural institutions, as well as the delegation of management services related to cultural heritage to the municipalities and local councils. Therefore, the County Departments for Culture, Religious Affairs and National Cultural Heritage were created according to article 14, paragraph (1) of the

Government Decision No.28/2001 on the organization and functioning of the Ministry of Culture¹. Thus, local and county governments have developed their own cultural intervention measures, beyond the simple administrative coordination of their subordinated public institutions.

From organizing events, cultural programs and funding project-based cultural activities, municipalities and county councils are creating, at the moment, the most significant part of Romanian cultural policy. They have also began to stimulate active participation of citizens in making administrative decisions and in the process of drafting normative acts, as they have realized that citizens are the beneficiaries of the government's administrative decisions. While looking at the financial dimension of public intervention, a document issued by the Association of Cultural Operators from Romania in 2013 shows that public funding is derived at least 80% from local and county levels and only 20% from the central administration. The trend towards decentralized cultural action is not just a better way of managing the existing potential in a particular cultural space but also, as a study by Ilkka Heiskanen made in 2001 for the Council of Europe shows, one of the strategic themes of cultural policy in Europe.

The political involvement is broader at the local level, because it is a way to increase visibility and awareness due to the policies' characteristics and their public nature. Although the politicians' objectives are rarely aimed at the cultural sphere, through their status as public figures, they tend to associate themselves and assume achievements to their own success. The most obvious example is the European Capital of Culture Sibiu 2007 program, that enjoyed a widespread local and national visibility. For instance, almost all candidates for the 2008 parliamentary elections from the two electoral colleges in the Sibiu county enrolled among their achievements that they contributed to the success of this program, even if they probably were not directly involved.

4.1.4. Analysis of Romanian Cultural Policy

In order to understand what is Romania's vision of culture and to what extent cultural policies fit into the demands of the moment, a brief analysis of the Romanian Ministry of Culture's strategic program is to be performed in the following section. This analytical insight is necessary because the 2007 European Capital of Culture Sibiu program is one of the major components of Romanian cultural strategy.

The first observation which emerges is that, without having a clear long-term vision with regards to cultural policy, similarly to all the other public policies, all cultural strategies of this kind are

¹ with subsequent amendments, according to the Government Decision no.286/13 March 2001 concerning the organization and functioning of the Ministry of Culture and article 14 of the Government Decision no.742/2003.

based on governmental programs that correspond to electoral terms. In this case, the Ministry of Culture drafted a Sectoral Cultural Policy Document, that involves a strategy for the coordination of structural policies for 2006 and a perspective of the 2007-2009 period. Thus, it can be said that there was no correlation with the European Union's strategic plan developed for 2007-2013; in other words, no correlation can be found between national or local and international policies. Even so, in the principles the government has set for the cultural field, one can find a number of items that are registered in the directions recommended by UNESCO, namely: "culture is an important factor of sustainable development" or "culture represents a factor in the improvement of the quality of life and social cohesion".

It is interesting to note that the general principles referring to Romanian culture are embodied into 80 policies, out of which 76 belong to the current policy category that focuses on general directions which are more or less traditional: heritage conservation, archeology, access to culture, performing arts development, protection of traditional culture, national intangible cultural heritage and the strategy of European integration and international relations. I would also like to point out that all of these cultural policies are published between 1997 and 2010. Therefore, if the beginning of the post-Communist era is not marked by an active interest in cultural policy, the 2007 ECOC program held in Sibiu can be seen as a culmination of the efforts started in 1997 towards developing a coherent cultural environment.

The first of the remaining four new policies, which represent the focus of this analysis, concentrates on fostering youth participation in cultural activities. The second one, which focuses on the interest of this research, the program Sibiu - European Capital of Culture 2007, is defined in the Governmental Decision no.167 as an European policy and a program that has priority on the government's agenda. For the authorities, this program that started at the same time with Romania's accession on the 1st of January 2007 to the European Union, had priority, as stated in the Ministry of Culture's document: any delay in fulfilling its commitments may have major repercussions in terms of relations with the European Union.

It should be noted that this program represented, at the same time, a local policy, as its management was performed by the local council in collaboration with the partner city, Luxembourg, and the actual benefits and impact were mostly local. The entire structure of the program, even if it reflected the vision of local culture and started from its potential resources, had to fit into the requirements and criteria established by the Decision 1419/1999/EC, article 3, which require the city that submits such an application to implement a new cultural project of European dimension, based on cultural cooperation (see Appendix).

The criteria underlying the selection and nomination of cities for the ECOC program are in fact the generally valid sets of criteria for local integration policies in EU programs, which have led to the creation of a European culture based on diversity and specificity that involves local and national cultures in the process of cooperation and dialogue. The structure of the projects and events conducted shows that these requirements have been fulfilled not only for the actual application, but also in the actual program conducted in Sibiu in 2007, which summed up 337 projects with 2062 events. These were initiated and completed by 301 of the most diverse cultural operators, both on a local and national level. The distribution by artistic area was as follows: 98 music and dance projects, 50 projects of dialogue, cooperation and international cultural mobility (conferences, debates, creative internships), 44 theatre projects, 43 exhibition projects (fine arts, photography, ethnography, architecture), 24 projects of tangible and intangible cultural heritage (traditional crafts, folklore, historical monuments) and 19 multimedia projects. This distribution can also be correlated to chapter 4.1.1. of the thesis which presents Sibiu's understanding of culture.

Although these events do reflect the cultural diversity and meet the needs of European institutions, one can notice that the structure presented highlights the average Romanian's vision of culture, mentioned at the beginning of the analysis. This vision of culture can be found in Romania's cultural policies and in the cultural events generated by these policies. Thus, one can notice the predominance of shows, exhibitions or similar events that are addressed to a relatively large audience. Of course, these raw numbers do not say much about their actual content, but I would point out here that many events took place outdoors in order to attract an audience that normally does not have contact with culture. I would also like to emphasize the fact that this practice was used before 2007 in the Sibiu International Theatre Festival and in the Medieval Festival. Also, the program lacked events dedicated to books and publications, as well as events related to the cultural industries. In conclusion, it can be argued that no such projects have been proposed, which reinforces the idea that, for now, culture and cultural projects are not yet separated from a classic unitary vision on culture.

