



Strasbourg July 1998

CC-Cult (98) 5B

COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL CO-OPERATION

**CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICIES
IN MEMBER STATES**

CULTURAL POLICY IN CROATIA

**From Barriers to Bridges –
Reimagining Croatian Cultural Policy**

Report of a European panel of Examiners

by

Charles Landry

*The opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and do not engage the responsibility of the
Council of Europe*

Contents

Executive summary	5
Preface	9
Our way of writing the report.....	10
What we mean by the key concepts.....	12
Section one:	
An overview of Croatia and its cultural policy.....	15
First impact of the Croatian national review	16
A summary of the conclusions of the Croatian national report.....	17
Lurking below the surface: Croatia is complex and outsiders should not see it simplistically	20
Context: we think we understand you	21
Why is Europe hesitant about Croatia?	22
Highpoints and revelations: rethinking possibilities for Croatian cultural policy	24
Section two:	
Moving culture centre-stage in Croatia – developing a strategy of influence	29
Impacts of culture	30
<i>Identity, values, distinctiveness, civic pride</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>Innovation and creativity.....</i>	<i>32</i>
<i>Image</i>	<i>32</i>
<i>Tourism development.....</i>	<i>33</i>
<i>Economics and wealth creation.....</i>	<i>33</i>
<i>Social and educational potential</i>	<i>34</i>
<i>Pre-figure new ways of working.....</i>	<i>34</i>
<i>Quality of life.....</i>	<i>35</i>
The need of evidence for the impact of culture	36

Section three:	
The opportunity for Croatia.....	39
Operating principles	41
Three criteria for action.....	42
Croatia: cultural crossroads	42
<i>An example: the Museum of Reconciliation and Peace in Konavlj</i> <i>in the former UN barracks</i>	44
Tourism is culture: reinventing cultural tourism for Croatia	46
<i>An example: the cultural resources of Osijek</i>	47
Investing in Croatian creativity:	48
<i>Budgets</i>	48
<i>Appropriate funding</i>	48
<i>Overall funding analysis.....</i>	49
<i>Publicly discuss strategic dilemmas of cultural policy for Croatia</i>	49
<i>From funding art and artists to funding survivalist techniques</i>	50
<i>Best practice benchmarking</i>	50
<i>Links and linkage.....</i>	51
<i>Research and development</i>	51
<i>From grant giving to investing.....</i>	51
<i>From policy thinking to policy making.....</i>	51
<i>Understanding the position and strength of cultural sectors in Croatia:</i>	
<i>Towards a conceptual toolkit</i>	52
<i>The infrastructure development scale</i>	53
<i>The production chain.....</i>	54
<i>The policy options chart</i>	55
Concluding comments.....	57
Appendices	
1. Composition of the group of experts	59
2. List of contacts and interview partners.....	60

Executive Summary

“The main objective of Croatia’s development is not economic growth but cultural development, including not only the arts and cultural heritage but also scholarship and education.” So spoke Zarko Domljan, speaker of the first parliament in 1990. At the time such statements and sentiments may have come as a surprise. The subsequent Homeland War however pushed such lofty thoughts into the background. Yet the thoughts act as inspiration for this evaluation as they prefigure the approach to culture subsequently developed by both Unesco in *Our Cultural Diversity* and the Council of Europe in *In from the Margins. From Barriers to Bridges* takes these arguments one step further and elaborates what this could mean in the Croatian context in Section two called “Moving culture centre-stage” and in Section three when it discusses “The opportunity for Croatia”.

Cultural policy can help Croatia achieve multi-faceted long term objectives

From Barriers to Bridges takes a broad sweep through Croatia’s cultural policy landscape and takes a positive view of the opportunities. It represents a strategic response to an excellent Croatian national review, which may well act as a benchmark for future evaluation exercises. It concludes that Croatia’s cultural policy – the set of guidelines, mechanisms, visions and strategies to steer intervention – could play an immensely important role in helping to achieve Croatia’s longer term political objective of integrating more closely with Europe, fostering economic well-being and enhancing Croatia’s image and identity. To maximise the potential of Croatia’s rich and at times problematic culture requires a mindshift in a number of directions. Working on shifting the mindset at this juncture is seen as a more effective tool than concern with the micro-detail of policy making. Artforms, such as theatre, literature, crafts, music are not dealt with in detail, although we are aware that the health of each artform is in fact the foundation on which all the proposed strategies are dependant

Making the arts and culture relevant to the work of others

To widen the impact of culture and *put culture centre-stage in Croatia’s development* means making culture relevant to the work of others, in the public, private and NGO world in helping them achieve their objectives and working with them in partnership. One example would be collaborative work with the Ministry of Reconstruction, where not only heritage issues come into play but also Croatia’s renowned arts therapy work to combat war trauma is significant, or where cultural micro-businesses might revive local economies, or artistically driven urban planning and design might improve the look and feel of new environments. Similar links can be made with the ministries of economic affairs, tourism, planning, social affairs, maritime affairs and communications. The same is true of links that counties and local authorities can make.

A focus on partnership

In each instance mutual aims can be achieved, a greater pool of ideas tapped, burdens and resources shared and more influence and impact harnessed. Inevitably there is a tendency for ministries or local authority departments to draw back into already known boundaries and sets of activity as a means of controlling their outcome, whereas partnership implies a “give and take” whereby each partner is changed in the process.

Culture’s manifold impacts

Cultural policy and most significantly the cultural activities and artefacts with which it is concerned can have an impact on Croatia by: projecting the country’s distinctiveness and helping to pre-figure and imagine possible Croatian futures; engendering civic pride; fostering the innovativeness and creativity of Croatians which can create spin-

offs in areas well beyond the arts. Cultural policy can contribute to reshaping Croatia's self-image and external image; it can enhance social and human capital and thus assist in personal development and confidence as well as the growth of lifeskills; importantly, cultural activities, heritage sites and artefacts provide the bedrock and asset base, which feeds the development of tourism; and lastly but crucially the cultural area is a significant economic sector in its own right which generates wealth and income as well as provides employment.

Culture as a powerful resource

Clearly the Ministry will remain concerned with culture exclusively defined in its narrow sense – the cultural artforms such as theatre, the visual and performing arts, music, film, literature and heritage. Indeed most of its energies will inevitably remain in this direction. The objective of the theme “Investing in Croatian creativity” is for the Ministry to reinforce the understanding that arts and culture work in a mixed economy; to make Croatian cultural activities more competitive and to provide the analysis and managerial capacity to strengthen the foundations of Croatia's creativity.

Taking on board this approach implies a further step – the need to understand and use culture in three ways. First to encourage the development of artforms themselves; second to use arts and culture as a tool or instrument to achieve non-arts objectives; and third to frame policies in a way by seeing culture and cultural development as a wide and adaptable resource concerned with central issues such as identity and image, empowerment and wealth creation.

Providing evidence of the relevance of culture

For any of this potential to be seen as believable requires the Ministry of Culture to orchestrate the provision of evidence of the impact of cultural investment; to become itself a strategic advocate of the cause of culture as well as to develop a strategy of influence. In this process it will make a renewed case for culture in 21st century terms.

Culture and the perception of Croatia

Thinking and using culture as a resource in this way can achieve multiple objectives. Crucially, and this is only one dimension, it can counteract perceptions as to how Croatia is currently seen by many in Europe. Some think both in Croatia, and also mirrored to some extent in Europe, that too much power still appears to be in too few hands; that the media, especially national television, does not appear to be open and pluralistic in a mainstream European sense.

Croatia and its European partners

Croatia appears to be acceding to the “Euro desire” of greater democracy, but not quickly and visibly enough for some commentators and European institutions. The pressure that Europe exerts inevitably and proportionately increases interdependence whilst decreasing Croatian national sovereignty, and this, having just achieved nationhood, is painful.

A number of Croatians share the worries of Europe and feel the democratisation process should move forward more rapidly on many fronts. In particular they are concerned about the image this creates of the country and the effects this has on possibilities for international co-operation, trade and tourism. They – and the young are a specific instance – are especially frustrated that opportunities provided by, for example, European Union programmes are not available.

Culture provides the opportunity: three themes

Significantly, given these views, the expert group believe there is a *major opportunity for cultural policy* to address positively the range of problems and possibilities highlighted and alluded to within the report. A set of strategic themes are suggested, which in their entirety could deal with the complexity at hand in a creative way. The themes would be based on a series of overarching principles that binds them into coherence and provides a starting point to think through a cultural policy framework.

Each theme requires an artistic and cultural programme to match and a series of pilot projects to show what they could mean in the real world. These test cases could iron out problems before the strategies are rolled out into the mainstream of cultural policy. The themes are:

- **Croatia: cultural crossroads**
- **Tourism is culture: reinventing cultural tourism in Croatia**
- **Investing in Croatian creativity**

“**Croatia: cultural crossroads**” seeks to reconceptualise Croatia away from being seen as the “in-between space”, the border country, the edge of the world towards a position of centrality and neutrality so that it becomes an essential feature and indispensable anchor in the European integration project. Such a long term programme if it were sustained would surprise the international community apart from having internally the capacity to uplift. Its objective is to celebrate Croatia’s cosmopolitan richness and show the contributions that mixing of cultures and incomer communities from the Greeks and Romans onwards have made to developing and sustaining Croatia’s role throughout history.

“Cultural crossroads” seeks to help re-image Croatia, especially in the eyes of the international community, away from the concept of a country that is exclusively nationalistic, and to show that by being so open-minded in its cultural policy it is confident, lacking in defensiveness and at ease with itself. The hope is that this approach over time will soften up external investment programmes such as those within the European Union like Phare or Kaleidoscope.

“Cultural crossroads” should ultimately:

- stimulate, foster and support intercultural understanding;
- provide a focus for community pride and identity;
- contribute to breaking down barriers between communities, races, religions and geographical areas.

The “**Tourism is culture: reinventing cultural tourism in Croatia**” strategy seeks to use the cultural resources of Croatia as its key selling point. There is a focus on tourism, because in the long run this may provide an important financial support for the sector. The programme implies going beyond merely visiting heritage sites, churches and museums although these are important. It seeks to celebrate every aspect of Croatian culture – food, wine, the landscape, activities and enthusiasms and even the language. It seeks to involve the tourist with locals and make every tourist a cultural explorer and discoverer. In this way it wants tourists to become travellers with a desire to understand Croatia and to give something back. The principles underlying such a policy should be to use local resources wherever possible and to be distinctively Croatian. The objective is to extend the season beyond the summer; extend the geographical base beyond the beach and into the hinterlands; guarantee sustainability; encourage micro-business development and economic prosperity. As a starting point it proposes that the Ministry of Culture initiate a high level cultural tourism brainstorming session with putative partners, both public and private, based on an audit undertaken by them of tourism resources focused on the ideas of the *local distinctiveness movement*, which values the unique, the special, the different in every place.

“**Investing in Croatian creativity**” suggests that the *culture and operation of the Ministry* and some of its priorities might be re-assessed as a means of maximising the impact of the funds it distributes. It focuses on issues such as budgeting cycles, funding priorities; the need to change the mentality from one of grants to investment; the need to link with other departments and to focus on a programme of cultural management. It provides a conceptual toolkit to analyse the strengths and weaknesses of the Croatian

cultural sectors. On that basis it proposes that a number of strategically focused pilot projects be developed throughout the country, some of which would be cheap and simple to implement and others more expensive and longer term.

Preface

A strategic response

The objective of the Council of Europe evaluation report *From Barriers to Bridges – Reimagining Croatian Cultural Policy* is to provide a strategic response to the national review of Croatian cultural policy. Its goal is to help influence cultural policy development in a constructive way. It draws its conclusions both from that review as well as numerous other sources of information gathered through interviews, group discussions, background research, visits to sites and places of interest and the direct experience of Croatian culture itself. The report is targeted at the Ministry of Culture; counties and municipalities; leading cultural policy thinkers and makers; other ministries and decision makers of influence in the private sector and civil society organisations as well as the interested public. The report also has an international audience with the membership of the Council of Europe Culture Committee as well as other international institutions and the international cultural policy making world.

Appreciation and thanks

We especially thank the Minister of Culture Božo Biškupić under whose responsibility the evaluation was conducted, as well as Naima Balić, advisor to the Minister, who organised our complex and demanding programme, and who accompanied us most of the time; equally we thank the enthusiastic group of Croatian experts who produced the national review organised through the Institute for International Relations under the guidance of Vjeran Katunarić. Appendix 2 provides a list of these experts as well as the over 320 people who took part in discussions.

As with other national reviews it is often the first time that data, opinions and evaluation is brought together or policy made so explicit on such a comprehensive scale. The Council of Europe recognises that this is time-consuming, difficult and also, more prosaically, expensive to accomplish. The result, especially in the case of Croatia, is a benchmark and baseline document against which to compare any future work on cultural policy and to monitor and evaluate change. It crucially also provides a basis for the Council of Europe and very importantly other international bodies such as the European Union, the World Bank, UNDP or Unesco to assess how it might in future respond to overtures from Croatia in the cultural field. For the first time in one place information is gathered that enables many Croatians and certainly outsiders to understand the dynamics and problematics of Croatian cultural life.

The evaluation team

The following discussion document contains the summary views of a group of experts, coming from countries with different cultural policy backgrounds including: Arunas Beksta, former vice-minister of culture in Lithuania; Anna Niewiadomska from Poland, head of international relations in the Ministry of Culture, our chairwoman, who also chairs the Council of Europe Culture Committee; Veronika Ratzenböck, director of the Austrian Cultural Documentation Centre/International Archive for Cultural Analysis in Vienna; Vladimir Skok, director of international relations, Department of Canadian Heritage; and Charles Landry, from the United Kingdom, director of Comedia and rapporteur of the group.

The process of evaluation and schedule

The evaluation and writing up took place between June 1997 and the beginning of February 1998. A visit with a smaller team consisting of the chairperson, the rapporteur and Vera Boltho, the head of the Council of Europe's Cultural Policy and Action Division, took place in June 1997 and the full team undertook two week long study

tours, the first in September 1997 and the second in November 1997. Separate drafting meetings were held in Paris in December 1997 and in London in January 1998, the latter with Croatian representation.

Whilst many of the interviews took place in Zagreb we travelled the length and breadth of Croatia from Dubrovnik, through Split, Trogir, Sibenik, Zadar, Rijeka, Opatija, Pula, Rovinj, to Ludbreg, Karlovac, Plitvice lakes, Vukovar and Osijek. Our report thus took shape through a series of structured visits; numerous visits to cultural heritage sites and museums, exhibitions and performances; previous experiences of experts in Croatia such as even holidays; written documentation and a substantial set of conversations with Croatians involved in culture in a variety of ways, as politicians, officials, policy makers, artists, scientists, media, journalists, intellectuals, educationalists, administrators, commercial operators and researchers. Whenever possible we broke out of officialdom and spoke to young people in bars or taxi drivers on route to meetings.

We do not claim to have a comprehensive understanding of Croatia and its cultural life, geopolitical and regional context, but hope we have grasped its essential characteristics, problems, fears and hopes and opportunities to be able to respond in a way that is forward-looking and constructive and that helps strengthen the role and position of the cultural sector in Croatia.

Our way of writing the report

The nature of Council of Europe evaluation reports

The series of country cultural policy evaluation reports in the Council of Europe is developing all the time. The Culture Committee is seeking to respond to felt needs as they emerge in member countries. They are now less concerned with approaches focused on comparative statistics, such as how many theatres exist, books are read or records are sold per head. The Committee is now increasingly more concerned with a different class of problems, especially interventions where the Council can make a unique contribution, and they include:

- Cultural questions where European standards and international cultural development principles can be applied and where Council of Europe expertise and contacts add value. At times it offers best practice guidelines.
- Raising the debate on specific cultural policy questions and picking up on cutting edge issues where an international overview might add a new dimension. *In from the Margins*, the European contribution to the Unesco decade of culture and the report to Unesco and UN *Our Creative Diversity* by the World Commission on Culture and Development (1995) is one such example. The expert group has tried to apply these debates to Croatia and to assess where the country stands in relation to them.
- Using cultural policy evaluations to offer both strategic and usable advice.

The Council of Europe assumes that its experts have a basic understanding of the dynamics of the cultural sector in the range of European countries. This includes technical issues like law, financing and budgeting, as well as broader cultural planning issues like pluralism or freedom of expression. However this evaluation process cannot go into depth within specific problem areas such as theatre management; the fine detail of the problems of the arts curriculum, museum display or the artistic content in different art forms. There was simply not the time. Other programmes both within the Council of Europe or elsewhere can offer advice or opinions, should these be desired by Croatian colleagues.

The over-arching view of the outsider

The country policy review can offer – and this is its unique selling point – an eagle eye view or over-arching sense of where cultural policy seems to be heading and where from the point of view of “best practice” it might go. It can provide strategic advice when it is able to identify – and this is not always the case – the most catalytic actions that lever influence or impact for the cultural sector. We focus, therefore, on issues, gaps or differences in approach where the view of the “outsiders” might enrich future Croatian cultural policy development. For this reason this report focuses on a number of key dilemmas and seeks to indicate how they might be overcome. We call this section of our report “The opportunity for Croatia”. Thus the report does not contain chapters on art forms. It analyses the cultural landscape and identifies common themes that cut across sectors and makes sector specific comments along the way.

Drawing on the Croatian national review

The review draws heavily on the national report in reaching its conclusions. The full report is nearly 300 pages long and goes into great detail about issues from theatre, to heritage, to media. We summarize its overall analytical conclusions and we quote the national report many times along the way, so that our document can also be read as a stand alone document. We also quote the Croatian report for another reason. We are in broad agreement with its conclusions, especially as many of these are expressed succinctly and are worthy of reiteration, such as its description of the post-war mindset or view on cultural priorities in the future.

