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Cultural Policy in “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”

Experts’ report

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The opinions expressed in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily engage the responsibility of the Council of Europe.

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INTRODUCTION

The mosaic nature of cultural policy

„There are many colours and even more nuances...” (welcoming verse to the web site *Virtual Macedonia*)

1. Representing big and small. At the core of cultural policy is politics with its agenda in culture. Pre-democratic regimes used cultural policy plainly as the means of propagating a political cause. In democratic regimes a comparable, yet curbed political appetite for culture still exists. Cultural policy still represents the interest in culture of a group in power,¹ which is transient, as it regularly shifts in the hands of political contenders. This fact alone, however, does not constitute the essential difference. What distinguishes the two political eras in culture is actually the pressure and/or participation of the cultural public in policy-making. The constituency of culture – high- and middle-brow culture, in fact – is not actually large and broadly popular, but rather small and insular. It consists of artists and their audiences, cultural institutions, higher education teachers and students, and generally more educated people. This is – especially cultural institutions and institutions of higher education – still an archipelago belonging to the national mainstream, although by virtue of a common national identity rather than cultural taste. Another archipelago consists of culturally different groups: ethnic and religious minorities, and also subcultures and alternative artistic styles. All these groups are considered less important or unimportant only by politics focused on competing for a majority vote, which is a semi-democratic reflex. In a fully-fledged democratic policy, their voices, however small in number, help to shape the country's profile both at home and abroad. A true cultural democracy, therefore, gives equal respect to big and small as well as to both the domestic and the international scene.
2. Old and new striving for cultural recognition. This aspect makes cultural policy in democracy a new and one of the most promising, but also most challenging and demanding public sectors. It resembles collective work on a huge mosaic that can hardly ever represent what it should, that is an ever growing plurality of meanings, values, interests, organisations and activities, all of which may or may not be called or considered “cultural”. Of course, policy-makers cannot accept the claims or win the sympathies of all contenders for cultural recognition. Nevertheless, they must be attentive to all, especially because the striving for cultural recognition does not end with the achievement of national independence. Likewise, those most deserving of recognition for past achievements, as are cultural institutions of national importance, are not necessarily the most significant players in promoting the cultural image of a country in the present or future. This issue has been at stake recently in the meeting of the strategic prerequisites for cultural development in “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”, and will be addressed several times in this report.
3. A public service for culture. The public interested in culture basically contends that cultural policy must be a public service supporting creativity and broad participation rather than serving the particular interests of political parties and other groups, including professional and quasi-governmental organisations, which use public

¹ Volkerling, M.: “Deconstructing the Difference-Engine: A Theory of Cultural Policy”. *European Journal of Cultural Policy*. Vol. 2, No.2, 1996.

institutions and assets mostly as a cover for their partisanships². This demand was frequently reiterated by the examiners' Macedonian interlocutors and especially by artists. "The policy-makers and administration are supposed to serve those who work in or live from/for culture, and not vice versa, which they often forget". This statement refers to the fundamental, yet lofty, meanings of culture. In one sense, culture is the central memory and receptacle of everything of value that is created in a community. In the other, culture is the central laboratory of creative imagination in a community. These entities, however, far exceed the scope of any cultural policy and of a public service for culture, such as a cultural ministry. The official cultural sector is a much narrower place, considerably restricted, indeed, in terms of its significance in the nation's pre-state history, i.e. how it came into being³. Consequently, it must strive for its own recognition in competition with other governmental sectors, representing, directly or indirectly and more or less successfully, the interests of culture in general. The annual share in the total budget provides hard evidence of the degree of importance which the government actually attaches to culture. Of course, the proverbial "1 %" of the total budget, or a figure near to this, by which the arts are usually subsidised, seems offensive when it is taken as being representative of the true value of culture. Nevertheless, this, more or less, is what culture represents in the eyes of non-cultural sectors and the broader public in most countries, although various cultural activities can tap into various other budgetary resources or public resources in general. As a result, it is often easier for policy-makers to recognise and promote the values of the cultural heritage and its protective institutions rather than new creative sources of culture. Also, the expanding universe of cultural meanings, due in particular to the wave of post-modernism⁴, makes policy more insecure. On the other hand, it is becoming clear that policy cannot only be confined to what culture stood for in the past, also because pressure towards functional, commercial and other practical uses of cultural heritage is increasing. To make things worse, "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia", like most countries in the world, cannot increase the clientele of cultural tourism by offering visits to cultural heritage sites only. In this area and others, components of living culture must be included and further developed if the country intends to make its image and ambience more attractive. Hence, policy sensitivity to culture must increase at a time when culture is virtually all-pervasive, though it is not recognised everywhere. In a way, a policy accounting for nearly 1% of the national budget must learn about the assumptions and rules of the other 99% in order to co-operate with them on the basis of a non-traditional understanding of culture. This is the major challenge for policy and culture in the post-national and post-independence era.

4. Multiple selectivity. An uneasiness with the expanding universe of cultural meanings is expressed in the opening chapter of the national report on cultural policy in "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia", where the policy scope of culture is described as the one that has least to do with the "encyclopaedic definitions" of culture.⁵ Even though, as one of the persons interviewed commented, "cultural policy has little use for quotations from Baudrillard or Eagleton", in the long run it has little use for the strictly practical either. For this reason, a policy well balanced between intellectual benchmarks and day-to-day manoeuvrings, between remote ideals and hard realism, needs to select what is of real value for culture and its

² Heiskanen, I. : *Decentralization: Trends in European Cultural Policies*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

³ Mundy, S.: *Cultural Policy: A Short Guide*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

⁴ V. E. Bonnell and L. Hunt: *Beyond the Cultural Turn*. University of California Press, 1999.

⁵ *Cultural policy in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. national report*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2003.

further development, what makes a good compromise between the concerns for the present and the inspiring senses for culture in the future. This reflexivity of cultural policy basically resembles a good exhibition. The selected items should not necessarily be many or just a few in number, for elitism may be just as detrimental as populism to the profile of cultural policy: everything depends on the quality of demands. More importantly, a well-balanced policy must create conditions that give rise to abundant, high-quality cultural provision in different fields and styles. In this way, cultural policy creates its own mosaic of incentives. It combines old and new policy tools, from strategic visions (including – why not? – famous quotations) and the framing of legislation to impresario or laissez-faire approaches to different cultural contenders. The rationale of such a policy mosaic is based on the fact that one type of policy or policy instrument cannot be suitable for everyone or all periods. Like people's tastes and abilities in general, some actors in culture become creative and productive in a competitive market environment, while for others this may diminish their potential, as well as affecting whole branches of cultural production, such as literary production in a language with a relatively small number of speakers, such as Macedonian, for example.

5. Impartiality with respect to taste, constitutionality at all times. A good policy does not take sides in cultural arguments as long as they, or a party to them, do not violate legal norms. Neither does it favour some aesthetics at the expense of others, or create factions, confront past with future, heritage with living culture, sectors with sectors, national with local, majority with minorities, elite with alternative, etc. The opposite course of action would also be detrimental to culture, for a policy should not endorse an “anything goes” attitude or similar relativistic approaches. These would make it tasteless, inconsistent and easily manipulated by non-cultural interests. The proper purpose of impartiality is to recognise a range of different tendencies in cultural expression and production, provided that none of them breaks the rules of democracy. Moreover, culture is expected to give substance to universal meanings of human rights and freedoms, a world or a country for all citizens. In order to achieve the level that might be called “cultural citizenship”, policy must support the best among the different elements of cultural diversity. Finally, to make quality assessments and to take decisions in this regard, it must expand the categories and number of participants in policy-making, from peer reviewers and experts through art and other cultural amateurs to cultural consumers and economic entrepreneurs. In this way, cultural policy is capable of grasping and actively supporting the dynamics of the cultural mosaic.

The national and the expert report

6. A new opening. Cultural policy in “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” has the elements of both types of cultural policy in the period of transition to democracy. One is more restrictive and the other more open to the domestic and international scenes. Thanks to the latter, the final version of the national report is finally being produced. This has also made it possible for the examiners to complete their report.
7. An older debt. The initiative of reviewing cultural policy was taken by the government in 1996. A first group of experts visited the country in 1998. Several other visits by experts have taken place since then. Occasionally, experts have commented, evaluated and provided advice on different aspects of cultural policy: legislation, notably earlier versions of the Law on Culture, then the National Programme for Culture, also in earlier versions, policies on heritage, theatre, film, etc. The group of Council of Europe examiners was partially reconstituted in 2000 with a mandate to carry out the review process in parallel with the completion of the national report. However, the first two versions of the national report were not finalised. Three years later, in June 2003, a third draft of the national report was finally completed and this version is now ready for presentation. The examiners wish to express their gratitude for the full co-operation provided by Mr Zlatko Teodosijevski and the editorial board of the national report, as well as the Ministry of Culture itself, and especially for their willingness to accept the examiners’ suggestions regarding earlier drafts of the national report.
8. A starting point. The experts’ report takes this particular moment as its starting point for reviewing cultural policy in “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”. Much of the meaning of this endeavour may be condensed in the question whether the new policy, showing an apparent willingness to establish links with different institutions and actors in culture, including civil society for the first time, marks a breakthrough compared with former policy periods. If this is true, how can the examiners contribute to it with their comments and recommendations? The examiners met with the new team in the Ministry at the beginning of its mandate, where they noticed some rising expectations both in the new team and in part of cultural public opinion. At the same time, however, some voices within the cultural public struck a sceptical note, saying that the new policy still did not provide firm enough evidence for it to be broadly accepted as different from the previous policies. On the other hand, the new Ministry has definitely taken some innovative steps. Thus, the examiners cannot say yet which of these signals are right or wrong. Nevertheless, a move towards a modern, stimulating and democratically oriented policy may well be made, as there are some good reasons – and some urgent ones, indeed – for making such a move. Also, it is not the task of the examiners to cast doubt on what different players in this policy area intend to do or have already done. Ultimately, they are mostly in a position to take responsibility for or reconsider the consequences of their actions. The task of the examiners is rather to facilitate or speed up the processing of the best policy solutions. That includes discussing whether policy steps adequately reflect the main policy objectives, recommending changes in policy steps in order to make them clearer and more consequential in this regard, and sometimes recommending new policy objectives or the clarification of existing policy objectives when they do not seem clear enough and may give rise to controversial policy practices. Ultimately, it is in the common interest of the policy-makers and the examiners to clarify everything that is expected or announced in the current policy or that is proposed as an improvement by its critics.

To meet such an objective, this report comments on the major features of the cultural policy and its broader context. The report also reflects critically on the actual meanings and impacts of the policy, and lastly recommends some changes and innovations in the medium or long term.

