

The Transformation of Urban Cultural Policy in East Germany and Poland: The Cases of Leipzig and Krakow¹

Thomas Höpel

ABSTRACTS

Der Aufsatz analysiert die Rolle von Kultur und Kulturpolitik bei der Transformation in den ehemals staatssozialistischen Staaten DDR und VR Polen in den 1990er Jahren vergleichend am Beispiel der beiden infrastrukturellen, wirtschaftlichen, aber auch kulturellen Zentren Krakau und Leipzig. Vergleichend untersucht werden zuerst die personellen und strukturellen Veränderungen im Kulturbereich in beiden Großstädten, dann die in den 1990er Jahren von den städtischen Körperschaften entworfenen Pläne zur Neuausrichtung der Kulturpolitik. Gefragt wird nach den Modellen, an denen sich die kulturpolitischen Akteure in beiden Städten orientierten, nach den Schwerpunkten, die sie setzten, und wie weit es gelang, private Akteure in die Finanzierung der städtischen Kultur einzubeziehen. Schließlich wird die Rolle des Staates beim Umbau der städtischen Kulturlandschaft behandelt.

Die vergleichende Analyse zeigt, dass die städtischen Akteure in beiden Fällen Kultur als Wirtschaftsfaktor gefördert haben. Sie knüpften dabei an lokale Entwicklungspfade und internationale Modelle an. Zudem sahen sie Kultur stets auch als Integrationsinstrument, mit dem die auseinanderdriftende Gesellschaft in den Metropolen wieder zusammengeführt werden sollte. Insgesamt ist eine neue Qualität bei der trans- und internationalen Zusammenarbeit der Städte im Kulturbereich erkennbar.

This article analyses the transformation of cultural policies in East Germany and Poland after the end of state socialism by studying the developments in the two cities Krakow and Leipzig. As economic, infrastructural, and cultural centres, Krakow as well as Leipzig had a prominent posi-

1 I have to thank Franziska Reif for proofreading the text.

tion within the national urban system and they were representative of the principal evolution in big East German and Polish cities after 1989. The contribution studies first the personal and structural developments in the cultural realm after the radical social and political changes of 1989. Secondly it discusses the plans for the strategic reorientation of urban culture and their impact on the cities' cultural institutions and landscape. The third part of the article focuses on the role of the state in the process of transforming urban cultural institutions.

The comparative analysis shows that the urban actors promoted culture as an economic factor in both cases and that the reorientation of urban cultural policy was linked to local traditions as well as to Western European models. Culture was seen as an instrument of integration that should bring together the society in the two cities. In addition, a new quality of transnational and international cooperation between cities in the field of culture emerged.

The peaceful revolutions in Poland and East Germany in 1989 led to a fundamental reorganisation of the cultural landscape. The city governments became more influential and state control was reduced. The big, economically active cities also had to deal with the structural change that had begun in Western Europe in the 1970s and which Anselm Doering-Manteuffel and Lutz Raffael described in their essay "After the Boom".² One result was the development of digital financial market capitalism, which is characterized by an individualistic economic ideology based on the spirit of monetarism, an increasing privatization of public services and a strengthened emphasis on individual creativity and autonomy.

The cities responded with new strategies for urban development attributing culture an important role as an integration and marketing tool. Big cities reacted first and worked out a new active cultural policy. Furthermore, they exchanged ideas and supported one another.³

This article analyses the consequences of these developments as exemplified by the cities of Krakow and Leipzig. These cities are representative of the major evolutions in big East German and Polish cities after 1989. As economic, infrastructural, and cultural centres, both Krakow and Leipzig held prominent positions within the national urban system. Thus, Krakow and Leipzig do not only constitute examples of general trends in Polish and East German cities but they are also role models for other cities.

The first part of this paper explores the personal and structural developments in the cultural realm after the radical social and political changes of 1989. In a second section I discuss the plans for the strategic reorientation of urban culture and their impact on the cities' cultural institutions and landscapes. Chapter three will focus on the role of the state in the process of transforming urban cultural institutions.

