



EUROPEAN PROGRAMME OF NATIONAL, TRANSVERSAL AND SECTORIAL CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

COMPARATIVE STUDY

**by John Myerscough
with Christopher Gordon
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Strasbourg, 5 May 1997

DECS-Cult/CP (97) 2

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Terms of reference

We have been asked by the Directorate of Education, Culture and Sport to carry out a comparative study of the programme of the national cultural policy reviews. This is to be confined to the reviews conducted until now in western Europe, namely those completed in France, Sweden, Austria, the Netherlands, Finland and Italy.

The study has been asked to provide assessments of:

- the benefits/impact of the review process for the participating state;
- the value to be gained from the completed reports for other European countries and cultural policy making at a European level.

The background to this task, including the history of the programme, was set out in a preparatory note on the study presented to the twelfth meeting of the Culture Committee of the CDCC, 13-15 May, 1996. It was also requested that recommendations be made for the future operation of the programme.

1.2 Methods of study

Day-to-day liaison and briefing on the study has been with the programme adviser of the division for Cultural Policy and Action. The tasks included:

- reviewing the various reports and publications arising from the programme;
- visiting the countries (except Italy) which participated in the programme;
- holding discussions with key informants in the Council of Europe and the Education and Training division of OECD; and
- attending a brainstorming meeting of key informants convened in Strasbourg 4-5 December, 1995.

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During the country visits/meetings took place with officials and others concerned with the review process (including in one case a former minister) and with selected organisations/individuals involved in the review either as researchers, witnesses or affected parties. Views were collected on the experiences in the countries, together with observations on the programme as a whole and possible future directions.

1.3 Structure of report

The report sets out observations on the programme together with recommendations for its future conduct. Findings on the country visits are included in the country notes, which deal with the review process itself, its follow-up, any outcomes and the key policy developments since the review occurred. The indicators assembled during the course of the review programme are included as an appendix together with "read-across notes" for the "core themes" recommended by the Council of Europe as a focus for the programme and for various others "interpolated themes"

which arose during its first phase.

2. COUNTRY PREPARATION

2.1 Process

The review programme currently encompasses 14 countries, the six completed system reviews, part of the original [core] programme which is the subject of this report (with another in the pipeline) and seven "new wave reviews" involving new member states. The six system reviews cover a range of countries, large and small, from north to south, centralised and federal, romance and Germanic. They also form a club of relatively big spenders in the cultural field. Taken together with the other reviews (Estonia, Russia, Slovenia completed, and Portugal, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania and Croatia in preparation), this programme will provide an impressive picture of cultural policy implementation during the 1980s and 1990s.

Notable omissions from the review programme are two major countries, Germany and the United Kingdom, the latter with approaches to cultural policy which are distinctive in Europe.

The programme has undergone positive development from an experimental beginning, through a gap in the sequence, to a much-accelerated level of activity in recent years. It is now a staple feature of the Council of Europe's output and draws much admiration. The gap in sequence occurred from 1989 to 1993 when, after the smooth start made by France and Sweden, the pressure of the process was revealed by specific difficulties incurred in preparing national reports. This almost stopped the programme.

In 1994, the new wave of reviews started in response to the urgent demands of the new member states and ran parallel to the original programme. The latter was used to assist the new wave by channelling experience and ideas through the technical assistance programme and into the composition of review teams e.g. for Estonia and Russia.

The programme has developed from what some saw in the early days as a prestige "diplomatic" activity into an intensive engagement with the realities of cultural policy sometimes in imperfect circumstances. Difficulties were experienced over the transition period in pacing the review programme. It was only recently that the programme had the benefit of a constant professional eye to supervise the process.

The main costs of the programme are met by the participating states. The figures supplied suggest the ratio of costs incurred was roughly 1:4 Council:participating states. The value for money leverage for the programme is impressive, and give cause for pause before contemplating hasty change.

2.2 Participation in the programme

The reasons countries gave for choosing to participate in the programme are set out in the accompanying country notes. Most of the participants entered the programme through some commitment to the multi-lateral objectives of the review process. In France and Sweden there was a willingness to help set standards in the programme which should, in due course, provide useful matter for reflection for the whole of Europe, developing understanding and facilitating the exchange of ideas and experience. Certain individual ministers urged involvement in the programme

through commitment to European thinking, as was the case in both Austria and Finland.

Each country had its own individual mix of objectives. Whilst France had no specific expectation, according to the author of the national report, that policy would be directly influenced by the review, other countries took a different view:

- Sweden sought by means of the review and in relation to a changed political and financial climate to freshen the debate on policy within the country and introduce new ideas into policy development;
- the Dutch sought a specific non-national input into the preparation of their first integrated policy document and wanted by the same means to make available their own experience for international consideration; the "display" of national achievement was also a factor for Finland and for Italy.

The professional link between the Council of Europe and the country was through the relevant Ministry of Culture. The case of Italy was complex since there was no lead authority whose objectives might approximately match those of the review process. The coordination task fell to a department of government (Foreign Affairs) which was not a strong stakeholder and did not have the range of contacts to match the task. Nevertheless, it was the perception of the coordinating ministry that cultural policy and management in Italy could benefit from examination by external experts.

2.3 Changing context

No-one anticipated the major changes in the landscape which would occur shortly after the programme was launched:

- the economic crisis which struck two of the review countries especially severely;
- entry into the European Union for three of the review countries; and
- changes in the East which would increase the membership of the Council of Europe and place urgent new demands on the review programme.

2.4 Starting point

Generally, the countries approached the reviews without any experience of cultural policy evaluation in their own countries. The Netherlands was an exception because of the Social and Cultural Planning Office, a state-funded agency with the duty to describe and assess government policies in the social and cultural areas. SCP had established an enviable record for analysing the outcomes of cultural policy in the Netherlands, mainly from a distributional perspective, but at some distance from the decision-making of the Ministry. Sweden had given thought to the value and methodology of evaluation, started monitoring cultural behaviour and put in place certain necessary statistical programmes. This related in part to the fact that Sweden had, as long ago as 1974, adumbrated "goals of national cultural policy", though these were expressed in terms of broad policy aspiration rather than specific objectives or detailed targets.

A broader impulse from finance ministries to introduce evaluation/assessment for

reasons of efficiency in public financing has emerged in recent years and this has touched cultural policy, notably in Sweden, Finland, France and [the Netherlands]. The review programme was for some of the participants a valuable training ground for that national development.

Few, if any, of the countries participating in the programme came to it with ready-made overviews of their policy systems and to cultural life. There were many reports and there was much information but little of it structured in relation to the cultural system as a whole. Some countries lacked procedures for collecting good figures and most experienced the familiar difficulty of collecting accurate information on activities and organisations outwith the immediate control of the ministries, especially from the local authorities.

France had carried out detailed studies of cultural life and built up an enviable level of statistics on budgetary/financial matters and the social aspects of cultural life. This had broad value in advancing understanding of the role of culture and in informing the political discussion. Italy's tradition of academic interest in the area was well-developed, but it was rare for the results to be applied in any practical way to policy development or to improvements in its delivery.

As for traditions of public debate and discussion, most countries reported that "informed" debate on cultural policy was distinguished by its absence and that public interest focused on individuals and personalities. The Netherlands had an active process of report-writing and discussion largely confined to professional circles. France had a strong tradition of intellectual debate on culture. This was not necessarily linked directly to policy and decision-making, though it was accepted as an important feature of cultural life.

2.5 Sequence of events

For the most part, the cultural policy reviews followed the recommended OECD sequence in which a background "national" report prepared by the national authorities was followed by the visit of an international expert team who prepared their own report with questions which were addressed to the national authorities at a "review meeting" incorporated into a session of the culture committee.

Observations:

- it generally took around three years from acceptance letter and commencement of work on the national report to the review meeting; preparation of the national report generally required two years and the examiners generally carried out their work within a year;
- exceptions were Austria (which took five years to the review meeting) and Finland (two and a half years to the review meeting) where the process was driven by a minister's wish to complete before a general election; the examiners of Finland worked to an exceptionally compressed timetable (seven months);
- in France, the key stages, including much research and agreement on both reports, was contained within a two-year period; this gave the whole exercise a degree of coherence and transparency which it had been difficult to deliver in certain other reviews.

Because of the difficulties experienced by Austria in preparing the national report, the examiners accepted to proceed with their work in parallel to the completion of the national report. By the same token, the examiners in Italy never received a version of the national report on which they could base their enquiries. Working without the national report was a major disadvantage for both teams of examiners:

- team enquiries could be based only on interviews and ad hoc information rather than structured analysis and self-assessment by the country concerned;
- sketchy information made it difficult to determine key issues and plan visits, including the specific need for evidence, which particular witnesses to see.

The process was slow to start in Italy but became rapid once it began, driven by the Foreign Ministry officials worried about potential loss of momentum and the risk to the whole process foundering through change in levels of commitment from partner ministries. Poor contacts of the lead ministry (other than Beni Culturali's own network of soprintendenze) made for difficulties in planning visits.

Each review had its own story. But the process generally proved itself flexible enough to vary the procedure as necessary in order to complete the work. For example, in several cases preliminary meetings were held between the examination team and the writers of the background reports; in others, extra visits proved necessary (Finland, Austria); and in the case of Finland and the Netherlands, the rapporteur made special visits for briefing and for fact-checking.

2.6 National reports

Preparing background national reports was a learning process for most of the participating countries and not without its pains and problems. That France and Sweden were first into the programme is no accident. Of all European countries at the time, there can be no doubt that they were the two which were most in a fit state to comply with the aims, objectives and experimental methodology of the programme.

France and Sweden were also alone in being able to accomplish the drafting of the national report within the government administration. The French report was drawn up by a senior adviser to the National Audit office, a deliberate choice to involve a senior figure who was knowledgeable about the sector, but an impartial observer. In Sweden, the report was prepared by a working party in the Ministry which used drafts prepared by the National Council for Cultural Affairs.

Other countries saw advantage in putting the task in whole or part outwith the Ministry:

- Austria wished to build research capability and so engaged an independent researcher and established a new research organisation to provide support;
- the Finnish Minister sought an independent perspective on policy and so researchers from outwith the Ministry were engaged to carry out the work under the aegis of the Arts Council research division;
- Censis, an independent research institute with an excellent reputation but no track record in the cultural field, was commissioned for the task in Italy;

none of the government departments concerned directly in cultural policy provided an acceptable means of producing the national report;

- the Netherlands used independent researchers to prepare a draft text, as well as securing inputs from the Social and Cultural Planning office.

2.7 Adoption of national report

The examiners were never in any doubt about the status of the document provided as the national report in France, Sweden and the Netherlands. The French report was adopted by the Minister and provided a solid starting point for the work of the examiners. The Swedish report was an unequivocal expression of the government position, achieved by a process involving the minister toward its conclusion, steered throughout by the Under Secretary of State, even though at times the picture emerging posed various political and interpretative difficulties. The Netherlands undertook a major corporate exercise, by a process kept within the Ministry (to the disappointment of the Arts Council), to ensure that the national report would represent a formal statement of the Ministry's position.

The situation was less clear in the other countries. The work in Finland was supervised by a working party chaired by the Minister but it was reputedly difficult to be intimate with the process. Though the Minister adopted the document, some officials felt little sense of ownership with the work [and that it was more the Minister's than the Ministry's report]. The process in Austria was rather bumpy and protracted, with a split in the team, loss of momentum from a change of minister. The document was not accepted by the Lander and, according to the Ministry, its status remained that of an independent commentary. It was never entirely clear to the examiners what the status of the Italian report was or who actually accepted ownership of it. Since much of it was written or re-written by officials at Beni Culturali, but officially by Censis researchers, other government departments tended to keep their distance.

2.8 Summary on national reports

Within the guidelines set by the Council of Europe, The national reports adopted a range of different approaches. Observations on the documents are:

- in all cases, material of this kind was brought together for the first time; as detailed and useful descriptions, they have proved their value for the national authorities and for others as compendia of information and policy reasoning;
- the Swedish model proved influential and the scope of subsequent national reports was much expanded as a result;
- the national reports in the COE programme have become stand-alone documents and attained a size and importance quite different from the background papers produced for the education reviews in the OECD prototype;
- this partly reflects difficulties in applying the report/evaluation methodology to culture, where definitions are more Protean and government arrangements for the sector are generally more complex than in education;

- preparing the reports was a learning process for most of those taking part; the level and focus of self-assessment proved very variable, and virtually absent in certain cases;
- the national reports proved to be a valuable starting point for the work of the examiners when they were available on time;
- the growing bulk of the national reports made for some indigestion and failure concisely to engage with core themes or self-assessment; this tended to limit their value for certain reviews;
- research-based reports feel rather removed from policy reality.

2.9 Notes on individual national reports

France provided a clear and concise picture of the cultural policy field from a central government perspective. It charted cultural policy in France over the 30 years since Andre Malraux, identifying constant and innovative features, focusing usefully on the particular areas of concern agreed with the Council of Europe. It represented a useful first step but insofar as it eschewed "valued judgements" contained little by way of self-evaluation and the examiners needed to collect additional materials of their own including assembling with the help of the French authorities their own statistical material.

Sweden sought to equip the examiners with all the information they might need, set out according to a strict evaluation scheme, with clearly-expressed elements of self-assessment on the Council of Europe core themes. Though the Swedish report was thought by some to be too long and "over-quantitative", it became a "model" for the subsequent reviews.

The Dutch national report provides a lucid and extensive account of the evolution of cultural policy and its administration in the Netherlands. The distinctive philosophical and historical considerations which shape the Dutch approach are expounded critically but only one of the core themes of the Council of Europe (participation) is separately addressed in the national report. It concludes with open reflections on the philosophical dilemmas facing policy-makers in, to use the Dutch terminology, the areas of "representation" and "distinction". In carrying out their work, the examiners made almost more use of Investing in Culture, the recently-published first national cultural policy document in the Netherlands, which gave concise insight into issues of the day.

The Austrian report is another mine of information, drawing together an imposing range of policy comment, financial analysis and survey data. The account it contains of the federal/lander balance of importance in the cultural life of Austria was contested by the lander. A "volume" devoted to evaluation addresses the core themes alongside the specific Austrian concerns such as "transparency in decision-making".

Finland produced an intellectually wide-ranging document which, following an introduction to the history of policy and cultural administration, addresses the COE core themes and goes on to discuss additional areas such as international cooperation, the preservation of the heritage and minority rights. It presents a penetrating commentary on cultural life in Finland and, informed by considerable awareness of trends and developments elsewhere, questions certain features of the

Finnish system. The internal dynamics/relationships within the cultural system are examined by an application of "correspondence analysis". The report engages less with policy detail and the examiners were left in some confusion about the financial data contained in the report.

The Italian report runs to four bulky volumes and provides a mass of information but is almost entirely devoid of any self-evaluation and lacking in much address to the core themes of the COE programme. Since it was written from a centralised perspective, the description of the difficult relationship between the several tiers of government administration was felt to be somewhat partial.

3. EXAMINATIONS

3.1 Teams and visits

The balance of experience and skills contained in the various review teams worked to the benefit of the process. Occasionally, the lack of specialist expertise in the museum/heritage field and in the media was felt. Where it was possible to include a practising artist in the team, the additional insights gained proved invaluable. The chemistry of the review teams has generally been positive and only once did a team get drawn off course into intervening in a live issue within the review country.

Other observations:

- the effectiveness of the visits depends much on good briefing from the review country; the best instances of this were outstanding;
- all the review teams managed to visit specimen areas of the country outwith the capital to engage with key local and regional representatives;
- distribution of the background reports to witnesses was achieved [only] in the case of Sweden; it would seem a useful part of the briefing for those to be interviewed;
- defensiveness on the part of witnesses was encountered in some instances but this was a rare occurrence;
- an impressive number of witnesses were seen, some 570 in total, an average of 95 in each reviewed country, of which roughly two fifths were from outwith the capital city and central government and its institutions; the French team saw 46 witnesses and the Finnish team interviewed 138.

Observations on the value of the visits are that they:

- gave status to cultural policy and assisted in upgrading the field as an area of serious consideration and professional exchange;
- achieved one of the aims of "peer review", namely the interchange of professional experience in relation to common problems previously regarded as local or national concerns;
- registered the work of the Council of Europe in 15 or so regional centres in Europe and introduced a European dimension into local deliberations on cultural policy.

3.2 Examiners reports

The examiners reports were generally drafted in their entirety by the rapporteurs. This contrasts with the OECD custom where the task is generally shared out amongst all members of the team. Team members drafted some of the examiners comments for inclusion in the report on France as a supplement to the rapporteur's remarkable account of French national cultural policy. Another contrast to the OECD practice, is that the examiners reports have generally been much shorter than the background national reports.

The drift of the examiners thinking was conveyed in the case of France through diplomatically expressed comments and questions. The Swedish team adopted a more direct approach with 48 explicit recommendations for consideration of the authorities. Recommendations were also formulated in the Austrian and Finnish reports. A slightly different format was adopted for the Netherlands review, where some 50 observations were formulated in italics for inclusion in the summary of the team's findings as "quasi recommendations". The examiners in the Italian case defined a series of issues for the Italian authorities to consider, followed by a broad injunction to accept that "time is of the essence" in introducing changes, the need for which seemed to be accepted by virtually everyone the examiners met.

3.3 Comparative aspects

Whilst the prime value of the examiners' report is for the country undergoing review, the set of reports gives wide insight into cultural policy thinking as it was practised 1985 to 1995, including the concerns of national authorities and the matters to which non-national experts thought it proper to draw attention. The international ingredient in the review process comes from two features:

- the internationally-constituted examination teams bring to each case specific national experience which informally sets a comparative context for the functioning of the review;
- the cultural policy review programme has also introduced a specific comparative element in the three core themes recommended for consideration in each review.

The latter guideline has been followed strictly in only four of the cases, generally where the core themes were seen as "central" to national concerns. But the examiners have generally not thought to draw explicit policy comparisons. In certain instances, specific points of comparison have arisen. That apart, the read-across between the different countries has been left for readers to carry out for themselves. ["Read across" analyses from the examiners' reports for each of the core themes can be found in the appendix. They cover in each case:

policy rationale
measures
innovations in policy
key issues]

The review teams also found that in practice their observations could not be confined to the core themes recommended by the Council of Europe. It is not surprising within the framework of a "system review" and at a time of increasing constraint in public funding that policy frameworks, administrative practice, resources and other measures being deployed attracted specific comment from the examiners.

Themes defined as central in the mid-1980s inevitably changed and for countries undergoing review it became appropriate and desirable to invite comment on other issues. Several of these points arose in more than one country and became "interpolated themes" providing the possibility of further "read-across" of the comments of examiners in more than one country. ["Read across" analyses can be found in the appendix for the following "themes":

- the voluntary sector;
- education and training;
- cultural industries;
- the heritage; and
- international dimensions to cultural policy.

When it came to the reviews of Austria and Italy, the examiners felt the need to focus more on matters that were of relevance to the countries undergoing a review, and were largely removed from the core concerns. The Austrian examiners made their observations on policy formulation, federalism, training and on two topics related to the theme of "creativity", namely artform spending priorities and the place of institutions versus alternative forms of cultural organisation.

The team dealing with Italy chose to "focus inwards upon Italy rather than outwards" and drew up its own checklist of constant "themes" which ran through all their investigation in the country. They made observations on the need to:

- articulate priorities (in wider fields, including contemporary work);
- question the dominant emphasis put on preserving the heritage;
- encourage greater devolution of responsibilities and a bigger role for the private sector;
- address the codification of cultural legislation; and
- spread good management practice in the "system" from examples available within Italy, as well as elsewhere.

3.4 Indicators

One of the objectives of the review programme was to improve the skills of measurement and to develop indicators in the cultural field. The examiners sought to address this task by adding necessary figures in each of the successive countries undergoing review and by drawing into their reports any appropriate existing comparative material. The advantage of the "gradual" approach to developing indicators are two-fold:

- the need for figures arises not from theoretical interest but from direct policy concern; in the case of the Netherlands, it was the interest in "capping" subsidy proportions that led the examiners to establish comparators in this area; and a similar motivation lay behind the development of cost ratios and income benchmarks in relation to drama production;
- the figures are given meaning, not to mention appropriate qualification, by being understood in the context of a specific situation and defined policy dilemmas.

The fruits of this development of indicators, as a by-product of the review programme, are set out at Appendix i. Indicators should not be regarded as targets but as benchmarks against which comparisons can be drawn and which describe a range of possibilities drawn from the real world. Other member states may wish to note them for their advantage.

3.5 Review meetings

The first "review meeting", dealing with France, took place in the cultural committee but no account of the debate as such was included in the published review. Instead, the examiners questions and summary responses in the French minister's name were given at the conclusion of each of the main sections of the review. As a concise enumeration, this has certain advantages for the reader, but of course it gives no sense of the review process in action. Subsequent reviews have all incorporated a report of the Committee's actual discussion, usually prepared by a rapporteur who is not one of the examiners.

The procedure at review meetings has been far from uniform. Ministers attended on four of the six occasions. High-level delegations were sent on all occasions. The Dutch case is interesting because the ministry had prepared formal, carefully penned answers to the questions set by the examiners, which were to be used as a "stepping stone towards the new policy from 1997-2000". These formal responses were given by the delegation to each of the questions. The examiners also insisted on a relatively free-ranging debate in the CC Cult. Finally, both the written responses and an account of the debate were published, an interesting case of "belt and braces".

Observations on the contribution of the review meetings to the review process might be:

- the active involvement of Ministers in the discussions underlines the value which individual participating states attached to the review programme and adds something of political perspective, including a sense of policy tempered by reality;
- specific responses to examiners questions allow for clarification of issues, some updating on current policy initiatives and reporting on points of progress;
- the discussions enable other delegations to "weigh the evidence" as presented in the reports and to participate in the debate through questions and observations.

The latter is intended to be the heart of the "peer review" process. Various concerns expressed about the review meetings of the CC Cult include:

- the debate tends to be too much of a dialogue between the examiners and the ministers and has on occasions turned into defensive batting; and
- the CC Cult is more like a medium-sized conference than a working committee and is difficult to manage into active debate.

The best debates appear to be those where the examiners provide both a substantial summary of their conclusions and introduce a list of questions, arranged according to the core themes, in a manner which invited a substantive response. The Austrian presentation began with "opening statements" by the Austrian delegation, rather than the examiners presenting their findings, surely a procedural mistake.

Certain unfavourable comparisons with the OECD Education Committee discussions may reflect differences in the size of the respective committees and in the nature

of the two fields. Education is an obligatory area of government provision with a longer tradition of professional policy consideration, as well as being a narrow field with clearer focus on agreed objectives.

The CC Cult may wish to note that the OECD usually allocates half a day to discussion. The meetings seem to draw senior officials from the particular fields concerned and occasionally admit qualified people from outwith government (e.g. heads of institutions). The OECD has carried out successful experiments in holding the review meetings in the countries concerned outside the regular rhythm of the education committee meetings, though this is a procedure not without expense. In some ways, it is still early days for the CC Cult and it would appear to be gaining experience in conducting the review meetings as delegations become more familiar with the key issues, the geography of cultural policy across Europe, and the number of reviews increases.

4. FOLLOW-UP AND OUTCOMES

4.1 Promotion

No standard procedure for follow-up of the review process in the participating countries has been established. Some countries took high profile public routes with public meetings/press conferences. Others kept the process more quiet, confined to the professionals involved.

France arranged a presentation to 200 key political, cultural and administrative personalities as well as organising a "debate" in a respected quarterly of the intellectual right which published in four successive editions a series of 29 short essays on questions raised by the review. This gave publicity to the Council of Europe programme. Sweden and Finland achieved important press coverage of the process around the review meeting. Controversy was generated in both cases, in Sweden about the putative criticism of the "Swedish cultural model" and in Finland on a point of detail concerning artists grants which proved to be symbolically sensitive and which drew attention away from the examiners more probing observations. Both countries organised further events at home. Sweden held a press conference on the occasion of the publication of the report and Finland held a "country seminar", along the lines recommended in the practice of the OECD education reviews, involving the chairman and rapporteur of the examination team in discussion with select officials and representatives of the cultural sector.