THE CURRENT POLICY CONTEXT

The end of a troubled period: the Framework Agreement.

9. Two years ago. The first draft of the experts' report was written in the summer of 2001, when the final draft of the national report was expected soon. To some extent, the examiners feel gratified that things worked out differently, as that period was not ideal for building a consistent policy, and reporting on it was not an easy task either. The clashes between regular troops and Albanian rebels were still going on. The examiners realised at the time that a sense of the real context was occasionally obscured among some of their interlocutors by black-and-white perspectives typical of a conflict situation. In these circumstances, the experts' report might hardly have been perceived as impartial.
10. Cultural aspects of the Agreement. The armed conflicts and political disputes were finally resolved by the signing of the Framework Agreement. It is an international legal document that stipulates the conditions for the peaceful and harmonious development of civil society in "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia", and also includes some constitutional amendments.⁶ The Framework Agreement is nowadays taken as the major frame of reference for the country's policies, including cultural policy. It has several chapters that address cultural issues, such as non-discrimination and equitable representation, education and use of language, and expressions of identity.

A new chance for cultural policy

11. The Framework Agreement secures the basis for the development of other forms of cultural diversity and co-operation, including those contributing towards transcending ethnicity as the only or ultimate form of identity and action. This topic will be elaborated on in the chapter on cultural pluralism in this report. Here, a note may be added, which also reflects the opinion of some people on the democratic cultural scene, who are eager to show that peace between the Macedonian majority and the Albanian minority will be difficult to maintain through policing alone. This aspect represents a new chance for cultural policy to employ some specific cultural means with the aim of easing the tensions and building confidence between these communities.⁷
12. A new agenda for culture. The time is ripe for advancing the specific interests of cultural policy. On their last visits to "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" the examiners noticed an apparent relaxation in the attitudes of their interlocutors regarding centre-stage politics, especially compared with the situation two years ago. This has also paved the way for some cultural optimism and visions opposing

⁶ *Framework Agreement* – <http://www.president.gov.mk/eng/info/dogovor.htm>

⁷ "We need many jokes about ourselves and others instead of many policemen that allegedly protect us, for this is the only way to remove the ice", says Mr Aleksandar Cvetkoski from the NGO "Actac" in Prilep.

the tendency towards dividing cultural space into two separate policy landscapes, namely the ethnic Macedonian and the ethnic Albanian, which gained momentum during and in the aftermath of the conflict and received political support too. Fortunately, this has now been abandoned in favour of what the current Minister, Mr Blagoj Stefanovski, described in a talk with a member of the team of experts as “multi-ethnic culture”, which is the country’s main source of legitimacy before the international community”, whereas setting up separate cultural policies “would destroy the very meaning of culture”. This position highlights a creative use of culture in the politics of ethnic relations, which is usually confined to the policy of proportional representation. Other forms of cultural activities and pluralism may be used to make the major categories of identity and belonging less exclusive and more open to each other. Further cultural development of the multi-ethnic society thus requires a great deal of inventiveness and an approach that is at once constructive and deconstructive, concentrated and diffuse.

Building common ground for public culture

13. A common project. On the whole, culture must continue to participate in the building of the community in a process which was halted due to political conflicts and the use of culture as a boundary marker between conflicting and entirely separated groups. Originally, the modern idea of the nation is the product of the cultural imagination of a commonality of people of different origins and beliefs, interests and classes, who cherish the shared hope that their particular interests will be better defended in the new community than in the previous ones, whether religious or secular.⁸ A similar expectation informs the emergence of the Republic of Macedonia as a multi-ethnic country, consisting of the Slavonic Macedonians as a majority, and of the Macedonian Albanians, Turks, Serbs and others, as well as other categories of cultural identities and interests.⁹ Both the energy which fosters a sense of belonging, traditional values and continuity of historically determined boundaries, and the energy which crosses boundaries to communicate and co-operate with others, are equally important prerequisites of a nation’s modern public culture. From this perspective, the state may be viewed as the institutional system which protects and invigorates both energies on an equal basis.

14. Making policy for the common culture. A proactive cultural policy should promote cultural repertoires that help to build common ground for the development of society in “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”. Of course, the European experts cannot provide recipes for achieving such a valuable goal. Instead, some changes in the make-up of cultural policy and its particular sectors will be recommended that may contribute to the policy’s ability to cope with what it reasonably sees as its major mission: to foster the cultural development and diversity of the multi-ethnic society. The key question is whether the current policy formats are appropriate for taking the new step forward.

15. The compilation of the experts’ report. The following chapters are a compilation of a series of reports and comments made over the last few years by the Council of Europe experts in their assistance activities on different areas of the cultural policy of “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”. References are also made to earlier drafts and the final draft of the national report as well as to certain works providing a general or comparative analysis of the relationships between policy and

⁸ B. Anderson: *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983.

⁹ I. Katardzic: *Makedonsko Nacionalno Pitanje 1919-1930*. Zagreb: Globus, 1983.

culture. As a separate document, this report is designed to contribute to the most promising tendencies of the country's cultural policy. In order to embrace such an opportunity, the report addresses the problems of cultural policy as it currently stands, discusses its main priorities, recommends some changes in legislation and offers some general ideas that may enhance the strategic mind-set of cultural policy, particularly in terms of visualising broader horizons for the decentralisation process. Lastly, developments in the fields of heritage, creative art, cultural industries and cultural pluralism are commented on and a number of specific recommendations are made in the light of the new cultural policy agenda.

THE CULTURAL POLICY SYSTEM

Centralism

16. Creative potential. The present cultural policy system is heavily centralised and administratively run. It is therefore unsuitable for realising all the creative potential that lies within the cultural sector. The cultural authorities are aware of that and have undertaken some changes in the regulatory and administrative environment in order to modernise cultural policy instruments. However, appropriate effects are still awaited, and some additional changes in legislation are needed to produce better effects.
17. Changes at the top. The further development of the cultural policy system is impeded by an excessively high turnover rate among senior officials. Much of the top personnel in the administration is changed whenever a new cadre policy is introduced by the political parties in power. This instability raises an issue that needs to be discussed in the Ministry and the broader cultural scene, namely the decentralisation of decision-making in favour of professional and other interest groups intrinsically motivated to allow unfettered development of culture.
18. Old and new fears. Since the beginning of the 1990s, in contrast to the preceding period of self-governing socialism in the former Yugoslavia, cultural policy has been shaped in terms of strong centralisation. One possible reason for this is the fear of centrifugal tendencies which is typical of new nation-states elsewhere.¹⁰ In this particular case, uneasiness with decentralisation may have been motivated by fear of increasing demands for cultural autonomy from the Albanian minority, a possible pretext for stepping up demands for territorial autonomy as well. Thanks to the adoption of the Framework Agreement, however, the old anxiety is considerably diminished. Thus, a new source of resistance to decentralisation may be the inertia of the centralised system itself.
19. The power of the Ministry. All executive power in culture is vested in the Ministry of Culture, and some of it in related ministries. The Ministry of Culture prepares and proposes cultural legislation and strategy, finances programmes and projects in the areas of cultural heritage, cultural industries, cultural minorities and international cultural relations, appoints directors of cultural institutions, etc. As a result, the Ministry is virtually the only provider of co-operation between culture and other sectors and it performs this function through inter-ministerial channels. This co-operation is mostly contained within routine forms of governmental activity. Within

¹⁰ J.-E. Lane & S.O. Ersson: *Politics and Society in Western Europe*. Sage, 1991.

the Ministry, a Council for Culture has been established, which is an expert and advisory body, and a Culture Inspectorate, which consists of three inspectors, was set up in 1999. Although the Law on Local Self-government was passed in 1995, the preconditions for decentralisation in culture have not been secured. The Ministry of Culture retains full competence over the entire territory of the state, with no local branches.

What changes are needed?

20. Making the goals of the transition clear. Current policy is usually described as “transitional”. However, the objectives of the legislative and other changes introduced are not clear-cut. The question is whether or how the new policy instruments or measures, such as the Law on Culture or the National Programme, can do better than the old policy arrangements in implementing the principles of efficiency, democracy, expertise and participation. While there is no doubt that the expenditure of the administrative apparatus is too high and that further streamlining would be the logical solution, some positive indications are also needed in order to neutralise the negative effects of the former, such as rising unemployment in culture due to the restrictive policy in the public sector. Also, on what grounds is local cultural financing expected to produce better results than central financing, as far as the amounts of funds or their uses are concerned? Admittedly, these are difficult questions to answer, but they cannot be evaded either, mainly because of the need for plausible arguments to dispel a common suspicion that accompanies the policy of decentralisation, which is that it is merely a front, whereas the real agenda behind the scenes is to cut off or cease financial support for institutions or organisations that are regarded as burdens for the national budget for culture. Of course, the government has the legitimate right to deny its support to programmes which are not peer-reviewed and not found to be of sufficient quality or indispensable in terms of the public good. In this case, however, the same criteria should apply to all, i.e. the programmes of traditional cultural institutions and new cultural projects or organisations.
21. Equal access. Earlier drafts of the National Programme for culture, in which equal access to the Ministry’s annual tenders/public competition was announced as the key innovation, have been withdrawn. The examiners have no information on the current version, which is about to be circulated within the official bodies. However, statements made by the Minister indicate that not more than three national institutions are to be exempted from this rule, which is a replica of the Slovenian model. But the examiners do not know whether the selected national institutions will be financed in full and whether other institutions and projects will be financed in a different way, i.e. variably, depending on their maintenance and programme costs.
22. Initial recommendations. However that may be, to secure the validity of the new evaluation and assessment rules, we make the following recommendations to the Ministry (with particular reference to Article 66 of the Law on Culture):
 - a) To establish the quality criteria for the applications, which would take into considerations the meritocratic value or previous reputation of the institutions or projects and also the qualities which have not been considered or represented hitherto, such as for example the contribution of the programme to intersectoral ties, interculturalism, social cohesion, popularisation of culture, sustainable development, and other broader and multiplying effects of culture.

- b) To outline beforehand and in close co-operation with experts a vision of contemporary and future trends of development in different areas of culture, both in the country and abroad. This may be written as a small guidebook for applicants and be updated from time to time. Such an approach may lend substance to application procedures following calls for tenders, which usually refer to laws and regulations, rather than to the arts and culture. Bureaucracy should be regarded as the instrument of cultural policy and should not embody the spirit of that policy. This raises the issue of the strategy of cultural policy and cultural development, which is currently lacking and will further be discussed in the context of the policy framework.