The uniqueness of each country’s cultural policy

We have noted elsewhere that “there is no inevitable ‘truth’ as to what cultural policy in a given country should be. It is ultimately up to decision makers, the artistic and broader cultural community and citizens in Croatia itself to find solutions that are appropriate to their country. This will depend on the current political, economic and social configuration and context and how this has been shaped by Croatia’s particular history. As a result each country’s cultural policy will have unique and distinctive features, appropriate to their context.” Whilst there are many common features or principles of cultural policy at a European level, such as access or equity, the need to foster creativity, decentralisation, or the potential of cultural diversity, what we suggest in the Croatian context would not necessarily work in Poland or Portugal.

Going with the grain of what Croatians already think

“The main objective of Croatia’s development is not economic growth but cultural development, including not only the arts and cultural heritage but also scholarship and education.” So spoke Zarko Domljan, speaker of the first parliament in 1990. At the time such statements and sentiments came as a surprise. The subsequent Homeland War however pushed such lofty thoughts into the background. Those comments though had great value to the group of experts and acted as inspiration for this evaluation. This thinking prefigures the approach to culture subsequently developed by both Unesco in *Our Cultural Diversity* and the Council of Europe in *In from the Margins. From Barriers to Bridges* takes these arguments one step further and elaborates what this could mean in the Croatian context in Section two called “Moving culture centre-stage” and in Section three when it discusses “The opportunity for Croatia”.

Some may feel our approach goes further than perhaps was expected – further even than how culture is conceived and managed in most Council of Europe member states. Yet it reflects the need to address cultural maladies that are pulling down Croatian development in general and secondly the growing realization that an integrated approach to cultural policy is required as recommended to Unesco and the Council of Europe by many experts world-wide. Whether this approach is termed “holistic” or “cultural planning” or “cultural ecology” or “sustainable cultural development strategy”, it is increasingly being recognized as the most effective means for public sector intervention in culture for countries operating in an open, democratic economy. Importantly, in taking this approach, pluralism, which goes beyond the idea of

ethnicity, is seen as a central pillar to maximise the impact of cultural policy in the future.

However whilst our thinking may appear novel at first sight it picks up on the language of societal development used to describe the role of cultural policy within Croatia since independence, even though these concepts and efforts were, by and large, not followed through. Linking culture to the notion of overall development immediately indicates a broader appreciation of the role of culture in Croatian society. For example, the article Foundations for Cultural Development (1990), the integration of culture in the national Strategy for Development (1993), the Model of Public Development (1993), the Cultural Development Strategy (1996) and the “model of public needs” followed by the Law on Financing Public Needs (1993) all embody this notion. Whilst they fall short of what we believe is possible and required, it shows that at least in recent policy-making a central role for culture is not something foreign.

From Barriers to Bridges is thus reinforcing already existing cultural development approaches – it is not just importing ideas. Equally our focus on issues such as pluralism, freedom of expression or the treatment of minorities is not foreign thinking. It represents what the 1990 architects of national policy highlighted as one of the three general terms for cultural policy in the newly independent country.

What we mean by the key concepts

What is culture?

Culture is a difficult term and we use it in four senses, because in our assessment this will both maximise its impact in the Croatian context as well as deal with some tricky problems. There is no single way that governments across Europe define culture or act upon it. In the United Kingdom, for example, the current Ministry’s primary policy is to see culture as part of a creative economy, in Finland by contrast the enduring role of culture in identity creation and education is highlighted. Here we discuss: what culture is in terms of artforms? What culture can do as a tool to achieve non-arts objectives such as image creation or confidence building? How to use culture as a resource and lastly culture as a civilising process?

We are aware that as an initial starting point culture needs to be defined in a narrower sense in order to match as far as possible the Ministry’s remit. Later on as our argument proceeds it should become clear that a more inclusive, anthropological definition in addition may be helpful. Thus at its core the culture includes: music, dance, drama, folk art, creative writing, architecture and allied fields, painting, sculpture, photography, film, the new media, graphic and craft arts, industrial design, costume and fashion design, motion pictures, television, radio, tape and sound recording; the arts related to the presentation, performance, execution and exhibition of such arts and the study and application of the arts to the human environment. Thus it includes cultural heritage and contemporary forms. In terms of education we are only concerned with that aspect related to art as noted above; in terms of science those activities linked to techniques directly related to the arts such as in conservation.

Even in this narrower sense there are areas that the Croatian Ministry does not yet address, largely because it has little relation to the commercial world or ministries with an economic focus, such as the ministry of finance, reconstruction or industry and maritime affairs and communications and thus there is little relation to the media and broadcasting sector or graphic and industrial design.

We do, however, comment on processes such as the media system which are an intrinsic transmission mechanism for culture to be alive and thus it is part of culture.

We address culture as a tool, instrument or value adding device for other sectors of Croatian life. Thus we look at its economic and social impacts, and the links between

arts, heritage and tourism or economic development and equally the aesthetics of urban and spatial design. These issues directly connect to Croatia's nation building exercise. Some of these areas are not directly part of the responsibility of the Ministry of Culture, but there is a cultural dimension to these areas.

Culture is also a resource that can add value and open up possibilities, be that the history that links Croatia to Mediterranean culture and provides the opportunity for new links, or the way the topography and landscape has been developed and thus creates cultural tourism potential or the folk art that provides the possibility to develop micro-businesses.

Lastly culture is rather like the operating system of society and its intrinsic motor which guides development – essentially its civilising process. For this reason the idea of *putting culture centre-stage* is justified.

What is policy?

By policy we mean “the steering mechanisms – the set of rules, measures and mechanisms that are directed towards the achievement of goals in cultural development. This is different from having laws on culture, but policy is the regulations and guidelines that cascade downwards from some key, general laws and constitutional rights. We see the first step of policy starting with political debate that leads to the setting of broad objectives within the constraints of possibilities; following therefrom strategy is derived, which takes into account the margins of manoeuvre within a particular context; this in turn highlights priorities which are implemented by structures, methods of procedure and rules. The results of this process are then monitored, evaluated and if necessary redirected. Thus policy does not happen in a vacuum, it is based on judgements about need, aspirations and power.”

Cultural policy in this sense did not exist as a notion in the former Yugoslavia, where the situation was more driven by law and most activities were pre-planned.

Section one

An overview of Croatia and its cultural policy

Summary

This section seeks to provide a context within which Croatian cultural policy operates and notes how Croatia's national review has eloquently described the layers of cultural policy in Croatia: the apparent, visible story of culture – the official cultural policy of the Ministry. Next, the agenda above that – the implicit cultural policy that plays itself out at the state level concerned with the nation building project. And lastly, the unofficial cultural policy disguised below the surface.

The report describes the priorities of cultural policy since independence. In 1990 the principles and objectives of Croatian cultural policy were set out in general terms – pluralism, moves towards the market economy and the autonomy of creative work. It assesses quite favourably the extent to which these were achieved. Yet it notes how the narrow definition of the national interest and lack of encouragement of broader views and approaches, which reflect more the totality of Croatia, is beginning to cause problems. The slightly closed approach to the national interest means that there are insufficiently creative and open-minded connections with a broad spectrum of private and non-profit interests as well as with a diversity of cultural groups.

A number of historic features of Croatia are highlighted as well as a discussion of contemporary Croatia – its problems and opportunities – as a means of preparing the ground for the broader approach to cultural policy that this evaluation report recommends. It suggests that cultural policy viewed in this way can play a practical, instrumental and influential role in reversing some hesitations about Croatia in the outside world as well as strengthen the cultural life in Croatia. The experts believe that a focus in the report on micro-detail would have been far less helpful.

The final section – Highpoints and revelations – pre-figures in an essayistic way how the thinking of the experts developed in drawing their conclusions.

First impact of the Croatian national review

An exemplary document

The Croatian national review produced under the directorship of Vjerran Katunarić with the help of twenty-two colleagues is an exemplary document in a number of ways. It is thoughtful, astute and well considered. It reveals an underlying depth of erudition and subtlety of mind that helps raise the European debate as to how national cultural policy reviews can be written. It highlights how powerful cultural policy can in principle be in identity creation and nation building and how it could be instrumental in getting beyond that somewhat restricted cultural agenda. It makes penetrating comments on the disguised dynamics of using culture as a resource, whether this be through funding preferences and priorities and other active devices or even how policy is made by omission.

The Croatian review is the first such report that evaluates cultural policy achievements at different levels – following through principles and how these have been linked to the legislative and incentives regime as well as the extent to which these principles have been turned into achieved objectives and goals.

The many layers of cultural policy

It tells three stories at the same time: the apparent, visible story of culture as it proceeds through the eyes of the Ministry of Culture, which can perhaps be called the official cultural policy of the Ministry. Then the story and agenda above that – the implicit cultural policy that plays itself out at the state level: the expert group calls this the “official, official cultural policy”; this level of cultural policy is concerned with the nation building project and has some traditionalist, romantic and folkloristic elements. And lastly the unofficial cultural policy exemplified through the responses to trends, counter-trends and reactions to the above which move somewhat disguised below the surface. This includes Forum 21, the campaign to lobby for greater media openness, or our conversations with young people involved in theatre promotion in Zadar.

Within the “official, official cultural policy”, decisions are being made as part of the nation building project to which the Ministry of Culture is not necessarily privy. These concern, for example, policies on media issues, privatization or promotion abroad which for a number of outside observers are difficult to understand and in their view are not moving Croatia closer to Europe.

The positive response in Croatia

The review carves its way through the minefield of current Croatian politics without letting itself fall prey to accusations of bias – and at the same time, although in a quite general way, suggests a way forward.

Given the critical attitude towards Croatia on the part of the international community over the last few years, it is a courageous endeavour on the part of the Ministry of Culture to invite an expert group into the country. Being so open-minded and relatively relaxed about this review remains a risk internally and externally. Yet, importantly, the quality of the Croatian national review, its willingness to be critical and the Minister’s willingness to listen can only be seen in a positive light – it gives merit to Croatia in its effort to move forward.

A summary of the conclusions of the Croatian national report

The principles guiding Croatian cultural policy

When the new Croatian state was created in 1990 the principles and objectives of Croatian cultural policy were set out in general terms – pluralism, moves towards the market economy and the autonomy of creative work. A series of twelve laws and twenty-four decrees and bylaws underpinned this process as did principles/criteria, which included: “free artistic and cultural creativity; de-ideologisation of culture; the establishment of priorities within a hierarchy of values; professionalism and

responsibility; fostering private initiative and entrepreneurship; enhancing the organisational capacity of cultural institutions; the stimulation of talented and successful individuals, institutions and programmes; pluralism of cultural initiatives”.

“Public needs in culture”

Since 1990 there have been a number of initiatives whose details need not concern us such as the “culture funds programme”. One, however, is important: the institution of the “model of cultural needs” based on the Law of Financing Public Needs enacted in 1993. This highlights a theme – the national interest – that centrally cuts across the whole of Croatian policy to the current period. It determines that municipalities are required to make programmes of “public needs in culture” – something that to the West European ear sounds like a cultural plan, strategically discussed, debated and widely consulted on, but in reality it is more like a budget proposal. Public needs mean “all activities and manifestations of interest to the Republic of Croatia”. A lengthy list then elaborates the detail of what the national interest is.

Current funding priorities

As in most countries, funds are too limited to respond to all exigencies and public needs, especially given the effort of reconstruction. The process of selection involves a negotiation process with the Minister in the end stating his priorities. In 1997 these were on books and a matching fund to purchase these, given the threat of VAT as well as the continuing emphasis on cultural heritage. In 1998 the priority is on establishing a Museum of Contemporary Art and then up to the year 2000 a focus on creativity for youth projects.

The Cultural Development Strategy

A key year was 1996 when a statement of intent proposed the need to prepare a Cultural Development Strategy. This was emphasised as the primary objective of the National Cultural Programme of the Republic of Croatia in 1996. It included raising the cultural budget to 1% of the national budget. In 1994 it was 0.46%, in 1997 0.85%, and 0.90% in 1998, but this includes further responsibilities such as the protection of nature and national parks. Interestingly as we note later this is a major opportunity.

According to the national report the process of preparing the development strategy has not been strategic, but has responded to events “as they come”. Nevertheless the document “Basic Programme and Activities of the Ministry of Culture” (1996) notes that there is now “a European cultural moment”, where not only Croatia needs “to create a cultural market in Croatia and abroad”, but also that there is a “need to establish new relations in culture and a changed perception of culture as an activity as well as the general and measured transformation of total cultural life in Croatia”. These statements are open to interpretation in a number of ways and could in theory fit into the experts’ view (and that of the national experts too) of a more open cultural policy with a less restricted view of the national interest.

In that document a list of seventeen priorities are mentioned of which the national report singles out five as being the core.

- The preservation of cultural heritage. Given the war damage this is quite understandable, but raises a number of contentious questions, such as the balance between funding heritage and contemporary culture and whether current creativity needs to suffer in this process.
- Recreating national image and identity, including festivals as well as re-representing history. This in turn begs the question as to whether these more historical images are appropriate or indeed have seeded within them undesirable features.
- Linking the above to Croatia’s tourism offer, which again puts the focus on the past.

- Further computerization of cultural facilities and activities, which under a former programme have been rather successful.
- Encouraging co-ordination and co-operation at all levels of government; here an issue arises as to whether this has been more towards decentralisation or centralisation.

The national report notes that the thematic preoccupations are essentially somewhere on the “transition between old-conservative, described as a self sufficient emphasis on national values and tradition, to neo-conservative, which links national traditionalism within a marketing orientation”. Importantly, the authors of the national report stress that only the principles concerned with the national interest and a marketing oriented approach have been fully adopted, whereas the drive towards pluralism has not been fulfilled. In terms of pluralism, the issue appears less to be overt banning, but more a lack of encouragement of alternative approaches and indeed in the media area a hindrance thereof.

Croatia’s cultural policy: between the systematic and the ad-hoc

On the whole Croatia’s cultural policy, to the extent that it exists, is not “completely systematic cultural policy, instead it is a combination of intuition, *ad hoc* approach, and systematic elaboration.” This sounds no different from most countries. We highlight points from the Croatian experts rough, overall evaluation. Within Croatian cultural policy the “goal of the national interest” has been achieved to a large extent in the following areas: legislation – the legal framework for culture is in place; funding structures exist, although the introduction of VAT remains a problem and in the international experts’ view alternative funding arrangements to lever more money for culture have not been fully explored; labour market objectives have been achieved as unemployment in the cultural sector is below the national average. This can be interpreted in two ways: either it is a coincidence rather than a direct effect of cultural policy or it is to the credit of the Ministry that budgets have been maintained. Provided the decision to reduce art education in primary and secondary schools is rescinded, educational objectives are on track; archives have been successfully modernized and libraries show a reasonable rate of modernisation.

To a lesser extent decentralisation goals have been achieved, but it is not seen as a priority; the category of “public needs” remains unclear and the process of establishing these plans is inadequate according to the external experts, yet it is a crucial link in the planning of culture in Croatia. As a consequence it is difficult to co-ordinate the various levels of government. There is still too much political interference in theatre say with appointments; multi-cultural relations remain obviously delicate with respect to the new “minorities” and international co-operation remains old fashioned with poor connections to the Mediterranean area; and finally there is practically no interaction between the government and the alternative activities of civil society organisations.

Some key tasks ahead

The Ministry of Culture has yet to think through the implications of privatisation in culture, such as the setting up of trusts or foundations to run theatres whether national or city based. A trust or foundation is an independent non-profit institution governed by trustees which operates in the “public interest”. It is not state owned, or owned by a public institution like a city, or publicly owned in the sense of its having shareholders. The Ministry also has as yet no developed research, development and information agenda and the media is still being developed by “rules of the game” that seem undemocratic to the outside experts – the media, which whilst not within the remit of the Ministry, should be of concern to it.

Broadening the scope of the national interest

Yet the key question is not really the technical creative or civic capacity to deliver stated policy or aims, which seems as good in Croatia as in any other country, but rather what the content of that policy is. Here the following should be firmly borne in mind as we proceed:

- The emphasis on the past, in terms of identity and nation building.
- The narrow definition of the national interest and lack of encouragement of broader views and approaches, which reflect more the totality of Croatia – an “inclusive” rather than “exclusive” approach linked to a specific set of interests.
- The national interest could be defined and redefined in so many interesting ways that are not inward-looking, but capture the essence of Croatia – words like distinctiveness come to mind or encouragement of a living national culture, rather than reinventing the past.
- Related to the above, is a point that the national report emphasises too. The closed approach to the national interest means that there are insufficiently creative and open-minded connections with a broad spectrum of private and non-profit interests as well as a diversity of cultural groups. There are, of course, no edicts against collaboration – “it just does not seem to happen” – thus lack of collaboration is more based on a climate perhaps generated by key opinion formers. The obstacles are “psychological and ideological, with firm prejudices in every direction”.

Harnessing the creative energies of all forces in Croatia

To prefigure the conclusion of the national report at the beginning – a conclusion we agree with – “neither the government nor the alternative are homogenous camps, there is lots of room for manoeuvre and transitional zones of creativity.” We met dozens of people with broad visions, and scaled up on a country basis, this means that there are thousands or tens of thousands of people who cannot be held back by a black and white mentality. “Future interaction between these camps can give rise to new cultural coalitions.” These will correspond much better “to the cultural tradition and to the future cultural development of Croatia”.