The only public event around the review process in the Netherlands took the form of a ministerial speech and panel discussion, attended by but not addressed by the examiners, at which a summary version of the review was circulated. This was well in advance of the review meeting and the publication of the reports. No events of this kind were held in Austria or Italy. Austria attracted a small and generally negative press. The failure of the Italian authorities so far to publish the reports has prevented any public discussion or press comment.

4.2 Professional follow-up

The Netherlands put the review to immediate use within the Ministry. It was formally discussed in the context of preparing the new policy and continues to be referred to in policy exchanges. The Ministry accepted what the examiners had to say on many points. The Arts Council was somewhat peripheral to this process and did not take up the opportunities offered.

Sweden presented the review to Parliament and cited it in the formal terms of reference which set up the Parliamentary Committee established to prepare a new cultural policy. The spotlight quickly moved from the review to the committee. The examiners report was circulated by the Ministry but there was no accompanying request for comment. Sweden did not hold a "country seminar". The report at the time was thought to be "rather controversial in its findings and was left as an independent document". Nevertheless, the report was cited in a number of official publications such as commissions on the theatre, museums etc, the Arts Council's own plans and appraisal and by the Parliamentary Committee itself. It is reported that the examiners' report was much referred to by professionals in the system who used it "as a weapon on occasions", such that it became at times "rather a nuisance". In retrospect, bearing in mind subsequent developments, the report looks to the Swedish authorities much less controversial now than it did then, and seems to be appreciated for having given "early warning" of impending

developments.

In France, a summary of the examiners report was circulated among ministers and some senior officials but was treated as a briefing document. There is no evidence of it being actively "used". There was interest in the press conference but the media debate, with the exception of Commentaire, proved short-lived and somewhat superficial. The French exercise was perhaps slightly too "diplomatic" in retrospect. The legitimate probing of issues around hierarchy, bureaucracy and over-centralised control were unable to be pressed home. The relative stability in public funding levels (especially in France up until rather recently) gave headroom for officials to delay responding to increasing public/sectoral criticism, much of it in line with the observations made by the examiners in 1987.

It is worth recording that on resuming office late in 1988, Jack Lang who had accepted the principle of evaluation of policy as important, referred key advisers and departmental directors to the examiners report, suggesting it should be given due consideration in formulating and adjusting policy. Some of the comments/criticisms could be grasped when they matched, sector by sector, departmental interests and responsibilities, but there was some difficulty coming to terms with the more important general observations of the examiners on the French system and the core Council of Europe themes.

In other countries, political changes made it difficult to maintain the momentum in the follow up to the review. Though the process in Austria was not without tangible benefits, it proved difficult to persuade some officials in advance that it would be beneficial, and the change of Minister, marginalised the outcome. The examiners report was not published and the charge of "sweeping it under the carpet" was inevitable. In Finland, the change of government meant that the review was "left behind as something of the past", though several issues/ideas raised by the examiners were formally considered by the authorities. Officials did their best to promote the positive messages contained in the examiners report. The situation appears to be not dissimilar in Italy.

4.3 Conditions for positive outcome

It would be surprising if the review process encountered no sceptical or fearful elements. Various theatre institutions in Sweden, understandably, reacted nervously to certain comments made by the examiners on rigidities and high-cost practices. In Austria, there was some unease at the prospect of "peer review" and trepidation in Finland that the review might actually cause some harm at a time of considerable economic difficulty. On the other hand, existing institutional momentum and the need to protect vested interest would be more than a match for most of the examiners conclusions anywhere.

The conditions for a positive response to the process based on the evidence of the six completed reviews would appear to be:

- a political commitment that continues throughout the process, including the follow-up period;
- a professional desire on the part of officials to benefit from the process;
- arrangements to overcome institutional suspicions and to allay professional fears[, if necessary by giving the aspects of the process some

confidentiality within the professional circles;];

- observations from the examiners which address specific policy features in the necessary detail.

The relative intimacy of the peer review process is well designed to allay the fears described above and to make a significant contribution to diminishing any isolationism. In Sweden it was reported that as a result of the review some municipalities "realised for the first time that ideas could come from abroad". It would seem reasonable to conclude that "the silent process of professional development", a phrase from Austria, was a significant and positive feature of all the country reviews.

4.4 Publication

All the necessary documents (background and examiners reports) in the two official Council of Europe languages [have been made available] to the review meetings. The history of publishing the reports in book form and in the languages of the countries under review has been a little patchy. One problem was the increasing size of the volumes, especially the national reports, and also the practice of publishing the national reports separately.

Only France stuck to a single volume format in French in 1988 and then in English in 1991 (published by the Council of Europe). Sweden is the only country to publish the full set of reports in all the relevant languages (six volumes in total). The Netherlands [dispensed with a Dutch version of the examiners report]. Finland published the two reports in English but not in Finnish, which is now regarded as a "major mistake". The Austrian national report has been published in German, two years after the event. The Italian national authorities have not yet published any reports though the intention is to bring them out in 1997.

Print-runs of the various national reports were as follows:

France	5,000 (French)	1,000 (English)	(national + examiners' rep.)
Sweden	500 (French)	2,200 (English)	1,700 (Swedish)
Netherlands	2,000 (French)	2,000 (English)	E 500 + F 400 (examiners' rep.)
Finland	700 (French)	1,500 (English)	700 (Finnish)
Austria	300 (French)	300 (English)	500 (German)

The French review sold over 4,000 copies in French, with some 500 freely distributed to the government administration. Distribution of the Swedish and Finnish volumes was mainly free. Commercial sales in Sweden total over 400 (327 Swedish, 146 English) and in Finland less. The international demand for these publications comes from universities and research organisations and is reported as considerable.

4.5 Overall judgement of participants

The overall judgement of participating countries on the value of submitting to review was broadly positive:

- France felt that it gave a good account of itself which vindicated the decision to be first in the programme; this set high standards for future participants and also strengthened the idea of periodic review which has

now been introduced in France with a standing evaluation committee for the Ministry of Culture; perhaps there was a feeling, however, that too few concrete results had arisen given the time, effort and money expended;

- Sweden believes it was valuable to receive external observations on Swedish policy and that it gave an early warning of developments to come as well as indicating a range of possible policy responses;
- the Netherlands found the review a useful exercise from which much was learned; it fed specific national needs in relation to the new policy process and quickened the process of internal transformation;
- Austria believes it was good to have undertaken the reviews; it encouraged developments at the professional level, increased understanding of the principle of evaluation and strengthened the international (European) dimension of policy;
- for Finland the review was a successful exercise in which the "ending was better than the beginning"; the positive impression of Finland which the review conveyed abroad was good for the country and the review had the effect of protecting the sector in perilous financial water.

4.6 Outcomes

Opinion was taken from officials/others in the participating states on the specific outcomes arising from the review. Senior officials like to say there was "nothing novel" arising from the programme, or at best that particular formulations gained authority from appearing in a high-level "peer review". It may be fairer to say that the very process served to highlight a range of issues which whilst not being openly articulated had already been sensed in various quarters as concerns.

Common points were:

- it was reassuring to discover from external experience of the examiners that issues/challenges were being shared by others abroad; and
- there was value in the professional exchange which identified alternative ways of addressing common concerns.

Amongst the specific outcomes which were "identified" during visits to prepare country notes were the following:

- Austria gained better understanding of the need for contact between the federal and lander levels; a specific statistical initiative has been established to provide consistent data within Austria; awareness of the Council of Europe has been raised amongst the lander; and the review gave a broad stimulus to empirical cultural research;
- Sweden identified some specific initiatives in the field of access as attributable directly to the review, such as a three-year action programme in relation to young people, various market research studies and the acceptance of greater responsibility by institutions to find their own audiences; a range of other developments were put in the "multiple causes" category; these include more policy sensitivity to multi-culturalism,

developing the state/institutions dialogue the setting of priorities; strengthening of evaluation as an idea, more receptiveness to international dialogue, consideration of ways of building alternative poles to Stockholm;

- the Netherlands gained positive boost to rationalise policy arising from the review which was used as much to "check and challenge" new policy directions as an original source for new policy ideas; specific areas where the Netherlands moved forward include improvements to the policy planning process, innovation in the regional dimension of policy, [going against the "flat" tradition and building on strengths and diversities]; and various other points including developing the educational role of cultural institutions and changes to drama/touring arrangements;
- Finland took very seriously the comments of the examiners on the impact of the new formula funding system for state grants to institutions, especially the point about the need to reflect the "quality dimension"; a working party examined this issue and there were other enquiries on the proposals to turn the department into a separate ministry (not acted on) and into the social situation of artists; a new internal review is looking again at the machinery of government questions, and other reflections/meetings have occurred in relation to the potential of the design sector and sponsorship;
- the French review articulated a number of concerns which whilst not acted upon at the time have returned to the improving debate in France about the appropriate role of the state in cultural policy, including such matters as the place of creativity versus "la patriemoine" at the heart of cultural policy, the French cultural position in the world, the cultural industries (are quotas a symbol of policy failure) and the quality of delivery on core concerns such as decentralisation, participation and the minorities;
- in Italy many of the issues highlit by the examiners (decentralisation, autonomy of institutions, improved management, codification of legislation) are indeed the subject of public debate, and even proposed government action; it is difficult to assess the extent to which the review may have been a contributory factor.

In looking to identify specific outcomes from the review process, it should be understood that it is difficult in policy matters to identify causal relations. Multiple causes apply and changes/ideas recommended by the examiners and indeed acted upon could well have been picked up from other sources, in a wider European debate or be responses to other influences.

5. CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Overall conclusions

Establishing the review programme represents a considerable achievement for COE. Among its positive features, the programme has:

- generated substantial commitment, expanding from a trial period involving two countries to the current total of [14], with further expressions of interest from other countries; it has developed into a [much-admired] staple feature of the CDCC programme;
- represented good value for money for the Council, leveraging massive commitment from the participating states who carry the main costs [in the ratio of 4:1]; and it boosts the status of the Council by delivering a quality service for which it is distinctively qualified;
- expanded understanding and awareness of cultural policy as a topic of international interest, and at the same time indicating the variety of reasons for commitment to policies in this field;
- encourage the spread of expertise in cultural policy analysis and through an international effort involving 24 experts from 17 different countries focusing on six cases spread understanding of the practical process of evaluation;
- developed experience and skills in the original programme which has proved invaluable in relation to the new wave reviews;
- brought benefit to particular countries (including specific policy inputs, increased international awareness, raised professional skills and improved policy formulation) and created the opportunity for other member states to gain collective benefit afforded by the examples of [good and bad] practice in other countries.

The method of international "peer review" has proved that it is a sound process which can be applied to cultural policy, despite the extra challenges it poses in comparison with the education field. It is a successful means for exchanging international experience and strengthening policy thinking and delivery as well as developing international experience and comparative understanding of potential help to all.

5.2 Issues

Certain issues about the programme have emerged in the course of the review. Principal points are:

- the country reviews in the original programme proved to be a very heavy process in which some participating countries experienced difficulty in delivering, especially the national report in what has become its "expected bulk";
- some member states have been reluctant to get involved, possibly for "political reasons"; the risk [to amour propre] and resource implications are considerations;

- the formal comparative elements added to the programme in terms of the core themes have not been a great success, failing to produce fully articulated comparisons and being sidestepped when other concerns have come to the fore;
- the member states have not carried out the "read across" themselves; this is difficult given the variety of systems and the protracted timescale over which the reports have emerged; generally, the reports have failed to provoke much attention or active "use" outwith the country being reviewed, except by academic specialists;
- system reviews are very demanding of knowledge and experience and expertise in certain areas has, on occasions, been "missed"; getting below the surface and pressing home probing lines of enquiry has proved testing and in certain circumstances teams have had to settle for somewhat generalised observations;
- problems were experienced in the pacing of the programme, and in ensuring that it benefitted from a constant professional eye supervising the process.

5.3 Aims

In large measure, the original aims of the programme appear to have been met. They were:

participating member states

- to gain access to information on the aims and methods of other countries, particularly with regard to innovation;
- to analyse the successes and failures of cultural measures and compare experiences with other countries;
- to improve its own evaluation methods;

the Council of Europe

- to provide assistance through the international panel of experts to member states taking part in the exercise;
- to develop measuring instruments and indicators to help compare cultural policies on an international level;
- to give new impetus to joint efforts in the field of cultural cooperation.

Analysis of the country notes shows that progress has been made in relation to each of the aims for the participating countries though perhaps the formal comparison of experiences with other countries has been less developed. For the Council of Europe the success of the programme represents a substantial exercise in cooperation in itself. The provision of assistance has been the greatest boon. Progress in the development of measuring instruments and indicators arising in the reviews has been targeted on the immediate policy requirements.

5.4 Need for change

Despite the substantial achievements of the programme, it faces certain difficulties and it is timely after ten years for CC Cult to consider recommendations for a revised approach. This should not be a matter of surprise since the prototype education review programme of the OECD also faces similar issues of transition. As with the cultural policy reviews, the slow rhythm of reviews means that the comparative perspective has been difficult to sustain and certain older OECD members are showing a similar reluctance to submit to review. Generally the member countries in the OECD do not carry out the read-across for themselves and there is a desire to obtain added value from the programme.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Potential

This is a much-valued programme which has delivered significant benefit for the cultural policy field across Europe. There is further potential in the programme to achieve an even wider impact and this should be addressed. Taking into account the findings of this review, it is strongly recommended that the programme be maintained but that some consideration be given to making certain changes in approach.

It is important to recognise the strengths and weaknesses of the existing programme as set out above and to understand the relevant areas of evolving need. The following considerations should be borne in mind:

- the strong point of the programme is the international "peer review" method itself;
- the Council of Europe is especially well-placed to deliver the programme for the following reasons:
 - . its membership provides the greatest scope for the necessary international and governmental partnerships within Europe;
 - . it holds the relevant policy experience and contacts, and has the potential to engage with other partners in this work;
- the changed context in which the programme is operating affords new opportunities, especially in the east, and raises new policy issues for all;
- the Council of Europe wishes to engage more of the member states in the programme, to service more directly a larger number of members and achieve more added value from the reviews.

6.2 Suggestions

The specific suggestions for consideration are:

- modify the programme of country reviews
 - remove the distinction between original and new wave programmes;
 - lighten the process by returning to the original (OECD) model of "background national papers" rather than free-standing bulky national reports;
 - drop the focus on pre-selected "core" themes;
 - negotiate the focus of each review with the member state, bearing in mind reviews of detailed issues will still need to comment on structural points;
 - stress the core values of the "peer review" process, namely identifying good practice whilst drawing attention, as appropriate, to alternatives;

- introduce a new programme of "thematic reviews"; it is suggested that the thematic reviews might have the following features:
 - they would address a policy theme (not a research area) in a dynamic field; the Ministers should decide on the chosen theme;
 - they would highlight the comparative dimension and be targeted on identifying "effective policy";
 - take the pressure off the regular reviews and introduce a less threatening (and cheaper) process which will bring in "reluctant" members;
 - involve a range of countries in any review, perhaps five-eight, including east/west representation; [there might be some possibilities to include political regions of federal states];
 - the procedure should be the same as for the country reviews; participating countries might supply team members to visit each others countries to amplify the peer review aspect;
 - the thematic reviews will produce several outputs (country notes as well as a comparative report) and make a bigger impact by engaging simultaneously the energies of a range of countries.
- deliver the added value from the programme; suggestions in this respect are:
 - imposing an obligation on countries undergoing review to report back with a short paper, say after two years, covering agreement/disagreement with the examiners' observations, progress made/otherwise since the review, developments in thinking;
 - encourage participating states to hold a "country meeting" on the outcome of the review;
- develop a series of "policy notes"
 - the notes will provide member states with policy updates on shared points of interest; the "policy notes" should not be just figures but deal with the flesh and blood of policy practice;
 - they would be compiled from information accumulating from the review programme and by means of simple schema enquiries of member states with expert validation at the centre;
 - the task would be handled by the secretariat and by reference to appropriate expert advice;
 - the "policy notes" will provide a versatile vehicle for conveying comparator experience;
 - interest will be led by the expressed concerns of member states, including those from East Europe.

6.3 Integrated policy programme

These suggestions constitute small changes in the review programme but they would represent a step towards making it into an integrated policy programme. The balance of the programme, its pacing, and outputs and their volume will need consideration [perhaps in a reflection group] once the principles are accepted. [These suggestions might in effect define the mandate for the proposed policy resource centre.]

Other points:

- a test period might run for three years from 1998 to 2000;
- it is not envisaged that the policy notes will be the basis for a general clearing house; they will represent a particular service targeted in the first instance at member states;
- the decision to go forward with the notes and thematic reviews will need the commitment of a core group of member states.

Costing has not formed part of this review. It is envisaged that these changes could be handled within the anticipated budgetary framework, subject to re-allocation and certain efficiency savings. It would be sensible to position this development with other international agencies and to explore partnership possibilities.

6.4 Conclusion

This report has examined the core programme of reviews of national cultural policy. Notwithstanding certain difficulties, the programme has been successful in relation to its aims, delivered an unusually wide range of benefits to the member states and won considerable professional standing. It is suggested that the programme should be maintained but with changes in approach which are intended to meet evolving needs and provide an active service to an increasing number of members.

FRANCEReviewBackground

France was the first country whose cultural policy underwent appraisal within the Council of Europe's programme. It was also the first to be completed and published. The programme was launched by the CDCC in June 1985. The decision to participate was taken as a result of the realisation that, following on from rapid growth and development during the early 1980s, there was a need to reflect on priorities and programmes before embarking on a further phase. In addition, there was a willingness to help set standards in the Council of Europe's programme which should, in due course, provide useful matter for reflection for the whole of Europe.

Point of departure

Within government and political circles in France, there is a strong tradition of intellectual debate, theorising about, and analysis of, cultural policy. Whilst this may not necessarily be directly linked to the political processes of policy and decision making, it is widely accepted as an important part of the organic whole. The Ministry of Culture's own Research and Forecasting Department has, since 1963, carried out detailed studies into cultural life, and has built up an enviable data bank of statistics on budgetary, financial, institutional and social aspects of cultural life in France. The initial report, which is a model of Gallic clarity, was drawn up for the French Government by Monsieur Bernard Gournay, Senior Adviser to the National Audit Office, and a professor at the *Institut des études politiques de Paris*. The choice of Monsieur Gournay was deliberate, in order to involve a senior figure who was knowledgeable about the sector, but an impartial observer, independent of the major bodies responsible for the determination and implementation of cultural policy in France.

This report, which was approved by the relevant Minister, was predominantly devoted to cultural policy in France over the 30 or so years since André Malraux, charting constant and innovative features, but paying particular attention to recent history, notably the Socialist government of the early 1980s (Jack Lang) and the immediately succeeding libertarian trend (François Léotard). The Ministry besides organising its own research, also collects studies and reports from elsewhere both in France and abroad. Consequently, the 'national' report was able to present a very comprehensive picture, informed by considerable awareness of trends and developments elsewhere.

None of the key players in France entertained any illusions about the exercise's ability to change policy. Its purpose was therefore seen in:

- obtaining information on aims and methods in relation to cultural policies;
- facilitating exchange of experience;
- developing understanding;
- commenting on successes and failures.

In general terms, there was an openness to improving methods of evaluation.

Review Process

1985 - formal agreement by the French authorities to participate;

1986 - national report completed by the end of the year;

1987 - agreement reached between national authorities and Examiners' team on study programme;

1987 - visits (two weeks) and deliberative meetings;

1988 (February) - Review meeting in Strasbourg.

National Report

The Report was presented as a useful first step in the examination of cultural policy in France. This was the first integrated study of the topic in France. It was largely based on the comments and writings of Ministers and heads of Departments of State regarding policy objectives, on the official minutes of Parliamentary debates, and on the work of a number of specialised committees which had been set up to report on particular topics. The author intentionally avoided making value judgements. In addition, as has been noted above, a wealth of statistical information had been made available to the author from the Ministry of Culture's Research Department. Some of the available data on music is weaker than for other art forms.

Given the variety of sources drawn upon, the report is prefaced by a disclaimer in respect of certain inevitable inconsistencies in the way the data had to be presented. Nevertheless, this is only a minor flaw in a rather impressive report, which gives a clear and concise picture of the field from a central government perspective. With the endorsement of the report by the Minister of Culture of the day, the examiners were never in any doubt about the status of the document which provided their solid starting point.

The national report, in addition to setting out the historical and policy perspective, focuses usefully on the particular areas of concern agreed with the Council of Europe, namely, aid to creativity/artists, expanding the audience, decentralisation, and cultural policy in relation to immigrant and minority groups. There is also a valuable section devoted to the roles of radio, television and the media.

Sequence of Events

The process was well managed, and ran according to the planned schedule. The key stages, including a great deal of research and agreement - on both reports - was contained within a two-year period. This gave the whole exercise in France a degree of coherence and transparency which has been difficult to deliver in certain other countries within the Evaluation programme.

Examination

The work of the examiners was greatly assisted by the competence of the national report, and by clear briefing of the various parties involved. Interviews were secured with a wide range of senior political and administrative figures, including the Directors of important cultural institutions. Whilst the majority of these were held in Paris, the team was able to schedule brief visits to three 'specimen' areas in the country, and to engage with key local and regional representatives in Annecy, Caen and Lyons.

Successes noted by the Examiners

General praise was given to Ministerial initiative and to the overall high status accorded to cultural policy in France. The broad definition of 'culture' and para-fiscal mechanisms and support to the cultural industries were also noted with approval. Similarly with the numerous measures which aim to support creativity (grants and show support, simplicity of contracts with producing theatres, fiscal deals, operation of copyright etc.).

Outstanding developments in the regions were also highly praised, and the flexibility and pragmatism of the formal contractual CO-financing arrangements between the Ministry and the local authorities were noted with great interest. Particular areas recorded with approval include the following:

- overall attempts to extend activity outside Paris;
- success with museums;
- success with music teaching;
- improvements to the public library service;
- experiments (despite limited finance) with culture at community/'everyday' level.

Review meeting

The Minister for Culture was himself unable to attend, but a delegation of senior officials (led by the Ministry's Director of Theatre and Entertainment) provided some prepared replies to examiners' questioning in the Minister's name, whilst also being able to engage more freely in discussion at the CDCC meeting in Strasbourg. In addition to Ministry officials and the author of the national report, the Government delegation included the Director of Cultural Affairs for the Region of Aquitaine, and the Head of the National Cinematographic Centre.

Outcomes

In the light of the highly developed public systems in France, and the state of public debate on cultural policy issues - many of which are perceived as highly political, it is difficult to pinpoint specific outcomes from the Review. Nevertheless, it seems fair to comment that the very process served to highlight a range of issues which, whilst not being openly articulated, had already been identified in various quarters as concerns. Amongst these must be included:

- creativity - where is the active interest and support actually (if at all) located? Block grants to institutions did not necessarily guarantee the support and funding of talent. The heart of cultural policy in France is still very much located in 'la patrimoine', and likely to remain so.
- the position of French culture in the world - did poor promotion of artists and dissemination abroad (in contrast with the UK and Germany) mean that France was losing position?
- the cultural industries - to what extent had the political rhetoric and the reality become one? Was this in fact masking lack of success of the policy? Are quotas in fact a symbol of failure to bring together policy, creativity, and the market?

- the Review's priority concerns (decentralisation, participation, minorities etc.) had given quite a high profile to major policy and delivery issues which were not being adequately confronted. In terms of later decisions, genuine decentralisation has only been carried out in relation to small public libraries.

Whilst the whole exercise was perhaps slightly too 'diplomatic' in retrospect, it was accepted, for example, that what the Examiners had to say on decentralisation was sound, and needed to be taken to heart. The exercise set out the issues and problems well and coherently. The Report was read by the Commission responsible for preparing the budget of the Ministry of Culture and Communication, and it may therefore be said to have had some impact on the Parliament. No specific comment or reaction was however recorded. Existing institutional momentum and the need to protect vested interests were more than a match for most of the Examiners' necessarily generalised conclusions. Any influence on the Foreign Ministry was wholly negligible.

