

**CULTURAL TRANSITIONS
IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE**

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Course

Managing Cultural Transitions: Southeastern Europe

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Cultural Transitions in Southeastern Europe

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Introduction

Introduction

The fourth session of the Dubrovnik course on Redefining Cultural Identities and Managing Cultural Transitions (in Southeastern Europe) was dedicated to basic cultural changes in the Southeast European cultures reflected in the redefined cultural identities and in the new social role of cultures in this region. Dynamics and quality of change have always been at the core of our analytical interest in the recent cultural transitions. The nature and outcomes of these transitions, although felt in everyday life and practices, still remain only partly visible and barely accessible for practical evaluations. A full theoretical account of transitional changes and of cultural transitions that are under way might, however, be challenging and needed. So far it does not exist, and the partial in-views have not yet led to an overall systematized assessment of cultural changes in the region.

This is the main reason why cultural transitions have been approached through comparisons with global cultural change or with cultural and social developments in European countries. Similarities or dissimilarities might be easier to discover and trace through an effort to compare processes of cultural change when the research into its particular aspects is scarce and when there is a general shortage of data. An effort to share research experiences with colleagues and to advise students about the present situation may incite some action and increase the sensitivity to the problem and to the cultural situation in the region.

The recent history of Southeastern Europe has been marked by transition from the socialist to the capitalist system, by the recent Balkan wars in the last decade of the twentieth century, and by the introduction of radical reforms. The breakdown of Yugoslavia in 1990 brought about the widening of the scope of Southeastern Europe. The nations of the region and their cultures have not been merged together. On the contrary, the breakdown of socialist systems openly affirmed particular national

identities, and the national cultures found themselves in a more flexible and more open regional framework. The region now includes Albania, Greece, Bulgaria, Romania and the ex-Yugoslav republics, except Slovenia. It has become much more diverse than it used to be. The inner differences among countries and societies have increased substantially in the last fifteen or so years. This is reflected in the position of particular countries in relation to the EU: Greece is a full member, Bulgaria, Croatia and Romania are candidate countries, and all other countries (including Croatia) make up the “Western Balkans” sub-region.

In the cultural sphere, the wars of dissolution of Yugoslavia have been reflected by an extreme rise of nationalism and an aggressive revival of national myths and fake histories. Nevertheless, waves of nationalism resulted in the profiling of new identities and in some valuable contributions to rather dynamic re-evaluations of cultural histories.

Two generations of reforms have been introduced to Southeastern Europe. The first generation brought liberalization, the stabilization of economies and privatization, the political extinction of socialist institutions and the introduction of democracy. This produced a chaotic and violent transitional period, marked by wars, the pauperization of the population, a tragic demographic decline and social destruction particularly reflected in the loss of human and cultural values. The second generation reforms are concentrated on issues of “good governance”: the improvement of the regulatory apparatus, the move towards independence of monetary and fiscal institutions, the strengthening of corporate governance, the eradication of corruption, the enhancement of the functioning of the judiciary, etc. The “qualitative change” is gaining ground now.

In this context, the need to produce cultural policies and strategies at the national level became obvious. In less than ten years, from 1996 to the present, all countries of the region have drawn up their cultural policies. Now, evaluations, assessments and further research into cultures and cultural transitions are ahead of us.

All these developments have led to the need to redefine the region, intra-regional relations and regional (cultural) cooperation. The basis and the background of all future relations should be built through the full acceptance of the diversity of this region, particularly reflected in the position of minorities, and through coordination of interests of different cultures, societies and countries.

Regarding the position of cultures and cultural life and creativity, the following may be stated:

- In the first transitional phase, and particularly during the war, all cultures have experienced a radical worsening of their social position. This was reflected in the lack of financing, loss of professionalism, endangered

creativity, fall of cultural institutions, first encounters with the market, rise of the nationalistic cultural myths, lack of self-criticism, cutting of cultural contacts with neighbors and undermining of minority cultures.

- At present, there is a gradual awakening and rationalization of the cultural situation. There is a strong tendency to fully identify with European cultural values. Redefinition of cultural identities and selection of “true” values is still under way. Great attention is paid to the value of cultural heritage, to technological and communication innovations in cultural life, to support for creativity and regeneration of cultural activities, to cultural industrialization and development of (small) cultural industries, to cultural trade, and to redefined cultural cooperation that ever more relies on networking, consultancy, partnership in projects, etc.

It might be said that after about fifteen years of transition the Southeastern European region has changed radically. It has been shaped by the external EU influences, and by local efforts to join the EU. Regional identity is now reflected in the willingness to acknowledge the diversity of the region and promote new frameworks for cooperation that include flexible approaches, coordination and partnership.

In such a regional context the changes that cultures have undergone and that are still underway are not followed by related research efforts, and they remain less visible than the changes in other areas. However, they are constantly present in public life, in self-perception of individuals and in the self-understanding of contemporary societies. Cultures are gaining ground, not only because they are entering economic and market spheres, but much more because it is now evident that they might be the last resort of diversity and plurality, while the global trends are integrating economic, political and other areas of human activities.

Cultural transitions integrate all types of cultural changes. They provide the context in which cultures appear to be both actors and mediators of social change. In this collection of texts the issues discussing cultural contexts, the new public culture, governance of cultural institutions, cultural industries and cultural policies (including those related to digitalization) represent an effort to trace cultural transition in the region and point out some particular problems it raises.

The new public culture seems to be gaining ground in this region. As “ordered individuals, communities and cultures” are presented in a “swarm” structure (Katunarić), one is reminded of overall cultural restructuring in the region. Cultural, media and other public policies, although yet new and, perhaps, politically feeble, converge in an effort to structure the (chaotic) changes. This effort makes visible the lack of knowledge on present cultural developments and transition, and the scarcity of research in the field. A clear picture of the socio-economic and cultural

environment is required (Mucica), as well as the need to acquire new technological abilities in order to be able to go for a number of practical policy solutions, e.g., digitalization (Kolar-Panov). Governance of cultural institutions (Čopić) reflects a situation that needs to be compared with the EU positions and frameworks (Obuljen). The core elements in this process of transition are cultural production (Primorac) and the perception of art production (Stamenković). The key question for all the authors of the present texts and all the researchers looking into problems of cultural transitions in Southeastern Europe remains the one on how to make a difference and be recognized in cultural creativity, cultural industry and successful cultural policy making. This consideration unites the regional efforts and represents a basic standpoint to support regional cultural cooperation.

The Editor

**Contexts and Concepts of
Cultural Transitions**

Cultural Contexts in Transition Processes

Nada Švob-Đokić

This text represents an effort to look into changes of cultural contexts and of contemporary cultures in Southeastern Europe. It reflects the intention to elucidate parallelisms between systemic transitional changes and cultural change, and to introduce initial in-views in the transformed cultures of the region.

Cultures and cultural contexts

All contemporary cultures are undergoing very many radical changes. These are caused by the overall changes in societies and economies that shape new contexts in which cultures exist. “Cultural” reaction to social and economic change consists in affirmation of cultural contexts that are supposed to serve as frameworks for acceptance and indigenization of global development trends, as well as for global promotion of local cultural creativity. While many human activities can be and need to be standardized at global levels, cultural creativity and production stands at the global level for diversity and de-standardization of human work and creativity.

Cultural contexts are not easily mapped out and defined. They appear as hardly visible frameworks for overall social and economic change in contemporary societies. The interplay between social and cultural spheres, that has never been precisely defined, thus remains non-transparent and difficult to research and analyze. Nevertheless, a tendency to approach cultures as a kind of context for all other human activities is ever more present. This tendency leads to recognition of cultural spheres as a resource for creativity and for human and social development.¹

The interpretation of culture as resource is based on the analysis of the (social) role of culture that, according to Yudice, “has expanded in an unprecedented way into the political and economic at the same time that conventional notions of culture largely

1 On “Culture as Resource” see: Yudice, George, *The Expediency of Culture. Uses of Culture in the Global Era*, Duke University Press, 2003. pp. 9-13.

have been emptied out” (Yudice: 9). Culture appears to be deeply involved in some other areas of human activities. However, this is exactly how contemporary cultures position themselves in order to create a context that would make all other activities (e.g. political, economic, etc.) different and recognizable even when they are being practiced in a similar way all over the world.

In the contemporary world understanding of cultural contexts is growing. Although such contexts are ever more intricate, hardly researched and not sufficiently analyzed, they reflect the way in which global trends and developments are localized. The cultural contexts produce their own inner development dynamics pulsating among social, economic and all other spheres of human life. New types of relationships of cultural creativity with the overall social environment are established that appear to be of crucial importance in changing the character and nature of cultures. Contemporary cultures are thus ever more influenced and shaped by developments and activities that are not strictly cultural,² but that define contexts in which cultures exist. The “cultural” response that consists in creating a cultural context for all other activities becomes also globally visible. Generally speaking, these new contexts issue from globalization processes which imply:

- influences of the extra-cultural regulations defining economic and social frameworks (e.g. market regulations, employment, communication and media, etc.);
- influences of production processes and market distribution of goods;
- redefined role of the state, particularly expressed in questioning of concepts of national or ethnic cultures;
- pro-active role of civil society and non-governmental organizations’ influences in cultural fields, and in particular cultural activities;
- promotion of cultural diversities, which reflects changes in the inner character and structure of cultures, that are no longer seen as monolithic, but crumbled and made up of arbitrary and ever more individualized value choices.

Radical changes that contemporary cultures are undergoing may be symbolically interpreted as transition from a basically national structure of cultures to a basically global structure of cultures. In this transition process, cultural contexts are being (re)created through the interplay of cultural creativity and other human activities. The process is extremely complex and complicated. It nevertheless provides for the affirmation of diversity and specificity in the world in which global standardization is very much present and still under way.

² This is clearly visible in analyses of extra-cultural influences on elaboration and implementation of cultural policies in the European countries. See: Obuljen, Nina (the article in this collection, p. 123-141).

Transition and transformation

Transition is a major social change that occurs when a social system is deeply and radically transformed, so as to acquire characteristics which make it distinctly different from the one that existed at the beginning of the transition process. Transitions take place either within one time period or within different periods of time and have different dynamics. It may be also said that what happens in-between the establishment of different social systems is called transition (Balcerowicz, 1995; Švob-Đokić, 2000). Transition encompasses very different areas of human activity, and involves very different values, developments and procedures. It is complex because not all social segments can change in the same way at the same time. It is defined differently by different social sciences (Wagner, 1997), but basically it represents long-term, multiphase and eclectic process. Transition is today widely accepted as a term that defines political, economic and social change typical of the contemporary post-socialist societies that have abandoned the socialist, and are opting for the capitalist system. But the meaning of transition remains rather wide, and it therefore increasingly stands for a change that encompasses all kinds of values and professional fields involved in redefinition of contextual structures that provide for new meanings and new types of organization and functioning of either whole societies or of particular fields of human activities. That is why the notion of transition is strongly linked to the notion of transformation, which defines the type and nature of transition itself. Transformation represents an interactive social change that may (but need not) involve systemic change. It is confined to the elements of the system and to different specialized activities, that may, by being transformed, reach the point at which they are transferred from one (established and known) system to the other system (unknown, not clearly structured and being just made up).

In the contemporary world, transformation provides frameworks for cultural transitions from national to global cultural contexts. It stands for cultural change that is typical for the end of the twentieth century, and that has already contributed to the establishment of a new global cultural context which puts cultures, be they viewed as ethnic, national, traditional or modern, in a new position. This new position is defined by: functional market integration of cultural and all other types of production; by global economic interdependence; by technological and direct scientific influences in the cultural field; by intensified global communication and trade; by deterritorialization of cultures, their hybridization³ and establishment of new cultural and creative spaces.

³ Cultural hybridization is a process that has become typical of most contemporary cultures. However, Latin American cultures may offer to the world a number of most interesting experiences of cultural hybridity. See: Canclini, Nestor Garcia, *Consumers and Citizens. Globalization and multicultural conflicts*, University of Minnesota Press, 2001.

Cultural space as cultural context

Initial understanding of cultural space is physical. Traditionally, it refers to a particular physical space occupied by humans who share the same civilization and culture. Nowadays the notion of space, or cultural space, acquires very different symbolic meanings. The problem of intellectual or even spiritual interpretations of cultural space, being a symbolic space, has often re-emerged in recent discussions on cultures. As the definitions of culture have always been loose and heavily contextualized, the need to use the notion of space or cultural space has re-emerged as the main ingredient in efforts to (re)define cultures.

Traditional understanding of cultural space as national or ethnic space appears to be obsolete and of limited practical value since global trends, and especially global communication trends, have contributed heavily to deterritorialization of cultures. Indeed, spaces remain as a memory of past cultural values, but they are no longer providing contexts to understand or accept such values. The notion of cultural space being international space coincided with the rise of international and intercultural communication and cooperation, and thus provided a kind of transition to the notion of global cultural space. The global cultural space appears to be more consistent and not made up of relations among cultures (inter-national; inter-cultural relations). It transcends “relations among” and appears as a neutralized and value-free space in which cultures directly communicate, and through which cultures may become an area subjected to market integration. An interdisciplinary interdependence of economic, cultural and all other spheres, of scientific knowledge, technological ability and equipment, within global communication, exchange and trade represents an almost finished process of cultural globalization.

At the first sight global cultural space appears to be wide and chaotic because it is (presumably) value neutral. If it is value neutral, it cannot be intellectually structured, in spite of “objectivity” or “neutrality” of scientific knowledge. Therefore the (cultural) values transferred into such global space are re-structured or transformed into symbols in order to be quickly and effectively communicated, transferred from one culture to the other, contextualized, or lost among fading cultural contexts. In practical use and everyday life, this global cultural space needs to be contextualized if it is meant to be the space for cultural production, cultural exchange (trade) and cultural consumption.

The process of contextualizing cultural space springs from newly industrialized cultural productions and from artistic creativity that both refer to general humanistic values, blended occasionally by traditional cultural heritage and regional or continental specificities.

An effort to practically and intellectually organize global cultural space is seen in the attempt to present it either as regional or continental. The issue of borders, of arts and borders, as well as of borders and human rights⁴ is very much present in analyses of modern artistic creativity, of the social position of artist, cultural worker, and of cultural products and projects in general. Elimination of borders, whether national or internal, is seen as a fight for freedom, an option that implies free expression in creativity and liberates it of all restrictions imposed by extra-cultural influences and areas.

Cultural space as all-encompassing global space is thus re-interpreted as either regional, complementary to regional development arrangements (e.g. Southeastern Europe, Mediterranean, etc.), or as continental, and again complementary to trade and development arrangements⁵ (European, Latin American, Southeast Asian, etc.). Both regional and continental cultural spaces tend to represent a new context for redefinition of cultural identities. They thus appear as promoters of flexible and individualized cultural identification.

Cultural space nevertheless remains an abstract, symbolic field of cultural identification. The new cultural spaces emerging from the global influences need to be localized in order to provide for new cultural identification. This process of identification becomes ever more individualized, diverse and dynamic. The old identities (ethnic, national) are not completely rejected and forgotten. However, they find themselves in newly created contexts. This influences the type and character of traditional (ethnic and national) cultural identification, which is no longer seen as absolutely necessary or dominating, but only as one possible choice among many choices. The global cultural space also defines, or at least influences, a flexible time frame in which old values and practices may change, adapt or disappear.

The notion of cultural space has been discussed here in order to help explain the fact that cultural transitions remain linked to a certain understanding of cultural space, which is no longer defined by the notion of territory, ethnicity, or nation. In relation to other professional spaces (e.g. economic, political, social, etc.) cultural space is constantly expanding at a global level, which in practice enables cultures to define and redefine the borders in which they are being created and recreated. Ethnic and national cultures will continue to exist, but the surroundings of these cultures are being changed thanks to the notion of cultural space.

4 The issue of borders, either geographical or creativity borders becomes of particular concern in parts of the world exposed to wars and political crises. See, for example: Dragičević-Šešić, Milena, “Borders and Maps in Contemporary Yugoslav Art”, in: N. Švob-Đokić (ed.) *Redefining Cultural Identities: Southeastern Europe*, Zagreb, 2001, pp. 71-85.

5 See also Yudice, G., op.cit., “Free Trade and Culture”, pp. 214-286.

In the context of Southeastern Europe this process of expansion and change practically influences the character of cultures and cultural creativity. There is a feeling that the notion of an open space contributes to a more flexible interpretation of national and ethnic values. They need to be acknowledged and introduced in the space of global cultural communication and creativity. Cultural workers and cultural creators are ever more ready to accept the mission of acknowledgment of values developed within the local cultural spaces without the intention of imposing them on others, as was the case when the local cultures were wrapped up in a national culture. In this particular case, the influence of a global cultural space seems to be supportive of definition and redefinition of local cultural spaces (individual, regional) and of their readiness to promote local creativity and local cultural values through global cultural communication. This is also very much reflected in a pronounced readiness to find one's own cultural space within the European cultural space and to accept its basic standards as regulatory elements in designing cultural development in the Southeastern European region.

Urban space as cultural context

Large cities are places in which cultures interact under the pressure of modernization and survival. They appear as organized spaces providing almost equal opportunities for different newcomers. Although persons and their activities are concentrated in defined parts within a city, such concentration does not develop a sense of cultural belonging, which is indeed ever more confined to zones of interaction and communication that cover the city as a whole. According to N.G. Canclini, such spaces become "global sites of hybridization of cultures".⁶ The intercultural relations become a practice of daily life, notwithstanding positions taken in regard to others and to other cultures. Gaining knowledge of others is inevitable. As the city provides the same space for all differences, it also offers a democratic background to establish relationships among cultures. In parallel, it also offers a possibility to reject, criticize, exclude and marginalize whatever influence there might occur. However, cultures developing in large cities fully reflect basic positions of cultures in the global site: they find themselves in a new context, largely developed under the influence of extra-cultural activities. The urban site is flexible and provides for a possibility of many individual cultural choices, which may lead to chaotic developments, as well as to possible harmonization of different cultural values.

Urban space provides also for fast changes and developments. This fully coincides with standardization in communication and intense mediation of cultural values and activities. Fast changes increase the role and value of cultural artifacts, which are increasingly produced and distributed as industrial products offered in large markets.

⁶ Canclini, N.G., *op.cit.*, pp. 58-61

Southeastern Europe is not a region of megalopolises. There are large cities like Bucharest, Sofia, Skopje, Sarajevo, Belgrade or Zagreb, but their position of administrative centers marks them primarily as symbols of nationhood, and not of intercultural encounters, although these occur.

Therefore the urban setting as a cultural context still preserves a dimension of traditionalism, which also exists in many medium and small cities all over Southeastern Europe. In this particular case, traditionalism is linked to cultural heritage and an ever more present problem of balancing the concern for cultural heritage with the growing tourist industry. There is also another aspect of urban traditionalism: the aspect of belonging to a particular way of intra-urban functioning, which may turn into resistance to modernity. On the other hand, urban settings used to be the first to industrialize and grow thanks to industrialization and urbanization, particularly after the Second World War and the introduction of socialism as a system. The urban resistance to newcomers, industrial workers pooled to the cities from the villages, stood for the preservation of elements of the bourgeois (or, rather, small bourgeois) values and life, and often used to be labeled as a kind of "conservative" culture, in opposition to modernization and introduction of socialist values.

Nowadays urban settings in most of the Southeastern European region offer quite differentiated frameworks for cultural contextualization: old cities that often used to be isolated and neglected are opening up to cultural tourism; industrialized cities are experiencing a decline linked to the general economic crisis and strong de-industrialization processes; rare administrative centers, industrially developed and quickly growing play the roles of metropolis and successfully readjust to growing trade and communication.

Thanks to overall global influences, the cities of Southeastern Europe are now exposed to multicultural contacts and intercultural communication. Chinese or Mexican restaurants are popping up in almost all bigger cities of the region; transnational companies are entering them and offices are being built all over the place. There is a general increase in population in a few of the largest cities and, in parallel, there are strong signs of new cultures and new ways of life being developed under the pressure of worn out city infrastructures and the need to preserve some of the cultural heritage.

The urban setting is therefore a quickly changing and undefined context in which the remains of urban traditionalism now encounter the strong influences and intense technological changes from abroad, producing new trends in everyday life. In a way, cities best reflect the transition from socialism (urban traditionalism and broken down industrialism) to some sort of not yet clearly defined capitalism (entering of multinational businesses, infrastructural breakdown and growing dynamics of city

life that springs from increasing class differentiation and encounters of different cultural groups).

Cultural contexts as symbolic and value spaces

Symbolic and value spaces refer to cultural and artistic creativity. In the contemporary Southeastern European cultures inspiration often comes from a revival of old memories and values, pre-socialism traditions of either city or village life. Whether there is a specific memory of the socialist times remains to be discovered. A kind of new modernism, prompted by strong international communication, openly influences contemporary cultural production and participation of cultural workers and artists in international projects and events.

Most artists and cultural workers think that they are being neglected in the post-socialist period. The support for and the interest of state in their work has diminished. When and if it exists, it is driven by an effort to preserve and develop some kind of national identity and national performance in the field of culture. Some artists are ready to serve and cooperate with the state; some feel that this is more a constraint preventing access to liberty and free communication. On the other hand, a market hardly exists and cannot balance the social position of artists. Most of the sold art works are indeed of a marginal quality, often adapted to tourists' taste. Nevertheless the quantity of sold "works" is also limited. Access to international art markets is not only difficult, but very often impossible due to a low understanding of ways that markets are functioning, and of the role of mediators/managers. Official international cooperation tends to classify artists and authors following non-artistic, usually political criteria. Artists and cultural creators often find themselves in the hands of producers and mediators, and they are often unable to rationalize this new situation.

This is why in the symbolic cultural spaces a kind of nostalgia mixes with expectations that are not met in disorganized transitional societies. It is curious that such a situation hardly inspires any creativity, and there is practically no artistic and cultural expression of the social process of change called transition. There are even no memories of the first experiences of such change. A very specific and complex transitional history tends to be practically eliminated from cultural creativity due to a strong effort to follow Western trends as much as possible. The whole transitional complex is undermined and understood as a rejection of half a century of socialist memories (whether good or bad) and as acceptance of a reduced western interpretation of socialism. Willingness to westernize dominates creativity and pushes cultures to self-deprivation of memories that represent a particular type of human and intellectual experience.

What dominates is an imitation of global cultural and artistic trends intended to provide for a person's own individual place in a larger context of European or global culture. It is often forgotten that the global cultural space is best entered not through imitation, but by promotion of authentic local creativity. Transition does not seem to inspire creativity in societies burdened by poverty, disorganization and all kinds of social problems. Rich capitalist societies are the destination that creators and the best professionals would like to reach. Their inspiration is the fight for survival.

However, in the region itself some strong cultural initiatives and trends are more than visible: growing literary and book production; revival of film industries; growing industrial production of music, etc. While exporting creators, the region is importing cultural products. New habits in cultural life and cultural consumption are being developed. They may bring some artists and top creators back, or establish a climate in which some new film-makers, writers, dancers, actors, etc. may develop. However, they will be already at the other end of the transition period.

Some memories, sometime, may survive fast cultural changes, and they may be preserved in institutions (museums, libraries, specialized associations, etc.) or in some cultural products (books, films, music, video, etc.). The artifacts standing for the symbolic value of transitional cultural creativity may thus become subject to future evaluation and inspiration.

The structure of cultural contexts

What may be the structure of cultural contexts? They appear to be wider than cultural spaces, and to overlap freely. If they are interpreted as symbolic spaces, they include an assessment of symbolic meanings.

Cultural contexts change quickly during social transitions. Quick changes make them open and flexible. They take in many external influences, and become vulnerable, to the point of self-extinction.

There may be individual, urban, regional, continental, national, ethnic, etc. cultural space. If it exists as a notion, then cultural transitions represent a movement from one to the other, or among different cultural spaces. In this respect, cultural transitions represent a change of cultural values, a change in the way of life and of understanding of the human position in society and in the world. Of course, different cultural spaces have different structures, even if they are built up of similar elements. That is why they are inter-changeable and adaptable. They provide for multiple cultural identities. All this is reflected in a certain type of cultural life or a way of life.

The contents of cultural space may further be ranged geographically. In this respect “psycho-geography” may be mentioned⁷ and definitions like “urban”, “national”, “regional”, etc. applied. These are helping to understand the temporary structure of cultural contexts, prompted by notions of cultural spaces. In this respect contexts also remain much wider, and include notions of cultural values, cultural identities, cultural histories, etc. By this they indicate that the importance of context is inherent to the understanding of creative cultural works and cultures.

Cultural transitions

We have discussed here changes of cultural contexts and cultural transitions, trying to point out some elements of specific Southeastern European cultures.

It should be noted that cultural changes and cultural transitions are of a different range and type. Cultural changes are usually analyzed in relation to cultural development. However, cultural transitions cannot be fully identified with cultural development. They are of much broader scope, and represent a rational decision to choose among the existing values, or among models, or even among different cultures. Cultural development stands for a possible creation of some new values that we cannot recognize in advance even when we are trying to follow particular models or ways of development. If by any chance during a cultural transition something new is discovered or created, this is an additional asset. Cultural development might, in relation to cultural transitions, be identified with particular cultural changes that may lead to new creativity, but not necessarily to new cultures.

Cultural transitions therefore represent overall and systemic changes of cultures and cultural contexts, or even of the overall social contexts which end up with the transition from one to another culture. Such changes may be standardized to a certain extent, but they always result in making cultures ever more different. How the emerged differences are seen and identified is, of course, a very complex problem. It is not reflected only in the fact that people live differently, create in a different way and start using different cultural products and cultural values, but also in the fact that they see their life and the world in general in a different way. All this is linked to and

⁷ In a recent interview to *Jutarnji list* (Morning paper), the British author Tony White speaks about “principles of psycho-geography and situationism”, which result in the incorporation of texts (like graffiti) or the type of language (particular dialect, or the way of speaking) into literary texts. Acceptance of such an approach to writing and to literature illustrates the need of and practice of contextualization of any artistic and cultural activity. Of course, this also points out a necessity to de-standardize codified approaches to creativity, and opens the door to an ever more and individualized approach to cultural creativity and cultural consumption in general. See: “Nisam autentičan jer se jezik brzo mijenja” (I am not authentic, because the language changes quickly), *Jutarnji list*, Zagreb, 15.9.2004.

reflected in the overall social change, particularly in the change of the system of social organization of a society.

Cultural transitions in Southeastern Europe have already implied very many cultural developments, as well as the cultural change that is contextualized in overall social and economic transition. After fifteen years of reforms and efforts to introduce and implement changes in all spheres of social and economic life, new cultural structures are barely discernible. It is impossible to say what kind of culture is now emerging out of reshuffled national cultures, broken identities, reaffirmed national values and strong tendencies to enter global cultural trade and exchange.

Most organizational and financial aspects have definitely changed: cultures are not strongly ideologically influenced; the role of the state as an organizer and financier of cultural activities has both diminished and changed; cultural authenticity has been openly questioned as value determining cultural creativity; cultural production is increasing constantly, but its quality remains unassessed, particularly in relation to the small and rather unstructured markets.

The initially defined direction and aim of cultural transitions are lost or redefined. It is definitely not clear where exactly they may lead, and it is also less clear what used to be the background and starting point for cultural transition. After the breakdown and deep (transformation?) crisis, Southeast European cultures are slowly recreating themselves, which happens in a rather changed developmental and social context. Some of the elements of such changes are very welcome (increased openness and flexibility, increased communication, emergence of markets and trade), some are not (rejection of authenticity, willingness to imitate, deep existential uncertainty, fast proliferation of cheap effects, etc.). But, although particular changes may be identified to a certain extent, the large picture of Southeastern European cultures is not transparent, and it is impossible to say which values they have adopted or developed, and which have become obsolete and forgotten.

This proves that transitional processes are still underway and that cultural transitions are going on. The overall social and economic context has been changed, and the cultural contexts are being repositioned. There is indeed a certain parallelism between overall transitional change and cultural transitions. But, transition is not reflected evenly and equally in all spheres. Therefore possible influences between the two parallel lines may bring surprises and challenges, and need to be followed carefully.

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Toward the New Public Culture

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“Democracy depends on a public sphere, and must be reached largely within it. Public life must offer a realm of social solidarity and culture formation as well as critical discourse. This is needed for the nurturance of a democratic social imagery as much as for informing any specific policy decisions”. (Calhoun, 2002: 169)

“Much of the world’s population might be left only its cultural practice as a means of survival. Therein lies the irony”. (Elyachar, 2002: 512)

“The predatory actions of capitalism breed, by way of defensive reactions, a multitude of closed cultures, which the pluralist ideology of capitalism can then celebrate as a rich diversity of life-forms” (Eagleton, 2000: 129-130).

“For more than a century, culture has been viewed as a matter of ... pastness – the keywords are habit, custom, heritage, tradition. On the other hand, development is always seen in terms of the future – plans, hopes, goals, targets. This opposition is an artifact of our definitions and has been crippling.” (Appadurai, 2001: 1-2).

“[T]he basic partition is not between general and restricted production of culture or between high and low culture: rather the dominant partition suggests a core-periphery split as the basic organizing principle” (Anheier, Gerhards, Romo, 1995: 882)

“Qu’est-ce qu’un décentrement? Avant tout, une capacité critique, un regard distancié sur soi” (Mongin, 2002: 324)

Introduction: the challenges to public culture

The public cultural sector represents the capability of a community to get different people into a common space of dialogue and co-operation by means of all forms of culture, i.e., patrician, plebeian or alternative (Eagleton, 2000: 129). Currently, more and more heterogeneous people enter the public space and put their demands on it, especially in Europe. Such a development requires both conjoining and upgrading the capacities of cultural and other public policies in order to cope with the obstacles to such a process. The main obstacle comes with the outbreak of inter-communal conflict and violence. This is actually impeding the process of democratization in more than a hundred countries in the world (cf., Fox, 2001), and also invalidates the achievements of public life in pre-conflict periods (cf., Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis, 2002). Another obstacle to the growth of the public sector is caused by privatization on the basis of commercialization, which gains its momentum in the current shape of the globalization process. It amounts to a pressure on the public sector to downsize its institutional and spatial scope, particularly its competencies in the economy and management. Still, privatization of formerly public assets is currently endorsed by many governments, for it has become one of the major sources of state revenues, especially in former Eastern Europe. On the other hand, some damaging effects of this transition are barely recognized as such. One of them is the narrow interest of private investors, mainly focused on exquisite slices of public infrastructure in urban cores, while avoiding destabilized communities and peripheral areas (Feist, 2000). Since poverty and unemployment are often congruent with ethnic or racial segregation, in this way the privatized economy indirectly reinforces the (private) mentality, i.e., ethnic or racial prejudices, serving to sustain the segregation. The public sphere, on the other hand, is normatively based on the opposite values informing social opening, conflict mitigation, solidarity and civic ties stretched across group boundaries, different forms of economic co-operation, expanding democratic dialogue and democracy learning (cf., Habermas, 1989; Ku, 2000), and, last but not least, entertaining new forms of artistic and cultural experiences in order to consolidate social, economic and political qualities of the public sphere. Yet, the actual interface between cultural elitism and commercial enterprise, mostly manifested in the politics of arts festivals (cf., Waterman, 1998; Trasforini, 2003), apparently leads to a compromise between an involutionary state-governed culture and an expanding profit-making economy.