We agree with the assertion: “The best national cultural policy makes use of the creative energy of all tendencies, from the conservative, favouring restoration of the past, to the avant-garde, experimental and radically critical. The ideological exclusivism of the government, however, relying on only one cultural tendency as politically desirable and rejecting others produces surrogates in the sense of a state art or state scholarship destroying the freedom and pluralism of creative work and undermining the intelligence and dignity of the nation.” This kind of cultural policy only happens in countries at ease with themselves, who have confidence – and this is what we mean by the title of our report *From Barriers to Bridges – Reimagining Croatian Cultural Policy*.

Lurking below the surface: Croatia is complex and outsiders should not see it simplistically

History: friend or foe?

Countries are complex entities to fathom, they do not fall into neat patterns; contradictory movements and tendencies are continuously moving apace and thus discerning deeper movements is never straightforward. In analysing a country there are always other agendas hidden from first view. The seemingly obvious and unexplicable, such as the fact that the federal army invaded the internationally recognised newly independent Croatia in the recent war, suddenly becomes complex when viewed in the light of history. The second world war comes into play and someone suddenly mentions the ustasha and what that represented. And thinking further back in history a stray thought comes into view: was there not some issue about who was the bastion against

the Turks – the Serbs or the Croats? Does that still matter today or are ancient animosities playing themselves out in a new guise? At times there is a sense of hopelessness in the face of age old battles – as when one of the expert group was in Northern Ireland and his taxi driver spoke vividly of the battle of the Boyne in 1492 as if it happened yesterday. Time had not been a healer.

A complex history is still alive in Croatia today. To an outsider Croatia reveals itself as an amazing crossroads between Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Islam, a meeting point a long way back for Romans, then the Turks and more recently Austria and Hungary. With continually shifting borders and population movements the reality of a multi-cultural society in a place like Croatia becomes apparent. Yugoslavia, of course, was a failed attempt to address this complexity.

The impatience of the outsider

These layers upon layers of joint experiences have etched themselves into the national psyche in ways that are difficult for outsiders ever to appreciate. Outsiders tend to feel impatient with all this complexity and when they are “policy experts” they tend to want to “get on with the job”, “be instrumental”, “be effective”. On balance though the outside observer tends to veer from cliché to the occasional glimpse of fresh insight. That insight can in principle be there, especially as Croats may feel too raw or be too close to their own situation to see beyond the current way of thinking or doing things.

Context: we think we understand you

Beyond being a border region country

We hope as a group to have understood some of the basics about Croatia garnered from many discussions with the writers of the review, many interviews all over the country and background research in our home countries. Unsurprisingly much of this understanding comes from the national report – but reiterating some of their conclusions as outsiders gives it a different weight and meaning.

We understand that Croatia’s past from the Romans to the Habsburg Empire “gives it a legitimacy to speak of a return to Europe” in a way that many other countries in the region cannot. We appreciate that Croatia wants to escape from being this “border region culture”, this “inter area”; not again to feel as if it is “being sacrificed for the role of border guard of Western civilisation”. At the same time we can see a certain inevitable feeling of being doom laden with Croatia having “an unhappy mind”; we see also the attractiveness, given the recent strife, of Huntington’s dictum of the inevitable clash of culture taken up so readily by many. We recognise that this “ambivalence is a traditional element of many central and eastern European peoples”.

Croatia: not strictly a country in transition

It is clear also that Croatia is not a country in transition in the same way as other countries in the region. It was more part of the West even under Yugoslavia’s version of socialism. It was more open; more market oriented. The movement of people in and out of the country especially via tourism has always meant Croatia was more cosmopolitan. Yet Croatia, and the Yugoslavian system before that, was at the same time a different system but not cut off from the Western world.

The Homeland War and its effects

And then independence in 1990 and without much time to absorb its benefits the jump to war in 1991 – a defining moment in Croatia’s history, which has retarded the development of the country and its institutions. The trauma of the Croatian Homeland War and post war period is something we, as outsiders, can never experience in a visceral sense as it was not our lived experience – but we did travel for hours through Croatia and saw waves of wilful destruction. We did absorb the aggression that took place in Croatia, we did hear that 50,000 people were killed and that the damage will cost \$20,000 million. We know therefore that the war has conditioned Croatia’s

perception of the world. We began to see the story from the Croatian side, but hope we have maintained enough independence. We quote the national report several times in the following as it sums up succinctly many of the independent comments we received and conclusions we reached.

Croatia and Europe: At times an uneasy relationship

The West, and Europe, remain Croatia's strategic goal, but the "vision of Europe as the promised land is losing strength", instead there is a feeling of "Europe as fortress, which is difficult to penetrate." There has been a dawning recognition that Croatia's "self-centred national myth is confronting the reality of international relations". "The vision of an internally homogenous society marching to meet its ideal environment has become difficult to sustain." Europe continually exerts external pressure which inevitably and proportionately increases interdependence whilst decreasing Croatian national sovereignty. "European mentorship impairs national sovereignty", "what is the gain and what is the loss in this transition?" many Croatians ask. "Croatia's main national interest differs from the West on this point; Croatia only wants to accept things that do not impair its national interest, everything else is of secondary importance." This is understandable as the war and rise of new national self-awareness have made Croatia inwardly focused. Perhaps the changes are too rapid, independence, war, and then giving up elements of that newly gained sovereignty to Europe: everything is happening too quickly when the fruits of independence have hardly been tasted. Nevertheless, in the end, Croatia wants to be with Europe.

On the whole the relationship with Europe has led to disappointment for the Croatian side; it seems to them one sided. But, in perhaps one of the most telling phrases of the national report, "*neither Croatia or Europe are angelic communities*". And this can be emphasised in a more personal way – within the expert group we represent countries where everything is far from perfect. As the national report notes: "Europe stands at a balance between justice and injustice – to work it sticks to its most tested prescriptions – economic efficiency, democratic political procedures, freedom of the media, respect for minority rights". And thus it is not surprising that the Council of Europe cultural experts represent many of these aspirations too.

Yet Europe is the way forward

Yet whatever happens, as Croatia knows, it needs Europe economically – with 366,000 displaced people, nearly one million pensioners and war damage to cope with, and a population base of only five million, it needs to be integrated into the European economic system. To be autarchic in a globalising world can only be sustained for so long. It must be eyeing Slovenia with a jaundiced eye – saying to itself "what went wrong?" Slovenia in the first wave of new European Union entrants and Croatia not even in the second wave. That means Croatia will not, should it wish, be a member of the Union for at least a decade.

A central question of this report thus is: what role can culture play in getting Croatia into the inner circle of Europe?

Why is Europe hesitant about Croatia?

Different versions of democracy

Before emphasising the positive – and there is much positive to say as the report proceeds – we would like to emphasise the darker side – the worries. Many of these worries have nothing specifically to do with the remit of the Ministry of Culture, but they colour any relationship with Croatia on any subject. It might be said that much of our broader commentary on the political context has nothing to do with our remit. However in order to seek the opportunities for culture we need to look in every direction – to see where connections can be made, synergies created, obstacles overcome. Finally one does not need to be an "expert group" to get this kind of

information. It is not privileged. It is talked about in bars, in intellectual circles, in the media abroad.

Slowly Croatia accedes to the “Euro truths” of greater democracy under pressure from both inside and outside, but not quickly and visibly enough for many Western commentators or more specifically European institutions. The often heard answer when faced by a criticism was “give us time, we have only just come out of war”; for this reason they say democracy in the Western sense is somewhat circumscribed and curtailed.

Whilst it is recognised that open, democratic institutions are being built up, their general functioning appears to fall short of what many citizens desire and what European institutions are hoping for. For example, the new law on NGOs appears to be centralising control; it was said that privatization does not always operate within a level playing field and that the electoral system reinforced the positions of those already in power. Thus the differences between the declarations of the constitution and the daily realities were posed. For example, the declarations of freedom of expression and pluralism in the constitution and the state’s continuing control over the national radio and television; or the declaration of principles of democratic action and the recent law on NGOs.

The media issue

We need to pick up on the media issue as, in a world increasingly dominated by mass electronic culture which is a key factor in promoting local identity in a global information economy, media issues naturally came to the forefront in Croatia. “An open media system has not been achieved” notes the national report quaintly. It was something we also unavoidably bumped into. The launch of Forum 21 in our presence, a campaign by media journalists to lobby for a more open pluralistic media system based on European best practice, which is now attracting other people outside the profession; a discussion with the popular and independent radio 101 and an interview with the newspaper *Novi List* – organisations that are both critical of the government; that does not mean we only talked to opposition figures: many interviewees supported the government. It is important to note, however, that bodies such as Forum 21 can and do meet as a fundamental means of freedom of expression. Yet media freedom is something the Western media will continually focus on – as the media everywhere likes to talk about itself. Indeed Croatia’s own image is vastly weakened by this issue. We recognize also the double bind it presents. If more media freedom is guaranteed the government’s hold on power could well be weakened. We are also aware that the problems are not of the same order as say in the past: people are speaking freely; it is just that the structure, as someone neatly put it, is “free but not fair”.

It may be said that much of this has nothing to do with the Ministry of Culture as responsibility for this lies with the Ministry for Maritime Affairs, Transport and Communications, as if it were solely a technical issue. That would be true if we were to take a narrow view of culture as essentially comprising the arts. Yet freedom of expression is the quintessential cultural issue as much as human rights for countries with democratic constitutions as has Croatia. It defines the parameters within which culture and as a consequence society can operate and develop in the first place.

Regionalism and nationalism

A further tension is heightened by the conflict between regionalism and nationalism, most clearly expressed in the coastal region or peninsula of Istria. Yet Croatia has always been ethnographically diverse because of its geography and centuries of disunity – thus to speak to pure Croatians is in some sense impossible. There are the Alpines, Dinaris, Pannonians and Adriatics and stretching back far away into the distance the Romans. On the isle of Brac recently a body was discovered with Mongolian origins, confusing the picture even further. And in our interviews we spoke to people with German sounding names, Italian or Romance names as well as Turkish names – even

the name Tadjman means foreign person. Croatia feels, in spite of its unifying nation building exercises, more intrinsically multi-cultural than the figure in the statistics of 22% non-Croatians conveys. In some ways the differences were sharper than the similarities.

Finally the country even seems visually diverse, reflecting both geography and culture. The North and its essentially central European feel, a borderland feel as one moves southwards and the Mediterranean along the coast. Is Croatia central Europe, or is it Mediterranean? – It is both, and that is its unique selling point. Which other country has those assets?

Highpoints and revelations: rethinking possibilities for Croatian cultural policy

Nothing like direct experience

The introductory sections may appear negative at first sight, but that is not their purpose. Our Croatian colleagues are already well aware of every point made – nothing in them is new. Some points may be conjecture, yet in the game of politics or even cultural policy perception and truth go closely together and thus they are worthy of mention.

Clearly events of “tectonic magnitude” such as the Homeland War brought to the surface a completely different set of elements and values, and it is not surprising culture was swept up in this wave. One example was when visual artists donated thousands of pictures and put on a mass of exhibitions to support the war effort and reconstruction thereafter. That is just one instance and we were made aware of many more.

Importantly, though, whatever the images people carry of Croatia in their minds there is nothing like experience – and perhaps a guided tour through our impressions may give a sense of how the expert group thinks of Croatia, its potential and thus what impacts shaped our recommendations. Between us there were three week long trips in June, September and November 1997. We travelled, so it seemed, the breadth and length of Croatia from the war-damaged Vukovar in the North-East to beyond Dubrovnik in the South, also damaged even though it is a world heritage site, even seeing the tip of Montenegro when we visited Prevlaka. On the way we touched Bosnia-Herzegovina for a fragmentary moment for Turkish coffee in Neum. We criss-crossed the country moving from pure delight to sheer sadness. The war of course cast a shadow over much of what we saw. Five hours of endless driving through landscapes from Zagreb to the Adriatic coast at Zadar, where every building was flattened – an eerie feeling. First stop Karlovac, Turani – senseless destruction of churches or anything that could be said to be cultural – public libraries, kindergartens, schools, museums, any markers of symbolic significance.

Past Plitvice Lakes – a kind of self-contained haven, apart from the beauty of the lakes, where cultural tourism was being lifted to new levels. The food produced locally, the local inhabitants – 2000 plus – thus intrinsically involved. The complex is thus ecologically and economically self-sustaining as the hotels are owned by a kind of local trust. There is no real drain on the national exchequer – this is a model for cultural tourism development, we thought.

War: the possibilities of turning weakness into strength

We had our first mini-revelation here. Croatia can turn weakness into strength and make out of the unfortunate pause and downturn an opportunity to rethink tourism as a whole before the visitors start to return in large numbers. Croatia can specialise in a new type of cultural tourism. High quality, eco-based, seeing culture in a wider sense by linking nature and culture; focusing on distinctiveness be that food, drink, locally specific ways of dealing with wood, metal; traditions that could be brought to life again and

reinvented and reinterpreted for the 21st century – like songs and music using locals and not importing stars from abroad. And then we discover that the Ministry is responsible for national parks like Plitvice and clearly there is a culturally sensitive approach as well as an ecological one to running national parks. A way that links sustainability – culturally, economically, socially and ecologically.

Heritage conservation the opportunity for new micro-business

We arrive some time later on the coast in Zadar, and on our first morning rush from site to site on the way encountering the collapsed, dust encrusted piano above the library – now immortalised in the photographic book on the war. We see the conservation workshop and it reminds us of a similar one in the shrine town of Ludbreg; this is skilled craft work in operation. Another thought and mini-revelation emerges – the war has provided an opportunity in disguise. The craft sector is a growing economic and employment sector and most officials do not see it in that way. The Ministry still views it as conservation without linking it to the objectives of other ministerial departments. The skills being developed in conservation have multiple applications, in creating aspects of high quality housing, in developing small batch production manufacturing in metal, wood, ceramics or glass. Yet another opportunity for the Ministry of Culture. But there is more than the setting up of micro-business sectors. Through conservation work a new generation is getting its hands physically involved in the symbols of Croatian identity.

We see so many churches being restored and ask ourselves: “does everything need to be done at once, cannot some remain damaged as important mementoes of war? Is this total reconstruction in a roundabout way not also a form of denial? Are in fact Croatians avid church goers? Who is this rebuilding for, when the people have already left?” We understand the priority to rebuild, yet feel also uneasy, and indeed one of our team even disagrees with our worries in the first place. Amid the last moments of our church visits a most symbolic instance occurs. Our indomitable, energetic, charismatic guide falls into a grave outside yet another abandoned church – and comes out resurrecting himself and unscathed.

Cultural policy and urban design

Onwards to Split towards our next revelation. We see isolated buildings wonderfully restored, but lying there in an urban context that is totally uncared for. What good is a gem when what surrounds it is degraded? The Ministry has responsibility just for the heritage gem and not the surroundings – the urban context. But at the same it does now have responsibility for the natural environment. Yet what is a beautiful city if not a supreme work of art, the streetscape fitting in with the houses, the public domain an expression of a possible cultural life? Look at Trogir, Rovinj. The aesthetics and animation of the urban environment is something the Ministry and those concerned with culture have a lot to contribute to. Again the point about linkage emerges – city planning, heritage restoration, culture and social development fit together.

Croatia and cosmopolitanism

We need not elaborate too much on the details of the Trogirs, the Sibeniks, the Salonnas (Solin), the Pulas, the Diocletian Palace in Split and the islands beyond – wonderful as they are – save to say that it rekindles four truths for us about Croatia. Croatia is so immensely Mediterranean. Where though is the evidence of this asset in international co-operation, in focus and in the presentation of itself? Secondly places like Salonna, as important as Pompei, helped us understand the depth of Croatia stretching back beyond the Romans. But this heritage remains undervalued: we saw kids with their parents playing football on Salonna’s ruins. The third truth concerns Croatia’s diversity. The expert group had already felt uncomfortable about the over-nationalistic emphasis which seemed from the distance of Dalmatia and Istria to emanate from Zagreb and the East; we understood its origins in response to war. We appreciated that the Glagolitic inheritance is important, but in a strange way we thought Croatia has an even bigger history or story to tell linked to the Romans, the Greeks, later Venice, the Austro-

Hungarians. So who after all is pure Croatian? Croatia is a crossroads country, is that not its strength? As a crossroads it must be an open country in all directions. Croatia is at the centre of a region, we thought, of Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Islam – not at the edge of Western civilisation, and this was our fourth truth. It should see itself more as a kind of meeting place.

And so we began to reconceptualise Croatia in our minds – as an outward-looking place not inward-looking; a laboratory of the future, not an ossification of the past. We did this not for the sake of idle speculation, but because it matters. How Croatia decides to see itself and project itself is at the core of cultural policy. And these views emerged not out of a vacuum, but because it was the kind of comment and aspiration voiced to us, especially by the young – a group discussion in Zadar springs to mind here.

Tourism's debt to culture

Next stop Dubrovnik and Konavljje. Needless to say the landscape driving towards the South was etched by the waves of peoples' transformation through time. A striking reminder to us that the tourism industry needs culture more than culture needs the tourism industry. They are interlinked, of course, but tourism owes culture a debt. And this debt should be repaid in many ways. First, prosaically, every tourist should pay a tax to support culture not only for heritage, but also contemporary activities and to support the local way of life. Every tourist to some extent creates costs for local culture – trampling across sites that need maintenance and so on. We know this tax happens in some instances, but it should be universalised. Tourists also impose their culture on those that are less resilient, be that the ubiquitous hamburger or garish video parlour sign. Second, culture – broadly defined – is why tourists come somewhere in the first place. Third and perhaps most importantly, the tourism industry should be much more sensitive in its developments. Too many places the world over have already been destroyed – the Costa Brava, the Italian Adriatic to name but two, as have some places in Croatia too. Another opportunity in disguise for Croatia? – Its relative under-development suddenly becomes an asset: Croatia can reduce the learning curve and ride the wave of sustainable cultural tourism.