4.1.5. Cultural Policy Post 2007

The choice of Sibiu as the European cultural capital meant for Romania, at least in the perception of the Romanian authorities, the chance to improve the country's image in Europe, by increasing visibility and showing proof of its ability to manage an extremely diverse and complicated program. But, the benefits, as well as the real impact, exclusively occurred in Sibiu. The Ministry of Culture's preliminary assessment report from 2008 indicates that the economic

impact of this program had a local manifestation. Economic and social benefits are described as increasing the visibility and prestige of Sibiu's community at an European and global level. While analyzing Romania's cultural policy sector, I have noticed that after 2007 the Ministry of Culture's involvement has decreased on a national level, as there were less cultural policies produced and implemented directly by the Ministry. However, local cultural policies have become more important, as they have the possibility to produce a difference in the local communities, by contributing to the construction of a specific identity, and responded to the particular needs of different groups and social categories.

It is interesting to note that the ECOC program has motivated the local authorities, and has made them generate in 2010 a Development Strategy of the Sibiu County for the period 2010 - 2013, as well as directions for the development of the county for the period 2014 - 2020. This policy outlines general guidelines for the future development of the county in economic, social, cultural and tourism terms, as it analyses the material, financial, informational and human resources available to the Sibiu County. This process of developing a strategy aimed at involving all stakeholders: local authorities, citizens, service providers and the media. While analyzing the cultural part of this strategy, I have discovered that the authorities have focused mostly on improving the management of cultural institutions, restoring local museums and encouraging partnerships in the field of cultural tourism.

An interesting result of my questionnaire shows that 73% of the people believe the youth is more receptive to the city's cultural heritage thanks to its awareness through formal education. This is probably an effect of the 2007 ECOC, as changes took place in the cultural education field and the local authorities have proposed the evaluation and enhancement of cultural heritage in the county by introducing in the middle-school curriculum cultural awareness courses, such as "Pro Heritage" or "Heritage Education". Surprisingly, the children from the Sibiu county have now the possibility to actually study cultural heritage, as an optional discipline in their schools. At the end of 2013, a handbook on this topic was approved and launched by the School Inspectorate. This represents the second book of its kind in the country, after the one published for the country of Ilfov.

As a result of the restructuring needs and expectations of the population, pressure has been exercised on the government, both on a local and national level, to come up with new policies and new strategies to satisfy the community of Sibiu. But, after the completion of the ECOC, which included one or more cultural events almost every day, the return to a normal rhythm of life created inevitable dissatisfactions and frustrations. The producers of traditional policies, i.e. the local government, seemed to have understood the situation that was created in the years that followed.

Consequently, they have created cultural projects, such as a Ballet Theatre, precisely because of the increased audience of spectators in 2007 for this kind of performance art (Sibiu 2007 Association Report, 2008), and also began to consolidate old projects and continue to promote in the public sphere a diverse range of cultural events.

Today, Sibiu enjoys a rich cultural offer, mainly based on the area of performing arts and audiovisual events (International Theatre Festival, International Jazz Festival, Folklore Festival 'Cantecele Munctilor', Popular Traditions Festival, Medieval Festival). Sibiu currently holds a strong cultural base composed of two theaters, a philharmonic, one cinema, five libraries, five cultural centers, six various cultural institutes and ten museums. Many of these are supported by the City Council of Sibiu, through the city's Cultural Agenda program. As a trend, according to the Cultural Calendar provided by the Sibiu City Hall, there is an inverse ratio between the total amount of money allocated and the number of events, suggesting that local authorities want to promote a high quality level of culture, such as jazz festivals, international film festivals and theatre festivals. The cultural environment in Sibiu succeeds, thus, to attract and maintain a series of events in town, remaining at the same time open to new experiments and initiatives.

Nonetheless, a problem that remained unsolved after the event until the present time is represented by the precarious cultural infrastructure, meaning the lack of representative locations after carrying out a constant number of significant events, like theaters or exhibition halls. No matter how much political determination or how many substantial financial resources will exist (and yet, they still do not exist), and no matter how great the civic mobilization, the density and frequency of cultural projects similar to those during the implementation of the ECOC program is no longer possible. Even so, according to the results of my questionnaire, 90% of the population believes that the cultural sector of Sibiu is more developed and that Sibiu managed to make good use of its ECOC status on the long-term. Clearly, Sibiu's community seems satisfied with its current cultural life.

Ideally, governments should involve the actual cultural sector in the fundamental debate on the direction of cultural policy development, involvement that would benefit both parties. Organizations and other cultural actors can offer their experience, their practical knowledge of the field and their feedback to cultural policy makers. Such cultural debates can enable consideration of key issues and stimulate civic participation, social cohesion and an enhanced community spirit, which are a priority for the government. Through an open debate on cultural policies, the whole country of Romania can increase the involvement for and in culture.

All public policies, regardless of their nature, must become identifiable for the majority of Romania's population, as their consequences become components of the individuals' culture. The impact of all public policies on the cultural sector is an aspect that has little consideration for policy makers and analysts. If we understand culture as depicted by the recommendations and definitions of international and European organizations, any coherent and stable public policy can have the ability to change people's values and norms over time, and thus, larger segments of the population can assimilate these changes and gradually modify their behaviors and mentalities.

4.2. The Evolution of Tourism in Sibiu

Cultural events produce not only significant artistic results, but also an important economic impact. At the same time, major cultural events have started to stimulate tourism, which has become an important source of income. Although the importance of cultural tourism for defining identity is usually underestimated, some Eastern European countries like Romania are using cultural tourism to promote their new image after the fall of Communism (Light, 2001). Their effort is channeled towards eradicating labels, economic and political integration in European structures and the reaffirmation of an European identity. The following analysis concentrates on showing the evolution of tourism in Sibiu, with regards to the ECOC program.