Independent observers have suggested that the impact of the Review on the Ministry itself was not sustained, and that no real changes resulted. Bernard Gournay produced a summary version which was widely circulated amongst Ministers and senior officials, inviting their response, but it only seems to have been used as a briefing document. There is no evidence of the Report having subsequently been actively 'used'. Ministers and officials were, naturally, interested in press comment, but with the exception of *Commentaire*, the media debate was largely superficial and time-limited. Relative stability in public funding levels to culture in France (up until rather recently) has tended to delay official response to increasing levels of public and sectoral criticism, much of it in line with observations made by the Examiners in 1987. Reductions in public sector finance coupled with varying perceptions of the symbolic '1%' for culture is now leading to an improving general debate about the appropriate role for the state in cultural policy.

Points at issue

The Examiners were familiar with the range of reasons and historical causes which underlie the cultural policy and delivery system in France. Whilst being careful as external observers and commentators not to appear to criticise the system for being the way it is, it is nevertheless clear from reading the report that there was an underlying tension between their wish to ask fundamental questions, and an equal determination on the part of the French authorities to rule those same questions out of order. One is inevitably left with a feeling of frustration that legitimate probing of issues around interventionism, hierarchy, bureaucracy, and over-centralised control were unable to be pressed home. Answers were courteously given and received - but perhaps not wholly believed. Whilst it is probably quite true to point out (as Minister Léotard did in his formal replies) that there is great strength in the continuity of post-Malraux French cultural policy, with overriding similarity in the objectives pursued whatever the party-political context, this can also be taken to signify a lack of will to face up to crucial questions. This confident attitude has been characterised by the rightist cultural commentator Marc Fumaroli, who is highly critical of French State cultural policy, as "une nouvelle religion d'Etat". The Examiners' Report similarly referred to a 'cultural monarchy', which lacked any real consultative machinery other than that established on its own rather absolutist terms. Although many have seen the current rather centralised system as originating in Malraux's policies, their key point of departure was actually decentralisation.

Response to the process

Immediately after the formal process had been concluded, preparations began for publication and wider dissemination. Both reports (the National Report and the Examiners' Report) were put together in one volume, together with a written record of discussion and any conclusions to emerge at the Review meeting in Strasbourg. This appeared in June 1988, published in French by La Documentation Française (the Government publishers) under the title 'La politique culturelle de la France'. The English translation of this volume - 'Cultural Policy in France' - was subsequently published by the Council of Europe in 1991, who were also responsible for its distribution. The original French language version went through four print runs, accounting for over 5,000 copies. Of these, over 4,000 have been sold (1,261 through mail order). 500 copies were distributed free to various points within the government administration, 103 as press/review copies, and 50 as reference library copies, particularly to higher education institutions.

Two quite high profile actions followed upon the publication. Firstly, the Ministry organised an event in central Paris for 200 invited key political, cultural and administrative personalities, plus selected specialised press commentators. Council of Europe representatives were involved, and the Examiners' team, led by Robert Wangermeé, the rapporteur, was allowed an hour in which to present impressions and findings. Secondly, *Commentaire*, a respected quarterly journal of the intellectual right founded in 1977, and with a circulation of 3,000 - 4,000, over four issues ran a series of articles arising out of a questionnaire which had been targeted upon forty or so selected former Ministers, politicians, critics, artists and academics. The questions, with origins in the Council of Europe exercise, had been formulated by Marc Fumaroli. Twenty-nine responses were received and included, as well as subsequent articles which had been stimulated. This obviously gave considerable publicity at one level to the Council of Europe programme.

It is also worth recording that Jack Lang, at the conclusion of his first Ministry mandate in 1986, had accepted the principle of evaluation of policy as important. Consequently, when he resumed office in the latter part of 1988, he had already earlier during that year (when still in opposition) taken the opportunity to hold a private two-hour interview with a number of the Examiners. On becoming Minister once again, Lang referred his key advisers and Departmental directors to the Report and its findings, suggesting that these should be given due consideration in formulating and adjusting policy. It seems that whilst specialised units within the Ministry could - sector by sector - grasp some of the comments and criticisms being made in the Examiners' Report, they had much greater difficulty in coming to terms with the more important general observations on issues such as audience development or decentralisation.

Overall judgement

The national authorities felt that had given a good account of themselves and, in spite of a little light bruising from the process, had vindicated their decision to be first into the programme. Certainly high standards had been set for any future participants to engage at a similarly high level of competence and seriousness. However, it appears that this degree of confidence may be rather restricted to central government circles, and was not shared either at the local level, or amongst artists, who felt remote from the whole process, and had no shared ownership in it. The idea of review - and the periodic need for it - within the Ministry of Culture and Communication was strengthened. The Ministry now has a standing evaluation

committee, chaired by a senior official from the Ministry of Finance. The method of working is derived from that of the *Commissariat Général*, which is similar for all government departments. This group produces topic based reports, and is serviced by the Research Division. It is not yet evident that its work has any real impact on forward budgets. In relation to the Council of Europe Review as a whole, there seems to be a feeling that perhaps too much time, effort and money were expended for too few concrete results.

EVENTS SUBSEQUENT TO THE REVIEW

The Political and Economic Context

While continuity of the post-Malraux cultural policy is still a strong feature within France, political and economic pressures are increasingly seen to be questioning the 'faith'. Approaching ten years on from the Review, it is inevitable that incremental changes will have taken place. But in particular, the Jack Lang dictum 'tout est culture' is increasingly and openly being questioned, coupled with the rejoinder that if this were so, then it is equally valid to claim that 'rien n'est culture'. Taken in perspective, this implies that however impressive the French Government's budgetary effort on culture has been (the 1% symbol, the Presidential *grands projets* etc.), 30 years of sustained development in cultural policy has not increased the overall audience, or expanded participation greatly, and was ill-prepared for dealing with the consequences of international mass cultural production. With minor additions or changes to the brief of the Ministry there have over the ten year period been few actual changes. Interestingly, the annual Parliamentary debate on the culture budget attracts little interest on the part of Deputies.

The 1% target has in part been sustained through 'political book keeping', but its high profile ironically makes it increasingly harder to maintain, let alone increase in a climate where the Finance Ministry is looking for major global reductions. On the one hand, there has been no overt political pressure requiring any justification of the high levels of cultural spending, but on the other, budgets are now being squeezed from the top, with inevitable consequences further down the line.

Orchestras have of late suffered a 3% reduction. The FRACs (the Government sponsored agencies with the regions for supporting contemporary art) have in 1995 lost 18% from their acquisition budgets, which are nevertheless still set at a high level. Smaller drama companies (especially those engaged in youth or community work) are disappearing through lack of public funding through the system reaching their level. Commercial sponsorship, meanwhile, is at a standstill, or possibly slightly reducing from its previous - and not notably high - levels.

(N.B. DETAILED FIGURES ON REQUEST FROM THE MINISTRY)

The Central/Local Dilemma

The decentralisation programme as carried out under Mitterrand/Lang did genuinely aim to improve standards in cultural life outside Paris. The achievements are real and considerable - if still heavily dependent upon highly centralised systems and networks. The message has been getting clearer all the time that the burden of support and financing must increasingly be taken up by the local authorities, and above all by the major provincial cities. Many of the cities have embraced this challenge extremely positively, but lack the means under their own control to achieve what they would like.

At the same time, there are growing accusations that Paris is unconcerned about more equitable distribution, about genuine opportunity for access, or about wide disparities in regional capability. A centralised centres of excellence policy will always tend to favour those who are already blessed at the expense of those who are not. Individual artists or cultural institutions will always be tempted to take refuge in systems which place the ability to validate at the more remote, but allegedly more 'expert', centre. All the same, there is increasing comment on the part of visual artists to the effect that, over the 30 year period, Paris has been transformed from a *ville-atelier* to a *ville-musée* - art in the service of the state rather than the state at the service of the arts.

These are areas of potential growing conflict which the current still highly centralised networks cannot solve on their own. However, the effects of increased levels of engagement by the cities (many of them in financial crisis) and wishing to broaden their policies out from 'centres of excellence' to quality in access, local activities, better targeting etc., must in time have consequences for the role of the Ministry in Paris. At present, this is not being faced. The system of 'conventions' - joint funding contracts - introduced in 1989 has led to some development, but is still perceived on the ground as a centralised control mechanism, rather than a local opportunity. The initiative, because of fiscal power, still predominantly rests with the Ministry to promote *its* proposals to its local and regional partners. The notion of local 'outreach' from centres of excellence is often incorporated, but institutions with declining public sector financial support will quite naturally protect their own narrower interests as the priority. The government's partnership agencies in the regions, the FRACs and DRACs, may be relatively secure and well funded, but with reducing budgets have less and less room for manoeuvre, let alone to encompass new local aspirations.

The last full set of data available through the Research Division of the Ministry demonstrates that actual expenditure (national, regional and local) in 1993 was just about holding its own in real terms. Compared with the figures in the French National Report's base year, the actuals showed an (unadjusted) doubling of the local authority contribution, whereas the national total had, over the same period, increased by a factor of 75%. However, it is clear from all the more recent evidence that both levels have since then been at best level, and more likely declining.

Although the Ministry has now articulated an outline future wish to reorder financial priorities so that global (i.e. all public sources combined) cultural expenditure for Paris/Ile de France is limited to only one third of the national total, it is difficult to see how this could come about, given the weight of history, tradition, and influence in the capital. The major provincial cities are growing increasingly ambitious, but also increasingly nervous. With most of the significant sums of money for culture still routed through Paris, and the major institutions umbilically connected to central government, the relationship cannot be other than awkward. Partnership of equals is a chimera. Policy delivery is rather uneven, with creativity in particular likely to be in some instances overprotected, but in others neglected.

Wider Perceptions

When the French national report was written, almost ten years ago, the Ministry was in confident mood. French culture was in open dialogue with the world, well able to compete on anyone's terms. Today, the context is different. Even within Europe alone, the effects of the collapse of the former Soviet Union are quite severe

on France's *amour propre*. Expansion of the European Union northwards into Scandinavia and eastwards into the former Soviet Empire is leading to a fairly rapid increase in a market for cultural influence and products, where the second language preference is likely to be English or German. Spanish and Portuguese accession to the EU has, likewise increased the market for their respective languages in Latin America and elsewhere in Africa and Asia. To quote Patrice Higgonet, "The first source of the political malaise in contemporary France is that traditional administrative élites no longer have road maps which make sense to the rank and file, and this distancing is even more true of culture than it is of economics or immigration." (Times Literary Supplement).

Quotas may give the illusion that production and consumption of French cultural products is strong, but how many people are actually watching those films or TV programmes, for example, in the early morning ghetto-slots? Meanwhile seemingly populist and heretical Parliamentary deputies can appear live on TV to suggest "selling Versailles and the Van Goghs in the national collections to pay off the country's social security debts." The Parliamentary Rapporteur of the Finance Commission has stated in respect of cultural policy that 'the sacred cow is no longer taboo.'

The Rigaud Commission

It may be deduced from the above that a creeping malaise has arisen in the course of the last ten years, and can no longer be ignored. Experienced observers of the scene in France suggest that reforms will happen almost by stealth over a protracted period. Officially, it is felt to be enough that the debate is happening, although some of the challenges being made are extreme, particularly by the critics from the right. But parallel lines are also being set down by experienced and pragmatic politicians, such as Michel Guy (Minister 1974-76), who believes that with the initiative clearly moving to the local authorities, the role of the state Ministry should be restricted to intervention where there are glaring inequalities to be rectified. Decentralisation should be the main priority of the government, the rest of its energies being directed to improving the quality of television. Bernard Gournay in *Commentaire* has identified three strands which require urgent attention to make a reality of decentralisation:

- apart from the devolution of small libraries, there has been no genuine decentralisation in cultural policy. In a centralised unitary state such as France, this should focus debate on the need for reform in who actually makes the key decisions;
- as a result of the machinery of central government and how it has been set up to work, the scope of the Minister with regard to artistic creation has considerably increased, contrary to the rhetoric;
- participation and cultural industries policies have only produced mediocre results, and require re-examination and redirection to reflect the social and market realities of the day.

The 1995 French government appeared, despite the general consensus in cultural policy between left and right, to share much of the questioning. Doubtless a wish to offload a substantial proportion of centralised cultural expenditure onto the aspirant municipalities would be a Finance Ministry aim. With the public attack now coming from both the left and the right, Minister Jacques Toubon therefore

established a Commission to report on many of the issues raised above, under the chairmanship of Jacques Rigaud. Toubon's successor, Philippe Douste-Blazy has clearly felt it practically undesirable to halt the work, accepting that it has a real purpose.

The exercise is well-regarded, and it is assumed that it may set a new agenda for the Ministry in parallel with the budget process. It is not the standard French 'statist' model. Rigaud himself is a figure highly respected by the sector. Director of cabinet to the former Culture Minister Jacques Duhamel (under President Pompidou), founding chairman of *Admical*, the French association for cultural sponsorship, and with a very respectable television company pedigree. One of the main concerns of officialdom in Paris was whether Rigaud's proposed reforms would primarily suggest wholly new solutions to problems, or, less threateningly, try to reformulate a public sector response to them. Set up in February 1996, the Commission was comprised of 25 politicians and experts, meeting once a week in full session, and allocating specific tasks to sub-committees. At least 200 evidence-taking sessions have been reported. The Commission published its report on 18 October, and its suggestions are currently being analysed.

Rigaud's personal perspective is that the Malraux model, developed down the years by a series of remarkable ministers, has become fragile. It is overloaded with heavy procedures, is confused by too many priorities, and the power of some sectors negates the ability to support and develop 'communal inspiration', which has been given less than its due. Whilst the central government agencies working in partnership in the regions have had substantial and increasing resources, they are now said to be 'drowning in a magma', while the general public is only engaged at the very margins of what they are doing. Since the government money backing cultural policy, even in the regional context, is now larded with very significant sums from other budgets, decentralisation is also technically a rather complex issue. Fumaroli would probably add that this makes the position of creativity even more dubious that it already appears.

The Commission's report is due to be debated by the French Parliament. It remains to be seen whether this will result in specific agreement on actions to be taken, or whether it will be allowed to gather dust on the shelf. Initial press reaction would suggest that international perceptions of loss of energy and purpose in French culture should be sufficient to ensure that this time, it amounts to more than an *affaire de fonctionnaires*, while the barons are allowed time and space to reorder their territories. The Report is entitled 'Cultural Policy *in* (i.e. not *of*) France', reflecting quite a wide span. With Ministerial ambitions now somewhat less grand, and finances certainly more restricted, there may well be a realistic opportunity to face up to the issues as set out in this latest formulation. Key recommendations include the following:

- a *Conseil national des industries culturelles*, designed as a cross Ministerial mechanism under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister. The remit will go beyond narrowly cultural matters, taking in multimedia development and electronic networks. There is an intention that this council would have access to a substantial budget, although it is not yet clear how this would be drawn up, or from what source(s). The report observes that "culture is a dimension, and not just a sector of government action." The new mechanism would be expected to pay particular attention to foreign - trade and cultural - aspects.

- a much more detailed look to be taken at the local authority situation, with the force of an existing 1988 law to be more rigorously pursued. This would tend to favour greater local discretion on cultural spending, under certain conditions. At all events, this signals a new, and redefined, co-operative deal between the Ministry and the regions/local authorities.
- a thorough review, with reform to follow, of the tangled web of regional and local agencies which has been growing to such an extent that it has almost seized up, and is hard to comprehend.
- a clearer redefinition of the collaboration between the Ministry and the regions through the DRACs. The role of these agencies will be reinforced, but working practices may need to be revised.

SWEDENReviewAim

It was a Swedish suggestion in 1986 that the CDCC should carry out reviews of cultural policy on a trial basis to establish whether similar benefits to those arising from the OECD model of "Country Reviews of Education Policy" could be secured for cultural policy. Sweden had particular expectations from participating in the process itself. Realising that the political/financial climate for cultural policy had changed since the 1970s, the Swedish authorities hoped that the review would "bring to the Swedish debate new material and stimulation from the European discussion".

Starting point

Policy "reform" tends to arise in Sweden in the guise of a major consolidated event. Such a moment occurred in the cultural policy field in 1974 when, following a major national debate on the cultural needs of a democratic society, the lines of subsequent policy were defined including setting eight "goals of national cultural policy".

These goals expressed the broad purpose of policy rather than specific aims/objectives. Detailed targets were not part of the thinking. Nor was evaluation established as a regular policy mechanism. Nevertheless, the Swedish Arts Council had by 1986 given considerable thought to evaluation methodology and has been developing statistical programmes and monitoring surveys over some period of time.

Background report

Responsibility for the background report rested with a working party chaired by the Under Secretary of State in the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs. The National Council for Cultural Affairs drafted the report and assembled the factual information. This involved working with other authorities/institutions in the cultural sector for which the Council had no direct responsibility.

Drafting the document was a complex and demanding task, especially facing up to the implications of some of the information presented (e.g. falling drama attendance). The report was presented in draft to the authorities and to certain organisations who assisted in its preparation. The process also involved the Minister. Judgements and conclusions were formulated as an expression of the views of the Ministry of Education [but the Council remained responsible for the underlying factual material].

The Swedish background report is notable for its clear and systematic organisation. In addition to giving an historical account of the evolution of policy, it presents a discussion of the key policy themes in terms of the separate stages of an assessment process:

- the objectives of policy (what politicians wish to achieve and realise);
- the measures used (the means available e.g. money, legislation, information organisation); and

- the results (outputs and responses).

In assessing the results, the authors of the Swedish background report themselves point to the danger of an "over-quantitative" approach, including the difficulties of handling cultural achievements and the experience, knowledge and values of the population. The review team felt able to pay a tribute to the Swedes for their "object lesson in rigorous analysis and fearless self-criticism".

The scope of the Swedish report was more comprehensive than the French. The French review team needed to make their own references to reports and studies and to assemble in collaboration with the French national authorities their own statistical materials. The Swedes were anxious to equip the examiners with the bulk of the materials they would need for their work in an accessible language (English) i.e. other than Swedish so that the examiners could concentrate on judgement and evaluation. [The Swedes were also anxious to put to good use the systematic statistical work accumulated over the years since 1974; though, in fact, no new surveys were carried out in preparing the background report].

The result is a Swedish background report of massive proportions. [It was criticised for being too large within Sweden]. It proved useful to the examiners but rather difficult to digest.

Examination

The examination team contained a spread of professional skills (research/advice, senior policy administration, authorship) and was familiar with a range of contrasted cultural systems (France, UK, Turkey). It was useful that one team member knew the Swedish language and Swedish cultural policy as a close neighbour from Norway.

The keenest debate within the review team centered on the relevance of non-Scandinavian experience to the future of Swedish policy and on the gravity (or otherwise) of the imminent public sector funding crisis.

Despite the wide scope and considerable bulk of the background report, the examiners needed additional materials (which were especially translated for them) and some further statistical analysis for inclusion in the report. They also made a first attempt/["modest stab"] at statistical comparisons with other countries (especially France and the UK).

The examiners report contained a series of specific proposals/recommendations. These numbered 48 in total.

Timetable

Commencement: 1986.

Preparation of national report: 1986 to 1988.

Examiners' visits: September 1988, November 1988.

Deliberations: Spring 1989.

Review meeting: June 1989.

Publication

Publication of the reports was undertaken by the Swedish authorities. Equal numbers of national background and examiners reports were published, 1,700 each in Swedish and 2,200 each in English. The bulk of the English edition (1,620) went for official distribution, 500 to the Council of Europe, the remainder to the Swedish authorities (embassies, universities, visitors, conferences); the publishers took 580 of each in English and 1,085 in Swedish for retail; commercial sales of the Swedish edition were small (background report 212, examiners report 132) and even smaller for the English language edition (background report 115 and examiners report 14).

Review meeting

The minister attended the review meeting which added authority to the full exchanges on the questions put by the examiners. [The meeting became mainly be a dialogue between the Swedish representatives and the review team].

The Swedish quality press attended and gave full coverage to the event. [The treatment tended to pose the "Swedish model" in defensive confrontation with European expert opinion. One judgement ("the assessments are often amazing or offensive to a Swede, but there is a reason to listen".). This firmly launched discussion of the review process within Sweden.

Reception

Sweden did not arrange a country seminar on the examiners report. [Nor was it formally considered within the Swedish system beyond briefing the Minister for the review meeting.] The report was presented to Parliament and was formally referred to in the directions to the Parliamentary Committee which examined bases of national cultural policy between 199x and 1995 in preparation for the new bill to be published in late-1996.

There were some mixed reactions to the review process and its outcome:

- the Ministry chose not to circulate the examiners report with a request for comments/discussion; the feeling was that the findings were "rather controversial" and that it was "better left as an independent document";
- some of the institutions felt uneasy about the examiners observations on organisational rigidities and high costs in Sweden compared with some non-Swedish benchmarks;
- the review was used as "a weapon" in grant negotiation and the authorities found it at times "a nuisance".

The report achieved wide circulation among cultural policy professionals, and there is a considerable awareness of the review process and its findings. The press conference held in May 1990, roughly a year after the review meeting, achieved additional publicity for the reports.

Whilst the spotlight went off the review once the Parliamentary Committee began its deliberations, the examiners report remained a "key document" to which much reference was made by policy professionals.

It was cited in the documentation of the Parliamentary Committee itself. The National Arts Council referred to it in its own evaluation and three-year plan. Various committees had eluded to the reports information and ideas, including commissions on the theatre, international exchange and on museums.

Some surprise was expressed that the report was not read by the municipalities or put to much "use" at that level. The local authority associations were more aware and report that in certain instances the review introduced an international dimension into the thinking of the municipalities some of whom "realised for the first time that ideas can come from abroad".

Overall judgement

Despite concerns expressed about the seemingly controversial nature of the examiners report, the national authorities believe it was valuable to have external observations on Swedish policy, especially in the late-1980s. In particular, the examiners anticipated the likely direction of events and gave an "early warning" of pressures to come and possible responses. In fact, the report "appeared more controversial at the time than it does now".

In policy matters it is rarely possible to identify direct causal relations. Even when ideas that had not reached Sweden at the time of the examiners visits were formulated in the report, it is not necessarily the case that changes resulted from this, and were not picked up from a wider European debate. In this sense, the national authorities are right to state that there "was nothing novel" in the review, though the particular formulations made in the report gained authority as the outcome of a high-level "peer review".

Outwith government, others valued the process as something specially useful to a smaller country. The comparators/international aspect revealed that issues/challenges were shared by others abroad. There was value in the professional exchange which took place within the peer review and identified alternative ways of addressing common concerns/problems.

Outcome

The originator of the review experiment and organiser of the exercise in Sweden, C J Kleberg, kindly supplied comments on the impact of the review within Sweden, in particular the outcome of the 48 recommendations in Section 8 of the examiners report.

He observed that "no major decisions have been taken on the basis of the proposals in the examiners report". A major test will come in the new bill to be presented to parliament in late 1996. It is typical in Sweden that "reforms" are clustered into one consolidated legislative act after extensive [and protracted] discussions.

CJK listed his personal comments on the impact of the review and this records much influence for the examiners report. In many cases, the ideas of the examiners can be seen in the thinking of the Arts Council, the Parliamentary Committee and the Ministry. Of course, it is certainly possible that much of this could be put down to changing context of policies and to broader influences, albeit the examiners formulated the points in ways which reflected the needs of the Swedish circumstances. In a number of specific instances, particular issues were taken up, according to CJK, in response to the examiners observations (see Aftermath).

AFTERMATH

1989 is a long time ago and some of the change in atmosphere and in thinking in Sweden has been influenced by broader impulses such as the economic crisis of the early 1990s and membership of the EU.

Machinery of government

Culture has been separated out from the Ministry of Education into a stand-alone Ministry of its own.

A main change in the funding methodology has resulted from the introduction of a new budget process requiring output assessment generally in government. As applied to the cultural sector, this involves three-year plans and performance indicators. As a result, a dialogue has started with the national institutions (it has proved easier to accomplish this with the museums) and issues of quality are now discussed. Grants are still given as lump sums though it is now possible to attach conditions.

This is in line with the direction recommended by the examiners who emphasise the need to end the "silence of the state", start a dialogue and formulate objectives.

The examiners thought there was no need to redefine the eight goals of national cultural policy. But the Parliamentary Committee has deliberated long on revised goals and the new bill is likely to contain proposals.