In Konavljje we built on ideas already developed in Plitvice. A form of cultural tourism linked to economic and cultural development that involves the locals and the tourist in new ways. Less an emphasis on large scale projects and more on smaller intimate initiatives, which can be jointly packaged and promoted through marketing consortia. A plan jointly conceived and implemented by the culture office, tourism department, and economic development. Re-encouraging the olive industry – which in a previous version of mass destruction were destroyed by central planning edicts from Belgrade; revaluating the local cheeses; meats, breads, fruits, wines. Inventing new combinations of Croatian food. Reinventing the crafts industries to supply both needed goods as well as teaching them to tourists. Linking to the small business department and bringing in cooks, winemakers, cheesemakers as trainers, integrating sensitive tourism into the very fabric of the region's rich agrarian culture. Making Konavljje sustainable so that it need not import. These are the kind of thoughts we shared amongst ourselves and with locals.

The use of culture in reconciliation

In Konavljje too we had one of our clinching revelations concerning reconciliation. We had already thought about the biggest impact Croatia could create through a project initiated by the Ministry of Culture. One that would change the perception of the country abroad, that would surprise, go against pre-conceptions, be unexpected, be symbolically significant. It had to be reconciliation-linked, showing Croatia's generosity of spirit. This was the thought always lurking in the back of our minds. Already in Karlovac an historian had suggested some kind of centre for intercultural understanding. It rang bells – a project that organisations like the Council of Europe would want to be supportive of. But here, on the borders of Montenegro, lay the UN barracks separating in a no-man's land the Croats and the Serbs. Marooned, pensively on a peninsula, yet beckoning for some higher purpose. In spite of her own personal experiences the museum co-ordinator had found the key project – the Museum of

Reconciliation and Peace in the barracks. The idea gelled at so many levels. If a project like this were to be developed, Europe simply could not say no – perhaps even the European Union Phare programme would find it difficult to resist.

Sophisticated urbanism

We spent, of course, much time in Zagreb – an open, clever, cultured, freewheeling place – and recognised here as elsewhere that Croatia is a sophisticated country that underwent a different trajectory from other countries in the East. We saw emerging micro-businesses, the development of a critical mass of cultural activities and thus the possibility for the cultural industries to develop in a decade or so. Nearly every capital city in Europe has had its moment to project itself on to the stage and forge its presence with the right combination of strategic cultural, economic and image policy. The same could be true for Zagreb.

Our team realised already then that the Ministry needed to do things beyond the ordinary in its cultural policy to help reshift Europe's view. Of course, the Ministry needs to put financing structures and the like in place, but it also needs to be proactive, set standards, show leadership, give direction and be more strategic.

Develop a pilot project programme

And that led to our final recognition which first dawned in Dubrovnik. How does a Ministry, we asked, change the cultural landscape in a country? Partly through exhorting from above, providing frameworks or funding specific programmes. But also through supporting exemplary pilot projects, that can become best practice from which others learn. Dubrovnik – a typical cultural capital – we thought could benefit from being a pilot, and ultimately a model, for extending a cultural plan into the winter, autumn and spring, linking it to education, international funding and business sponsorship. Rijeka, we thought, could be a pilot for maximising the potential of culture in an industrial town, where some hands-on training could take place, which could be extended then into the region. Osijek, we felt, could be another place where the kind of experiments they are already undertaking with graffiti festivals for the young, all-night festivals and food fairs could be explored further. And finally Konavljje could be an example for developing a new form of cultural tourism.

So that is how our framework developed by responding to what we saw on the ground.

Section two

Moving culture centre-stage in Croatia: developing a strategy of influence

Summary

In order to harness the potential of cultural policy to assist Croatia in meeting both its cultural and economic / political goals requires a novel approach to cultural policy development. It implies a mindshift in thinking on the part of the Ministry and new links and partnerships with other departments and actors in Croatian life. It requires moving firmly beyond the notion that Ministerial cultural policy should only be concerned with the high arts or those that need subsidy. The opportunities are set out with examples when cultural policy is conceived broadly in line with the Council of Europe's *In from the Margins* report and include: projecting the country's distinctiveness; engendering civic pride; fostering the innovativeness and creativity of Croatians which can create spin-offs in areas well beyond the arts; helping to reshape Croatia's self-image and external image; enhancing social and human capital and thus assisting in personal development and growth of lifeskills; feeding the development of tourism; as well as being an economic sector which generates wealth and employment.

A strategy of influence is then proposed involving the Ministry in rethinking its own role to become much more of an advocate, opportunity creator, gate-opener and researcher on behalf of the cultural sector as a whole. As part of that process it should provide detailed Croatian evidence of culture's impact and renew the case for investing in cultural activities. The Ministry should encourage counties and local authorities to operate in a similar way, with as much autonomy as possible, as this will maximise the effectiveness of the resources spent on culture.

The reconstruction effort after the war provides an ideal opportunity for the Ministry, counties and localities to develop new ways of working with public and private partners as well as the NGO sector.

Shifting mindsets

“Moving culture centre-stage” is easy to say and difficult to do. How should we think about culture to make it a reality? It involves firstly a mindshift on the part of the Ministry and other public bodies and a reconceptualisation of what culture can do and on the basis of that the need to develop a strategy of influence for culture.

A wider definition of culture

The point at which we start, though, as in many countries, is that the concept of arts and culture used within the Ministry of Culture is fairly restrictive. Arts/culture have come to mean a defined set of activities that rely on subsidy such as the performing and visual arts, certain forms of music, literature, the objects housed in museums and the built heritage. The commercial arts are excluded from the Ministry’s remit and even the popular arts, like pop music, although not folk art. The reality for most people is that these distinctions are increasingly less relevant, the popular, the high arts and the commercial are often inter-related and hybrids develop between them. One sector feeds the other.

Equally, the subsidised arts at times provide the training ground for someone to move on to the commercial world, as when theatre actors move on to television and this in turn is one of the justifications for the commercial cultural industries to sponsor non-profit arts activities such as youth theatre. Therefore the Ministry needs to have better knowledge, information, data and insight into how the cultural system works as a whole – how grants from one source might reinforce investment from another or help lever resources to increase a pot of funding; how the commercial and non-commercial fit together, either to mutual advantage or to restrict potential.

The focus of the Ministry, as in most countries, is on culture as subject areas, such as visual arts or theatre, rather than culture as being a set of processes through which a society’s meaning and self-identification are created that expresses itself in a number of forms and products. These include urban design, food, how the natural environment is considered. There are no sections within the Ministry, counties or local authorities that consider these aspects from a cultural point of view. Seen in the latter light the cultural area potentially gains far greater importance.

Impacts of culture

Recognising the multi-faceted nature of culture

The assumptions with which the expert group start with, on the other hand, is that “culture” and “cultural activities” potentially have massive impacts provided the terms are fairly broadly defined. Culture can be both concerned with expression in its own right, but also it can be instrumental or considered as a tool to be used for other purposes, such as to create wealth, improve an image or foster social development. Furthermore creative, cultural activities and the cultural industries have crucial characteristics that explain their importance to the development and maintenance of countries, cities and human settlements of any kind. Taking a broad view of cultural activities it becomes clear that the arts are more than purely an aesthetic experience and their possible contribution to Croatia’s reconstruction, future role in the world and image becomes more evident. It involves recognising the multi-faceted nature of what arts and culture can offer.

Culture adds value and values

In this sense cultural activity weaves its way like a thread through endeavours of all kinds adding value, meaning and impact as it proceeds. Making a successful partnership between the arts, culture and development of Croatia thus requires a more imaginative inter-related understanding of arts and culture, and the way they work and means establishing far greater connections with people working in related fields. It means appreciating that “high” art, “low” art, “popular” art or “community” art each have

something to offer a place. This is why in some quarters internationally the role and potential of culture is seen as strategically significant, because of its wide-ranging impacts. They include:

- **Identity, values, distinctiveness, civic pride**

Cultural activities, both traditional and new, create “meaning” and thus are concerned with and embody the *identity* and *values* of a place. They express local *distinctiveness* – ever more important in a world where places increasingly look and feel the same and are becoming increasingly mono-cultural. This distinctiveness need not be backward-looking, but merely reflect the Croatian way of doing things or responding to something. We are aware that in the headlong rush to develop economically, people, it appears, find solace and inspiration in buildings, artefacts and skills of the past. Also in a globalised world people seek local roots; connection to their histories, the creation of collective memories – it anchors their sense of being.

Ironically, as the national report notes, the war has “at last” made Croatians realise how significant their cultural heritage is as an expression of who Croatians are and this wealth of culture in a place often engenders *civic pride*. This pride in turn can give confidence, can inspire and provide the energy to face seemingly insurmountable tasks that may have nothing to do with culture. This civic pride, it was pointed out in the national report, is in many cases undeveloped or underdeveloped and especially the connection between cultural heritage, urban design and urban planning has insufficiently been made – leading to the destruction of many historic urban landscapes forever.

Here Croatia has many resources to play with; we mention three. There are “many Croatias” – such as the Slavic or the Mediterranean – and this diversity clearly has advantages as it creates civic pride that can foster varied forms of development, and these in turn can make a country more vibrant, vital and competitive. Yet making people with regional roots feel part of a broader whole – Croatia – remains difficult as “officially” a strong regional identity is still seen as having negative implications, possibly because the period to absorb Croatia’s identity as a unified country has been so short. Second, amidst the historic diversity of Croatia there is a modern Croatia, bursting to come out, which the expert group noted, for example, in graphic design and street fashion of the young. This in turn helps project a pluralistic Croatia, which is likely to be a more effective position in a globalising world. Finally, the reconstruction agenda is a strong platform to rebuild civic pride, especially the conservation sector where students are literally rebuilding Croatian identity with their hands.

- **Innovation and creativity**

Cultural activities are inextricably linked to *innovation and creativity*, not only in terms of how they push the boundaries of a given artform, but also especially when arts-trained people work in collaboration with others in different fields. Historically this creativity has been the lifeblood of countries and cities as a means of unleashing their capacity to survive and adapt. Creativity is, of course, legitimised in the arts, and is increasingly also seen by business as the key attribute they look for in employees. As we move towards an economy less based on manufacturing and more on knowledge, “creativity” will be at a premium. Briefly, genuine creativity involves the capacity to think problems afresh or from first principles; to be reflexive; to experiment; to dare to be original or rewrite rules; to be unconventional; to visualise future scenarios; to discover common threads amidst the seemingly chaotic and disparate; to look at situations in an integrated way, laterally and with flexibility. This is the kind of thing the arts teach. These ways of thinking encourage innovation and generate new possibilities. In many emerging

business fields furthermore such as multi-media, it is people with arts training that are in particular demand precisely because they have these attributes. Whilst concerns such as these may appear a long way from Croatian reality, with the speed of current development it is a set of issues that needs addressing. These linkages have not been made sufficiently in Croatia, because of the tendency still to see cultural activities as hermetically sealed from industrial activity and business life – industrial design, for example, is an under-developed discipline we gather.

We noted many examples of creativity. The music school in Dubrovnik was one. Aside from being impressed by children from six years onwards performing, there is the additional knowledge that recent research has shown that musically trained children do far better in non-art subjects such as mathematics or science. A similar point can be made about the King Ubu performance in Split where secondary school pupils were performing in seemingly fluent French for an hour and a half without knowing French at all. Clearly the investment in education and creativity exists in Croatia; one issue though that remains is whether this is harnessed to more instrumental purposes, such as teaching children how to benefit from their creativity in order to run a business or market themselves as potential future artists.

- **Image**

In a world dominated by images the cultural sector is intrinsically linked to the *images* projected of places and a strong open-minded culture can in principle create a positive image. These images are generated in all kinds of direct and indirect ways. At one extreme it may be a national theatre performance, but much more likely it is the mass of peripheral images and background noise absorbed seamlessly and incidentally and projected through the media. Croatia's image externally is determined by contradictory messages. The first relates to nationalism, which externally comes across as backward-looking, and a fresh modern, graphically up to date one projected through symbols like that on Croatia Airlines or the manipulations of blue, red and white in tourism brochures. Furthermore Croatians put across in dress, style and presentation as well as the streetlife of cities such as Split or Zagreb a visually sophisticated culture. The latter image makes Croatia appear as a thrusting new partner in Europe, the former confuses the outsider. This area may not be the natural territory for a Ministry of Culture, yet the arts programmes it supports are one of the key sets of messages a country sends out about itself and thus the Ministry is a major player, and should self-consciously see itself as such, in the branding of Croatia.

- **Tourism development**

Culture's role in *tourism* is key: usually it is the primary reason a visitor comes to an area – especially if culture is broadly defined. And tourism might be the first step that allows someone to explore and know a place and later perhaps invest in it. That aside the tourist is ambassador for a country when returning home. Most tourism offers focus on cultural heritage or activities, be this the collecting institutions like museums or galleries which exude presence, power and relevance as well as the live activities like theatre, clubs, festivals or locally distinct rituals.

The first challenge is to ensure that the tourism sector understands that it feeds off culture and depends on it, even that culture is “tourism's reason for being” to make its own industry work. Secondly, tourism strategies too often forget to build up the cultural capital of locals in thinking through how to project imaginatively local distinctiveness, instead, as we gather in Croatia, much cultural programming for tourists is imported. Thirdly, tourism policies are chiefly aimed at attracting visitors and rarely conceived to make the tourism destination more attractive to residents. Projects need to be developed that ensure that tourism projects and increasing the quality of life for citizens are part of the same strategy. Interventions such as anti-

litter drives, signposting improvements, and better policing, street lighting, late night public transport, carpark safety and so on are arguably needed in every place to enhance attractiveness for both residents and visitors. In this sense cultural policy cannot be disentangled from policy in other areas.

Thus tourism policy should be completely integrated into cultural policy as, in Croatia, “tourism is culture”. A comprehensive cultural tourism policy for the whole country becomes possible avoiding the danger of basing tourism on one sphere such as coastal tourism. When looked at from a cultural resources perspective Osijek has potential to rediscover the hunting and eating tradition of the region as do the bed and breakfast possibilities in the hinterlands of Istria or using people’s secondary homes as part of the infrastructure for tourism. Most importantly perhaps a general hypothecated tourism tax to be ploughed back in part into cultural infrastructure becomes justified.

- **Economics and wealth creation**

The cultural sector if it is conceived as an industry is claimed to be the third or fourth fastest growing sector in the world’s developed economy after financial services, information technology and tourism (see Four World Cities report, 1996). It is thus a sector of substantial scope, scale, size and importance. Cultural sectors are thus *economic* sectors in their own right. If we look at the cultural industries in terms of their sub-components like museums, design, music or theatre their impact is less obviously visible, but taken in their interlocking entirety their economic power is much more apparent. Cultural employment represents between 1.5% and 3.5% of employment in most West European countries and in single cities like London and New York; there are hubs of over 200,000 people employed in the cultural sectors, each representing over 5% of employment.

Croatia’s urban centres and in particular Zagreb have the potential to create employment within the cultural industries, given that the demand for graphic and industrial design, audio-visual and multi-media products and services are likely to grow substantially in the future. Creating import substitution in this area can importantly help to sustain a Croatian identity. To a lesser extent similar possibilities exist in Split and Rijeka. An analysis of the dynamics of the cultural industries in other countries shows that these tend to agglomerate in capital cities, which in turn reinforces the need to think through craft level micro-business in the more rural areas, especially linked to cultural tourism. The first requirement is for the Ministry to undertake an interlocking needs analysis – in collaboration with the Ministry of Economic Affairs – of future demand for cultural industries and skills needs.

- **Social and educational potential**

Importantly, the impacts of cultural activities and the creative industries go even wider, as recognised in recent work in assessing the social impact of culture. They help engender the development of social and human capital and transform the organisational capacity to handle and respond to change; they can strengthen social cohesion; assist in personal development and increase personal confidence and improve life skills; they can create common ground between people of different ages; improve people’s mental and physical well-being – as the path-breaking art therapy work with war damaged people in Croatia shows; strengthen people’s ability to act as democratic citizens and develop new training and employment routes. They thus have an important *social* and *educational* impact.

The war in itself shows how the level of self-organisation increased and subsequently the development of cultural NGOs has become a healthy sign of organisational capacity building, that will have positive spin-offs in areas that have

nothing to do with arts or culture. The local democracy embassies, for example in Osijek, are a good instance. Therefore the Ministry might encourage a funding stream towards cultural NGOs whose effectiveness and delivery of cultural product is likely to be large, but where costs are relatively low.

- **Pre-figure new ways of working**

The cultural sector can *pre-figure new ways of working* as the cultural industries in particular use approaches to problem solving, based on project and team working, which are interdisciplinary, collaborative, often experimental, risk-taking and based on international networking. They provide a paradigm for the way in which all industries are likely to be run in the future. In particular, the new multi-media industries – using the power of information technologies with text, images, sounds and animation to produce wholly new kinds of product – provide a platform for rethinking how industry and services in the private, public or not-for-profit sectors will increasingly be organised. Thus having a healthy cultural industries sector within an area may have surprising knock-on effects on other sectors within the location. The underlying changes that will affect Croatia over the next ten years are primarily driven by the applications of computer technology. For this reason computer literacy linked to the development of the cultural industries will play an increasingly important role in the reconstruction of Croatia.