This paper provides some arguments in favor of further growth of the public sector in culture, which may bring together different cultural stakeholders, various economic interests and a heterogeneous public into a common space of dialogue, cultural production and expressiveness. For this purpose, the concept of the “new public culture” (NPC) is propounded. It outlines, in terms of the ideal type, a host of

different qualities needed for the further development of public infrastructure and policy, from building a continuum of public spaces to providing symbolic tools of cultural governance. In particular, it stresses the importance of cultural diversity and inter-communal dialogue (Council of Europe, 2003), as well as decentralized policy and (inter)regional cultural co-operation (European Cultural Foundation, 2003), as prerequisites for the further development of public culture, especially in peripheral areas of Europe, which cannot outgrow new centers by imitating the metropolitan areas.

Given the fact that most countries (in Europe and elsewhere) occupy peripheral positions in the current centre-periphery model of cultural prestige and development, the motives of current policy change, marked by the expansion of privatization, are seen as alien to the cultural sector in these countries. The cultural sector basically reflects a teleological sense of the world composed of nation-states. These are understood as the final product of the historical development which crystallizes the collective (national) wisdom and power. The new wave of privatization cum globalization, however, has undermined these assumptions as much as it has lessened state competencies in different areas, including culture. By the same token, the (collective) purpose of culture becomes less clear and less certain than ever before.

The cultural purpose at stake: outlying sources of policy change

In most countries the cultural sector enjoys permanent state protection. This vested right is based on the assumption that culture provides the symbolic source of national identity. In turn, the state takes permanent care of the main cultural institutions (Gellner, 1986; Miller, 1995). Culture thus provides the strongest case for “methodological nationalism” (Beck, 2002), that is the assumption that a collective power resides in a nation, which makes it resistant to supranational forces, including globalization. Policy changes in the last two decades, however, have resulted from factors outside the cultural sector and beyond the reach of national policies of most countries in the world. These factors are privatization, commercialization and third sector independence. Although they do not seem to dissolve the “marriage” between state and culture, the rise of commercial privatization diminishes the pre-eminence of culture as the state’s “bride”,¹ and of the public cultural sector, respectively. The latter seems to be reduced to a format which is ornamental and basically incapable of taking care of a growing number of young artists and cultural professionals condemned to remain outside the protected zone and to look for their opportunities in the tiny field of the competitive market. As a result, a new “new deal” between the remnants of the “old statism” and the blossoming “New Economy” is seemingly emerging. Nevertheless, the deal is tacit rather than explicit, for it cannot be

1 The metaphors “marriage” and “bride” are taken from Gellner (1997: Ch. 7)

legitimized in terms of market failure or in terms of cultural sovereignty. In the case of market failure, it would be necessary for the state to intervene in favour of all contenders whose capabilities are approximately equal, but who cannot afford to obtain some appropriate funding outside the public sector. However, in the present condition it is virtually impossible for the state to intervene in order to re-compensate for new losers in culture. As far as cultural sovereignty is concerned, the state should have provided clear criteria as to who is entitled to obtain national pre-eminence among institutions, artists or experts, and who is not. Instead, some extrinsic criteria, such as tradition and loyalty (very often in combination with clientelism) are employed, in order to draw up the borderline between protected and non-protected. Yet, the question of legitimacy of change remains substantial but basically unanswered. For example, why do states in Eastern Europe maintain national theatres or museums, but get rid off industrial companies, thus leaving many workers without jobs? Is it true, or just a truism, that the former have preserved their intrinsic value in the face of the new economic rules, and the latter have not? It rather seems that cultural elites have preserved their old privileged ties with current ruling political elites, while trade unions or workers have not been able to achieve this (cf., Szelenyi and Szelenyi, 1995).

The new rules have willingly been embraced by domestic economic elites, especially “shock-therapists” (Bockman and Eyal, 2002), but not by social majorities and not by the core of the cultural sector. The actual response of the cultural sector to this challenge, however, is largely defensive. Its rhetoric conveys a mixture of intrinsic and extrinsic arguments. The cultural sector is said to represent the safe haven against the tidewater of the ephemeral and also against foreign cultural hegemony. Is the cultural sector powerful enough to fulfill these two missions? There is no evidence of that so far.

On the other hand, cultural actors rarely see the New Economy as suitable for culture. When artists in Romania, for example, propose that the entire cultural sector be put on the free market track (cf., Suteu, 2003), this looks more like a desperate reaction than a rational proposal. Nevertheless, it reflects the precarious position of someone, i.e., the artist, who is pushed to swim in cold water without a protective garment. Also, although freelance artists direct many complaints against the new policy, as in Croatia, for example, particularly because of the prerogative of the cultural ministry or its councils to withhold state financial support for some applicants without a proper explanation, the artists admittedly have no idea as to how to close the gap between the state-protected and the free-market area in culture (cf., Agotic, 2003).

The actual zero-sum condition of funding for most cultural contenders in new democracies is also the result of their differential historical trajectories. These areas

used to be provinces of foreign empires, and it was the achievement of national independence that gave them a sense of empowerment. Yet, the nation-state is not a trump card for the successful development and accumulation of international prestige. Thus it became impossible for the majority of new democracies to boost the dividends of their cultural heritage via international cultural tourism, for instance. On the other hand, many Western countries possess world famous cultural-historical sites, whether cities or arts museums, that owe their splendor not only to the personal talents of their founders, but also to the infrastructure of their empires, which laid the “royal grounds” of the first modern nations (Therborn, 2003), and paved the way for multi-layered “global cities” (Smith, 2003). In most other countries the cultural sector could not meet the lucrative requests of the New Economy. To close the vicious circle, the newly emerging private business sector in these countries saw the cultural sector as a remnant of the profligate public sector. Such pressure seriously diminishes the financial resources of the cultural sector, as much as it removes local barriers to global free trade. All this in turn revives the notorious hierarchy of cultures, which predates the era of nationalism, where high cultures coincide with high-income countries,² and popular cultures with low-income countries.

Thus, the polarization between cultural protectionism and liberal trade can hardly be conducive to genuine cultural interests. In lieu of a self-assertive strategy, cultural policies, both in Western and in Eastern Europe, try out a variety of moves. One goes forth-and-back with decentralization (Heiskanen, 2002), yet without a clear policy objective (Katunaric, 2003). The other combines the importance of cultural policy with other policies in order to enhance the strength of the public sector. A good example of this is the “Declaration on intercultural dialogue and conflict prevention” (CDCULT, 2003). Its topical statements are fine-tuned with cultural diversity and social cohesion, that embellish the most important aspects of public life in heterogeneous communities. Nevertheless, instances where diversity is preserved and further cultivated through dialogue across dividing lines are chronically rare. Hence they have to be created by means of new programs and practices of dialogue and interculturalism.

Another example is the cultural diversity campaign of UNESCO, which represents the biggest contribution to cultural policy self-reliance as well as general awareness of the importance of culture in global development, thus leading to the growth of protective regulation (Smiers, 2003). At the same time, the whole dynamic has been gripped by the World Trade Organization (WTO) divisions that have in turn regenerated the old geo-cultural landscape. Its upper layer is actually being split into

² Except in the cases of the former empires, such as Indian, Chinese, Egyptian, Mexican or Peruvian, who have lost their battles with Western colonial empires, but whose historical sites have preserved their magical attractions for (mainly Western) tourists.

Anglo(-American) and French-German-Spanish camps, and these are accompanied by their allies in the vast peripheries, whereas just a few countries – such as India, China and Brazil – have resisted such realignments mainly thanks to the sizes of their domestic markets and their own cultural industries.

Obviously, the emerging deal between global trade and state protectionism has no positive ramifications for cultural development in most countries, including the Southeastern European ones. Would it be possible, then, to elicit a transformation or just a conservation of public culture, i.e., its confinement to a minimal protection of national languages and a few monuments? The New Economy preference is pretty much clear in this regard. It is to convert as much public space into commercialized private space as possible, especially locations adjacent to the most exquisite cultural sites protected by the state. The free-trade pressure exacerbates conservative reactions with a bleak status-quo perspective on the part of the cultural sector. This way a landscape is created with the old nobility and a new gentry, where the former represents national interest in culture with the remnants of the former public sector, and the latter private interest in the economy. Does this situation bring the end of development of public culture as such or just the public culture that we have known? One cannot predict the future, of course, but further development of public culture is conceivable.

Conceptualising the New Public Culture³

As a term, “public” is difficult to delineate in academic theory (Warner, 2002), as much as the concept of financing public culture (Hofecker and Tschmuck, 2003). Public culture may thus encompass a broad set of organized activity taking place outside the private sphere of life. Also, activities other than cultural ones are communicated in producing public art and similar cultural performances. Furthermore, some privately organized, and commercially driven, activities may have a strong impact on public space, yet in a negative rather than a positive way. Current expansion of privatization via globalization seriously threatens the public and democracy by virtue of merging the idea of *citizen* with *consumer* and *freedom of choice* with *freedom of selling-and-buying* (Barber, 2004). Similarly, the likelihood with which social divisions caused by economic inequalities or urban segregation of the poor are translated into strategies of ethnic or religious divisions threaten to produce a long-lasting divide within the public sector. Both the divisional politics and

3 What follows in the next part is a reflection on a problem that is so big and controversial that it seems futile or “utopian” to deal with it. Yet, it would be too easy to give up faced by its magnitude. On the other hand, the pursuit of practical solutions implicated by the concept of the NPC presented below surpasses the capability of the author and probably also his generation of researchers and policy makers.

the commercialized economy represent collectively extended private domains basically unwilling to communicate and co-operate outside their yet very narrow circuits of interest and action.

In the next section a conceptual distinction is made between the “old public culture”, based on the family-state-market triangle, and the “new public culture”, based on polygonal and a-centric structures. The former takes the shape of acting/pretending and “masks”, as Richard Sennett epitomized public faces with figures from the Paris high middle class milieu as narrated in Balzac’s *The Human Comedy* (Sennett, 1977: Chapter 8). The public sphere thus served mainly to conceal, rarely to sublimate, primordial, i.e., pre-political, urges, or to exhilarate these by means of the mobbing crowds as described by mass psychology at the end of 19th century (cf., Moscovici, 1985). The new public culture generates qualities that are opposite to the former, and these can be epitomized by James Ensor’s picture *The Entry of Christ into Brussels in 1889* (more properly with its masterful interpretation provided by Jonsson (2001)): a carnivalesque “swarm” of people, moving through a square with no respect toward habitual social hierarchy and central figures, obviously inspired only by the reappearance of the archetypal leader of justice, who is, however, first among equals and may stand for path-breaking art directors and cultural managers. This scene may well represent the meaning of the public sphere in its most complex and most inclusive form of human social interaction, that reminds one of Emile Durkheim’s notion of modern society as the “organic solidarity”, basically a-cephalic and boundless, without firm national boundaries and spared of deeper social divisions (Durkheim, 1960). This form of social structure and culture further evolves by coalescing new waves of different publics and communities, who find their own ways to reach each other, but primarily through using art and cultural events for gathering and socializing. Public culture thus consists of a set of norms and values found within various communities, which make them able to understand and respect each other, and which condone creative expression⁴ as the best way to communicate. Addressing others in a creative way, including through humor, has positive meaning because it does not show derogation, threat or any other sign of hierarchical behavior, neither subjugation nor superiority, but an enrichment of “horizontally” ordered individuals, communities and cultures. These capabilities give form to the public sphere as a human categorical imperative, and not merely as a realistic category marked by divisional interests and eternally waging conflicts (cf., Ku, 2000).

4 Note that in Ensor’s case the “masks” are the original creations, not the surrogates, for human persons, according to him, do not conceal their “real” character when gathering in crowds (Jonsson, 2001: 10-11), but reveal it, which is also in accordance with newer research that refutes the “transformation” theorem of the old mass psychology (cf. McPhail, 1991).

To enable further development of public culture as a complex commonality of interests and their expression, arts production and cultural events must become crucial activities, yet avoid monumental significance and narrative patterns of metropolitan cultures, whether world empires or nation-states, and also stopping those formats of the cultural industries that target mass consumption by distant and anonymous people. The NPC is focused on the revival of the sense of local culture in the peripheries which cannot, nor wish to, outgrow new centers. The outlook for the development of the characteristics of the NPC is hampered by the ongoing processes of privatization of public space and by the tendencies towards division of multiethnic societies into parallel worlds of basically docile multitudes.

In Figure 1 characteristics of the two types of public culture are presented. The two columns represent ideal types rather than (real) types in the sense that the new incorporates the old, and vice versa, as they do not cancel each other out in practice. Also, some characteristics predominate in some sections and not the entire public sphere. Actually, the NPC characteristics predominate nowhere, although some, such as infrastructure, financial sources, or legislation, are more developed in the West. In other regions niches of the NPC are created mainly due to the activities of NGOs.

Generally, however, the new must not always be better than the old. This is notorious, for example, with the principle of lean production, which replaces mass production (and surpluses), but leaves many workers without jobs. Another example of the negative effects of the new is the EU-regime of external borders, where the borders that constitute the nation-state are shifted outwards, as a result of which some characteristics of the old public sphere are reproduced, for instance social exclusion and segregation (of outsiders), gate-keeping in arts and in cultural funding by increasingly restrictive criteria, over-bureaucratized control of immigration, etc.

Finally, the above dichotomy is teleological and counterfactual, rather than causal and descriptive. In other words, it envisages a new layer of public culture without providing any evidence of its evolution within the old layer. Perhaps some future research and policy projects, which take into account some of the conceptual aspects discussed below, may provide such evidence.

Fig. 1: Old and New Public Culture characteristics

	Old Public Culture	New Public Culture
Space/time	Capitals, major cities, major squares, "sleepy" provinces cum villages usually mobilized either to reinforce or subvert central political order (e.g. nationalism); on the private side, home-centered, eventually "televised", daily life, takes an overwhelming part of the individual time-budget.	Reducing polarity between urban and rural, public and private spaces, via continuums of infrastructures, activities and higher participation in public life; transversal communication and co-operation between (former) provinces; time-economy is polyvalent.
Needs	Paternal figures providing protection and leadership in public space, and maternal figures in home space	Equivalence and reciprocity, mutual care, co-operation and equality both in public and private spheres.
Economy	Mass production for mass consumption in homes or in public gatherings, provided by monopolistic companies. Developmental gaps expanding that cannot be reduced or closed.	Lean production for diversified public or consumers, provided by immense number of different producers. Products, exchange values and growth continually redefined according to a variety of different values.
Technology and media	Work and media patterning of one-way movement of products and messages, and of "special authority" of media as a technical instrument.	Work and media technology, including ICT, as instruments for the attainment of goals that constitute individual freedom, joy and solidarity with others at the same time.
Society	Rising socio-economic inequalities provisionally compensated for by popular vote and universal suffrage - a "stretched onion" structure. Vertical borders and horizontal boundaries tend towards eternalizing, with an emphasis on gender gap.	Socio-economic inequalities compensated for by relatively high standards for minimal threshold / poverty line - "diamond" structure. Borders and boundaries tend to be softened or transcended with desegregating gender relations.
Politics	Populist and majoritarian democracy	Pluralist democracy, minorities protected and respected.
Identities	Categorical, mono, exclusive.	Relational, multiple, inclusive.
Sociocultural capital	Bonding; crowds/mobs; borders/blocks; verticality	Bridging; "swarms", networks, oval/global; horizontal
Arts and aesthetics	Monumental; gate-keeping by/for white/Western/male creators and producers.	Expanding margins of creativity and productivity among vast and heterogeneous population.
Expressiveness	Pretending; masking of private interests.	Spontaneity, sincerity
Legislation	Either too complex and bureaucratized or deregulation prevails in favor of releasing free-market, yet monopolistic, arrangements.	Simple and non-sizeable aimed at stimulating creativity and productivity via both free-market, mixed and state arrangements.
Governing	Mainly centralized or polycentric to protect elite qualities in traditionally pre-empted or new pre-selected instances via administrative or arm's length bodies.	Decentralized; expanding number and kinds of participants in policy-making via enlarged and mixed bodies.
Management	Managers appointed by government or by private owners/stakeholders. Managerial results directly dependent on employers' actual demands.	Managers elected by various constituencies and are oriented to meet, by consensus or by negotiation, demands of many different stakeholders as well as public/customers.

Considering the qualities of the NPC

Toward a continuum of the public spaces

Traditionally, and particularly in rampant, populist democracies, major squares and streets mainly serve for public gatherings for celebrating the benchmarks of public institutions, from parliamentary elections to church holidays, or expressing their disagreement with governmental policies. In a more balanced economy and polity, where economic and political resources are more evenly distributed, the public space is usually occupied by commercial and similar functions demonstrating gentrification of urban places, rather than agencies, projects or playgrounds counteracting social atomization, ethnic polarization, and urban disintegration (Nylund, 2001). Strategies such as the choice of the annual European cultural capital, for example, can hardly be a substitute for such a policy. This is not only because such ventures cannot financially be managed outside Western Europe, but also because they are not really focused on divisive issues, whereas urban areas, and old urban cores in particular, are taken over by commercial privatization (cf. Zukin, 1995). In Eastern Europe likewise, rather than investing in policies that eliminate the roots of social exclusion, the “urban renewal” policies are often exercised mechanically, by moving beggars and other newly marginalised elements far away from tourist routes and sights. The new urban landscape is thus reshaped to please both commercially driven interest in urbanism and the new middle class customers that prefer virtual and socially “cleansed” places, rather than a socially contested landscape open to regeneration and reform, in which all parts of local society are actively involved.

The concept of “civil society” was designed to recreate the social process and fill the gaps created by commercialism and by old public culture steeped in elitism and/or ethnic division. A compilation of comprehensive definitions of “civil society” includes “institutions, organizations, networks and individuals (and their values) located in between family, state, and market...” (Bevan, 2003: 128; cf., Robinson, 1996; some definitions include “families” as well - cf., Persell, Green, and Gurewich, 2001: 206), which “can significantly determine or inflect the direction of state policy” (Taylor, 1995: 208). Yet, it is difficult to establish at what point NGO’s activities influence state policy to a significant level. Even when such influence may be demonstrated through figures indicating high civic participation, for example (Putnam, 1993), it cannot be taken other than as a descriptor, since it is not yet clear why or how a higher level of democratic participation can be achieved (cf., Portes, 1999; Rossteutscher, 2002), especially when taking into account that the level of civic participation is declining in the old democracies (cf., Putnam, 2002), and also that donations in the old democracies designated for funding civil society projects in

the new democracies are increasingly hampered by cuts in public expenditure via tax reductions and similar mechanisms.

Furthermore, newer critical thought on urbanism sees diversity as an ambiguous aspect of the city, for it gives rise both to tolerance and to indifference (Sennett, 1994). Generally, the new eulogy of city and urbanism procured by the renaissance of urban theory in the 1990s (Nylund, 2001; Landry, 2003) is hardly innovative, as it did not remove the bias entangled with the dichotomy between urban liberalism and rural collectivism. One should remember, for example, that urban growth and liberalism have succeeded at the expense of a decline in individual farmers’ agricultural production, which in turn has nourished nationalism and other (quasi)collectivist (yet urban-born) ideologies. It is similar with the symbolic residence of the national imagination in *Heimat*, i.e., the “native regions” in the countryside (cf., Häyrynen, 2003). Nevertheless, the most flawed assumption is that ethnic and similar conflicts necessarily originate in the rural *Gemeinschaft*, allegedly incapable of making compromises, an assumption which is refuted by well-documented research (Varshney, 2001; Sekulic et al., 2004).

At last, a civil society makeup, which by definition should have existed in the interstices between family, market and state, is barely visible in the Western urban landscapes either. Ethnically or racially mixed areas of conversation, co-operation and play, as well as gender, yet non-sexual, intercourse, are there reserved mostly for media performances, including TV-shows, which can be both exemplary inducements and smokescreens. The spaces of immediate communication across the boundaries of the old social groups - families, ethnic or religious communities, professional organizations and political parties - are sparse mostly because the need for them and their perception of others have remained rudimentary, while the quest for unreal others has expanded. This hunger is satiated by the media, especially Hollywood Majors, thus reconnecting the old public culture with the New Economy. The latter targets the projections of the Self encapsulated within the social milieu of the former.

Hence, creating a continuum of public spaces mediating between private/real Self and ideal/unrealized Self is a must for the NPC, especially its economy. It may facilitate the reshuffling of human needs that determine the qualities of production and consumption, ambiances in workplaces, and also determine the shift towards building a bridging social capital that has remained rudimentary in the old public culture. Some other basic aspects of the public sphere economy are discussed in the next sections.

Consuming what, where, when and with whom?

Consumerism is a worldwide phenomenon spreading from the West to the rest of the world. To the latter it represents the most desired aspect of the West. So, American cultural industries, primarily movies and TV shows, take the lead in international cultural consumerism concurrently with MacDonaldisation in international fast-food chains (Stearns, 2001).

The American cultural “food” industry basically triggers the same reflexes as the old myths or religious pantheons, i.e., emotions that are biologically autonomous and cross-cultural, such as fear, anger, anxiety and happiness (cf., Goleman, 1996). Often, they are provoked in an artificial way through simulation of a suspense, i.e., without real cause in the immediate surrounding. While the classic theatre reintegrates such an excitement in the terms of the Aristotelian poetics of catharsis by putting the dramatic moments back into conversation and interaction in a living public ambience, mass entertainment avoids this recurrence by cutting off the lateral links of communication. The emotional effervescence that is stimulated is projected onto the screen within the immediate surroundings, irrespective of what is happening on the screen, as the projection precludes communication in both directions, i.e., between public and the stage and between individuals in the audience. The design for the containment of hormonal stimuli in such a condition, where the individual recipient is virtually singled out, is essentially simple, and it must be so in order to be received. It is designed as a visual or narrative cliché that corresponds to fetishism, religious, sexual or any other, and with popular stereotypes as well. More complex or ambiguous emotional attitudes, in combination with social and other real stimuli which involve a rational response in order to be properly decoded, are likely to reject cliché or substantially reduce its appeal. Mass psychology describes a reverted tendency by which a cliché of a person, group or event, i.e., a poor copy of the original persons, groups or events, elicits response of univocal sympathy or antipathy (Moscovici, 1985). Such a stereotypical figure of the other accompanies the individual beyond the ordinary cycle of early socialization, like a doll for mature persons, through a lifelong conditioning mainly through media images. Individual resistance to such stimuli declines regularly, especially in the evening, when exposure to primetime TV broadcasting is strongest (cf., Castells, 1997).

Thus, the old public culture creates a strong urge to escape from one’s immediate surroundings and experiences with different persons and events into a virtual, yet biased, representation of others and accompanying events. Privatization of cultural consumption, whether in homes or commercialized facilities in formerly public places, mainly serves to reinvigorate the primal longing for cliché, which is a substitute of the corporeal other by the essentialized other. The latter represents a

thing rather than a person, for it is supposed to respond unconditionally and without delay to mastering desires of the consumer. While the corporeal other resists or counteracts such a tendency - ultimately, he/she sits, stays or runs next to us and is thus contiguous and interdependent with our thoughts, speeches or actions - the media consumer is typically disconnected laterally and in all other directions except the one that leads to the mediated signal. Thus, the former maintains the tension necessary for a democratic equality in public, and the latter restores a subterranean world of master-slave relationship and a propensity toward the “eternal childhood”. This tendency is cultivated by content providers of most blockbusters in the film industry. Its regime of comfortable pictures easily reduces the complexity of the living environment into a simple and petrified one. As such, it merges with forms of religious iconography as well as totalitarian beliefs in a simple, dichotomous, immutable and miraculous world (Gozman and Etkind, 1992).

We may hypothesize that people sharing the NPC characteristics are less, or not at all, attracted by such contents. This may have to do with their higher level of education as well as their social and emotional maturity in conversation and co-operation with different people, thanks to which they may have crossed the border of indifference and generated a vision of the others which cannot be retrieved into a cliché. It may also be hypothesized that the modern popular iconography, which is produced mostly and most successfully by Hollywood Majors (Germann, 2002/2003), is concomitant to the American way of life which is more provincial and home-centered than in Europe. In European movies, for example, both antagonists and protagonists are more realistic and authentic than in typical Hollywood movies. As well as the European film aesthetics this feature of the European film can also be explained by the authors’ will to communicate with a public that is mature enough to accept rather than ignore real others. Nevertheless, the fact that contemporary European movies are generally much less popular among mass audiences in Europe than are Hollywood movies, indicates that the European mainstream audience is also submerged into a pattern of privatized life prone to receive a stereotyped vision of the other. It seems, therefore, that spatial containment of the old lifestyle - family and work supplemented by one or two public places (shopping and church-going) - leads to the growth of consumption of visions of the unreal other by means of lucrative cultural industries. This outcome, however, is less likely to be the result of poverty, but merely the lack of choice caused by inadequate education and a public life organized mainly around political rallies and religious ceremonies that reinforces the fascination with leaders and/or superhuman figures. Moreover, when poverty is eliminated, people seem to prolong, rather than cease their search for exit in terms of escapism and disconnection. The real others, whether parents or peers, are replaced basically because they remind the escapist of unpleasant aspects of their life with the others, mainly the experiences connected with abandonment or subjugation.

Consumption via increasing monetary power and the solitary life, surrounded by growing stocks of things, provide such a “splendid isolation” from corporeal others or unpleasant aspects of them. This makes unlikely the rise of “postmaterialism” (cf., Inglehart, 1997), and of charitable and unpaid or non-monetized work (cf., Williams and Windebank, 2003) for others, or lifestyles favorable to *juissance* in culture-cum-social goods, i.e., creativity and happiness with and for others. On the contrary, “[a]s the convergence of media spectacle and corporate power reshapes popular culture, it simultaneously atomizes social life and undermines the public sphere” (Boggs and Pollard, 2001: 176). Also, the intrusion of private pleasure into the public arena, which was the achievement of the 1968 student rebellion in France, for example, has been recuperated by the global economy of experience and happiness in the meantime (Kristeva, 1995).

There is no conclusive evidence, however, that this distraction by “bread and games” has extinguished people’s desires for meeting real others via public places. Nevertheless, the most delicate aspect of establishing the new sequels of public culture is the same as the one which constituted the rise of the old public culture. It is, namely, the “tyranny of intimacy” (Sennett, 1977: 337-340) that should be avoided, which practically means that a public place should not be a replica of home, the workplace or any other place. The new register of public spaces might be similar to the precariousness of the solar system which provides conditions for life on Earth due to a long process of appropriation of the eclipses. Too much “intimacy”, thus, might scorch the life, and too much distance might make it freeze. Basically, all human relations, from child-raising to trade arrangements, are conditioned in the same way. In the main, colorful nuances are constitutive, not parameters, and this is where (and why) arts and culture (should) enter into public places: to facilitate the fine-tuning of relationships in a triangle between people and things and between people. The same pattern is constitutive of the economy as well, where money/commodities mediate between people, yet hardly in order to balance monetary with non-monetary social relationships, but rather to discourage the latter in order to put the former into transaction.

The added values of the NPC economy

The economic functions of money and commodification are coupled basically with the same psychological functions as consuming images of virtual otherness. Money gives the opportunity to escape from immediate, but frustrating, social surroundings or experiences, and substitute them with a more pleasurable, but controlled situation. This includes the restoration of the authoritarian relationship by monopolizing financial resources and/or hiring others for menial or subservient roles. Historically, however, the reification via the monetary economy, including monetized exchange and commodification of social relationships that were non-monetized previously,

was constitutive of the grand process of social emancipation. This process - for those, of course, who succeeded in earning enough money to “buy” their freedom - has relaxed social ties constitutive of authoritarianism simply by reducing or precluding the dependence and attachments to patriarchal/patrimonial figures such as fathers, chiefs, kings, company bosses, political leaders, etc. It has also substituted strong ties for weak social ties (Granovetter, 1982), thus making it possible to buy someone’s attention or attachment, however pretended or blasé these might have been (Simmel, 1918; Sapelli, 2000).

It was also the historical merit of the Fordist as much as the Bolshevik state - and the French Ministry of Culture under Andre Malraux and Jacques Lang in the cultural sphere, respectively (Simonin, 2003) - that they have re-compensated for the lack of monetary power in the lower social strata by granting these relatively inexpensive economic and cultural goods, thus enabling a relaxation of the authoritarian grip on micro-social spheres, first of all families, where the emancipation of women was facilitated thanks to their entering into job markets or the public sector bureaucratic economy. Nevertheless, the economic functions of public culture have been considerably diminished meanwhile. The new tide of privatization seemingly neutralizes the added value of the old public culture, aiming at creating value exclusively through monetary exchange. The latter shapes a puppet-like rather than human other, restoring at the same time pre-democratic relationships between proprietors and dispossessed.

The added value of the NPC is likely to result from the rehabilitation of non-monetary exchange and not-for-profit activities. Also, products delivered for new public events will more likely be manufactured or serviced by local companies than global corporations or their local branches. Emotional maturity of the vision of and experience with others, underpinned by social interactions via cultural activities and participation may give way to the rise of a “libidinal” economy in the sense that the demand-and-supply of products and services outmatches qualities and proportions of purely commercial and for-profit-production and consumption, for the former is based on interpersonal attractions and local flavors. The added value will be manifested in building a healthier, more educated, lovely, and socially cohesive milieu that is also open to external entrepreneurs and other actors whose assumptions of culture, economy and social life are similar to or compatible with designers and protagonists of the NPC. Likewise, the advantage of domestic produced goods may be achieved in a free exchange in the markets of information, narrative, feelings, and tangibles with people who already know each other or are willing to meet some different other, yet again without the “tyranny of intimacy”.

ICT and media in the service of local development

Development of complex realities composed both by cyberspace and by material space may provide new opportunities to provincial towns and villages to achieve a level of economic development and democracy by cultural means. However, unlike the “global city” and its “deterritorialized form of proximity” which disconnects professionals from neighbors and co-nationals on behalf of profitability, whether financial or other (Sassen, 2003), and thus exacerbates local inequalities and injustice (McGuirk, 2003), cyberspace in this case may be used to engender local economic opportunities and democratic life. This includes the sending of warning signals when local democratic processes are endangered, and circulating appeals to artists and architects to employ their creative ideas in such places. This is particularly important for smaller places, where corporations and local governments are not faced with a critical mass of democratically, culturally and ecologically aware citizens, but only a few people with such awareness.