Legislation

23. Circumstances. Two basic documents determined the directions of cultural policy until recently: the Law on Culture and the National Programme. Of these, only the Law was enacted, while the Programme was never adopted and thus remained in draft form. An earlier draft was debated in a broader forum of cultural experts. However, there was no further official procedure after that. This situation made the examiners as well as many domestic observers somewhat perplexed, as they felt that the Programme should be a strategic document reflecting a long-term vision from which legislation and other cultural policy instruments could be derived, and not the other way around. Nevertheless, such a reversed sequence, which is both illogical and, as the national report explicitly states, conducive to ad hoc policy making, is typical of most cultural policies in the world. In this case, however, the two documents are often described as organically interlinked, which is true in principle. Nevertheless, the uncertainty and delay in completion of the National Programme and the misgivings with regard of its scope and purpose, e.g. whether it should be a long-term document or just an action plan, whether to throw it open to public debate again and in which version, etc, have had some important, yet unfavourable, ramifications. First of all, the failure to release the Programme has created a major vacuum in the policy framework. Another ramification is that some concepts and definitions of culture have unnecessarily been pushed into the wording of the Law on Culture. An earlier version of the Programme was criticised by Council of Europe experts with the aim of improving its strategic relevance and promoting its enactment as legislation. To the examiners' knowledge, however, the comments did not result in any visible impact on the subsequent version of the document. Instead, the document was withdrawn by the new Government at the end of 2002. Recently, it was announced that a new version of the National Programme was to be submitted as a four-year Programme, which corresponds to the stipulation in the Law on Culture,¹¹ this being the period between two elections. In the closing section of this chapter the examiners will make further comments on this aspect and put forward some recommendations regarding the strategic framework of the policy.
24. The Law on Culture. The Law on Culture was enacted in 1998 and an amended version was adopted by Parliament in July 2003. Nevertheless, the necessary steps for full implementation of the Law have not all been taken yet. In this section some remarks will be made on the Law, accompanied by recommendations. The remarks reiterate the essence of the comments made by the Council of Europe experts within the Mosaic programme in 2002, in which "the former Yugoslav Republic of

¹¹ The same information is given in "Proposal for enactment of the Law on amendments and modifications to the Law on Culture". Skopje: Ministry of Culture, March, 2003.

Macedonia” took part. Recommendations derived from these remarks and other recommendations that address specific issues, such as decentralisation, privatisation and the status of artists, will be set out in the relevant chapters.

25. The amendments. The examiners welcome the improvements made in the new version of the Law, especially those regarding the classification of independent artists as “tradesmen” in the 1998 Law, which triggered many negative reactions on the part of artists around the country. On the other hand, certain other shortcomings of the earlier version have not been fully rectified.
26. Scope. The scope of the Law is all-embracing. It addresses all issues directly or indirectly related to culture. In this way it is intended to replace the special laws and sectoral regulations. It occasionally reiterates provisions from the organic laws as well. The amended Law is even more extensive. With a view to better vertical and horizontal harmonisation of the Law, the examiners recommend a leaner and more sustainable structure in the future amendments, with general provisions briefly and clearly formulated, more specific norms related to particular sectors being left to special laws and regulations. Also, the boundaries with systemic laws, such as Self-Government, Labour Relations, Public Finances, Copyright, Penal Code, etc, must be respected in order to avoid repetition.
27. Definitions. A large number of articles contain definitions of various cultural activities which are not always consistent with the subsequent provisions of the Law.
28. Basic assumptions. The beginning of the Section 1 of the Law, with its classification of “interests in culture” under the headings “individual”, “local” and “national”, which implies a ranking system in terms of a centre-periphery model, and also displays some logical redundancy (e.g. “local interest in culture ... is a public interest of local importance”), raises too many questions to be discussed here. Instead, the examiners contend that the Law is not the proper place to demonstrate the assumptions underlying cultural values and suggest that they might be better articulated in policy documents, primarily the strategic documents.
29. Institutional reform. The other aim of the classification of interests in culture is more appropriate, as it addresses the crucial issue of restructuring cultural public institutions in terms of the “national” and “local” levels, i.e. the process of decentralisation. Nevertheless, anticipation of the outcomes of decentralisation in culture must be flexible, including possible new forms of governance in cultural institutions. For instance, the competition for the director of a national institution might well be conceived as a competition for a managerial team (and their programme), which is not possible under the current wording of the Law (Art. 30).
30. National and other institutions. The Law sets out a number of detailed provisions (14 articles in all) regarding national institutions, whereas other institutions are generally subsumed under the heading “Institution” with no further specifications. It may be inferred, therefore, that national institutions will continue to operate in a non-competitive or semi-competitive environment, while other institutions will be left to the competence of the local founders – provided these are established during the process of decentralisation – or be exposed to a competitive environment (eg sold out to a private institution), or simply closed. The Law does not give a clear picture of how local cultural institutions will be managed and their status regulated, i.e. under what conditions these institutions can preserve the status of public institutions. The examiners recommend that this issue be prioritised in preparing the

future version of the Law, especially because it is related to other important policy issues, such as privatisation and decentralisation. On the other hand, both the examiners and the Ministry are fully aware that this crucial task should be assigned to the National Programme or some other document of strategic relevance.

31. Other participants. Lastly, the Law does not say anything about consumers of culture, the cultural public and other participants in culture. One reason for this is certainly the preference for consultative bodies attached to the Ministry rather than arm's length or broader bodies of participants in decision-making. This may well be a remnant of the centralist style of governance or have to do with the fact that the number of professionals and other competent persons in culture is not too large, although this may be a self-fulfilling prophecy. Indeed, an increase in the number of competent participants in decision-making depends on the devolution of central-government competencies. The examiners believe that mistrust in the – allegedly – less competent engenders even more mistrust, and this diminishes a major source of change in the policy system. The examiners therefore recommend that the Ministry initiate discussions or consultative meetings with a number of people interested in participating in decision-making in culture on different governmental and non-governmental levels. A critical mass of highly motivated and competent individuals could be formed, as this is essential for bringing about changes of such big proportions as decentralisation, privatisation and various partnerships (public-private, central-local, etc) in culture. In a similar vein, the examiners recommend that the Ministry reconsider the role of the Cultural Council. It is reasonable to expect that devolving some more competence in decision-making to consultative and similar bodies may elicit some good consequences. One is that it helps to build political, professional and public trust among different actors and participants in culture, and another is that it broadens the basis of knowledge and skills needed to create a more decentralised policy landscape, where autonomy and self-reliance take precedence over vertical decisions. It also reinforces the basic principles of good governance: consultation and participation of various cultural stakeholders in shaping policies, and better prospects for implementation of policy measures (when stakeholders have participated in the process).

The strategy issue

32. Strategy and its carriers. Many of the gaps in the policy framework remain to be filled in a strategy document. Given that such a document has not yet been prepared and that the National Programme may not cover all the key issues, especially as the objectives and instruments will be geared to the medium term, i.e. the Government's term of office, some recommendations are set out below for consideration by the Ministry. At the same time, the examiners are aware that they cannot make any specific suggestions, nor would they feel competent in that, regarding details that are certainly more important than general recommendations, such as which institutions or categories of employees, or partners in civil society, are to be taken as leaders of the strategic change. Generally portraying the nature of changes, on the other hand, may help to give a better idea of who the promoters, advocates, performers, operators and other carriers of change might be, how many such institutions or people exist in the country, where they work and live, etc. In any case, the carriers of change must be creative and open-minded, with a keen interest in the arts and culture, but also knowledgeable about other areas of expertise and work, and sensitive to the economic and social consequences of change, which are often contradictory and need a broad mind and a strong will to be reconciled or resolved.

33. Goals, instruments and timing. Whatever policy changes are introduced, their goals or objectives must be clearly defined and explained so that it is possible to assess, after a certain period of time, whether they have taken hold and whether the instruments used have proved good enough to produce the desired results. In this connection, a four-year or any other strictly defined period is unsuitable for producing the desired changes. In some areas changes occur at a slower (e.g. decentralisation), in others at a quicker pace (e.g. privatisation of some institutions or cultural branches), depending on the degree of reforms (e.g. streamlining budget outlays vs. building capacity for local decision-making). Last but not least, ends must be clearly distinguished from means. Most of the Macedonian experts who discussed this issue in the round-tables with the European experts stressed, for example, that decentralisation and privatisation should not be ends in themselves, but instruments for achieving genuinely cultural goals.¹² If so, then what are these goals ultimately? How they can be presented or visualised, and how can success or failure in achieving them be precisely measured or evidenced? If these aspects are not made sufficiently clear, doubt may easily be cast on the whole process, implying that it has objectives other than those declared, e.g. a hidden agenda characteristic of the politics of power and privilege.
34. A win-win rather than a zero-sum situation. Bearing in mind that a long list of issues remain to be solved in the next policy period, including 115 national institutions whose fate is soon to be decided¹³, some principles need to be laid down in order to carry out the changes. One of the most important principles is maintaining the balance between immediate and long-term effects and between losses and gains. More specifically, the initial financial cuts and reductions that will certainly follow a major restructuring of the system of cultural public institutions and affect many employees must be offset as soon as possible by positive effects in order to preserve the legitimacy of such a policy. In order to create such opportunities, proposed changes must be subjected to an ex ante impact assessment, with the participation of stakeholders.
35. The Ministry's fairness. Assuming that the administrative personnel is going to be reduced mainly by means of severance pay or temporary contracts, the Ministry should, for the sake of fairness, offer new opportunities to those who do not fit into these schemes, rather than do away with them. For example, it could recommend them to other cultural or public institutions or programmes or share in the costs of their occupational or professional retraining. The question of fairness, however, raises the most sensitive issue of the transition policy. If the process initiated by the Law on Culture is proclaimed as the transformation of state-led or state-owned culture into a plurality of governance and ownership – public, private and mixed or partnerships – and bearing in mind that these areas are still unconsolidated or rudimentary, it is a matter of the utmost importance to balance the burden of the transformation process as a whole. Labour and social protection of cultural workers is central to this and a good example of cross-sectoral policies, where the Ministry of Culture should form partnerships with other ministries.

¹² As reported by D. Mucica in her Mission Report “Revision of the Law on Culture in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”. Strasbourg: Council of Europe – Mosaic II, 25 November 2002.

¹³ “Proposal for enactment...”, p. 6.