The issues above are important because Croatia clearly needs to find new economic roles and niches, and in spite of Croatia's manufacturing base many will be in the service sector. The most important of these are not only in finance and business services, but will be in the cultural and multi-media industries, combining creativity and technological capacity, and cultural tourism, which have been some of the fastest-growing sectors in the 1980s and 1990s. Furthermore there will be substantial growth in a wide range of personal service industries, especially the caring professions – given the 890,000 pensioners apart from the war veterans in Croatia, which may employ information technology in novel ways, but are quintessentially labour-intensive and demand advanced personal communication skills. Significantly these inter-personal skills are often taught and enhanced through involvement and participation in arts and cultural activities, aside from the fact that the concept of “arts and the elderly” is in itself an increasingly important sphere for development.

- **Quality of life and thus inward investment opportunities**

Adding these components together it can be seen that culture is associated with *quality of life*. A brief glance at the increasing numbers of quality of life surveys in cities verifies this. For this reason city or regional marketing strategies the world over tend increasingly to focus on their cultural offer, the presence of artists, creative people and cultural industries in general. Culture is thus a means of attracting international companies and their mobile workforce who seek a vibrant cultural life for their employees. Thus by helping to create positive images the cultural sector has a direct impact on *inward investment*.

Culture seen in these ways is connected to everything – not we believe in a trivial sense – but in a value adding sense. From the way we suggest “culture” should be treated in Croatia's cultural policy it should be clear that we are hooking into a broader argument, associated with the World Commission on Culture and Development and its report to the UN and Unesco *Our Creative Diversity* and with the Council of Europe, of bringing culture *In from the margins* – the title of the report to the Council of Europe on culture and development. The objective of all this work is to “*put culture centre-stage*” and help increase the status, credibility and legitimacy of ministries and departments in local authorities concerned with culture.

Given the multi-faceted impacts of the creative, cultural activities it is not surprising that *policy* is not straightforward. Yet the expert group believe that this is the approach with which to look at the potential of the cultural sector. We are aware of the challenge we are setting the Ministry.

The need for evidence on the impact of culture

The first and primary challenge is that people of influence are unlikely to believe what is being argued. This emphasises the *need for evidence of the impact of cultural investment*. Thus one aspect of the Ministry of Culture's strategy to "sell" its cultural policy is to provide the evidence of culture's wide-ranging impacts and its capacity to solve a number of problems in a cheap and flexible way. In this sense one role of the Ministry, or preferably agencies to which it delegates the task, is to advocate and document the particular importance of culture across a number of spheres as well as putting a greater emphasis on analysing trends nationally and internationally. This in turn implies showing how cultural activities do not take place within an isolated island called arts and culture, but that there are linkages to other areas of decision making such as economic development, social affairs or tourism. This highlights *a stronger role for the Ministry as strategic advocate and researcher*.

Partnership will be key

This is said, even though we are aware it is becoming a mantra voiced everywhere. It is key, because mutual aims can be achieved, a greater pool of ideas can be tapped, burdens and resources can be shared and more influence harnessed. Thus the Ministry, local authorities and other arts agencies need to establish links and working relationships with other departments and sectors. We recognise that such cross-departmental working and partnership approaches to project management are currently difficult. However, within the reconstruction projects, such as Vukovar, in the former war zones it is already happening and could be seen as a model. On the basis of experience elsewhere such an effort is worthwhile given the possible, positive outcomes. It may, for example, mean that the cultural budget is enhanced through contributions from other budget areas, because a joint project may be mutually beneficial, such as with youth, social affairs or economic development. This approach can make headway in helping to counteract arguments that Croatia has powerful other priorities to address – such as reconstruction – that might weaken the case for investment in culture.

Renewing the case for culture

At the same time Croatia's cultural policy will need to be framed within an understanding of the forces, largely economic and political, which are shaping that policy's potential and possibilities. Experience elsewhere in Europe over the last decade, where cultural budgets have been under pressure, suggests that the arguments for investment in arts and culture need to be restated in more "modern" holistic terms. Given competing pressures on public funds it simply cannot be assumed that investment in cultural activities is in some sense a "right" – that arts for arts sake in and of itself is good – without making *a renewed case for culture in 21st century terms*. Some of the traditional arguments for culture, such as its educational value, are likely to remain, but how they are argued or expressed might change. At the same time new arguments will be able to strengthen the overall case.

Towards a new cultural policy framework

As can be seen, our use of the term culture is broader than the "arts": it is more anthropological – defined by the lived experience of Croatia and what is special and distinct about the place and its people. Everything in Croatia can then be used as a potential resource for reconstruction, reinvention, re-imaging, revitalisation and regeneration – every weakness can be turned into a strength and any strength can be made more of. This includes the artistic and other history in both Croatia's cities and

rural hinterlands; its built form and architectural heritage, its urban landscapes, landmarks, amenities and topography; the attractiveness and legibility of its public spaces; indigenous local traditions, accents and dialects, local products and crafts skills, manufacturing and services; the diversity and quality of retailing, leisure, sports, recreational, eating and drinking and entertainment facilities; local sub-cultures especially those of the young; local traditions of public social life, civic traditions, festivals and rituals; and of course the quality of skills in the traditionally defined arts such as in performance and painting, and the new “cultural industries” such as film, rock music or graphic design.

In order to link the arguments made so far together the Ministry of Culture in collaboration with partners – other cultural bodies, other ministries and the commercial cultural industries sector – should *develop a new cultural policy framework*, which spells out the philosophy and principles of its thinking and the analysis on which it is based in order to inform the priorities of the cultural policy it will pursue. Sweden, the Netherlands and shortly Canada have useful examples that might act as models.

Section three

The opportunity for Croatia

Summary

In order to give focus, drive and an image to future cultural policy development three broad-ranging, strategic cultural policy themes are suggested. They are: Croatia – Cultural Cross-roads; Culture is Tourism – Reinventing Cultural Tourism; and Investing in Croatian Creativity. Each requires an artistic and cultural programme to match and a series of implementable pilot projects, such as the proposed Museum of Reconciliation and Peace in Konavljje, the Osijek cultural tourism project and the Rijeka cultural plan proposal. They are based on overarching principles and criteria for action, which include: Inclusiveness – as an open-minded, bridge-building approach to cultural policy will have greater impact and is more likely to help achieve the Croatia’s broader objectives within Europe. Second, the need to value innovation and tradition both at once. Innovation works by understanding and pushing at the boundaries of tradition and the already known. Third, encouraging a public service ethos with strong links to the private sector and voluntary sector.

For Croatian cultural policy initiatives to be effective a focus on managerial skills is necessary, as well as a rethink on what activities should be funded such as artforms themselves or activities like marketing that sell the arts. Furthermore it is important for the Ministry or associated agencies to monitor the health of the cultural sector.

There is a stronger concentration on themes, rather than individual art forms or specific comments on the Ministry, counties or local authorities, as the expert group believe that by having clear, strong, coherent themes public institutions from the Ministry downwards can send clearer messages about what they want to achieve, inspire action on the ground and create the basis for partnerships with public bodies, private companies and the world of arts in general.

Putting culture centre-stage

“The main objective of Croatia’s development is not economic growth but cultural development, including not only arts but also scholarship and education.” This was an interesting moment for Croatian cultural policy when in 1990 Zarko Domljan speaker of the first parliament made this point. As the national report notes: “We remember how confused businessmen and people of technocratic inclination in general were by such statements.” After that and because of the Homeland War politicians did not continue to voice thoughts of this kind, yet it gives a hint of the desire to define the national interest in a more innovative and creative way. Our approach to culture spelt out in this document seeks to rephrase this sentiment and use it as the core of what we seek to present as “the opportunity”.

The objective of “the opportunity” is to put culture centre-stage in Croatia, to develop a new contract between the arts and society in the country and to attract more resources to the sector.

If this more forward-looking approach can be taken on board cultural policy can aid the repositioning of Croatia and thus the discussion of international relations regarding culture and cultural co-operation also becomes especially significant. The role of the Ministry of Culture in collaboration with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Croatian Culture and Information Institute is relevant as is drawing in the mass of expert Croats living around the world to a new cultural agenda, which should have clear international targets and ease contacts with a range of institutions such as the World Bank, UNDP, IMF especially in the areas of social development, youth or women. Indeed the expert group believe that giving the following suggestions a youth focus also – and perhaps one concerned with gender issues – under the pluralism banner and showing Croatia’s openness could be areas where there would be immediate international resonance.

Three interlocking themes

As noted “even a glance at the state budget allocation, company investment, consumption and ordinary household expenditures clearly shows that culture is on a rather low level”. Grasping the opportunity requires new thinking about culture and its potential. It implies providing evidence of the potential power and impact of cultural investment be this through academic research or best practice documentation. An objective of the “opportunity” proposed is also to project Croatia as a country at ease with itself and self-confident. The three major themes of the “opportunity” are:

- I. Croatia: Cultural Crossroads**
- II. Tourism is Culture: reinventing cultural tourism in Croatia**
- III. Investing in Croatian Creativity**

In their entirety these strategic themes seek to address the range of problems and opportunities highlighted and alluded to within this report. They should be based on a series of overarching principles that binds them into coherence and provides a starting point to think through the cultural policy framework proposed earlier. Each requires an artistic and cultural programme to match and a series of implementable pilot projects to show what they could mean in the real world. These test cases could iron out problems before the strategies are rolled out into the mainstream of cultural policy.

We focus on themes rather than art forms, yet recognise that each art form has its own specific challenges and possibilities. We believe that, by having clear, strong, coherent themes, public institutions from the Ministry downwards can send clearer messages about what they want to achieve and thus inspire action on the ground and create the basis for partnerships with both public bodies, private companies and the world of arts

in general. They may be treated in isolation or as an interlocking set of leitmotifs that run through the Ministry's programme as a whole.

Operating principles

The five principles to be considered to underlie these themes are:

Principle One: From exclusiveness to inclusiveness

Ultimately an open-minded, bridge building approach to cultural policy will have greater impact than the reverse. It is more likely to help achieve Croatia's broader objectives within Europe, which may have nothing especially to do with culture. However cultural activities can play a major part in internal and international networking.

Principle Two: Communication is quintessentially human – technology is a facilitator

Whatever the future of new technologies they can only be a facilitator of communication. Thus one part of the core mission of the Ministry of Culture is in collaboration with its partners to communicate the richness of Croatian cultural life and to create opportunities for meeting, mutual understanding and exchange. Wherever possible the human touch should come first, as when participatory arts projects provide possibilities for people of different generations to meet or when the tourism policy creates possibilities for visitors to meet "real" Croatians. Everything should be done to make this easier.

Principle Three: Value tradition and innovation both at once

Innovation and tradition go together. Innovation works by understanding and pushing at the boundaries of tradition and the already known. Traditions should be respected but not uncritically revered. They should be criticised when they hold back, and praised when they inspire. Croatia's cultural policy programmes should develop initiatives which celebrate both and ideally combinations of the two.

Principle Four: Focus on honesty and dialogue – get beyond a simple public relations strategy

For Croatia, whose image has been dented by the events of the war and its aftermath, there is a task to build up goodwill, interest and collaborative possibilities. Honesty, even when it means admitting problems one might wish to avoid, and true dialogue would be a much more effective and sophisticated means of promoting mutual understanding and real collaborative development. The most inappropriate strategy would be to project always simply the best of Croatian. The honest dialogue proposed, whose objective is to create deeper understanding, implies two-way communication based on mutual learning – both within Croatia and for the outsiders.

Principle Five: Combining a public service ethos and the commercial is not incompatible

The encouragement of a public service ethos embodied in much of the Ministry's support does not mean isolation from commercial activity. It implies the need to monitor the dynamics of the cultural sector as a whole and to establish a wide range of new partnerships often with commercial bodies.

Three criteria for action

Reflecting on our research and opinions gathered the Ministry and other public bodies need to perform a complicated trick embodied in the following criteria for action:

Linkage and partnership

The strategies proposed can only happen if there is collaboration with different sectors which understand the importance of culture for achieving their own goals. This implies developing projects and programmes to mutual benefit so that resources can be shared.

Less is more, stronger themes

By focusing on a series of rich, strong themes, rather than specific art form initiatives, that can be played out over time, activities become less cluttered and more understandable.

New skills for new times

The approaches outlined above imply new skills for new times. Concentrating on themes may give the Ministry the possibility to support new kinds of people and initiatives that have the requisite skills to operate in a new way. It may well also be that special “theme directors” need to be appointed by the Ministry in order to maximise their potential.

I. Theme one – Croatia: Cultural Crossroads

Seen through the eyes of many European countries, Croatia, probably wrongly, appears focused on itself and somewhat inward-looking. This is not surprising given recent history.

Yet Croatia was always at a crossroads at the confluence of many borders. These borders can be seen as barriers, as they often were or bridges. The crossroads can face many directions or look in at themselves. Strange as it sounds the opportunity for Croatia to be at the crossroads of Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Islam as well as between the Mediterranean and Central European worlds is unique. In a globalising world more and more places will need to come to terms with their multi-religious, culturally diverse countries – intercultural understanding will be key. Croatia could therefore become a kind of laboratory for solving future problems, an independent space – a space or country that exudes a positive unaligned feeling where conciliations between peoples and cultures take place like in the Scandinavian countries or the Netherlands. Clearly the opening out towards Serbia that such a strategy implies would be painful. Yet as someone pointed out: “If you can’t find a way of dealing with your neighbours, how can you be a player in an international setting?”

From an “in-between space” to a central place

Reconceptualised in this light Croatia moves away from being the “in-between space”, the border country, the edge of the world towards a position of centrality and neutrality – a crucial role in its part of the world. It becomes an essential feature of a networked grid, an indispensable anchor in the European integration project.

Switching the idea of what Croatia represented in this way might sound naive and idealistic, yet what other options are there? Being inward-looking, increasingly grumpy and reticent? The European Union as well as other countries around the world are hesitant about Croatia, because they fear particular forms of nationalism. At the same time such a programme – Croatia: the Cultural Crossroads, if it were sustained over a long enough period would surprise the international community apart from internally having the capacity to uplift. Indeed much of this approach is already happening individually, through the activities of NGOs, scientific bodies or even public institutions.

Celebrating cosmopolitan richness

The objective of Cultural Crossroads is to celebrate Croatia’s cosmopolitan richness and show the contributions that mixing of cultures and incomer communities from the Greeks and Romans onwards have made to developing and sustaining Croatia’s role throughout history.

The evidence throughout Croatia of this contribution is visible in historic buildings, craft forms, food, traditions and cultural expressions such as festivals and rituals. Equally important was how the creation of Croatia's vitality was supported by incomer groups as well as how new trades, skills and products helped underpin Croatia's economic position.

Reimagining Croatia

Cultural Crossroads seeks to help re-image Croatia, especially in the eyes of the international community, away from the concept that the country is exclusively nationalistic, and to show that by being so open-minded in its cultural policy it is confident, lacking in defensiveness and at ease with itself. The hope is that this approach over time will soften up programmes such as those of the European Union, like Phare or Kaleidoscope, and open new opportunities to other programmes as well which at first instance are not considered to be cultural in the traditional sense. Significantly, a number of young people in Croatia felt they were being punished, by not being able to benefit from EU initiatives, especially those involving international networking, for policies they claimed had nothing to do with them.

Cultural Crossroads should ultimately:

- stimulate, foster and support intercultural understanding;
- provide a focus for community pride and identity;
- contribute to breaking down barriers between communities, races, religions and geographical areas;
- identify new avenues and resources to support this reimagining.

The principles of Cultural Crossroads would be always to seek partners, especially internationally, and to ensure the programme was not only Zagreb-focused, so that benefits, such as travel abroad, spread throughout the regions.

The criteria for action one could envisage are active exchange programmes; activities that engender face to face meetings; and mixing audiences from different cultures.

Connecting with other departments

In order to help the strategy of influence of this theme the Ministry would have to liaise with Croatia's promotional institutes such as those concerned with tourism or foreign affairs to assess whether the messages from these different bodies could be aligned. In parallel the Ministry would need to start not only an internal debate, but also one with key potential sympathisers such as the Council of Europe, the European Union, Unesco who should be invited right at the beginning to help conceptualise the programme in order to bring them on board. They would in all likelihood in turn act as messengers as well as potential resource providers for the project.

Interculturalism in action

There are many opportunities to show this idea of intercultural understanding in action. They range from using existing festivals like those in Osijek or Labin and giving them an extra "twist"; to encouraging the media to give more coverage of the diversity of living cultures that exist in Croatia; to enhancing and building on the foreign exchange programmes that exist with places like Italy, Hungary or the Czech Republic and helping to encourage and support the Ministry of Education in a more innovative language policy. Multi-lingualism, as is increasingly becoming apparent, will become one of the biggest assets in the future Europe. Another idea is to create a number of reasonably high profile pilot projects and we elaborate on one idea below to stand as an example of many others we could put in its place. It gives a notion of how we believe one might think through this kind of project. We call it a Museum of Reconciliation and Peace – perhaps it would be better to call it an interpretation centre.

An example: The Museum of Reconciliation and Peace in Konavlje in the former UN barracks

This idea, put forward by Konavljje's museum curator and already well thought through, is a classic reconciliation project located in a symbolic position on a promontory overlooking Montenegro, near Dubrovnik. Such an enterprise would reveal the graciousness of heart of Croats and help transform the image it conveys. Organisations such as the Council of Europe could well welcome involvement and act as an advocate.

Taking the core idea we could envisage that the Museum of Reconciliation and Peace could be based in a landmark building, but be linked to other attractions in the surrounding area. It could become an attraction for both locals and tourists. It should use whenever appropriate state of the art technology to explain the importance of intercultural understanding and convey the full impact of the breakdown of trust across cultures.