On the other hand, presentation of local cultures of different countries or European regions through specialized TV satellite channels (such as the experiment with a Southeastern European version of the French-German “Arte-TV”, for example), may give an impetus to the rise of local cultural identity and diversity and its use as “brands” for a new set of industries and markets, from cultural to tourist.

Last, but not least, building a virtual presentation of a place and transmitting traditional local knowledge of it may become a subject of exchange between different communities in one or several regions and between different generations, the older and more face-to-face oriented and the younger and more “face-to-screen” oriented. In the first case, the rationale is to circulate an inter-cultural knowledge, and in the second an intra-cultural knowledge. In both cases, the significance of the local is concurrent with the global.

Socio-cultural capital underpinned by arts and aesthetics of a new (European) Babel

The use of arts as a means of communication between different communities and/or cultures advances equal treatment and horizontal links in the new (European) Babel, without Towers, but with many new bridges. The bridging social capital denotes civic, mostly associational, linkages between different communities (cf. Putnam, 2002; Varshney, 2002). Also, unlike the bonding social capital in traditionally conservative communities, this one is not based on socializing “girls... to fear the streets as dangerous spaces”, where they “are understood as defiled, sexually permissive, bad girls that transgress gender roles prescribed by state... patriarchal ideology” (Kong and Law, 2002: 1511). This fear of others and the open (public)

space is less widespread in urban agglomerations in Europe than in some other regions. This fact may be a good starting point for emulating the interfaces in the new European assembly of cultures and peoples. They can meet each other in a space safe for inter-gender and other intercultural communication. For the bridging social capital to consolidate and to contain old distractions, however, business, trade and other interest-based associations between different communities are not sufficient unless they show the creative face of their cultures, primarily by way of the arts. This is particularly important in the economic crises which may easily lead to a breakdown of economically supported interethnic links. Artistic and other cultural self-representations may be used continually as a “reminder” of some better times, thus reinforcing trust in the coming of a better time in the future alongside an actual weakening of the utilitarian links.

Such a new context for culture may provide a good opportunity to rehabilitate the national *Volksgeist* as well as the symbolism of race, as art forms devoid of expressions of xenophobia or political antagonism (e.g., the brothers Grimm with their stylization of popular fairy-tales, or the Senghor’s celebration of “negritude”). The new “mask”, nevertheless, must not be romanticizing either. It may be self-disclosing as well, even self-caricaturizing and ugly, provoking some disdain among compatriots. Nevertheless, the proper representation of such a face before others in the public place - others, notably, who are also willing to demonstrate their different faces via artistic performances, exhibits or talks - is what may bring formerly divided communities into a conversation that increases the likelihood of their mutual tolerance and respect both in upward and downward cycles of development of their economies and societies.

Institutions and governance of the NPC

Institutions of the NPC should be open to various artists, experts, professionals and audiences, and to different sectors, with a common objective to expand public participation and enhance circulation and communication between different publics. Consequently, local cultural governance fosters participation in culture at a higher level in which a palette of cultural stakeholders spans from artists from different branches (painters, musicians, industrial designers, etc.) via managers educated in cultural economics to entrepreneurs interested mainly in artful design of their products (cf., Mucica, 2003).

The NPC institutional practice may introduce a new series of symbolic tools, mostly different categories of prizes or tenders, aimed to stimulate the development of the NPC. For example:

- “the best audiences” in the categories of “best mainstream”, “best of medleys” - when or where the pyramids of mainstream and high-brow tastes overlap (prizes of a jury and prizes of audience coinciding);
- evaluations for audiences given by performers and for participants given by co-ordinators;
- a decade of building sites and sounds of the NPC;
- “festivals of re-conciliated people” (e.g., within the ongoing Council of Europe’s “City of Dialogue” program);
- “champions of multicultural employment”, “champions of durable jobs”, “most successful courses in pre-qualifications”;
- “best teamwork”, “happiest teams” (measuring job satisfaction in work teams featured with artist(s)), “best company work climate”;
- “biggest charity donors”, “champion(s) of art donations”;
- “best guest-artists”, “best artists in voluntary work”, “best scientists/researchers in arts teams”, “best artists in research teams”;
- “most plentiful in public spaces”, “best arranged public building”, “ugliest public building”, “best looking facility in the private sector”;
- “best foreign-born member of trade union”, “champion(s) of ecumenical dialogue”;
- “best public performance(s) in the open air”, “best political rally”, “most decent mass demonstration”; etc.

In lieu of conclusion: Euro-zones and the NPC

Europe, which is the cradle of the “forum democracy”, seems to be also the only region in the world where coupling of the growth of public culture with further development of democracy may still find its supporters in politics and culture, and probably in some parts of the business community. Also, some parts of Europe are not necessarily more prone or, on the contrary, less eligible than others to further development of the public sphere.

Europe can conceptually be divided into cultural zones in two different ways. One is “horizontal”, which is determined mainly by geopolitical history and by religious divides drifting through history (cf., Cuisenier, 1990). Thus, the South/Mediterranean zone is Catholic, Orthodox and in part Islamic. Central Europe is mostly Protestant and Catholic, Nordic is mostly Protestant, and Western is composed of all major faiths, except Orthodox. These zones cherish some old, yet specific, traditions of public cultural life and also display affinities to new forms of it. Besides, they are culturally heterogeneous, and also sometimes mixed. In particular, Southeastern Europe is an area where a variety of Central European, Balkan and other

Mediterranean cultures are settled next to each other and in combination. Such instances may be found in Romania, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro, and elsewhere. It is similar with ethnicity, for most countries are multiethnic. Eventually, most of Europe is secular, and it is the secularity that makes its public space strong and basically capable of integrating communities traditionally divided by religion or nationality. How will new experiences with EU-enlargement, or with pending integration of some countries into this zone, affect public cultural spaces in this region? Likewise, how will the growth of international trade and the growth of economic liberalism paced by the WTO, affect the public spaces? Is there a qualitative difference between the two processes of opening toward the international community? If such differences exist, which of the impacts are more favorable for the development of public culture?

The other, “vertical” divisions of Europe have to do with its “time-zones”, i.e., the historical sequences of the establishment of nation-states, which coincide with the level of their development, both democratic and industrial. This is not incidental, however, since the consolidation of nation-states in former Eastern Europe, unlike most of Western Europe, was complicated by an ethnically mixed composition of population in the countries in this area, especially in Southeastern Europe, where ethnic cleansing was an unfortunate, but predictable, method of forming the state according to the (original, i.e., Western) nationalistic idea. Yet, the NPC has to do with the opposite process, that is the bringing together of different communities and cultures, this time devoid of hegemonic tendencies. Also, the rise of the NPC must not be opposed to economic growth or liberalism in general, but to the level of privatization of various spheres of public life in terms of commercialization without proper criteria as to the quality of products or regardless of its social costs.

The NPC as a concept may also be applicable to areas in Europe, and Southeastern Europe alike, which have no major cultural industries, but who cherish a tradition of celebrating culture in public places, or are willing to create some new forms of such activities. Of course, some “ripe” pockets of post-industrial economy and postmodernist attitudes in developed European countries, such as “slow cities” (cf., Landry, 2003), can be taken as good examples for less developed peripheral places in Europe as well. Nevertheless, if Europe, as a growing whole, could ever create a vision of an alternative path of development based on “soft power”, and of “slow motions” and sustainability of different dimensions of life, respectively (cf., Schleicher-Tappeser, 2001) - and would, furthermore, and fortunately so, fail “to create its cultural, and symbolic, other” (Soysal, 2002: 275), i.e., the “enemy” - thus providing templates for development in terms of the NPC, this might become an agenda for European cultural policy, both internal and external. Such a combination of economic growth, public policy and international relations may foster opportunities for various peoples and cultures to meet, co-operate and share many goods in a creative, peaceful, stimulating and democratic environment.

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Transition in Culture in Terms of Reconceptualizing the Role of the State, the Profession and Civil Society

Vesna Čopič

Preliminary Reflections on the Governance of Cultural Institutions

Even though Slovenia, as a part of ex-Yugoslavia, belonged to the socialist world, it had one foot in Western Europe already, which we have to bear in mind while reading this text.

This was thanks to:

- Yugoslavian open frontiers;
- the introduction of market rules into the planned economy;
- the replacement of state property with common property and the recognition of private property; and
- an attempt to use self-management as a means of compensation for the one-party system.

These characteristics brought it closer to socialism disguised in the form of a welfare society. This claim is made with some reservation: the tolerance of the Yugoslav authorities was only conditional, a kind of repressive tolerance, as the Party could always interfere in self-management. Nonetheless, in the case of Yugoslavia, we could talk about a quasi-market, a quasi-democracy and quasi-private property. Cultural policy was shaped accordingly: in this original, self-managed cultural model there was an autonomy of cultural institutions and an original cultural policy decision-making system developed, based on the "at arm's length" principle. All this needs to be said because this quasi-situation exposed the very problem I go on to discuss here: what transition means in the area of cultural governance.

According to the highly personal view of Czech Otokar Roubinek, conditions that marked the transition in the field of institutions (for example, theatre) can be

described as follows (Schuster, 1997: 262) “We are now living in the strange period of transition, in which the old models, institutions, laws and regulations continue to exist, through they have ceased to function, whilst their replacements are still in the process - slow, painful, cautious process - of creation. ... the old system of permanent contracts and fixed relations between institutions, in which no-one was judged for results, has led to dislocation of moral and professional values. Over the past forty years it has gradually become morally acceptable to pick up one’s pay packet without doing anything in return. ... Within this system whole generations lost their sense of enterprise, boldness, independence, responsibility, pride, professional expertise and imagination ... Many people never even considered the idea that these things might be different, that they themselves might have the power to decide otherwise.”

Transition, as a rupture with the past, requires the re-defining, or at least the re-examining, of the values and relationships created in the formally abandoned system. Transition should be distinguished from an ongoing harmonization with the demands set by changing conditions and development. It is not just a process of simultaneous adaptation and adjustment to new situations, but a conscious change from the circumstances brought about by one socio-economic and political system to the circumstances typical of another. Doubt concerning the legitimacy of the paradigms prevailing in the past, therefore, is *legitimate*. It is the underlying premise of transition.

If transition means a changeover from socialism to a capitalist social order, talking about the end of this period in Slovenia would be too hasty - insofar as public institutions are concerned. As the underlying conceptual value premises on which the status of public institutions is based, are unchanged, transformation of the status of so-called activities of special social significance into traditional, western-style public services cannot, and in fact has not, even started. *This is a sector that preserves the philosophy of the past socio-political system, based on a weak state, stigmatization of the bureaucratic apparatus and glorification of socialization and collectivism.*

These elements have their origin in Marxism, the theoretical foundation of the socialist state, and its understanding of the state as an instrument of domination and preservation of bourgeois privileges. Therefore the state should pass away. The concept of gradual extinction of the state emerged in socialist countries on the ideological premise that the state is a kind of “executive committee for the bourgeoisie”, which was reflected in a special understanding of the administration as a service to the elite. The results were two phenomena:

- shrinking responsibilities of the administration; and
- its de-professionalization.

This was done in two ways in Yugoslavia:

- by devolving authorities’ tasks to self-managing communities; and
- by transferring public services to so-called work organizations of special social significance.

The institution of public service in Yugoslavia was thus replaced by the institution of so-called activities of special social significance; public services were thus politically and organizationally taken from the state and transferred to the economic sector. While in capitalist countries public service, i.e. services in the domain of health care, education, social care, science and culture, which need to be provided continuously without disruption, were the responsibility of the state or local administration, in Yugoslavia they were separated from the state, devolved.

The idea of socialization through the transfer of social activities to interest groups or communities, consisting of service users and providers, failed to materialize: conceptually and economically. Why?

The users never really got down to expressing their true interests and were reduced to a more or less formal role in this relationship. In this situation the public institutions, in fact their employees, took advantage of the model and gained independence not only from politicians but also from users.

Regarding economic aspects there was not enough selectivity and setting of priorities in this model, which made it economically unsustainable.

Democracy was replaced by technocracy. Since top positions depend on political verification we can speak of top-down state corporatism as opposed to bottom-up democratic social corporatism. Devolution prevented the state administration from having any control in terms of quantity and quality of public services provision. Institutions thus became corporations. Instead of functioning as mechanisms for implementing policy approved at elections, they became potential membership clubs, dominated by various internal and external group interests. A number of important social activities, such as health care, education, culture, science, etc. were thus given over to a monolithic profession, organized in decontrolled service-providing bodies.

Had politics (i.e. the Communist Party) really lost its impact? Of course not: indirect and very sophisticated mechanisms were developed instead.

The system protected itself with:

- a dense, practically impenetrable jungle of self-management regulations;
- an incomprehensibly intricate socio-political system: i.e. delegation system;

- a sophisticated, but inefficient judicial practice.¹

Only by means of such deviation was the totalitarian party able to retain the function of supreme authority in its own hands in spite of the proclaimed decentralization of the system. At the micro level, it exercised its influence by means of verification procedures in the recruitment of managers in public institutions and self-managing communities (e.g. the required opinion on the candidate's socio-political correctness); at the strategic level, it ensured that all possibilities for informal intervention remained open in the form of persons of authority, who acted as an internal driving wheel, steering the new system onto the desired course.

Nevertheless it could also use its political teeth to introduce necessary changes and innovations into the system, which was very inclined to act as interest-colonized social space with little plots of garden. In short, in the best case it could perform vital functions, indispensable for progress. In this, albeit autocratic, manner the interest-oriented corporative spirit, known as a potential factor of stagnation and impediment to development, was overcome.

Who can play this crucial role now?

When the internal wheel was cast off with the introduction of democracy, the question of who would take over its strategic function and how, became central. In the name of professional autonomy, this function has been, or rather, is expected to be, taken over by the profession, while the role of the state should remain reduced to the provision of funds and material conditions for the smooth running of the public sector. Such an understanding of the state denies its own professional bureaucracy the right to get involved in substantial questions of policy making. Only professionals in public institutions are supposed to be qualified to set performance criteria and to decide when they have been achieved - since only such a twofold and exclusive role of the profession can prevent politicization of professional issues. In a society that has barely begun to disentangle itself from one-party rule and to shed the ideology, professional autonomy is a sensitive area and politicization the biggest threat. It makes it impossible to subject the professional autonomy of hospitals, universities, theatres etc. to any type of control without running the risk of it being condemned as ideological. It is practically insoluble, at least in the short term, because of the absence of an established civil society and almost complete dependence of the population on the welfare state.

¹ It is interesting that in spite of the ideology of state devolution, the principle that everything that was not allowed was forbidden, was still in force. Thus legislation, as the state's main attribute, was not devolved. On the contrary, it became hyper-productive. Bučar speaks about legislative "fever" (Bučar, 1998, 102) and sees organic law essentially as the legal protection of the ruling ideology.

The firmness of the glass ceiling protecting the profession from potential intruders and competitive views, has been further strengthened by a redirection of interests in politics, with economic issues in the forefront and social activities - especially those that have lost ideological charge, such as culture - arousing less interest in the social centers of power. Social activities have lost the internal wheel that used to be activated not only when political intervention and exemplary punishment of non-conformity with party directives were called for, but also in support of major investments and development. Stagnation in social activities is today indicated by the fact that an increasing proportion of the available public funds in public institutions are allocated for staff salaries and there is less and less money left for material expenses, which leads to an impoverishment of public sector programs and activities and represents a threat to their development. The fact that salaries have become the priority implies that, in social activities, social peace and not the performance of the activity justifying their existence, i.e. public service provision, has become the principal social aim. Thus in the field of culture we have to speak too often of social policy instead of cultural policy.

A major part of the society, on the other hand, has undergone tectonic shifts caused by privatization of social property, restructuring of the economic sector and denationalization, and has paid a high social price in the course of this process. It can therefore hardly be expected that the public sector should remain practically intact in this regard - especially if remaining intact means being untouchable. When analyzing "the obvious persistence of inefficient property rights", Douglas C. North states that the "ruling class does not want to oppose strong groups by introducing efficacious rules" (North, 1998: 59). Inconsistencies in the governance of public institutions are an example of the problems posed by the unresolved relationship of politics to the profession and civil society.

There are two levels at which the inconsistencies can be observed. The first is the level of legislation dealing with the status of public institutions, regulating their establishment, organization and functioning; the second is the broader institutional framework for the operation of public institutions, dealing primarily with public finances and public servants. The main reason for the weaknesses lies in the fact that it has not been resolved in principle whether public institutions are an extension of the state, i.e. an organizational entity by means of which the state provides its citizens with collective goods, or whether they are independent providers, whose services the state commissions.

The inconsistency of the national legislation regulating the status of public institutions, more precisely, of the Public Institutions Act (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, No. 12/91), is that it is meant to provide decentralization of public services by devolving execution of public services to autonomous entities, but

does not carry this idea through. Although it does grant public institutions an independent status and management structure, decisions on several of the major issues are reserved for the founders. Thus the founders have retained the following:

- definition of the purpose for which an institution has been established and the activities it is bound to perform; in the Founding Act the founder formulates the mission of the institution and thereby its strategic orientation, which is generally considered to be the prerogative of management;
- appointment of the director and the administration; in some cases (for instance in schools) the founder only needs to give approval to appointments; nevertheless, this represents a constitutive act and as such an infringement of the entity's autonomy;
- the public institutions' assets, accumulated in the course of 50 years prior to 1991; these became the founders' property under the Public Institutions Act (Article 65, paragraph 1); with this Act the ownership of all social property, controlled until then by work organizations of special social significance, was passed to the founders;
- the statutes; they have to be approved by the founders to come into effect, although they constitute a document regulating internal relationships, which by its very nature should manifest the public institution's autonomy;
- the institution's liabilities; if they exceed the disposable funds, they become the founders' responsibility; the Founding Act may only exceptionally stipulate that an institution has financial liability to repay its debts with the assets available.

The Public Institutions Act has thus preserved the institution of the founders' rights in entirety, conferring on the founders a lasting patronage of public institutions. A public institution is thus established, it operates and is terminated, exclusively at its founders' discretion. They exercise this right by defining the institution's purpose, through the appointed management and their representative in the organization's council, through the finances (the founders' budget is as a rule the major financial resource of the institution) and the Founding Act, defining all the essential parameters for its operations. This is not surprising in itself, since we are talking here about organizations that have been created by the state in order to provide citizens with public services. In this regard the public institution does not differ from "bureaus" or "agencies", the most common types of organization providing public services in capitalist countries. The problem arises when autonomy is attributed to such an organization and when it is given the status of an independent legal personality. Thus its formal status is in contradiction with itself. The concept has so-called systemic failure.

The ambiguity of the law of status in relation to public institutions, denying them autonomy, on the one hand, and explicitly recognizing it on the other, can also be found in the general legal regulation, which also applies to public institutions. It treats public institutions as an extension of the state, as part of its hierarchical organization, and in accordance with this, regulates them in a centralized manner. Therefore:

- public institutions are treated as direct budget users by the public finances system, which *de facto* means that through the act of financing the state decides about their program of activities;
- the public servants' system, with its promotion scheme that is fixed in advance and the classification of individuals according to profession and salary bracket, replaces human resource management or personnel policy.

These regulations, which contain not only statutory provisions but also executive regulations, actually deal with internal matters of formally independent legal persons. If, however, regulation of internal matters is effected by means of external acts, there is no real autonomy, and we can talk only about apparent or pseudo-independence.

The gap between the actual and the declared organization of public institutions is a result of many illusions, going back to the period of self-management when an enormous amount of energy was devoted to the attempt to ignore actual conditions in the name of some higher values. When illusions created in this way become so strong that outward appearances in fact replace reality, reality ceases to matter. While the majority is preoccupied with appearances, the minority seizes the opportunity offered by the ambiguity of solutions, which is a result of the disparity between the real and the formally recognized conditions. This ambiguity makes it possible for politicians to avoid responsibility and gives the profession and the class of operatives sufficient room to look for alternative solutions (Rus, 2001: 34). Given a set of fortunate circumstances, such a system may even yield good results; however, nothing can alter the fact that it has lost an important quality - predictability - and that the system does not control conditions; on the contrary, conditions control the system.

More importantly, the system is now without the internal drive to ensure that the *status quo* is occasionally disrupted by means of analytical monitoring, exposure of weaknesses and the introduction of the necessary changes and innovations. Thus stagnation is becoming a serious threat for progress and development.

Although in our time it is taken for granted that decentralization is good, we must bear in mind the real state of affairs, i.e. the only apparent (fake) decentralization of public institutions in Slovenia. Until the actual conditions are recognized for what they are, the need for change cannot be recognized and articulated. We must therefore begin with an analysis of the nature of public institutions, which means at the very beginning. The questions that need to be answered are: what is the essence of a public

institution and what does this mean for its autonomy? When the question of the constitution of public institutions is clarified, it will be possible to decide whether their present status arrangement, and especially their governance, is consistent with it. Only when it becomes clear what public institutions actually are in a capitalist system with representative democracy, can the debate on whether alternative, more up-to-date forms and methods of providing public goods necessarily emerge. I have in mind NGOs while for-profit companies are not an option.

The West has also seen in recent years the emergence of New Public Management and the ensuing corporatization of the public sector. But in a country in transition this step can only be taken at a later phase, after the change from the former organization of activities of special social significance to classic public services has been effected and new relations and relationships have been established.

Experience, especially our recent history, teaches us that false freedom is a terribly vindictive form of un-freedom and that the most reliable guide to freedom is interest unmasked (Kocbek, 1974: 112). Our aim, therefore, is not to discuss whether public institutions should be independent or not, but to establish that the present solutions, which on the one hand recognize a public institution as a legal person and, on the other, restrict its autonomy in all important aspects, are misleading and need to be clarified. Only then will it be possible to see qualitative shifts and to overcome the present situation of stagnation, when nothing happens and existing relationships are maintained with the minimum possible engagement. A clear understanding of the nature of public institutions, their position within the state framework, and acceptance of the ensuing limitations, will place the necessary pressure on the public sector so that the much needed changes - the introduction of entrepreneurial principles into state governance, making the state lean by restricting its fund-providing role - will become possible, perhaps even desirable, and the main actors will be prepared to accept - in the name of autonomy - more risks and more responsibility. This is the essential prerequisite for diversification of the public sector.

My basic hypothesis is that transition as the changeover from self-management socialism to democratic capitalism requires a re-conceptualization of the role of the state, profession and civil society with regard to public governance in the domain of public service provision.

An auxiliary hypothesis is that the transition to representative democracy requires de-stigmatization of bureaucracy and rehabilitation of the state.

My third hypothesis is that without clearly defining the legal nature of public institutions and the related changes in their governance, it is not possible to expect that these institutions can be restructured in the sense of Public Private Partnership

(PPP) and New Public Management, or that the non-profit non-governmental sector could develop - in short, in this case we cannot expect any changes similar to those experienced by the leading EU countries in the last decade.

Only a better understanding and a more detailed distinction of the differences between the concept underlying the provision of collective goods in the self-management system and the concepts on which different capitalist welfare states are based, can help us to identify and understand the problems involved in the transformation of public institutions. Investigation of the public institution phenomenon and realization that it presents a serious problem may lead to solutions that will finally depart from the self-management approach and will make the legal nature of public institutions more similar to the classic public service or public governance as functions of the modern state. This process must also envisage development in the direction suggested by the deliberative and participatory theories.

How is this achieved?

The process of socialization was based on de-differentiation. The state and the civil society became the same. Everything was absorbed by one apparatus, which was politically contaminated. The end of totalitarianism cannot consolidate this situation by leaving all responsibilities with the existing apparatus. There is a need for re-differentiation between state and civil society.

If we wish to see a change in the role of the state in the provision of public goods, it is necessary to de-stigmatize bureaucracy and to ascertain its role in modern state governance - since no modern state can exist without bureaucracy. However, not any kind of bureaucracy will do - it must be highly professional and enjoy public esteem to be protected from politicization. Under such circumstances, a strong, corporatized society will become a strength and not a threat: it will find in the professionally competent administration a partner with whom it can hold a specialist dialogue. Raising theoretical questions connected with the role of the state in mature capitalism and a multi-party system will also open up opportunities not only for rehabilitation of the state after the transition to representative democracy, but also for its assumption of responsibility for the current situation in the domain for which it is competent, i.e. the domain of collective or common goods provision. Our thesis, which advocates a strong state and a strong civil society, thus speaks in favor of a planned acentrical organization of modern societies (Makarovič, 2001: 185-7), seen as a result of their great complexity and strong functional differentiation.

The need for diversification of the public sector can be articulated only after public institutions have been transformed into executive agencies of the classic Western European type. Instead of effecting a uniform transformation of the former organizations performing social activities into public institutions, it will now become

possible to consider their transformation into organizations of a different status. If, because of the nature of a particular activity or the effects of market forces, the status of public institution turns out to be inappropriate for an organization, since it makes it too dependent on the state, alternative possibilities have to be opened up. The possible reasons for the status change are important in this context: the need for greater autonomy because of the nature of the activity, affirmation of civil society in the new social context, or seizing market opportunities. The transition from the public to the private sector must in this context not be seen as privatization; this would be the same oversimplification as when the former organizations of special social significance were snappily renamed public institutions. On the other hand, we also need to encourage development in a different direction in order to establish a public service administration model in which - especially at the local level - traditional public services will be performed by local administration in compliance with adopted norms and standards.

Last, but not least, the diversification process might provide the space needed for renovation of the civil sector in relation to self-organization, the historic roots of which were violently severed after the Second World War with the nationalization of institutions, associations and societies. During the denationalization process, these organizations - being legally "extinct" - were not given the opportunity to recover their capital and to resume the position they once held in civil society. By highlighting the issue of administration and management of public institutions, a public sector reform may be instigated in Slovenia, similar to the reforms implemented in countries with a long tradition of democracy and prosperity over the last ten years.

Broader relevance of the topic

The essence of political processes is acquisition, preservation and application of social power within the framework of competencies conferred for the regulation of social relationships (Bučar, 1981: 26). Systemic exchange, which regulates and defines who will engage in exchange relationships with whom, what they have to produce and under what conditions, and how the appropriateness and equivalence of the deal must be established, replaces free-market exchange. It is questionable whether the two types of exchange are equivalent; the latter is considered to be more objective due to automatic effects of the laws of the market.

Theory and practice are therefore showing more clearly their immediate relevance in the following questions regarding public governance:

- What can replace the law of value in areas that cannot be left to market regulation because of their social importance?

- How can we prevent political elites being replaced by social elites or, in other words, how can we prevent democracy from changing into technocracy?
- How can we minimize the uncertainty of the public service providers' position and, at the same time, prevent their alienation from the users?

These questions are connected with conceptual issues, currently dealt with by many theoreticians, such as the relationship between the principal and agent, the paradigm which shaped the public service model in Western Europe, the legitimacy of delegation of the competencies acquired in elections to other social actors. These are the questions that interest Western researchers in their search for a model of participatory governance (neo-corporativism) that would ensure congruence of competencies and responsibilities and answer the question of whether key tasks should be performed individually or collectively. This search for a new governance model is based on the European understanding of the principles of good governance (openness, participativeness, accountability, effectiveness and coherence). These are the five guiding principles adopted by the EU in the European Commission White Book on European Governance (Rub, 2002: 200).

Modern society is highly differentiated. Its various functions are so very specialized that we can talk about self-referential subsystems and an acentric nature of society. The decomposition of society into loose, horizontal, polycentric and heterarchic networks of part systems - in the domain of collective goods provision where systemic exchange replaces the market - raises the question of whether it can function without the involvement of various participants, i.e. in such a way that both the determination of the demand for public goods and their provision are assigned to a single subject - the profession. The absence of the other party in the exchange process leads to political irrelevance and, consequently, to a democratic deficit. Furthermore, Slovenia does not have a long tradition of proprietary rights; it was violently disrupted by the social property monopoly and the administrative method of ownership regulation, resulting in a fossilization of society and all the mechanisms that had existed before the socialist revolution. Citizens, as users of free public services (they are financed from the budget) cannot be expected to engage in an equal dialogue with public service providers because of their rational ignorance, their imperfect subjective perception, one-sided information and deficient specialist knowledge. Because of the exchange relationship we obviously need some institutions to stand between the authorities who have been given the mandate to manage public affairs at elections, on the one hand, and the numerous interest groups representing the profession on the other.

The key question posed by the transition in the public sector is the efficacy of the political market in the area of systemic exchange. Of great importance here is the

dilemma of whether the political system can intervene in sub-systems in the case of collective goods, which it is obliged to provide for all citizens? Politics must specialize in monitoring the sub-systems that provide these goods. To be able to do this, it must enhance its ability and mechanisms for processing and control of information, since only supremacy in the field of information can ensure it the critical reflection it needs to perform its role in relationship with sub-systems. This can be done only if it includes the most accomplished experts in its administrative apparatus in order to get the know-how and expertise required to perform its role in the systemic exchange. Even the advocates of systems theory (Luhman, Wilke), deriving from the self-referential nature of specialized sub-systems (systems referring to themselves and their own intrinsic principles, values and autopoiesis), regenerating themselves from within, recognize the right of the political system to intervene, exert its authority in relation to sub-systems (Adam, 1996: 125-6). *The profession in the providers' sector should be confronted with the profession in the commissioning state administrative apparatus, internal evaluation should be complemented by external.* The question of professional autonomy does, therefore, not only concern public institutions, but also the administration *in the process of its professionalization*. The crisis of the representative nature and legitimacy of the authorities and their increasing remoteness from democratic principles has lately instigated a great deal of research in Western Europe, which, on the one hand, aims at analyzing the factors of democracy and, on the other, attempts to find new agents to restructure the theory of democracy. The transformation of the activities of special social significance into public services and the related issue of the status of public institutions in Slovenia becomes relevant in this context.

All over the world, regardless of the context, the welfare state is now confronted with new circumstances, which put the paradigms of the past under question. The reform of the public sector, appearing in different forms and with different attributes, has thus become a universal priority in the last decade. The scientific relevance of this topic is in that it is applicable to many current dilemmas, dealt with by numerous authors from very different perspectives and theoretical approaches.

We are thus concerned with a social problem concerning the public interest, which is the responsibility of public politics. The problem of the public sector lagging behind in the process of transition, since public institutions are untouchable due to their self-referential nature and autopoiesis, because of which the political system is denied the right to supervise them, can be tackled by addressing the question of the existing system of governance of public institutions and of the law of status. Differences that appear in different types of social activities (education, health care, culture, science etc.) as a result of different treatments of individual issues by particular laws, do not matter; what is important, is the concept in itself.

The relevant issues in this context are:

- inclusion of public institutions in the system of public governance;
- definition of public institutions as organizational systems;
- highlighting the role of governance and management;
- examination of the supervisory and control mechanisms, controlled by the founders of public institutions.