Additionally, I want to examine in particular the influence Western European models had on the reshaping of urban cultural policy in Poland and East Germany. It will also

2 A. Doering-Manteuffel/L. Raphael, *Nach dem Boom. Perspektiven auf die Zeitgeschichte nach 1970*, 2nd edn, Göttingen 2010.

3 T. Höpel, *Kulturpolitik in Europa im 20. Jahrhundert. Metropolen als Akteure und Orte der Innovation*, Göttingen 2017, pp. 403–410.

be of interest to determine the extent to which the reorientation of urban cultural policy was linked to traditions from the first third of the twentieth century and, additionally, which legacies of the communist period persisted after the collapse of the state socialist regime.

1. Personal and Structural Changes after 1989

The political changes of 1989 had immediate consequences for the leading positions in cultural institutions and the cultural administration in both cities. The leaders of cultural policy were quickly replaced. The directors of all Krakow theatres were recalled and so was the long-time director of the Leipzig City Theatres Karl Kayser.⁴

When a new City Council was elected, the communist head of the Culture Department was also replaced. In October 1991, the City Council elected Georg Girardet as the new Councillor for Culture. Girardet is a doctor of law from West Germany and had previously worked for the Permanent Representation of the Federal Republic in the former GDR, for the Cultural Senate of Berlin, and for the Federal Ministry of Science and Education.

In Krakow, an independent Culture Department was created in the new city administration after the City Council had been restored in 1990.⁵ It answered directly to the deputy mayor for culture and arts, who was also responsible for other tasks.

In addition to staff restructuring, East German cities gained more decision-making freedom in the field of urban culture. In May 1990 the GDR parliament passed the Local Government Act that reintroduced municipal self-government. Hence the city of Leipzig was given the freedom to decide on the amount and distribution of cultural subsidies. It also had to draft strategic orientations for its future cultural policy. As a first step, the Iskra and the Lenin memorial were closed after 1989, the museum at the Liebknecht House followed in 1992.⁶

In March 1990, Polish cities, too, were granted the right to municipal self-government. The fusion of urban and voivodeship administrations, implemented in 1975, was dissolved. However, centralisation in Poland was only partially removed. Consequently, most of the cultural institutions, even those created by the city itself, were still controlled by

4 K. Plebańczyk, *Analiza działalności teatrów krakowskich w latach 1989–1999 w kontekście zmian wizerunku*, in: Ł. Gawel/K. Plebańczyk/E. Orzechowski (eds.), *Zarządzanie w kulturze*, vol. 3, Kraków 2002, pp. 47–63; M. Pauli, *Ein Theaterimperium an der Pleiße. Studien über Leipziger Theater zu DDR-Zeiten*, Schkeuditz 2004, p. 32.

5 *Uchwała Nr IV/24/90 Rady Miasta Krakowa*, 27 July 1990, *Archiwum Urząd Miasta Krakowa* (hereafter AUMK), IV Sesja Rady Miasta w Krakowie, 27 July 1990.

6 D. Mundus, *Das Stadtgeschichtliche Museum im Alten Rathaus*, in: *thema M3. Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Leipzig: Denkmal und Geschichtslabor*, Leipzig 2002, pp. 10–19, at 16. The *Iskra* memorial was established in 1955 in memory of a print shop where Lenin had produced the illegal Russian newspaper *Iskra* at the beginning of the twentieth century.

the state.⁷ The city itself was only given authority over certain institutions of cultural dissemination.

The limitation to the so-called “small culture” does not mean that the city was not allowed to be active in high cultural fields. A law from October 1991 allowed cities to create and administer arts institutions.⁸ This law has been the basis for the creation of several urban cultural institutions in Krakow since 1994. In 1991, only two cultural institutions under state administration were dissolved in Krakow, both of them symbols of the communist cultural policy. These were the Lenin Museum on the one hand and the cultural centre “Kućnica Krakowska” on the other hand.⁹

2. Strategic Reorientation of Urban Cultural Policy

Due to the great challenges faced after 1989, the city of Leipzig introduced a cultural development plan in the 1990s. Already in February 1992, the City Council asked for the creation of a specific cultural policy outline that should guide future developments in the realm of culture.¹⁰ The debate surrounding the objectives of Leipzig’s cultural policy was closely linked to economic considerations. From 1992 to 2000, the number of posts at the Cultural Office was reduced by half, from 130 to 65.¹¹