One would hope that the Museum would consolidate the growing awareness over the past decade that multi-cultural diversity can be a major asset. In order to be accepted it would need to consult with communities, groups and projects in Konavljje and nationally as part of an ongoing process; it would need to enter into partnerships with existing initiatives, locally, county-wide, nationally and internationally, including London's prospective Rich Mix Centre on intercultural understanding; the Migration Museum in Adelaide and the Ellis Island Museum in New York.

A focus on intercultural understanding

By focusing on intercultural understanding it would reflect and celebrate the positive dimension of mixing cultures as distinct from the problems it creates by focusing on the contributions of mixing communities to Croatia, culturally, economically and intellectually. The Museum would focus on how mutual understanding and tolerance can positively transform people and create a new cosmopolitanism. It would seek to show how the core concept of intercultural understanding can help solve a range of urgent current and future problems such as social fragmentation. That aside it would raise awareness that as cities, regions and nations will increasingly be made up of diverse mixes of population groups it is imperative to foster positively the new hybrid cosmopolitanism that is emerging in contemporary life. This will become even more important in the context of globalisation, the rapid movement of capital and mass movements of population triggered by the new world production order.

There would be a recognition that dealing with inter-cultural questions, however positively presented, involves often unresolvable dilemmas with an inherent degree of volatility. Creating a common ground involves a long term process as there are so many interest groups with conflicting views. Thus there will have to be a core interpretation in any exhibition or event that is reasonable and affirming, but around it there needs to be space for disagreement whilst avoiding the worst excesses. Communities should therefore contribute to making their exhibitions within a common set of principles that are essentially about enlightenment.

Therefore, leaving aside the story of conflicts, other stories might be told such as those things that are initially easily accessible such as the experience of food, music, clothes, dress, products, events and festivals, but always seeking to go deeper explaining the why, the how, the when of any initiative. This further exploration of issues of reconciliation should be supported by demonstrations, seminars, workshops and conferences. In this way exhibitions would be a combination of exploration, education and even pleasure.

The Museum should be conceived as a means of interweaving community development, economic and rural regeneration agendas as well as providing a cultural and tourism focus. This holistic approach aims to find ways of balancing the at times differing needs and aspirations of locals and tourists.

If this kind of approach were followed a museum in Konavlje could present itself as the natural location for such a venture given the recent war.

Other ideas

Other ideas which could receive equivalent treatment include a similar museum idea proposed in Karlovac: the idea of an educational reconciliation centre which might be suitably located in Vukovar; an international post-war trauma centre building on the particular Croatian skills of using arts therapy.

II. Theme two – Tourism is Culture: reinventing cultural tourism for Croatia

Croatia is already quite well developed touristically, yet thankfully not well enough for the industry to have destroyed the “goose that lays the golden egg”. Croatia remains one of the few warmer climates in Europe to be relatively unspoilt. The war ironically might have done Croatia an inadvertent favour by allowing the country to reflect on the kind of tourism that is sustainable over the long term in the future. Croatia still has the assets in its landscapes and settings, yet needs possibly to become far stricter in terms of the kind of development it allows.

From tourists to travellers

Croatia needs the kind of tourist who wants to understand Croatia, not tourists who simply use the country for their own needs without giving anything back – and simply trying to understand a country at least begins the process of giving back. *Croatia wants travellers not tourists*, and this is the first objective of any strategy; it wants not only cultural tourism, but a cultural approach to tourism.

The cultural tourism strategy proposed seeks to use the cultural resources of Croatia as its key selling point. Going beyond merely visiting heritage sites, churches and museums, although these are important, it seeks to celebrate every aspect of Croatian culture – food, wine, the landscape, activities and even the language. It seeks to involve the tourist with locals and make every tourist a cultural explorer and discoverer.

The principles underlying such a policy should be to use local resources wherever possible and to be distinctively Croatian. The objective aside from increasing visitors is to extend the season beyond the summer; extend the geographical base beyond the beach and into the hinterlands; guarantee sustainability; encourage micro-business development and economic prosperity.

The uniqueness of Croatia’s culture: the key selling point

As a starting point the Ministry of Culture should initiate a high level cultural tourism brainstorming session with putative partners, both public and private, based on an audit undertaken by them of widely defined tourist resources. These resources should be based on the ideas of the *local distinctiveness movement*, founded by Common Ground, which values the unique, the special, the different in a place – be that a cheese, a type of wine, a craft, a type of performance or song, a certain form of plant or animal life, a manner of speech and poetry, a kind of clothing, architecture, a ritual or festival. Local distinctiveness is concerned with letting the character of a people and place express itself in its own way. Distinctive places do not imitate, they take the fingerprint of a place and celebrate its “specificity”. Local distinctiveness has had a profound impact in the United Kingdom where the government’s Planning Policy Guideline no:1 makes local distinctiveness an important element of planning. Local distinctiveness does not fossilise places, it recognises that history is continually in the making.

The result of the brainstorming would be a joint tourism, economic development, agriculture and culture ministry programme and strategy, linked perhaps with a best practice handbook. Within such an approach a number of criteria for development become apparent: smaller scale initiatives rather than grand scale gestures and mega-

projects; the establishment of comprehensive programmes such as a bed and breakfast strategy, where the role of agencies is to create things like marketing consortia; joint signage or other branding devices or the training of locals in local distinctiveness issues.

Again a set of collaborative pilot projects are necessary to exemplify the strategy in action. The area around Konavljje already mentioned with its strong local food culture could provide a sustainable tourism model, as could one of the islands or Osijek. We elaborate Osijek as an example, because at first sight it seems an unlikely proposition.

An example: the cultural resources of Osijek

The tourism officer in Osijek was faced with a seemingly insurmountable job – a war ravaged region, no strong history of tourism, no landscape that seemed obviously beautiful. The only attraction was the proximity to Vukovar, which was attracting the wrong kind of people – disaster tourists. Instinctively, he made an audit of cultural resources, searching through history to identify old hunting traditions; old food recipes; festival traditions and the like; revaluing the Osijek Fortress – Tvrdá – and the Holy Trinity Square as well as the other ancient buildings of the town; thinking through how the sacred spaces of the city can be animated through activity or lighting; how the river can be brought to life and the parklands used.

He began the process step by step starting to educate local restaurateurs to reconsider their menus to make them distinctively Osijek – sausages, stews, puddings and wines. He has begun to convince them that a visitor does not expect to come to Osijek to find the same things as in Zagreb, Vienna or Rome. He is undertaking an audit of the older buildings and considering how they can be reused to increase the city's attractiveness; he is rediscovering hunting traditions and on that basis developing a series of attractions that use both the city as a base and the surrounding countryside. The collaboration of the farming community is essential. Osijek citizens are also seen as resources as hosts for visitors to enlarge the tourism infrastructure and hospitality courses are being provided to ensure first impressions remain lasting ones and each visitor is turned into an ambassador for the town.

At the same time he recognised the young were bored and traditions needed inventing anew. He turned a weakness into a strength. The emerging graffiti culture was beginning to blight some areas so a European Festival of graffiti art was put on as a means of involving young people and responding to their needs in their own terms. Similarly “late, late activity nights” were put on thereby inventing yet another tradition. Again this involved the collaboration of traders and restaurants to bring the city alive. Many of the traders are being encouraged to sell local products so reinforcing the local distinctiveness of Osijek.

Yet the rethinking of Osijek has only begun and Osijek would be a good pilot project to pursue this cultural tourism approach even further. Currently much of the activity is being generated through persuasion and little resources. Given the groundwork already laid an extra push might have unexpected results. For example, the NOA: Savings and Loan Co-operative, supported by USAID, immediately identified the possibilities for setting up micro-businesses in the craft, graphics, food oriented sectors which could become part of Osijek's cultural tourism strategy.

A call for proposals for new types of cultural tourism strategies might result in creative initiatives, which clearly indirectly support the traditional arts infrastructure such as theatres, visual arts or music.

III. Theme three – Investing in Croatian Creativity

The reader might wonder why artforms such as theatre, literature, crafts, music have barely been mentioned. However the artforms are in fact the foundations on which all the proposed strategies are dependent, because each theme will intrinsically have cultural programmes attached. In addition each art form will benefit from the strategies proposed.

The objective of the theme “Investing in Croatian Creativity” is for the Ministry to reinforce the understanding that arts and culture work in a mixed economy; to make Croatian cultural activities more competitive and to provide the analysis and managerial capacity to strengthen the foundations of Croatia’s creativity.

Taking the above into account the next section focuses more on the internal procedures of the Ministry of Culture, and how they could relate to counties and local authorities. It suggests that the *culture and operation of the Ministry* and some of its priorities might be re-assessed as a means of maximising the impact of the funds it distributes. Interestingly in many interviews with cultural operators the comment was made that it was not the amount of money given that was the problem, but how resources were spent and allocated.

Comments centred primarily on the following key issues:

Budgets

Planning and spending is based on a one-year cycle, with resources allocated often when that year is already well underway, rather than guaranteeing some level of allocation based on a three-year plan or even warning an institution that over a three-year period their funding is likely to decline so that they can prepare. The former approach leads to a crisis mentality within cultural organisations. Importantly when the term planning is used here it is not in the Soviet sense of five-year plans – largely fictional rigid plans, but plans as enabling documents, that are anticipatory, flexible and only worth having if they are realistic.

Appropriate funding

The Chinese saying: “Rather than giving someone a fish, teach them how to fish” encapsulates the essence of this point. It was argued that often the wrong person or activity was being funded within an artform. Where to invest within a cultural sector depends on how catalytic, impactful and enabling any funding is likely to be. A good example was the funding of books for libraries, having identified the weakness of book distribution and bookshops. That programme achieves multiple objectives in one action. It was the most effective way of dealing with a number of problems simultaneously – libraries needing to update their stock; generating income for publishers and authors and increasing accessibility for readers given the dearth of bookshops. Equally now the most effective intervention strategically may be to subsidize a selection of say five bookshops on a time dated basis as a means of recreating some part of the former infrastructure.

Another example: rather than funding an artist to perform in a smaller city, it would be better to fund or support the training of an events manager in that city, who would then learn to generate the audience to pay the artist’s fee. An events manager would be a sustained asset in a smaller place.

Overall funding analysis

As in most countries we were not able to identify the over-arching justifications for funding specific proportions within different sectors. Why are theatre, music, visual arts or new media given certain percentages? As elsewhere, theatre in Croatia is also given a special position and any cultural policy document should provide the justifications.

The reason such analysis is important is to ensure that funding decisions are not based simply on replicating historical patterns and that opportunities for new funding are opened up. The implication of this approach is that each cultural sector to some extent, and this is a contentious proposal, provides a rationale and evidence of impact – in cultural, social and economic terms – for itself.

Publicly discuss the strategic dilemmas of cultural policy for Croatia

Previous Council of Europe reports have focused on the idea of strategic dilemmas as a means of honing a country's cultural policy debate. All policy is a reflection of choices made between a range of options, which rarely satisfy all contingencies; it is context driven, based on particular circumstantial needs and political judgement. As a consequence all policy deals with alternatives that are seldom clear cut. It tries to resolve dilemmas and balance potential conflicts in the best way possible. Whilst all European countries face similar issues increasingly a series of principles have evolved as current best practice. These include a focus on opportunity, access and equity issues, regarding cultural diversity – interculturalism – as an asset, and fostering excellence. But, once one gets beyond these general statements of faith, policy choices can become more contentious. What is appropriate will depend on the objectives a country is seeking to achieve.

We regard the discussion of these dilemmas between the Ministry, counties, municipalities and cultural organisations as important, because it partly acts as a training exercise and as a strategic planning tool. To our knowledge cultural policy has not been discussed in this way in Croatia. **Croatia-specific dilemmas include:**

Policy implementation issues

- Control and the devolution in power: the pros and cons
- Who defines the national interest in culture?
- Rethinking cultural heritage – beyond buildings towards urban settings

Cultural development issues

- Defining a new Croatia
- Content and access to the media
- Balancing Elite/Prestige/Flagship/“Big” versus Community-oriented/ Local/ “small” initiatives
- A focus on the Past/Heritage/Nostalgia versus Future/Modernity/Experiment
- Contents and containers: activities versus buildings
- Institutions versus projects

Economic Development Dilemmas

- The cultural economy of smaller nations
- Developing local cultural entrepreneurs

Place Marketing Dilemmas

- What are the messages to be projected about Croatia

Spatial Dilemmas

- An emphasis on urban or rural areas

From funding art and artists to funding survivalist techniques

Related to the above, the transition to a market economy has exposed a number of weaknesses for cultural enterprises, especially those fully dependent on subsidy. Thus for the next period it may be more effective for the Ministry to consider prioritising training in management, marketing and strategic planning. Such knowledge would give recipients the tools and skills to adapt to changing circumstances. Indeed in the expert group's view the lack of knowledge of how modern strategic planning works was perhaps the key weakness.

This investment may help both the Ministry, by ensuring it gets more “bite for its buck”, as well as cultural organisations whose levels of competence will have been increased in areas previously under-recognised. If the Ministry cannot find ways of identifying new sources of funding, and indeed one source is the Council of Europe itself, such a re-emphasis implies re-shifting existing budgets in the Ministry.

In the first phase such training is likely to be of a more general nature, with mixed groups of cultural workers or officials attending; however over time training will need to be specifically customised. We give an example. It is clear that cultural officials in municipalities need help in appreciating what strategic planning is – as they need to make plans in any case, one programme should focus on them. In our understanding local officials usually interpret “the public needs in culture” assessment cycle as a budgetary exercise, reacting to what already exists, rather than as a forward-looking, goal-oriented cultural planning exercise. We found few self-conscious examples of local authorities establishing a vision of where they want to go and adapting the plan accordingly. To that extent the cultural plans are a myth and really present a budget proposal. They do not appear to discuss priorities and there is no evidence that local communities or leadership groupings within local authorities are adequately consulted.

Best practice benchmarking

The Ministry should consider funding a series of cases, perhaps municipalities or cultural organisations, which seek to develop cultural plans in a new way and promote these heavily within Croatia. We identified throughout our visits a number of places that would be willing to act as examples, they include Konavljje, Dubrovnik, Rijeka and Osijek. A key objective of learning organisations – that is organisations, like the Ministry, that seek to self-consciously develop to make their activities more effective – is to spread information about good practice and innovations so as to encourage, inspire and foster replication. Benchmarking is a means of establishing a baseline for measuring current and future performance. The concept of best practice is a means of developing a “culture of excellence”, whereby the idea of a best practice, that might be replicated, acts as a driver towards continuous improvement. This is similar to the idea of total quality management prevalent in the business sphere. It is important to understand best practice as learning, not ranking so that one municipality or cultural organisation could claim it is better than another. In this process organisations should go beyond the mere fact of knowing that a good project exists, to discovering how it came about and what were the conditions for its success. In the end, of course, learning occurs through doing oneself; thus, knowledge about an innovative project – however good the description – can only ever be a starting point.

Links and linkage

Much of the potential of culture can be explored through collaboration with other ministries, agencies, the private sector, non-profit organisations and the alternative sector. The power of the Ministry of Culture will be enhanced so long as it finds common ground to pursue joint interests with others. In this way it can also tap into the budget of other ministries such as reconstruction, housing or the Office of Minorities. Typically this includes cultural tourism; craft and micro-business development possibly with trade ministries; urban enhancement and environmental improvement schemes; image creation for example in relation to foreign affairs and external trade. Assessing this potential requires a *strategy of influence*, one aspect of which is an *advocacy programme* which involves as a pre-condition the collaborative, open-minded approach alluded to throughout this report. This process of linkage should occur at each level of government –national, county and local.

Research and development

Many of the points above can only occur if there is belief in their effectiveness. In part this requires the provision of proof. Creating this evidence should be an aspect of the Ministry’s research and development agenda, which ideally should be contracted out to

give it credibility. This might involve assessing economic or social impact or providing examples of best practice. At a later stage, once basic grounds for collaboration with say the economic development division have been established, joint announcements and publications should be produced.

That aside the Ministry needs a thinking wing, which should develop strategies – such as cultural industries strategies for specific counties – monitor and explore European best practice, as well as assessing issues such as alternative funding structures like hypothecating taxes, fiscal incentives or types of lottery. Equally the research needs to monitor developments in the cultural industries so as to understand the margins of manoeuvre and developmental potential for Croatian culture.

From grant giving to investing

In a market economy all cultural institutions are affected by the dynamics of the market, whether an organisation receives subsidy or earns its keep through its own income generating capacity. The self-conception of the Ministry and the organisations it funds should move towards an investment and away from a grants mentality. The latter can often foster a dependency culture, as distinct from one where an organisation's funds are seen as a investment in their cultural programme with all the rights and responsibilities that entails.

From policy thinking to policy making

Croatia, it appears, has excellent policy thinkers, but there is little evidence of experience in policy making, that is people who can bridge the gap between thinking and doing. As all the suggestions above imply a strategic approach to culture, there is a serious advanced training requirement in strategy formation. It also adds up to a *shift in mindset* on behalf not only of the Ministry, but also of the clients it deals with, the counties and municipalities and again their clients. Thus as a final section we provide the beginnings of a toolkit, which the expert group believe is useful in assessing the policy making process.

Understanding the position and strength of cultural sectors in Croatia: towards a conceptual toolkit

A conceptual framework, elaborated in the rapporteur's previous work and entitled cultural value chain analysis, is suggested below; Croatian researchers might find it useful and could elaborate on it.