Special attention needs to be given to the analysis of the different levels of administration, the political, professional and technical. The central points here are:

- the question of the relationship between the politics and the profession in collective provision of public services for citizens, which is the actual role of public service in all domains, including the domain of culture;
- the question of the relationship between the state and the civil society in provision of collective goods.

The answers to both questions must be placed within a broader theoretical framework, applying to:

- 1) the role of the state in modern society in terms of the problem of representativeness and democratic deficit (as specific elements of the present crisis in the developed democracies), on the one hand, and of the revival of the state and its administrative apparatus, on the other (once the idea of the extinction of the state has been superseded);
- 2) the role of the profession in terms of the search for alternative solutions which would bring corporatist organizations closer to democratic principles - as the premises of the democratic order - and to competitiveness - as the precondition for development and progress, without infringing their professional autonomy;
- 3) the role of civil society in terms of reprogramming its position in relation to the state and the profession.

Our concern is thus not just finding solutions for the usual dilemmas posed to society in the process of its adjustment to new circumstances or keeping pace with change dictated by time. We are dealing with transition, when solutions have to be sought within a new conceptual and institutional framework. We are not concerned just about a new façade, but about a completely new structure. This paper gives only a few preliminary ideas about what the new structure should look like. But at least one thing is for sure and it is that there is a need for *reconceptualizing the role of the state, the profession and civil society*.

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Cultural Production and Presentation

Mapping the Position of Cultural Industries in Southeastern Europe

Jaka Primorac

The attempt of this paper is to give an outline of the situation of cultural industries in the countries of Southeastern Europe (SEE). The region of SEE in this work covers the following countries: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania, Slovenia, Serbia and Montenegro, and Macedonia. The situation in the SEE region in the last fifteen years has been one of turbulent events in a transition period and the overall insecurity that accompanies them. Changing of regimes resulted in the constant task of redefinition and reassessment of the situation in the area as well as of the situation in the countries themselves. These above-mentioned countries are still going through a system change (from the former communist/socialist systems to the market economy system), and, with the exception of Slovenia, which has already joined, are all hoping to enter the EU in a few years. All these changes are intertwined with the problems of globalization as well.

When discussing the issue of cultural transitions in SEE, one of the areas largely affected by the changes that occur during this process is the area of cultural industries. This field has been rather neglected in the past, but the research in this area is highly important for the countries in transition because it can help them prepare for the rapid changes already under way in the age of globalization. In some countries the cultural industries (and their broader counterpart “creative industries”) are already *big* business, according to the World Bank in 2003 “[C]reative industries are estimated to account for more than seven percent of the world’s gross domestic product (GDP) and are forecast to grow on average by ten percent yearly (PriceWaterhouseCoopers, 2003)” (UNCTAD, 2004: 3). Already these industries represent a leading sector in the OECD economies, showing annual growth rates of 5% to 20% (EESC, 2003). In SEE one can notice the arrival of foreign cultural industries as *big* business - one of

the examples being the foreign, largely American film distribution. In this way local cultural industries are struggling to find their place in the local market. Although cultural industries have a long history in this region, one has to note that in the past in SEE countries culture was perceived as something coming from “above”: “culture was not just a matter of the state, it was owned by it” (Compendium - Romania, 2003: 1). Therefore what we now call cultural industries was mostly regulated by the state, that is, a single-party system, which is why this shift to independence of this sector is still proving to be rather difficult.

1. Defining cultural industries

Although the emergence of the term cultural industries comes from the critique of mass cultural production in the work of Adorno and Horkheimer, one has to add that its subsequent development, based on the cultural studies’ premise that culture is ordinary¹ shifts the stress to the importance of the need for analysis of popular culture both from a negative as well as affirmative stance. We have to add that in analyzing cultural industries one has to highlight the fact that cultural products are not like other products; cultural industries production at one level tackles not only the question of values and of meaning but also of economic benefit at another level. The cultural industries can make an impact on a community in two ways - through their content, and through their economic capabilities. As David Hesmondhalgh points out, the cultural industries are actually symbol creators and presenters of certain values; their influence on the public is highly important, as cultural industries are agents of economic, social and cultural change (Hesmondhalgh, 2004: 6). In this work the background of cultural studies shall be used mainly because of its positive outlook that it is everyday culture that should be at the center of research.

As has already been noted, the introduction of the term “culture industry” to cultural research started back in the 1940s in the work of Adorno and Horkheimer as a critique of “mass culture” and the standardization of all means of production, but above all the standardization of cultural production (Adorno and Horkheimer, [1993] 1944). The later utilization of the term “cultural industry” in cultural studies and cultural policy research shifts the stress in the direction of a more instrumental application of the term. The establishment of the use of the expression “cultural industries” in the plural took place during the Thatcherite period in England when the

¹ Raymond Williams is considered to be one of the fathers of cultural studies. His notion of “culture as a way of life” and “culture as ordinary” was first stated in his 1958 essay “Moving from High Culture to Ordinary Culture” that was originally published in *Convictions* (1958), edited by N. McKenzie.

economic potential of arts and culture was recognized in John Myerscough’s report “The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain” (Stanbridge 2002: 11). However, the key development of the term in the plural actually comes from the work of French authors led by Bernard Miége (1987) who wrote key works on cultural industries for UNESCO. Furthermore, we have to note that the term took the plural form (cultural industries) so as to signify the abundance of cultural production that occurred in the second part of the last century and to distinguish it from association with the negative critique of the term that Adorno and Horkheimer outlined in their work (Hesmondhalgh, 2004).

Taking all this into account, I am inclined to employ the definition by David J. Hesmondhalgh in which he states that “[t]he cultural industries have usually been thought of as those institutions (mainly profit-making companies, but also state organizations and non-profit organizations) which are most directly involved in the production of social meaning (...) they include: television, radio, the cinema, newspaper, magazine and book publishing, the music recording and publishing industries, advertising and the performing arts” (Hesmondhalgh 2000: 11). In some research the field has been known under the term creative industries. This term is sometimes used interchangeably, but it actually covers the broader sector of all products of creativity (including software production etc.). “The concept (of creative industries) emerged in Australia in the early 1990s but was given much wider exposure by policy makers in the United Kingdom in the late 1990s, when the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) set up its Creative Industries Unit and Task Force. In the process, the DCMS moved the understanding of the concept of creativity a long way from its common association with activities having a strong artistic component, to any activity producing symbolic products with a heavy reliance on intellectual property and for as wide a market as possible” (UNCTAD, 2004: 4).

Following Hesmondhalgh but slightly altering the scope of the term so as to correspond to the local situation, the cultural industries researched in this case shall be movies, books, the recording industry and the media sector of the countries of SEE. As I have stressed before, creative industries is a broader term than cultural industries, as it includes ways of creativity developed mostly by new technologies. Due to the current low impact of new technologies in SEE (which is nevertheless increasing every day as shall be stressed later) this model of “creative industries” in my opinion cannot be used in the region for the time being.

It should be stressed that research in this area is rather difficult due to the fact that there have been rather limited investigations on the subject. On the whole, the main objective of this paper is to present the trajectories of the tendencies that have been taking place in the SEE area in the field of cultural industries. The aim is to portray the facts and tendencies so as to inspire change and further analysis in the area of cultural industries, preparing the ground for the next step to be taken in the future, for example content analysis of the cultural industries.

2. The position of cultural industries in Southeastern Europe – data analysis of movies, books, recording industry and media

When debating the issue of cultural industries in SEE one has to stress that the new technologies are rapidly penetrating the region every day. To be able to participate in the production and consumption of cultural industries one has to have access to these new technologies. In order to give an illustration of the rapid changes in the development of this field Table 1 presents the data on Internet usage, and its penetration in the countries of SEE. What is also important to note is the included percentage of the increase in Internet usage. Table 1 gives an illustration of the rapid changes happening in the “internatization” of this region. Although access is still rather limited when taking account of the current penetration of usage (for example in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia it is less than 5%), nevertheless, if the stated increase in usage stays the same as in the presented area in the period of 2000-04, one can expect serious changes. As a positive example we can take Slovenia who in the “top 25” list of world penetration of the Internet, takes 22nd place with its 23.2% penetration of usage. As a comparison one has to stress that for Europe the average is 29.9% with user growth of 115.7% in the period of 2000-04. These developments of tools for creativity (and some of them are new technologies) that are increasing in this area, as well as access to them, can be serious indicators as to future changes in the cultural industries sector. But, as the data in the Table 1 shows, the state of ‘internatization’ is still critical in the region, with serious differences among countries.

Table 1 - Internet usage in SEE countries,
table based on data presented at: www.internetworldstat.com

	Country	Population (2004 est.)	Internet users latest data	Penetration of usage (%)	Increase in Internet usage (%) (2000-04)
1	Albania	3,074,600	120,000	1.0	1,100.0
2	Bosnia and Herzegovina	4,359,800	100,000	2.3	1,328.6
3	Bulgaria	7,888,600	630,000	8.0	46.5
4	Croatia	4,376,800	1,014,000	23.2	407.0
5	Macedonia	2,133,100	100,000	4.7	233.3
6	Romania	21,480,200	1,800,000	8.4	125.0
7	Serbia and Montenegro	10,519,400	640,000	6.1	60.0
8	Slovenia	1,954,500	750,000	38.4	150.0

(1) The European Internet Statistics were updated on June 14, 2004.

(2) The demographic (population) numbers are based on data contained in gazetteer.de.

(3) The usage numbers come from various sources, mainly from data published by *Nielsen/NetRatings*, *ITU*, and local NICs.

As already noted, the cultural industries analyzed in this paper are the movie, book, recording and media industries (by the latter I mean broadcasting and newspaper publishing). One has to add that when entering the analysis one encounters a series of obstacles. As previously mentioned, one of the first obstacles is the lack of data on any of the cultural industries in question. The existing data is usually not structured, while the existing structured data differs from country to country in its structure, which makes comparison quite difficult. However, using the research that has been conducted on a larger scale, for example “World Culture Report - Cultural Diversity, Conflict and Pluralism” as well as “Cinema and Audiovisual Media: A Survey on National Cinematography”, both conducted in 2000 by UNESCO, the Open Society Institute analysis of the book industry in this region, as well as databases dealing with data on audiovisual production - LUMIERE and KORDA (projects of the European Audiovisual Observatory), one can come to some valuable conclusions for this analysis while abstracting the data concerning the SEE² region. In addition other sources of data have been used such as the National Statistics Offices of the countries in question, as well as the Internet World Statistics data.

² We have to take into account the fact that some of the surveys are already outdated in the way that the name of Yugoslavia is taken as representing the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which now exists as Serbia and Montenegro.

Table 2 - Cultural industries production in countries of SEE (1996-2003)

	Country	GNI p.c. (2002) (US\$) ³	Population est. (2004)	Books – number of titles per year ⁴		Movies – number of produced movies ⁵		Radio transmission (hours) ⁶		TV transmission (hours)	
				1996	2002*	1996	2002*	1996	2003*	1996	2003*
1	Albania	1,380	3,074,600	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	13,870 (2002)	N/A	11,315 (2002)
2	Bosnia and Herzegovina	1,270	4,359,800	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
3	Bulgaria	1,790	7,888,600	4,840	6,018 (2002)	7 (1997)	6 (2002)	314,773 (1997)	525,511 (2003)	261,816 (1997)	498,091 (2003)
4	Croatia	4,640	4,376,800	3,879	4,298 (2002)	7	16 (2003)	480,514	870,795 (2003)	30,701	75,657 (2003)
5	Macedonia	1,700	2,133,100	N/A	-	2 (1997)	2 (2002)	N/A	622,382 (2003)	N/A	338,166 (2003)
6	Romania	1,850	21,480,200	7,199	10,159 (2000)	11	6 (2000)	80,065	96,033 (2000)	13,095	15,296 (2000)
7	Serbia and Montenegro	1,400	10,519,400	5,381	4,643 (2001)	4	16 (2001)	544,000	1,004,000 (2001)	77,615	291,324 (2001)
8	Slovenia	9,810	1,954,500	3,441	3,917 (2000)	4	9 (2000)	319,530	471,167 (2000)	64,420	89,111 (2000)

* Unless otherwise stated, I have to add that I have tried to obtain the latest data wherever possible, instead of using the matching but older data.

a) Movie industry

When discussing cultural industries one of the first associations with this term, and the most popular one, is the movie industry. In the region of SEE there are many structural problems connected to this area of production and its research, but the first and the most evident manifestation of these problems is the lack of new models of funding. The difficulties with new financial models are not the only manifestations of structural problems in the movie industry, but they are one of the reasons why the actual production of movies in this geographical area is rather small. According to UNESCO “Cinema and Audiovisual Media: A Survey on National Cinematography” (2000) (hereafter UNESCO Survey), all the countries in the SEE region belong to the group of “small-producing countries” that create between one and nineteen movies

- The European Internet Statistics were updated on June 14, 2004.
- Data is collected from the National Statistical Offices/Institutes of countries in question. The list of offices and their websites is given in the bibliography. The comparability of data is nevertheless debatable, as the methods of obtaining the data are not always clearly stated.
- Data is collected from National Statistical Offices/Institutes. For Bulgaria and Macedonia the data is taken from the European Audiovisual Observatory Yearbook 2003 - Volume 3, Table 10.1.
- Data for radio and TV transmissions is collected from National Statistical Offices/Institutes.

per year. That group contains 72 countries of the world that are UNESCO members. This group of “small-producing countries” is rather diverse, including countries as different as the Netherlands, Namibia, Norway, Belgium, Australia and Cameroon. As can be seen from the Table 2 that is based on more current data on the movie production in SEE countries, the available data tells us that the production of feature films did not exceed sixteen movies per year. In order to put this data in the context of the world movie industry, one must note that the country with the largest number of movies produced is India with 839 movies per year on average; the USA produces 385, the UK 78 movies, while Norway makes twelve movies a year and Belgium seven (UNESCO Survey, 2000). As I have stated before, the numbers reflect the number of feature movies, while the number of documentaries, short movies and animated movies was not taken into account. The situation at this level of movie production is different as the cost of making these types of movies is smaller.

The summary of the overall situation in this cluster of countries, however different these countries may be, presents a gloomier picture of the financial constraints and structural problems that were already noted earlier. The central issue underlining these problems is the fear that “[u]nfair international trade practices might also diminish domestic production” (UNESCO Survey, 2000), although there is hope that the new digital technologies will create less expensive production opportunities in these countries. One has to note that in this cluster of 72 countries with small production a certain dichotomy appears, as the cluster is constructed of “[t]he poor and highly populated nations, and on the other, the richest countries with a small number of inhabitants. Most often, they never had a structured cinematography sector at all” (UNESCO Survey, 2000). The SEE countries fall in between these two clusters but they are suffering from the above noted problem of financial constraints (as film production is mostly state-subsidized) and therefore of rather small, unstructured production.

Not only is the financial position of movie production seen as a problem but the outdated equipment and the difficulties with distribution of the movies (in and out of the country) present a rather complex problem as well. There was a tendency to close down a large number of cinemas in the area of SEE at the beginning of the 1990s and the disappearance of different “Cultural Centers” where movies were usually shown in smaller towns. All this had a strong impact on the movie industry. For example, the number of cinemas in Albania dropped from the 1991 total of 65 cinemas to 25 in the year 2000 (Compendium - Albania, 2002). Another example is the drastic fall in numbers of cinemas in Croatia during the last ten years - from 273 in 1990 to 143 in 2003.⁷ This can be attributed mainly to closing down cinemas in smaller cities (the already mentioned disappearance of state-owned “Cultural Centers”) as well as the closing down of unprofitable cinemas due to the privatization of cinematography

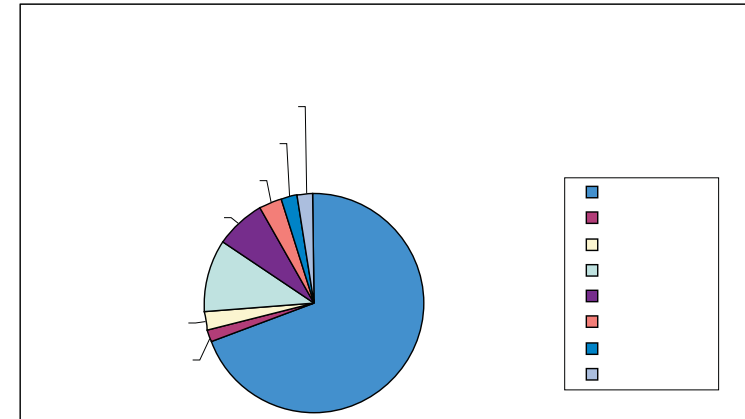
⁷ The data for cinemas were collected from National Statistical Offices/Institutes unless otherwise stated. For Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina the data was not available at National Statistical Offices, so it was taken from Compendium web-site.

distribution. The same reasons can be attributed to the reduction in the number of cinemas in other SEE countries: in Romania in 1990 there were 4,637 cinemas out of which 595 were cinemas and film installations for normal films, 3,959 cinemas and film installations for narrow stripfilms and 83 were mobile cinemas. In the year 2000 this number dropped to 279 cinemas in Romania out of which there were 270 cinemas and film installations for normal films, 2 cinemas and film installations for narrow strip films (a drop of 3,957 cinemas and film installations!) and 7 mobile cinemas. Slovenia also experienced the drop in cinema numbers - in 1990 there were 140 cinemas, and in 2003 there were 78. In Serbia and Montenegro there occurred a similar situation - in the year 1990 there were 398 cinemas while in 2001 the number dropped to 167 cinemas. For Macedonia the situation was similarly drastic: according to the European Audiovisual Observatory (EAO) in 1996 there were 40 cinemas, and in 2003 the initial number was almost halved, a drop to 23. In Bulgaria in the period between 1992 and 1995 the number of cinemas fell from 300 to 153 (European Commission, 1996: 45), and in 1996 it dropped even further to 146, while in 2003 numbers increased slightly to 149 (National Statistical Office of Bulgaria, 2004).

The newly established SEE distributors of foreign (mostly American) movies saw an opportunity to gain profit from imported blockbusters. They channeled their financial interest through multiplex cinemas, and in this way they have been neglecting national cinematography. Some provisions in cultural policies have thus been created in order to present consecutive obligatory showing of domestic productions, for example for five days in the cinemas (Compendium - Albania, 2002). Moreover, the fears are not unfounded when we look at the data on the distribution and admissions of SEE movies in the EU countries. Bearing in mind the overall production of movies per year in the area (i.e. up to eleven on average (UNESCO, 2000)), the data from the LUMIERE database at the Audiovisual Observatory for movies in the SEE area presents us with a rather disappointing picture.⁸ On the basis of this data, for the period since the year 1996 the EU audience, through officially registered channels, has viewed two Macedonian movies, one Croatian, one Bosnian, five Albanian, nine Serbian, ten Bulgarian and twenty Romanian movies. Other admissions vary accordingly, but usually and unfortunately are in thousands rather than tens of thousands (LUMIERE, 2003). As an illustration of this impact of admissions of SEE films to the European film scene Table 3 presents the breakdown of admissions in the European Union market to the origin of movies in 2002. As can be seen, the largest percentage is taken up by American made movies -

⁸ One has to note that the work on this database is still in progress, so there might be some data missing. "The coverage rate for a particular country in a particular year is calculated by comparing ticket sales recorded in the LUMIERE database with total admissions published by national sources and collated by the observatory" (see "Admissions" table in the *Observatory's Statistical Yearbook*). For more info: <http://lumiere.obs.coe.int>.

65.76% (of which, as the EAO stresses, 4.73% goes to *Hurry Potter 2*), while the section taken by other movies (of which the SEE movies are part), is only 2.07%.⁹



Therefore, the chief structural problems surrounding the movie industry as part of the cultural industries in Southeastern Europe manifest themselves mainly as the problem of funding. Funding is primarily state subsidized, but other models are still in the making - a large number of movies are now made as co-productions, which is seen as one solution to the problem. In connection to this, one has to stress the problem of outdated equipment and difficulties in obtaining new items. In addition, with the disappearance of state cinematography chains and "Cultural Centers" there was a drastic cutback in the number of cinemas, and this accounted for the lack of respectable distribution channels for movie production (either domestic or foreign) within the countries, as well as abroad. The SEE films are rarely seen out of their home countries, and their presence is rather marginal in the European movie market.

b) Book industry

If one takes the book industry circumstances into consideration, one has to note that they are as multifaceted as the ones surrounding the movie industry. A tradition of a serious reading culture and cultural identification through books is stressed in several

⁹ One has to add that of EU countries surveyed by this analysis only two SEE countries were taken into account (Romania and Bulgaria).

countries' policies: Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Albania (Compendium, 2002), but the complexity of the historical situation has taken its toll in every country. Bearing in mind that the book industry was mainly state subsidized it now found itself in the situation of an open market and competition that created new problems.

One of the problems for the progress of the book industry in most of the SEE countries is the tax system connected to the book industry. Although in some countries the books are exempt from VAT, for example in Romania and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the others still impose certain taxes on books and Albania has still not signed the Florence Accord and has a 20% tax on books (Compendium - Albania, 2002). However, the cultural policy solutions for the improvement of the book situation at state level will probably take a U-turn when states of SEE enter the EU. This, for example, happened to Slovenia who had to increase the VAT on books to the EU level as part of the integration process (Compendium – Slovenia, 2003).

Additionally, the problems continue due to the fact that other parts of book production are taxed so that at the end of the production process the price of books is still too high for the average buyer (monthly salary in Albania is 100\$ and the average price of a book is 6\$). In Bulgaria and Romania and Bosnia and Herzegovina the situation is similar: 100\$ monthly salary and 3.5\$, 1.6\$ and 5\$ average book price respectively (Publishing Surveys, 1999). In addition, some of the countries are struggling with the low quality of the domestic production of paper for books (Romania, Bulgaria) so that the printing has to be done abroad, which also increases the price of books due to the fact that the customs tax has also to be included in the final price of the book. Furthermore, the problems of the book industry are partly the result of the fact that some publishers are not paying their taxes and are therefore creating unlawful competition (for the Albanian example, see the Council of Europe's "Albania Cultural Policy Review - Albania, National Report", 2000). They are also not depositing copies of books for the archives. Moreover, one has to note that the number of publishers can create a distorted image of the publishing situation in these countries as some of these so-called book publishers only put out one or two books on the market at the beginning of their existence and have since then actually ceased to exist as publishers, dealing with different forms of commerce instead (examples of this were found in Croatia, Albania, and Bulgaria). Furthermore, as the data in the Publishing Survey (1999) suggests, there are a lot of really small publishers. For example, in Macedonia there are 630 registered publishers out of which only 20 have published more than ten titles (Publishing Survey, 1999), and in Bulgaria there are 1800 registered publishers and only 40 have published more than 10 titles. Therefore, the number of serious publishers that could be considered as creators of a serious cultural industries sector is much smaller than can be suggested at first when looking at the number of publishers. Moreover, for some countries it is quite difficult to obtain the trade statistics on the book industry as the publishers and

distributors are reluctant to offer the real data.¹⁰ The number of titles published per year can also give us an insight into the situation in book industry. As seen in Table 2, there has been a small increase in the number of published titles in the last few years in comparison to the mid-1990s. Unfortunately the new data for Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia is not available.¹¹

One can also note a peculiarity of the system - the numbers of titles have increased but upon a closer look at the circulation numbers one can note a rapid decrease. For example in Bulgaria in 1996 there were 4,840 titles published, in 2002 the number increased to 6,018, while the circulation of 20,317,300 copies in 1996 dropped to 5,616,000 copies in 2002. In Romania we notice the same pattern - the number of titles increased (in 1996 there were 7,199 titles published and in 2000 - 10,159 titles), while the circulation of titles dropped (in 1996 this was 38,374,000 while in 2000 it dropped to 11,267,000). In Serbia and Montenegro the situation is a bit different - not only did circulation numbers drop (in 1996 there were 16,669,000, and in 2001-6,189,000), but the number of published titles dropped as well, as can be seen from Table 2.¹²

On the other hand, like in the movie industry, the SEE countries are struggling with book distribution, especially with ways of reaching the market, since there is a small number of true bookstores - the books are usually sold in shops that also sell stationary and toys (this occurs in most of the SEE countries as noted in cultural policy reports (Compendium, 2002)). Moreover, if one reviews the market the question arises as to the quality of these editions and of their versatility. For example, the books that are sold on stalls outside in the big cities are mostly bestsellers. Another interesting example of the peculiar book distribution is the book exchanges (Kingham, 1998). Considering the book mailing service it should be noted that it is still in its development stage as well as the e-book market sector.

The data on the book industry gives us some idea of the complexity in the sector and the need for a thorough re-evaluation that would bring about some further changes, both from the grassroots level as well as from the cultural policy level. In the difficult economic situation the cultural sector is suffering the consequences - the development of the book market is in a difficult position as a result of the bad tax

10 As stressed in Cvjetičanin and Katunarić (2001) and Kingham (1998). Additionally, in Publishing Survey (1999), out of all the countries researched, only for Croatia there is no data presented.

11 According to Publishing Survey (1999) in Bosnia and Herzegovina there were 262 titles published in the year 1998, in Macedonia 620, in Serbia and Montenegro there were 4,967 published titles in the year 1997, in Albania 110 titles, in Bulgaria 5,200 and in Romania 6,231 titles have been published. While giving us the missing data these numbers also confirm the trends presented in the Table 2.

12 For Slovenia and Croatia the circulation numbers were not available.

system and the low purchase capabilities of the culture consumers. The “false publishers” market and the poor distribution chains present additional problems in the book industry. The small language markets of SEE countries also create problems with distribution as well as with translation costs.

c) The recording industry and the media industry

The industries that are largely present in everyday cultural consumption are the recording and media industries (by the latter I mean broadcasting and newspaper publishing). This area is quite large and it shall only be analyzed here briefly. When looking at the cultural consumption data in general, one has to note that out of total spending on cultural goods, the largest amount is spent on music and media-related goods (excluding cinema and photography). Considering the available data on SEE countries it amounts to 79.9% out of total spending on culture in Albania, 62.6% in Bulgaria and 72.9% in Romania (World Culture Report, 2000).¹³ However, one has to stress that these industries are of great cultural and economic significance in the world in general, and not only in the SEE region.

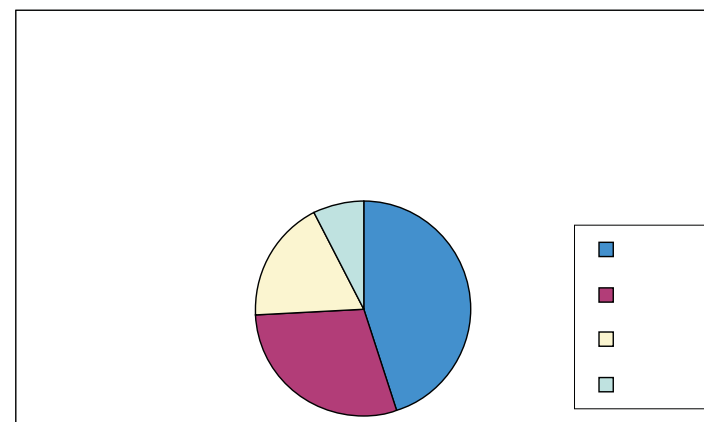
When looking at domestic production in the recording industry, one notices that it is a situation of small-scale production in the local record industries - the same as in the movie industry sector. Questions concerning the work of domestic music artists have also been raised in cultural policies as the problem has occurred of domination by world media corporations in the area of SEE. The problem is similar in other parts of the world as can be seen from Table 4 and Table 5. In the last couple of years the media was concentrated in the hands of a few major companies covering a huge part of the creative industries, out of which 44.6% come from the USA (Table 5). The countries in transition are also not immune to globalization processes such as media concentration, and what is more, “owing to the deficient media legislation, wild privatization, corruption and pressures by the states from which large media corporations come, the countries of Eastern and Central Europe have literally sold their media” (Hrvatin and Kučić, 2003). The issue of the broadcasting and newspaper publishing industry is further complicated due to its other position as a political instrument.

¹³ Data on the other countries is not available.

Table 4 - Leading media groups worldwide - breakdown of turnover by activity, 2002 Source: European Audiovisual Observatory 2003

	Company	Turnover 2002 in millions US\$	Film and programs	Video	Broadcasting & cable Programming	Music	Publishing	Internet & multimedia	Cable & telecom	Others
1	Sony	56 979	8.4	(1)	-	8.5	-	13.2	-	69.9
2	AOL Time Warner	41 065	23.1	(1)	17.6	9.7	12.5	20.9	16.2	-
3	Vivendi Universal	27 956	(3)	(3)	39.5	22.4	-	2.8	29.9	4.9
4	Walt Disney	25 329	26.4	(1)	38.4	(1)	9.6	-	-	25.5
5	Viacom	24 606	14.5	22,1	63.4	-	(1)	-	-	-
6	Bertelsmann	17 603	(3)	(4)	19.65	17.65	46.33	(2)	-	16.37
7	News Corp.	15 195	26.6	(1)	40.4	(2)	28.8	(2)	-	4.3
8	Lagardere Media	8 095	(3)	-	8.3	-	41.4	(3)	-	50.2

- (1) Included in “Film and programs”
- (2) Included in “Others”
- (3) Included in “Broadcasting and cable programming”
- (4) Included in “Music”
- (5) Year at 31.03.2002
- (6) Does not include the turnover of subsidiaries sold in 2002 (in particular Vivendi Universal Publishing)
- (7) Year 2000/2001
- (8) Turnover 2002 but breakdown 2001



The overall tendency in cultural policies of SEE countries is to present quotas for domestic and European programs. However, if the quota for the national and European programs together is 50% (as presented in the policies of Bulgaria; in Romania it accounts for quotas according to the EU “Television without borders” directive, and in Croatia they are not specified) one can ask the “nad’ve” question as to whom the other 50% belongs? A part of the answer can be found in the data from Table 4 and Table 5 mentioned earlier, which explain the present world audiovisual market and its owners. Through this, one can also assume the importance of the culture industries in influencing the market politically and culturally as certain ideologies are presented in the programs of this audiovisual industry wherever it comes from. In this case the critique is partly directed towards the multinational companies that are slowly taking over the market and thus gradually diminishing media diversity and pluralism.

In relation to broadcasting one can note a positive trend in the last ten years in an increase in the hours of transmitted programs in TV and radio transmission in SEE countries as presented in the Table 2. What should also be mentioned in this context is the fact that there is a huge economic potential in the media industry in expanding the labor market of the SEE region. The problem arising is whether the importance of local cultural industries for the region will be recognized in time before they are swallowed up by the multinational companies. This is not only a problem for SEE countries, it is a problem of almost every country.