36. The chief public entrepreneur in culture. When much of the cultural sector, mainly individual artists, shares the fate of the rest of the economy and society, while some sectors and institutions are spared such a fate, it would be both fair and rational for the Ministry of Culture to assume a new role in order to create better conditions for culture. The new role combines the capacity of chief public administrator with that of public manager, i.e. someone who streamlines its bureaucratic apparatus and at the same time furnishes more flexible and market-oriented cultural activities. The Ministry is thus the first to play out the rules it proclaims, showing that they do not apply only to newcomers to the cultural sector, mostly educated young artists, art historians, librarians, museologists, and other young professionals condemned to seek employment outside the state sector (where further recruitment was virtually banned a couple of years ago). Hence the need to build bridges between the state and the private sector or between the not-for-profit and the for-profit sector in culture.
37. Staff. To perform such a complex role the Ministry should be better equipped with specialists in the area of cultural administration and cultural management, or itself provide education and training in these areas by requesting international assistance in this area, including from the Council of Europe.
38. The arm's length principle. As recommended, the Ministry should consider transferring some of its competencies to arm's length bodies. The existing Law on Culture allots an advisory role to the Cultural Council. It is not only the examiners' view, but also that of free-lance artists and other public figures with whom they discussed policy options, that culture must be as independent as possible from the influence of political parties and their appointees in the cultural sector, or, as some interlocutors call them, "court artists" and "party soldiers in culture". The examiners cast no doubt whatsoever on the expertise and competence of the Ministry's team, nor their desire to expand co-operation with external stakeholders, as the Law on Culture stipulates this as a possibility as well. The examiners are also fully aware of the good and bad aspects of arm's length bodies, from experience in other countries. Nevertheless, arm's length bodies have been shown to be the best instrument for ensuring checks and balances in the cultural policy system as well as the public transparency of cultural decision-making, and there appears to be a demand for such an alternative control system in "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" too. In the early stages of putting participatory decision-making into practice, some co-determination between the Council and the Ministry would, therefore, be advisable, and their respective roles and competencies should be clearly defined.
39. Co-determination. Co-determination in this case means three things. First, the members of the Council are appointed by professional associations, in the case of the experts, and by associations or organisations of consumers, the private sector and civil society, in the case of the other members. Second, members should be approved by the Minister, as he/she is ultimately responsible to the legislature for all decisions made. By the same token, the Minister has a power of veto. And thirdly, a number of important decisions can be taken autonomously by the Council. This is evidence that culture is not exclusively governed by administrative, political or other self-perpetuating reasons.

40. Stakeholders in decision-making. In order to ensure its credibility, the structure of the Council – or several councils divided by sectors – must reflect various types of interests or organisations in culture or each sector in culture: public (state and not-for-profit organisations, non-governmental organisations, art amateurs, etc.), private, citizens as consumers, minorities where they have particular interests, and so on. Different interests in culture may be compared with shares, and their representatives in policy bodies with stakeholders¹⁴, provided their interests are strong enough and the case for culture gains increasing importance both in national and in local public life. The main policy direction in which the system of participatory decision-making via arm's length bodies can be expanded – in order to enhance the public importance and image of culture – is decentralisation. This aspect will be discussed further in the chapter on decentralisation.
41. Provisions for implementing the strategy. It is of the utmost importance that the Law on Culture should create the conditions for the strategy to be implemented. Experience in other countries indicates that the use of a strategic document, even when adopted by Parliament, is pointless unless implementing regulations are subsequently introduced. The authors of the strategy facilitate this process by drawing up policy papers, i.e. operative documents applicable to horizontal, i.e. cultural sectors, and vertical levels, i.e. state, municipalities and cities. However, before launching the operation as a whole, we suggest that some changes be made in different areas of cultural policy, especially in preparing the decentralisation process.

Financing

42. The “national interest in culture”. Since the legal provisions governing decentralisation have not all been implemented yet, the whole process of financing culture is organised around annual competitions and annual programmes adopted by the Ministry. The declared criterion for selecting applications is “national interest” with nine specific aspects: continuous work in culture, excellence, diversity, accessibility, identity of minorities, diaspora, evenness of cultural development, international impact, and research (Law on Culture, Art. 8). However, it is not clear to what extent and in what ways precisely these criteria have been employed in the selection of the annual programmes for financing. Until now, all existing organisations in the cultural sector have been fully financed from the national budget, so that the criteria used for their financing were mainly unrestricted. More restrictions are to be expected in the next round of competition and, accordingly, more attention should be paid to the choice and clarity of the criteria. Also, it is advisable for quality criteria, such as excellence or “elite” and the like, to be set forth in a policy paper rather than a law.
43. Downward trends. At present, less than 2% of the total government budget is earmarked for culture, which represents a decline of some 0.5% compared with the year 2000. Also, 2,445 people are working in the state cultural sector and its 115 institutions, which is also a decreasing tendency. Another downward trend is the relative share of salaries in budget outlay, while the share of programme expenses

¹⁴ “There is, nevertheless, a qualitative difference between consultation and participation. Whereas consultation is no more than a two way dialogue, participation means that stakeholders are not only expected to express opinions on the proposed regulation, but also to actively participate in the actual drafting. And although regulators would have the final decision, participative procedures bring the public to the decision-making level” (D. Mucica: *Cultural Legislation. Why? How? What?*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2003, p. 26)

increases. At first sight, all these curves indicate that gradual streamlining of cultural expenditure, both overall and in terms of maintenance costs, is not compensated for by other sources of funding and is instead a zero-sum game. This by itself must not mean defeatism provided that programmes or sectors which have enjoyed increased funding in recent years, such as visual arts, film and heritage, energise other sectors.

44. Further measures. Further measures will probably include temporary contracts or part-time positions at the expense of some permanent positions in such fields as performing arts and music, where underemployment of personnel is a chronic problem, and all too often employees resort to shadow-market jobs. At the same time there is a chronic lack of professionals in the areas of conservation, ballet, opera, philharmonic orchestra, etc., which necessitates additional funding and training. The examiners generally recommend that the number of institutions, programmes, events and, especially, the personnel permanently employed in them, be revised in accordance with the principles of efficiency, quality, creativity, transparency or participation, community or inter-sectoral relevance, and international importance.
45. Matching funding. Further to the above-mentioned principle of fairness, the examiners recommend introducing rules which will put state-supported, i.e. national, institutions and other institutions to some extent in a similar position by granting funds preferably to projects or programmes with matching funds, i.e. which apply for, are likely to receive or have already received, funds from sources other than the Ministry, including other ministries' funds or some private funds. Of course, this preferential criterion should not be applied in the case of national cultural institutions which, like museums, cannot find an alternative source of funds that amounts to 10% of the total budget costs. But the case of museums will be discussed later. In all other cases of state-subsidised cultural institutions, at least 10% of the funds should be matched as a requirement for covering the remaining budget costs. To make the funding policy consistent and also motivating for the applicants in their search for additional funding, some additional conditions may be set. For example, if an applicant – which is traditionally dependent on state funding, and is considered by the Ministry as of high public importance (e.g., a major theatre) – cannot reach the 10% threshold of additional funding, the rest of the funds planned for earmarking might be reduced. For an NGO applicant, on the other hand, the alternative amount, which in this case is the chief amount, should be higher, e.g., more than 60%. These examples are given simply to demonstrate the purpose of such an approach, which is to combine the spirits of cultural management and cultural administration with the criteria of qualities, public importance, fairness or equal access, and other criteria validated in evaluation and assessment rules (see paragraph 22 a).
46. In search of other sources. Assuming that financial demands in culture will continue to rise and that the state budget alone will be unable to meet those demands, the question of extra-budgetary financing becomes more and more important. Many cultural officials and artists are now sceptical of such opportunities. In the first instance, tax and customs policy is relatively unfavourable to culture, the regulations on donations being particularly discouraging (some 58% per item donated). In spite of additional efforts by the Ministry to ensure that VAT and customs regulations accord better treatment to both for-profit and not-for profit cultural production, only the latter has derived some benefit. This case merits closer attention. The demands for tax relief for both commercial and non-commercial production might be taken

into consideration by the Treasury or similar centres of financial power only if the arguments in favour of culture are presented in a new and convincing way, although rational persuasion alone, without lobbying for culture, is certainly not enough. Nevertheless, the arguments demonstrating the economic and non-economic values of public externalities are crucial. Cultural advocacy in “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” should therefore be developed, among other things, in order to advance co-operation between commercial and non-commercial cultural industries for the sake of creating cultural products whose quality exceeds that of the ordinary products of mass culture.

47. Private sponsors. Private sponsorship is another place where cultural advocacy should enter. Although the legislation encourages private support, investment in culture is still insignificant, and inappropriate tax and customs policy cannot be the only cause of this. Efforts should focus on making a case for investment in culture based on the evidence that culture creates a specific added value for sponsors as well as for their products and services, and that such an added value cannot be created in co-operation with other sectors (such as sports, for example). The added value may be higher prestige accorded to a sponsor’s trade-mark advertised at a cultural event, or the case where a cultural audience consists of well-off and more refined consumers, or where a cultural partner provides inventive marketing strategies for the sponsor, such as a better product design or promoting a favourable social climate and a cultivated environment which is more pleasing to investors, especially foreign investors than an abandoned environment. Which cultural added value will occur or prevail depends on creative approaches to the profit-making economy as such, as well as on the inventiveness applied in particular cases.
48. Bridge-building cultural capital. It may nevertheless be predicted that international funds will focus primarily on projects which foster interethnic understanding and co-operation in “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”, i.e. bridge-building cultural capital. Such an interest may well be matched with overarching economic investments and business projects, i.e. those which provide opportunities for employment and co-operation between people of different nationalities. This may have a multiplier effect in terms of spreading economic activities in the area.

Preparing decentralisation

49. Fears and hopes. Decentralisation is among the important priorities stipulated in the Framework Agreement. The framework Law on Local Self-government was passed in 2002. Many conditions have still to be settled before the real process of decentralisation is initiated. The final number of municipalities is currently being discussed within governmental bodies. The draft of the structurally most important law, the Law on Financing of Local Self-government, is being finalised, and plans are under way to implement local finance reforms in four municipalities as a pilot project. These are essential prerequisites for cultural decentralisation, including the climate which brought it to the top of the policy agenda. In contrast to the position a few years ago, the examiners may notice that anticipated decentralisation has aroused much more interest among cultural players outside the capital, although not always for the same reasons: while enthusiasm among NGOs in the provinces is mounting¹⁵, there is a definite uncertainty among local officials regarding their future

¹⁵ Remarkable evidence of this is the 100-page publication on fiscal decentralisation in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, issued by the NGO “Actac” in Prilep: *Fiskalna Decentralizacija Vo Makedonija*. Prilep, ACTAC, 2003.

roles. Thus, although the Law of Local Self-government (passed in 1995) and the Law on Culture have granted local levels the right to found cultural institutions, there is not a single cultural institution that has been founded for the time being.