Related points:

- the three-year planning introduced in 1991 has not developed as anticipated in the review (there have been annual changes);
- the Parliamentary Committee devoted one volume of a three-volume report to "evaluation";
- the authorities are facing the challenges of handling/digesting the data coming back from the new planning/indicator process.

The Ministry is now more interested in statistics (as the review advised). The Council has funds for statistics with broad responsibility for coordinating figures across the sector. But the reason for this development was probably discontent with figures published by the Parliamentary Committee, rather than the observations of the examiners.

Other changes in the machinery of government include:

- more money for the National Council (switched from Employment funds) to be used for development ("fund for the future"); despite this, the Council argues that its role has not fundamentally changed; it is now proposed that the Council take on an advisory role for museums;
- the national exhibition service has focused its activity on specific niche area, with more intensive exploration of a smaller number of exhibitions and links to regional organisations; again, it was the introduction of the three-year plans which brought about this major reassessment of role, though the

development is in line with the examiners ideas.

Funding

The funding for the cultural sector is being squeezed considerably;

- the State budget for the arts peaked in cash in 1992, whereafter the real terms cut has been 1992 - 95 11 per cent (or somewhat less after adjustment for wages); cultural spending by municipalities is said to have fallen by some three per cent in real terms since 1991, rather less than municipal funding as a whole which is said to be down by six per cent; there is enormous pressure on the local authority to limit spending [and at one point a form of freedom was frozen];
- the complaints are that the squeeze is effecting institutions and educational associations; projects are said to have suffered less; the argument of the institutions is that it is short-sighted not to protect the spine of Sweden's cultural system;
- in the midst of these cuts, it is surprising to find the major building programme in progress; this results from the impact of unemployment policy; the Vasa Museum and the Gotenborg Opera were completed; the Museum of Modern Art project is nearing completion and there are some 50 other current projects in progress;
- VAT of six per cent has been introduced on cultural services [the net effect of this is said to be budget neutral].

Policy general

Much hangs on the content of the new bill to be published late 1996. It is expected to give guidance on, among other things, new goals of national cultural policy, regional coordination, alternative pole to Stockholm, multi-culturalism, the social status of artists.

Issues covered in the report of the Parliamentary Committee include:

- Sharing responsibilities and working together
- Culture in the international spotlight
- Cultural participation and strategies for change
- Children and wishes and choices of the young
- Ethnic and minority language groups
- Cultural opportunities for the disabled
- Culture in the everyday environment
- Association on life
- The forms and conditions of artistic work
- An integrated policy for artists
- Mass media opportunities
- The cultural heritage (the ground on which we stand)
- Preserving the cultural environment
- The need for variety, geographical balance and increased flexibility

On the examiners theme of the need for a wider partnership for the cultural sector there have been some initiatives with tourism and education, but nothing specific

has been done on sponsorship although the climate has changed. There is a better understanding (especially in the cities) of the wider role of culture and a forthcoming conference will deal with this topic.

Creativity

Sweden is said to be more open than previously. Some international studios have been established. The new Museum of Modern Art has been designed by a non-Swedish architect and will be headed by a non-Swedish Chief Executive. More interest is being expressed generally in international elements. It is suspected that much of this would have happened anyway. There has been some focus on the mass media (and various changes were made by the liberal government). The relation between cultural policy and the media is a theme discussed by the Parliamentary Committee. The discussion tends to be in terms of public policy need to counteract the influence of commerce, rather than partnership to achieve mutual benefits. There is said to be a good climate for culture but the sector is still relatively isolated. There is a feeling on the part of the music industry, for example, that they do not feel part of formal cultural policy.

There has been great expansion in broadcasting opportunities, with many new independent producers, though they find life hard financially.

The difficulty of achieving renewal appears greater than ever. The issue of labour market flexibility (particularly in the performed arts institutions) remains a problem. No real pressure has been put on the institutions. The Ministry says the matter "will be addressed".

Regions

It is now accepted that there should be a pause in infrastructure/institutional development across the country.

Building up a strong alternative poll for Stockholm has been examined by the Ministry, but the idea (particularly of decanting institutions from Stockholm elsewhere) has been strongly resisted:

- by the museum system who believe it is better to build from regional provision (gaining ground) and that the national service role (academic, training, touring) can be best discharged from Stockholm;
- and by Stockholm who fought this in a related proposal to require funding of national institutions based in Stockholm to be shared with the municipality.

No formal procedures have been established to achieve regional coordination. The Swedish system still operates without the compulsion of nominative legislation (though some library legislation is planned). The local authorities are still reluctant to face up to this issue, but the local authority associations are planning a study on the means of achieving cooperation:

- there has been progress in regional coordination in respect of libraries and the matter is being examined in relation to visual arts advisers;
- there is still a tendency to think sectorally;

-
- the regions would like to take central money as a lump sum but the municipalities prefer the status quo with direct funding of institutions;
 - a related view held by some officials that "it is wrong to think the regions can do everything".

National authorities have given thought (as suggested by the examiners) to those matters which the state is uniquely qualified to address, including training, touring, institutional reform and artistic development. Local politicians are still "not trusted". The state offers artistic guarantees which might be lost in any wider process of devolution.

Access

Much has been done in this field since 1989. Some of it is attributed to the impact of the review:

- a major study (six reports) on ways to stimulate access;
- a three-year action programme (focused on youth/children);
- more acceptance of responsibility by the institutions to find audiences;
- more policy sensitivity on multi-cultural issues.

No data has been supplied/is available on the results of these endeavours at this point.

THE NETHERLANDS

Aim

Dutch participation in the review programme was much inspired by a specific policy requirement. The national authorities wanted an international input into their first integrated cultural policy document and saw the review programme as an ideal way to access experience from abroad and to establish a comparative perspective on Dutch policy deliberations. A four-year funding system had been established in 1988 initially confined to the arts section of the Ministry. The new policy document would be the first to incorporate the remaining policy areas in the Ministry, heritage, media, literature and libraries, into the process.

In the event, timing meant that Investing in Culture: Netherlands Cultural Policy on Culture 1993-1996 went ahead before the review was completed. The objective was completed in relation to the second integrated cultural policy document for the period 1997-2000, preparation of which has been much informed by the desired international inputs from the completed review.

A secondary aim was to make available the Netherlands experience for international consideration. This would contribute to greater cooperation within the European cultural field. The Dutch are strongly committed to the view that the accumulated experiences of the review programme can strengthen national policies by building comparative knowledge, setting relevant European benchmarks and accessing comparable professional experience.

Starting point

Report writing is a feature of the Dutch cultural policy process. Planning documents and ad hoc reports (e.g. remodelling specific sub-sectors) abound, as well as the detailed and copious commentaries on grant applications prepared by advisory bodies. But no ministry overview of the system existed and little of the available documentation dealt with structures or with policy as a whole.

There is a tradition of evaluation in the Netherlands carried out by a system unique to the country. The Social and Cultural Planning Office is a state-funded independent agency with formal duties to describe and assess government policies in the social and cultural areas; it reports every two years. SCP analyses have tended to focus on distributional issues [consumption patterns, leisure behaviour, time budgets, cultural participation] and recently on media (broadcasting) policies.

The Council of Europe themes were accepted by the Dutch partly to comply with the "comparative objectives" of the programme. The Dutch authorities asked for additional policy concerns to be considered, "international cooperation" and the heritage.

Process

Dates

- Commencement 1990.
- Preparation of national report: 1991 - 1993.

- Visits: February 1993, April 1993;
 - Deliberation: May 1993 (the Hague), November 1993 (Paris);
 - Report: December 1993.
- Review meeting: April 1994.
- Publication of reports: 1994.

National report

The task of preparing the report was entrusted to a working party of officials with representatives from various directorates involved. Drafting of the text was entrusted to two independent researchers, one from the Boekmans Institute, the other from the University of Amsterdam. Their historical account was broadly accepted. But the adoption of the document as a formal statement of the Ministry's position proved to be a major corporate exercise which placed heavy demands on Ministry staff.

Information and analysis was also supplied by the Social and Cultural Planning Office. The Ministry originally wanted SCP to draft the report but there was insufficient SCP staff time for them to undertake the whole task.

Advisory bodies were not much involved in the preparation of the report [the Arts Council would have liked to be more so]. AC's comment on the document is that it was a "well reasoned justification of policy rather an evaluation". It is perhaps no criticism of the document that in the context of the review process it "took a political line" (e.g. in downplaying the role of expert judgement in relation to public opinion on aspects of grant allocation).

Examination

The examination took place in a relatively compact period of time. The national authorities gave close and detailed support to the team. A pre-meeting took place to discuss the drafting of the national report (especially issues of scope and coverage) and to signal likely areas of interest for the evidence-taking. The rapporteur made extra [private] visits for briefing on issues/opinion within the cultural sector and to discuss facts/figures in the draft examiners' report. The national report was available to the examiners [in partial draft], but was not distributed to witnesses.

Review meeting

The Minister did not attend but the national authorities fielded a massive team. The Ministry prepared formal, carefully-penned answers to the questions set by the examiners. The drafting of these statements (and their detailed internal discussion before and after the review meeting) was used as "a stepping stone towards the new policy (from 1997 - 2000)".

Publication

The reports were published under the Ministry imprint in 1994. National report

published in Dutch, French and English. Examiners' report in English and French.

Response to process

The examiners' report was put to considerable use within the Ministry. It was formally discussed in the context of preparing the new policy and continues to be referred to in policy exchanges:

- the Arts Council discussed both reports; and considered whether to make a formal response to the examiners' recommendations but decided not to; it now wishes it had made more use of the document and the processes surrounding it;
- reports were distributed after the event to witnesses, but little use was made of them (e.g. by local authorities); the process remained of interest to [private] professional circles; a draft (summary) was made available at a meeting (in Amsterdam in December 1993, four months prior to the review meeting) attended by representatives drawn from the cultural sector addressed by the Minister; little press followed this event; no special effort was made to communicate the published reports to the public;
- SCP published a comment on the findings of the review in its 1994 Social and Cultural Report.

Overall judgement

The Dutch authorities believe that the review was a useful exercise for the Netherlands from which much was learnt:

- the timing of the exercise was well judged in relation to internal needs; added authority was given to the process by the involvement of foreign experts;
- one comment: it should be repeated but not on the rhythm of the four year funding cycle; the review is burdensome and is a less political process than the policy planning exercise ;
- the Ministry believes that the review "threw up little that was new to them but it could be used to quicken (and shape) the process of internal transition".

Examiners' points addressed

The Dutch national authorities sought to respond positively (see Outcomes) on various points in the report:

- adding a regional dimension to policy;
- introducing policy targets;
- improvements to planning process (separating out debate on principles from funding allocations);

- achieving flexible funding under four year financial frame;
- establishing educational role for cultural institution;
- recognising multi-culturalism is a priority area;
- more targeting in support programmes for creativity.

The authorities contested/only partly accepted examiners' observations on the following:

- matching funding programme (for business sponsorship): the climate is changing and there is less disdain of commercialism than previously; matching funding has been used only once in recent history (when Amsterdam was European City of Culture); it is being introduced in relation to the educational dimension in the new regional agreements;
- national participation plan: the political emphasis has switched away from participation towards targeted efforts on education (and multi-culturalism);
- need for new development capability/liaison at the centre (perhaps by consolidating funds) (the Dutch authorities believe this is not a difficulty and that the new regional policy will provide a satisfactory vehicle for this);
- turning drama companies into building based theatrical institutions (especially in the regions); there are pros and cons to this; the National Theatre now wants its own home.

Outcomes

Outcomes relevant to the review evident in four areas:

1. The preparation of the first comprehensive/critical assessment of the cultural system in the Netherlands ("a total view") produced a range of benefits:

- improved analysis within the Ministry ("sharpened minds"); "changed the framework for discussions" according to the Arts Council and introduced new questions;
- it reinforced efforts to "rationalise policy", especially by providing some international benchmarking; it strengthened basis for asking grant applicants to link financial plans to outputs;
- the reports replaced previous documentation used by Dutch authorities for public relations and international work (e.g. technical assistance in East Europe); also of keen interest to students/researchers;
- it should be noted that decisions remain "essentially political" and it is proving difficult to update the level of information (e.g. the national/local ratios).

2. Policy planning process has moved forward with inputs from the review into methodology and content of the second integrated policy document:

- the political discussion of "principles" was taken separately from money; this was not entirely successful but it "clarified the context and will be helpful in the financial decisions"; the new minister personally developed the notion of guiding "principles" by setting out cross-artform objectives for policy as follows:
 1. a holding hand
 2. inter-cultural
 3. cultural life in the city
 4. an international haven
 5. languages and language
 6. artists and innovators
 7. the future and the past
 8. quality on new highways
 - comment on the need for "targets" has had a positive affect; the contacts with grants recipients have been developed; (they are being improved every time); targets are being set in some difficult areas e.g. international work; aims have been clarified in the media and in relation to books policy;
 - funding deals have now an aspect of "conditional allocation" (rather than retained money) to provide a measure of flexibility beyond the first year in a four year cycle.
3. The regional dimension for policy is being much extended. The approach has been modelled on the existing agreements between the Ministry and the four cities, but with a much wider remit:
- agreements have been signed (four-year period) covering the whole country, cut into four areas; not all the local authorities are involved; the provinces represent the general interest; the cities included have been selected on objective criteria; all the pole cities in the government's regional policies are signatories (including such as Zwolle with little or no cultural infrastructure), which represents a positive linkages between cultural policy and regional development strategies;
 - this is an innovation for the Netherlands, going against the "flat" tradition, building on local strengths in infrastructure and pursuing elements of diversity;
 - a matching funding element has been introduced for educational initiatives;
 - this process has been beneficial, yielding more planning flexibility and encouraging new partnership responsibilities;
 - anticipated difficulties/dangers include;
 - the individual deals may prove to be difficult to sustain against potential pressure to distribute budgets according to geographic formulae;
 - institutions were consulted (broadly favourable) but were not parties to decisions.

4. Other areas:

- encouragement given to cooperation between cultural institutions and schools; this is part of an intention to explore the advantages of the new location of "culture" within the Ministry of Education; the Ministry has created a new heritage taskforce (four years life) to address educational opportunities;
- more targeting in spending on creativity; artists' stipends more selective; social security provision toughened up;
 - review in progress on outputs from tertiary level arts training re employment potential;
- multi-culturalism is being addressed through social responsibility of museums;
- changes to drama/touring include:
 - support for intermediary agencies;
 - programming grants to venues to support quality touring;
 - a broader repertoire (including some return to Dutch classics).

Aftermath

Machinery

Culture moved from Ministry of Welfare back to Ministry of Education where it had been 19xx-19xx; the review had pointed out the difficulties experienced by the cultural department in achieving synergy with the rest of the welfare ministry:

- the move has not been easy; the administrative cultures of the two traditions very different (top down education versus bottom up culture);
- four year guarantees of funding for culture are unique dispensation within central government in the Netherlands, looked at enviously from the education side;
- the new cultural policy document will have a section on "arts in schools", as a first stab at "in-house" synergy.

Follow-through/consequences from earlier changes:

- Delta plan approach applied in heritage area (i.e. four-year task force); Delta plan itself running down in ration 6:1;
- "privatised museums": pressure on Ministry in four-year negotiation was strong; but the "principles" discussion held in advance helped;
- new unitary Arts Council is starting to address broader issues (beyond grants) but is still focused mainly on issues of "quality" and "expert opinion"; unease about media advice being confined to the Arts Council has led to new additional committees being formed (on information and on culture, technology and science policy).

Policy has shifted away from participation (including focus on amateurs) to innovation and education (with targetting of 6-18 year olds, ethnic minorities etc). New minister has developed cross-artform themes as way of working (challenge previous departmental approach).

Funding

Pressure is still on public funding in general but an extra DF 2 million is being found for the next four-year plan period:

- the threshold earnings requirements for performing arts companies have not been increased.

Related points:

- squeeze on tertiary training of the arts with an examination of manpower requirements;
- special treatment of artists in social welfare being reduced/[withdrawn];
- books are doing well; fixed price maintained;

- independent screen production is expanding.

Public

Drama attendance is said to be rising (at last), possibly the result of repertoire change; dance is said to be declining sharply:

- two studies carried out for Ministry on performed arts looking at overall structures and at the link between supply and public response.

Issues

There are signs of policy fatigue. The debate is drying up and the process is thought by some to be too complex/over-organised. Possible simplifications include reducing the number of funds.

Interest in fiscal measures is developing and the Ministry has examined tax in lieu arrangements for heritage donations, film production incentives, VAT cut (with compensating payments made available to the performing arts funds); the complexity of the latter led to it being dropped although something similar has already been introduced in relation to cinema.

Public service broadcasting: licences cut from ten to five years to give opportunity to redefine area. Committee report recommended a less fragmented system (building up NOS). Critics say fundamental issue (how service role should be defined in face of likely switch of viewers to multiple cable/satellite options) has not been faced.

AUSTRIAREVIEWAims/stance

Minister took a strong personal interest in establishing the project. There was no expectation that policy would be directly influenced by the review. The aim was to "improve the sensibility of officials" [policy analysis, assessment] and to establish/improve research capability (on the French Ministry model) because of the obligation to prepare a national report.

The CDCC wanted to bring forward an example of a German-language country and a federally organised state into the initial trial period of the review programme to test the application of the review methodology. [and to "show the Germans".]

Point of departure

Austria has no experience of formal reviews of [cultural] policy within government. This relates to a weak civic tradition of public debate on cultural policy. What little public discussion exists seems to focus on individual and political personalities. Hence, there was only a limited basis for scientific analysis/commentary on cultural policy in general.

No established procedure for collecting full national data on the cultural sector; poor figures and limited documentation. The Ministry's research department was small and did not engage in work of this kind. The policy framework did not involve target-setting or formal processes of review.

Process**Commencement: 1988:**

- Accepted to participate within the framework of trial programme period (limited to three states, France, Sweden and Austria).

Preparation of national report: 1989 - 1995:

- 1989 - discussions within Ministry, and with Länder; technical visit to Sweden; appointment of project director; creation of support research organisation;
- 1990 - first phase methodology/content report (June) followed by results of sub-groups (end of year);
- 1992 - first version national report (January); translated into English in 1993;
- 1995 - revised version published in German.

Examination: 1990 - 1993:

- Visits: November 1990, February 1991, June 1991, August 1992;

- **Deliberative meetings:** September 1991 (Paris), November 1992 (Strasbourg), March 1993 (Lugano);
- **Report:** June 1993.

Review meeting: 20 October 1993.

National report

Michael Wimmer, Manager of OKS, the Austrian Cultural Service (a well-established institution created by the Austrian Ministry of Education and Arts for the purpose of promoting cultural education and art awareness in Austrian schools) was appointed to direct the project of preparing the national report [at the personal invitation of the minister]. A new organisation, Osterreichische Kulturdocumentation (OK) was created to assemble the necessary information. A working group within the Ministry of Education and the Arts developed the initial outline and supervised progress of the work.

OK, who provided technical support on statistics and other matters, withdrew [1990] and a Phase Two team was put in place. This included another support organisation, also established for the purpose, Osterreichische Zentrum fur Kulturdocumentation) and IKM (the Institution of Cultural Management, based at the Vienna Conservatoire). The task did not run smoothly. Other points:

- the split in the project team [over the feeling that the "project was less a review of cultural policy in Austria than an assessment of social democratic action";]
- the lack of experience of work in this area including the poor research base;
- a new Minister appointed in 1990 who failed to identify with the project [and insisted that the work could be confined to the era of previous regimes, wanting not to cause problems for himself];
- the emphasis of the project on pre-selected comparative themes some of which seemed to have limited relevance to Austria (e.g. "participation"); similar issues around the definition of "culture".

The national report was not "adopted" by the relevant authorities; its status remained that of an independent commentary, albeit informed by access to ministry opinion and insider information. The problem was partly that the ministry went ahead in the absence of a common framework for comparison amongst the Länder. In discovering the relative initial indifference to the project, it failed to anticipate the concern the review would eventually engender. The "basic description" put together in the national report revealed an Austria in which the role of the federal government loomed larger than previously understood/assumed and the report was not accepted by the Länder.

Sequence

The process was rather protracted, five years from commencement to the review meeting and seven years to the publication of the national report. When delays in the preparation of the national report threatened to prolong the process even further, it was accepted that the completion of the national report and the

examination process should proceed in parallel rather than sequentially as originally intended.

Examination

The work of the examination team was hindered by the lack of a national report. The team made an unusually large number of visits (four) in which they saw 70-80 witnesses. They were criticised for getting drawn into issues (e.g. made a declaration on artistic freedom). The visits were said to be good for the lander.

Review meeting

The Minister disagreed with much in the examiners' report and used the opportunity to correct the picture. The rapporteur did not attend.

Response to the process

Little awareness of the project within wider professional circles touched by cultural policy in Austria. Few spoken to were aware of the national report and others had even forgotten their involvement in the process (e.g. giving evidence to the examination team).

Many civil servants had limited interest in the project and did not warm to the procedure. The ministry "failed to persuade that it could be an helpful exercise". Some reasoned that "Austria could not be understood from the outside", [both cause and consequence of relative isolation]; there was a "feeling that the examiners could disturb things".

Failure to published the examiners report led to the complaint that it was "pushed under the carpet". What little press coverage the procedure received was negative ("Strasbourg judgement; culture without a concept; massive European criticism of Austria"), and failed to foster any constructive open debate.

Disputed points

Whilst acknowledging that the examiners touched on a number of relevant points, the national authorities expressed reservations on several of the recommendations. The Austrian authorities argue that federalism (the main theme of the examiners report) is neither the main problem nor a live issue (see below); the comparison drawn with Switzerland was not as instructive;

- policy operates in a "more subtle sense" in Austria than the examiners understood (they criticised Austria for a lack of policy clarity in relation both to strategic purpose and target-setting); policy is formulated in parliamentary declarations and speeches; full clarification may be neither feasible nor desirable; the City of Vienna made exactly the same point;
- it was impractical to propose that financial resources could not be moved from the federal to the provincial tier, and from Vienna to the provinces, as suggested by the team; this could not be attempted as an isolated provision affecting cultural budgets on their own, however desirable in itself; [1992 had seen a broad national settlement] on the respective budgetary powers/responsibilities of the federal and other tiers of government and it was not helpful or sensible to try to reopen the issue in 1993.

The Austrian national authorities would also dispute the factual accuracy of some observations by the team:

- there is more artistic innovation in Austria (and policy effort put into this) than the examiners recognised;
- examiners failed to grasp the richness of the cultural scene in Austria and the role of Austrian federalism (multi-tiered involvement of public authorities) in guaranteeing this.

Outcomes

The project produced a number of specific outcomes;

- a stimulus to cultural research in Austria, notably the creation of OD and a number of subsequent research studies;
- raised awareness of the Council of Europe among the lander;
- a new initiative to devise a statistical instrument which will provide comparisons between lander; this is work in progress being undertaken by IKM; federal spending is not yet included in this;
- better understanding of the need for more contact between federal and lander level on data and other matters;
- professional development of officials with better understanding of the processes of evaluation and of addressing international dimension.

Overall judgement

The City of Vienna classed the review process as an "interesting exercise but of no real influence". Overall judgement by the national authorities is more positive; it was "good to have done it":

- whilst the procedure (even the national report) has not changed the landscape, the "silent development" (particularly at the professional level) continues;
- raised understanding of the value of policy analysis and quantification in decision-making;
- reinforced development in the international ("European") dimension policy;
- interest in ten-year follow-up procedures was not dampened by the experience of the review.

Events subsequent to reviewFunding

Financial situation has hardened. The financial crisis was the main "agenda" item in 1995 resulting in exceptional measures (e.g. two-year freeze funding), emergency cuts (e.g. [40%] off federal museums operating expenditure, subsequently restored) and a stop to major museum building refurbishment programme.

Funding is being "restored" to previous levels, but attitudes have changed:

- the Federal Theatres no longer expect expansion (even fear the worst) and are beginning to plan accordingly (rationalisation etc);
- the budget for "arts promotion" (projects etc), accorded priority hitherto by current Minister (rising 10/15 per cent per annum, perhaps 50 per cent overall) has stagnated since 1995;
- officials expect institutions to increase share of constant/declining cake.

Finance Ministry said to be making cultural policy these days (e.g. attempts to cope with social security burden led to proposed social security levy on arts grants).