When considering the newspaper publishing sector, one of the noticeable problems is the difficulty of the regular acquisition of daily magazines (as well as other magazines) because of the lack of purchasing power of individuals in SEE countries. In order to present this situation, we can take a look at the data on daily circulation of newspapers per thousand people in the year 1998. The situation is as follows: for Albania the number of bought newspapers was 37 copies per thousand people, for Bosnia and Herzegovina 152, for Bulgaria 134, for Croatia 112, for Macedonia 21, for Romania 298 and for Yugoslavia 106 issues of dailies per thousand inhabitants (UNESCO, 2000: 294-295). The tendency in Western countries is for a higher number of dailies to be purchased but that could be attributed to the higher acquisition power (although the fact that a higher number of dailies are purchased in Romania than in Belgium and the USA is rather intriguing as well as the high purchase of dailies in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNESCO Survey, 2000)). On the other hand, with low purchasing power, one can question the existence of specialized magazines for culture. It is important to stress this fact, as some of these magazines would not exist without state subsidies.

The concentration of ownership in the hands of a few companies is also influencing the recording industry as well. According to UNESCO (2000: 308-311)

the percentage of distributed domestic popular music in Bulgaria and Croatia was 62%, while in Romania it was even less - 41%.¹⁴ This issue of the increasing impact of international music production distributed in the SEE countries called for the proposition of subsidizing the production of classical and folk works that was suggested in order to protect national cultural identity from the attacks of the global market (for example, Croatia’s cultural policy, see: Cvjetičanin and Katunarić, 2001). Although some countries stress clear contracts with international recording companies (as noted in the cultural policy of Bulgaria; Compendium - Bulgaria, 2002), some other countries emphasize that there are still problems in the area of pirating of works (Compendium - Albania, 2002) in the recording industries which is connected to the problems of copyright. As an illustration, according to the UNESCO Survey (2000) data on the recording industry during the period 1997-98 piracy accounts for 80% of sales in Bulgaria and Romania and 70% in Croatia.

In this paper the analysis of cultural production and cultural consumption gives us an insight into the cultural industries of SEE countries. The problems of small markets, small production, the impact of international cultural industries and troubles with distribution of cultural products are some of the indicators of the current situation. One of the manifestations of the structural problems deeply rooted in the transition of cultural industries is the problem that state subsidies are still one of the key resources for cultural industry producers in general. This can be illustrated by the example from Croatia: “[a]lthough certain segments of artistic production (primarily culture industries) generate their own profits, and despite individual success at securing sponsorship, most cultural activities still rely on funding from the government (State and/or local levels)” (Compendium - Croatia, 2003: 15). A similar problem can be stressed in the Macedonian case where “...market orientation (of cultural industries) basically meant applying for financial resources from the budget of the Ministry of Culture” (Compendium - Macedonia, 2003: 9). This problem is a manifestation of the difficult transition process occurring in this sector as well.

The solution to some problems in the movie industry is seen in the increasing number of co-productions with Western countries. On the other hand, the problems of the book industry lie in the inability to find their own way in the market economy due to the small language markets of the SEE countries, problems with translation and promotion, as well as heavy tax problems in the publishing sector. The solutions to these problems are to be found in the changing of the cultural policy of the countries with the aim of preserving the book industry as one of the keys to the cultural identity of the countries, as noted Kingham (1998). This is mainly done through the

¹⁴ Data on the other countries is not available. The “missing” percentage is of the sales of classical music as a separate category.

restructuring of the new tax system so as to change the provisions in order to enter the EU (see cited example of Slovenia). Additionally, when discussing the recording and the media sector one can note that the serious effects of the presence of world audiovisual industries (corporations) are already present. However, the piracy rate in SEE is still quite high and therefore it is difficult to obtain the right data in order to explain the overall situation. Consequently, one can say that SEE countries also have problems due to the small size of their markets in general.

It can, therefore, be noted that the field of cultural industries in Southeastern Europe - be it the film, book or recording industry - has its specific problems particular to the transition processes. Due to the tradition of former systems, of the perception of culture as something to be dealt with only within the scope of a one-party system, the field of cultural industries was not prepared for the situation that was bestowed upon them with the introduction of the market economy system. On the other hand, one has to stress that cultural products are not like other products and therefore entering the “free market” is not an easy task. Foreign cultural industries have already used the opportunity to enter the area of Southeastern Europe and it is here that local cultural products are losing touch with the audience. Nevertheless, according to problems listed in this paper one could conclude that there are many structural changes ahead in the cultural industries sector in the SEE countries. The whole field has to be restructured in order to establish strong domestic production that will have a healthy distribution system and accessibility and that will be in touch with global processes.

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**Curating the Invisible:
Contemporary Art Practices and Production of Meaning in
Eastern, Southeastern and Central Europe¹**

Marko Stamenković

In this paper, my point of departure is the contemporary art curatorship that I try to conceptualize theoretically as one of the main subjects of analysis in contemporary art. More specifically, it addresses the system of art in the area known as “Eastern Europe”, with a particular emphasis on the status of curatorial practices in the post-socialist condition. The problems I am trying to explain are focused around the issues of (1) the representation of the former socialist countries and their contemporary art, in terms of organizing exhibitions in the context of globalization, and (2) the role of a contemporary art curator as compared to the role performed by a contemporary cultural manager. The question to be raised is related to “The Image of Eastern Europe” in the way that global cultural imperialism functions: how the models of contemporary artistic (and, in this sense, especially curatorial) practices respond to the up-to-date demands of cultural policy issues related to the area of the former European communist/socialist countries? The question might also be posed in this way: what has the contemporary political re-designing of the European map contributed to the establishment of the new ideological interpellation of particular marginalized cultures into the subjects of the defined cultural micro-systems? What is important is an attempt to explain the fundamental reason behind the current interest in this region’s cultural production and to introduce conclusions which require the necessary transformation of the status of exhibiting practices about socialist art with special regard towards the notion of (cultural) hegemony and principles of appropriation of “minority cultures”.

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1.

“When the state is overly bureaucratic, then the state is taking the role of the gallery and of the museum system”.²

The theoretical premises behind the study of the visual arts are rooted in a complicated interaction between the more general historical vision of Western culture and the particular concerns of an object-oriented discipline. Since the 1960s, however, this uneasily achieved synthesis has been interrogated and expanded, largely through the importation of ideas and philosophies from outside the discipline. In proposing to view art of former socialist countries as *invisible*, I have chosen not to follow the lead offered by the historically outdated interpretations of nationally conceived art within each of the former socialist European countries respectively. Instead, my approach has been inspired by the very invisibility of the inherent theoretical concepts behind the development of contemporary art practices in Eastern, Southeastern and Central Europe.

The motive for this kind of approach lies in an attempt to identify the strategies coming from those structures in the art world that are professionally oriented towards selective and mediative operations related to the practices of displaying art. Those structures are nowadays found in the roles played by curators as cultural managers. The rising interest in curating exhibitions of contemporary art dealing with (1) the Balkan region, (2) the Southeast European region, or (3) the East European region, emerges from the socio-political features of the area. Recently realized exhibitions, such as (to mention only several most famous examples) *After the Wall* (Stockholm, 1999), *Aspects – Positions* (Vienna - Budapest, 2000), *In Search of Balkania* (Graz, 2002), *Blood and Honey. The Future is in the Balkans* (Klosterneuburg, Vienna, 2003) or *In the Gorges of the Balkans* (Kassel, 2003), are putting into focus in the global art world the relation between the critical art practices in the region and the cultural stereotypes related to it. The strategies that the curators of these exhibitions are using on a conceptual as well as on a practical level are actually showing that there is more than one common denominator that is being exploited in order to identify and coordinate the art production related to the former Eastern bloc. The dichotomy between “the East” and “the West”, itself a component of globalist ideology, might be an element of aspiration of re-articulation within the global world-system. Thus it could be viewed only in reference to the ideological mechanisms which are formed by the very idea of this re-articulation while producing it at the same time. This kind of analysis requires a deeper look into strict policy demands which determine the

2 M. Grzanic, “Does Contemporary Art Need Museums Anymore?” in CIMAM - The International Committee of ICOM - The International Council of Museums of Modern Art Conference, Budapest, 2000.

existence, development and programming of cultural institutions in general, and influence the ways in which contemporary art is understood in the government reform priorities. The proposed course of analysis is necessary for an adequate treatment of contemporary art and contemporary art exhibitions primarily because of the regulatory and/or legislative changes that need to be introduced and implemented for the benefit of the proper understanding and display of both modern and contemporary art from ex-socialist European countries. Contemporary curatorship is here conceived as one of the essential elements of resonance of political, social, economic and cultural changes that have been taking place in the former socialist countries (the former Soviet Union, Central and Eastern Europe, ex-Yugoslavia) ever since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.³ The attitude expressed here is provoked by a strong belief that current exhibition practices are but a reflexion of the fact that exhibitions have become *the* medium through which most art becomes known and recognized as a *visible* part of contemporary culture. Furthermore, focusing on the current perspectives of the display strategies and art production marks out the emergence of new discourses surrounding the exhibition, investigates the politics of display outside of the traditional debates and strictly art historical interpretations, and brings the role of a contemporary art curator (as a selector) closer to the role performed by a contemporary cultural manager (as a producer). The theoretical background for this approach has been provided by relying on the contemporary rethinking of socialist aesthetics and art practices in relation to their own political environment, but also in relation to the global overall movements that have positioned them within the specific circumstances, conditioned by the hegemonic rules of superior power systems and their respective institutional representatives and financial tools.

2.

The traditional view of “non-Western art” has always been conditioned by the canonical art historical concepts coming from the West, and by the fact that art history developed first as a study of Western art. Here the *notion of the West* has a double meaning: (a) it refers primarily to Alfred H. Barr, Jr. - the founding director of one of the world’s greatest museum institutions (the Museum of Modern Art in New York) - and a person whose concept of the history of modern art, as postulated in the 1930s, was

3 In this respect, I need to point out the difference of this symbolical moment in comprehending the essential break of the “new world”, as proposed by Marina Grzanic: “From a Western European or an American point of view, the changes that affected Eastern Europe were symbolically marked by the tearing down of the Berlin Wall. From an ex-Yugoslavian perspective, this point would be the death of Tito in 1980.” See: M. Grzanic, “Retro-Avant-Garde, or Mapping Post-Socialism” in *Fiction Reconstructed*. Eastern Europe, Post-Socialism & The Retro-Avant-Garde, Vienna, 2000, p. 37.

an attempt made to (re)construct the history of modern art through a famous diagram of the development of Abstract Art, by tracing the origins and development of modern art and showing how one artist and/or one art form influences another; (b) it also refers to the dominant, over-powerful and capitalism-driven states at the time of the emerging modernism and modernization, giving a unique perspective and a universally accepted formula for the progressive tendencies in the state of modern art ever since Winkelmann and the beginning of contemporary history of art as a scientific discipline.

One of the main reasons for approaching the issue of Southeastern and Central European art and culture must be explained from the theoretical standpoint. It designates the existence of the fundamental extant difference between the “two Europes” in the very period of European integrative processes after 1989, and pinpoints the way to encounter the core of the problem related to the issues of contemporary art and culture. My starting point in this respect was the theoretical approach as proposed by Slovenian philosopher, theoretician, video-artist and curator Marina Grzinic, in which she aims at explaining how particular works, artists and groups conceived as the Retro-avant-garde triad (and here she precisely refers to three art phenomena from former Yugoslavia: Mladen Stilinovic from Zagreb (Croatia), the 1980s Kasimir Malevich from Belgrade (Serbia) and the group IRWIN - especially their NEUE SLOWENISCHE KUNST (NSK) Embassy projects - from Ljubljana, Slovenia) assumed their relationships with ideology, why it was possible for them to affirm their socio-political character only in the form of a specific critique of ideology in the field of art, and how this triad (thesis, antithesis and synthesis) might be juxtaposed with Zizek’s Hegelian scheme (ideology in-itself, for-itself, and ideology in-and-for-itself) as indices of the different concrete historical situations of post-socialism.⁴

This approach, as Grzinic explains, departs from the fact that “the East has not provided the West with the relevant theoretical and interpretative instruments to recognize the uniqueness, idiosyncrasies, diversity and originality of artistic projects in Eastern Europe”, because of which “there is very little documentation of this history”.⁵ The attitude expressed here had thus been provoked by a strong belief that the socialist art practices lacked the critical theoretical background which would offer and provide critical interpretation and self-reflection on those projects and phenomena. This problem is of crucial importance and, in order to be overcome, requires a systematic action towards “filling the void” of the cultural and theoretical domain of Eastern, Southeastern and Central Europe. This urge for theory has been

4 Ibid. p. 37

5 Ibid. p. 37

explicitly declared as early as in the 1980s by one of the most prominent contemporary art phenomena in Eastern, Southeastern and Central Europe - the Slovenian movement Neue Slowenische Kunst (NSK): “NSK needs theoreticians, thinkers, to verbalize our activities, since we would like the creative act to be accompanied by a certain argumentative discipline, whose opinions and theses also enter the game of creation. Just like a painting, we consider a philosophical work an object, which in the centre of its conceptual constellation raises the question of the conditions and possibilities of awareness in general.”⁶ Focusing on historical perspectives of the artistic strategies and art production in Eastern, Southeastern and Central European space provides the necessary basic instruments for the elimination of this problem and marks out the emergence of new discourses surrounding these phenomena. Furthermore, apart from the traditional debates and strictly art historical interpretations, it investigates the ideological context of the development of such phenomena and their politics of display, and also - in order to propose the ways for their radical de-politicization⁷ - it strengthens the relationship between art and overall political, social and cultural climate in an area once known as the Eastern Bloc. In this respect, the notion of post-socialism is understood as the basic cultural, social and political condition for most of the former socialist countries and it reveals the way that the ideology of the socialist and post-socialist system is envisioned through the artistic concepts and visual display coming from this very condition.

The consequences of the differing conditions in which the cultural discourse in the East and the West had developed during the period of the Cold War have also been put into question during the project directed by media theorist and professor Boris Groys and organized under the auspices of the German Federal Cultural Foundation in cooperation with the Center for Art and Media (Zentrum für Kunst und Medientechnologie - ZKM) from Karlsruhe, Germany, in 2003 and 2004.⁸ Starting from the facts that (1) the art market in the western sense did not exist in the East and that (2) conditions for the functioning of art in the East were consequently completely different from those in the West, this project is important because it explores the relation between culture and the marketplace by posing a simple question: how, now that the transformations in the model of modernization have taken place in the East, will the reality of the marketplace be reflected in theory and art? And what should be done so that the task of formulating a new theoretical discourse which is faithful to the

6 A. Tronche, “Interview with IRWIN (Paris 1988)”, in Inke Arns (ed.), *Irwin: Retroprincip 1983-2003*, Berlin, Hagen, Belgrade, 2003-04, pp. 250-1.

7 The de-politicization is here conceived as the process of critical deconstruction of various discourses about art which are still imbued with ideology. See: M. Grzinic, *ibid.*, p. 50.

8 For further information on this project see: <http://www.postcommunist.de>

post-communist situation is accomplished? This most recent example of a serious international conference shows another proof for rethinking the status and positions of contemporary Eastern, Southeastern and Central European art and culture, especially through posing a proper question about the formative (critical and theoretical) discourses.

My approach is thus established in the contemporary interpretations of the overall political, social, economic and theoretical conditions of the development of specific artistic practices in the post-socialist countries. Being far from the centers of economic power and media promotion, the position of contemporary post-socialist European art practices - coming from the marginal position in relation to the dominant art system - is historically grounded in (a) the common heritage of the communist era and (b) the process of political, economic, cultural and identity transition after the communist period. Here I primarily refer to the recent publication edited by Slovenian philosopher Ales Erjavec and entitled *Postmodernism and the Postsocialist Condition. Politicized Art under Late Socialism*,⁹ which gives a thorough analysis and a critical overview of the reasons that put the art and culture of the former socialist countries in a specific, politically constructed context determined by a dominant common denominator in the last few decades.

The dominance of this common (or similar)¹⁰ political ideology is what determines the primarily *politicized* nature of Eastern, Southeastern and Central European art and sets it apart from the Western art, predominantly conditioned by the principles of the late capitalism and developments of the art market.

Discussing the possibilities of approaching curatorial practices from a critical standpoint requires specific emphasis on (a) the questions of legitimization and cultural appropriation by exhibiting institutions and (b) their strategies of

9 A. Erjavec (ed.), *Postmodernism and the Postsocialist Condition. Politicized Art under Late Socialism*, Berkeley, 2003.

10 The cultural condition in former Yugoslavia, for example, was much more liberal than in any other socialist country, with its self-proclaimed model of self-management socialism and resistance towards the repressive Soviet one, ever since 1948. After World War II, the country became known as Tito's socialist Yugoslavia (1945-80), or the second Yugoslavia. There was an initial period of ties with the Soviet political bloc (1945-48). By the early 1950s, however, with the distancing of Tito's Yugoslavia from the Eastern bloc and the rejection of the USSR's influence on Yugoslav politics and culture, the society opened to Western modernist art. This was followed by the emergence of self-governing socialism, and a complex, multiethnic federal state (1943-1990) standing, politically, somewhere between the Eastern and Western blocs, building ties with the third world through the movement of nonalignment. See: M. Suvakovic, "Impossible Histories" in *Impossible Histories. Historical Avant-gardes, Neo-Avant-gardes, and Post-avant-gardes in Yugoslavia, 1918-1991*, D. Djuric and M. Suvakovic (eds.), Boston, 2003, pp. 2-35.

displaying art from today's Eastern, Southeastern and Central Europe. This presupposes the inherent ideological mechanisms of power within the art exhibiting spaces in the contemporary global world, and challenges their operational principles through an attempt to make a set of relations between the institutions of display (museums and galleries) and the bureaucratic system *visible*. By producing the distance towards the myth of the neutrality of the exhibiting space, this idea tends to focus on the system of power as much as on its effects, i.e. its impact on curators, artists, spectators, and the Art System itself, and thus to propose a critical investigation of the post-socialist cultural institutions in terms of their governing the viewer's perception and comprehension of the Power of Display.

Since curating and making exhibitions have over the last decades developed into an identifiable *cultural* practice (on the one hand concerned with presenting, reflecting upon and interpreting art production and on the other with actively producing meaning), the role of a curator is thus being defined through the creative, constructive methods of "making appropriate combinations of people" and thus positioning the dominant values within the structures of power in the world of art and, consequently, imposing control and designing the image of the profession as "artistic" itself. This artistic aspect of contemporary curatorship is not only concerned with curators' visions, the very source of their oneiric getting closer to the profession of artists, or the dreams they base their concepts on and develop through further projects and exhibitions. What is really important in relation to this connection between the curatorial and the artistic work is not only supported by the mutual phantasmal projections of their invisible ideas towards the visibility of the outside world, but by their mutual interdependence which possibly makes the connection between the functional principles of art and the entire environmental condition visible. Therefore, besides the standard notion of an artist in the most traditional sense of the word, another two types of "artists" are becoming prominent in today's art world: one of them being curators, identified as designers of the broad cultural sphere, and another, cultural managers and/or art administrators, as active organizers or producers of conditions for the adequate functioning of this sphere. The question is: how is the global cultural sphere being envisioned and designed with respect to the contemporary curatorial participation in this process? What logic operates behind the very process of an exhibition design and how is it to be formulated in relation to the inclusion of the previously "invisible" areas into the visible field of actual art?

This somehow reminds me - and I am obliged to make a further interruption right here - of Walter Benjamin's text from the early 1930s - *The Author as Producer*, where he, while meditating on the relationship between the tendency and quality of a contemporary art work, stresses the difference between the type of an "operating" writer and of an "informing" one. His famous example of Sergei Tretyakov and the tasks he performed in Russian conditions of 1928, at the time of the total

collectivization of agriculture, provides Benjamin with the proof of the effective ways of intervention due to the progress in technique, i.e. the tactics as performed through the effective use of all channels of expression, in view of the technical factors affecting the given situation. Tretiakov as a model of this operating writer provides “the most tangible example of the functional interdependency that always, and under all conditions, exists between the correct political tendency and progressive literary technique. ... His mission is not to report but to struggle; not to play the spectator but to intervene actively. He defines this mission in the account he gives of his own activity.”¹¹ In this text Benjamin searches for an answer to the question of the technique of works, i.e. the one which directly concerns the function the work has within the literary relations of production of its time. But what he lacks, according to Gerald Raunig (a Vienna-based philosopher, art theoretician, and a cultural activist in the fields of contemporary philosophy, art theory, political aesthetics and cultural politics), is the reflection on successful consequences of a politicizing art, positive influence of the political in art, something that Benjamin’s dialectical pattern omits while questioning where a project stands *in relation to* its production conditions. Instead, according to Raunig, the question should be: how is it positioned *within* them, i.e. how is it possible to apply media planned strategies from within the art system itself and transform art production more radically into concrete micro-political intervention?¹²

This reflection on the author’s own position in the production process is of an utmost significance for the better comprehension of the status of a curator in contemporary art system. As Raunig suggests, “following Tretiakov and co. it would thus be meaningful not to concentrate on the bettering of us humans, but on changing the structures that permit inequalities to exist. An update of a Brecht-Benjamin demand calling for the production apparatus to be supplied without changing it would be: let us not supply the production apparatus, let us change it.”¹³

3.

In the 1990s, the concept of the curator-mediator was proposed by Viktor Misiano, a critic and curator based in Moscow (the former director of the Moscow Contemporary Art Center, the founder and chief editor of the Moscow Art Magazine and currently Deputy Director of ROSIZO, the State Center for Museums and

11 W. Benjamin, “The Author as Producer” in Brian Wallis (ed.), *Art After Modernism: Rethinking Representation*, New York and Boston, 1984, pp. 297-309.

12 G. Raunig, “Grandparents of Interventionist Art, or Intervention in the Form. Rewriting Walter Benjamin’s ‘Der Autor als Produzent’” in EIPCP, European Institute for Progressive Cultural Policies, <http://www.eipcp.net/>

13 Ibid.

Exhibitions). As one of the curators of the scandalous exhibition Interpol (Stockholm, 1996), he was asked to give a comment on the role of the curators nowadays.¹⁴ His statement is relevant for this analysis because it refers directly to the subject of the ideological and practical reasons for defining one’s own position as a curator-mediator: this position is conditioned by the imperative to internalize the Other through the intellectual exchange which only results with an exhibition, but not necessarily. Furthermore, this idea of process or dialogue, as being based not only on the involvement of artists but also of non-artists and intellectuals in the broadest terms, shows the necessity for overcoming the idea of homogeneity since “no unifying concept seems to be possible today” (just as the very result of the Interpol exhibition has proved in 1996, bringing the symbolical break between the two worlds - East and West - into the traumatic realm of the Real). The concept of a curator-mediator is here justifiable because of the importance given to someone who is “in the middle just to help others to speak with each other, ... the idea similar to the function of a mediator at a conference, round table or colloquium who is responsible for the topic of the colloquium or for the topic of the exhibition, for bringing together appropriate people, for making appropriate combinations of people.”¹⁵

What is really imposed on a contemporary curator is not considered in terms of content, but has to do with intervention in the form, in the structures of a micro-political field: instead of work on products (art works, art exhibitions as such), it must be work on the means of production, the very principles and operational instruments supporting the system of art. This is the only way able to provide producers with an improved apparatus and incites them to produce. This organizing function of curatorship and the way it is translated into actual, contemporary art production is even more important in an area lacking the efficient market-system and legislative and regulatory policies in the cultural domain. This is what makes a contemporary curator close to the role of a cultural manager and annihilates the difference between them.

The critical standpoint about this specific condition, translated into the practical professional standards for management of cultural reality, is what is demanded from a contemporary curator. He/she should keep in mind one simple, but crucial thing: the role of a curator as cultural manager is not only in providing (i.e. constructing) conditions for successful functioning of cultural projects, cultural institutions and the cultural system in general, but (first and before all) in understanding real conditions out of which cultural models are to be developed, by giving a profound critical

14 V. Misiano, “An Interview about the Role of the Curators and the Concept of the Interpol Exhibition” in E. Cufer and V. Misiano (eds.), *INTERPOL: the art exhibition which divided East and West*, Ljubljana and Moscow, 2000, pp. 59-75.

15 Ibid.

analysis of current conditions (not only within, but beyond the level of the cultural domain), and finally by changing and identifying the status and position of culture within these conditions. This is all in order to overcome the actual obstacles through the invention of a practical and successful means of production - the brand new production apparatus which is going to be able to contribute to the changing processes towards a better status of culture on the general level. Art and its display have always been dependent on the systems of value that are usually a resonance of the political, social and economic milieu from which they emerge. The confirmation of the *similarity* among the art practices of the ex-socialist countries (which might be generally accepted as a common source of cultural homogeneity in the socialist states up till the end of the twentieth century) through a number of exhibitions that have contextualized these practices in the last decade (within the common geo-political framework), is an important one. On the other hand, it is also important to point out inherent *differences* among these practices within the very common framework of socialist, late socialist and post-socialist European art, and dependent on diverse political conditions in each and every Eastern, Southeastern and Central European country respectively. Therefore, the system of value in the contemporary art world must be approached not from the critical discourse about a particular artist or a work of art as a result of his/her own creativity, but from a critically engaging endeavor to understand the overall conditions out of which the notion about the artist in question or the particular work of art is being produced and canonized as valuable or not within the particular system of art. The role of a curator is the starting reference point in this direction, because it reveals the complex nature of the art system, the way it is constituted through the network of different power mechanisms.

The question of *who* is allowed to design an exhibition, conference, round table and participate in the organization of an artistic event needs to be reconsidered and pointed out alongside questions of *how and why* certain themes and issues are approached. The proper analysis of the *programming* and *decision-making process*, as well as the identification of those instances that are dominant in imposing the criteria, with regards to curatorial work especially, are necessary tools for the proper recognition of displaying concepts co-existing next to each other, continually broadening the spectrum of approaches for the presentation of art. And if today any matter can really become relevant, depending on how the curator draws attention to it, then the growth of the curator as cultural manager is a proof that our understanding of the world is based on questionable conventions, often provoked and manipulated by structures of centralized power. In order to reveal these fragmented perceptions, the system of art must open up to new possibilities of comprehension of its proper operational channels.

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Frameworks for Cultural Policies

Assessments of Needs and Impacts - Essential Tools in Cultural Policy-Making

Delia Mucica

This paper considers the scope for using “needs assessment” and “regulatory impact assessment” in the design and implementation of cultural policies and regulations in Southeastern European countries. The first section of this paper presents a general survey of the scope, key themes and objectives of cultural policies. The next section attempts to provide a framework of principles in relation to public policy making. This is followed by a survey of scope, objectives and steps of needs assessment and of regulatory impact analysis. The final section contains a survey of limitations and constraints in relation to cultural policy-making, specific to Southeastern European countries. The overall aim of the paper is to draw attention to the advantages, feasibility and limitations of needs assessment and regulatory impact assessment with respect to cultural policy design in Southeastern European countries.

I. Scope, key themes and general objectives of cultural policies

Before addressing the issue of the instruments and tools necessary to design and implement cultural policies, we should take a moment to reflect on the current definitions and scope of culture and cultural policies. The body of literature devoted to these subjects is quite large, and growing at a steady pace. For the purposes of this paper, I shall quote a definition to which I am particularly attached (*Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*):

“... culture should be regarded as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group and it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs.”

In the course of the previous sessions, as well as in many other debates, various labels have been used, implying our own preferences and value judgments: high

culture, subculture, kitsch, serious culture, etc. However, we should constantly bear in mind that, as expressions of various modes of life, values and traditions, all these creative outputs are characteristic features of our societies. Their life may be long or short, their preeminence faded or strengthened, and, at the end of the day, these forms of expression may evolve and/or may be categorized by future generations as “high” culture and not anymore as “subculture”, or vice versa. History abounds in such examples and we, as policy makers or stakeholders, should be aware of this, when designing inclusive cultural policies, which should cater for the needs of all members of our societies.

What is, then, the scope of cultural policies and what are their aims and objectives? The scope needs to be broadened, inasmuch as we accept that: a) cultural policies are public policies; b) cultural policies are not only “policies for the arts” but for a better quality of life and c) cultural policies should be embedded into any development policies.

Thus, the report of the European Task Force “In from the Margins” identified four key themes that should be taken on board by cultural policy-makers:

- Promotion of cultural identity
- Endorsement of Europe’s multicultural diversity
- Stimulation of creativity of all kinds
- Encouragement of participation for all in cultural life

In line with these themes, several general objectives have been highlighted, *inter alia*, in the Action Plan adopted at the 1998 Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development, organized by UNESCO in Stockholm:

- To make cultural policy a key component for development strategies
- To promote creativity and participation in cultural life
- To reinforce measures to preserve cultural heritage and promote cultural industries
- To promote cultural and linguistic diversity in the information society
- To make more human and financial resources available for cultural development

As the scope of cultural policies broadens and becomes more and more inter-related to that of other public policies, a new approach is necessary in order to address these issues and to meet the public good objectives. In this perspective, a “transversal”/ “integrative”/ “cross-sector” approach is paramount, eliciting a profound transformation of policy thinking in our countries, together with the setting up of appropriate tools and mechanisms: intra-governmental consultation procedures and mechanisms, inter-sectoral task-forces, etc.

II. Principles of public policy-making

On the other hand, in a democratic country, policy-making - for the culture sector or for any other sector - is bound to comply with and to uphold the principles of good governance:

- The principle of subsidiarity (i.e. no responsibility should be located at a higher level that necessary and, therefore, action at a higher level is justified only when the objectives of the proposed action cannot be sufficiently achieved at a lower level and they can be better achieved at a higher level of decision)
- The principle of proportionality (i.e. measures should be necessary to achieve stated objectives, should be appropriate to the risks posed, should not have undue adverse impact on other rights or interests, should represent the least onerous course of action)
- The principle of accountability (i.e. policy-makers should be able to justify decisions and the decision-making processes should be open to public scrutiny)
- The principle of transparency and openness (i.e. policy objectives should be clearly defined and effectively communicated to the public, and mechanisms should be put in place, enabling constituencies to have access to public information and to exercise thus their democratic rights)
- The principle of consultation with, and participation of, stakeholders (as beneficiaries of policies, stakeholders are entitled to be consulted and to participate in the actual design of public policies; this process, although sometimes considered in our countries as cumbersome and time consuming, is instrumental in acquiring a better understanding of possible options and constraints and will eventually ensure a higher level of compliance with and of applicability/enforceability of enacted policy and/or regulation). This is the reason why better consultation procedures are one of the major tasks and challenges governments are facing

A general survey of policy-making will identify several important steps which, while sometimes overlapping during the actual processes, need nevertheless to be taken into consideration and performed.

The choice of the tools policy-makers should use in the policy-making process depends essentially on: a) the type of problem that the proposed policy is addressing, b) the scope of the policy/intervention foreseen and c) the type of intervention/policy instrument to be used - regulatory or non-regulatory. Lengthy and costly procedures are not justified in all cases and, for some issues, they may not be necessary. However, the decision not to make use of certain tools or procedures should not be taken lightly, and in all cases sufficient provisions should be made so as to ensure compliance with the above stated principles.