When designing a cultural development plan, Leipzig emphatically relied on West German experience. In December 1991, the Leipzig Cultural Office set up a “Working Group for Art in Public Spaces in East and West German Cities”. The working group organized work meetings and excursions to exchange theoretical and practical experiences.¹² In addition, the Leipzig Cultural Office built on the experience of the Ludwigshafen cultural administration when drawing up the cultural development plan.¹³

In August 1995, the Councillor for Culture, Girardet, presented an extensive plan for the future cultural development in Leipzig. However, the City Council did not adopt this plan, declaring to be not qualified enough to decide on such a substantial paper. Only in 1999, the City Council accepted a revised version of the 21 cultural policy guidelines, which preceded the cultural development plan.

The cultural policy guidelines of 1999 emphasised subsidiarity to a greater extent than the 1995 plan for cultural development. The ambitious objectives of the older plan were

7 Law on local self-government, 8 March 1990, *Dziennik Ustaw* 1990, No. 16, item 95.

8 *Ustawa o organizowaniu i prowadzeniu działalności kulturalnej*, 25 October 1991, *Dziennik Ustaw* 1991, No. 114, item 493.

9 Małopolski Instytut Samorządu terytorialnego i administracji, 1994, *Raport o stanie kultury w Krakowie*, Kraków 1994, p. 33.

10 Archiv für Ratsangelegenheiten Leipzig (hereafter ARL), 28. Sitzung der Stadtverordnetenversammlung (meeting of the city council assembly), 19 February 1992, hour for urgent matters, pp. 17–25.

11 The staff development at the Cultural Office is documented in the budgets of the city of Leipzig.

12 ARL, *Kulturentwicklungsplan der Stadt Leipzig*, August 1995, pp. 37f.

13 E. Goudin, *Les inflexions de la politique culturelle allemande après l’unification à l’exemple de la ville de Leipzig (1990–1998)*, thèse de doctorat de l’université Paris III, 2002, pp. 296f.

reduced. Only the field of music got priority in 1999. The city of Leipzig should be promoted as a musical city. The other fields of cultural policy received significantly less attention. The development of independent and community culture ranked behind cultural marketing, the promotion of tourism, and commercial cultural activities.¹⁴

In Krakow no comparable cultural development plan was drawn up in the 1990s. Nevertheless, art and culture continued to play an important role in the long-term planning of the city. They held prominent positions in mayor Krzysztof Bachmiński's first development strategy of the city of Krakow submitted to the City Council in September 1991. Given the general economic crisis in Poland, Krakow should focus on its "original role" as a city of science and arts, as a centre of Polish culture. Culture and arts should be the starting point for the resurgence of the city. Economic aspects of tourism were also included in the development strategy. These objectives characterised the cultural policy of the following years as well and were continued by subsequent strategy papers of the city of Krakow.

The Krakow city administration first intended to rebuild the city's cultural policy based on English models. Vice President Jacek Fitt approached culture primarily from an economic point of view and commissioned the English company "Komedia" to develop an analysis of Krakow's cultural landscape and a program formulating guidelines for the work of the city administration and the city's cultural institutions.¹⁵ This very liberal view of cultural policy did not find a majority in the city council.

In Leipzig, the strategic orientations led to a further strengthening of the large cultural institutions. In 1995, they were converted into municipal enterprises (*Eigenbetriebe*). This step was taken with the intention to reduce bureaucracy and to create more economic flexibility and efficiency. The representative arts institutions of Leipzig had a prominent function in the image policy of the City Council.

In contrast to the development of the representative arts institutions and events, the city curbed support for independent and community culture. The large number of former cultural centres and youth clubs was strongly diminished in the first half of the 1990s.