50. Capacity building. On the other hand, local self-government has a certain legacy from the socialist era, and it was in 1991 that local budgets for culture were taken away and incorporated into the central budget. It may be assumed that a cultural lag persisted over the last decade, to the extent that the older generations of employees retained certain habits or needs in local decision-making and the disposal of local revenues. Some memories of those times prior to 1990, when a not inconsiderable amount of funds was at the disposal of local government, are still fresh and were mentioned to the examiners by some interlocutors. However, this capacity is psychological rather than specialist. A lot has changed in the European practice of cultural governance and these things must now be learned anew and incorporated into local capacity building. Among other things, methods of cultural management and administration have progressed enormously, and the relevant knowledge and skills still need to be developed in this country. Also, the future local cultural officials and entrepreneurs will face new responsibilities, including the search for extra-budgetary funds, which was not typical of the former socialist era of self-government. It will probably be up to the younger generations of experts and officials, better educated or trained in the new governance, to instil the new incentives and be the first partners in the coalition for decentralisation reform.
51. Pilot projects. The Ministry of Culture has, in co-operation with the Open Society Institute (which has earmarked 40,000\$ for this purpose), initiated pilot projects in six municipalities: Debar, Kumanovo, Kocani, Stip, Negotino and Krusevo. These municipalities were selected on the basis of the following criteria: wide territorial scope, sound co-operation links with local authorities, good experience in preparatory talks on the local motivation for the project, and the ethnically heterogeneous composition of the population. The project is focused on local houses of culture and their libraries with the aim of strengthening the capacity of local experts in the areas of strategic and operative planning, fund raising, autonomous decision-making, financial sustainability and participation in a multi-ethnic and multicultural setting. The main method of work is workshops taking place over weekends.¹⁶ The examiners welcome this initiative as well as its aims and expected results and regard it as a serious step forward in capacity building for local cultural management. Given that the scheduled training courses are to be completed by October 2003, the results of the project should be assessed as soon as possible to see whether or how this, presumably good, practice might possibly be extended to other municipalities. The examiners kindly ask the Ministry to let them have the assessment materials as soon as they are available so that they can be included in the national debate following the CD-CULT presentation and examination of the national report and the expert report. This is important inasmuch as there are some fifty cultural clubs, but only some undertake activities (in Kumanovo, Bitola, Prilep, Strumica, Struga, Tetovo, Stip and Ohrid).
52. Cities as the units of decentralised governance. Since there is no proper tradition of regions, including cultural regions, in “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”, it might be recommended, and this certainly follows the line of thinking of the cultural authorities, that a polycentric network of cities should instead be created.

¹⁶ Foundation Open Society Institute Macedonia: “Saopštenje Za Javnost”. Document provided by the Minister of Culture to the examiners.

Cities, if well co-ordinated, might assume responsibilities in cultural planning and development. They might be selected on the basis of pilot projects similar to the one undertaken by the Ministry. On the whole, the examiners believe that there is keen interest in decentralisation and that several cities, other than Skopje, will wish to apply for the status of self-governing unit in culture. Of course, a city as a unit includes the whole area of the municipality with its rural and intermediate zones. As well as being the local centre, the city is also dependent on the local economy and society, as smooth development of its broader environment enhances the prosperity and image of the city itself (see paragraph 61).

53. The selection criteria. The devolution of central-government competencies in cultural policy – whether administrative, political or only financial¹⁷ – calls for certain conditions to be met by the candidate cities. They must be capable not only of maintaining the existing level of local culture, but also of considerably upgrading it. In order to guarantee that they have the necessary capacity, the following criteria should be met by candidate cities¹⁸:
- a) sustainability, i.e. certain levels of cultural life, infrastructure and protection of the heritage must be maintained;
 - b) co-ordination, i.e. different administrative levels must be harmonised both vertically (central-local) and horizontally (among self-governing units);
 - c) dynamism, i.e. they must be able to produce stimulating effects in different cultural fields; and
 - d) co-operation, i.e. they must be driven by a spirit of co-operation with other sectors (education, science and technology, spatial planning, tourism, etc.).
54. Enriching the quality of public life. Cultural decentralisation is expected to create cultural change that will bring a new quality of life in local communities, make them more dynamic and attractive, especially for young people. Firstly, new ideas and actions are needed to reshape socio-cultural milieus through increased participation, creativity, traditional and sub-cultural styles, and to foster local identities and local pride, from towns and suburban neighbourhoods to rural areas. Secondly, such projects and actions might be attractive in ethnically mixed areas, especially among young people in places where traditional ways of life do not offer sufficient opportunities for them to meet others and to participate in joint activities. In order to make this breakthrough, the governmental sector should co-operate closely with civil society.
55. Moving away from the “jubilant” culture. The new local activities in culture should move away from a “jubilant” or “ceremonial” approach to the national and ethnic minority cultures. However, the new must not dispel what was old, and vice versa. Decentralisation may be seen as a way of redistribution of different forms of cultural life. Sub-national levels may not produce high-brow culture, but one cannot rule out the possibility that some of them might in future reach the highest national or international quality standards. The local level may also lack the politics of identity in terms of “ours” and “theirs” and be more open-ended, promoting inter-sectoral and future-oriented projects and activities in order to mobilise a sense of “life politics”, i.e. preservation of the natural environment, active promotion of positive attitudes

¹⁷ N. Kawashima: “Theorising Decentralisation in Cultural Policy”. *The European Journal of Cultural Policy*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1997.

¹⁸ This list of criteria is taken from the chapter on decentralisation (written by S. Dragojevic) in: B. Cvjeticanin and V. Katunaric, eds., *Hrvatska u 21. Stoljecu – Strategija Kulturnog Razvitka*. Zagreb: Ministarstvo kulture Republike Hrvatske, 2002.

toward others, spirit of cultural entrepreneurship, concern for the local self-image, and other such activities that have barely been developed so far. Decentralisation might be such an opportunity to create new cultural interests and forms in new places in the country.

56. National and local should not be mutually exclusive. The examiners understand the Ministry's fears that the transfer of cultural competencies in a situation of overall economic insecurity may be rather dangerous unless the most valuable parts of culture are first secured through state protection. Nevertheless, this protection should not mean state control or administrative subordination. On the other hand, decentralisation should not be seen as a zero-sum game either. As one cultural specialist said to the European experts, many people in culture understand decentralisation either in a rudimentary sense or, if they do not see an immediate use for themselves in it, simply refuse to talk about it. In the light of this, a "win-win" perspective must be anticipated in as many instances as possible in the context of the new relationships between the national and local levels of public culture.
57. Redistribution of responsibilities. In a more ambitious approach to decentralisation, giving a complementary and partly competitive, instead of a residual role, to culture at local level might be beneficial to the country's overall cultural landscape. Cultural planning could therefore be left to cities as cultural nodes of a particular kind, provided that cultural planning fosters innovative ideas and activities and that the Ministry ensures funding for the new development. In such a scenario the Ministry might obtain the following responsibilities:
- a) determining the main goals of cultural policy and cultural development,
 - b) preserving its competence over the institutions selected as being of national importance,
 - c) assisting and facilitating the development of cultural institutions and activities at local level by creating a joint sphere of responsibility, including co-financing of cultural institutions or projects of common interest,
 - d) acting as mediator between the public, private and non-governmental and the commercial and non-commercial sectors,
 - e) facilitating horizontal co-ordination between local units, i.e. in the network of cities (not managing or ruling over them).
58. A pluralistic landscape. In the long term, cultural decentralisation is intended to transform the centre-periphery model into a pluralistic cultural landscape. In such a context, places outside Skopje must not be envious of what Skopje represents in cultural terms. On the contrary, they will differ from it in terms of the qualities they offer. The pluralist landscape also transcends ethnic-cultural features. The latter may figure on the map of cultural pluralism alongside, for example, artistic parks, cultural tourism sites, multi-ethnic fairs and festivals, locations of popular culture events, regions adjoining neighbouring countries, international flagship projects, flows within worldwide networks of cultural co-operation, etc.
59. Local councils. A crucial instrument in securing sustainable decentralisation is the local cultural council established by analogy with councils at national level. Experts in different cultural fields are needed to form the core element in participatory decision-making. To prepare conscientiously for this step, the Ministry should, in consultation with local partners, initiate research to explore strengths and

weaknesses in this regard. Basically, “cultural mapping”¹⁹ is needed to show whether the prerequisites exist, or which ones should be further developed, to meet the conditions of sustainability, co-ordination, dynamism and inter-sectoral co-operation, and in how many places precisely or within what estimated period of time. Nevertheless, councils are the most viable policy instruments when other conditions are unknown or not yet provided: good teams are the source of other prerequisites, including infrastructure and finances. This is certainly better than mere financial decentralisation that may easily miss its target. In such an approach only a few local units or cities might realistically be expected to establish councils, but these may give an impetus to other units via networking, mobility schemes and other instruments, provided mainly by experts and other resources from Skopje. The decentralisation process would thus be asymmetrical at first, with a few major units acquiring competence in cultural planning and development.

60. How many levels? Looking ahead to the development of symmetrical decentralisation, when nearly all local units with their major cities or towns will be included in the network, the question arises as to the optimum number of levels in the new cultural policy system. In this type of system the horizontal structure is undoubtedly more developed and more important than the vertical, as it forges different qualities of cultural production and cultural life rather than different competencies, units being eager to produce the best results in order to achieve what they see as a comparative advantage. The basic two-level system, i.e. state-national and local, represents the vertical axis in terms of competencies. Nevertheless, the third, international level will gain increasing importance as the country becomes more integrated into the European and other international cultural frameworks, which, however, must not necessarily interfere with domestic levels and competencies. The various co-operation links will undoubtedly make domestic cultural policy and the domestic cultural landscape more complicated, but also more interesting and attractive to investors and innovators. The difference between the national and local levels in terms of cultural quality and productivity may eventually recede in favour of dynamic achievements on all sides.
61. An end to backwardness. At an advanced stage of decentralisation, the structure of competencies and cultural productivity and co-operation may be so dense that no grey areas of underdevelopment are left, especially in rural areas or in the areas where cultural heritage is less valued in terms of the (old?) conservationist interests. However, in view of the fact that anything backward or anachronistic is increasingly regarded as evidence of a time that will never be repeated, but may easily be swallowed up in the waves of industrial and urban uniformity, such places should be protected and conserved in a way that appeals to contemporary curiosity and the taste for historical and “retro-chic” ambiances. Hence, a pluralistic cultural landscape should incorporate as much of what was formerly considered as “primitive”, “rustic”, “rural” or “backward”. This may also become attractive as an ambience for international investors in the new tourism and other quaternary industries. Two interests in the past meet and reinforce each other: the local interest in preservation of cultural heritage and worldwide interest in the preservation of cultural diversities in a broader sense, i.e. what local places might have looked like “once upon a time”. Of course, the evidence indicating actual hardship in local people's lives, neglect of local infrastructure, public places and the like, must be converted into something positive, as both visitors' desires and domestic memories

¹⁹ Cf. C. Mercer, *Towards Cultural Citizenship: Tools for Cultural Policy and Development*. Stockholm: The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation & Gidlunds Förlag, 2002.

are rather selective: most people want to see an image of continuity highlighting an optimistic link between the past and the present, however one-sided and unrealistic. Still, such a link is vital and encouraging. A wise cultural policy must therefore take these factors into account and convert old and abandoned places into old ones solely.