III. Scope, objectives and steps of needs assessment

When designing a new cultural policy, or when amending an existing one, a clear picture of the socio-economic and cultural environment is required, together with an inventory of the needs expressed by the various stakeholders and of the constraints and problems identified. For this, a good starting point could be a SWOT analysis, which may help policy-makers in assessing the national cultural, social and economic environment (identification of internal strengths and weaknesses, of external opportunities and threats). There are at least two caveats, however. In the first place, the SWOT analysis is limited in its scope and does not offer a detailed picture of the needs expressed by the various stakeholders. Moreover, if poorly conducted, the SWOT analysis could offer biased results and, therefore, will be useless as a basis for informed and realistic decisions. It must be noted that lately, governments in some of our countries have started to use extensively (and solely) SWOT analyses when planning cultural strategies or policies, as the least expensive tool available, and with the added bonus that in doing so they are meeting - at least formally - the principles of accountability, transparency and consultation.

In order to have a clear picture of the cultural environment, of the cultural needs of the constituency, a needs assessment exercise can constitute an appropriate tool. Although sometimes considered to be best suited for local level (community level) analyses, this type of assessment may also be used on a larger scale. Its results can be used either in conjunction with other types of analysis or independently.

When deciding to conduct an assessment of needs, we should have a clear answer to the following questions:

- What is the scope? As mentioned before, this type of evaluation may be used to assess either the general cultural needs of a community, or specific needs - access to library services, to cultural heritage, to live performances, artistic education, lifelong learning, etc., either on a local, regional or on a national level.
- What are the objectives? While the general objective should be to draft or improve cultural policy/regulations/activities, within the framework of a needs assessment the specific objectives may be one or more of the following:
 - Identification and diagnosis of problems that need to be addressed/solved by decision-makers
 - Assessment of cultural needs of individual and/or communities
 - Comparison of needs/expectations expressed to the cultural offer
 - Identification of priorities expressed by individuals and communities

- Who will conduct it? This question addresses both the issue of design and that of the actual exercise. The design may be entrusted to an outside consultant or may be undertaken by the staff of the public administration/organization launching it. Similarly, the assessment exercise may be conducted by a specialized outfit, by the organization's staff and/or by volunteers.
- What kind of information is to be collected? Needless to say, this answer is directly related to the objectives stated. However, an indicative list may be drawn, comprising both:
 - quantitative data (e.g. demographic and economic indicators, cultural infrastructure, specific cultural statistics, data from related fields such as education and schooling facilities in the area, employment and occupations, public transportation facilities related to access to cultural venues, etc.), and
 - qualitative data (personal evaluations, expectations, tastes, options and priorities, etc.)
- How will the information be collected? Depending on the type of data subject to collection, a large array of methods can be used, such as field surveys, statistical surveys, interviews - structured or semi-structured - with "key informants" or "gatekeepers" (persons who have a thorough knowledge of the issue at hand), community forum, etc.
- How will the information collected be used? Once collected, the information needs to be analyzed (including by statistical methods) and interpreted, in order to, *inter alia*:
 - Produce a rank-ordered list of priorities expressed by respondents, changes considered necessary, cultural needs that are not met by current policies/regulations/activities, etc.
 - Identify cases/trends of social exclusion, groups that do not have access or are not participating in cultural life
 - Identify discrepancies between allocation of resources and consumer/user benefits
 - Identify potential of creativity that could be enhanced, as well as new opportunities for employment, job creation etc.

In order to achieve the primary goal of such an exercise, the findings and results must be assessed and benchmarked against existing or proposed policy objectives and they must necessarily be taken on board in the formulation of policy options and priorities.

Obviously, in line with the general policy principles mentioned above, the findings of the needs assessment exercise will have to be communicated to the constituency.

A cautionary note is in order: even in its simpler forms, an assessment of needs is time consuming and costly, in terms of human resources as well as financial ones. Thus, before its inception, its necessity as well as its scope should be carefully scrutinized. On the other hand, however, in our part of Europe, many public administrations and public cultural institutions would greatly benefit from such exercises, which would enable them to have a clearer image of the cultural needs they are meant to cater for.

The findings of a needs assessment exercise may result in a list of contrasting or even conflicting needs, expressed by the various categories of consumers/users, creators, cultural industries, public sector and private sector institutions and organizations and other stakeholders. Balancing these needs with due respect to the principle of proportionality is, needless to say, a difficult endeavor. However, the burden posed on policy-makers may be alleviated by the use of appropriate information and consultation mechanisms as well as by accurate and coherent assessments of the impacts that the various policy options envisaged would create.

IV. Objectives and guidelines of regulatory impact assessment

Cultural policies, whether existing or proposed, can be evaluated in terms of their impacts (i.e. their cultural, economic, social, etc. costs and benefits). In order to appraise these impacts, assessment methodologies have been developed and formalized, which can, and should, be used by decision makers when designing new policies.

Impact assessment, as a policy-making tool, is not a substitute for decision making. It is designed to assist decision makers, by offering a comprehensive survey of the current situation and an analysis of the possible risks, benefits and adjoining costs of proposed policies or, as the case may be, of enacted ones.

Thus, this evaluation methodology may be used either before implementation of a policy/enactment of a regulation, or after implementation. It may therefore address both policy options and regulatory solutions.

When this methodology is used to evaluate the positive and negative results and consequences of a proposed policy and/or regulation, it is generally described as “*ex ante* impact assessment” or “regulatory impact assessment/Analysis (RIA)”. Conversely, when it is used to assess the “impacts” of current (i.e. already implemented) policies and/or regulations, it is generally described as “*ex post* impact assessment”. However, in recent years, both *ex ante* and *ex post* evaluations are broadly referred to as “regulatory impact assessment” (Kirkpatrick and Parker, 2003: 9).

Either as an *ex ante* or as an *ex post* assessment, RIA is intended to improve the quality of policy making and of the management of public affairs.

RIA was originally formalized in the United States in the mid 1970s and has been adopted, thereafter, in several developed countries. In 1995, the Council of the OECD adopted a *Recommendation on Improving the Quality of Government Regulation*, in which RIA was mentioned. In 1997, the ministers of OECD member countries endorsed the Report on Regulatory Reform, thereby supporting the recommendation that their governments “integrate regulatory impact analysis into the development, review, and reform of regulations”. More recently (2002), under the framework of *Better Regulation*, this methodology has been adopted at the European level.

The rationale for the use of RIA is that regulations (and policies) need to be assessed on a case-by-case basis, in order to evaluate whether the proposed course of action shall meet the policy objectives, to identify and evaluate the social, economic, cultural, etc. costs and benefits and to identify and assess the risks incurred. In the course of such an analysis, alternative options should be identified and assessed, and at the end of the day decision makers shall be presented with an analysis that should enable them to make informed decisions.

Guidelines on conducting RIA and on the issues it should cover have been developed, both by OECD and by a number of countries. The following is the 1995 OECD checklist of questions that should be answered when conducting an RIA:

1. Is the problem correctly defined?
2. Is government action justified?
3. Is regulation the best form of government action?
4. Is there a legal basis for regulation?
5. What is the appropriate level (levels) of government for the action?
6. Do the benefits of regulation justify the costs?
7. Is the distribution of effects across society transparent?
8. Is the regulation clear, consistent, comprehensible, and accessible to users?
9. Have all interested parties had the opportunity to present their views?
10. How will compliance be achieved?

Thus, in answer to question 1, RIAs should include a needs assessment/statement of needs. As for questions 2 and 3, RIAs’ findings would show in some cases that government action is not justified, or that the proposed course of action is not best suited to stated objectives or within the given context (economic or social or political). An RIA may thus point out that a new regulation is not necessary or that, in the proposed form, it is un-implementable and un-enforceable. In other cases, RIA analysis would lead towards a non-regulatory approach or towards a completely

different policy and/or regulatory approach. An important and sadly overlooked issue is that of the appropriate level for decision making. Much too often, the enactment of laws is not justified in the general architecture of the country's legal system (question 5), while lower levels of regulation are disregarded *ab initio*, being considered as not sufficiently "representative" of the importance of the subject matter. However, the most difficult questions to be answered are those related to benefits, costs and effects. The assessment of the costs and benefits of a new policy is the central analytical component of the RIA. As it is often difficult to measure costs and benefits, in some cases it might be preferable to present a range of estimates or to use scenarios, starting from key assumptions. When assessing the costs and benefits of each option, the "do nothing" option should also be taken into consideration. In any case, indirect and compliance costs should not be overlooked, as important additional costs can arise from new regulations and measures designed to improve compliance and ensure effective enforcement of the respective policy or regulation.

To summarize, the general objectives of an *ex ante* impact assessment should be, in principle:

- Policy and regulation clarity and coherence
- Policy and regulation improvement and inter-sectoral harmonization
- Ensuring legal equality and legal security
- Reducing the number of policy and regulatory interventions (legal proliferation) and avoiding unnecessary regulations
- Downscaling regulatory interventions to the appropriate level of decision
- Preventing apparition of unforeseen side-effects, additional costs, uneven distribution of costs, etc.
- Enhancing implementability and compliance

On the other hand, the principal objective of an *ex post* impact assessment should be to evaluate the degree to which implemented policies or regulations have met the initial policy objectives. For this, the analysis should focus on:

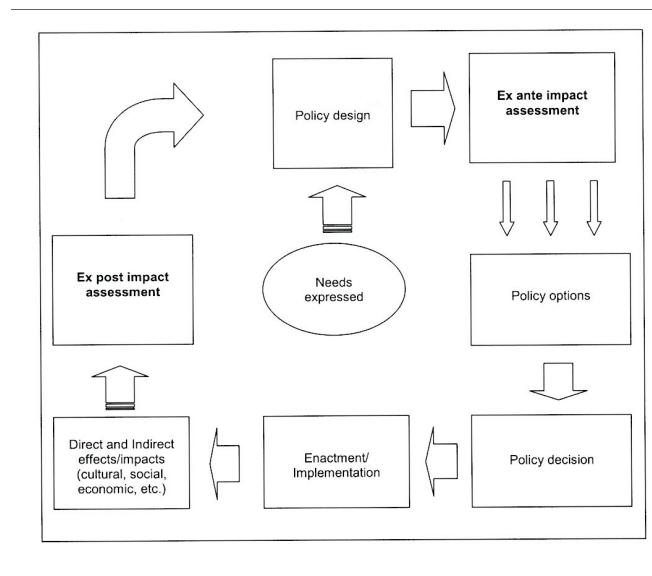
- The degree of effectiveness of implemented policy/regulation
- The degree of implementability and compliance with that policy/regulation
- Actual costs and benefits as compared to estimated ones
- Side-effects that occurred and their importance/relevance

Thus, the end result of an *ex post* impact assessment shall be to provide feedback to policy-makers concerning the effectiveness of the policy/regulation implemented, answering the question: Have the policy objectives (and the needs expressed, which have determined that specific policy measure to be taken) been met?

If the answer is yes, then we may say that the circle has been closed. I have attempted to present, in a very schematic way, the cycle consisting of identification of

needs - policy design - *ex ante* impact assessment of proposed policy/regulation - identification of viable policy option / policy implementation - impacts - *ex post* impact assessment - feedback to policy-makers in the following figure.

Figure 1. Regulatory Impact Assessment



This, however, is a temporary situation, insofar as the socio-economic environment is ever changing. This holds true as well for the needs of the stakeholders. In addition, newly entered international commitments of a country may determine additional measures or even changing of policies and/or regulations, in order to comply with them. Thus policy making in the culture sector (as in any sector) is a never-ending process, one where logically consistent mechanisms of information, consultation and assessment of new developments is necessary, linking policy level, regulatory level and the cultural sector.

It is necessary to stress that not all policy measures and regulations may require extensive or complete RIAs. Partial RIAs may be necessary for certain types of governmental action, depending on their scope and significance. Having this in mind, countries which are using RIA as part of their policy making have also developed guidelines concerning the use of RIAs for different types of policy measures.

Deciding on the scope and extent of an impact assessment is very important because, first of all, the costs of an RIA are far from negligible. Equally important is the fact that incomplete analysis may distort RIA findings or, on the other hand, too many requests for detailed analysis may clog the information channels and the processing capacity of the administration. Here, as in so many other areas, a balancing approach is in order. However, irrespective of the type of RIA that should be conducted, information and consultation with stakeholders are always to be performed.

V. Problems and constraints related to the use of assessment tools in the cultural policy-making processes in Southeast European countries

The decision-making process, both at the policy and at the regulatory level, has been classified (OECD, 1997: 14-15) as:

- a) Expert (decision is taken by a trusted expert or group of experts)
- b) Consensual (political forces agree on decision, according to political priorities)
- c) Benchmarked (decision taken is based on outside model/international commitments)
- d) Empirical (decision is based on fact findings and analysis of specific situation, according to established criteria, e.g. RIA)

As we all know, the b) and c) models are extensively used in our countries, whereas the a) model is somewhat of a rarity. As regards the d) model, the use of fact findings and analysis in order to formulate cultural policies is in its inception phase in most Southeast European countries.

It must be acknowledged that several countries have adopted formal provisions prescribing that proposed policies and regulations should be based on an inventory of needs, should address the issue of expected benefits and costs and should be drafted in a transparent manner, with due information procedures. However, as a general rule, these provisions are not followed, or, when they are, their implementation is formal and without consistency.

Why is that so?

An empirical survey points towards a number of reasons. Firstly, the policy development phase is superseded by the regulatory phase. The preeminence of the regulatory function, as compared to the policy function, is partially due to historical reasons. The currently held belief that regulation, and especially “the law”, is the only instrument for policy implementation is upheld by the fact that even nowadays alternatives to regulation for policy implementation, i.e. non-regulatory tools, are rare

and used to a very limited extent. On the other hand, Southeastern European countries have been under an important pressure to transform and democratize their regulatory systems, this being an additional factor of the preeminence of the regulatory approach.

Secondly, the use of assessment tools such as RIA requires a change in the policy-making process, opening it up to public scrutiny and introducing the concept of public accountability. Such a development was not welcomed and supported either by most politicians or by bureaucrats and, for quite some time, has not been at the top of the agenda of the constituencies. Hence, the governments, at their various levels, did not have a real motivation to change their ways and procedures in relation to their constituencies.

Thirdly, RIAs require a new approach to policy making, by setting up *sine qua non* consultation and participation procedures. This was a rather slow development, partly because of governments’ reluctance and partly because of the slow development of civil society structures.

Fourthly, the implementation of this new approach is directly related to the development of administrative capacities. Although acknowledged as crucial, capacity building in public administrations at various levels is still under way, with large variations as to its development within the countries of the region. RIAs and other policy tools require not only radical changes in attitudes and perceptions on the part of the officials, as described above, but, equally important, they require the development of new skills in the civil service: specific skills related to analysis, evaluation, drawing up of correlations, legal drafting, etc., as well as communication and mediation skills, initiative and managerial ones.

Finally, this new approach to policy making implies new costs. It is time consuming for the administration as well as for the stakeholders, it requires large amount of data to be collected, analyzed, and appraised. It also requires drafting of a number of policy papers, options and assessments, as well as the organization and follow-up of consultation procedures.

Thus, it may be said that the level of implementation and coherent use of policy-making tools is directly related to the level of success in the overall reform of the government and of the public administrations. The above considerations may apply to policy making irrespective of the sector of activity - from agriculture to culture to health etc.

There are also a number of problems that seem to be more deeply rooted in the cultural sector. Without any attempt to classify them in order of importance, these problems are common, in varying degrees, to all Southeastern European countries:

- Insufficiency of statistical data (the sheer number of statistical indicators pertaining to culture is ridiculously low, compared to the Eurostat range of indicators). The precariousness of cultural statistics is likely to affect the accuracy of analyses and comparisons necessary as a basis for informed policy decisions
- Insufficiency of cultural studies and analyses (there is at least one outstanding exception - Croatia) as reliable independent sources for policy decisions
- Reduced or non-existent power of associative structures (labour unions, *inter alia*) that should act as major stakeholders
- Lack of cohesion of stakeholders, even when common interests are at stake (the recent amendment of the Copyright Act in Romania is an outstanding example of the losses incurred by rights owners because of their lack of unity)

Last but not least, culture and cultural policies are still considered by Southeastern European governments as second-level priority. This perception is due to the fact that, on the one hand, cultural policy makers have still to produce any assessment of quantifiable benefits derived from culture, in a context where cultural industries, unless subsidized, are not considered to be within the competency of the ministries of culture. On the other hand, the general policy-making system of Southeastern European countries is still a vertical one, with little or no cross-sectoral/transversal approaches. Thus, Southeastern European governments do not understand the role of culture and the importance of cultural policies with respect to social inclusion and social cohesion, sustainable development, job creation, development of the knowledge-based economy, or cultural diversity, among others.

Having mentioned so many impedimenta to the democratic process of policy making and to the use of its essential assessment tools, I would expect to be asked about the finality of this paper. It is my unwavering belief that, however difficult, cumbersome, costly and time consuming, the democratic processes described shall be eventually implemented, for the greater benefit of us all. The time span for their implementation and consistent use may vary from one country to another, but through our joined-up and informed efforts we could “make a difference”.

A last cautionary remark - and incentive, at the same time - is in order. One of the most used acronyms in management is S.M.A.R.T., which stands for Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic, and Timed. Likewise, our objectives in reforming the policy-making processes in our respective countries should be S.M.A.R.T.!

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Cultural Policy and the Digitalisation of Culture

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Today, in the new world of convergence of communication, information and telecommunication industries, the world we often wrongly call the world of virtual reality, (see Castells, 1996: 372-375) this world of digital cyberspace is a world of opportunity for the flourishing of art and culture. This is mainly because the World Wide Web (www) and the Internet offer equal access to each connected human. We may add that the quality of delivery, the speed and price may vary, but basically it is an access to the same resources, digital resources which are creating a new cultural space, and an organizational and imaginary space. The digital technologies appear as the infrastructure of that cyberspace, creating new spaces of communication, sociability, organization and above all new knowledge and information markets.

The convergence of the information, telecommunication and cultural industries is raising many issues as to how to understand the changing nature of distribution of material culture, the constitution of cultural identities, and the very flow of symbols which are increasingly eluding the traditional organized policy of the authority of the nation state. This is because as cultural products circulate globally as a transborder, transnational flow of digitalized products, of video, TV, music, film, artwork, digitalized heritage and other multimedia productions – they have the ability to create new or recreate old communities of interest that transcend geophysical and geopolitical space.

Furthermore, digitalisation allows duplication of cultural items with an unprecedented degree of accuracy and at the same time at an extremely low cost. Digital duplication is also not limited to physical items, and because of this the number of potential copies is theoretically unlimited. It is true, however, that while the cost of the production of a new product or information may be substantial, the cost of the second copy and all the subsequent copies is negligible. However, easy duplication of such cultural products and information invites piracy and thus creates

the need for new forms of protection measures from encryption to application of copyright laws and regulations.

Digitalisation also allows transmission of copies with no loss of contents and without destroying the original, making otherwise rare objects of art and cultural heritage readily available to the masses.

Digitalisation, besides revolutionizing broadcast media and introducing a plethora of digital radio and TV channels (via satellite or cable), also gives rise to new forms of media products that did not previously exist. These forms - not possible before the advent of digitalisation - range from electronic newsletters to networked games and video on demand and web sites of news and entertainment of all sorts, with their content created specifically for their electronic editions.

The changes brought about by the development of communication and information technologies to the media and the subsequent development of the global media culture have been well recorded and discussed. However, I would like to point out the importance of the inclusion of media policy and development into cultural policy, especially in the countries in transition where media policy is often viewed separately from cultural policy. This is because media plays a great role in the development of cultural diversity as well as being of great importance to the development of the minority media since the Internet and the use of other digital technologies allow cheaper and easier access to minority media worldwide.

Furthermore, besides building transnational audiences, transnational media opens up new possibilities for diasporic audiences, which can now fully participate in the political and cultural life of their homelands or countries of origin.

It is also important to note that the new media technologies provide the creation of alternative media of all kinds, which together with minority and ethnic media play a great role in democratic communication and the development of civil society.

All of the above brings inevitable changes to the society as a whole.

In their working paper "The world of ones and zeros: social consequences of digitalisation" (2000) the Research Group on the Global Future at the Center for Applied Policy Research (CAP) lists six reasons why digitalisation brings deep changes to industrialized societies:

First, it allows duplication of items and information with an unprecedented degree of accuracy at costs approaching zero. Second, it allows the transmission of these copies with no loss of contents and without destroying the original. Third, confined to the earth, these copies can be transmitted effectively instantaneously, eliminating many of the barriers distance had previously posed to commerce, culture and even personal relationships. Fourth, the machines

necessary for digitalisation are improving rapidly, building a virtuous circle of increasing usefulness. Fifth, the costs of digitalisation are sinking, broadening greatly the number of people who stand to gain. Finally, as with industrialization each of the other five processes of digitalisation reinforces the others, increasing the contrast with non-digital approaches while spurring further evolution of digital methods. (ibid.: 27)

As new communication and information technologies are shaping the structure and substance of our daily lives by offering opportunities for exploration of our creativity, they are making us active participants in our creativity and cultural change. The consumer market developed by ICTs such as home shopping, video-on-demand etc., are already well-established practices of our everyday living. However, another set of cultural spaces flourishing due to the digitalisation of culture is digitalisation of cultural heritage and art, which allows us on-line visits to museums, archives, libraries and art galleries. The entire cultural heritage of nations, otherwise not available to us, is now within our reach with a few clicks of a computer mouse, giving us unprecedented access to knowledge of the cultures of the world. It appears that in the area of digitalisation of the cultural heritage most European countries experienced a real advancement, even the countries of Southeastern Europe. However the digitalisation of cultural heritage and the state of the e-culture in Europe are not without problems, as I have argued elsewhere (Kolar-Panov, 2003).

EU policy and the digitalisation of culture

As a result of the information and cultural initiatives and policy introduced by the European Union's institutions and UNESCO, our cultural heritage is now taking a digital form, whether "born-digital" or "born-again" by conversion to digital from other media (Lyman and Kahle, 1998), and in the emerging knowledge society, in which there is an increasing demand for high quality digital content, cultural institutions are in an ideal position to provide this kind of unique learning resource.

Thus, by providing public access to cultural heritage resources on the Internet and other forms of digitalized materials like CD-ROMs and databases, users of cultural resources are able to open up a whole new universe in which they can enjoy a new interactive cultural heritage environment where they are able, for example, not only to walk through virtual museums but, thanks to intelligent tools, to manipulate digital artefacts and participate in communities of interest.

The Council of the European Union and the Commission of the European Communities are actively pursuing the eEurope initiative (European Commission, 2000) to develop advanced systems and services that will help improve access to

Europe's knowledge and educational resources, and improve accessibility, visibility and recognition of the commercial value of Europe's cultural and scientific resources.

Cultural heritage in the newest IST Program (European Commission, 2002a) calls for building a compelling and inclusive cultural landscape in Europe and providing access to scientific and cultural content through the networks of libraries and museums, which should result in "advanced digital libraries" with resource discovery, metadata, interoperability, new tools, new services and new business models for cross-domain content navigation.

The IST Sixth Framework Program (*ibid.*) priorities are to address the major societal and economic challenges, to develop mobile and wireless communications and to push for miniaturization. The aim is to bring people to the foreground as a "centre of attention" and to build technologies for the background (almost invisible) which are trustworthy and embedded in everyday objects. This is referred to as increasing "ambient intelligence" (European Commission, 2002d). For the cultural sector this means a shift from "easy access to information" to "facilitated interaction with knowledge" (European Commission, 2002c: 258).

What is also important to mention here is that in the Sixth Framework Program the European Commission (2002a) recommends that a good balance should be found between the funding of innovative, high risk projects and research and development programs that will allow smaller institutions to catch up.

However, there are still many areas (as identified by the DigiCULT Report, European Commission, 2002c) that need attention before we can take the next steps towards the developments described in the Sixth Framework Program. I will briefly present you with only the most crucial questions that are faced equally by the member states of the EU and the countries of Larger Europe.

First of all there is a vital need for national visions and strategies for information communication technologies implementation and use in the scientific and cultural heritage sectors (European Commission, 2002c: 35). Most of the European Union member states have not yet defined their digitalisation policies and to my knowledge the situation in other countries in Europe is the same. In the absence of clear policies and set methodologies, cultural heritage institutions such as museums, libraries and archives are doing their best - depending on funding and on human resources. However, there is always a risk of wasting resources, as work might be duplicated, or of materials being digitalized without complying with any compatible standards. Because of this there is a need for a methodological and systematic approach to the creation of an adequate information and cultural policy that will allow national governments not only to create new methodologies but, equally importantly, to co-ordinate and synchronize the already existing initiatives and projects. Such

co-ordinated efforts are currently established in the EU as a part of the eEurope initiative (European Commission, 2000).

Furthermore, as in many European countries there is more than one official language, there is a need for cultural policy to acknowledge that fact and foster the development of a multilingual digital culture in order to provide multilingual access as a means to communicate to an increasingly pluralistic society as well as to the global community (European Commission, 2002c: 113). In addition to this, cultural heritage institutions within multicultural societies such as Macedonia need to find appropriate ways of allowing the participation of different communities in the digitalisation of cultural record and memory.

Thus national governments are faced with the challenge to develop a sound methodology for digitalisation, a methodology that will both offer transparent criteria for content selection of the existing material and develop criteria for the preservation of the "born-digital" content.

The concept of born-digital resources is a relatively new concept, and reflects the difficulties cultural heritage institutions are faced with in managing these new kinds of cultural resources that have been created with the help of information and communication technologies (*ibid.*: 223). Their transient, dynamic character and the fact that the current legal situation does not properly take care of the exploding quantity of born-digital material are the most pressing issues. Disappearing web resources are not only annoying (we are all familiar with the irritating "error 404" which appears every time another web resource has disappeared), they represent a serious obstacle to the management and preservation of the born-digital material. Given the fact that many web resources disappear within a very short time - it is estimated that the average web page has a life of only 70 days (*ibid.*) - there is an urgent need for the introduction of some mechanism that will allow cultural institutions to collect and preserve this data in order to prevent the loss of a vast amount of our present and future cultural heritage.

Presumably, the responsibility for preserving and archiving born-digital material should rest with the author (or creator), and if this responsibility is not met there is a need for intervention by an institution such as a library or an archive. However, as the copyright issues for born-digital material are not yet clearly defined, first and foremost there is a need for suitable legislation addressing intellectual property rights and ownership "as well as moral rights and needs to address the widespread uncertainty about the legal and organizational requirements for managing intellectual property of digital information" (*ibid.*: 225). As mentioned above, it is a matter of some urgency for national governments to establish comprehensive cultural policies such as national digitalisation programs with clear policies not only on digitalisation

of the existing content of cultural institutions but also on policies regarding the preservation of “born-digital” material.

The two action plans, Action Plan 2002 endorsed by the EU leaders at the Fiera summit in June 2000 (Council of the European Union and Commission of the European Communities, 2000), and Action Plan 2005 approved in Seville in June 2002 (Commission of the European Communities, 2002), pursue the creation of an inclusive information society. Action Plan 2002 concentrates on the effective access, use and ready availability of the Internet while Action Plan 2005 puts the users at the center, emphasizing e-inclusion (digital inclusion) and including e-accessibility for people with special needs. Digital inclusion does not mean that the key services must be available by personal computer only, it rather means that key services should be available via interactive digital television, third generation mobile phones and cable networks.

The positive results achieved by the implementation of Action Plan 2002 are already visible from the fact that by mid-2002, 40% of EU households had Internet access, in comparison to 18% in March 2000 (European Commission, 2002b: 10).

There are also high expectations that cultural institutions will play a significant role in the emerging information economy, this being true particularly of cultural industries such as publishing or media industries (European Commission, 2002c: 14). However, although free access to cultural heritage resources is expected by the majority of the population in the EU (ibid.: 50), the emerging digital cultural economy seems to be putting increased pressure on the cultural heritage institutions to charge for cultural services. This creates a conflict between a vision of free access and the politics of the free market economy. This in turn presents another challenge to national governments, which are faced with a decision on finding the right balance between cultural services being charged for and those being offered free.

Where is the Art in all this?

Like other digital media, digital cultures are simultaneously performances and artefacts, although digital artefacts are profoundly different from physical artefacts. Most importantly things occupy places, and are therefore always local, while digital documents and electronic signals with local storage have a global range. Thus digital cultural artefacts are dramatically different from those in other media (Lyman and Kahle, 1998: 2).

Because digitalisation and other new technologies are indispensable tools for both the creation and preservation of art, and they allow the cultural products to circulate globally, permitting direct transmission of highly complex auditory and visual information, there is a changing relationship in the viewer-art interaction, and

consequently there is a sharing of the sensitivity, imagination, knowledge and desires of the artist with the sensitivity, imagination, knowledge and desires of the viewer.

It is also important to note that digital cultural artefacts are not the property of cultural elites, since millions of people are creating cultural artefacts in intangible form using computers and networks. These born-digital artefacts are not achieved by traditional cultural institutions organized and funded by a cultural elite.

Digitalisation also changes some basic notions of art, challenging the established hierarchies in the art world.

Digital art was one of the forebears of the digital revolution because art is the densest form of communication and often represents “The means by which we test a communication system, and by doing so, the reality it defines” (Foresta, 1997: 101).

In 1994, Daniel Pinchbeck in his article in the magazine *Wired* proclaimed that:

Digital art is the apotheosis of art in the age of mechanical reproduction. The very distinction between the original and the copy becomes meaningless in a digital world – there the work exists only as a copy. And yet, artists, like the rest of us, remain uncertain as to whether the new information universe is merely an impoverished shadow of some other, more corporeal body. (Pinchbeck, 1994: 2)

Pinchbeck also argues that digitalized artwork has no intrinsic status as an object, as it consists only of information, information that is molded into a picture, a sculpture, an animation or any other art form. Because of this “any particular version of a digital art piece can only be arbitrary and transient because digital art is no longer object oriented” (ibid.).

Or in the words of Jeffrey Shaw:

The technologies of immaterial representation have opened a Pandora’s box of new relationships between the viewer and the artwork. The desire for the dissolution and disillusion of the corporeal artwork seems to be consistent with the avantgardist ambition for the convergence between art and life, in Guy Deboard’s words “life can never be too disorientating”. While the success of an interface is constituted by efficacy as a mechanism of conjunction, the artistic quality of an interface is the extent to which this conjunction embodies new cultural values. A new aesthetics come to the fore, the artwork is more and more embodied in the interface in an articulation in a space of meeting between the artwork and the viewer. (Shaw, 1997: 54)

Gerfried Stocker on the other hand on the occasion of the *Ars Electronica* festival “Takeover: Who is doing the art of tomorrow?” in 2001, asked the question: “Which

constellations, which factors are defining the art of tomorrow, where will it happen, who is doing it, and with whom?” and answered by saying: “The art of tomorrow will be done by the engineers of experience in their work-shops of world-invention and world-creation. It will be staged in a venue located between Las Vegas and the Tate Modern, between IT algorithms and protein sequences” (Stocker, 2001: 13).