These drastic cuts in the popular and socio-cultural field were balanced by the development of an independent cultural scene. It had its roots in some of the associations formed after 1990 that organised the work of former cultural centres and clubs on the model of socio-cultural centres in West Germany. From 1991, these new socio-cultural centres were financially supported by the city of Leipzig.¹⁶ In addition, a new socio-cultural centre was created in 1992 with the "Werk II – Kulturfabrik Leipzig" (work II – cultural factory Leipzig), which the city has funded since 1995.¹⁷

14 ARL, Kulturpolitische Leitlinien, Beschluss der 70. Ratsversammlung, 14 July 1999, Drucksache No. II/1939.

15 AUMK, L Sesja Rady Miasta Krakowa, 24 April 1992, p. 22.

16 "Kultur von unten" soll verwirklicht werden", in: *Wir in Leipzig*, 1 October 1991.

17 S. Tornau, Werk II – Eine Kulturfabrik im Leipziger Süden, in: *Soziokultur in Sachsen. Ein gesellschaftliches Experimentierfeld*, ed. by LAG Soziokultur Sachsen e.V. and Sächsische Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, Dresden 1998, pp. 219–224.

In Krakow, culture has been seen as an important tool for urban renewal since 1990. Extensive advertising measures in the areas of monument protection, culture and art, economy, and tourism were initiated.¹⁸ As a consequence, tourist numbers and income from tourism grew in the first half of the 1990s.¹⁹

As the Polish state initially kept its authority over most important and emblematic cultural institutions in Krakow, the city pursued an active cultural foreign policy. As a Polish envoy to the Council of Europe's Cultural Heritage Commission, Jacek Purchla, the first deputy mayor for Cultural Affairs in Krakow, negotiated financial commitments from the Council of Europe for the restoration of Krakow's cultural monuments. Supported by the Polish Ministry of Culture, Purchla also initiated Krakow's application for a new EC cultural programme for Eastern Europe, the European Cultural Month, which was approved in December 1990.²⁰

A cornerstone of Krakow's foreign cultural policy was the massive expansion of Krakow's town twinning between 1991 and 1993.²¹ Cultural exchange had already been relevant for town twinning in the past. After 1989, culture was strategically used as a means of urban development. On the one hand, cultural marketing in the twin cities should stimulate tourism to Krakow; on the other hand, the city was looking for economically interesting partners who could support cultural development projects.

In 1991, the Krakow city council decided to apply for the EC program "European City of Culture" together with the twin city Nuremberg²² and Krakow was nominated for the millennium 2000 in 1995 along with eight other European cities. After its appointment, Krakow organized a five-year festival beginning in 1996 and ending in December 2000. In 2000, the cultural capital Krakow presented itself under the motto "Thinking – Spirituality – Creativity" (*Myśl – Duchowość – Twórczość*). Around 100 programme items with 574 events were organized.²³ Both cities made use of their international contacts and in the 1990s joined the city network Eurocities, participating in its working group on culture; Leipzig even held a leading position.²⁴

After 1989, all cultural institutions of Krakow had to demonstrate their usefulness for the urban society and for the national and international perception of the city. Institutions failing to meet this requirement were dissolved or merged with institutions that worked more successfully. Cultural centres, clubs, libraries, and museums therefore di-

18 Report by Jacek Fitt about city marketing (Promocja Miasta): AUMK, LIV Sesja Rady Miasta Krakowa, 12 June 1992, pp. 27–39

19 J. Fitt, *Tourismus und metropolitalische Funktionen von Krakau*, in: J. Purchla (ed.), *Metropolitalne funkcje Krakowa/Metropolitane Funktionen Krakaus*, vol. 2, Kraków 1998, pp. 171–179; K. Trafas, *Die Touristik als ein Element der strategischen Entwicklung der Stadt Krakau*, in: *ibid.*, pp. 181–186, at 182.

20 Report from J. Purchla: AUMK, XIII Sesja Rady Miejskiej w Krakowie, 30 November 1990, pp. 12–14.

21 T. Höpel, *Von der Städtepartnerschaft zum Städtenetzwerk. Die Entwicklung und Ausdifferenzierung interkommunaler Zusammenarbeit in Europa in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, in: C. Defrance/T. Herrmann/P. Nordblom (eds.), *Städtepartnerschaften in Europa im 20. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 2020, pp. 289–309.