62. Private interests and investments. Privatisation in culture is also a form of devolution of central competencies in culture and this component may become increasingly important in furthering the process of decentralisation. Nevertheless, this is a highly sensitive issue, especially at the outset of decentralisation. Typically, the private interest is either weak, as it is reportedly nowadays in “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”, or purely speculative and commercially-driven, keen to convert public assets, especially facilities in the old centres of cities, to other purposes, as is happening in most countries in transition. The examiners may recommend two things to remedy this problem. Firstly, if the use of cultural infrastructure and other facilities is no longer sustainable, it would be a better solution to sell it or rent it out for another public purpose (educational, health and other public sectors). Alternatively, such infrastructure could be transformed into multi-purpose facilities, managed either by the local authorities, by the private sector or in partnership. Secondly, a map of competencies, i.e. “who is who” in the decentralised system and what may be the subject of transactions and under what specific conditions, might provide a better basis for encouraging private interest in culture.
63. Houses of culture: a new beginning. Local infrastructure is certainly the central problem. There is relatively large network of houses of culture inherited from the socialist era. A number of these are technologically outdated, their buildings run-down and their rooms unused. Local government is likely to be given responsibility for most of them. The examiners recommend that the Ministry consider its long-term objective after the successful completion of the above-mentioned pilot project, namely to take this infrastructure strategically as the starting-point for reviving public culture. This property can be used in different ways, some lucrative, i.e. renting or selling it to the commercial sector, and this can provide an additional source of funding. Nevertheless, cultural purpose should be first in the list of priorities that should be set beforehand. Of course, appropriate co-operation with commercial businesses should not be ruled out. Nevertheless, rules and programmes for combined public and private uses of houses of culture must be laid down by the Ministry and the local cultural authorities, and the cultural councils whenever these can be set up. The examiners believe that no other processes can be as strong and have such powerful multiplier effects for cultural life throughout the country as these two: decentralisation as a move towards the broadest possible participation in cultural policy and the houses of culture as a basis for revitalising public access and participation in culture.

CULTURAL HERITAGE

A future for the past

64. The wealth of the past for the future. There are more than a thousand non-movable items (churches and monasteries) and several hundred thousand movable cultural heritage items (icons, carvings, church furniture, and archaeological items) that are preserved and protected by a network of three national institutions, two in Skopje and one in Ohrid, and four local institutions in Bitola, Prilep, Stip and Strumica. Artefacts from all historical epochs – especially antique, medieval and Turkish²⁰ – represent the country's most remarkable asset. They reflect the continuities and discontinuities of a long, multifarious and exciting history, and also form the subject of various concerns of present-day heritage policy, which are summarised in the national report. The question of how the heritage can co-exist with modern life still overshadows the worrying mismatch between conservation/restoration requests and the available funds. In fact, the former signals hopes, but also ambiguities, to the latter. How can the wealth of the past make for future prosperity? Of course, the answers from the literature are numerous and fairly optimistic: from new developments in the cultural industries to different kinds of cultural tourism²¹. Such potential is to be found, in abundance, in "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" too. Some is already being put to good use and plays a prominent part in the country's contemporary image and development. More is still waiting to be tapped.
65. Typical problems. Both domestic and foreign experts stress that the efforts undertaken in the area of protection and conservation of non-movable items have fallen short. To list just some instances, the regular conservation procedure has been completed on a relatively small number of items. At the same time, a number of conservationists in different sub-fields are urgently needed. Furthermore, in many cases the properties are unregulated and there is a lack of interest on the part of the owners. Serious problems include unauthorised digs on archaeological sites, theft and illegal trade in artefacts, damage to archaeological sites as a result of construction work, and the difficulties faced by the government in searching for heritage items that were taken away from the country in past centuries. Furthermore, the work on the classification of monuments is far from being completed. And last but not least, restitution of cultural heritage items which were taken to other countries remains a serious issue that has not yet been solved. These are major problems with which many other countries are also confronted. This is, of course, not a cause for comfort or a reason for underestimating the problems. On the contrary, some of the problems, notably the completion of the conservation procedures, seem unlikely to be resolved in the near future. The question is therefore whether the list of problems can somehow be restructured or reduced.
66. Different but concerted solutions. First is the rational use of existing possibilities. For example, strengthening the implementation of legislation. Theft of artefacts and other illegal activities must be effectively prevented or punished through concerted action on the part of the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Internal Affairs as

²⁰ T. Tomoski: *Makedonija Niz Vekovite*. Gradovi, Tvrđini, Komunikacii. Skopje: Matica Makedonska, 1999.

²¹ D.A. Jelincic, ed. by: "Culture: A Driving Force for Urban Tourism – Application of Experiences to Countries in Transition". *Culturelink*. Special Issue No. 5, 2002.

well as of local authorities, and the announcement of the setting up of a special department with such an assignment is an appropriate solution. Another, more positive solution, is the systematic building of knowledge and awareness of the importance of heritage as both a past and future asset of the country, in schools and the media. This necessitates broader co-operation between different sectors which usually have strictly divided competencies and are not willing to share them. This is, however, a serious challenge of the utmost national importance and should be regarded as a good opportunity for rectifying such defects. The Ministry of Culture might regard this, for example, as an opportunity to demonstrate to the ministries responsible for education and the media the extent to which particular problems are shared and call for a common approach and action. On the other hand, education and training of specialists can be improved through further co-operation with international partners.

67. Regional co-operation to promote integrated conservation. Awareness of the value of international co-operation has considerably increased in “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”. In order to put a positive attitude into practice in the area of heritage protection, the examiners recommend that the Ministry take part in the Regional Programme for Cultural and Natural Heritage in South-East Europe, drawn up by the Council of Europe in February 2003.²² This project initiates many important steps towards mobilising institutional contributions, supporting local democracy and strategy building with the aim of increasing the diversity of territories, fostering sustainable development, interconnecting territories and opening them up to the rest of Europe, and, something which is particularly important for heritage protection, facilitating an integrated approach to conservation, planning and development. The examiners regard this project as an opportunity for the Ministry and the cultural sector as a whole to give a new impetus to inter-sectoral co-operation in heritage conservation. Furthermore, it combines an integrated approach to heritage conservation with an inter-sectoral and co-operative approach to decentralisation with an emphasis on the new dynamics of local development.
68. Another major impetus for decentralisation. This is important inasmuch as the outlook for decentralisation depends on efforts aimed at enhancing the attractiveness of places through conservation of valuable sites, their revitalisation, management of social change, and their impact on tourism and related industries. Concerted activity by different sectors in such places would help to build confidence among potential international investors. The examiners are aware that the requirements for inter-sectoral co-operation are difficult to meet given that the Ministry of Culture is often the only initiator of such links in the Government, and gives more support and co-operation than it receives. Nevertheless, the examiners encourage the Ministry to continue with its advocacy of an integrated approach to cultural heritage, and consider that this European initiative can make an important contribution to that.

²² *Regional Programme for Cultural and Natural Heritage in South-East Europe 2003-2005*. General reference framework. Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Ref. AT03 026.

Museums at the crossroads

69. Budgetary burden or a new impetus? As the national report points out, only a few of the 21 museums meet modern standards. To make things worse, the share of the maintenance and programme costs is the biggest in the cultural sector, and the technical protection of major museums, including the Museum of Modern Arts, is insufficient or outdated. The bad situation obviously makes the outlook for the future even grimmer. The problems call for radical solutions: either the number of state-funded museums should be reduced and those no longer funded by the state should be opened to privatisation or some other transaction, as discussed in the chapter on decentralisation, or new impetus should be given to co-operation between museum staff, the Ministry and a broader circle of museum specialists.
70. State – private mix? The fate of the 21 museums has not yet been decided. The examiners are interested in knowing which solution the Ministry will adopt to make the distinction between public, mixed and privately owned museums. For example, the Dutch model of the privatisation of management rather than the institution, which entails long-term social protection programmes, might perhaps be regarded as appropriate in this case. Nevertheless, the criteria for mixed or private ownership should be defined along. Next, how long should the grace period be? Also, it should be decided, as in the case of the culture houses, whether pilot projects are to be launched to instil a spirit of competitiveness, modernisation, quality and networking, including the rethinking of the role of museums in cultural tourism.
71. Dividing responsibilities. One of the biggest problems is that of institutional competencies in this area, which are not sufficiently clearly defined. The examiners urge the Ministry to co-ordinate the responsibilities of museums and institutes for the conservation of cultural heritage as part of the difficult process of creating the new network of institutions via pilot projects. The academic institutes may also, in co-operation with international partners, offer alternative models for the transformation, integration or ranking of museums, and museums and related conservation institutes may carry out feasibility studies or evaluate different models.
72. Merging private and public funds. There is currently little interest in the privatisation of museums. This situation, of which the Ministry is fully aware, necessitates the setting up of projects to demonstrate the attractiveness of matching private and public funds. Even assuming that private interest in museums is and will continue to be more commercial than otherwise, e.g. renting parts of the museum facilities for restaurants, shops and the like, this appears to be a better solution, as has been shown in many other countries. One part of the merger generates income for the other. It is up to the museum part to use this transaction in its own favour, both as self-generating income and the opportunity for making itself self-sufficient, but also more attractive to neighbouring customers as well as to targeted groups of visitors: students, tourists, participants in conferences held at venues nearby, etc.
73. Alternative. In the absence of a dynamic private sector in this area, the public sector must demonstrate the qualities that are usually ascribed to the private sector, such as internal efficiency, flexibility and the spirit of entrepreneurship. In principle, these qualities can be exhibited by public institutions as well and they may create a synergy with the private sector or with international investors. In the years ahead it will become clearer whether such changes will take place in the Macedonian public sector, including museums, and whether, in the case of a more expedient state

policy, the local authorities will change their attitude towards the museums and regard them as places that enhance the local image. It is obvious that museums will eventually have to take a proactive stance in dealing with the new situation, which includes taking part in the system of permanent education with all the new responsibilities that such a role entails. A good initial example of this is the efforts undertaken a few years ago by the Ministry of Culture in co-operation with the Museum of Contemporary Arts in Skopje and some foreign foundations to educate young people in the fine arts through workshops and programmes involving the participation of visitors.