This only shows that the rise of information and communication technologies has deeply affected the world of art and artist. Digital art has blurred the boundaries between commercial and radical art. The presence of the artist and art in the realms beyond the conventional art world and in the emerging e-economies opened up spaces for a creativity burst that goes far beyond the increase in sheer number.

As technologies of communication today permit a full exploration of these new spaces for art provided by digitalisation, these new spaces for creativity often harbor hidden dangers to that very creativity. Or as Erkki Huhtamo notices:

Many artists working with technology have been forced to give up their independence and become economic refugees in corporate research institutions. In many of these, the idea of “creative application” has taken the place of unrestricted experimentation. The “in house artist” is put under the pressure of producing “something useful” – new kind of authoring software, a virtual reality interface for the military or theme park or perhaps a video game. Instead of the “immaterial things” such as thoughts or emotions her/his creation may provoke, the value of the artist is probed on the market place. Although there are exceptions, some institutions still proving freedom and technological means beyond any artist’s reach, the artist *bricoleur* is quickly becoming a curiosity, to be displayed together with his/her creations in the freak show of the brave new cyberspace. (Huhtamo, 1997: 104)

This only proves the importance of finding secure funding for the individual creative work of artists not only from private benefactors and NGOs, but first and foremost from international and national cultural institutions.

To have secure funding is also to have effective cultural policies, which brings us to the question of the role of cultural policies in the era of digitalized art and culture.

The role of cultural policy

The real challenge to cultural policy is that we are today dealing with communication and media and cultural technologies that are developing much faster than cultural policy is developing. Because of this the burning question for cultural policy is how to deal with this fast development in the cultural field and how cultural institutions, which by their very nature are structured, centralized, and bureaucratic, can adopt

new developments that digitalisation brings about and which are mainly decentralized, unstructured and often anti-authoritarian. However, I will briefly discuss only some of the policy guidelines and action plans that have been instrumental in providing recognition of the influence of the information and communication technologies (ICTs) on the formation of cultural policies of today and of tomorrow, at the level of international organizations such as UNESCO and at the level of European institutions such as the Council of Europe.

Many supranational and international policies have already been adopted to include the convergence of cultural and media policies, starting with UNESCO’s “Our creative diversity, report to the World Commission on Culture and Development” in 1995 (see UNESCO, 1996). However, the Council of Europe’s first project, called “New information technologies (NIT.)”, produced the first guidelines “Cultural work within the information society: Guidelines for a European cultural policy” (Council of Europe, 2001) for the development of cultural policy for the European member states that deal with a cultural policy for the information society.

In the “guidelines” (ibid.) it is acknowledged that the information and communication technologies (ICTs) have induced fundamental changes in employment patterns and cultural work in both the public and private sectors. Thus, the challenges offered by ICTs should be taken up by the European cultural organizations, since ICTs are not only opportunities for economic development but also for cultural development and cultural diversity.

However, the “guidelines” are intended only to provide “guidance for policy makers, politicians and professionals” in cultural organizations for drawing up legal instruments and governmental policies for training and qualification in cultural sectors. Just to point out the importance of these guidelines for the creators of cultural policies in Europe, I will sum up some of the most important points (ibid.).

The role of the guidelines is to “promote awareness of organizational challenges resulting from transformation caused by application of ICTs”, and also to encourage “the acknowledgement of the need for qualification and training in the field of ICTs to allow the cultural sector to take advantage of the information society” (ibid.).

The guidelines also recommend the creation of a “legal economical and educational environment for the full exploitation of the ICTs for production of cultural content”, and also point towards the provision of cultural policies in providing “support in setting-up international co-operation and exchange in the field of ICTs, recognizing that the future development of qualifications and organizational patterns will be conducted increasingly beyond national borders” (ibid.).

The “Guidelines” also accentuate that since fundamental structural changes are taking place in the information society, changes which are causing mergers of

previously independent specialized sectors, cultural organizations should consequently adapt their practices to the new forms of generating, processing, transmitting and storing digital information.

Furthermore, since organizational patterns are moving away from a central hierarchical and bureaucratic approach towards a distributed, decentralized and flat entrepreneurial style of management, cultural organizations should consequently envisage new organizational patterns. Most importantly, public authorities should ensure that all cultural organizations benefit from the advent of ICTs and that the production, distribution and use of diverse quality cultural products and services in digital form is increased in a variety of sectors through policy frameworks. The “Guidelines” also include the description of professional profiles in cultural work, profiles combining management and technology as well as description of skills of cultural workers in information society (ibid.).

Another important document for the creation of cultural policy in a digital environment is the “Action plan on cultural policies for development” by UNESCO (1998a), which in Articles nos. 7, 8 and 9 of its objective no. 4, aiming to “promote cultural and linguistic diversity in and for the information society”, envisages the “elaboration of cultural policies for preservation and development of archives, museums, libraries and other information generated or collected by governmental and non-governmental institutions, when possible by digitalisation”, and recommends promotion of knowledge of the cultural and natural heritage by “virtual means provided by technologies”. Moreover it recognizes the “significance of the new media technologies for the work of creative people as well as the key role of artistic creation in building the information society”.

UNESCO’s Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural policies for Development (1998b) in Stockholm also recommends that the member countries should “encourage research on the relationship between culture and its dissemination in the media and through new communication services, and support efforts to co-ordinate and possibly harmonize methods of measurement and evaluation of cultural programming in media”.

However, there is still an imbalance - even a growing gap - between the rhetoric of the speeches, action plans and guidelines and the actual cultural policies and their implementation.

Moreover, the actual policies that include the questions surrounding the use of ICTs in the cultural sector at their grassroots level still have no or very little mention in the national cultural policies in Southeastern Europe. For example in the “Cultural policies in Europe: A compendium of basic facts and trends” (Council of Europe/ERICarts, 2003), a compendium that provides information on government

policies in Europe (Larger Europe), the concept of cultural policy is still a very traditional one; it covers measures and policies carved out by ministers of culture and does not see the interlinkages between different policy sectors, e.g. labor policies and cultural policies, technology policies and cultural policies, educational policies and cultural policies, information society policies and cultural policies, etc. Because of this, there is a need for a redefinition of what the national cultural policies should include, especially in the countries in transition where there still exists a kind of old-fashioned thinking inside the cultural administration regarding the need for change, especially the need for new competencies and skills.

Lidia Varbanova in her policy paper “Financing cultural practices in South East Europe” (2003: 8-9) has identified the possible problematic areas in financing culture in Southeastern Europe, dividing the problem area into three groups: “general problems”, “problematic areas on an organization level” and “problematic areas in training”.

All of these “problematic areas” listed by Varbanova can be applied when we are talking about the digitalisation of culture and cultural policy, and I will point out just the most important issues for our discussion. In the “general problem” area, the incorrect thinking of the politicians who most often think of culture as marginal, in turn stands in the way of developing an effective legislative framework. Furthermore, there is a lack of comprehensive regional strategy for Southeastern Europe regarding the digitalisation of cultural heritage and a lack of co-operative measures regarding digitalisation and ICT policies in general.

There is also a lack of national and regional foundations supporting cultural activities regarding digitalisation. For example, in “Cultural policies in Europe: a compendium of basic facts and trends”, in the document on Macedonia under Article 4.2.7 “New technologies and cultural policies” there is a simple statement: “[t]here is no specific policy or campaign in this field” (Council of Europe / ERICarts, 2003a: 9). And perhaps one of the most burning problems for cultural policies regarding the digitalisation of culture is that media and entertainment industries, just like other marginal culture industries such as sports, fashion and tourism, are not only poorly linked to arts and culture, but are almost never considered for inclusion within the national cultural policies of the region of Southeastern Europe; for example, in the preparation of the “cultural strategy” for Macedonia the media were simply excluded from the auspices of the cultural policy. Thus in order to be efficient in today’s information society, cultural policy needs to include various fields of culture, not only those embraced by traditional cultural policy. Examples of these fields are cultural industries and the media, which might require special attention since they could need a different approach to that of one of the more traditional cultural activities such as arts.

Training is another problematic area, as identified by Varbanova (2003), and in relation to the digitalisation of culture it is probably the area that needs the most urgent action, especially in order to educate and re-train existing administration and cultural workers and enable them to successfully embrace the new cultural tools provided by new communication and information technologies.

Also the continuing prevalence of the traditional understanding of culture in the countries of Southeastern Europe, especially in the countries of the former Yugoslavia, an understanding mainly associated with national cohesion and cultural identity has a negative influence on embracing the more universal values that the digitalisation of culture and the other consequences of ICTs are offering us. Thus the digitalisation of cultural heritage and the preservation of ethno-cultural values take priority, leaving the creative energies and potentials of those cultures lagging behind.

However, one area at the heart of the relationship between policy and the digitalisation of culture has been widely popularized and discussed. That is the question of copyright. We all recall the public attention the “Napster” case caused by enabling the unauthorized downloading of digitalized music, and the consequent court battles (see Rimmer, 2001). But not all issues of copyright of digitalized material are so clear cut. Within the copyright question there are also issues such as “fundamental human rights of expression and of access and participation to culture” (Mucica, 2003: 38).

Delia Ruxandra Mucica also emphasizes the role of national public policies in the e-environment (2003: 38) pointing out the need for new legislation on authors’ rights since the existing legislation and the old forms of protection may not suffice under conditions of e-culture, where digital products often deteriorate faster than analogue products. She points out that cultural goods and services are not like any other form of culture or cultural merchandise and that “creative industries are not like any other business” (ibid.). This is because cultural goods have a symbolic value and have a “critical contribution in shaping human development”, playing a role in the creation of cultural identity, and thus must be addressed by a cultural policy.

However, most of the national public policies in Southeastern Europe have addressed the issue of copyright and subsequently created copyright laws which mainly address the economic right of the creators over their work, as well as securing implementation of that regulatory system. In the creation of these copyright laws, and taking as an example Macedonia, the countries of Southeastern Europe pay special attention to the harmonization of the laws and regulations of the country with the laws and regulations of the European Union.

However, the question of copyright for digitalized items remains open since the Directive 2001/29/EC of the European Parliament and Council of 22 May 2001 on

the harmonization of certain aspects of copyright and related rights in the information society (European Parliament and the Council of the European Union, 2001) does not sufficiently regulate the fate of the products of digital culture in the e-environment.

Because of that, Mucica asks the question: “What happens to cultural e-products following the paradigm of ‘creative destruction’, they become obsolete and therefore are supposedly discarded and destroyed?” (2003: 38). The answer to this lies only in the creation of new, adequate cultural policy measures which will ensure the preservation of e-products, especially those born digital, as well as their content, for future generations. The systems such as the legal deposit system (see Mucica, 2003) that are already in place might be less than ideal for digitalized material, thus the invention and application of new preservation systems must be one of the priorities of the cultural policy of today.

Conclusion

Digitalisation is what culture in the information society is about; it is not only the means of preservation of cultural heritage and the collective memory, or of yesterday’s culture, but it is also the means of preservation of the culture and creativity of today.

As the cultural scene and cultural work are changing so rapidly, we not only need more information on what is going on in the field of culture but also constant monitoring of the changes that are taking place. And as I argued earlier, it seems that the policies always come last. Since the changes and developments are very swift, it is of utmost importance that cultural institutions, especially at the regional and national levels, react equally swiftly. However, creating a cultural policy for the digital future of Southeastern Europe is going to prove a more than difficult task, largely because of an inadequate communication and information infrastructure, but also because of the lack of a skilled workforce and mostly due to the unstable and changing governing bodies of cultural institutions which depend mainly on the politics of the day.

It is also important that cultural policy develops market awareness, especially where cultural industries are concerned, in order to enable culture creators to survive within those cultural industries. This is especially important in the development of copyright and content regulations.

Until it is completely understood that culture is a valuable part of the economic development of the country and that the harmonization of the cultural policy with the policies and legislature of the European Union is as important as, for example, the harmonization of the economic or defense policies, the field of cultural policy in the countries of Southeastern Europe will remain underdeveloped and often marginalised for a very long time.

Finally, one of the aims of the cultural policy in the age of digitalized culture should be to provide people within the reach of global culture with all the necessary means to participate fully in national, ethnic, regional and local cultures. Thus, cultural policy should also safeguard the basic cultural supply to the entire society, meaning that care must be taken that access to cultural goods and services distributed by digital media is equal for all members of society.

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Assessing the Impact of EU Enlargement on Cultural Policies in Countries in Transition

Nina Obuljen

Introduction

Various international instruments directly and indirectly initiate changes in formulating national cultural policies. This can also be illustrated by analyzing the impact of the enlargement of the European Union on public policies in the EU member states: it is evident that the process of European enlargement,¹ although primarily driven by economic and political interests, brings changes in cultural policies.

Culture and cultural policies were not considered priorities during the first period of European integration and were put on the table only in the later phases. Even though the majority of member states still reject the idea of formulating "common cultural policy" and insist on respect of the principle of "subsidiarity",² there is also a consensus in favor of establishing a certain degree of co-operation in the cultural field because many cultural initiatives require European-level coordination or lead to a common cultural dimension.

While debates still mostly focus on the question of the need for "European cultural policy", at the same time it is possible to claim that a de facto European cultural

- 1 Since the signing of the Rome agreements in 1957 (signed by six states: Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Germany) the European Community has been continuously enlarging and admitting new members. In 1973 Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom joined after which followed the accession of Greece in 1981, Spain and Portugal in 1986 and Austria, Finland and Sweden in 1995. The biggest enlargement happened in May 2004 when ten new member countries including former communist countries from Central Europe joined the Union (Czech Republic, Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia).
- 2 The principle of subsidiarity is explained in Article 5(2) of the Treaty which states that the Community shall take action only if and in so far as the objectives of the proposed action cannot be sufficiently achieved by the member states and can therefore, by reason of scale and effects of the proposed action, be better achieved by the Community.

policy already exists, even though it is not yet clearly articulated. Provisions from various common policies have an impact on culture which includes both instruments referring specifically to culture and those that apply to culture more generally. Published studies on obstacles to the mobility of artists; cultural goods and services; analysis of employment opportunities across Europe; tax systems; copyright; and the liberalization of marketplaces, all prove that cultural policies depend on, and are influenced by, provisions and rules arising from other spheres of public policies.³ As those measures directly referring to culture represent only a small portion of the *acquis communautaire*, when assessing the impact of EU enlargement on culture it is necessary to explore the effects on cultural policies of instruments such as those calling for the harmonization of fiscal, social or tax policies, competition policies, free circulation of goods, people and services etc.

One of the basic principles of researching public policy is that public policy is a government's action or inaction in a specific field (see Dye, 1976; Heidenhemier et al., 1990; Parsons, 1999). Simon Mundy, in his paper analyzing cultural policies in Europe, North America and Australia, argues against a common belief that the United States does not have cultural policy. According to Mundy, a decision not to formulate specific policies or adopt certain policy measures can already be labeled as policy because it reflects a choice to act or not in a certain field (Mundy, 2001: 61). This example of a decision not to regulate culture with special legislation or not to have a system of direct financial support through some form of subsidies, as is the case in the USA, is a legitimate policy and should be analyzed as such.

If the same argument applies to the treatment of culture in the European Union, the debate on the existence or non-existence, or the need for a European level cultural policy would become almost obsolete. The decision not to formulate a common cultural policy reflects the political will and interests of the European decision makers, but it does not mean that culture remains excluded from the decision-making process. The policy process at EU level brings numerous changes to the environment in which cultural goods and services are being produced, distributed and exchanged

³ See for example: Audéoud, Olivier (2002), "Study on the mobility and free movement of people and products in the cultural sector", Study No. DG EAC/08/00, Partnership CEJEC - Université PARIS X-EAEA; "Exploitations and development of the job potential in the cultural sector in the age of digitalisation: Final report (2001)", MKW Wirtschaftsforschung GmbH, Munich; Fourth report from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on the application of Directive 89/552/EEC "Television without Frontiers", COM (2002) 778, final, Brussels, 6.1.2003.; Green Paper on Services of General Interest (Presented by Commission), COM (2003) 270 final, Brussels, 21 May 2003; or "Report on the state of cultural cooperation in Europe", EFAH, Interarts, October 2003

or where those employed in the cultural sector earn their salaries, pay their taxes or regulate their social and health benefits.

Still, as there is no articulated common cultural policy, culture finds itself in a rather ambiguous position. From one side there is continuous lobbying to recognize the special role and the importance of culture and to give culture a more prominent place, but at the same time, the EU member states have been unable to achieve a consensus as to how to proceed with policy making at EU level related to culture. In this context, cultural policies seem to be in a defensive position where culture is generally evoked when it needs to be "exempt" from certain regulations, but it is not likely that culture will achieve a more prominent place on the EU agenda unless it is included in the mainstream of policy making at EU level. Designing special policies in favor of culture would not endanger the principle of subsidiarity, as some may fear, but it would simply reflect a pragmatic and functional need to achieve a higher degree of co-ordination in dealing with challenges previously not dealt with in cultural policies.

This ambiguous position of culture is becoming even more evident in the new EU member states and the candidate countries. Because culture is not explicitly part of the EU agenda, except for audiovisual policy, copyright and some provisions related to cultural heritage, and because defining policy priorities in the new member countries is profoundly influenced by those priorities set by Brussels, culture is lagging behind other sectors, both in terms of innovative policy making and in terms of prioritizing sectors at national level.

In her analysis of the need to reformulate the system of financing and managing culture in transition countries, Delia Mucica stresses that the adjustment of existing instruments regulating culture or drafting new legislation, which are the most important goals of the reform of cultural sectors, cannot be assessed without taking into account the reform of public administration, tax systems or initiatives for decentralization, which are not necessarily aiming at culture, but are fundamentally changing the cultural sector as well (Mucica, 2002: 24). In the same paper, Mucica also points to the fact that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to draw a line between the changes that are happening in post-communist countries as a consequence of the enlargement and those that are consequences of the transition to a market economy or adjustments to requests for the liberalization of trade (ibid: 25).

The position of the EU towards cultural policies can be characterized by the protection of the status quo and preservation of a rather defensive approach to policy making. One of the consequences of such treatment of culture is the fact that there is still very little research on the impact of EU enlargement on culture in transition countries other than in those aspects explicitly covered by the *acquis communautaire* such as audiovisual policy or copyright.

If these hypotheses are accepted, then in looking at the impact of EU enlargement on culture, it is first necessary to explore to what extent it is possible to adopt methodology already applied for the assessment of the impact of enlargement in other fields and its applicability to culture and cultural policies; and then to look at various common policies to assess their current or possible future impact on culture.

The European Union and culture: a policy approach to the research into the impact of enlargement

The European Union, with its differing interests, has an extremely complex set of policies towards the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. This complexity is well described by Sedelmeier and Wallace who wrote about the enlargement towards the East and pointed to the fact that the enlargement policy is not one specific and articulated policy nor is it a simple combination of all existing policies but that it should be described as a multilevel policy which has at least two dimensions. The first one is a “macro” level of policy which aims at determining general goals and parameters of different policies. The other dimension consists of determining specific details and contents of these macro policies. In designing this policy, which Sedelmeier and Wallace call “meso policy”, it is necessary to have active involvement of experts for the specific policy field who can translate the goals of macro policy into concrete policy measures and instruments (see Sedelmeier and Wallace in Wallace and Wallace, 2002: 429).

In order to translate general priorities into concrete policy instruments, it is necessary not only to decide what instruments to apply but also how and when to apply them. This includes an extremely complex process of decision making which has to simultaneously take into account different policy areas. In other words, this “macro” policy consists of a series of “meso” policies that are in fact defining the content of policies and enabling monitoring of the results of their application (ibid).

Parallel with the research into the impact of accepting new member states to the EU, numerous studies on the impact of the enlargement on various policies both in old and new member states⁴ are being undertaken in order to anticipate both positive and negative consequences and eventually to adopt some measures and instruments

4 Methodology used for this type of research includes, for example, cost-benefit analysis, SWOT analysis, and others. Some of these methods could also be applied to the research of culture, i.e. cost and benefit analysis of enlargement could be useful to determine what will happen with the opening of the cultural markets and their integration in a common market. It could show the weaknesses as well as strengths and the competitive potential of domestic cultural industries compared to European and especially American cultural goods and services. Of course, this type of research demands adequate statistics and indicators, which is another field where transition countries are still lagging behind although the improvement of statistics remains one of the priorities on the agenda of all EU member states.

that could directly influence those consequences. Even though during the last decade there has been a more intense discussion about culture and cultural aspects of enlargement there are still no studies assessing the overall changes in cultural lives and cultural policies occurring as a consequence of the process of enlargement nor is there much debate about specific methodology that could be used for this type of research.

The first limiting factor in identifying methodology that would be applicable across Europe is directly linked with the fact that there is no unified definition of culture and without such a definition and understanding of the scope and description of cultural policies it is impossible to design methodology that could be easily applied across Europe.⁵ This is one of the reasons why it is possible to find texts about the impact of enlargement on specific cultural sectors (i.e. the market for visual arts, cultural heritage, museums, theatres etc.) but not those texts that would assess cultural policy as a whole. Another limiting factor is certainly the ambiguity in defining the European Union’s policy towards culture, which explains why initial studies regarding the impact of enlargement appeared in those cultural sectors that were specifically articulated as fields of interest of the European Union, such as audiovisual policy and media.

Helen Wallace evokes the famous article of Donald Puchala⁶ about researchers into the European integration when she wrote about the five major challenges in the research into policy-making processes in the European Union (Wallace and Wallace, 2000: 65-66). The first challenge is to avoid the trap of forming general conclusions by automatically applying rules arising from one sector to all others. Another challenge is to resist the tendency to simplify various policies both at EU level and at

5 It is worth recalling interesting studies published within the Council of Europe’s project on “Evaluating National Cultural Policies across Europe”. Many obstacles quoted in these studies that referred to the problem of comparability of cultural policies in Europe are repeatedly evoked in the context of the European Union’s dilemmas on how to proceed with policy making and research into cultural policies at EU level (see d’Angelo, Mario; Vespérini, Paul, *Politiques culturelles en Europe: Une approche comparative*, 1998; d’Angelo, Mario; Vespérini, Paul, *Cultural policies in Europe: Method and practice of evaluation*, 1999; Gordon, Christopher; Mundy, Simon, *European Perspectives on Cultural Policy: Cultural policy reviews and requirements for a sustainable cultural policy*, 2001).

6 Donald J. Puchala, “Of Blind Men, Elephants and International Integration”, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 10, 1971, p. 267, describes analysts of European integration as a group of blind men who, while only touching the animal, are trying to describe the elephant. As each of them can touch only one part of the elephant, one will see the elephant as a tall animal because he touched the trunk, and the other will think that the elephant is in fact flat because he touched his ear. Even though their individual impressions are wrong, each has enough “evidence” to discuss the real appearance of the elephant and is therefore skeptical regarding the facts presented by other participants in the discussion.

the level of member states in order to facilitate the analysis and comparisons. The next challenge lies in the capability of the researcher not to limit his or her analysis to only one method of research but rather to be prepared to use various instruments. The fourth challenge, according to Wallace, is to have the competence to make a clear distinction between research into European integration as a broad phenomenon and research into the policy making within the European Union. At the end, Helen Wallace warns that the fifth challenge represents a need to have the ability to grasp and assess the vast policy-making process regardless of the fact that it is continuously changing and developing.

If we analyze available literature about culture and the European Union according to these challenges, it seems that the majority of researchers are still caught up in the debate on the nature of the European Union's position towards culture or, as Wallace describes it, are unable to make a distinction between research into European integration as a broad phenomenon and the analysis of the policy-making process and its impact on culture.

Hellen Wallace further writes about the research into the policy-making process in the European Union and suggests that it could be based on at least three disciplines: international relations, comparative policy and policy analysis. It is evident that all three fields of study could also be applied to research into the impact of enlargement on culture. If observed from the perspective of a researcher into international relations, the research could focus on the history of the EU's involvement in culture as well as reflection on specific interests and positions that the member states took when they were making important decisions having an impact on culture, such as, for example, the decision to ask for a unanimous vote when making decisions about culture. Comparative analysis of cultural policies can offer plenty of information about changes that were happening in different EU member states as they were joining the Union; comparison of cultural production and consumption; degree of harmonization of legislation etc. Comparative analysis can also be useful when assessing the impact of EU funding on national funding programs and schemes. Policy analysis would certainly be valuable as a method that could point to some specific details regarding policy making: both in determining what adjustments should be made but also what new policy instruments should be adopted and what their scope should be.

Without deciding on any of the above mentioned approaches, the second part of this paper will consist of a brief overview of currently existing EU regulations and instruments referring to culture with an indication of those areas in which it is

possible to anticipate important changes and where there is an obvious need for further research and analysis.

A brief history of EU involvement in culture

After the 1973 meeting in Copenhagen, the European Council published a communiqué which highlighted the importance of culture and cultural identity for further integration at the European level. In 1974 the European Parliament adopted the resolution⁷ calling for the protection of common cultural heritage - but in fact, the resolution was much broader and it included notions on the protection of objects of arts and cultural monuments; harmonization of legislation in the field of copyright or harmonization of tax laws relating to culture. In January 1976 the European Commission, for the first time, submitted to the Parliament a document articulating the need for coordination of cultural activities.⁸ By the end of 1977, the Commission published the document "Community activities in the cultural sector" that dealt primarily with existing measures having an impact on the cultural sector such as regulations in favor of free circulation of goods, tax regulations or copyright but also included some suggestions for future action particularly in the field of protection of the architectural heritage and promotion of cultural exchange.

In his book on *The Cultural Dimension in EC Law*, Matthias Niedobitek highlights that in these early stages, the Commission justified its involvement in cultural issues as a consequence of redefining the cultural sector as a socio-economic framework in which people produce and distribute cultural goods. In that sense it was understandable why the Commission focused on economic and social problems related to the cultural field. Niedobitek thinks that it is questionable if this could already be labeled as a cultural policy - or should it rather be explained as a logical consequence of developments in other fields where culture becomes an issue of legitimate interest for the Commission (Niedobitek, 1997: 65).

In 1976 and 1979⁹ the European Parliament adopted two resolutions inviting the Commission to submit formal proposals for the treatment of culture at Community level. Up till now, the European Parliament has remained one of the main advocates of culture at the European level. In 1982 the first conference of the ministers of culture of the EC adopted the declaration, signed in 1983, which invited the ministers responsible for culture to explore possibilities for the promotion of cultural cooperation with special emphasis on audiovisual media; to identify possibilities for

⁷ OJ 1974 C 62

⁸ EC General Report 10/1976

⁹ OJ 1976 C 79 and OJ 1979 C 39

cooperation in promoting and protecting cultural heritage; to facilitate contacts between artists and writers in member countries and to work on the promotion of their activities within the Community and beyond; as well as to work on better coordination of cultural activities when cooperating with third countries. From 1984 until 1986 the Council adopted several resolutions including those on fighting piracy; the distribution of European films; treatment of audiovisual products of European origin; the resolution establishing the European cultural capital, networking of libraries, promotion of the participation of youth; transnational cultural itineraries, protection and conservation of heritage, promotion of the translation of literary works, etc.

The year 1987 represents another turning point in the treatment of culture at the European level because the ministers of culture officially established the Council of Ministers of Culture and the *ad hoc* Commission for Cultural Issues. The European Parliament adopted another important document entitled “Initiating cultural activities in the EC”.¹⁰ The Directive on Television without Frontiers¹¹ was adopted in 1989 and in 1991 the first framework program for the support of the audiovisual industry, MEDIA I, was established.

In 1992 Article 128¹² was included in the Maastricht Treaty on European Union and it was the first time that an article explicitly related to culture was included in the Treaty. The article calls for contributions to the flowering of the cultures of the member states and respect for diversity; encouragement of cooperation; support and supplementing of actions of member states and fostering cooperation with third countries. The article also stipulates that the Community should take cultural aspects into account in all its actions under other provisions of the Treaty; and also states that all decisions related to culture should be adopted unanimously. The resolution adopted in November 1992 represents the first authentic interpretation of the inclusion of this article in the Treaty. As a consequence, in 1996 the Commission published the first report¹³ about the cultural aspects of community activities.

Numerous papers and studies¹⁴ after 1992 included analysis and reflections on the importance of the inclusion of Article 128 in the Treaty. Cultural communities, European cultural networks and professional organizations supported the inclusion of

10 Adopted by the European Parliament on November 17, 1989

11 OJ L 298, 17 October 1989, p.23. Council Directive on the coordination of certain provisions laid down by law, regulation or administrative action in member states concerning the pursuit of television broadcasting activities (89/552/EEC).

12 Article 128 became Article 151 in the Treaty of Amsterdam.

13 1st Report on the Consideration of Cultural Aspects in European Community Action, 18 April 1996.

14 See Niedobitek, 1997; Ellmeier, 1998; Kaufmann and Raunig, 2002; Smiers, 2002

this article and, generally speaking, were in favor of the new developments as it was anticipated that it would strengthen the position and the role of culture and contribute to fostering of cultural cooperation without questioning the principle of the exclusion of culture from harmonization.

In the study *Anticipating European Cultural Policies*, Therese Kaufmann and Gerald Raunig offer a detailed analysis of the importance and the content of Article 151. The first paragraph of the article states that “the Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States while respecting their national and regional diversity, and at the same time bringing their common cultural heritage to the fore”; which according to Kaufmann and Raunig already evokes a tension between two crucial concepts - assumed commonality supported by the idea of shared history on the one hand, and the cultural diversity of the people living in Europe on the other. (Kaufmann and Raunig, 2002: 10) They interpret the second paragraph of this article as a new sign of responsibility of the European Union for cultural matters. Similar interpretation can be found in the study *The role of the European Community concerning the cultural article 151 in the Treaty of Amsterdam: sustaining the development of intercultural competence within Europe* by Joost Smiers.

As for paragraph 3 calling for enhanced cooperation with third countries and international organizations, Kaufmann and Raunig think that it also represents an important step forward, but with some reservation because artists and cultural operators in third countries do not have the same legal and financial preconditions for a real and successful implementation of the objective of exchange and cooperation. In that context, this paragraph should enable the Commission to take a more proactive position and opens up different cooperation programs to the candidates, to other member countries of the Council of Europe and also to others such as those included in the Euro-Med partnership.