22 Uchwała Nr XXXIV/232/91 Rady Miasta Krakowa, AUMK, XXXIII Sesja Rady Miasta Krakowa, 14 October 1991.

23 J. Szulborska-Lukaszewicz, *Polityka kulturalna w Krakowie*, Kraków 2009, pp. 126–128.

24 T. Höpel, *Die Herausbildung kommunaler Europapolitik – das Städtenetzwerk Eurocities*, in: *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1 (2013), pp. 23–42.

versified their offers beyond their traditional tasks in the hope of finding approval among the population and generating additional revenue.²⁵ At the same time the city sought closer collaboration with artists in Krakow. In 1993, a Cultural Assembly was created that was composed of recognised artists and served as an advisory board for the mayor. In Leipzig, and in Krakow as well, the transformation of the city's cultural institutions also led to increasing efforts towards the integration of management methods from private economy and the cooperation with private sponsors in sustaining cultural initiatives since the mid-1990s. But there were only few initiatives in public-private partnerships in the cultural sector in Leipzig in the 1990s. One was the Leipzig Museum for Contemporary Art and another the Speck von Sternburg foundation.

The Leipzig Museum for Contemporary Art was founded as a company with limited liability by the Friends of the Leipzig Gallery for Contemporary Art, the City of Leipzig, and the federal state of Saxony in 1996.²⁶ The second important case of public-private partnership was the Speck von Sternburg foundation. The city of Leipzig succeeded, together with the state and the federal government, in acquiring the collection of Maximilian Speck von Sternburg as permanent loan for the Museum of Fine Arts. Although there was significant financial participation of private patrons in both cases, the city of Leipzig still had to bear the biggest portion of the costs. Therefore, the city remained the most important actor and patron even for these initiatives of public-private partnership. In Krakow, the city created the programme "Patron of Culture of Cracow" (*Mecenas Kultury Krakowa*) in 1996, with the aim of stimulating private cultural sponsorship.²⁷ Individuals and companies who had either given the largest financial contribution to cultural institutions or initiatives in Krakow or developed the most creative and effective cultural sponsorship were honoured by the city.²⁸ The Krakow programme was a model for similar projects in other Polish cities such as Szczecin, Warsaw and Gdansk.²⁹

3. The Role of the State in Urban Culture Funding

The federal government and the federal state of Saxony have substantially funded urban culture to allow a quick transition to local self-government without the loss of important cultural institutions.³⁰ In 1995, the Saxon cultural area law (*Kulturraumgesetz*) took the place of the transitional federal funding in Saxony. This new Saxon model of cultural

25 G. Prawelska-Skrzypek, Placówki kultury w Krakowie: analiza ich efektywności oraz pozabudżetowych źródeł finansowania, in: M. Posern-Zielińska (red.), *Monitorowanie usług publicznych w miastach*, vol. 1, część 2, Poznań 1998, pp. 9–186, here p. 83, 121.

26 ARL, 28. Öffentliche Sitzung des Stadtrates, 21 August 1996, Decision No. 590/96.

27 Uchwała Nr. LXVIII/672/96, Rady Miasta Krakowa, 30 December 1996, AUMK, LXVIII Sesja Rady Miasta Krakowa, 30 December 1996/8 January 1997.

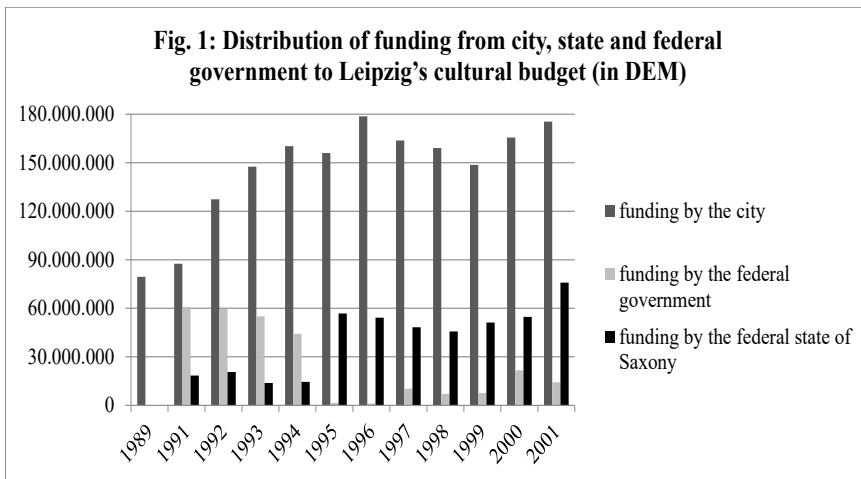
28 Regulamin tytułu „Mecenas Kultury Krakowa”, Attachment to: Uchwała Nr. LXVIII/672/96, *ibid.*