Relatively faster growth of cultural expenditure by non-federal tiers has not continued in the 1990s (but no data to substantiate this). Some cities (e.g. Salzburg, Innsbruck) and lander (e.g. Carinthia) experiencing severe problems.

Status

Consensus not to politicise cultural policy is beginning to fray. The "social partnership" is subject to political challenge. Political capital being sought from criticising excesses of contemporary art and the fatuity of innovation.

Some [90 per cent] of spending by local (i.e. non-federal) authorities derives from general taxation. Regional cultural ambition continue rising in some circles. [Lower Austria (the doughnut around Vienna) continues its project to create a new city at St Polten to function as a high-profile regional capital. This includes a gallery and concert hall (1,200 seats) with revenue costs projected at OS40 million. The Lower Austria Symphony Orchestra, currently based in Vienna, is reluctant to take up residence.]

Structure

Both the Ministers [199-] and their portfolios [199-] have been switched. "Art" was moved from education to science and "cultural affairs" (i.e. museums) went in the reverse direction. To give weight to the Ministers responsibilities transport was added to art and science, but little has been done as yet to explore the synergies within this unusual portfolio.

A special parliamentary committee for culture has been formed. Previously, culture was discussed only at the budget committee. Proceedings remain in private though an official report is published. One commented "the level of discussion has not improved".

Policy innovation

"Efficiency" is a key word of the 1990s and efforts continue to move the public/private boundary:

- privatisation is an on-going reform [if somewhat partial] [Federal Museums have a measure of financial trading freedom though the receipts of ticket admission are still taken by the Finance Ministry];
- facing up to tackling the Federal Theatres;
- a new "foundation law" has been passed and a sponsorship society been established.

Policy focuses on narrower targets, "art" [narrowly defined rather than "culture"], under-18s, international activity:

- efforts to get close to new art continue; the curatoren (individuals entrusted with significant sums of money charged with patronising talent which they are required to seek out) is a particularly interesting innovation; this reverses the usual procedure [request/reaction], seeks to lighten the administration and address a traditional dilemma of cultural policy, namely how to justify artistic judgement;
- education requirements are now attached to certain grants; the efforts to alter the focus of institutions can only be pursued through "mediation programmes" with museums, orchestras etc; it is hoped that schools will become part of this; the aim is to build audiences for the future and to find a new legitimisation for budgets;
- new international focus is response to EU membership, changes in the East and sensitivity about international perceptions of Austria; there is a new department on European (EU) affairs, and international elements are featured in all other departments; a fund has been created for grant-aiding East European projects.

There is some policy interest in the cultural industries and para-fiscal measures. Traditional approach is taken so far, namely to protect the cultural dimension in commercial areas, stimulate market interest and re-cycle income for artists:

- para-fiscal measures include copyright modernisation, introducing public lending right and a controversial proposal to establish levy for display of art works (to be distributed by artists association);
- new funds for supporting publishing and galleries.

Public

The general assumption appears to be that audiences are showing "good development". The City of Vienna "suspects attendances rising". The figures may show the reverse. The Federal Museums confirm that museum attendance is "down by five per cent" with young people showing less interest. Published figures on the theatres institutions show a six per cent fall in attendance 1987/88 to 1994/95, with the steepest dip in drama.

Key features

Summary

Austria is a federal state in which important cultural functions are retained at the federal level. These essentially relate to federal institutions (theatres and museums, archives and libraries). Federal arts grants to institutions, organisations and individuals throughout Austria. The federal government is responsible for monument classification and preservation and media policy, as well as setting the legislative and fiscal framework.

Regional and local authorities promote the arts and their standing has gained greatly in the cultural field. The financial commitments have expanded faster than at federal level and several provincial cities have made much of cultural policy as a developmental and promotional tool. Co-financing from the three tiers of government characterises the non-federal institutions [especially the theatre system].

Administration

Federal responsibility for the cultural sector is spread unusually wide across several ministries, two principally (the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs and the Ministry of Science, Transport and the Arts) but also the Chancellery (media policy), the Foreign Office (cultural institutions abroad and international relationships), and Economic Affairs (tourism, public art, buildings). The fragmentation sets considerable challenges for policy coordination and effective information flow at the federal level. Other points:

- decisions on grants are a ministerial responsibility; advisory councils are consulted in most areas; the "curatoren" scheme is a distinctive and important experiment in the arms-length approach;
- [the federal tier does not seek formally to plan or coordinate policy with the provincial or local tiers;]
- several non-governmental public bodies discharge responsibilities in areas such as film funding and education support;
- the federal theatres hold a separate status outwith the ministry and the federal museums have been accorded some degree of legal autonomy.

Provision

Key elements in the cultural system include:

- 12 theatre organisations (15 companies, covering drama, opera, ballet, operetta and musicals, with some 12 theatre orchestras);
- five separate symphony orchestras (including one radio orchestra);
- around 1,100 museums (there is no system of museum registration in Austria);
- public service broadcasting which still maintains a terrestrial monopoly

within Austria;

- Vienna with [20 per cent] of the population receives some [40 per cent] of public expenditure on culture;
- the "copyright" industries in Austria account for 2.1 per cent of GDP (music, stage, literature, press, film, broadcasting, fine art, design and photography).

Funding

Public expenditure on culture in 1989 amounted to OS12.7 billion, 42 per cent federal, 24 per cent provincial, 12 per cent Vienna and 25 per cent districts. Since 1976 the federal funding share had fallen by six percentage points with the provinces increasing their share by five points. Cultural spending in 1989 accounted for 1.3 per cent of total public expenditure and 0.76 per cent of GNP. The latter represented an increase on 1976 (0.65 per cent) and 1980 (0.70 per cent):

- some two thirds of federal funding is devoted to the federal museums and theatre institutions;
- federal arts grants (as reported in the Arts Report) accounted for ten per cent of federal spending or four per cent of the total funding;
- private funding is said to be "relatively modest";
- various parafiscal schemes (blank tape levy, third party rights, reprographic fees) exist to transfer social payment to writers, visual artists and to recycle money into production;
- the "TV schilling" is a levy on TV licences which produces substantial funding for contemporary art;
- the ongoing talk of "privatisation" fails to address core issues (e.g. the protected status of personnel in the federal theatres; ticket admission receipts in the federal museums still going to Treasury).

Comments

This is a state-dependent system whose great complexity derives from the overlapping involvement of three tiers of government and fragmented responsibility at the federal level. Its operation is marked by a degree of discretion which feeds the personalised personalised flavour in the system:

- this results in a degree of competition amongst the tiers of government (with a reasonably positive consequences);
- federal involvement, funding local initiative, respects freedom of action and autonomy; [this has a strategic purpose though it is not expressed in terms of goals/targets];
- it has proved possible to find sufficient flexibility of action and understanding to make the system work and respond to local circumstances (e.g. monuments with co-financing/advisory deals between federal and

provincial tiers);

- the advisory councils opened up the system but do not appear fully to satisfy the demands for transparency which come from certain quarters.

Policy is expressed in terms of principles rather than strategic objectives; it is reactive to political and social challenges:

- policy coherence is difficult to deliver across the various ministries (federal theatres stand outwith the system);
- there is no clear separation of powers between the different tiers of government; this may be an advantage;
- this heavy system has been made to work [pretty well] by generous funding growth; new things have been added but the core has remained unchanged.

Straws in the wind from the colder financial climate:

- no broad rationalisation has yet been required from any efficiency drive in government;
- financial pressure is being felt on social security arrangements for artists and a more critical examination of requests for grants;
- modernisation is beginning to be addressed but has not been taken very far; surprising how close to the brink some parts of the system seem to be;
- [hitherto there has been little need to reason the fundamental case for money].
- little pressure within the system to find new partners, address new publics or to scrutinise roles and responsibilities;
- tendency has been to shelter behind the weight of tradition and make not entirely constructive links with (rather tacky) tourism.

Innovation is a problem. The federal theatres admit to finding it difficult but blame conservative publics and seem to feel little responsibility for taking initiative to address the problem. The independent sector is weak and represents little challenge. The federal institutions (glorying in their role as national symbols) do not provide leadership for the system as a whole. Multi-media institutions are a glaring gap:

- efforts to get closer to new art are conscientiously made by the federal government (e.g. curatoren); through patronage of individual artists and addressing international impulses, but they are not facing up to the conservatism of the big-money institutions; the broader context needs addressing (education, critical debate, institutional change, forcing risk and danger into the system);
- the museum new building boom did not reach Austria nor the rise of independent institutions; the modernisation of facilities and management became an urgent matter in the late-1980s.

Provinces represent an active and independent cultural force (but not all, e.g. Salzburg, Burgenland); this is not fed by any secessionist instincts. They use their full powers in the cultural field acting independently and undertaking a measure of international projection:

- in a few cases there is a serious engagement with contemporary development perhaps more actively than within Vienna (e.g. Graz in architecture and literature; "a very good climate");
- where is the positive element in Austrian modern cultural achievement; the tendency has been to define itself negatively against Germany; where is the positive content?

If there is no national cultural policy, is it really missed? The 1990s have moved from social democrat agenda (focus on participation, the cultural society and the social partnership with artists organisations) towards a pragmatic fragmentation (efficiency, modernisation, art (not culture), quality, international tendencies).

FINLANDAim

Certain officials had been interested in the idea of a cultural policy review since the 1995 Stockholm seminar. But it was the arrival of a new government and a new minister in May 1991 which activated the project. The minister (very committed to the project) intended that the review should:

- "display" the achievements of Finland outwards (expected it would "shine with more positive than negative points");
- be "a tool to work for Finnish culture";
- provide help in a "difficult situation" by bringing about "more open discussion" and, introducing [new ideas and] a wider perspective into [relatively closed] Finnish context.

Other officials were initially sceptical and the artists were "reportedly opposed to the exercise".

Context

The period of the review recalled by one involved was a time when "Finland felt paralysed about its future" and there were fears that "cuts might result from the examination". The review coincided with:

- the economic crisis in which Finland caught a cold from its links to the former Soviet Union (unemployment reached 19 per cent, the currency was devalued by 30 per cent and between 1992 and 1994 GNP fell three years in succession (by seven per cent, three per cent and two per cent);
- changing arrangements within the public sector (new methodology for local authority funding, the developing regional structures, introduction of "results based administrative reforms");
- a new government and a new politics [ready to question entrenched features of the Finnish model, especially the seeming grip of producer interests on the system (e.g. overtime paid for weekend working in theatres), centralised thinking and state domination (ownership) of the entire cultural sector].

Starting point

No tradition of evaluating cultural policy as a whole. Feared lack of structured information. Many reports on cultural policy issues. Review coincided with the Kupoli Report prepared by the Director General of the Department of Culture, looking at longer-term policy choices.

Themes suggested by Council of Europe accepted because they happen to be "central themes" in Finland. This despite there being "no formal articulation of national cultural policy" [much was articulated but the "nut in the middle was missing"].

Sequence

- Commencement: April 1992.
- National report: May 1992 to March 1994.
- Examination: visits May 1994, June 1994, October 1994.
- Review meeting: November 1994.

This proved to be a very tight timetable and indeed the process was driven by the minister's wish to complete the review before the November 1994 elections.

National Report

The report was prepared at the request of the Ministry by a group of researchers working under the auspices of the Arts Council Research and Information Unit. Independent researchers were commissioned because the minister wanted an independent view (outwith the long-established "social democratic influence" in cultural policy). A working party with the Minister and officials supervised the report but because of the pressure of time it proved "difficult to be intimate with the process". Whilst there was "little ownership of the work by officials", the Minister "assumed/adopted" the document.

Producing the report was a "major effort". Some existing materials proved invaluable such as an analysis of municipal spending and long-run monitor of participation (Statistics Finland). The elements had to be pulled together for the first time.

The report derived a framework which cut across settled artform/departmental categories to accommodate the Council of Europe themes (not easy). Additionally, the report covered minority rights, international cooperation and the preservation of the heritage. The report was criticised inside the Ministry for:

- being weak on policy (issues, achievements, aspirations); and
- [drawing conclusions the Minister wished].

Staff who carried out the work (apart from two full-timers at the Council allocated to the project) have been dispersed and left the field.

Publication

National report published 1995 in English; 1,500 copies:

- 600 distributed free in Finland to witnesses etc;
- 500 taken by Council of Europe;
- remainder put on sale with little commercial interest.

Examiners report: Published 1995 in English; 1,000 copies:

- 600 distributed free in Finland to witnesses etc;
- 500 taken by Council of Europe;
- none left.

It is the aim to publish the Examiners Report in Finnish in 1996 (also in French). It was said that it was "a major mistake not to publish the national report in Finnish".

Examiners

The team worked well together. Features of the visits were:

- a meeting with the author of the national report to clarify/develop points;
- full detailed background briefings (night before) on witnesses;
- Ministry attendance at all meetings (except for deliberative sessions);
- interpreters needed only once (one member was a Finnish speaker);
- draft examiners' report checked for facts by the Ministry; the recommendations were [not] discussed in advance with the Ministry.

The examiners made much use of the national report. One criticism was that "they did not have anything particular to say". It was useful to have things repeated by the examiners and generally their comments touched on "the right themes". Some protested that the examiners did not have sufficient contact with the full range of political opinion, [but in a Finnish context this was probably no bad thing].

Review meeting

The Minister attended the Review Meeting which coincide with the elections for the new government.

Follow-up/reception

The Press took a very active interest on the occasion of the Strasbourg review meeting, but not subsequently when the reports were published.

Controversy blew up about comments on artists grants. This was considered "rather a detail" by the officials which distracted from the possibility for wider debate. It reflects the difficulty of discussing reform in the face of vocal and well-organised interests.

The report was distributed to all witnesses; but apart from a country seminar [with the chair of the examination team and rapporteur] there was little structured discussion. It was not discussed in Parliament. The change of government "left the review behind as something of the past" (but see outcomes). Subsequently:

- officials make use of the positive messages;
- tried to arrange for regular updating of data [but research team dispersed].

Overall judgement

This was a successful exercise which was worthwhile in that its "ending was better than the beginning". It lifted culture into the daylight and "protected the sector at a difficult moment".

Resulting material is a useful reference resource. The positive judgement provided good defensive briefing within Finland and the positive impressions created were good outside the country.

Whilst the review gave access to valuable expertise, it proved something of a challenge to get more benefit from the process. This is said to be a matter of "weak follow-up". But what was expected (a sea change in opinion, new legislation?, the answer to a maiden's prayer?).

Outcome

A number of issues/ideas raised by the examiners were made the subject of further enquiry/analysis/consideration by the authorities.

1. The new formula funding system for state grants to theatres/orchestras/museums (mainly municipal organisations) was criticised for neglecting the quality dimension. Also the new power given to municipalities to deploy these grants at their discretion opened up the risk of reduced support. These criticisms were taken seriously and a ministry working group considered the matter. No casualties had resulted from the funding reform; it was possible informally to communicate quality concerns. The grant methodology for the local authorities will change again next year (1997).
2. The idea that the Department be turned into a mini-Ministry was made the subject of a specialist report. This supported the proposal arguing that a new ministry would give a better airing to cultural views and achieve more at no extra cost. But the policy at present is to reduce ministries and the idea has not been acted on.
3. Another working party examined the social situation of artists [the examiners urged the opening up of this area introducing review procedures and strengthening the quality criteria]. The working party looked at the question in more traditional terms, and it is said to have had little result.
4. The Ministry considered setting up an evaluation group, but decided against it on the change of government.
5. Various other ideas:
 - the examiners' other thoughts on the machinery of government (more power and greater flexibility for the Arts Council and the boosting of the role of the Regional Arts Council) were not specifically taken up; but the broad administration questions are being examined again with another "internal review";
 - private sector incentives; a sponsorship meeting was held; tax incentives (no change);
 - priority to exploitation of Finnish design achievement: an Arts Council working party (also with architecture) set up on this but it is not a current political priority;
 - ditto multi-disciplinary art.

Other topics raised by the examiners in their conclusions were:

- raising public spend (how naive can you be);
- more funding for innovation and new artforms;
- "creativity policies" for each artform;
- strategic consideration for future of cultural industries (legislation and fiscal measures); the government acknowledges the significance of this aspect but it has not been formally addressed;
- policy development by municipalities;
- horizontal coordination within government (the new review) is examining the way to achieve greater policy coherence between grants to individuals and the arrangement for funding institutions.
- socially-targeted programmes to encourage participation with particular attention towards young people.

AFTERMATH**Public funding**

Public spending on culture continues to decline. The figures are not easy to read (see comments of examiners) but central government spending through the Ministry of Education in 1996 (FIN 1,468 million) was 20 per cent below the 1992 level in cash. The drop was steeper between 1992 and 1995 with some levelling off in 1996 which the fall reduced to less than one per cent.

After a long period of rising faster than the centre, municipal spending ceased to increase in real terms in 1990. It fell in cash 1992-94 (most recently available figures and some problems with the interpretation) by four per cent compared with the 13 per cent cut by the State.

The lottery is buoyant and its proportion of regular central government spending on culture rose from 39 per cent in 1993 to 55 per cent in 1996.

Central government cultural spending on all areas fell in the period 1993 to 1996. Figures are as follows:

	%
National institutions	-2
Grants to other institutions	-13
Heritage	-5
Other	-35

The institutions, especially the national ones, were relatively protected. In other words, the statutory protection developed in the early 1990s has worked. The heaviest cuts (-35 per cent) fell on "other areas" with grave implications for the development work and discretionary activities of the Ministry.

Policy thinking

Policy making in the situation of extreme financial turbulence is very difficult and the means of achieving national policy appear to be wearing away. [The State felt the full brunt of the cost of unemployment which is not incurred by the municipalities]. Priorities indicated by the new minister are:

- the information society (taskforce on national culture and digital media identified an opportunity rather than a threat in terms of information networking and new information systems for libraries and museum professionals);
- social situation of artists;
- youth (Ministry of Education made efforts to coordinate youth policy across all fields; in culture, some special grants have been made to institutions);
- finding a secure basis for functioning of the cultural institutions including the completion of the new Modern Art Museum.

Other points:

- the role of the cultural industries in economic and regional development is

recognised but no initiatives have been taken; some insider commentators stress the need to "renew" institutions; few steps have been taken in this direction;

- there is some iteration of the core role for national cultural policy as "preserving national culture" and the power of national self-expression; in its modern version this takes the form of "how to make Finland interesting internationally".

Structures

The new government is much less interested in decentralisation.

There is still focus on the machinery of government; the technical reform of budgeting (seeking more freedom from municipalities and efficiency in government) continues; further changes are planned in the municipal funding methodology for 1997.

Public

Attendance seems to be turning the corner at least since 1993:

	1993	1994	1995	% change 1993-95
Orchestras (K)	754	971	951	+ 25
Theatres	2,398	2,654	2,659	+ 11

The opening of the National Opera partly explains the rise in theatre attendance; other points are the long-running growth of interest in small theatre groups; companies are beginning to work in schools and there have been some youth initiatives.

Issues

Finland is still grappling with the severe external shocks [which have destabilised the system and challenged its national identity]:

- the severe financial crisis and the recession have led to competition for resources within the cultural sector and to competition by the cultural sector with other areas;
- institutions have been protected to a degree, but they are finding difficulty in maintaining output and have experienced problems in retaining their public; some see this amounting to a crisis in provision;
- how can the process of European integration be reconciled with the presentation of a national cultural identity (practical issues arise; acceptance of idea of region, harmonising VAT, student exchange, copyright alignment; all take exclusive control from the member state); [article 128 of Maastricht Treaty states that the European Union shall contribute to the development of the cultures of the member states whilst respecting their national and regional identity];

- some fear that the cultural sector is no longer a "protected area" at least on the part of the State because of the release of municipal funding from direct central control and of growing demands for efficiency/accountability generally in public administration;
- the machinery of cultural policy seems "unsettled"; the insiders understand that it is a rather "automated system" which gives limited discretion to the Ministry with whatever dynamism there is seeming to derive from elsewhere (e.g. municipalities, development of small businesses meeting niche interests in commercial culture (240 firms in Helsinki)); there is still concern with "professional credibility of the sector"; there is a "gap in the system which makes coherence between individual grants and the wider picture difficult to achieve"; it needs to find the means to address strategic questions; there may be room for manoeuvre in cost reduction and income stimulation but not yet addressed with necessary vigour; mindset still rather against private sector;
- are the copyright arrangements for the good of art/Finland/or the distributing bodies;
- internationalism is still seen more as "projection" than openness; the young have different aspirations many of whom are keen to pursue international careers.

ITALYREVIEWBackground

The potential value of a review of policy in Italy was identified through officials of the Ministry Foreign Affairs, the regular contact point with the Council of Europe's Culture Committee. Any political will is difficult to identify and, given the situation in Italy, with the responsibility for culture fragmented between several Ministries, there was no obvious - or accepted - clear lead Ministry whose own objectives might approximately match those of the Review process. The leadership and co-ordination task therefore fell to a Department of government which was not a major stakeholder, and did not have the range of contacts to match the task. The success of the process was therefore heavily dependent upon the active (or negative) input from the various Ministries/Departments, and from the efforts of Council of Europe officials and members of the Examiners' team. The Examiners' Report pays tribute to the key Foreign Affairs Ministry official, without whose determination the Review could not have taken place.

There was certainly a perception in the Foreign Affairs Ministry that cultural policy and management in Italy could benefit from evaluation by external experts. There was also a feeling that Italy, as a major European state, and with its particular strengths and profile in cultural matters, could not but enter the programme. The process was difficult for all. Of the two major central government departments concerned one (Beni Culturali e Ambientali) almost seemed to regard itself as having been put on trial, whilst the other (Spettacolo) felt that providing uninterpreted raw data was more or less the limit to its commitment. In the light of the fragmentation of

Point of departure

Public and media discussion of cultural policy in Italy tends to focus on individual personalities, or to rely upon sociological theorising. There is a tradition of academic research - cultural research institutes abound - but it is rare for the results of research to be applied in any practical way to policy development, or improvement in its delivery. The division of competences amongst at least eight separate, and completely uncoordinated, central government departments, and the absence of any coherent statutory framework within which the Regions, Provinces and Local Authorities can relate to each other, and the central government agents, renders progress rather difficult.

The National Statistical Institute (Istat) collects data from central government departments, and has limited information on participation in cultural activities from its own Annual Household Survey. It also publishes occasional compilations of cultural data drawn from government departments and other key institutions (e.g. SIAE - the Italian copyright society). Research within the Ministries themselves tends to be concentrated on 'technical' matters. The research institute ISPE compiles and analyses available cultural data, but at sub-national level, this is difficult and much of the data is poor.

Review Process

1992/93: agreement in principle for Italy to participate;

- 1993: National Report commissioned from CENSIS, an independent research institute in Rome
- 1994: (February) preliminary meetings in Rome involving Chairman and Rapporteur of Examiners Group, Council of Europe officials, Italian Government officials and CENSIS.
- 1994: (September) full meeting in Paris of Examiners' Group on draft National Report, with officials from Italian Foreign Affairs Ministry and CENSIS. Major revisions and additions requested.

Examination: 1994/95

Visits - October 1994, December 1994 and January 1995.

Deliberative meetings - February and March 1995 (both in Paris)

Review Meeting: April 1995.

National Report

Besides the inherent difficulties in producing a comprehensive picture of Italy, it should be remembered that the political background at the time was extremely volatile. Over the fourteen month period covering the actual processes of the Review, there were three different Governments. None of the Government Departments concerned directly in cultural policy provided an acceptable means of producing the National Report. The reason for CENSIS (with an excellent reputation, but no track record in the cultural field) having been commissioned, rather than other institutes or associations familiar with the sector, was said by some to be 'political'.

The draft National Report -which ran to four bulky volumes - provided a mass of information (e.g. on the copious legislation in the cultural field), was almost entirely devoid of any self-evaluation, and also lacking in much address to key themes in the Council of Europe programme (e.g. participation, minorities etc.). Despite constant requests by the Examiners for improvements, focusing, and additions, this never happened to their satisfaction. It was also clear from the outset that CENSIS was, inevitably, heavily reliant on input from Government Departments. The efforts made by the Cultural Heritage Ministry (Beni Culturali) to influence the process were disproportionate to those of others. Whilst the Report did offer a detailed and useful descriptive starting point, the amended and revised version only emerged at too late a stage in the process to be really valuable, and then not translated into either of the two official Council of Europe languages.