According to the European Parliament (Regulation 692/2011), "accommodation statistics is a key part of the system of tourism statistics in the EU". Therefore, the following analysis is concentrated on the evolution and dynamics of specific variables related to tourism in the Sibiu county: the capacity of tourist accommodation establishments (existing and operational places) and the occupancy of tourist accommodation establishments (arrivals and overnights). These variables have been chosen because together they are able to show how tourism has evolved in Sibiu before and after the ECOC event. To achieve this, I have used existing data provided by the Romanian National Statistics Institute. The statistical data are taken into account over a period of 14 years, between 2000 and 2013. For the tourism sector, the year 2007 is a reference for the city and the county of Sibiu, as a result of having the title of European Capital of Culture.

Table 2. The Capacity and Activity of Tourist Accommodation in Sibiu

Year	Сарас	city of Tou	urist Accommodat	tion	Arrivals (thousands)	%*	Overnights (thousands)	%*
	Existing (places)	0/0*	Operational (places-days)	0/0*				
2000	5.269	100	1.000,0	100	156,8	100	275,3	100
2001	5.183	98,4	972,9	97,3	165,6	105,6	309,8	112,5
2002	4.583	87,0	831,9	83,2	164,5	104,9	293,5	106,6
2003	4.449	84,4	994,2	99,4	188,2	120,1	316,2	114,9
2004	4.589	87,1	1.107,5	110,8	214,9	137,1	368,3	133,8
2005	4.754	90,2	1.162,8	116,3	228,6	145,8	369,0	134,0
2006	4.333	82,2	1.384,3	138,4	252,7	161,2	434,5	157,8
2007	5.123	97,2	1.752,3	175,2	327,9	209,1	530,1	192,6
2008	5.265	99,9	1.536,1	153,6	287,1	183,1	459,3	166,8
2009	6.013	114,1	1.604,3	160,4	244,7	156,1	381,7	138,7
2010	6.538	124,1	2.018,6	201,9	228,2	145,5	401,6	145,9
2011	6.065	115,1	1.663,9	166,4	263,6	168,1	461,6	167,6
2012	6.125	116,2	1.828,3	182,8	285,1	181,8	490,2	178,0
2013	6.247	118,5	1.837,6	183,8	329,9	210,3	549,5	199,6

Source: own elaboration of statistical data provided by the National Institute of Statistics http://statistici.insse.ro/shop/?lang=ro

According to the information detailed in Table 2, the capacity of tourist accommodation has had a fluctuating evolution, even though the general trend of the existing and operational places suggests a positive increase. First of all, the existing capacity of tourist accommodation represents the number of bed places registered by the tourist establishments, excluding the extra beds that can be installed if necessary. It appears that the minimum level of existing places has been reached in 2006 with 82,2%, prior to the 2007 ECOC event. As one can notice, after 2007, this indicator has had a positive development and has continued to grow by reaching a peak level of 124,1% in 2010. Even if after 2010 the existing places indicator has declined, during the following years this indicator was still higher compared to 2007. Second of all, the operational tourist accommodation capacity represents the number of places made available to tourists by the tourist establishments, by taking into account the number of days the units are open in the considered period of time. It is interesting to note that the growth of the operational tourist accommodation capacity indicator was much higher than the existing tourist accommodation capacity indicator, with a peak level of

^{*} These data represent a percentage reduction (-) or increase (+) in regard to the base year (2000 = 100.0)

201,9% in 2010. Even though these two indicators had a similar positive evolution, the number of operational places managed to grow more in comparison to the number of existing places. For example, while looking at the difference between 2000 and 2007, one can notice that even though the existing capacity in 2007 is lower than the one from 2000, the number of operational places is higher by 75,2%. This means that, due to the fact that in 2007 a larger flux of tourists was noted, the tourist establishments in the Sibiu county statistically grew and remained open more days per year after 2007.

An interesting observation is that this evolution is likely to indicate quite remarkable results in terms of the capacity utilization, as the years of economic crisis have not caused a declining trend. The indicator of arrivals reveals that the interest of tourists for Sibiu has experienced a positive evolution between the 2000-2007 interval, as a peak level of 209,1% was recorded in 2007. Even though between 2008 and 2010 the visitor arrivals started to decline, it should be noted that this still represents a growth by over 42% compared to the existing level in 2000. Moreover, from 2011 the number of visitor arrivals has to experience a positive growth and managed to achieve a peak point of 210,3% in 2013, which represents the year when tourism, in terms of performance, reached the highest level.

The indicator overnight stays experienced the same trend as arrivals, noting that in 2001, 2002 and 2010 increases are more pronounced than for the arrivals indicator. The graph below explains the developments mentioned above:

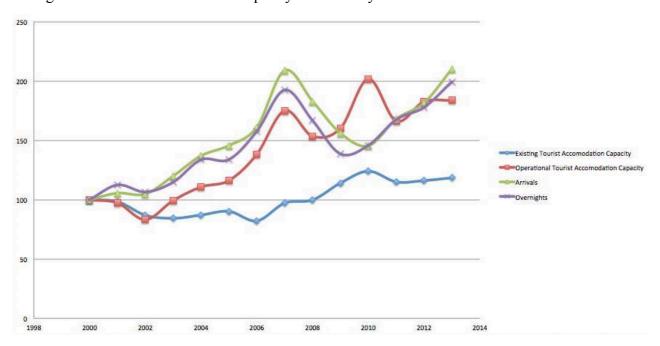


Figure 1. The Evolution of The Capacity and Activity of Tourist Accommodation in Sibiu

Source: own elaboration of statistical data provided by the National Institute of Statistics http://statistici.insse.ro/shop/?lang=ro

The strong growth of the capacity of tourist accommodation in recent years has surpassed tourist arrivals and overnight stays, which has contributed to a discrepancy between supply and demand. This is shown by the net use index levels of operational tourist accommodation capacity in operation, which between 2000-2013 has seen the following developments:

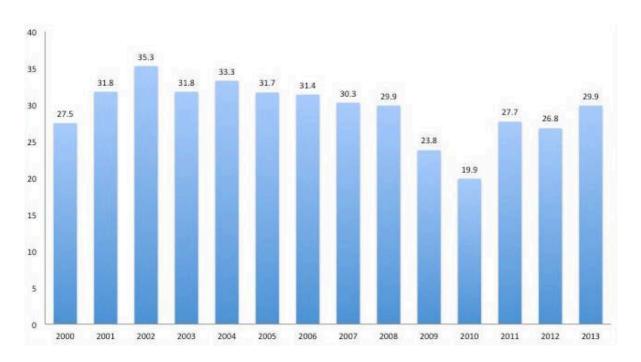


Figure 2. Net use indices of tourist accommodation capacity in operation (%) in Sibiu

Source: own elaboration of statistical data provided by the National Institute of Statistics http://statistici.insse.ro/shop/?lang=ro

The graph above, in terms of utilization of the capacity in operation, indicates a specific phenomenon, namely the unchanged net utilization of operational tourist accommodation capacity at around 30% until the end of 2008. In 2009 and 2010, a strong decrease occurred, one of the reasons being linked to the economic crisis along with the increased accommodation capacity. Starting with 2011, the percentage has experienced growth and managed to reach the same level as 2008. The remarkable achievements obtained in the development of tourism in the county of Sibiu show a real concern for the existing tourism potential that should not be neglected in the future.

The cultural program in 2007 was to Sibiu an opportunity to revive the tourism industry of the city and of the county. According to statistics provided by the Sibiu City Hall, the number of tourists until the beginning of December 2007 reached 700.000, double compared to the number from 2006, and triple compared to 2005. Out of the total, a percentage of 40% represented foreign tourists. In 2014, the number of tourists was even higher than 2007, with 900.000. Thus, the increase in number of tourists has boosted the local tourist industry. It is interesting to note that the

1990 ECOC Glasgow shares a similar path with Sibiu, as it represents one of the best examples of growth in tourism visits in the long-term (García and Cox, 2013).

Towards the end of 2007, the Cultural Research Center conducted a survey aimed at assessing the Sibiu ECOC events and the impact this program has had on Sibiu. According to the survey, companies reported an increase in tourism in comparison to 2006, as follows: 13.7% for tour operators, 10.9% for transport companies, 10.5% for hotels and motels, and 7.9% for bars and restaurants. As a consequence of this tourist growth, more hotels were built in 2007 in Sibiu, and some became functional only in 2008. This can be correlated to the fact that, according to the Romanian National Institute of Statistics, the employment number in the tourism sector grew from 1.900 in 2000 to 5.300 persons in 2007 and confirms Nita's theory (2008) that tourism contributes to the promotion of social development through effects on employment. Regardless of this increase, in the post 2007 era the number of tourism employees stagnated at 5.300 in 2014, and shows that there were no long-term developments in this area.

4.2.1. Tourism Impact on the Community of Sibiu Post 2007

In 2007, Sibiu was one of the most important tourist destinations worldwide. However, the coexistence of tourists and communities induces a set of specific issues. The agglomeration of visitors at museums and monuments can have both positive and negative outcomes for the cultural heritage sites, infrastructure and the overall satisfaction level of both tourists and host communities. According to the results of my questionnaire, 76% of Sibiu's population believes that the ECOC did not created tension between them and tourists. Another result of the questionnaire shows that 86% of the respondents view cultural tourism as a contributing factor in improving the quality of life of Sibiu's community. Additionally, 60% of Sibiu's residents feel that tourists influence their lives in a positive manner and 80% believe that meeting and talking to tourists is a positive and enriching experience. Therefore, these results contradict Martin and Uysal's theory (1990) regarding the decrease of the residents' enthusiasm towards tourists. When it comes to investing in cultural attractions for tourists, 92% of the answers believe that this is also good for the residents.

Additionally, 90% of Sibiu's residents believe that with the help of cultural tourism, Sibiu's national and international profile has been raised. The results of the questionnaire also show that 96% of the people state that Sibiu has become a more European city and 98% would like to have a similar program in their city. In this context, one can notice how an event such as the European Capital of Culture event has helped improve the image of Sibiu not only in Romania, but also how it has contributed symbolically to the restoration of its European status.

However, when it comes to the negative long-term effects, the people of Sibiu do not believe that the ECOC event has created bad consequences in respect to issues such as traffic congestion, tourist agglomeration or physical and noise pollution. But, in the case of prices, 51% of the people consider that the day to day costs have increased and are higher than before the ECOC. Still, the cause of higher prices cannot be entirely an effect of the ECOC, but it can also be the convoluted set of economical changes that occurred over time in Romania.

4.3. Urban Regeneration

One of the key objectives of the European Capital of Culture program is to improve the city's image through urban regeneration (Palmer-Rae Associates, 2006). The concept of urban regeneration can be interpreted in several ways, depending on the degree of development of a country. In most developed economies, the purpose of urban regeneration is to promote the "return to the city", while revitalizing its city center, increasing competitiveness in the international context and implementing environmental initiatives that are oriented towards improving the quality of life. In the case of Sibiu, these actions came to be part of the current political agenda in Romania, as they have become linked to public policy objectives connected to urban regeneration and sustainable urban development. Starting with the 1st of January 2007, Romania is an EU member and beneficiary of the programs dedicated to its member countries.