In the description that follows Croatian researchers should bring their own knowledge of how the cultural sectors operate and check their importance with peer groups within each cultural sector.

- 1. In assessing the state of the different sectors of Croatia's cultural economy the concept of "level of infrastructure" is a useful analytical tool. It is possible, although clearly also somewhat subjective, for each sector to be graded on a rating, for example between 1 and 10, whereby 1 means minimal activity and facilities and 10 means a fully integrated cultural structure in a place where strategic decision-making, central communications points and value added services are located. In theory a specific town can be compared with another or indeed Croatia's position could be compared to other similar countries. Decision makers can then decide whether they think any position on the scale is satisfactory.*
- 2. In a second step the "production chain" in culture is broken down, and can then be assessed. This starts with an assessment of the ideas generating capacity of a place, how these ideas can be then turned*

into production, how they can be distributed and marketed and then sold, performed or displayed.

3. *Finally, as an example, a policy options chart is provided to assess the type of intervention – weak or strong – that can be made on the supply and demand side and a rough assessment for Croatia is given.*

1. **The infrastructure development scale: a general explanation**

On this scale the positions mean:

1. Very basic activity, minimal facilities or support services. No public visibility of the cultural form. Activity, if it exists, is submerged, amateur or part-time. No public sector encouragement. This might apply for example to industrial design in many places in Croatia.

2/3. The beginnings of a local cultural industry sector in a town and self-consciousness by those active that they constitute a sector. Some movement towards viability and some encouragement from the public sector, but no overall strategy, some recognition by the media (press and television). A few local entrepreneurs can push “creators” onto the first ladders of opportunity through their contacts (usually low level) at creative centres (for example Zagreb). Still no division of labour, a music manager, for example, would also be the promoter, perhaps own a venue and provide legal advice. Some galleries, audio-visual facilities, design studios, small regional publishing houses or recording studios. Aspirations basically local. Leakage of talent to big centres still very strong.

4. Much more pressure for recognition by those active in their respective cultural industry. A greater number of higher quality facilities such as commercial galleries, sales outlets or higher level recording studios. A greater market demanding local services in terms of, say, corporate video or graphics. More venues and entrepreneurial activity. This is the “take off” level. Leakage of talent balanced out and beginning to reverse.

5/6. Places where a certain level of autonomy has been achieved and individual creators can begin to meet their aspirations within the location. Support infrastructures such as music publishing, legal services, auction houses or advertising services based within the city. Connections to Europe and the USA beginning to be credible. Evidence of existing success may provide a magnet for others to emulate and stay in the city – say Zagreb. A level of co-ordinated public intervention is usually introduced. Leakage of talent reversing.

7/8. Recognition of the importance of the sector in both public and private sectors. Capable of nurturing “creators” so that they can meet their aspirations largely within the location. Support structure for activity available right across the five production spheres from ideas generation, to production, circulation, delivery mechanism and audiences/market. Place capable of having credible links to foreign countries without needing to go through international organizations. Creators live and work in the area and a large proportion of the value added returns to the area, such as through production and post production, management and administrative services. The location is an attractor of talent, but still lacks a few high level resources to fulfil its potential.

9. The location is known for the cultural activity on both a national and international level. In its own right it is an attractor of talent and skill. Has practically all facilities, and is nearly self-sufficient. Has the headquarters of important media/cultural companies and has accrued most value added services.

10. A virtually self-sufficient place for a cultural sector; is an attractor of leaked talent and the location for the self re-inforcing creation of value added. Has high level facilities and international flagships, and all types of necessary professional services. Is a centre for strategic decision-making about an industry, capable of competing equally on an international level.

Using this method a town in Croatia or Croatia as a whole can be given a ranking and the Ministry can get a sense of what would need to be achieved to increase that ranking.

2. **The production chain: an explanation**

Linked to the above we assess sectors from the point of view of the production chain. This involves thinking about each sector as five spheres.

Croatia can make a judgement about whether it is strong or weak in each of these spheres.

• ***Beginnings***

This concerns ideas generation capacity, the availability of patents, copyrights or trademarks that are unique to the country and more general concepts such as how creative is the country. The kind of question the strategy needs to address is: are there ideas in Croatia that could be commercially exploited? Is there a training infrastructure to provide the appropriate skills base for each sector to take ideas further?

Croatia's position within the various cultural sectors ?

- ***Production***

How is this "creativity" turned into production? Are the people, resources and productive capacities available to aid the transformation of ideas into marketable products? This includes: producers, editors, engineers as well as suppliers and makers of equipment, film or photo labs, studios, framemakers, scenery makers. Are these resources available in the borough? Do they need to be in Croatia or can suppliers just as easily be based elsewhere? In addition is there an adequate training infrastructure to provide the appropriate production skills base for each sector?

Croatia's position ?

- ***Circulation***

This concerns the availability of impresarios, managers, agents and agencies, distributors and wholesalers (say in film or publishing) or middle persons, packagers and assemblers of product. It also includes whether catalogues, directories, archives, stock inventories and media outlets exist to aid the sale and circulation of artistic products. What is the situation in Croatia for local producers? Do local producers need such resources to actually be based in Croatia? Do products need to be sold in Croatia?

Croatia's position ?

- ***Delivery mechanisms***

These are platforms which allow cultural products to be consumed and enjoyed, it is about the places they are seen, experienced or bought. It means assessing the availability of theatres, cinemas, bookshops, concert halls, television channels and screens, magazines, museums, record shops and so on. Here again the question arises, do all these facilities need to be based in the borough or are local producers selling goods and services outside? In turn what is the situation for people wishing to locate their creative activities in the borough? Are there sufficient buildings at the right price for companies to locate?

Croatia's position ?

- ***Audiences and reception***

This concerns the extent to which the local publics are aware of this creative activity either through word of mouth, publications and media in general and whether this makes any difference to them. Furthermore whether these activities create a buzz about the place may be beneficial in other ways such as for image or inward investment possibilities – and ultimately whether it can be described as a creative milieu. It involves assessments of issues such as market and audience research, as well as questions of pricing and sociological targeting (e.g. young and old, gender and education). How good, for example, is Croatia at getting people from different economic and social backgrounds to experience culture? Or how good is it at reaching wider markets?

Croatia's position ?

When assessing cultural sector development possibilities it is necessary to assess the extent to which it is necessary for Croatia to provide a balanced set of resources across the areas discussed. They are all part of the cultural infrastructure. Managers, market researchers, producers, suppliers of equipment are as much part of the cultural infrastructure as artist studios or theatres, which although visible cannot function effectively without these other support services.

3. Policy options chart

As a final conceptual tool we present a schematic Policy Options Chart (see Figure 1) for the cultural sector, describing the level of intervention from the weak, cheap and relatively simple to the sophisticated and expensive. In general terms, intervention should be balanced from supply to demand.

Weak Intervention

FIGURE 1: POLICY OPTIONS FOR THE CULTURAL SECTOR : AN EXAMPLE (with a focus on a more industrial approach)

A. Supply Side	B. Distribution & Networks	C. Demand Side
<p>1. Directories, guides, explanatory leaflets, database/yearbooks, trade conferences/services.</p> <p>There is currently little public sector involvement in more sophisticated guides especially for the cultural industry.</p>	<p>1. Coalition building, conferencing, agenda setting through public discussion.</p> <p>As yet weak. This report could be a starting point.</p>	<p>1. Promotion of cultural sector at local level and beyond.</p> <p>Underdeveloped, word of mouth e.g. widespread knowledge within the artists community. Visibility projects and tourist initiatives would be important starting point.</p>
<p>2. Small firm R & D support, business advice services.</p> <p>Business development services exist with economic ministries with whom the Ministry has little link. However in that department there is little expertise in the cultural sector.</p>	<p>2. Joint public/private goalsetting and collaboration on objectives.</p> <p>Again weak, although issue moving onto the agenda, for example through this report.</p>	<p>2. Market research on existing and potential audiences.</p> <p>Not developed, setting up this capacity a priority.</p>
<p>3. Niche business spaces or art form centres, managed workspaces and quarters/districts.</p> <p>No substantial artists studios set-up; we came across no specifically focused cultural industries incubator units</p>	<p>3. Sector analysis and strategy development.</p> <p>Generally weak, although the national review a significant first step.</p>	<p>3. Public/private purchasing or leverage.</p> <p>Not yet considered as a possible policy.</p>
<p>4. Project funding and initiation.</p> <p>Many innovative project ideas, but little capacity to develop the partnerships to initiate the larger initiatives</p>	<p>4. Leveraged access for cultural operators via policy shifts, preferential vouchers systems or financial incentives.</p> <p>Nothing happening as yet.</p>	<p>4. Festivals, trade fairs.</p> <p>Relatively strong in relation to music and performing arts, weak in crafts and industrial design area.</p>
<p>5. Training and vocational education.</p> <p>Strong in general, but very weak in the cultural industries sector</p>	<p>5. Direct investment in network(s) or in public/private collaboration:</p> <p>* e.g. Marketing consortia for the arts</p> <p>Nothing known.</p>	<p>5. Cultural industry education initiatives and cultural policy research.</p> <p>The former weak, the latter strong. IMO represents an important asset for Croatia.</p>
<p>6. Cultural agencies, commissions (e.g. film, public art, design)</p> <p>No dedicated agencies, although proposal for National Film Commission.</p>		<p>6. Technology and facilities subsidies, pilot projects and flagship creation.</p> <p>Beginning thorough proposal for Museum of Contemporary Arts, but no overall programme.</p>
<p>7. Borough cultural industrial policy with regional, or national focus. Strategic support for champions. Joint network risk-taking.</p> <p>As yet not developed; this report attempts to define framework.</p>		<p>7. Fiscal policy shifts (VAT rates, interest rates etc.).</p> <p>Difficult to do, however lobbying possible.</p>

Strong Intervention

Concluding comments

From Barriers to Bridges has taken an over-arching view of Croatia's cultural policy landscape and has argued that opportunities abound if Croatia's cultural policy thinking is closely tied to Croatia's broader development goals such as integrating more closely with Europe, fostering economic well-being and enhancing Croatia's image and identity.

From Barriers to Bridges tries to implement the ideas underlying the Unesco report *Our Cultural Diversity* and the Council of Europe's *In from the Margins*. By doing so it takes those general arguments further and specifies what the approach means in terms of practical projects. This approach chimes well with the cultural policy thinking in Croatia itself and indeed many of the suggestions and recommendations in Section Three draw on initiatives already being thought through by people we met.

There is an underlying assumption throughout the report that the potential for culture to make a contribution can only be achieved if the Ministry of Culture and culture departments at municipal level work in partnership with both the private sector and NGO type organisations and that planning at every level becomes more integrated. In that case mutual aims can be achieved, a greater pool of ideas tapped, burdens and resources shared and more influence and impact harnessed.

From Barriers to Bridges has deliberately avoided going into the micro-detail of each sector and has equally spent less time on the specifics of issues such as cultural management, decentralisation or the dangers of over-legislation. The latter two issues, for example, are well covered in the Croatian national report and the experts agree with conclusions made there. The expert group was aware that in principle more could be said about those issues. Yet at the same time many other recent country cultural policy reviews have traversed that territory in depth, so that decentralisation, cultural management, legislative reform are now common currency in many Council of Europe documents.

Instead the expert group sought to take a strategic view and assess what kind of recommendations could make the biggest impact in Croatia over time and at the same time be of interest to other countries and international organisations concerned with cultural policy development. Our conclusion therefore has been to focus on the concept of "putting culture centre-stage" allied to a series of specific proposals which encapsulate its spirit.

Appendix 1

Composition of the group of experts

Anna Niewiadomska, Chairwoman (Poland)
Head of International Relations, Ministry of Culture, Warsaw

Charles Landry, Rapporteur (United Kingdom)
Director of Comedia, London

Arunas Beksta (Lithuania)
*Former Vice-Minister of Culture, Vilnius;
presently, Programme Co-ordinator at the Open Society Fund*

Veronika Ratzenböck (Austria)
*Director of the Austrian Cultural Documentation Centre/International Archive for
Cultural Analysis, Vienna*

Vladimir Skok (Canada)
Director of International Relations, Department of Canadian Heritage, Ottawa

Appendix 2

List of contacts and interview partners

First visit: 16 – 19 June 1997

Discussions were held with experts from different fields of culture, with Government officials, local executives, directors of cultural institutions.

16 June 1997

Discussions in Zagreb

Dr Vjeran Katunarić, Professor at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Zagreb, Project Director

Dr Nada Švob-Dokić, Researcher, Institute for International Relations

Ms Zrinjka Peruško-Čuljak, Msc, Researcher, Institute for International Relations

Mr Pavle Schramadei, Institute for International Relations

Mr Blaž Žilić, Ministry of Culture

Ms Naima Balić, M.A., Senior Adviser, Ministry of Culture

17 June 1997

Discussions in Zagreb and Stubica

Mr Božo Biškupić, M.A., Minister of Culture

Ms Daša Bradčić, Division Head, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Ms Veronika Špoljar, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Ms Lidija Vizek, European Integrations Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dr Žarko Domijan, Vice-president of the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia, Head of the Delegation of the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe

Ms Marina Matulović-Dropulić, Mayor of the City of Zagreb

Mr Zlatko Kačkov, Head of the City of Zagreb Directorate for Education, Culture and Sports

Ms Marija Leko, Adviser for Culture

Mr Antun Celio Cega, Adviser for Culture

Helena Duplančić, Protocol Officer

Mr Vladimir Maleković, Director of the Museum for Arts and Crafts

Ms Jasna Galjer, Curator

Ms Vesna Lovrić-Plantić, Curator

Mr Zorislav Drempetić-Hrčić, Painter, Director of Hrvatsko Zagorje Museum in Stubica

Ms Goranka Kovačić, Curator

18 June 1997

Discussions in Karlovac, Kamensko and Turanj

Mr Branko Vukelić, Mayor of Karlovac

Dr Željko Gojžić, Chairman of the Town's Council

Mr Josip Zaborski, Deputy Mayor

Mr Marko Marić, Deputy Mayor

Dr Milan Kruhek, Member of the Municipality

Ms Durdica Ostrogonac, Head of the Social Affairs Division

Mr Zvonimir Pozderac, Secretary of the Municipality Authorities

Mr Miro Žkrgetić, Head of the Renovation Sector

Discussions in the Plitvice National Park

Mr Stjepan Dujmović, Director of the Plitvice National Park

Mr Vinko Bartolac, Sales Director

Ms Ela Pejčić, Guide in the National Park

19 June 1997

Discussions in Zagreb

Dr Josip Stipanov, Director of the National and University Library

Ms Danijela Živković, Senior Librarian

Ms Marina Mihalić, Librarian

Dr Josip Kolanović, Director of the State Archive of Croatia

Mr Mate Kukuljica, Director of Croatian Film Archives

Mr T. Mušnjak, Head of the Central Laboratory for Restoration

Mr Z. Baričević, Head of Photo-service

Ms Ornela Tadin, Head of Older Materials Division

Dr. Biserka Cvjetičanin, Culturelink, Institute for International Relations

Second visit: 14 – 19 September 1997

Ludbreg, 14 September 1997

Mr Mario Kezić, Assistant to the Minister of Culture

Mr Franjo Križanić, Mayor of Ludbreg

Mr Božidar Dekić, Head of the Administrative Division for Social Affairs

Ms Ljiljana Nofta, Director of Open University "D. Novak"

Ms Marija Perša, Secretary of the Municipality

Zadar, 14 and 15 September 1997

Ms Mirjana Sačić, Municipal Protocol Officer

Mr Radovan Dunatov, Deputy Mayor of Zadar and member of the Municipality responsible for culture

Ms Branka Radman, Head of Cultural Division (covering theaters, festivals, amateur groups, cultural marketing)

Mr Neven Stojaković, Mr Kristijan Mičić, Mr Žan Morović, Mr Jure Kras, young people engaged in the organization of theatre festivals, amateur groups and cultural marketing

Mr Davor Aras, Director of the Scientific Library

Mr Ivan Pehar, Director of the Municipal Library

Dr Pavao Kero, Director of the Permanent Exhibition of Church Art

Ms Maja Dešpalj Begović, violinist

Mr Valter Dešpalj, violoncellist

Mr Zdravko Livaković, Member of the Municipality responsible for urban development and environment protection

Ms Marija Pavlović, Member of the Municipality responsible for communal economy

Dr Tomislav Skračić, Member of the Municipality responsible for inter-city relations

Mr Zdravko Perica, Member of the Municipality responsible for finance

Mr Mario Pešut, Member of the Municipality responsible for social welfare

Dr Zlatko Miliša, Member of the Municipality responsible for nonstandard programmes of education, for science and youth problems

Mr Miljenko Domijan, Head of the Conservation Division for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage

Šibenik, 15 September 1997

Mr Josip Čuzela, Head of the Directorate for Cultural Heritage

Trogir, 15 September 1997

Mr Nenad Belas, Mayor of Trogir

Mr Petar Vrbanić, M.A., Vice-mayor and Member of the Municipality responsible for agriculture, fishing and hunting trade
Dr Tonči Buble, Chairman of the Town's Council of Trogir
Mr Mirko Lučin, Member of the Municipality responsible for culture, education and sports
Ms Jasna Dušić-Bekavac, Director of Open University
Ms Fani Cega, M.A., Director of the Trogir Municipal Museum