It was never entirely clear to the Examiners what the status of this report was, or who actually accepted shared 'ownership' of it. Since much of it was written and rewritten by officials of Beni Culturali, but officially by CENSIS researchers, other Government Departments tended to keep their distance. There was no acceptance of ownership, or even agreement, on the part of regions and cities which the Examiners engaged with. Since it was written from a centralised perspective, the descriptions of the difficult relationship between the several tiers of government administration was felt to be somewhat partial.

The useful 'Rapporto sull'Economia della Cultura in Italia (1980 - 1990)', commissioned from the Prime Minister's office and produced by the Italian Association for Cultural Economics, was unfortunately published too late to be of any direct use to the Evaluation process.

Sequence of Events

The process, once under way, was rather rapid. This was in part because it was being driven by officials in the Foreign Ministry, worried about loss of momentum and the risk of the whole process foundering through political change or varying levels of commitment from partner Ministries. A clear disadvantage of the speed of the exercise was that the Examiners never received a version of the National Report on which they could base their inquiries. Another was the need to plan visits (apart from Rome) based on only rather sketchy information and non-existent contacts from central government officials - other than Beni Culturali's own network of *soprintendenze*. In Turin and Sicily, for example, setting up visits, interviews and meetings was heavily reliant upon knowledge provided through Council of Europe, or Examiners', own contacts.

Examination

In the available time, the Examiners interviewed an impressive number of expert witnesses. A fair number of these meetings however involved large numbers of people - many of whom never spoke or identified themselves - who seemed to be present almost entirely 'defensively'. Given the complexity and diversity of Italy, any conclusions of the examination were bound only to be based upon specimen areas. There was not always full agreement between the Examiners, on the one hand, and Italian officials on the other, as to what, and who, they should see as a priority. The understandable pressure to visit a range of major cities (Rome, Turin, Bologna, Naples, Palermo, Catania) left no time for the Examiners to pursue their investigations in any of the smaller Italian towns and cities, the level at which traditionally Italy perhaps works best. Nevertheless, the choice of five of those cities alone enabled the Team to engage with six out of the national total of thirteen *enti lirici*. Beni Culturali assigned a senior official to accompany the Examiners on all their visits. This was largely helpful, but was also an additional factor in the concentration on issues in relation to heritage, rather than contemporary culture and the performing arts. In contrast, the Examiners' group did not include a museums expert, which would have been an advantage. There was, therefore, a certain mismatch between the Council of Europe agenda, and that which the Italian officials involved felt would be of most long-term benefit to them.

Successes noted by the Examiners

The Examiners were extremely impressed by the general calibre and commitment of the officials they met as representatives of the *Beni Culturali* superintendencies throughout Italy. Despite the manifest operational problems caused through Rome red-tape, regulations, legal conflict and complexity, and lack of relevant management training, this cadre of skilled professional archaeologists and art historians is a huge - and underappreciated - national asset. Quality of restoration work and craftsmanship is probably the highest to be found anywhere in the world. The Examiners were also hugely encouraged by the will and pragmatism to be found at local and regional government level to develop, and make better constructive use of cultural policy. If only clearer lines of demarcation could be agreed with central government, removing unnecessary conflict and friction, the release of energy to

support existing good 'modern' practice in the cities would be even more dynamic. The contribution of the private sector in Italy is, for both legal and historical reasons, rather impressive. Whilst the formal tax benefits tend to favour private intervention in heritage restoration projects, there is evidence of a growth of interest in engaging with artistic events and institutions. It was noted, for example, that the major contribution of the Banco di San Paolo in Turin had been crucial to the city's retention of the RAI Symphony Orchestra, under threat of rationalisation and relocation to Rome.

Review Meeting

The Italian authorities brought a high-level delegation of senior officials from the main three of the relevant ministries, led by the (very recently appointed) Minister of Cultural Heritage of the Dini Government. The Minister was broadly in agreement with the major findings of the Examiners' Report, and the opportunity was taken to summarise points of progress and reform which might usefully be noted by the Italian authorities, in line with certain reforms already being considered.

Response to the process

Following the April 1995 Review meeting, the slightly revised Examiners' Report was made available in English and in French translation by the Council of Europe. Well over one year later, and with the end of the Dini administration, the Italian authorities had yet to produce a translation into Italian for domestic consumption, discussion and comment. Nor has the final version of the National Report been published (as of November 1996) in Italy, although CENSIS have themselves gone ahead and published a shortened version. English and French language copies of the Examiners' Report have, apparently, been quite widely circulated within Italian cultural and civil service circles, which may to some extent have had some influence upon advice to the new government.

Delays by the Italian authorities in publishing both reports has clearly prevented public debate and press comment about the issues raised in the process. Many of the issues highlighted (decentralisation, legislation, autonomy for institutions, improved management) are indeed the subject of wider public debate, and even government action, but it is difficult to ascribe this to the Review process, or to make any assessment of the extent to which the Review make have been a contributory factor. The Minister in April 1995 (Professor Antonio Paolucci), immediately after the Review meeting, informally said that he intended to ask officials to organise a seminar in order to create an opportunity for the Examiners to discuss their findings with senior civil servants and managers in the sector. This has not happened.

Disputed points

Although the Italian authorities accepted the thrust of the Examiners' analysis, they went to considerable trouble to try to modify a number of the conclusions. Within the cultural heritage sector, the Examiners had made a number of specific proposals for action, which should lead to improved setting of priorities and management, and better targeting of resources and value-for-money. The Italian reaction to these suggestions was that improvement could only come about within the sector if any reforms were part of a much wider programme across the whole government. The examiners felt strongly that, on their analysis, this was symptomatic of the government's unwillingness to confront uncomfortable realities head-on.

In the performing arts, the relevant Department of government maintained that funding patterns to major institutions and policy in general were more flexible and responsive than the Examiners had allowed for. The Examiners, for their part, maintained that the data did not show this, nor did the wealth of evidence they had received from the institutions and city authorities themselves support the contention. In general, national officials in Rome tended to assume an unquestioning superiority over the regional and local tiers, but without ever questioning whether the evidence lent support or not.

Outcomes

Given the lack of formal follow up, it is difficult to credit specific outcomes. However, informal discussion and consideration of the major recommendations in the Examiners' Report does seem to have created some momentum, and lent encouragement to 'reformers' within the Italian system. Many of those recommendations are now quite rapidly being echoed in what is now taking place.

EVENTS SUBSEQUENT TO REVIEW

Political situation

Following the demise of Berlusconi's coalition government in early 1995 and the conclusion of the interim Dini administration, which lasted for over a year - and began to make serious progress on economic reforms, the left of centre parties in April 1996 won their first-ever Italian general election. Economic and political reform continues to be at the heart of the new government's programme. General reform to reduce the power of the centre and, at last, decentralise functions and responsibilities to the regions as envisaged in the 1948 constitution, will be very relevant to the cultural sector. The prospects for some considerable improvement in coherence and co-operation between the four tiers of public administration are good, against a background of restraint in public expenditure (with EMS in view) which makes better value-for-money all the more essential. The means of securing constitutional reform, which may be an essential component in making the necessary progress, have been set in place.

Structure

The old fragmentation of cultural responsibilities amongst government departments since 1943 was in large part a conscious reaction against Mussolini's propagandist 'Minculpop' (Ministry of Popular Culture). The Prodi government's having taken the step of reuniting key elements is a very significant watershed. Legislation is now in train which will formally create the new *Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali*. Culture, which for decades has suffered from a low political profile, is now seen to be of greater importance, with the Heritage and Performing Arts responsibilities united under Walter Veltroni, the Deputy Prime Minister. *Spettacolo* within the brief also encompasses cinema and sport. Proximity to the Prime Minister's office also advances the possibility of a closer working relationship with other functions still located there. Whilst the constitutional obligation to protect the heritage is still seen as paramount, the new government (unlike all its predecessors) has no dogmatic view that this implies all functions should be run by the state. The new structures, therefore, of themselves suggest that a more pragmatic approach will be pursued, with more efficient planning and management as essential components.

Policy changes

Italian governments in the recent past had, to various degrees, attempted to introduce reforms in cultural management and exploitation. In the course of the Evaluation, the Examiners found that the ethical basis of *la valorizzazione* was seriously questioned by an understandably nervous professional administration. The combination of differing views in Parliament, professional reluctance, and short-life governments therefore contributed to lack of real progress. Some limited reforms were introduced to improve museum management and earning capacity in the state sector - although many of these practices had been standard in local authority museums for years. Now, it seems, the policy of the Prodi government is to accelerate the policy reform process in a more concerted way.

Co-operation, greater efficiency, and functional decentralisation now appear to be key concepts of great relevance to the delivery of cultural policy. It remains to be seen whether the newly combined ministry will operate dynamically as a policy-led and strategically integrated unit, or is simply seen as a convenient way to secure financial and administrative economies. The reforms now being tackled suggest that the former may be the case. The following demonstrate the new determination to effect changes, all of which could soon be of great benefit to the sector:

- the granting of withheld powers to the regions (and cities) increases the opportunities of more dynamic and constructive partnerships to be developed at the levels which are most appropriate;
- action has been taken to codify the main, but highly dispersed, elements of existing cultural legislation, and to achieve this within one year;
- the potential relaxation of the stranglehold of the Rome-based bureaucracy over cultural heritage throughout Italy will create greater confidence, responsibility and opportunities for partnership, as well as encouraging improved efficiency and management. A study is now under way to evaluate the possibility of devolving responsibility for the majority of state museums to the Regions, while retaining centrally the constitutional obligation to protect cultural property. Ticketing procedures in museums has been simplified, and the contracting out of services has now become a possibility;
- a portion of the proceeds of the National Lottery is now to be devoted to a priority national list for the protection and enhancement of key national sites and monuments. This will be handled separately, rather than the money being added to the new Ministry's general budget;
- with regard to the thirteen *enti lirici*, Law 367 (29 June 1996) aims to transform these major institutions, over a three year period, into not-for-profit 'private' entities, opening up the possibility of involving partners in the private sector. Although some doubt is being expressed as to whether this will work, it creates a climate of change where questions, which have been too long ignored, are having to be confronted. The same rule changes are also being introduced for certain other major national institutions, such as the Venice *Biennale* and Film Festival. Procedures governing subsidy from central government to theatre, music and cinema more generally are also being greatly simplified. The advisory committees are being reduced in size and made more independent, but with a brief to take greater account than

has been the case up until now of managerial and financial (value for money) concerns;

- commercial and industrial sponsorship tax benefits have historically tended to favour restoration of heritage projects. New legislation will aim to encourage more private concerns to support the contemporary and performing arts;
- . new legislation has been passed in the area of film and cinema , offering stronger incentives for European production.
- . additional reforms are currently under active consideration, and likely to be brought before the Parliament as soon as time arises.

1. PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON CULTURE AS PERCENTAGE OF GNP

	1990
Netherlands	0.58
Sweden	0.81 ^a
Finland	0.90
France	0.73
Austria	0.76

^a 1986/87.

2. PERCENTAGE OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON CULTURE, FROM STATE/FEDERAL GOVERNMENT^a

Netherlands ^b	29
Sweden ^c	38
Finland	28 ^d
France	38
Austria	42

^a 1990.

^b 1991.

^c 1980/87.

^d Or 59 per cent including earmarked transfers to municipalities.

3. RATIOS OF PUBLIC SPENDING ON MUSIC AND THEATRE (IN PERCENTAGES)

	Music	Theatre ^a
Netherlands	36	64
UK ^b	11	89
Sweden ^b	32	68
Finland	22	78

^a Includes dance, opera and drama.

^b Excludes local authorities.

4. PUBLIC SUBSIDY PER ATTENDANCE

	£ sterling			
	Netherlands ^a	UK ^c	Sweden ^b	Finland ^f
Orchestras	20.27	5.19	12.64	31.80
Opera	47.94	29.50	..	..
Dance	22.86	..	..	..
Drama	27.71	7.31	21.04 ^d	35.04
Museums	9.14	5.92	3.54 ^e	12.46
Library loans	1.13	1.19	1.73	..

^a 1989/90.

^b 1985/86.

^c Various 1983/84, 1988/89, 1989/90, 1990/91.

^d National and regional theatre average; excludes independent theatre groups.

^e County museums.

^f 1993.

Figure 5 SUBSIDY PROPORTIONS* (PERCENTAGES)

	Netherlands ^b	Sweden ^d	UK ^c	Finland ^e
Orchestras	80	87	44	89
Opera	82	..	50	.. ^f
Dance	83	..	63	..
Drama	89	85	52	82

* Public subsidy as percentage of turnover.

^b 1989/90

^c Various 1988/89, 1990/91, 1991/92.

^d 1985/86

^e 1993.

^f Included in drama.

6. SUBSIDISED DRAMA COMPANIES, COST AND OUTPUT INDICATORS

	Netherlands	UK ^b	Sweden ^a	Finland ^a
Companies	30	36	..	53
Attendance (millions)	0.7	3.01	3.1	2.40
Performances	4,421	6,500	17,995	13,134
Average attendance	164	357	173	182
Public subsidy (£ million)	18.78 ^c	22.0	61.8 ^d	84.00
Subsidy per performance (£)	4,241 ^c	3,385	3,436 ^d	6,396
Subsidy per attender (£)	26.82 ^c	7.31	19.77 ^d	35.04
Cost per performance (£)	4,966 ^c	6,551	4,041 ^d	7,516

^a Entire subsidised system, including independent companies.

^b Producing theatres in English regions 1990/91.

^c Excludes venues.

^d 1986 prices.

^e 1993.

7. ORCHESTRAL MUSICIANS PER MILLION RESIDENTS

Finland	180
Norway	167
Sweden	140
Switzerland	136
Germany	123
Denmark	110
Netherlands	81
Belgium	80
United Kingdom	45

8. REACH OF VARIOUS ART FORMS*, 1990 (PERCENTAGES)

	Netherlands ^b	UK	Sweden ^c	France	Finland ^d
Theatre	22	28	43	..	37
Drama	12	17	..	14	..
Classical concert	13	9	12	9	11 ^k
Opera	5 ^d	4	6	3	4
Ballet	4	3	4	..	..
Pop/rock	23 ^e	22	19	10	..
Jazz	..	6	15	6	..
Cinema	42	45 ^f	57	49	35 ^l
Museum	35	32 ^g	32	30	41
Gallery	19	16	34 ^h	23 ⁱ	44

* Percentage adults attending at least once in previous 12 months.

^b Aged 12 and over.

^c 1991.

^d Includes operetta.

^e Includes jazz, folk, etc.

^f "Currently go"; ACGB/TGI.

^g "Currently go"; 42 per cent "currently go" to museums and stately homes; ACGB/TGI.

^h "Exhibitions".

ⁱ "Art exhibition, gallery".

^j 1991, aged 10 and over.

^k Symphony concerts.

^l Last 6 months.

9. CHANGE IN REACH OF VARIOUS ART FORMS*, (PERCENTAGE POINT DIFFERENCE)

	Netherland ^b	UK ^c	Sweden ^d	France ^e	Finland ^f
Theatre	-	+ 1	+ 4	..	+ 8
Drama	-	-	..	+ 1	..
Classical concert	+ 1	-	..	+ 1	-
Opera	-	+ 1	..	..	- 2
Ballet	+ 2	-	..	..	..
Pop/rock	- 10	..	..	..	..
Jazz	..	- 1	..	..	..
Cinema	- 3	+ 14	..	- 1	- 6
Museum	+ 11	..	- 7	-	-
Gallery	+ 4	-	- 7	+ 2	+ 9

* Percentage adults attending in previous 12 months.

^b 1979-1991, aged 12 and over.

^c 1986-1992, "currently go", aged 16 and over.

^d 1968-1991.

^e 1981-1989, aged 15 and over.

^f 1981-1991, aged 10 and over.

10. PARTICIPATION IN CULTURAL ORGANISATIONS (PERCENTAGES)

	Netherlands ^a	UK ^b	Sweden ^c	Finland
Choir	5	2	5	
Musical society	4	..	2 ^d	
Drama club	2	2	1	

^a 18 and over.

^b 16 and over.

^c 7.79.

^d Orchestra.

11. LIBRARY LOANS AND SPENDING ON BOOKS

	Spending on books	Library loans per head ^a	£ per head ^a Library visits % population ^b
Norway	45 ^c	7	42
UK	43	10	51 ^d
France	36	..	16
Netherlands	32	12	29 ^e
Sweden inland	22 ..	10 7	54 ..

^a 1990.

^b Adults at least once during previous 12 months.

^c 1984.

^d 1984.

^e Memberships, including young people; nearly 20 per cent of adults use public libraries.

12. PERCENTAGE OF ADULTS COUNTRIES REGULARLY READING BOOKS*

	% of adults
Finland (1991)	75
Netherlands (1990)	51
Germany (West) (1988)	67
France (1987/1988)	32
United Kingdom (1987)	60
Italy (1989)	19

* % of adults reading at least 1 book and/or 4 books a year.

13. BOOK TITLES PUBLISHED PER 10,000 INHABITANTS

	No of titles
Denmark	18.6
Switzerland	18.5
Finland	18.3
Sweden	11.4
Austria	11.2
Portugal	10.1
Great Britain	9.4
Spain	9.0
Germany	8.9
Netherlands	8.7
Norway	8.6
France	6.9

14. MEDIA USAGE, 1990

	TV viewing mins per day	VTR ownership % householders	Newspaper circulation per 1,000 residents
UK	254	64*	414
Belgium	250	..	223
Italy	240	36*	96
France	225	25*	212
Spain	223	42	80
Germany (W)	167	..	350
Netherlands	147	49	310
Finland	134 ^b	..	52
Norway	108	..	..

* 1989.

^b 1992.

15. AUDIO TAPE LEVIES, 1994

	ECUs per hour (no tax systems included)
	% of levy
Austria	0.12
Denmark	0.36
Finland	0.27
France	0.23
Germany	0.06
Greece	6% of PPD or sales price or import price
Hungary	8% of retail price
Iceland ^a	0.27
Italy	10% of wholesale price to dealer
Netherlands ^b	0.30
Spain	0.19

^a Applicable tariff per hour (tariff of ECU 0.37 is irrespective of length). It is presumed that an audiotape has an average duration of 1hr 18 mins.

^b Including part neighbouring rights.

16. VIDEO TAPE LEVIES, 1994

	ECUs per hour (no tax systems included)
	% of levy
Austria	0.18
Denmark	0.49
Finland	0.41
France	0.34
Germany	0.09
Greece	6% of PPD or sales price or import price
Hungary	8% of retail price
Iceland ^a	1.04
Italy	5% of wholesale price to dealer
Netherlands ^b	0.36
Spain	0.32

^a Applicable tariff per hour (tariff of ECU 1.09 is irrespective of length). It is presumed that a videotape has an average duration of 3hrs 12 mins.

^b Including part neighbouring rights.

17. PERCENTAGE OF BLANK CASSETTE LEVY REVENUES ALLOCATED FOR COLLECTIVE USE

	% of levy revenues
Austria	51
Denmark	33
Finland	(audio) 60
	(video) 67
France	25
Hungary	30
Iceland	15
Netherlands	15
Spain	20

This appendix contains the results of the "read-across" of the six examiners reports, covering France, Sweden, Austria, the Netherlands, Finland and Italy. It presents in note form key references under the three pre-set common themes, namely:

- **support for artistic creation;**
- **the regional dimension; and**
- **participation and the wider public.**

Under each theme, the notes (with page references to the original reports) are set out under the following headings:

- **definition of the area, policy rationale and status;**
- **measures adopted;**
- **recent innovations in policy;**
- **issues arising.**

In addition, several common themes emerged that are presented here in the same way, namely:

- **international dimension;**
- **voluntary sector;**
- **education and training;**
- **cultural industries; and**
- **heritage aspects.**

SUPPORT FOR ARTISTIC CREATION

Checks and balances

"no sensible government believes it holds the secret for producing work of lasting quality from its action" Sweden 47

DEFINITION OF THE AREA, POLICY RATIONALE AND STATUS

Sweden

- 26 Eight Goals of Cultural Policy 1974
Sweden's impressive record in improving the financial circumstances of artists but the examiners suggested that the grant programmes to individual artists should relate more to specific projects and defined artistic tasks. Some of the resources currently devoted to public art schemes should be switched to presenting more international work, and the Swedish authorities should build up competing centres of international repute within Sweden.

France

- A tale of two Ministries: 36/37 in 1982, the new socialist government doubled the cultural budget and redefined the range of what is included in culture: in 1987 the Chirac government announced a shift of emphasis towards education, heritage and "the international dimension".

Netherlands

- 17 The cultural budget was carried forward on the wings of the welfare state. By the same token, the role of the arts in promoting discussion of social issues and the development of social attitudes was emphasised alongside the social benefits of individual appreciation of cultural activity.

Finland

- Through the combined effort of the state and the municipalities, there is a high level of public funding for culture, and a highly developed network of cultural institutions, well-distributed, of which the libraries and museums are shining examples. The system of grants to artists based on public grants and on exemplary legislation in terms of the protection of authors' rights and neighbouring rights, provides a generally high level of protection and security for artists and offsets the small size of the national market. Examiners suggest 57 that financial support awarded on artistic grounds cannot be expected to solve the fundamental problem of the economic situation of the artist. Also, better provision needed to encourage/support multi- or inter-disciplinary projects and to make the system more welcoming for young artists.

France

- 121 Public aid can be given directly to creators, it can be given to the organisations which produce or disseminate their work or it can be given to the cultural industries.
- Noteworthy features of French cultural policy have been central initiatives to create facilities in the regions - to "irrigate" the whole country, and to

transfer means and responsibilities to local authorities supported by negotiated contracts and agreements and influential cross-financing arrangements. Other noteworthy features of French cultural policy include 131 support for architecture, and the backing given to foreign artists, making France a world centre for creation, while keeping French creators in touch with the most significant trends in contemporary art.

Austria

- 22 Large institutions shape cultural life at all levels.
- 28 A clearly defined cultural policy based on clear-cut conceptions is still lacking.

Italy

- 63 Protection and conservation of the heritage seems to be widely viewed as the primary state objective in cultural policy.

MEASURES ADOPTED

Italy

74 Performing Arts

- Il Fondo Unico per lo Spettacolo (FUS).
- 1985 Legislation established the FUS Central fund for the Performing Arts.
- The legislation included criteria and a defined % for each sector.

74 Advisory system

- The legislation also set up the national Advisory Committee for performing arts which makes recommendations on the annual allocations and also recommends proposals on a three year planning basis.
- 75 "It is impossible to make any real judgements on the extent to which policy aims of the FUS are carried out in relation to artistic (qualitative) social, political or geographic criteria".

91 Visual Arts

- In the main, art and artists are left to find their way in the market.
- Legislation exists for copyright, droit de suite, and % for art but is not applied.
- No overall policy on artists' work spaces or exhibition and sales opportunities.

Netherlands

64 specific support systems:

- General maintenance of cultural institutions.
- Selective support schemes for individual artists; and

- Market support and development measures.

General characteristics of the support system:

- Working with the grain of the market - limited interventions.
- Producer subsidies and modest (art trade only) market stimulation measures.

73 "A kind of paradise" - support for individual artists.

General characteristics

- Support for creative professionals has long been given priority by the Dutch state.
- Support is handled in a highly sectionalised way through a series of specialist funding agencies:
 - . Fine Arts, Design and Architecture Fund (grants for creative work)
 - . Mondrian Fund (exhibitions and promotional activities)
 - . Literature Fund (writers' support)
 - . Netherlands Fund for Literary Production and Translation (translation and publication)
 - . Creative Music Fund (composers)
 - . Dutch Film Production fund (now merged with Netherlands Film Fund)
 - . *74 Figure 21 Payments to creative artists by profession 1992.*
- Policy is to give selective grants on artistic criteria.
- Levels of funding appear helpful and well-graded to different needs at various stages of professional development.
- Grants appear to be well-related to other aspects of support for the individual art forms.
- Successful outcomes in terms of quality and distribution of the work produced.