In the county of Sibiu, the activities of landscaping and urban planning are conducted in accordance with the Law 350/2001 on regional planning. They are coordinated by the Sibiu County Council which sets guidelines with regards to urban organization and development. Following an analysis of official documents and treaties released by the EU regarding urban regeneration², but also by Romanian authorities, regarding the ECOC program, one can observe repeated references to the involvement of culture in sustainable urban development. Comparing these findings and recommendations made by the European institutions with the content of the development strategies for urban localities in Romania, one can find some similarities, even though they are not well enough covered. In the 'Sibiu Sustainable Development Strategy' document issued in 2003, one can notice that organizing the ECOC event is included, alongside the promotion of public-private partnerships in the field of culture dedicated to supporting cultural institutions and festivals that take place in the Sibiu area. It is worth underlining the fact that in this strategy, authorities believe that the regeneration process relies on the development of tourism, local cultural traditions and

² which include the European Commission's 'Sustainability Impact Assessment' (2005), 'Urban Audit: key indicators in living conditions in European Cities' (2005) and the European Parliament's 'The Possibilities For Success Of The Sustainable Communities Approach and its Implementation' (2007).

especially on the multicultural character of the area; moreover, these characteristics are included among the strengths of a sustainable development of the municipality. This corresponds to Bianchini's theory (2001) and shows that urban policy-makers have created a local strategy that responds to the locals' problems.

The objective of this study is also to present the overall impact that this program has had on the urban development, by making a short inventory of the investments made in the urban infrastructure, the profitability of local companies and the investments performed in the cultural sector. With regard to these aspects, both a presentation and an analysis of data regarding various economic indicators, such as investments in the urban infrastructure, local budgets and cultural projects, that are directly linked to the 2007 ECOC program were made.

Investments were made in the urban infrastructure, as the costs represented the following sums (in millions of Euros):

Table 3. Investments made in Sibiu between 2004 and 2007

Investment	Estimated Costs (million of Euros)	Institution that provided the funds
The construction of a new airport terminal	28,5	The City Council; The County Council
Historic Center rehabilitation	6	The City Council; The Ministry of Culture
Railway station renovation	5	The Ministry of Transports
Water supply system restoration	9	The City Council
Improvements of the urban traffic	0,25	The City Council
Renovation of churches	1,3	The Ministry of Culture
Total	50,05	

Source: own elaboration, based on data provided by www.sibiu.ro

120 100 80 60 40 20 0 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 32.426 40.12 47.963 78.5 89.945 89.945 63.929 63.929 69.818 79.795 107

Figure 3. The County of Sibiu's Budget between 2002 - 2015

The budget is expressed in million of euros and is adjusted according to Romania's inflation rate. Source: own elaboration based on data provided by the Sibiu City Hall www.sibiu.ro

The investments made in Sibiu do not have a strong impact unless they are related to the overall local budget. In the case of Sibiu, it appears that this budget has increased significantly, from 21 million euros in 2002 to 89 million euros in 2008. As mentioned in the literature review, this evolution is normal, as major events attract and imply high investments before they take place (Baumann & Matheson, 2013). After 2008, the local budget was cut down significantly and remained at the same level for two years. Thus, a possible explanation for the drastic cuts in the post 2007 era can be connected to the ongoing world economic crisis that coincided with that timeframe. Nonetheless, this did not last for a long period of time, as the budget started to increase again and reached its peak point in 2015 with 107 million of euros, an amount that is higher than the budget allocated for 2007. It is important to mention that, in order to have a clear image of the evolution of Sibiu's budget, the inflation rate has been taken into consideration, as in a market economy the prices of goods and services are subject to change at any time. Therefore, figure 4. shows the evolution of Romania's inflation rate from 2002 to 2014. One can observe that the inflation has generally had a decreasing trend (from 22,5% in 2002 to 1,07% in 2014). Even if 2008 registered an increase of 0,5 percentage points, the inflation rate has followed a decreasing trend, while Sibiu's budget has increased.

25
20
15
10
5
0
2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016
Romania's Inflation Rate

Figure 4. Romania's Inflation Rate (%) between 2002 - 2014

Source: own elaboration based on data provided by the Romanian National Institute of Statistics.

Due to the general economic development, the local budget of Sibiu has increased 5 times, from 2002 to 2015. As the figures show, significant increases in the budget occurred since 2004, the year when Sibiu was nominated to be the next European Capital of Culture for 2007, but certainly this increase is not due exclusively to the nomination. The impact of the ECOC program in Sibiu is determined not only by cultural events and tourist flows, but also by other types of new investments in services, agriculture and high-tech industries. Therefore, the one of the main sources for this budget increase is due to the taxation of the new investments attracted in Sibiu. As the number of businesses that contribute through taxes to the local budget grew (from 8825 in 2004 to 14.564 businesses in 2014), the number of employed people also grew (from 106.477 in 2004 to 122.491 in 2014), and therefore, the average monthly gross salary increased (from 700 Lei or 195 Euro in 2004 to 2.123 Lei or 472 Euro in 2014³). Though it had the legal possibility to increase taxes for individuals, the municipality decided not to do this, and the people of Sibiu were affected only by the inflation rate adjustments. According to the results of my questionnaire, 75% of the people believe that the economic sector is more developed than it used to be.

³ All the information is based on data provided by the Romanian National Institute of Statistics. It is important to mention that all the monetary features are converted according to the rate of the Euro coin at that time. Therefore in 2004, 1 Euro = 3,6 Romanian Lei, and in 2014, 1 Euro = 4,5 Romanian Lei.

Table 4. Estimated Costs for the 2007 European Capital of Culture between 2004-2007

Public Expenditure	Amount (Euro)			
Theatre Renovations (Radu Stanca; GONG)	3.430.000			
Brukenthal Museum Renovation	5.000.000			
Building a multifunctional Pavilion	790.000			
A new Steinway piano for the Sibiu Philharmonic	100.000			
Two new stages for concerts	800.000			

Source: own elaboration based on data provided by the Sibiu City Hall www.sibiu.ro

Public Expenditure for Cultural Programs	Amount (euro)
337 cultural programs	13.400.000
Marketing Promotion	5.000.000

Source: own elaboration based on data provided by the Sibiu City Hall www.sibiu.ro

One can observe the effort made by the local authorities, by comparing the estimated costs of the investments with the county budget. The year 2004 was the starting point for the works of the urban streets and buildings in Sibiu. The investments for the modernization and rehabilitation of the city were considerable. The amount of funding allocated for cultural programs in 2007 was about 13.4 million Euros, supported by the Sibiu City Hall, the Sibiu County Council, the 2007 Sibiu European Cultural Capital Association, the Ministry of Culture and the European Commission.