Heritage plus

74. Intangible heritage. Although the national report does not address the intangible heritage as a separate topic, probably because, like the UNESCO list of protected instances of spiritual culture, it is much shorter than the list of tangible cultural heritage items, the examiners highlight its particular importance. Figuratively speaking, quite a few pearls of “spiritual Ohrids” may be found, from folk music and folk dances to local and everyday customs which deserve to be recorded and permanently conserved, but also converted into cultural industry production. Of course, this is known to the Macedonian artists and producers who have achieved international success in this sphere. The question is how this mine of popular genius and so much musical and other artistic talent in the country may be further exploited, for two reasons. The first is to revive the domestic cultural industries. The second is to promote a cultural diversity that fosters local self-reliance and cultural identity in the face of globalisation. The examiners also believe that the country can put forward candidate(s) for the UNESCO list of masterpieces of traditional culture. Which examples are likely to impress?
75. Round-up. To raise a considerable part of the cultural heritage to a more dynamic policy level, decompartmentalisation of approaches and competencies seems to be the first objective, followed by the development of concrete partnerships, similar to the one established with the Ministry of the Interior regarding the “archaeological police”, and the incorporation of different heritage dimensions, such as traditional intangible culture, into organisational frameworks and practices. In this way, links can be built up between the heritage and contemporary cultural life, i.e. the arts, cultural industries, including the media, and last but not least, newly decentralised public spaces searching for exemplary blends of old and new.

ARTS AND CULTURAL INDUSTRIES

Artistic talent and cultural development

76. A country of artists. “The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” is said to be a country of artists. The estimated figure of 3,000 professional artists and many more amateur artists is really impressive. Yet, when the Law of Culture in its earlier version expanded the notion of “artist” virtually to everybody, this was misplaced. Maybe the basic understanding of wider sources of creativity was not wrong, but it took no account of the actual possibilities of professional artists, as most of them have little or no chance at all to realise their ideas or initiatives on the marketplace and other places of exchange.
77. Harnessing the potential. Another truism should also be borne in mind, namely that abandoned or wasted creative potential may turn into activities most of which are counterproductive to the arts, the legal economy and broader public standards. The same is true for the creative potential of the broader population, including tolerance and social bridge building. That is why the harnessing of talent is such a burning issue.²³ A cultural policy that draws on artistic and other cultural or socio-cultural talents may significantly contribute to a take-off into a more resourceful development. To channel these energies, appropriate conditions must again be created in close co-operation between cultural and other sectors: research, education, management, industry, the media and other fields. Policy on the arts and cultural industries can encourage this by promoting and rewarding invention, productivity and co-operation with other sectors as well as between other sectors and culture.

Private and public in a small market

78. Rewarding the best, encouraging others, ending monopolies. In the period 1990-2000 the publishing sector was privatised, with only one exception, Prosvetno Delo, which is a state-owned company publishing textbooks and guidebooks for students. Literary works and other non-commercial titles are co-financed through annual programmes where on average some 30% of the applications are granted. At the same time, the number of readers, including buyers of books, is relatively small. In addition to the incentives to authors and publishers introduced by the Ministry, the examiners recommend the following complementary measures:
- a) To increase, within reason, the number and variety of awards for publications. This should not require a considerable increase in funds. Rather, awards are symbolic incentives that give the rewarded books a better chance on the market, which proportionally increases opportunities for other authors of good quality books.
 - b) Given that the market for cultural goods, especially books, is small and cannot essentially be enlarged, it is urgently necessary to put an end to the monopolistic production of textbooks, guidebooks and similar publications. The right to equal access to such a lucrative business should be secured. Several publishers interested in such production might compete or may strike a deal to share the market and still gain from such an arrangement.

²³ C. Landry: *Cultural Policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Experts Report*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2002, Section Five.

- c) To consider the founding of a consortium of publishers that would articulate a common strategy vis-à-vis the Ministry of Culture, the domestic and the international market, and other important issues. Nevertheless, and in line with what is recommended earlier in this report, the setting up of a council for literature and publishing, alongside other sectoral councils or within the single national council, at the Ministry, might be a more expedient solution.
- d) To support literary creativity in the municipalities, especially where well-known authors live who may bring together younger authors or run literary workshops for amateurs, in creative writing for example. This should be linked to the education system as well, with creative workshops and classes in schools, dedicated to the development of overall creativity in young people.

79. Enlarging the readership, expanding informational and intercultural knowledge. The network of 32 public libraries is the largest purchaser and circulator of published works and is the right place for expanding the readership and the audience for the presentation and popularisation of valuable works. Given that the loaning rate of libraries is modest and the readerships mostly, except in the National Library, confined to children, to enlarge readership by targeting other groups is of primary importance. Some measures are planned to improve the outlook, such as expanding the use of the new information and communication technologies, increasing funds for purchasing books and the international networking of the library system. To meet these and other needs in this area, including improvements in the education and training of library staff, libraries and librarianship could be given an expanded role in the coming phase of policy and culture:

- a) Libraries, whether independent or attached to houses of culture, could become the centres where people, especially the younger generation, use new technology to master the new informational literacy and transmit these skills to other, especially older generations. Libraries should thus redefine their role and become access points for universal community service or mediatheques, which is a prominent feature in the system of permanent education.
- b) Some libraries may also be appropriate places for meetings of publishers from “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”, as well as other countries, who are interested in launching common publishing projects on topics focusing on the intercultural aspects of the literature concerned. On these occasions the librarians could arrange exhibitions of fiction or non-fiction works featuring themes or characters with common origins or raising interethnic and intercultural issues.
- c) Renewal of the links with publishers from the former common Yugoslav market for literary works, for which financial support may be found within the framework of the South-East European Co-operation Initiatives or similar international programmes in the area, may include the librarian network as well. Libraries may be used for what they are, i.e. places for learning and disseminating information about different worlds, but also places for meeting according to cultural affinities. It might be of particular interest for younger generations of readers who are eager to learn and experience more of that cultural sphere, but lack experience or linguistic skills. As the younger generation of Macedonian citizens is now less conversant with the Slovenian, Croatian and Serbian languages, the older generation might (in return for the favour done by the younger generation in teaching them to use the NICTs, for example) assist the younger generation in the acquisition of linguistic skills. Of course, libraries are not the only possible places for such voluntary courses, and they must not be introduced exclusively for former Yugoslav interfaces, but for other intercultural

combinations as well. More than other places, however, libraries may integrate informational and educational with socially and culturally rewarding and stimulating aspects of the learning process.

Creating markets for artistic products

80. Dealing with the market. Visual artists are left completely to the market environment, which is still in its infancy. Special markets are underdeveloped, whereas cultural tastes of the “nouveaux riches” are not yet always refined. Besides, virtually the entire visual arts scene is concentrated in Skopje, with the exception of the “art colonies” in the provinces. Next, owing to the inappropriate “trade orientation” of the existing Law on Culture, the number of visual artists applying for state subsidies is rather insignificant. Visual artists face other problems as well. Unlike music, theatre, literature and film, use of visual art works in museums or galleries is not remunerated in terms of copyright. Also, the authors are not reimbursed for their material or awarded grants and loans. Lastly, opportunities for developing applied arts production within new industries such as production of souvenirs, computer web-site designs, TV clips, etc., are also limited, especially for young artists, as they usually lack decent working conditions (studios).
81. Steps taken by the Ministry. Two important steps are currently being taken by the Ministry of Culture. The first is the above-mentioned amendment to the Law on Culture in which the status of free-lance artists is more adequately defined. The second is the initiative to cover all production expenses of visual art works, i.e. space, materials, equipment and customs taxes. Yet, in order to implement this scheme for artists, and bearing in mind that the budgetary funds are restricted, the criteria are said to be highly selective. It may also be assumed that the Ministry's grants will be offered on a basis of equity and competitiveness, also including young artists who have not yet established themselves, especially to stimulate the latter to live and work in small communities with an anticipated effect on urban and other cultural regeneration.
82. Artists in themselves and with others. The following comments are general, but based on the specific example of visual art. Nevertheless, they may be useful in consolidating the policy framework in relation to different categories of artists.²⁴ Artist can be defined in three ways, namely: by self and peer recognition, by education and affiliation, and by marketplace.²⁵ Each of the definitions has different legal, social or economic and policy implications for the hierarchy of high-, middle- and low-brow culture. Basically, these layers are a matter of artistic choice, on the one hand, and policy choice, on the other. For the time being, the policy based on the older version of the Law on Culture (identification of artists through the marketplace) has – intentionally or not – favoured middle-, to some extent even low-brow, at the expense of high-brow cultural production. It was assumed, therefore, that middle-brow culture, such as the applied arts, would be appropriate to the marketplace. This proved true in the sense that it mostly facilitated, as some artists remarked, “kitsch production”, rather than elite quality. This may perhaps be overstated, but the old classification of artists as “trade-persons” was eventually found to be inappropriate both by most artists and by current policy-makers. Further

²⁴ The ideas for this section were generated during a discussion at the Ministry of Culture on 31 May 2003. We are grateful to our interlocutors, especially the Macedonian painter Vienamin Hadzi-Naumov, for giving a stimulating and productive talk.

²⁵ Cf. V.D. Alexander: *Sociology of the Arts. Exploring Fine and Popular Forms*. Blackwell, 2003, pp. 137-139.

to this, policy-makers, by amending the Law on Culture, and through the above-mentioned initiative of selective support for all visual arts production, set out, so the examiners assume, to restore the status of high-brow culture on the market. The examiners express their support for these measures and also encourage policy-makers to create conditions for the development of different and interacting markets for quality works, including industrial products. The Ministry should therefore:

- a) Encourage visual artists from different branches, including architects, to co-operate in producing specific designs for the country's visual identities as well as designs for other industrial products, urban and rural spaces, etc.
- b) Subsidise marketing campaigns for art works in co-operation with a professional association or agencies of artists. The Ministry could come to an arrangement with individual authors whereby they would take a smaller share in the selling price of the work advertised, which share would be used to finance other similar campaigns.
- c) Recommend patronage of artists' associations and art critics in public auctions of art works, to ensure the professional level of the presentation of the works, the quality control of the works presented, make it possible for authors to protect works that are sold, etc.
- d) Introduce grants to improve working and social security conditions for artists. Although this might look like a privilege when compared with the situations of other job-seekers, it should be considered as part of the governmental policy of restructuring the economy and providing assistance for the self-employed as long as the demand side of the markets for arts products is not consolidated.
- e) Implement a "resale right" as part of the incentives belonging to a modern copyright system.