Split, 16 September 1997

Mr Petar Mohorović, Scientist-researcher
Ms Zdenka Mišura, Head of the Propaganda and Marketing Division of the Croatian National Theatre Split
Ms Ljubica Srhoj, Director of the Municipal Youth Theatre
Mr Franko Strmotić, Municipal Youth Theatre
Ms Dinka Gudić, Theatre Pedagogue, Municipal Youth Theatre
Mr Zvonko Smajić, Director of Drama, Croatian National Theatre Split
Mr Goran Golovko, Director, Municipal Youth Theatre
Mr Branko Karabatić, Director of the International Festival of New Film and Video
Mr Joško Jerončić, Multi-media Centre
Mr Gordana Sladoljev, Director of "Josip Hatze" Music School
Mr Vlado Sunko, Conductor, "Brodosplit – City Chorus"
Ms Nanci Ivanišević, Assistant to the Division Head responsible for culture of the County, Director of the Festival of French Chanson – Youth Competition – Alliance française de Split
Mr Rade Perković, Director General of the Croatian National Theater Split
Mr Ivan Perković, Member of the Municipality
Mr Kažimir Tomašević, Practitioner for culture, Sinj
Ms Ružica Hosta, Head of the Country Office for Education and Culture in Hvar
Dr Andro Ozeretić, Head of the County Governor's Cabinet
Mr Zvonko Marić, M.A., Head of the County Office for Education, Culture, Information, Sports and Technical Culture
Ms Meri Maretić, Associate for public relations
Mr Mladen Bilankov, Director of the Arts School
Ms Jasenka Splivalo, Teacher of history of art at the Arts School
Ms Marina Botić-Bego, Curator, Art Gallery
Ms Nives Tomasović, Movement for Cultural Heritage of Hvar
Ms Vedrana Gunjača-Gašparac, Cetinska krajina Museum, Sinj
Ms Ankica Babin, Director of the Country Museum Kaštela
Ms Sanja Božek, Director of the Municipal Museum Makarska
Ms Deša Diana, Municipal Museum Split
Ms Marina Čulić, "CD", Translation Agency

Dubrovnik, 17 and 18 September 1997

Mr Blaž Friganović, NGO Green Peace
Mr Pavo Handabaka, Wind Instruments Ensemble
Ms Vesna Mitrović, Island – Art Workshop Lazzaretti
Ms Zlata Lučev, Art amateurism
Ms Jany Hansal, NGO "Deša", Dubrovnik
Ms Eržebet Danić, Association "Naša djeca" ("Our Children")
Mr Sulejman Muratović, Folk-dance Ensemble "Lindo"
Mr Miho Kažičić, Member of the Municipality of Dubrovnik
Ms Marica Šapro, Librarians' Association
Ms Mirjana Urban, Director of the Scientific Library
Ms Ivana Burdželez, Croatian Cultural Society
Ms Maja Nodari, Member of the Municipality
Ms Dubravka Zvrko, Institute for Restoration of Monuments
Ms Patricija Veramenta-Paviša, Director of the Office for Monuments and Environment Protection

Ms Ivana Jašić, Marin Držić Memorial House
Mr Vlaho Benković, Director of Dubrovnik Museum
Mr Antun Karaman, Director to the Art Gallery
Ms Kate Bagoje, Friends of Dubrovnik Antiquities Society
Mr Nike Sudarević, Municipal Council
Mr Petar Mihočević, Member of the Municipality
Mr Tomo Vlahutin, Deputy Director of Dubrovnik Festival
Mr Andrija Seifried, Drama Director of Dubrovnik Drama Theatre
Mr Luka Obradović, Representative of Dubrovnik Symphony Orchestra
Mr Ivan Mustač, History Archive Dubrovnik
Ms Brigita Masle-Milovčić, Director of Camerata Ragusina
Ms Lucija Orežić, “Ars longa vita brevis”
Mr Aleksandar Shiroka, “Lacroma” Art Gallery
Ms Eržebet Djanić, “Naša djeca” (“Our Children”) Association
Mr Davor Mojaš, Students’ Theatre
Mr Zrinko Kamber, Dubrovnik Chamber Chorus
Mr Blaž Friganović, Art amateurism
Mr Frano Krasovac, Director of the Music School “Luke Sorkočević”
Ms Marija Grazio-Tolj, piano
Ms Ivanka Kalanj, violin
Mr Nino Obradović, trumpet
Ms Dubravka Hilje, solo-singing
Ms Marija Antić, piano
Ms Vesna Miletić-Corona, piano
Ms Sunčica Grego, piano
Mr Žarko Grego, violin
Mr Antun Vidak, piano
Ms Katarina Baničević, piano
Mr Jaki Kakaris, flute
Ms Marica Petrić, piano

Third visit: 16 – 23 November 1997

Zagreb, 17 November 1997

Discussions in the Concert Hall “Vatroslav Lisinski”

Mr Želimir Čabraja, “Aplauz” Agency
Mr Marijan Crnarić, “Talent” Agency
Ms Alenka Bobinsky, Concert Hall “Lisinski”
Ms Metoda Lhotka, Concert Hall “Lisinski”
Mr Anđelko Ramušćak, Zagreb Philharmonic Orchestra
Ms Neda Janković, Koncert Agency Zagreb
Mr Miro Poljanec, “Art-Agent”
Ms Mira Turjak, Jeunesses Musicales Croatia
Ms Dubravka Dujmović, Jeunesses Musicales Croatia
Ms Naima Balić, Chair of the Jeunesses Musicales Croatia
Mr Ivo Šlaus, Academician, Croatian Academy of Science and Arts

Discussions in the Croatian Journalists Society (HND)

Mr Dubravko Merlić, HRT- Croatian Radio-Television, “Forum 21”
Mr Aleksandar Kostadinov, HRT
Mr Oliver Dražić, TV Mreža (TV – Network)
Mr Srećko Lipovčan, free lance journalist
Mr Ante Gavranović, “Privredni vjesnik” (“Economy Gazette”)
Mr Dražen Vukov Colić, “Novi list” (“New Journal”) Rijeka
Ms Jagoda Vukušić, journalist, Chair of the Croatian Journalists Society
Mr Marko Bošnjak, journalist

Ms Giga Gračan, Croatian Radio 3, Association of Croatian Literary Translators
Ms Andrea Zlatar, "Vijenac", ("Wreath") published by the Croatian Society for
Literature, Arts and Science
Mr Dalibor Foretić, "Novi list" Rijeka

Discussions at the Zagreb Drama Theatre "Gavella"

Mr Želimir Mesarić, Director of Drama of the Croatian National Theatre
Mr Krešimir Dolenčić, Director of the "Gavella" Theatre
Ms Urša Raukar, Actress at the Zagreb Youth Theatre
Mr Vili Matula, free lance actor, Theatre 2000
Mr Ivica Buljan, free lance artist
Mr Emil Matešić, free lance artist (dance)
Ms Dubravka Vrgoč, journalist

Discussions at the Concert Hall "V.Lisinski"

Mr Dorde Kekić, "Croatia Records"
Mr Dražen Vrdojčak, critic, producer, discographer
Mr Andrej Štengl, "Orfej", HRT
Mr Hrvoje Markulj, Croatian Discographic Association
Mr Dubravko Majnarić, Artistic Director of Concert Hall "V.Lisinski"

Discussions at the Croatian Radio Television

Mr Ivica Mudrinić, Director
Mr Mirko Galić, Assistant Director
Mr Franc Pea, Assistant Director responsible for international relations

Discussions at the "Obiteljski radio" ("Family Radio")

Mr Robert Tomijenić, Editor of News Programme
Mr Juraj Hrvačić, Director of "Obiteljski radio"
Mr Branko Kuzele, Advisor-Deputy Director
Ms Zrinka Vrabc-Mojzeš, Radio 101
Mr T. Matić, Director of Radio 101

Zagreb, 18 November 1997

Discussions at Zagreb-film

Mr Dragan Švaco, Zagreb-film
Mr Mato Kukuljica, Croatian Film Archive
Mr Hrvoje Turković, Academy of Dramatic Arts

*Discussions at the Municipality of Zagreb – City Institute for Urban Planning and
Environmental Protection*

Mr Slavko Dakić, Architect
Mr Borislav Daklešić, Architect
Mr Niko Gamulin, Architect
Mr Vlado Mattioni, Architect

Discussions at the European Movement Croatia

Dr Slaven Letica, Chairman of the European Movement Croatia
Dr Dražen Kalogjera, Member of the Executive Board of the European Movement
Croatia
Mr Relja Bašić, Member of the Executive Board of the European Movement Croatia
Mr Ivo Škrabalo, M.A., Chairman of the Assembly of the European Movement Croatia
Ms Nevena Tuđor, Chair of the Association of Applied Artists of Croatia
Mr Ljubomir Čačić, M.A., Secretary General of the European Movement Croatia
Ms Renata Bašić, Secretary General of the European House Zagreb

Zagreb, 19 November 1997

Discussion at the Academy of Dramatic Arts

Ms Goran Sergej Pristaš, Assistant at the Dramaturgy Department
Ms Maja Rodica-Virag, Associate professor of film montage, Dean
Dr Vjeran Zuppa, Professor, Head of the Dramaturgy Department
Dr Nikola Batušić, Professor of the history of theatre, Vice-dean
Mr Milivoj Puhlovski, Associate Professor, Head of the Film Direction Department
Mr Bruno Gamulin, Assistant Professor at the TV Direction Department
Mr Vedran Mihletić, Assistant Professor, Introduction to the Production
Mr Hrvoje Turković, Professor of the Montage Theory
Ms Karmen Bašić, Executive Director of the NGO Open Society – Croatia.

Discussion at the Ministry of Culture

Mr Božo Biškupić, M.A., Minister of Culture
Mr Ivan Šarić, Deputy Minister
Ms Seadeta Midžić, Assistant to the Minister – international relations
Ms Jagoda Martinčević, Assistant to the Minister – music, theatre
Ms Branka Šulc, M.A., Assistant to the Minister – archives, libraries
Mr Mario Kezić, Assistant to the Minister – protection of cultural monuments

Discussion at the Academy of Fine Arts

Ms Višnja Kabalin-Boranić, International Relations Coordinator
Mr Emil Robert-Tanay, Associate Professor
Mr Ladislav Galetta, Lecturer - multi-media
Ms Biserka Rauter-Plančić, Curator “~Klovićevi dvori” (“Klovic’s Palace”)

Rijeka, 20 November 1997

Municipality of Rijeka

Mr Slavko Linić, Mayor of Rijeka
Ms Zorica Jerković, Chair of the City Council
Ms Branka Renko-Silov, Head of Cultural Section
Mr Vladimir Smešny, Chairman of the Board for Social Affairs
Mr Mauro Graziani, Chairman of the Board for Ethnic and National Communities or Minorities Affairs
Mr Koraljko Pašarić, Chairman of the Sub-board for Culture
Mr Alen Kontuš, Chairman of the Sub-board for Youth
Mr Erik Fabijanić, Municipality Board for Intercity and International Relations
Dr Jadranko Jelić, Member of the Board for Ethnic and National Communities and Minorities Affairs
Mr Ivica Nikolac, Associate in the Cultural Section
Mr Hrvoje Čiković, Coordinator
Ms Tajana Mavrinac, Coordinator
Ms Helena Semion Tatić, Coordinator
Ms Višnja Višnjić-Karković, Coordinator
Ms Jolanda Todorovic, Coordinator
Ms Biserka Čerina, Coordinator
Mr Željko Jovanović, City Councillor
Ms Mario Kajapi, City Councillor
Ms Lidija Flas, City Councillor
Mr Kristijan Lajšić, Sub-board for the Youth, Sports and Education
Mr Zdenko Jukić, Sub-board for the Youth, Sports and Education
Mr Vinko Žibert, Slovenes’ Union of Croatia
Mr Ilija Hristodulov, Macedonian Cultural Society “Ilinden”,
Mr Mustafa Porobić, National Bosniacs’-Muslims’ Society
Mr Rusten Berisha, Albanians’ Community
Ms Elvia Fabijanić, Italians’ Community
Ms Ksenija Ambrozić, Serbs’ Community

Mr Sandor Roth, Hungarians' Democratic Community
 Mr Demail Mutiši, Gypsy Community
 Mr Ivan Brajović, Montenegrins' Community
 Ms Fanika Husak, "Češka Beseda" (Czech Community)
 Mr Miljenko Marin, Chief Editor's Assistant "Novi list"
 Ms Nada Mifka-Profozić, Cultural Section "Novi list"
 Mr Davor Travaš, Editor in Chief, HRT Radio Rijeka
 Mr Eduard Kišić, Chief Editor's Assistant
 Mr Mario Šimonović, Editor in Chief La Voce del Popolo
 Mr Nenad Šegić, Manager of HKD Theatre
 Ms Ksenija Marot-Čeklić, Children Chorus "Mali Riječani" ("Little Citizens of Rijeka")
 Ms Egle Trošelj, Children Chorus "Morčići"
 Ms Ksenija Aleksić-Ambrozich, European Centre Rijeka
 Mr Srećko Šestan, Director of Municipal Puppet Theatre
 Mr Darko Gašparović, General Manager of Croatian National Theatre "I.pl.Zajc"
 Mr Siniša Posarić, Manager of the Theatre "Viktor Car Emin"
 Mr Ante Milas, NGO, Workshop for Cultural Sights
 Mr Alojz Usenik, Manager of the Amateur Theatre "Bazovica"
 Mr Ivo Županić, Youth Association 051
 Mr Josip Silov, Manager of the Stage Workshop "Porat"
 Ms Brajka Arh, Art Gallery "Arh"
 Mr Zvonimir Peranić, Manager of the Theatre "Rubikon"
 Mr Damir Čargonja, Youth Association "Otvoreni krug" ("Open Circle")
 Mr Bosnimir Ličanin, Manager of the Open Scene "Belveder"
 Ms Miranda Daković, Youth Group "Putokazi" ("Sign-posts")
 Mr Mladen Urem, "Rival" – Journal for Literature
 Ms Aleksandra Malić, Principal of private Music School "A.J.Matić"
 Mr Ivica Ujević, owner of Discotheque "Jupiter"
 Ms Vlasta Hrvatin, Director of Publishing house "ICR d.o.o."

Pula, 21 November 1997

Municipality of Pula

Mr Giankarlo Župić, Mayor of Pula
 Mr Armando Debeljuh, Vice-mayor, publisher, cultural worker
 Mr Mario Quaranta, Vice-mayor, Chairman of Italians' Community
 Mr Ljubiša Ilić, Office for Culture
 Mr Atilio Krizmanić, protection of cultural heritage
 Ms Davorka Lovrečić, theatre
 Ms Nela Načinović, libraries
 Mr Davor Mandić, History Museum
 Mr Željko Ujčić, Archaeological Museum
 Mr Branko Ulezić, NGO "Otvoreni krug" ("Open Circle")
 Ms Slavica Šenk, Ballet Studio "Zero"
 Ms Zdenka Vukić-Višković, Union of Amateur Cultural Artistic Societies
 Mr Branko Sušec, Drama Workshop "Inat" ("Spite")
 Mr Darko Lukić, International Youth Theatre Festival
 Mr Željko Herceg, Art and Music Festival
 Mr Bashkim Shehu, Composer and pedagogue
 Mr Elmo Cvek, Publisher
 Mr Miroslav Sinčić, Writer, Publisher
 Mr Denis Mikolić, TV
 Mr Elvis Morina, Radio
 Mr Matija Čurić, Journalist, "Gras Istre" ("Voice of Istria")
 Ms Claudia Milotti, Director of Italian High School
 Ms Vesna Dukić, regional planning and ecology
 Ms Latinka Janjanin, "Green Istria"

Mr Robert Pauletta, Painter, School of Applied Arts

Discussions at the Municipality of Rovinj

Mr Marino Budičin, Head of the Office for Culture, Education and Sports

Mr Argeo Curto, Director of the Museum

Mr Fiorella Poznanović, Director of the Public University

Mr Bartolo Ozretić, Chairman of the Assembly

Mr Silvano Zilli, Vice-mayor

Mr Antonio Pellizzi, Chairman of the Italians' Community

Discussions at the Municipality of Opatija

Dr Alex Luttenberg, Mayor

Dr Milena Pašić, Head of the Section for Education and Science

Ms Marijana Oppenheim, Head of Cultural Section

Mr Mario Meak, Chairman of the City Council

Vukovar, 21 November 1997

UNTAES

Mr Nikola Živanovic, Assistant to the Minister of Culture

Ms Ivanka Manojlović, Acting Director of the Town's Library

Mr Tihomir Živić, Adviser for Social Affairs, Centre for the Development and Renewal of Danubian Region

Mr Zdravko Dvojković, Municipality of Vukovar, Head of Cultural Section

Ms Elena Droznik, OSCE

Mr Matthias E. Leitner, OSCE

Ms Jenny Bell, UNTAES

Municipality of Osijek

Mr Darko Milas, Director of Drama, Croatian National Theatre

Mr Vlastimir Kusik, Arts Gallery

Ms Slavica Singer, Business Centre

Mr Stjepan Lončar, "Gaudeamus"

Ms Nevenka Munitić, retired teacher

Ms Željka Živković, Journalist, Radio-Television

Mr Mladen Mandić, Director of Slavonia Museum

Mr Basri Haliti, Chairman of Albanians' Community

Mr Frok Zefiq, Vicar, Albanians' Community

Ms Mihreta Miljanović, Head of propaganda, Children's Theatre

Mr Miloš Mihajlović, Chairman of the Sub-board of Serbian Cultural Society

"Prosvjeta" ("Education")

Mr Žarko Uglješić, Secretary of Serbian Cultural Society "Prosvjeta", Sub-board Osijek

Mr Damir Macanović, Manager of Tourist Agency of Osijek

Mr Petar Dimovski, "Braća Miladinov" Macedonians' Community