While looking at the tables above, it is interesting to note that this process was designed not only for the actual cultural program, but for the benefit of the entire community, as these investments and expenditures have a sustainable characteristic and are a part of the citizens' everyday lives. For example, in addition to the renovations of cultural buildings (such as, the Brukenthal museum and local theaters) and the new purchases of goods used for cultural purposes (among others, the piano and the new stages), the Historical Center regained its old glamor while other neighborhoods of the city were rehabilitated and modernized for the first time since the post-war era. These developments are also reflected in the results of my questionnaire, as 70% of the respondents consider that the general economic infrastructure, as well as the local cultural infrastructure have improved, whereas only 20% state that it has greatly improved. Another interesting fact is that 91% of the people who completed the questionnaire state that the Historical Center is an important part of their lives.

Additionally, 87% of the people agree with the statement that the city hall concentrated more on investments for the cultural heritage sector.

4.3.1. Unconventional Spaces

During the European Capital of Culture event in 2007, the local authorities have successfully used a few unconventional spaces, especially abandoned industrial ones, for shows and exhibitions. In fact, one should not only understand these types of places just as mere locations, but in a broader sense of social spaces, differentiated by neighborhoods and social groups. For example, a project aimed at highlighting the participation of Romanian intellectuals to the great avant-garde artistic movement, presented 10 performances inspired by avant-garde texts from Romanian and foreign authors (from Tristan Tzara and Urmuz to Picasso and Dali) in the East industrial part of Sibiu. A trend of the European urban cultural policies is precisely to address various social groups in their everyday, familiar environment. Of course, such projects have a higher degree of difficulty, because they involve a process of customizing cultural events by taking into consideration each area's social characteristics; additionally, the ability to mobilize and work with individuals and groups that are less interested and initiated in cultural consumption, yet equally keen to express their identity in specific forms increased the difficulty of this process. While analyzing the cultural program of Sibiu provided by its City Hall, I have reached the conclusion that, after the 2007 ECOC event, there were not so many propositions and initiations of such types of projects and events. In addition to the difficulty of customizing cultural events and industrial locations, the lack of experience in managing such a complex type of actions might represent reasons for this downward trend in the post 2007 era.

If in the years before the 2007 Sibiu ECOC program the major investments were concentrated on the streets of the city's historical center, after 2007, the large infrastructure works in other areas of Sibiu began. Contrary to Couch's theory (2003), the urban regeneration process of these abandoned areas took place only until the end of the ECOC program, as, in the post 2007 era, the local authorities focused more on the development of new spaces. The development of the West Industrial Area restored Sibiu in the competition of cities with a dynamic economic development. Sibiu City Hall managed to transform an agricultural field on the outskirts of the city in an industrial area that hosts big names of European automotive industry, like Renault and Continental.

Perhaps, without the investments that led to the rehabilitation and modernization of the city's neighborhoods, Sibiu would have looked different today. The rehabilitated arteries, the renovated central markets, the restoration of the historical center, but also other works, have accounted for an

investment of approximately 5.2 million euros from the Ministry of Culture and 35 million euros from the Sibiu City Hall. Beyond all these remarks, which are of interest in the analysis of the relationship between cultural policies and urban development, I believe it is important not to have an excessive economic perspective, because it is as unproductive as a cultural elitist perspective.

In this respect, officials and institutions in Romania should acknowledge the role that cultural and urban development policies can have in responding to the distinct needs of different communities and social groups. After 2007, like in the case of Liverpool (Boland, 2010), the authorities' efforts were channeled towards the center of the town, rather than towards rehabilitating the periphery. This issue is connected to Sibiu's lack of specialized personnel in the field of urban regeneration. Both the county council and town halls needed more specialized professionals to meet such demands in the field. Even so, the 2014-2020 Sibiu Development Strategy includes a large part dedicated to improving the quality of life in neighborhoods through planning and integrated urban regeneration operations. According to this strategy, the principle of development "from the center to the periphery" will concentrate on the existing city areas, including outlying districts, by making rational use of the city's land resources.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this research is to understand if the European Capital of Culture program has produced any economic, social or cultural effects in the 2007 ECOC Sibiu. Throughout this work, cultural policy, cultural tourism and urban regeneration are taken into consideration to frame the main body of analysis.

In the case of cultural policy, one can notice a decentralization of power, from a national to a local level; thus, Sibiu's local administration is responsible for creating its own strategies. The authorities of Sibiu managed to create after 2007 two new strategies aimed at developing the county: one dealing with the 2010-2013 interval, the other with the 2014-2020 period of time. From a cultural point of view, these strategies mostly focus on improving the management of cultural institutions, restoring local museums and encouraging partnerships in the field of cultural tourism. Through this paper, I also seek to investigate if Sibiu's policies have impacted the social and economic lives of its community. In order for these policies to be implemented, a significant investment was needed to achieve the expected efficiency, both in the cultural and urban infrastructure. But when looking at the local cultural infrastructure, not much has changed in the post 2007 era, except with the creation of the Sibiu Ballet Theatre. Even if the number of events is currently much lower in comparison to 2007, Sibiu is still a reference point for culture and still manages to be the host of the most important festivals in Romania: the International Theatre Festival, the International Jazz Festival, Transylvania International Film Festival, Artmania Festival and the National Folk Music Festival. This is also reflected in the community's choice when it comes to culture, as the people of Sibiu cherish concepts such as theatre, architecture, music and the visual arts.