Advisory system

- 24 With their activities restricted to a purely advisory role, the Dutch advisory bodies are quite unlike other arts councils in the world.

France

Advisory system

- The Minister has a powerful, indeed nationally symbolic, role and the Ministry intervenes directly at every level, initiating programmes and projects. The Examiners question whether current procedures made enough allowance for the opinion of the public and of artists. In times of budget cutbacks it was particularly important that projects were selected on a rational basis and adopted and appraised with the utmost care.

Finland

Advisory system

- 151 The Examiners took the view that the national system of arts councils was too rigid, too sectoral, and in certain respects too weak. Its functions and its means should be made more flexible (particularly with regard to the duration and distribution of grants). Members of the Councils should be appointed on clear and fundamental principles of professionalism, expertise and impartiality, and a diversity of skills - artistic, regional, and linguistic. With regard to appointments, proposals and opinions from artists organisations should continue to be invited but the Ministry should have more freedom of decision.

Sweden

47 Policy aims and priorities

- Focus on measures to improve conditions for artistic creation and production.
- Economic security for artists to counter negative effects of commercialism.
- Building the market has not been a priority.
- Overriding concern of a small country for national cultural identity.

Advisory system

- Examiners recommend that artists should be involved in the grant-making process in an advisory rather than a decision-making capacity.

RECENT INNOVATIONS IN POLICY

Finland

- 148 The Examiners noted that the Regional Arts Councils were being reformed in response to criticisms that the present system was too rigid, too monolithic and too compartmentalised; it had difficulty in catering for innovation and experimentation, and for new or independent art forms. The Examiners made two key observations about the reforms underway which were intended to make the Regional Arts Council system more flexible and more effective.
- Their independence must be beyond suspicion, so that there is no doubt as to the objective and impartial criteria on the basis of which subsidies are distributed.
- The effect of the reforms must not be to reinforce the status quo, to protect existing advantages or corporate interests, but rather to serve the cause of art, in a spirit of open-mindedness and discovery, and to prepare the future by outlining global policies.

Netherlands

64 Policy on the performing arts

- Search for flexibility and development within a fixed funding framework.
- A series of major reviews - Theatre, Orchestras, Dance, between 1983 and 1986.

- Principal results of these reviews:
 - concentration in fewer units (notably the symphony orchestras)
 - reduction in the number of performances (except Dance)
 - increase in average attendance numbers (*65 Figure 16 Key Indicators by sector*).

25 Delegation of detailed decision-making and administration

- An important development has been the removal of small grant and individual support programmes from the detailed administrative control of the ministry (and its advisory councils); 26 the system of numerous specialist units creates a very reticulated and compartmentalised structure, in form not unlike a Dutch garden.

France

- 173/4 The Cultural Intervention Fund (FIC) was set up in 1971 to encourage innovation and became progressively involved with social groups who do not use cultural institutions and led to the formation of a Cultural Development Directorate in 1982.
- 178 In 1987, the responsibility for encouraging innovative projects, both in cultural terms and in terms of the potential target population, taking into account the results of actions carried on previously, was transferred to the new Cultural Environment Directorate.

ISSUES ARISING

- Too permissive an approach can be as inhibiting as one that is too narrowly selective.
- There is a need for structured and continuing dialogue between the funders and the institutions or artists funded.
- Targeted funds, specific projects, defined tasks.
- Grant assessment: rules and procedures.
- Monitoring and evaluation procedures.
- Comparative statistical information.
- Transparency of decision-making.
- Involvement of artists in decision-making.
- Arrangements for evaluation and accountability.
- Diversification of funding and more flexible ways of working.
- Methods for managing the entry of young practitioners into professional life.
- Selective interventions in cultural industries aimed at ensuring diversity and quality and to protect indigenous production and distribution where the market fails to deliver.
- Inter-ministry initiatives to link cultural policy to policies for education and

training, and employment.

THE REGIONAL DIMENSION

System decentralisation or regional development?

in the Netherlands report 99 the Examiners suggest three key criteria for successful regional development:

- distinctive approach
- artistic excitement
- competent delivery.

DEFINITION OF THE AREA, POLICY RATIONALE AND STATUS

Sweden

64, The 1974 Resolution: "cultural policy should promote the decentralisation of activities and decision-making on cultural matters". The rationale for this derives from central government's first payments to libraries and educational associations at the beginning of the century, and a period of some 40 years from the 1930s during which national touring organisations - for drama, concerts and exhibitions - "became the main instruments of regional policy".

Netherlands

99 "the transfer of responsibilities to the local authorities has produced one of the most decentralised cultural systems among the integrated nation states in Western Europe". The rationale for this derives 83 from state legislation aimed at provincial and municipal autonomy and a culture-specific history of shared central and local funding for e.g. libraries, museums and performing arts companies. However, 96/97 structural thinking on cultural matters at a regional level is under-developed, and the Examiners felt that there was still a missing "regional dimension" in Dutch cultural policy.

Finland

110 Thanks to the combined effort of state and municipalities, the whole territory is covered by a tightly-knit cultural network. 166 "the decentralisation of culture is undeniably a priority of cultural policy". A rationale is still being worked out. The move to increase decentralisation 44 was encouraged by rapid growth in local government spending during the 1980s, and 21 the municipalities already run or subsidise numerous cultural facilities and services. However, 92 (libraries) "the transition to a new, more decentralised system has caused problems and a loss of bearings at a time when the general economic environment is faltering" and 119 financial crisis could reverse the trend to municipalisation.

22 Until now the regional level has played a secondary role. 120 the regional level of government has not been privileged in Finland. However, the national sense of cultural unity is so strong that regional differences should not be over-estimated.

France

83 Exceptional powers at the local level counterbalance a strong tradition of centralism.

85 The process of regional development and decentralisation has been centrally driven.

91 "the corollary of true decentralisation is a strong state policy, preserving the coherence of our national cultural identity which bolsters solidarity between regions and guarantees pluralism".

85 Many central initiatives have been taken to create facilities in the regions.

85 Most of the 22 French Regions have been involved in culture for only ten years or so.

Italy

6 Comprises 20 administrative regions (five of them autonomous, in recognition of their strong cultural identity).

12 Article 5 of the Constitution guarantees autonomy and decentralisation to local (and regional authorities, setting out what is in effect a subsidiarity principle.

24 Presidential decree of 1977 granted the regions the role of "promoting culture of regional interest" but this has never been defined or set within a cooperative context where the various levels of government can work in confidence together.

12 The State has clearly not determined national policy objectives which could then allow for a more comprehensive decentralisation of responsibility and resource capability.

12 Examiners urge the need for a centrally coordinated approach to effective decentralisation.

25 Some form of "cooperative subsidiarity" is needed - i.e. decentralisation of defined and agreed functions within a strategic framework which sets minimum standards.

Austria

19 The Federation has such a dominant position in cultural policy that the natural self-awareness of the Lander and the cultural imprint on their statehood are kept at a constant low.

28 The lack of genuine planning and concepts for clear-cut task-sharing between the individual state levels has ultimately negative results.

28 A deliberate decentralisation of institutions and decisions in the interest of regional balances and democratic rules is lacking in all domains, especially between the federal and provincial levels.

MEASURES ADOPTED/METHODS OF DECENTRALISATION

Sweden

- Longstanding aims, measures and structures have favoured the decentralisation process.
- 86 Persuasion and voluntary partnerships.
- Laudable willingness to favour regional and local responsibility.
- 87 Absence of rigid formulae and flexibility of approach has allowed for a response to artistic initiatives while leaving some gaps in provision to be

filled.

- 87 Role of the state is then to
 - . identify gaps
 - . establish consistent standards
 - . address questions of innovation and development
 - . pursue partnerships with local authorities
- 87 In most cases the idea, and always the political initiative, came primarily from the regions.
- 88 The price of state policy has been the neglect of major cities outside Stockholm.
- 88 The introduction of the basic grants system from 1974 has been important to the development of the local and regional structure of cultural institutions.
- Increases in the basic grants, which relate to staff costs, have been mainly used to build up the new regional institutions.

89 Role of the local authorities

The national agenda set out in the eight goals of cultural policy has percolated to the local level. The local authorities have expanded their cultural responsibilities over the past 20 years using their independent powers of taxation. e.g. 82 efficient public libraries in every one of the 284 municipalities with state involvement (only 2.5 per cent) to equalise standards, support special demands and stimulate development. Local authorities have been persuaded of the economic benefits of investment in cultural amenities, as also has the Ministry of Labour which is responsible for regional policy. 95 "local authority support of the arts in the regions has become more important and in the future it will be decisive".

Netherlands

- A structural separation of functions between the Ministry, the Provinces and the Municipalities has mitigated against creative partnerships and a regional dimension in cultural policy has been missing.
- 89 In theory, the State assumed responsibility for the creative process and has depended heavily on touring as its principal means of distribution.
- In theory, the Provinces support distribution, and the municipalities support venues and programming.
- This model proved to be oversimplified, divisive in tendency, impractical and inaccurate.
- If creative activity is insufficiently "rooted" in locally-supported creative partnerships.
- 96 Touring may be no more than a cultural events service.
- Key institutions, fed by single source finance from the state, tend to eschew local life and go their own way.

Role of the local authorities

- 89 The provinces are capable of a strategic role but in practice remain minor players with ill-defined responsibilities.
- 83 Although local authorities have sustained their cultural spend at a significant level, it is largely discretionary and 88 their commitment to cultural funding is variable.
- 84/85 Many local authorities are reluctant to contribute to regional activity.
- 96/97 A broader partnership between levels of government is still at an early stage.
- The scope for financial partnership is limited by very large numbers of small local authorities.
- Local rivalries between tiers of local government and between neighbouring authorities are counter-productive.

France

- 85 Seven aspects of decentralisation.
- Ministry's commitment to a policy of nationwide "irrigation".
- Central initiatives to create facilities in the regions.
- "Cross-financing" used to support regional developments.
- Administrative decentralisation through Regional Directorates.
- Transferring means and responsibilities to local authorities.
- 92 Serious attempt to define short and medium term aims, at first in the form of charters and, subsequently contracts, negotiated between the state and the regions.
- Joint planning - voluntary cultural development conventions between the Ministry and certain local authorities.

Culture at the regional, departmental and municipal levels

- 95 The overall effect of decentralisation policies has been highly positive.
- 97 From the end of the 1970s there has been a profound change of attitude among politicians at all levels.
- 98 Culture has become gradually institutionalised in most large and medium-size towns.
- 99 The "cross-financing" system has remained very important in convincing the local authorities and maintaining the confidence of the cultural institutions.
- 91 "if left to their own devices, particularly in periods of crisis, local authorities might neglect cultural facilities and activities in favour of sectors they consider more important.

Finland

Role and responsibility of local authorities

- 115 Municipalities have a general obligation to "promote, support and organise cultural activities and basic education".
- But policy of financial decentralisation by the state across a range of services, as a lump sum, has provided no protection to culture.
- On the contrary, the municipalities are free to re-allocate decentralised budgets at will.
- 116 This system and the wide discretion afforded the local authorities leaves the cultural institutions in a precarious position.
- e.g. Libraries 92, where the economic recession and the greater autonomy bestowed on the municipalities have resulted in cutbacks. Examiners concern at wide discretion afforded local authorities and the "lack of any systematic evaluation procedure" 116.
- 119 Culture has to be treated as a specific sector.

Italy

- 6 The tension between the role and strengths of the communi and the late 20th century media-based urban culture is one of the key factors in Italian cultural policy today.
- 12 Local and regional budgets are massively dependent on state transfers.
- There is a tension between central government's obligation to preserve the heritage and maintain the infrastructure, and local government's ambition to "move to the succeeding stage" of interpreting the heritage for the benefit of their citizens.
- 22 Delays and defensiveness at the centre have served to increase the hostility of the regions and the local authorities.
- 34 Major cities work together informally to achieve greater autonomy.
- 35 Some examples of dynamic cities and de facto cooperation with their regions did impress the Examiners but, in general, cities and regions lack a shared vision, backed by joint strategies, for dealing with cultural provision and development.
- 36 Apparent lack of cultural action on the part of the medium-size towns.
- 37 Emilia Romagna quoted as a region in constructive dialogue with its communi.

Austria

57 Need to develop "cooperative federalism" and "methods which would maintain a meaningful division of labour in respect both to cultural policy decisions and their implementation.

RECENT INNOVATIONS IN POLICY

Netherlands

- 85 Recent efforts to simplify the relationship between the state and the local authorities.
- During the 1980s, libraries, amateur provision, and the listing and restoration of monuments were fully decentralised with positive results.
- The Ministry has been aiming to establish discreet competencies and to avoid duplication rather than creative partnerships.
- 92 In the regional distribution of state expenditure, the gap between Amsterdam and the rest of the Netherlands has noticeably widened and the central investment in touring is a key factor in balancing the differential.

Finland

- 120 The Regional Arts Councils are a state controlled extension of the national system of Arts Councils: RACs have a general role to "develop, promote and support the arts and cultural policy in the regions": their role and future are under review.
- One possibility 123 is to transfer RACs to the 18 Regional Councils: this would help to integrate them with "local and regional realities" but the Regional Councils would themselves have to acquire a minimum expertise.
- 126 "A general move toward the delegation of powers from the National Arts Council to the RACs would require careful preparation.

Municipalities:

- 110 Recent legislation and the reform of state subsidies give the municipalities more responsibilities and greater freedom.
- The Municipalities now find they are obliged to develop genuine cultural strategies or to adjust existing ones.
- 119 Financial crisis could reverse the trend to municipalisation.

Sweden

- Examiners note a case for building up the responsibilities of the County Councils to adopt a "wider cultural role".
- e.g. the 20 new County music foundations created in 1988 with a wide range of devolved functions.
- e.g. the development of a network of regional theatres in 17 counties with six of the National Touring Centre Companies "anchored" in specific theatres with local authority support e.g. the obligation placed on designated national museums to develop regional services.

ISSUES ARISING

- Imbalances between state spend in capital and regional cities (Randstadt/Stockholm/Helsinki/Paris).
- Imbalances in cultural provision between regions.
- The Challenge for national cultural policy is not simply to decentralise

responsibilities and resources to adopt provide essential leadership in order to

- **overcome institutionalised centralism.**
- **Coordinate regional cultural development policies with other relevant ministries.**
- **Strengthen the financial and administrative independence of key cultural institutions in the regions.**
- **Empower the regional and municipal authorities.**
- **Create a coherent framework for creative partnerships and effective regional planning.**
- **Promote a strategic approach to regional cultural provision.**
- **Support "bottom-up" initiatives to develop regional strategic plans.**
- **Negotiate formal agreements with regional and municipal authorities on regional priorities and co-funding arrangements.**
- **Adopt a flexible but coherent approach avoiding unnecessary ambiguities and overlaps.**
- **Improve the collection and evaluation of regional and municipal statistics.**
- **Encourage the fullest possible involvement of the private and voluntary sectors.**
- **Encourage a regionally rooted creative base, so developing pride of place and specific interest for visitors.**
- **Improve public value for money by discouraging duplication and encouraging collaboration between cultural institutions.**
- **Promote new management methods and training for change.**

Regional development cannot be left to chance: decentralisation has to be culture-specific in order to achieve a process of successful devolution and sustainable regional development.

PARTICIPATION AND THE WIDER PUBLIC

Cultural equality: audience development or individual creative self-expression?

DEFINITION OF THE AREA, POLICY RATIONALE AND STATUS

Netherlands

101 The aim of achieving equal access to cultural provision has been a recurrent theme. After WW2 the state ascribed to culture a major democratic role in social reconstruction, at first as a counter to what were seen as the malign influences of commercial entertainment and subsequently as a welfare commitment to give all citizens an opportunity for personal development. In the 1980s, the limits to this policy began to be seriously discussed but, more recently, "participation" is again a central theme. Concern about the participation gap between the best education and the rest is justified; but the balance between active and passive consumption in the Netherlands appears to favour positive action by the authorities and the cultural institutions.

France

The emphasis in the report is on reaching a more representative audience for "high culture", and the continuing disparities according to income, education, family background, habitat and age which inhibit this. "These are the inequalities which culture must remedy". Results for participation in amateur music 159, attendances at museums and exhibitions 159, and for books and reading have been encouraging by comparison with the take-up for theatre 155 and concerts 157. "The spread of audio-visual equipment throughout the population has not made the general public any more receptive to traditional culture.

Finland

134 A deep-rooted tradition aiming for national unity and cohesion has favoured a generally high level of public participation in cultural life comparing favourably with other countries 130. An ample supply of high-quality facilities has facilitated distribution and there are well-defined and well-used structures for amateur activity at national and local levels 133. One third of all Finns over ten years old practice one form of arts or another.

Sweden

97 Few countries have set such store on broadening active participation in artistic life as Sweden. 1974 Resolution "to make cultural experience available to all and also to enable people to find an outlet for their inherent creative capacity". 122 By international standards, the reach figures are exceptionally high: however, 124 the public is becoming more demanding in terms of choice and quality; the challenge to the authorities and cultural institutions is to win new audiences and to deepen the national interest in the arts.

Austria

31 Federal Art Promotion Act: "art, especially contemporary art, is to be promoted and made accessible to all sections of the population and the material pre-requisites for the development of artistic life in Austria are to be improved". In daily practice 32 less progress is apparent than in theory.

Italy

58 The national report does not fully reflect levels of public participation as an objective of or justification for cultural policy. 60 It cannot be argued that the FUS is seriously encouraging wider public access as a policy aim. However, there is evidence of a growing number of independent cultural associations and of good practice in certain areas e.g. Turin. The Examiners 61 urge all concerned to make common cause, negotiate with the Ministry of Education and draw up joint strategies which take account of successful good practice within Italy.

MEASURES ADOPTED

Sweden

- 98 Measures chosen are mainly indirect and consensual rather than a spur for specific action.
- e.g. developing the base of local and regional provision; improving access via the decentralisation process and via the actions of the main arts institutions.
- 102 Children targeted as a disadvantaged group and state funded organisations are given guidelines for improving access.
- Stated aims have been achieved but there remains an issue for the authorities of how to realise goals when the institutions are free to determine their own priorities.
- 106 There are examples of good practice to be found but individual action does not appear to be a characteristic of the system as a whole and there is a lack of central analysis of actions and achievements.
- 126 Voluntary action as an important agent of adult education is a distinctive feature of the Swedish approach.

Finland

- Minorities
 - . Finland has ratified the Council of Europe convention on the protection of language minorities.
 - . Has made significant progress to recognise the political and legal rights of minorities.
 - . The question of their social and cultural rights is likely to arise soon.
- Disabled people
 - . 144 Recognition of the importance of provision for physical access.
 - . Noteworthy achievements but (except for certain institutions) no participation programmes are specifically targeted to physically or socially disadvantaged groups, and there is uncertainty about the effectiveness of provision for disabled people to participate more fully.

France

- The setting up of the Ministry of Culture in 1992 gave the impetus to create

cultural facilities all over the country - the best for the most.

- From 1981 the socialist government made determined efforts to democratise culture by substantially increasing subventions to high culture and by enlarging the definition of culture to include 39 "cultures in the plural and at the everyday level".
- 162 The range of (national museum) institutions has grown to cover new cultural fields with a view to attracting new sections of the public.
- 163 Important development of libraries in the 1980s, with a central lending library in almost every department serving the surrounding communes.
- 173/4 The Cultural Intervention Fund (FIC) was set up to encourage innovation and became progressively involved with social groups who do not use cultural institutions and led to the formation of a Cultural Development Directorate in 1982.

Education:

- 181 Importance of guideline Education Bill drawn up by the Education and Culture Ministries working together: education action projects to establish a living relationship between school and society.

Statistics:

- 183 The Examiners acknowledge the quality of the national surveys carried out in 1973 and 1981 and recommend a further survey to be carried out in the near future.

Minorities/regional cultures/disability:

- 176 The socialist government made every effort to promote the notion of cultural pluralism.
- 177 "considering the size of the immigration problem, the measures are as yet insufficient".
- 177/178 the Ministry's actions to improve access for disabled and disadvantaged groups - a symbolic policy lacking in determination.

Netherlands

- 102 approach
 - . widespread dissemination
 - . subsidised prices
 - . provision of opportunity e.g. touring
 - . in general, little or not targeting
- 103 specific schemes
 - . a number of discount card schemes
 - . an appraisal of effectiveness would be merited
 - . art market measures: loan schemes
 - . promotion of reading
 - . integrated ticketing in Amsterdam
 - . open monument days (attracting five per cent of population)

- 103 positive examples
 - . many cultural institutions have ideas for encouraging participation
 - . Rijksmuseum
 - . Concertgebouw refurbishment/subscription/strong programming
 - . Utrecht Music Centre subscription packages
- 122 ethnic minorities
 - . some local authorities have made serious attempts at provision
 - . need for a lead from national authorities
 - . mainstream integration has not been achieved to the extent hoped for
 - . 123 more positive programmes needed to achieve an effective expression of multicultural artistic life

RECENT INNOVATIONS IN POLICY

Sweden

- 103 1985 Government initiative
 - . culture in schools development programme
 - . decentralised funding
 - . county councils required to report
 - . a successful initiative which needs to be translated into programmes of coordinated activity involving as appropriate the regional and local cultural institutions
 - . 110 see also the Government's workplace development projects
 - . 132 a report expected in 1989 to reappraise the measures taken to support Sami culture

Netherlands

- 104 Proposed autonomous states for national institutions, and consequent change in attitudes
- 121 Process of education reform includes setting new attainment targets in primary and secondary education
- these developments are potentially very important in relation to cultural policy
- an opportunity to form new relationships

123 The Cultural Policy Document 1993/96

- promotes participation as a new policy objective
- support is indicated for initiatives to
- improve education programmes
- promote participation
- expand broadcasting of cultural programmes
- encourage general reading

Specific commitments include

- 15 per cent earnings requirement for companies and ensembles
- review of the effect of pricing on participation
- new consultation with the Ministry of Education

- encouraging amateur activities in the arts
- taking account of social/geographical considerations in grant allocation
- 124 proposed National Participation Plan

Italy

- 59 Animation. Turin's experience of fostering community development through dedicated community arts policies and animateurs - originated 1986 and now being shared with the other "major league cities". But lack of national policy.

ISSUES ARISING

- leadership role of national authorities
- key linkages to regional and local authorities and to cultural institutions
- inter-Ministry cooperation vital on arts in the curriculum
- participation is a vital consideration in Decentralisation Policy
- empowering the voluntary sector (Netherlands 119 "where resources are made available to organised groups of citizens, the cultural results are very positive")
- need to involve minorities in policy formulation and in the management of cultural institutions
- need to balance measures to achieve multi-cultural artistic life and measures tending to encourage assimilation
- cultural institutions - vital role in marketing and education independent of funders
- internationally the significant growth in range quality and impact of education services offered by cultural institutions: coordination and dissemination of best practice
- importance of coordinated information on provision for disabled people in order to facilitate appropriate policy response
- targeting to specific groups and sectors, with proper monitoring and evaluation
- continuing and disconcerting trends should not lead to an over-pessimistic analysis
- the market is increasingly complex and segmented
- there are opportunities in cultural tourism

INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION

National Cultural identity or international relations?

"A viable culture should be capable of finding its own expressions without the need to resort to censorship, extra quotas or undue restrictions on free trade in cultural products or ideas."

Cultural Policy in the Netherlands 31

NETHERLANDS

30 Cultural Identity

- Many strands of Dutch culture, especially in music, dance and literature are metropolitan and international in perspective.
- 30 Cultural Policy Document refers to twin concerns "about the promotion of the essential elements of Dutch culture as well as the desire to give it a higher profile internationally".
- 30 Dutch national identity has notably been characterised by an amalgam of separate identities drawn from different population groups. The ethnic minorities are now part of this picture.

71 Characteristics

- Dutch government exceptionally active in international organisations and inter-governmental relationships.
- High degree of interest in foreign language broadcasts.
- Recognition that political, economic and cultural interests are coming together.
- Recent action to guarantee the Dutch elements in many areas of cultural life, especially the cultural industries.
- Support increased for film, cultural elements in broadcasting, musical composition and literature.
- In this regard, language-based cultural expression is of exceptional importance.