29 Śzulborska-Lukaszewicz, *Polityka kulturalna w Krakowie*, pp. 188–190.

30 A. Klein, *Kulturpolitik. Eine Einführung*, Opladen 2002, pp. 106–122; T. Höpel, *La politique culturelle en Allemagne au XXe siècle*, in: P. Poirrier (ed.), *Pour une histoire des politiques culturelles dans le monde. 1945–2011*, Paris 2011, pp. 17–47.

funding was unique in Germany but based on conceptions and experiences of cultural politicians of the old Federal Republic. The commission drafting the project was composed of West German cultural politicians who favoured ideas hitherto unrealised.³¹ The following chart shows the extent of funding of the cultural institutions of Leipzig in the 1990s by the federal government and the federal state of Saxony.

In Poland, the government retained greater authority over urban culture and arts than in East Germany after 1989. In 1990, most of the cultural institutions were not transferred under the authority of the city but to the voivodeship administration.



Various Polish governments supported the decentralisation and democratisation of the state administration after 1990. This led to the transfer of some arts institutions from the voivodeship to the city level. However, the repeated changes of government led to a delay in decentralization. Only the administrative reform of 1 January 1999 completed the long-retarded process of decentralisation and made the cities largely responsible for culture and education.³²

Conclusion

After 1989, cultural policy soon became important in Leipzig as well as in Krakow. At least since the mid-1990s, both cities have recognised arts and culture as important factors for urban development and international reputation.

31 Ch. Schramm, *Die gerettete Kultur – Sachsens Kulturräume*, in: R. Koch/H. Wagner (eds.), *Die Geschichte der Kommunalpolitik in Sachsen. Von der friedlichen Revolution bis zur Gegenwart*, Stuttgart 2006, pp. 265–300, at 266f.

32 Szulborska-Lukaszewicz, *Polityka kulturalna w Krakowie*, pp. 20–22.

During the transformation of the cities' cultural landscape, the urban cultural policy adopted Western European models. In Leipzig leaders sought to take over West German and international models. The city appointed a Councillor for Culture from the old Federal Republic and initiated an intensive exchange with West German cultural politicians. In Krakow urban leaders pursued similar objectives by an intensification of international relations at the beginning of the 1990s.

In Krakow, the process of transformation was significantly slower than in Leipzig. The transfer of cultural institutions from the state to the city in Poland lasted ten years. The East German cultural landscape was more quickly adapted to the West German model. However, this rapid transformation required heavy state subsidies.

The cultural institutions created during the state-socialist period were treated differently after 1989 in East Germany and in Poland. In Leipzig, most of the clubs and cultural centres were dissolved. Only a few institutions continued to operate as socio-cultural centres but, eventually, by the mid-1990s, the city had passed them on to associations that were often not up to the task. The withdrawal of the city was in part due to the increasingly limited financial possibilities of the city. It resulted in a limitation of alternative or socio-cultural institutions and initiatives and supported commercialised activities. In Krakow, the clubs and cultural centres of the communist era largely continued to exist as municipal institutions. They had important tasks regarding the social integration of the heterogeneous urban structure of Krakow, the result of industrialisation efforts of the communists and the creation of the new city Nowa Huta connected to Krakow already at the beginning of the 1950s. Clubs and cultural centres also formed a key part of the artistic education of children and adolescents in Poland.