With regards to tourism, the analysis has shown that, as the number of tourists increased, so did the accommodation facilities. Thus, the employment rate in the tourism sector developed after 2007. These investments in tourism have gradually resulted in significant gains for the community: due to the large increase in the number of tourists, the local economic profitability increased, as many companies have registered substantial economic growth; additionally, the employment number increased (not only in the tourism sector), and so did the the average monthly gross salary. These benefits were not only for the economic sector, as the community of Sibiu seems to view cultural tourism as a contributing factor in improving their quality of life; the city's residents feel that meeting tourists is a positive experience and do not feel disturbed by their presence. Judging from the constant number of tourists visiting Sibiu, its popularity has remained at a consistent level in the post 2007 era.

The urban regeneration concept developed more in the case of its economic and social pillars, as Sibiu's local budget and employment rate grew. In the case of its physical pillar, the regeneration process took place only in the center of the city, by mainly impacting its historical center. This is probably because the community of Sibiu perceived the historical center as a very important part of their everyday life. After 2007, the local administration focused mostly on developing new areas around Sibiu's periphery, rather than concentrating on rehabilitating its existent neighborhoods or its older cultural establishments.

Among the positive long-term effects, one can include, in particular, aspects of local identity that foster a sense of belonging to the community, the development of a sense of pride of being a member of Sibiu's community and of civic awareness and social responsibility. According to the community of Sibiu, what remains a main benefit for their city is the notoriety. Sibiu managed to become popular and famous in a very short period of time, perhaps the most famous city in Romania after Bucharest. Sibiu's international visibility meant, eventually, Romania's international visibility, and for this reason, the importance of this program on a local level was complemented by its national and international importance. This visibility has managed to create benefits that concentrate on various economic, social and cultural aspects. One the one hand, the success of Sibiu after 2007 indicates that when policies are coherent and well grounded and a city benefits from European and local support, there is a possibility of real integration and change. On the other hand, this experience has been utilized for other management strategies that have produced policies in conformity with the needs and expectations of the population, but also with European standards.

Overall, Sibiu represents an interesting case of a former European Capital of Culture and an atypical city of Romania, as it managed to utilize its best features to its own advantage. This experience, as well as the long-term effects that have been generated, are useful for other cities in Romania that are running for the title of ECOC in 2021. In the current circumstances, there are several Romanian cities who have entered this competition that can learn from Sibiu's experience, especially because they have a clear advantage: a long period of time which allows them to optimize their projects and infrastructure development. Regarding cultural policies, one can conclude that they have become an essential component of governance at all levels. In present times, these 2021 ECOC candidate cities must understand that traditional policy makers, especially in the cultural field, have lost in favor of new private actors. Additionally, candidate cities should comprehend that the most visible and diversified impact is due to cultural policies that are manifested on a local level. There still needs to be an improvement in the relations between the government and the cultural sector. For that, it is necessary to establish better methods to engage in

dialogues, and, at the same time, form partnerships that can develop in an appropriate legislative framework. Walzer (1990, p.11) states that civil society itself should be "sustained by groups much smaller than the demos or the working class or the mass of consumers or the nation". Thus, the Romanian cultural sector should launch initiatives that are easily converted into political and legal terms. Both the cultural and political sectors need to be involved to achieve the development of a community's life.

Of course, further research should be conducted, as there are aspects that would be interesting to see included in measuring the long-term effects of similar cultural programs. In the case of Sibiu, the sociological part could be more developed, as this city represents a particular example of multiculturalism for Romania. I believe that this is one of the reasons why the ECOC program has had both positive and long-term effects on Sibiu's surroundings, as well as on its population. The limitations of this study refer mostly to the fact that the questionnaires were not done in person, as, for this type of study, it is important to have a direct contact with the community. Additionally, a sample of a future questionnaire should include a higher number of people, as well as a longer period of time in which this study can be carried out. Furthermore, another way to improve a future study on the case of Sibiu and the long-term effects of ECOC would be to focus only on the cultural sector of the city by conducting in-depth interviews with its main specialists, such as festival organizers, theatre directors or NGO executives.

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7. Appendix 1

Questionnaire

The long-term effects of European Capital of Culture in Sibiu

1 What is your gender?
Male (1)
Female (2)
2 How old are you?
W Under 13 (1)
W 13-17 (2)
№ 18-25 (3)
W 26-34 (4)
W 35-54 (5)
⋈ 55-64 (6)
№ 65 or over (7)
3 What is your level of education:
Primary Secondary (1)
W High-School (2)
W Undergraduate (Bachelor) (3)
Master (MA) (4)
W Doctoral (PhD) (5)
4 Is your occupation linked to the cultural sector?
₩ Yes (1)
W No (2)
5 To what extent do you associate the following forms of art with culture? You may choose more than one
option.
Paintings (1)
Architecture (2)
Religious (Iconography, Fresco) (3)
M Design (4)
M Contemporary Art (5)
Music (6)
₩ Film (7)
Photography (8)
Theatre (9)
Performance Art (10)
6 For how long have you lived in Sibiu?
M Less than 1 year (1)
₩ 1 to 5 years (2)
₩ 6 to 15 years (3)
more than 15 years (4)

7	Have y	vou e	ver	heard	of th	e Sibiu	European	Cultural	Capital	Program?
,	11410	,		ii cai a	01 111	e Dicia	Laropean	Cartarar	Cupitai	I I O SI WIII.