Andrea Ellmeier analyzes the inclusion of Article 128 in the Maastricht Treaty in the context of complex relations between debates on the theoretical definition and the role of culture that were mostly taking place within UNESCO and the Council of Europe, and a need to adjust those debates to the new realities of more intense trade in cultural goods and services and the growing importance of this sector in the so-called new economy¹⁵ (Ellmeier, 1998). Even though Ellmeier thinks that Article 128 has

15 While referring to the document of the European Commission “A fresh boost for culture in the European Community” (Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 4/87; Luxembourg, 1988), Ellmeier claims that the development of cultural policy of the EU is in fact based on what represents a skeleton of cultural policies in particular member states. Those segments that are of interest for particular member states become also of interest for the EU, namely: technological development and its impact on culture, structural projects with a clear cultural dimension, cultural tourism, small and medium-size enterprises, copyright and the trade of cultural goods and services.

only confirmed the principle of subsidiarity and explicitly enabled involvement in the field of culture, which de facto already existed, she believes that the inclusion of this article has contributed to the bigger engagement of legal and economic experts in describing the role of culture which was not the case before 1992 when those debates were reserved for the theoreticians of cultural policies and cultural studies. In that context, she rightly points to the fact that it was only after the inclusion of this article, that the Commission published a document which presented all existing instruments and activities of the Community in the field of culture.¹⁶

Mathias Niedobitek however thinks that the importance of Article 128 is overestimated and that, in fact, this article does not bring anything new, as well as the fact that many interpretations about the importance of this article are in fact wrong. Niedobitek thinks that Article 128, and paragraph 4 in particular, does not bring any new competences nor does it limit the ability and the rights of the Community to act in the field of culture. To support his arguments, Niedobitek analyzes some directives referring to culture that were adopted before the inclusion of this article in the Maastricht Treaty.¹⁷ He thinks that the only real contribution of Article 128 to the competences and the responsibilities of European institutions is the explicit call to include cultural aspects when taking all decisions in all common institutions, which means that the competences of the Community are not reduced exclusively to the legal instruments but also extend to those instruments of supervision that the Commission adopts in fulfilling its role of the “guardian of the treaty”.¹⁸

During 1996 and 1997 three new programs aimed at financing culture were introduced, namely Kaléidoscope, Ariane and Raphaël as well as a new framework program Media II. The Amsterdam Treaty on European Union adopted in 1997 did not bring any new developments in regulating the position of culture. Still, after Amsterdam, and as a consequence of insisting on social problems in the Union, the Commission published a document on “Culture, cultural industries and employment” (DGX), which discusses the socio-economic impact of cultural activities in opening

16 *Texts Concerning Cultural Policy at European Community Level*, Council of the European Union/General Secretariat, Brussels, Luxembourg 1994

17 Directive 92/100/EEC from November 1992. on lending rights and certain rights related to copyright in the area of intellectual property rights or Directive 92/77/EEC from 19 October 1992 amending Directive 77/388/EEC on harmonization of the rates of VAT which takes into account cultural aspects and enables member states to apply reduced VAT rates to certain goods and services (i.e. books, services such as writing or composing).

18 This hypothesis was confirmed just a few years after Niedobitek published his book. From 1997 until today, the Commission has published several reports analyzing the role and the position of culture in relation with other common policies.

new employment possibilities. In 1998, the first cultural forum of the EU gathered together cultural administrators and the program “Culture 2000”¹⁹ was conceived.

To conclude this brief overview of some of the most important developments at EU level regarding culture, the report “The Unity of Diversities: Cultural Cooperation in the European Union”, also called the “Ruffolo Report”, should be mentioned. This report for the European Parliament, published in 2001, represents another benchmark in debates about the role of culture and cultural policies in the European Union as it concludes with the following statement: “It is time that the EU replaces numerous declarations about the importance of culture with taking some concrete responsibilities” (Ruffolo, 2001: 8). According to Giorgio Ruffolo, the European parliamentarian who initiated and edited the report, European cultural policy could be a factor of cohesion because it could recognize the unity in diversities and would not regard diversities as obstacles to the creation of a common European identity.

Analysis of the impact of the enlargement on cultural policies

A consequence of the described historic developments in the European Union is the fact that at the moment,²⁰ culture can be found in only a few articles of the Treaty. Article 3 refers to general support for the promotion of culture and education. Previously mentioned Article 5 gives the explanation of the principle of subsidiarity. Article 30 refers to the free circulation of cultural products and Article 87, paragraph 3.d highlights the importance of culture in the context of trade policies.²¹

Still, if we look at other provisions of the Treaty that have an impact on culture, there are many more provisions that should be taken into consideration. Articles 23 and 24, then 39 to 55 refer to the free circulation of goods and services and free movement of people within the Union and in that context, Article 30 limits free circulation of goods in the situation when it concerns import, export or transit of cultural goods of special artistic, historic or archaeological value. In 1992, the

19 Beside “Culture 2000” (which came into force in the year 2000) cultural activities and projects are financed from many other EU funding programs and funds including structural funds. Still, when compared with the average percentage (1%) earmarked for culture in state budgets, EU funding for culture can be labeled as marginal.

20 When this paper was being finalized, the final negotiations about the new European Constitution were underway. Analysis of the draft EU constitution done by the Budapest Cultural Observatory which can be found on the www.budobs.org shows the occurrence of the words “culture”, “cultural” or “artistic” in the “Draft Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe”, as adopted by the European Commission in July 2003 and by the European Council in June 2004.

21 Article 151 was described earlier.

Council of the European Union adopted the directive²² on the export of cultural goods that was amended by two directives adopted in 1996 and 2001.²³

Another area of interest for researchers of cultural policy is certainly the legislation referring to tax regulations and particularly the value-added tax (VAT). Annex H of the directive adopted in 1997 permits one or two reduced rates of VAT that should not be lower than 5% for goods and services which have social or cultural purposes. In principle, cultural goods and services are subject to VAT but the Union permits member states to have a lower or zero rate on certain goods and services such as books, magazines, cinema tickets, broadcasting signals as well as for certain artistic services.²⁴ The question of resale of cultural goods, antiques and objects from artistic collections is regulated by legislation on double taxation.

The European Union has also adopted numerous regulations for the harmonization of copyright laws. The directive adopted in October 1993 called for the harmonization of regulations related to copyright and certain neighboring rights and it includes numerous provisions directly referring to culture, such as the duration of the protection of rights for literary, artistic or audiovisual works. The European Union has also regulated lending rights and certain aspects of intellectual property rights.²⁵ Since the mid-1990s, the European Council has adopted or amended several directives, and, in recent years, the EU has put a special emphasis on the treatment of copyright in the information society, trying to align existing legislation with the requirements of technological development and technological convergence.

Another area where the European Union has adopted a large number of regulations having an impact on culture is in competition policy. One of the often-quoted instruments, the resolution on fixed book price,²⁶ is in fact an attempt to secure special treatment for books and exclude them from the general competition policy regulations. Special treatment applies also for the audiovisual sector, which was confirmed by the resolution on subsidies for films, and the audiovisual industry, which highlighted the importance of public funding of cultural industries in order to promote and preserve cultural diversity.

Compared with other fields, this can be regarded as a modest number of instruments, which certainly contributes to the fact that culture remains an

22 EEC No. 3911/92 of 9 December 1992

23 EU 2469/96 16 December 1996 and EU 974/2001 of 14 May 2001

24 Directive 94/5/EC and 77/388/EEC

25 92/100/EEC

26 OJ C 073 6 March 2001

under-researched topic in the context of European enlargement. However, enlargement is influencing cultural policies on several levels.²⁷

The existing literature and studies analyzing the impact of European enlargement on culture usually quote Chapter XX of the *acquis communautaire* entitled “Culture and audiovisual media”, whose main focus is the alignment of the legislation with the Directive on Television without Frontiers. Because it figures rather prominently on the EU agenda and because audiovisual policy was articulated as a common European policy, all accession countries were prepared and they made the necessary adjustments and aligned their media legislation with this directive before joining the Union. Except for a short delay in the case of Hungary, none of the new member countries experienced any significant problems in changing their legislation and fulfilling other obligations arising from Chapter XX. It should be mentioned that in the case of audiovisual policy, countries had to align their legislation with some instruments adopted within the Council of Europe²⁸ which supports Mucica’s statement quoted earlier in this paper about the difficulty of determining where the border is between the changes happening as a consequence of enlargement and those that are a consequence of other influences.

27 Before making a decision on granting candidacy status to a country requesting to become a member of the EU, the Commission evaluates the level of development of a country. One of the steps in that process is also a questionnaire that each country has to respond to and which touches upon all sectors and all public policies in future candidates. The analysis of the content of the questionnaire regarding culture indirectly points to those segments of cultural policy in which there is a need for harmonization or some sort of cooperation at European level. In the case of Croatia, the chapter on culture and audiovisual policy had some thirty questions most of which related to the legal framework and existing legislation in the field of broadcasting, existence and way of operating of bodies responsible for the audiovisual and regulating broadcasting; information about license fees and financing of radio and TV broadcasters; standards for advertising including TV shopping and sponsorship; protection of minors or right to response. It also included questions regarding the systems of support for artistic creation; innovative cultural projects; professional training of artists and cultural co-operation. The questionnaire also included questions about the support for book and translations; question about the rules for determining book prices; as well as enquiries about the existence of eventual specific legislation regarding book prices; questions about the legal conditions for sale and movement of cultural goods and services and the legislation for the protection of the cultural heritage; questions about the legal framework applied to lending rights in order to use different aspects of cultural heritage (i.e. digitalization of artistic collections). At the end, the questionnaire had a question referring to the existence of statistics in the cultural sector and the level of their harmonization with European standards.

28 European Convention on Cinematographic Co-production (ETS No.147, 2 October 1992); the fund for funding co-productions “Eurimages” (1988) or the European Convention on Transfrontier Television (ETS No.132).

Similar situations can be observed in the field of copyright and intellectual rights regulations, where there are many international instruments adopted within UNESCO, WIPO or the WTO. The countries in transition were aligning their legislation and practices both with the anticipated requests from the European Union as well as with other instruments adopted within different international organizations.

One of the most evident examples where common European policy has an impact on culture is in tax policy. When the European Union was adopting regulations about the harmonization of VAT rates, they also adopted special decisions leaving countries the necessary time for adjustment. But the transition countries that were recently joining the European Union had to adopt most of these regulations even before becoming a member. Theoretically, during the negotiating process it was possible to negotiate special provisions or delays in applying certain rules but because most countries do not consider culture as a priority area, one could hardly expect that they would make special requests for culture at the expense of some other, usually “more important sectors”. Generally speaking, when joining the Union, transition countries are facing the situation where they will be seriously limited in applying reduced or zero VAT rates for cultural goods and services. In the study on cultural cooperation in Europe, it is also highlighted that even in countries with fewer than two million inhabitants, it will be necessary to introduce a standard rate of minimum 6% on books. (EFAH/Interarts Report, 2003:86)

The consequences of introducing common tax policies on culture can also serve as a good example why the principle of exempting culture is not working. If we take a look at the study about the mobility of artists (Audéon, 2002), we can see a paradoxical situation where most of the obstacles and incentives to mobility mentioned in this study are in fact under the Union’s competences (i.e. employment policy, tax policy, social security), while at the same time, it is generally claimed that cultural policy is exempt and, as a consequence, rules in favor of mobility, although of interest for all member states, should be regulated at national level. It could be said that this is a typical “policy paradox” as described by Deborah Stone in her book *Policy Paradox: the Art of Political Decision Making* where she expresses an opinion that the analysis of political decisions cannot be reduced to the theory of rational choice, especially in those situations where different choices at the same time bring both positive and negative consequences. In a situation like that, the decision is usually taken based on the “political” and not rational judgment. An eventual decision to get involved more actively in harmonizing different instruments in order to facilitate mobility will most probably be resolved based on the political will of parties involved because it includes this paradox: on the policy and practical level, it would make sense to simplify and harmonize all the rules that are creating obstacles to mobility but on the political level, it would represent yet another step in explicitly

formulating common cultural policy – an idea still unacceptable to most of the decision makers.

As mentioned earlier, another part of the *acquis* which has a profound impact on culture is competition policy. This is especially the case in the media or book policy. In a way, the Directive on Television without Frontiers, at least in some of its sections, is an attempt to exempt the audiovisual field from competition policy. The same is the case with the resolution on fixed book price which is, in principle, fundamentally opposite to the rules and logic of competition policy. A consequence of the introduction of these instruments in transition countries can be looked at from different angles. On one side, it meant aligning rules and legislation with the European standards, but additionally it represented a sign that the cultural sector is also subject to the rules of the market and that the policies which consisted of simple subsidies and state support are not adequate for regulating the new cultural markets. Once again, because of the lack of common policy other than these two instruments and the earlier mentioned resolution on subsidies for film and audiovisual industry,²⁹ and because culture is theoretically exempt from harmonization, countries in transition were left on their own to decide on necessary adjustments in order to enable their cultural producers and operators to create in the same circumstances as their Western counterparts. A simple comprehensive comparative study could show to what extent cultural industries in the transition countries have adapted their ways of operation to the new requirements of the common European market.³⁰

Rules regarding the free circulation of goods have from the beginning taken into consideration the specificities of the art market and the trade of cultural objects. At the beginning of the transition, with the opening of the borders, there was a sudden increase in illegal export of antiques from East European countries. Aligning legislation with EU standards certainly meant improvement of the level of protection, especially for movable cultural goods. In this case, the enlargement of the EU certainly represented a positive incentive both in terms of aligning legislation but also in opening new possibilities for countries to cooperate in fighting the illegal trade in cultural heritage.

Beside harmonization with the *acquis*, with the introduction of the so-called “Copenhagen Criteria” in the process of enlargement of the European Union, for the first time the EU introduced specific political criteria that were not requested of those countries that had joined the Union earlier, such as Austria in 1995. The Copenhagen Criteria refer, among other things, to the stability of institutions, democracy, the rule

29 The Directive on Television without Frontiers is part of the *acquis* and therefore has to be built into national legislation while the resolution on fixed book price is just a resolution and is not legally binding for new member states.

30 The latest reports on the requests from the European Commission to abolish French rules that ban television advertising of films and books is a clear signal for new and future EU member countries that cultural policy instruments and practices could easily be challenged under competition rules.

of law, human rights and the protection of minorities, which added additional complexity to the process of accepting new countries to the membership of the European Union (Amman, 2002: 18). The Croatian example shows the relevance of the inclusion of political criteria after Copenhagen for cultural policies. In the discussions about the need to prepare for EU membership, it is continuously highlighted that media legislation and practices have to be aligned with EU legislation. In reality, only the field of audiovisual media has to be harmonized while remaining demands, especially in the field of printed media, reflect, in fact, the need to respect the political criteria usually referred to as “the freedom of the media” (Peruško Čulek, 1999).

Instead of a conclusion

Even though the above-mentioned examples are just an illustration of selected areas of cultural policy that are or will be influenced by EU enlargement, in the end it is important to mention the impact of enlargement on research into cultural policy that primarily refers to the need for the improvement and harmonization of statistics. However, it can also be anticipated that the need for communication of cultural sectors with other sectors will profoundly influence the research of culture both in the old, new and future EU member states. If culture is to be included on the agenda, a more proactive approach in policy making will require that the research of culture is open to other fields. Ellmeier, Niedobitek and others anticipated this change³¹ and, in a way, it has already started happening with different transversal studies mentioned earlier in this paper.

Recent developments such as requests from the Commission to reformulate French cultural policy measures on the advertising of films and books on TV or negotiations with UNESCO on a convention on the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural contents and artistic expressions, where it is very likely that the European Commission will be representing the member states in cultural matters,³²

31 Even though he is not writing about the enlargement, but generally about cultural policy planning, Colin Mercer, in his book *Towards Cultural Citizenship: Tools for Cultural Policy and Development*, points to the fact that, in some ways, research on cultural policies is “lagging behind” other public policies, primarily as a consequence of inadequate connections between theory and policy. (Mercer, 2002)

32 The scope of this convention, although it will be negotiated within UNESCO, partly covers trade policies and trade agreements. Because the Commission is the only one authorized to negotiate trade agreements on behalf of the member states, and because culture is a sole responsibility of member states, it is not clear how this paradox is going to be resolved. If the Commission decides to negotiate on behalf of the member states, it will be yet another proof that the exemption of culture does not work. If member states decide to negotiate in UNESCO on their own, they will be limited in the negotiations because they have no mandate to negotiate on any provision that might have any impact on EU trade policies.

will most probably have a profound impact on European cultural policies which will also have an effect on new and future member countries. These new circumstances will require a major shift in understanding and planning of the cultural policy-making process in Europe. For transition countries, new member states and future member states, this will mean the necessity of dealing with issues that Delia Mucica wrote about, in a more comprehensive and inclusive way.

The status quo and the protectionist approach that have for several decades characterized European cultural policy making, while they might have been appropriate for the Western European cultural policies, indirectly determined the position of culture in the transition countries. Because the relevance of specific policy fields and demands for restructuring and harmonization with the *acquis* are directly influenced by the Brussels-driven priorities, cultural policies remained one of the sectors that have not undergone any significant transformation or transition. In that context, a call for an assessment of the impact of EU enlargement on culture is also a call for a shift to a more active cultural policy making that will take into consideration the problems that the new member countries are facing in adjusting and transforming their cultural policies.

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Addenda

Add. 1
Report from the course
'Managing Cultural Transitions: Southeastern Europe'

Report from the course 'Managing Cultural Transitions: Southeastern Europe'¹

Jaka Primorac

This was the fourth in a series of postgraduate courses on 'Redefining Cultural Identities', organized by the Department for Culture and Communication of the Institute for International Relations, Zagreb. It took place at the Inter-University Centre in Dubrovnik, 9-16 May 2004. It was attended by nineteen students and ten lecturers from twelve countries (Albania, Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, France, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, Slovenia, and USA). In its fourth session the course concentrated on cultural transitions in SEE. The first course in 2000 was devoted to the 'Multicultural Contexts of the Central European and Mediterranean Regions'. It was followed by a course that dealt with the 'Redefinition of Cultural Identities in Southeastern Europe'. The third course entitled 'Cultural Industries and Technological Convergence' concentrated on cultural industries, technological convergence, cultural consumption, and cultural identities in the Southeastern European and Central European countries in transition.²

'Redefining Cultural Identities' continued with this year's course entitled 'Managing Cultural Transitions: Southeastern Europe'. After a brief introduction that included a short history of the project, the course started with the session on overview of theoretical and conceptual frameworks of cultural transitions. **Jiřina Šmejkalova** in her lecture '*Cultural Transitions: Some Conceptual Issues*' noted that due to globalization processes, triggered through new technologies, cultural transition occurs at different levels all over the world. She concentrated on three theoretical

1 This report was firstly published in *Culturelink* (2004), Vol. 15 (43), 35-40. The proceedings from the first two seminars were published in *Culturelink Joint Publication Series: 'Redefining Cultural Identities: The Multicultural Context of the Central European and Mediterranean Regions'*, and 'Cultural Identities: Southeastern Europe'. Special dossier on the third course 'Redefining Cultural Identities: Cultural Industries and Technological Convergence' was published in *Culturelink* (2002), vol.13 (37), 113-142.

2 See Culturelink Dossier in: *Culturelink* (2002), vol. 13 (37), 113-142.

research areas important for studying cultural transitions in the Eastern European (EE) region. These are: East European studies, cultural studies, and the current regional cultural research. During the last decade these areas had to position themselves in relation to Marxism, which was a prevailing theoretical framework of cultural research during socialism and communism. Due to their complex discourses and the connection with Marxism, cultural studies did not evolve as a particular specialization within social studies. However, the key problem of cultural research in the EE is the loss of focus after the dissolution of the former regimes. Transition did not provide a supportive framework for further development and specialization of social studies and humanities.

In the concluding remarks Jiřina Šmejkalova stressed that it is up to contemporary researchers of Southeastern Europe to develop regional cultural research and thus establish cultural studies by going beyond the tradition of East European studies.

In her lecture '*Cultural Contexts of Transition Processes*' **Nada Švob-Đokić** stressed the difficulties of contextualizing cultures and cultural studies in today's world. It is ever more difficult to define culture as it is becoming intertwined with the activities and regulations that are not strictly cultural. Differences between transition vs. transformation were outlined, and it was explained how they relate to cultural context and cultural space. Due to the globalization processes, cultural transitions move cultures from national towards international and global cultural spaces. This sometimes occurs through the establishment of 'integrated cultural zones' that transcend borders and turn cultures into 'liberated' spaces of creation and production. In the contemporary world such zones are mostly urban, regional or continental. They provide space for vivid and intense intercultural relations, strong mutual influences and new creativity. In such environment cultures produce new values in their own right and turn to markets ever more. However, such zones tend to remain concentrated on education rather than on culture (e.g., European higher education space), thus leaving the problem of cultural identification ever more open and individualized.

The lessons of the second day offered an insight into the cultural economics of the SEE region. In the presentation entitled '*Mapping the Position of Cultural Industries in Southeastern Europe*', **Jaka Primorac** analyzed the field of cultural industries in the region. The key problems encountered during the analysis of the cultural industries in the region are: lack of data; the fact that data that exist are not structured; the existing structured data differ from country to county and this is the reason why comparisons are rather difficult.

After separate insights into the existing data on cultural industries – movie industry, book industry, recording industry, and the media - the overall assessment of the situation of cultural industries in SEE was given. All sectors of cultural industries

have similar tribulations: problems of distribution in and out of the country, piracy/copyright violations, small-scale production, costs of translation, and the need for regulation of the market. What is needed in cultural industries of the region is the openness towards international cultural industries according to the global economic interdependence.

The art market and the position of the artist in the market was discussed in the workshop '*Arts and Markets*', held by the artist **Slaven Tolj**, director of Art Radionica Lazareti (Art Workshop Lazareti) based in Dubrovnik. Slaven Tolj outlined the position of the contemporary artists in Southeastern Europe. They are burdened with a number of problems. According to him, the art market in the region, notably in Croatia, does not exist. Minor artists and minor art products are easily sold. The position of the artist is nontransparent and rather difficult. It is interesting that artists rarely react by self-organizing themselves. If they join together, it is more on the basis of artistic style, rather than according to similar economic problems. When networking eventually occurs, implying solutions of economic problems, it unfortunately disappears before the funding for such networking stops. The position of the artist is complicated by the occurrence of 'curator star system', through which artists may be presented in foreign countries, but remain underpaid and sometimes humiliated.

In order to illustrate the work of the Art Radionica Lazareti, a film was made on the basis of an international art project called the 'Island', organized by the Art Radionica Lazareti and the Institute for Contemporary Art in Zagreb.

The third session dealt with the social context of cultural transitions. **Vjerman Katunarić** presented his 'work-in-progress' entitled '*After Decentralization: The New Public Culture*', in which he outlined some of the key aspects of the new public cultures in SEE, and influences of cultural policies on the rise of a new public culture. One of the problems is that cultural policy is either not clear or too abstract. Cultural policy actors are afraid of confronting the question of the goal of (current) cultural policy. Vjerman Katunarić noted that in SEE the marriage of economy and culture is not a happy one and that neither artists themselves nor cultural workers know how to solve the problems of the triad - art/market/cultural policy. The public culture is changing and the differentiation between old and new public culture is being examined. As a concluding remark Vjerman Katunarić presented James Ensor's painting 'Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889' as an illustration of what he sees as the new public culture model.

The lecture given by **Vesna Čopić** '*Culture in Transition: Reconceptualization of the Role of Politics, Experts and Civil Society*' also examined aspects of old/new public culture. She stressed that we have to think about the change of the overall social sector's policy and not only about the cultural policy. In the context of EU

enlargement, cultural policy is not an area of special EU interest. Vesna Čopič presented the key cultural policy differences between the 1980's cultural policy model in Slovenia and the current one, which illustrates the transition that is still under way.

The fourth day of the course was dedicated to cultural policies. The first presentation, 'Cultural Policies – Needs and Impact Assessments' by **Delia Mucica**, gave guidelines important for the development and creation of cultural policies. After presenting some key objectives of cultural policies as they occur in international cultural policy documents, Delia Mucica noted that there need to be four key principles in cultural policymaking. These principles are subsidiarity, proportionality, transparency and openness and consultation and participation of stakeholders. These principles should be taken into account when detecting the needs and impact assessments of cultural policy – they need to be done by (for example) SWOT analysis apparatus and various other tools and techniques. Cultural policymaking process is a never-ending process as it is always difficult to articulate the current public interest due to the changing socio-economic and cultural environment. Delia Mucica concluded that what is needed in the cultural policymaking process is a logically consistent process linking policy, regulation, cultural activity and their assessments at macro and micro levels.

In the following lecture 'The Influence of the EU Enlargement on Cultural Policies in Countries in Transition', **Nina Obuljen** stressed that EU cultural policy exists, although it is not defined separately. This can be highlighted through the model of policy transfer – either across countries/regions, or across disciplines. We have to examine other policies, resolutions, and directives in order to detect the presence of cultural policy issues. A new problem appears there – the EU cultural policy was hijacked by other fields!

When analyzing the issue of EU enlargement, an important question is what consequences are produced by processes that are happening simultaneously, i.e., transition, access to the market economy, enlargement and trade liberalization, and globalization. The impact of the enlargement can be twofold - direct (harmonization, changes of legislation, etc.) and indirect (arising as a consequence of policy transfer). It can be concluded that the formulation of cultural policies in the context of the EU enlargement is rather difficult due to: harmonization of legislation, implementation of new legislation, and most of all due to rather conservative/defensive approach concerning culture and cultural policies of EU.

The questions raised during these two presentations were developed into a workshop entitled 'Criteria of Evaluation of SEE Cultural Policies' to which **Nada Švob-Dokić** and **Nina Obuljen** gave a brief introduction.³ It appeared that cultural diversity, as presented in cultural policies of the region, is a rather abstract issue. The participants offered comments or in-views into cultural policies and their implementation in their respective countries. The attention was often concentrated on practices related to observance of cultural diversity and minority/majority relationships.

The cultural communication session opened with the lecture by **Dona Kolar Panov** entitled 'Cultural Policy and the Digitalization of Culture'. Digitalization has changed the culture field immensely by creating new spaces of communication, organization, sociability and knowledge and information markets. The question of the digital divide is present, but as Dona Kolar-Panov argues, all things considered, it is more a question of an equal access to the same digital resources. In addition, not only that the means of production of culture have been digitalized but the means of preservation of cultural heritage as well. This new situation also opens the problem of preserving and archiving born-digital material, and it also introduces the problem of copyright issues that are not yet clearly defined. Considering the cultural policy and digitalization question, she stresses that in the region there is more or less no cultural policy practiced, just guidelines might be given. This can especially be noted in SEE, as the new technologies (as well as other cultural industries like sports, fashion, tourism, etc.) are never included in national cultural policies. Unfortunately this shows that culture is not recognized as an equal part of economic development. Dona Kolar Panov concluded: 'Digitalization is what culture in the information society is about; it is not only the means of preservation of cultural heritage and the collective memory, or of yesterday's culture, but it is also the means of preservation of the culture and creativity of today'.

Zrinjka Peruško's lecture on 'Transnational Media Concentration and Its Impact on Cultural and Media Diversity in Southeastern Europe' was next on the agenda. Zrinjka Peruško stressed that media diversity and pluralism are the central theme of the contemporary European media policies. The danger of pluralism in the transition context of SEE comes from two sides – from the past (before democratic consolidation) and from the future (after democratic consolidation). In this way one has to examine some of the global trends that influence the SEE region, such as media concentration, technological convergence and hyper-commercialization of media industries. Some of these problems (such as media concentration) are more

³ Based on the article 'Comparative Cultural Policy Issues Related to Cultural Diversity in South East Europe' that is available on-line at *Policies for Culture web site*: http://www.policiesforculture.org/dld/PfC_NSvob-Djokic_SEEDiversity.pdf

pronounced in Central and Eastern Europe than in the West. It is interesting that in the SEE region media concentrates in clusters. In order to make changes in this sector, one should develop better monitoring systems for ownership transparency, audience and content concentration. Legal regulations against concentration, monopoly and global liberalizing trends should be developed. Regarding media diversity, for the time being there is no European model for regulating it and no recommendations for it. Nevertheless, it is crucial that policy makers of SEE take into account the ramifications for cultural diversity and pluralism of opinion.

'Managing Cultural Transitions: Southeastern Europe' ended with a plethora of new themes opened for further discussion and research. The theme on 'Managing Cultural Transitions' will be the main topic of the course next year as well, but the programme will concentrate on the issue of creative industries.

Add. 2
Programme of the course

Programme of the course

Sunday, 9th May 2004

Arrival of participants

Monday, 10th May 2004

Introductory Session

9:30 - 10:30

Introduction to the course: Nada Švob-Đokić

Introduction of participants

Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks of Cultural Transitions

10:30 – 12:00

Jirina Šmejkalova: “*Cultural Transitions: Some Conceptual Issues*”

12:00 – 13:00

Discussion

17:00 – 19:00

Nada Švob-Đokić: “*Cultural Contexts in Transition Processes*”

19:15 – 20:00

‘Sesame’ - Welcome drink for participants

Tuesday, 11th May 2004

Cultural Economics

9:00 – 11:00

Jaka Primorac: “*Mapping the Position of Cultural Industries in Southeastern Europe*”

11:15 – 13:00

Discussion

17:00 – 19:00

Workshop: “*Arts and Markets*”

Introduction and mediation: Slaven Tolj, Art Radionica Lazareti, Dubrovnik

Wednesday, 12th May 2004

Social Contexts: The New Public Culture, State and Civil Society

9:00 – 11:00

Vjeran Katunarić: “*After Decentralization: The New Public Culture*”

11:15 – 13:00

Discussion

17:00 – 19:00

Vesna Čopić: “*Culture in Transition: Reconceptualization of the Role of Politics, Experts and Civil Society*”

Thursday 13th May 2004

Cultural Policies and EU

9:00 – 11:00

Delia Mucica: “*Cultural Policies - Needs and Impact Assessments*”

11:15 – 13:00

Nina Obuljen: “*Influence of the EU Enlargement on Cultural Policies in Countries in Transition*”

17:00 – 19:00

Workshop: “*Criteria of Evaluation of SEE Cultural Policies*”

Introduction: Nada Švob-Đokić and Nina Obuljen

Friday, 14th May 2004

Cultural Communication

9:00-11:00

Dona Kolar-Panov: “*Cultural Policy and the Digitalization of Culture*”

11:15– 13:00

Discussion

17:00 – 19:00

Zrinjka Peruško: “*Transnational Media Concentration and Its Impact on Cultural and Media Diversity in Southeastern Europe*”

Saturday, 15th May 2004

9:00 – 11:00

What have we heard, what can we do? – Evaluation of the course

11:30

Excursion to the Elafiti islands

Sunday, 16th May 2004

Departure of participants

Add. 3
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