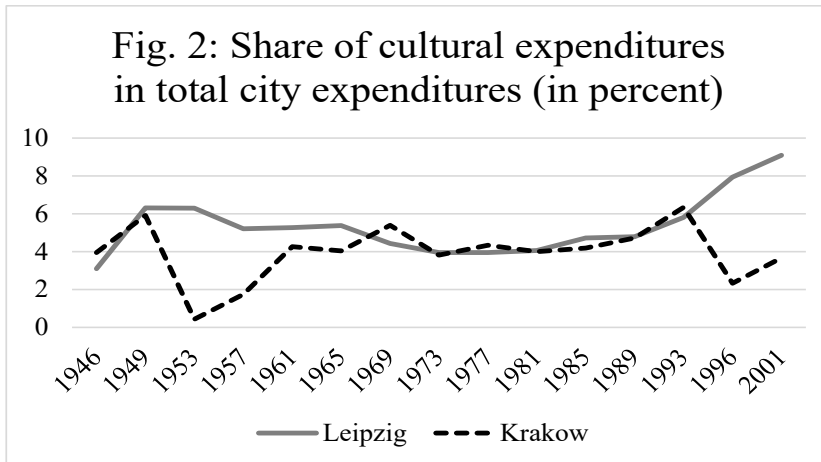
In both cities, cultural institutions partially had to adapt to the market economy. However, the efforts to stimulate private patronage and sponsorship for arts and culture were rewarded with limited success. The city of Leipzig tried to stimulate public-private partnership, but it quickly became apparent that the adoption of western advertising and marketing practices was not as easy as hoped due to the difficult economic situation in the 1990s. Even the success stories led to growing financial commitments by the city. The city of Krakow urged the municipal cultural institutions to develop innovative programmes. One part of the municipal subsidies to arts and culture was dedicated to specific projects and the municipal cultural institutions had to compete with private institutions and initiatives. With the "Patron of Culture in Krakow" programme, the city also sought to stimulate private cultural sponsorship. As this programme achieved significant success, similar programmes were launched in other major Polish cities.

In both cases, the city remained the main protagonist in the cultural area because it used culture and arts as an instrument for city marketing. Therefore, the urban cultural administration, the magistrate, and the City Council continued to influence and direct the city's cultural institutions. A privatisation of culture and arts only took place to a very limited degree. Cultural spending increased significantly in the second half of the 1990s (see fig. 2).

In Krakow, this commitment in the cultural sector stands in striking contrast to the liberal politics in other urban fields of action, in which the city has largely reduced its activities to the creation of framework conditions for private action.

It can also be seen that both cities continued the development paths they had taken in the cultural field since the beginning of the twentieth century.

During the economic crisis after 1989, Krakow relied heavily on the concept of the intellectual capital of Poland, which had been developed in the last third of the nineteenth century and had made Krakow a centre of the Polish educational and cultural landscape. The stimulation of cultural tourism was a key instrument. Here the urban actors, too, took up ideas from the 1920s and 1930s.³³ Leipzig stuck to its focus on the music, book, and trade fair city that had already been formulated in the 1920s.



Projects from the state socialist era based on earlier concepts and developments were continued by the city administration after 1989. Specific institutions of communist culture and education, however, were largely eliminated. The only exception is the wide urban network of cultural centres in Krakow.

The structural break of 1989 did neither lead to a wave of privatization, which is seen as a feature of the new digital financial market capitalism, nor to a surrender of the traditions and ties that make it possible to socially cushion the change brought about.³⁴ Rather, there was growing public engagement in the area of urban cultural policy. Based on earlier models in the two large cities, a committed cultural policy was pursued. The urban cultural policy promoted culture primarily as a pole of innovation and an economic factor. But it also saw culture as an instrument of integration by which the diverging society

33 Höpel, *Kulturpolitik in Europa*, pp. 86, 104f.

34 Doering-Manteuffel/Raphael, *Nach dem Boom*, p. 21.

in the metropolises should be brought together again. However, a similar trend can also be observed in western European cities at the end of the twentieth century.³⁵ In addition, there is a new quality of transnational and international cooperation between cities in the field of culture. This is a clear indication of the increasing interdependence of cultural-political actors and discourses in Europe since the structural change of the 1970s.