₩ Yes (1) ₩ No (2)

8 To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	Strongly Disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly Agree (5)
The European	2 ()				
Capital of					
Culture event has					
improved the					
image of Sibiu.					
(1)					
The European					
Capital of					
Culture event has					
improved the					
cultural facilities					
of Sibiu. (2)					
Thanks to the					
European Capital					
of Culture event,					
Sibiu's residents					
benefit from					
more cultural attractions and					
events. (3) The European					
Capital of					
Culture event has					
created tension					
between local					
people and					
visitors. (4)					
Cultural tourism					
is a contributing					
factor at					
improving the					
quality of life of					
Sibiu's					
community. (5)					
Tourists who					
visit Sibiu					
positively					
influence my daily life. (6)					
Cultural tourism					
is good for					
Sibiu's economy.					
(7)					
Investing in					
cultural events					
and attractions					
for tourists is					
also good for					
residents. (8)					

Promoting			
cultural tourism			
has raised the			
profile of Sibiu			
across Romania.			
(9)			
Promoting			
cultural tourism			
has raised the			
profile of Sibiu			
internationally.			
(10)			
Cultural events			
and festivals help			
create a			
community spirit			
(social cohesion)			
across the city.			
(11)			
Cultural events			
and festivals help			
create a			
community spirit			
(social cohesion)			
in the area that I			
live. (12)			
Meeting and			
talking to tourists			
is a positive and			
enriching			
experience. (13)			
Multiculturalism			
is an important			
part of Sibiu's			
residents' lives.			
(14)			
Cultural heritage			
is an important			
part of Sibiu's			
residents' lives.			
(15)			
The Historical			
Center is an			
important part of			
Sibiu's			
residents' lives.			
(16)			
The youth is			
receptive to the			
city's cultural			
heritage thanks			
to its awareness			
through formal			
education. (17)			
cuucation. (17)			

9 Have you ever p Yes (1) No (2)	participated at any	of the events of S	ibiu 2007 Europe	an Cultural Capit	al Program?				
10 How often did M Daily (1) M 2-3 Times a V M Once a Week M 2-3 Times a N M Once a Month M Less than Onc M Never (7) 11 To what extent	Veek (2) (3) Month (4) (5) ce a Month (6) do you think that		re changed as a re	sult of the Sibiu 2	007 European				
Capital of Culture	Greatly	Deteriorated (2)	No Difference	Improved (4)	Greatly				
The general urban or economic infrastructure (1) The local cultural infrastructure (cultural facilities, buildings) (2) The local administration in Sibiu (its functionality and receptiveness) (3)	Deteriorated (1)		(3)		Improved (5)				
•		the quality of the c	cultural events in	Sibiu from 2008 u	p to this moment?				
W Worse (2) ■ Somewhat Worse (2) ■ About the San ■ Somewhat Be ■ Better (6)	 ✓ Somewhat Worse (3) ✓ About the Same (4) ✓ Somewhat Better (5) ✓ Better (6) 								

14 To what extent do you agree with the following statements regarding the positive long-term effects of the European Capital of Culture program in Sibiu?

	Strongly	Disagree (2)	Neither Agree	Agree (4)	Strongly Agree
	Disagree (1)		nor Disagree (3)		(5)
Sibiu is better					
known in					
Romania (1)					
Sibiu is better					
known outside					
Romania (2)					
The cultural					
sector is more					
developed (3)					
The economic					
sector is more					
developed (4)					
The local budget					
has increased (5)					
The					
infrastructure is					
more developed					
(6)					
There are more					
investments in					
cultural heritage/					
objectives (7)					

15 To what extent do you agree with the following statements regarding the negative long-term effects of the European Capital of Culture program in Sibiu?

	Strongly Disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly Agree (5)
Traffic congestion (1) Tourism congestion (too many tourists) (2)	Disagree (1)		nor Bisagree (3)		
Higher prices (3)					
Noise pollution (4) Physical					
pollution (5)					
Too many					
commercial areas					
(6)					

16	Overall,	do you	think th	at the E	European	Capital	of Culture	event ha	as produced	l long-term	effects i	n Sibiu?

W Yes (1)

₩ No (2)

17 Overall, did Sibiu make good use of the opportunity of being European Capital of Culture in 2007?

Y Yes (1)

W No (2)

M	Do you think Sibiu is currently a more "European" city? Yes (1) No (2)
M	Would you like a similar cultural event/program to take place again in Sibiu? Yes (1) No (2)
M	Would you like a similar cultural event/program to take place in another Romanian City? Yes (1) No (2)
21 ¥	If yes, which one? București (1)
M	Iași (2)
M	Craiova (3)
X	Cluj-Napoca (4)
X	Braşov (5)
X	Timișoara (6)
X	Constanța (7)

Appedix 2

DECISION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL

amending Decision 1419/1999/EC establishing a Community action for the "European Capital of Culture" event for the years 2005 to 2019

EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM

The European City of Culture was designed to bring European peoples closer and was launched on the initiative of Melina Mercouri by the Council of Ministers on 13 June 1985. This concept is based on two fundamental facts: firstly, Europe has been and remains a focal point for exceptionally rich and diverse artistic and cultural development, and secondly, the urban phenomenon has played a major role in the development and spread of the cultures of our continent. The European Cities of Culture up to 2004 have been selected on an intergovernmental basis; the Member States unanimously selected cities worthy of hosting the event, and the European Commission awarded a grant each year to the city selected. Decision 1419/1999/EC, of 25 May 19991, adopted on the basis of Article 151 of the EC treaty, amended the procedure for selecting the successful cities from 2005 onwards, to be known as "European Capitals of Culture". Henceforth, the European Capital of Culture will be decided each year by the Council on a Commission recommendation, which will take into account the view of a jury comprising seven prominent independent members, each of them experts in the culture sector. The selection will be based on criteria laid down in the above Decision. Community action in support of the European Capital of Culture initiative established by Decision 1419/1999/EC is intended, according to Article 1, "to highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures and the features they share, as well as to promote greater mutual acquaintance between European citizens."

This action must pursue the following specific objectives:

- to highlight artistic movements and styles shared by Europeans which it has inspired or to which it has made a significant contribution;
- to promote events involving people active in culture from other cities in Member States and leading to lasting cultural cooperation, and to foster their movement within the European Union,
- to support and develop creative work;
- to ensure the mobilisation and participation of large sections of the population;
- to encourage the reception of citizens of the Union and the widest possible dissemination of the event;
- to promote dialogue between European cultures and those from other parts of the world;

to exploit the historic heritage, urban architecture and quality of life in the city. 1 Decision 1419/1999/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 May 1999 (OJ L 166, 1.7.1999).