72 Focus of policy

- Participation in relevant international cultural forums.
- Seeking a broader market for Dutch cultural products.
- Developing contacts which create cultural opportunities and serve to improve cultural expression in the Netherlands.
- Establishing links with places that can respond culturally.
- The consolidation of Dutch cultural life is a market of maturity as is the shift from import to export.

Needs

- Better statistics on international budgets in the major municipalities.
- Keeping practitioners and audiences in direct touch with international developments.
- 73 Validate the aspiration to strengthen Amsterdam's international cultural status.
- Develop the potential for Netherlands to become a cultural entrepot and resist "new provincialism".

SWEDEN

58 National identity and Swedish language

- "Sweden is an open country but it fails to draw on a regular basis the best of European art".
- The strategy of openness combined with subsidies appears to work.
- A wider internationalism in the visual arts should be encouraged - vital role for rehoused and expanded MOMA.
- Initiatives needed to encourage more international work.
- Challenge is for Sweden to present a diverse array of national achievements and artistic challenges in its evolving dialogue with its European neighbours.
- 63 The establishment in 1989 of the Nordic Film and Television Council as a co-production agency for the five countries.

FINLAND

85 Cultural Industries

- As in the film industry, the international dimension is decisive for the Finnish audio-visual industry, international cooperation was long restricted to relations with Finland's neighbours in Scandinavia and former Soviet Union.

87 International dimension

- While protection is needed for the Finnish language there is also a danger in isolation.
- Impression that, aside from bilateral agreements and Nordic cooperation, the Finnish policy is currently largely one of response.
- 88 Strategic and pro-active policies needed if Finnish cultural life is to benefit from EU membership.

FRANCE

- 37 Socialist policy 1981-1986; the state should intervene in the cultural industries to avoid the undue encouragement of mercantile practices which go against creative initiative, to support certain forms of creation or come to the rescue of the home market when there is a threat of foreign firms taking it over.

- A priority was to reinforce the cultural place of France in the world in the face of what is felt to be the invasion of English-language culture - in particular film, television, publishing, and record industries. Significant increase in programme production advocated for "the new cultural policy aims to cross national boundaries".
- 38 Lang's advocacy for a "European audio-visual space" - cooperation between the film and audio-visual industries of all the countries of Europe to combat the North American invasion through active international cooperation aimed at asserting the individual identities of the participant countries and also a European identity.
- See also Lang's belief that the economic crisis is above all a cultural crisis and that art and culture "can be an answer to the crisis and the driving force behind economic recovery".
- 41 From 1986, Leotard introduced new emphasis in cultural policy of which the international dimension was one: "for our culture and our thinking has always had an international vocation".
- 42 Culture must be "a meeting point", a source of dialogue and convergence for all French People and a bond with Europeans".
- 56 Table 4 State spending on culture and communication. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has its own cultural budget and exercises considerable power in dealings with other countries.

Issues

Inter-Ministry cooperation.

Internal regular, cultural pluralism and international promotion

Role of cultural policy in cultural industries

Special position of capital cities and their regions

Internationalism in other cities.

THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR

Extending cultural democracy and organising around enthusiasms.

Netherlands

- 12 Sectionalism (pillarisation) an historical feature of Dutch society. "East of these groups could provide a complete social and cultural life for its adherents".
- 61 Monuments an area in which a partnership approach has been developed via an expensive network of voluntary organisations and commercial partners who value the role of historic buildings in urban renewal. 119 references to 850 voluntary organisations in this sector.
- 62 Value of establishing creative partnerships in major centres around the country - no longer something the national authorities can achieve on their own.
- 97 The principle of engaging private and voluntary sector participation is relevant to the future development of policy at the local level as well as the national level.
- 116 Strong body of amateur activity.
- 117 *Figure 50* levels of voluntary participation in cultural organisations
Figure 51 Comparison with UK and Sweden.
- 118 The social basis of amateur arts activity appears to be broader than for attendance at cultural events and attractions.
- 119 The amateur sector generates far more opportunities for professional work than it displaces.
- 119 National policy is right to focus on the professional needs of amateurs and on improving support structures.
- 124 National Participation Plan.

Finland

- 51 Consideration should be given to tax incentives to encourage private initiative both individual and corporate in the cultural field.
- Examiners view that a generally high rate of participation in the cultural scene is one of the more outstanding features of the country's cultural policy.
- 133 Participation in well-defined amateur structures seen as a contributing factor to participation as cultural consumers.
- 134 There are 15,000-plus registered amateur cultural organisations.

Italy

- 58 Mushrooming independent cultural associations - about 20,000 of them with specific legal status conferring tax benefits.

- **Over-burdened and over-centralised public systems. No lack of voluntary enterprise and energy to be found but no connection in practice to national cultural policy.**
- **15 Sheer volume of Italy's cultural heritage makes it necessary for the government to find ways of sharing the burdens of preservation and participation with the private and voluntary sectors. There is a need to combine public service and entrepreneurial attitudes in independent institutions.**
- **53 Reference to success of voluntary sector (not for profit) foundations such as Napoli99 and Salvare Palermo "with a direct focus on restoring civic pride through restoration programmes and public education."**
- **111 Examiners noted little national concern for participation as an important cultural policy aim and call for greater prominence to be given to identifying the creative needs of the public, safeguarding cultural practices and traditions for future generations, including amateur activity, and recognising the interests of cultural minorities.**

France

- **174 Over the years each ministry directorate has built up a network of associations around it as have the regional directorates (DRACs). In 1987 Minister Leotard announced his intention of reviewing the 5000 or subsidised associations.**
- **175 Reference to role of not for profit organisations as catalysts in creating effective partnerships.**

Sweden

- **26 The eight goals. "give people opportunities to engage in creative activities of their own and to promote personal contacts.**
- **126 Choral singing in Sweden "rooted in religion, workplace and voluntary association life".**
- **128 State support is given for the central amateur associations.**
- **Need to improve ways of giving professional assistance for amateur work.**
- **It is a distinctive feature of Swedish approach that so much importance has been placed on voluntary action as an agent of adult education.**
- **Particularly emphasis placed on participation in voluntary associations as part of the fabric of Swedish democracy.**
- **152 "The Swedish people are habitual learners".**
- **"The dilemma is that the world of popular associations is changing and may not be reaching a new public"**
- **(See Sweden: Participation for further details).**

Issues

- **Definition of voluntary sector (e.g. not for profit or amateur).**

- **Retrenchment and the public sector.**
- **Tax incentives for firms, private individuals and not for profit organisations.**
- **Social reach of voluntary activity (differs from art form to art form).**
- **Link between amateur and professional practice.**
- **General importance of education.**
- **Participation as a cultural policy objective.**
- **The quality of individual engagement in the arts.**
- **Importance of umbrella organisations (Netherlands/Finland/Sweden).**
- **What kind of public support is appropriate?**

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

"Finally it is necessary to return to education which lies at the heart of access and is clearly allied to promotion and audience development." *Cultural Policy in Sweden* 126.

Finland

- 25/26 The Structural issue. Examiners debate the pros and cons of locating responsibility for Culture within a Ministry of Education.
- 27 "There can be no cultural democracy or democratisation without due regard for the educational dimension".
- See also 108/109 re vocational training and the challenge to link training to a prognosis of "foreseeable manpower needs".
- Training of cultural administrators - introduction of a graduate degree at University of Jyvaskyla a welcome step.

France

- 63 Developing education and training in art is one of the priorities of the Chirac government.
- 181 Importance of guideline Education Bill drawn up by Education and Culture Ministries working together; education action projects to establish a living relationship between school and society.

Sweden

- 12 Examiners point to an under-provision for education on the part of arts organisations and cultural institutions and to the need for strong education departments to revitalise relationships with the schools in order to produce long-term benefits.

Netherlands

- 119 Linkage between cultural policy and education is fundamental.
- Need for more effective dialogue between the two ministries.
- 120 music schools and creative centres
- This infrastructure funded partly by fees, partly by local authorities, was vigorously developed in 1970s.
- There were 250 centres in 1990.
- 121 new attainment targets/new partnerships
- Process of education reform now in hand includes setting new attainment targets in primary and secondary education.
- These developments are potentially very important in relation to cultural policy.
- In the opinion of the cultural institutions, creative education has not been

- accorded due priority in the school system.
- National authorities could give a lead in developing relationships.
- e.g. music schools, schools, creative centres and professional institutions.
- cf internationally the significant growth in range, quality and impact of education services offered by cultural institutions.
- 122 Current practice in the Netherlands lagging behind the best.
- Potential for major benefits all round.
- 123 The 1993/96 Cultural Policy Plan supports participation as a new policy objective, and backs initiatives to improve education programmes to consult further with the Education Ministry, and to develop a National Participation Plan.
- 126 Potential attractiveness of education programmes to new funding partners.

Italy

- 44 et sequ - On the need to link a new approach to the management skills needed to carry it out.
- 107 "Traditional bureaucratic practices versus modern management methods".
- 110 Suggests "sensitive training" for the cultural sector as "a national priority".

Issues

- Inter-Ministry cooperation.
- Level of priority accorded to creative education in the schools system.
- Educational responsibility of individual arts organisations and cultural institutions.
- Relationship of training to employment.

CULTURAL INDUSTRIES

Netherlands

- 131 In some spheres (e.g. literature and film) the policy is to protect the cultural dimension in commercial areas. This takes the form of producer support, though distribution is funded through subsidies to two film distributors. At bottom, the Dutch authorities seek to leave broad areas of cultural life to the market place.
- 150 Dutch policy towards the cultural industries is expressed more in terms of protecting the cultural dimension in market spheres of operation than in developing the economic prospects of the sector. These should not necessarily be seen as polar opposites. Provided quality can be maintained, there could be merit in putting extra resources into the sector, especially for overseas promotion.

Sweden

- 63 The establishment in 1989 of the Nordic Film and Television Council as a co-production agency for the five countries.
- 145 The emphasis of financial support lies on production rather than distribution - e.g. book trade which is subsidised at every stage. The firm adherence to maintaining free market mechanisms within a limited language area and a population of 8 million is striking.

Finland

- (See note on Promoting Artistic Creation for detail on particular industries).
- 153 Examiners identifying a need for legislation and fiscal policy (e.g. lowering VAT applicable to the cinema) rather than public funding which should be tailored to the particular needs of each industry. Vigilance needed because national cultural independence is at stake. Some cultural industries (publishing, video) are feeling effects of recession, while others face structural problems (cinema and, to a lesser extent, the record industry).

France

- 37 Socialist policy 1981-86: the state should intervene in the cultural industries to avoid the undue encouragement of mercantile practices which go against creative initiative, to support certain forms of creation or come to the rescue of the home market when there is a threat of foreign firms taking it over.
- A priority was to reinforce the cultural place of France in the world in the face of what is felt to be the invasion of English-language culture - in particular film, television, publishing and record industries. Significant increase in programme production advocated for "the new cultural policy aims to cross national boundaries".
- 38 Lang's advocacy for a "European audio-visual space" - cooperation between the film and audio-visual industries of all the countries of Europe to combat the North American invasion through active international cooperation aimed at asserting the individual identities of the participant countries and also a European identity.

- See also Lang'e belief that the economic crisis is above all a cultural crisis and that art and culture "can be an answer to the crisis and the driving force behind economic recovery."
- 65 The need for systematic action throughout the whole sector was recognised in the 1980s. _
- 93 In most conventions drawn up between the ministry and local authorities there is a section on creating employment.

Italy

- 95 "The behaviour of consumers within the commercial market for cultural products is one of the most influential factors on the future health and development of cultural life within the country if it is to remain distinctly "Italian"!
- 101 The government is not exercising sufficient concern over the conditions for production and distribution of quality goods within the cultural industries, or recognising the extent to which the interlinking of the commercial and subsidised within the mixed economy is a feature of much cultural production in the late 20th century.

Issues

- Definition of cultural industries.
- Selective intervention or systematic action throughout the whole sector?
- Cultural goal in broadcasting.
- Defence of national identity or positive promotion.
- Domination of English-language and especially American products.

HERITAGE ASPECTS

Italy

- 111 "The size of Italy's heritage, together with the cost and problems involved in fully safeguarding it from deterioration and theft, seem to have led to its being progressively regarded as rather burdensome".
- 12 There is a tension between central government's obligation to preserve the heritage and maintain the infrastructure, and local government's ambition to "move to the succeeding stage" of interpreting the heritage for the benefit of their citizens.

Austria

- 49 A pronounced emphasis on great historical figures considered a burden.

Netherlands

- 14 Heritage the area in which the cultural policies of Europe's nation states so often took root.
- (See France below)
- 14 In the Netherlands, the cultural patrimony was seen as a morally unimpeachable area, which could reflect the national aspirations of the Dutch and did not trespass on the territory of the municipalities, the churches or the voluntary organisations.
- 17 Important proposals to give the 17 national museums greater autonomy from the ministry.
- 133 With appropriate incentives, museums will be better placed to deliver successful services to the public, in terms of information, display and the products of purposeful research.
- 86 The funding of the museum system is split between the state and the local authorities.
- 107 Some consideration of a national museums registration scheme may be appropriate.

France

- (27)1959 Decree defining Minister of Culture's tasks "to make the major works of humanity, starting with those of France, accessible to the greatest number of French people, to provide the widest possible audience for the French cultural heritage and to encourage the creation of works of art which will enrich this heritage.
- (41) 2987 Announcement of a five-year programme Bill on the cultural heritage providing for the restoration of cathedrals, monuments, historic parks and gardens and archaeological sites.
- 61/62 Breakdown of Ministry of Culture's spend by sector and on cultural heritage.

- 105 The state cannot be said to have neglected the provincial museums, but its efforts there are dwarfed by the sums invested in Paris on large construction projects.

Finland

- In comparison with other countries, the amount devoted to the heritage, particularly the built heritage, is rather small. This is because compared with countries like France, Italy or the United Kingdom, there are relatively less ancient buildings to preserve and maintain.
- 104 There is also a more recent built heritage of particular architectural or historic interest that is worth preserving.
- 103 With no less than one museum per 5,000 inhabitants, the Finnish museum network is probably unique in the world.
- 104 The quality of museum acquisition policy needs to match the quality of the museum network.

Sweden

- See pp76-81 for results of state policy/structure/finance in the museum sector and the encouragement given to developments at the county level.
- 77 Central government's financial support for the main network of regional museums was increased considerably during the second half of the 1970s and this had the desired effect of challenging the local authorities into improving the resources made available to museums.
- 79 Uneven geographical distribution and the narrow focus of many of the museums support the case for some measure of devolution of staff and collections by one or more of the national museums based in Stockholm ... in an aspect of museology or the visual arts where the regions remain notably under-provided.
- 114 Attendance trends.

Issues

- Inter-departmental cooperation - e.g. in relation to galleries.
- Museum registration.
- Museum professional training and development.
- Decentralisation of staff and collections.
- Development of outreach programmes to encourage increased public participation.
- Range of topics under the heritage title.

Carl-Johan Kleberg

1996-05-29

MEMO

Comments on the "effects" of proposals presented by the Council of Europe examiners in the review of the Swedish cultural policy

Background

The rapporteur in the Swedish Council of Europe examination John Myerscough has asked me to present my personal commentary on the outcome of the 48 recommendations in section 8 in the report. It is meant as a contribution to his Review of the Reviews and a background for his contacts during his visit in Stockholm in June.

It is typical for Sweden not to make successive reforms but refer changes to a reform based on a solid report, that is distributed widely for comments. Consequently no major decisions have been taken on the basis of the proposals in the examiners' report. In the main report from Kulturutredningen and in its evaluation report "Tjugo års kulturpolitik 1974-94" there are many references to the examiners' report. (Summaries in English of "Kulturpolitikens inriktning" and the Commissions on Theatre, Museums and International Exchange in Annex 1-4). Kulturrådet has also in its comments to Kulturutredningen and its own evaluation report and three year plan (FAF) made a lot of references to the examiners' report. This will be explained in this memo. To which extent the proposals of the examiners will result in political reforms is for the author of this memo impossible to know. The only way to find out what will come in the Bill to be presented to the Parliament in September is through direct contacts with representatives of the Ministry. Such a contact will be arranged.

Besides this general remark another general remark must be made. In policy it is mostly impossible to speak about direct causal relations. If I find that some of the ideas of the examiners have been accepted in the Swedish debate, it is not at all clear that the change is a result of their proposals. They have maybe picked up ideas in the European debate that had at the time of their visit not reached Sweden yet.

To read the comments it is necessary to have the list with the 48 proposals before the eyes as I do not repeat their content.

R= The examiners' report.

NC = The National Council for Cultural Affairs.

KR= the report from Kulturutredningen "Kulturpolitikens inriktning".

The remarks are my personal comments and made with a limited time to my disposal. I have not been able to check them with my colleagues. During the rapporteur's visit in Stockholm in June it would be possible to check and develop my comments.

Policy making and resources

The introduction: R speaks about the adopted three year planning in a way that has not been realised – yet. It may come with the new Bill. The decided three year plan has in fact not been valid. It is difficult for a Government to make long term commitments.

This year NC and cultural authorities and state institutions have in line with detailed rules from the Government elaborated complete three-year budgets for 1997–99.

1.1: NC put much more stress on the institutions own responsibility for the public.

1.3: Both KR and NC underline the importance of a more articulated regional planning and better interplay regions–municipalities.

1.4: NC stresses very much the need of improving the international exchanges. One of the proposed overriding goals for NC is an international one, which means more stress from NC on that aspect.

1.5: This aspect is specially underlined by NC with references to R. In the debate since the publication of R many times this idea from R has been referred to, specially by politicians from Gothenburg. This idea was also behind the building of the new opera in Gothenburg with major contributions both from the state, Gothenburg and the surrounding regions.

1.6: This idea is discussed by NC in general terms but we too speak about culture as resource in development from a broader angle. The Association of Swedish Municipalities will produce a book on that theme with contributions from several municipalities and Göran Nylöf and the author of the memo. A big conference will be organised in September. A broad and ambitious multidisciplinary research project is discussed with a Research Fund.

2: This is the recommendation in R that has not at all been followed. The terms of reference to Kulturutredningen stressed just the need of analysing the outcome of the 1974 goals. KR spent a big part on the reformulating of the goals. NC developed this aspect further, referring to general rules for the Swedish administration to use well defined clear goals that can be evaluated. In the state budget the rules linked to different budget allocations has become more and more precise. Besides the national goals that should be valid for both state, regions and municipalities there are overriding goals for each state authority and institutions, goals that are supplemented by more concrete short term goals.

3: The need of better planning is stressed in KR and by NC, that has developed as reformed basic grant system, in which just more of dialogues is a key idea. Even the Associations of Municipalities and Regions are in favour of better planning but the Federation of County Councils wants to have the grants to be distributed by the County Councils.

4: NC stresses very much this aspect and asks for considerable increases of its free fund that during the previous years has decreased instead of increased. But it must be said that we got a new independent Fund – with its own board – Framtidens kultur (Culture of the Future) just to promote innovation. The money to this fund came from employees fund that were closed down by the former Government.

5: The money for innovation that NC demand were also meant for that purpose.

6: KR presented some unsatisfactory statistics, which urged the Ministry to start an own study with the help of people from NC. NC has stressed since long ago the need of better statistics in this field. NC has since two years got the responsibility for cultural statistics which gives a guarantee for an improvement but it takes time.

7: I have not the feeling that the institutions still keep that fear even if the Government has not yet given any formal assurances. Maybe it will come in the new Bill.

8: No special initiative is taken. NC and KR have presented figures that show that the amount is still not very big even if the contributions are often very important and for some projects decisive. One problem is that firms are not interested to present exact figures. Much money goes besides the state supported institutions.

9: No initiative has yet been taken.

10: As far as I can understand no special initiative has been taken but the institutions are very active themselves to survive in spite of decreasing public funding.

11: No special initiatives have been taken as far as I know. No studies are made to show if the development goes in that direction. In state institutions we find relatively often people from the business world.

12: This is a complex area that must be explained during the contacts in Stockholm.

Creativity

13 and 14: Since the examiners visit no considerable change of policy has been made. The coming Bill is expected to specially take up the situation of the artists.

15: There is a tendency in that direction. Some decisions are taken and under consideration to diminish the power of the artists' associations. In NC we only use artists chosen on the basis of their capacity.

16: This is in line with the proposals from NC and other bodies. It is unclear what has really happened in a time of cuttings.

17: See point 1.5.

18: This is one important task for NC. We have found a new deep going study necessary. We are waiting for a decision by the Government.

19: A better linking between cultural and media policies is a main theme in KR. NC finds it very important and has asked for a widened mandate with a stress on the follow up.

Arts and the regions

20: The weakness of specially the local statistics for the big cities has been exposed – as has been explained under p. 6 – and NC had to help the Ministry to produce reliable figures. Hopefully is the outcome of this situation that the demanded regular and reliable statistics will be produced in the future.

21: This can now be looked upon as a generally accepted principle but politics is never totally consequent. In the last budget proposal a new regional theatre – at Gotland – was included in the basic grant system.

22: The revised grant system presupposes discussions between NC and regional/local authorities and institutions.

23: I have no information. Necessary to ask representatives of the Association for Local Authorities.

24: The wish from KR and NC is to keep the grants to regional/local institutions but make the grant system more flexible. See also the answer to point 3. Here oral comments are necessary.

25: This idea has been discussed in two different commissions – for Theatre and Museums – before it was handled by KR, that proposed diminished funds and some changes in the funding systems specially for National Exhibition service, creating a system in which the museums could buy services in another way than to-day. NC has accepted that idea and for National Theatre Centre proposed a certain decrease of the fund on some conditions.

26: The new grants system that NC has proposed has elements of that type.

27: I am unsure if this is the tendency in a time of cuttings. The libraries are fighting to uphold their basic services. The use of the libraries for other cultural purposes continues but the question is if it increases.

28: Yes we have done. In NC:s three year plan this theme is discussed carefully but no real conclusions are drawn.

29: NC has taken initiatives to overcome the administrative obstacles lying in the fact that the actors are employed in a certain institution. No solution is found. No real pressure has been put on the theatres to find a solution. The respect for their independence has been dominant.

30: Ideas meant to be stimulated in the new grant system.

31: I have the feeling that this is happening.

32: The Museum Commission and KR proposed – and NC supported – special commissions from the state to some regional museums based on formal agreements.

Access to the arts

A lot has been done in this field since R was published. A short summary of the development until September 1993 is found in the draft Circle Report Cultural Participation in Europe (See [Annex 5](#)).

34: NC produced six reports (including a summary) that were sent out for comments to all institutions. On the basis of the answers a three year plan was produced and approved by the Government. A second improved three year plan has been presented by NC in its three year budget for 1997–2000.

35: NC has supported a methodological study in the museums field to stimulate museums to take own initiatives in this regard.

36: That is included in the first three year plan but NC has not had enough resources to carry it through. We hope to get more force in the next three year plan. One problem has been the lack of adequate courses for further education of the personnel. NC has taken initiatives but the universities react very slowly.

37: Three year action plans have been introduced respectively proposed. The first plan had a special programme for children and youth. The emphasis for the adult has been more to find new groups and less motivated people more than increasing the number of frequent attenders.

- 38: I am not quite clear if that can be said to have been satisfied in the grant model presented by NC.
- 39: The National Board of Antiquities is very active in the field of tourism. New initiatives have newly been taken. The theme is discussed in KR.
- 40: Must be checked with experts if this has happened.
- 41: An idea that has not been realised but there has been contacts with some regions.
- 42: It can be questioned if this idea has been considered. One association has gone bankrupt (Konstfrämjandet). Skådebanan has relatively limited activities. NC does not propose increased resources for the coming period.
- 43: This idea has NC not dared to present in its three year plan considering the economic problems the regional/local institutions are facing.
- 44: The Government has created a working group with under-secretaries of state of the Ministries of Education and Culture, the Directors of the State School Board and NC to discuss all aspects of cultural life of the schools, including the point raised here.
- 45: No specific initiatives have been taken but NC has proposed higher grants for the amateur organisations educational activities.
- 46: The support to Sami theatre has been for a long time discussed and there are some promises from the Government to increase that support.
- 47: I cannot judge if there has been any changes.
- 48: This is a theme discussed in different Commissions and the Government will decide.