83. The main levers of change. The recommendations set out above and other similar recommendations, as well as policy measures already taken, which target producers and consumers outside the cultural sector, and are aimed at enhancing their interest in the arts, will be difficult to implement without access to the main levers of change:

- a) education in state schools, as only the introduction of a basic knowledge of the arts into curricula can influence artistic taste and recognition of works of art and develop creativity;
- b) the media, at least those in the public sector, as only by this means can works of art be broadly popularised; besides, the media are major users and consumers of the arts as part of the content industry, or what has sometimes been called the "industry of consciousness", and they have both a right and a duty to see to the level of presentation of the artistic and cultural components of such content.

84. Removing barriers. Yet the influence of the Ministry of Culture on these institutions is reportedly blocked owing to the strict compartmentalisation of official governmental competencies in these areas. Admittedly, if this situation cannot be changed in the near future, it might have a devastating effect on policy in the long run. The examiners appeal to the Ministry of Culture as well as to the ministries responsible for education and the media to remove the barriers when they clearly impede, rather than facilitate, the process of change.

Reviving domestic cultural industries

85. Music. Musical activity is the most perceivable facet of Macedonian culture. It is the result of both talent and a long-standing and well-organised professional music scene. Music is the regular accompaniment to the rituals and ceremonies of social life. In recent years efforts have been made to include works by domestic composers in the repertoire of public performances. The Ministry supports the professional folklore ensemble Tanec, which is a very successful and internationally reputed company. In addition to this, numerous music festivals, including three outstanding ones – the Skopje Summer Festival, the Ohrid Summer Festival, and the May Opera Evenings – are largely funded by the Ministry of Culture.
86. Lack of production activity. On the other hand, there is no domestic CD production, except for recording at the national radio and TV company, which is organised by the Macedonian Composers Society. A few private producers produce modernised versions of traditional folk-music, mainly for export. In all, some 30 people are still in business and no newcomers have appeared on the scene far.
87. Downsizing or economically rationalising the flagships. There are a large number of different festivals and, understandably, some are trademarks of national prestige. It is up to the Ministry to evaluate the spin-offs from the festivals, and to consider whether some events or some parts of the festivals can be left to self-financing or commercial financing. The examiners recommend certain cuts in subsidies at the expense of the length of certain festivals, as the prestige of the events in question must not be harmed. Alternatively, additional sponsors or donors could be sought to ensure that expenses are covered over the full duration of the events. Bearing in mind the interests of the new economy, reasons that justify the actual duration of particular cultural events should be well explained in terms of cultural economy to potential sponsors or donors. One of the trump cards might perhaps be the mass production of festival items (CDs etc.), if, for example, the organisers bring in some widely, i.e. internationally, known guest performers.
88. Subsidising incubator units. Consideration might be given to the possibility of turning some annual festivals into biennials and shortening the duration of festivals in order to make budget savings, which could be used to support alternative and young festivals, as these are likely to provide fertile ground for innovation. Likewise, incubator units and smaller supporting structures might be set up to encourage the production and development of local music products in co-operation with larger foreign companies.
89. Public relations. The marketing and public relations sector in performing arts institutions should be re-organised in order to win over sponsors and meet audience needs and interests through periodic surveys or market research.
90. International marketing. The publication of information materials and reports on music activities in English might be an incentive to potential investors abroad. Wide opportunities for such publishing are provided through the Internet.

Film co-productions

91. After the rain. This is a reference both to the well-known Macedonian movie Before the Rain from 1994 and to the country's burgeoning film scene with more than a hundred registered producers. Yet the successful films are the work of only a few directors and producers, while the rest of the producers, as the national report clearly states, are motivated by the "opportunity to participate in the allocation of budget resources". What has remained clear too is that international co-production is taken as a model of success. Having learned that the lion's share of film distribution is in line with the worldwide trend, i.e. in the possession of US majors, and that the co-production partners, on the other hand, are European, the examiners encourage further development of the co-production model, as it is the most appropriate means of engaging national production resources under current international conditions. Two additional recommendations address broader aspects of this development as well as rationalisation of the public funds earmarked for some film festivals:

- a) In pursuing co-production agreements, special consideration should be given to the provisions of the Council of Europe's Multilateral Convention designed to protect the interests of small territories or countries. Following the Austrian experience, for example, a certain critical mass of funding and production has to be in place before co-production can take place and get off the ground. Also, following the French example, an internal support system might be established through a box office tax whose proceeds would be used to fund all film-related professions and whose amount would determine the amount of support earmarked by the Ministry for the cinema. Funds could be earmarked for what the earlier versions of the National Programme as well as the current Ministry of Culture already have in view – assuming some private donations as well – namely an Independent Film Council aimed at promoting Macedonian film production. The examiners assume, however, that the country has rapid progress in this area in the last few years and that much of this recommendation has already been implemented.
- b) It would also be advisable, and in line with certain proposals already discussed in the Ministry and among stakeholders in the film industry, to set up a Film Fund administered by an independent public body or jointly by the Ministry and a Fund Board, where budgetary resources would be supplemented by various taxes and levies on commercial activities in the film industry (TV advertising, sale and rental of videocassettes, commercial activities within film theatres, etc.).
- c) It would be reasonable to streamline the support for some festivals of international stature, especially if they require considerable financial support and where it is not clear on what basis are they prioritised (eg, amateur documentary festivals).

Theatres of communication

92. Density, quality, enthusiasm. According to some estimates, “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” has the largest number of professional theatres per capita in Europe.²⁶ The network of ten professional theatres includes the Theatre of Nationalities in Skopje. Seven drama festivals of different kinds take place every year. There are also numerous amateur and alternative theatre groups. Theatrical activities are carried out with great energy and enthusiasm and artistic programmes are of a high quality, some with an international reputation.
93. Worsened conditions. The conditions for work, unfortunately, share the fate of most artistic fields. Many theatre buildings and their technical facilities are awaiting reconstruction or modernisation. Also, a modernisation of institutional organisation, including a reduction of administrative staff and improvement of management techniques, may also be needed to stimulate organisational creativity and, by extension, artistic creativity.
94. An excellent language of communication. Bearing in mind the great importance of theatrical activity in public cultural life in “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”, the following recommendations aim at fully exploiting the potential of professional theatre in communicating with art enthusiasts as well as other audiences:
- a) To develop co-operation with amateurs and, especially, with alternative theatre groups who put the emphasis on direct communication between audience and performers in order to address certain prejudices or discuss public issues, such as the world theatrical movement based on the “Workshop of Cultural Confrontation” of Brazilian theatre expert Augusto Boal.
 - b) To establish co-operation with the Theatre of Nationalities, for example by co-producing some plays that are thematically irrelevant to ethno-national issues, but where the mere fact of co-production has a positive impact in terms of strengthening the trust between, say, Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish audiences. This may also be carried out in the form of a co-production between the three countries’ policy sectors. Art itself is a bond of creativity and communication, and co-production reinforces it.

²⁶ This information is taken from an earlier draft of the national report.

CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND PLURALISM

The world at home

95. A synonym for culture. Pluralism is often used as a synonym for culture in two different senses: culture as a source of diverse ethnic and political identities prone to divisions and clashes, and culture as a source of creative expression that reconnects or transcends different identities and differences in interests, thoughts, tastes and life-styles. The latter meaning of pluralism can be used to solve conflicts originating from the former meaning.²⁷ All this basically depends on common sense. Most people understand culture as a biological need, as a quality of expression widely shared. To paraphrase an anonymous old man from Gevgelia interviewed in 1928: they eat as we eat, they sleep as we sleep, they sing as we sing.²⁸ This represents a common-sense tribute to the universality of nature and culture. Unlike biological nature, however, culture provides an immense potential of differentiation through which we recognise other people's creations as a part of the universe, a "song", that cannot not be created exclusively by us or by them.
96. Diversification and realignment. The world of cultural diversity is on the move again. Unlike the nationalist era, however, it is now favourable to the protection of that which is small and different in the face of that which is large and uniform. Thus, a culture should not be a replica of other cultures, nor it should take dissimilarity as a pretext for non-communication – on the contrary. And these relationships and its temptations may be found in any culture or country. "The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" is seeking to promote cohesion within diversity, by creating conditions of equity and communication between different communities.
97. The market is not enough. Although it looks trendy, the market alone is not sufficient as a means of softening borders and boundaries. It connects and circulates things and commodities, and people as a workforce, rather than opening people's minds and hearts. Likewise, cultural diversity is more than a fight for an audio-visual market share. It includes other aspects of media diversity, for example, and technology as a tool of diversity, economic diversity in terms of adapting growth, work conditions or managerial styles to larger human needs and cultural standards, and last but not least, developing cultural capacity for managing or preventing ethnic conflicts. Some of these issues will be discussed at greater length and some recommendations put forward in the next section.

Minorities at home

98. Population shares and constitutional provisions. According to the last census, "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" has 1,945,932 inhabitants. Of these, 66.5% are Macedonians, 22.9% Albanians, 4% Turks, 2% Roma, and 4.6% Serbs, Vlachs and others. The Constitution and the amendments thereto provide a wide spectrum of rights for ethnic and religious minorities, including linguistic rights, freedom of expression, rights of religious worship and education, heritage protection, a Committee for Inter-Community Relations, a role for minorities in the Republican Judicial Council, and participation in decentralised government. Lastly,

²⁷ *Dialogue serving intercultural and inter-religious communication.* Expert Colloquy. Conclusions and Debate Analysis. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2002.

²⁸ Taken from: I. Kartadziev, *Makedonsko Nacionalno Pitanje*, p. 457.

the Assembly has recognised the University of Tetovo, the country's third, which operates in Albanian.

99. Implementation of provisions. Recent reports emphasise some progress in the implementation of the Framework Agreement, especially in equitable representation, and return and reconstruction, while legislative reform is lagging behind mainly because of the magnitude of the task, which includes some 80 laws to be amended to complete the organic Law on Local Self-Government. Also, the results of the 2002 census are expected to be the determining element in the final decision on the number of municipalities.²⁹
100. Cultural ingredients. In any case, the map of cultural communities and that of municipalities will not overlap, save incidentally. This, along with an apparent improvement in the political climate, provides a solid basis for further work on confidence building.
101. Cultural instruments for confidence building. The current situation represents a good opportunity for employing various cultural approaches and techniques, following the examples of good practice used to restore and improve inter-communal relations, and building confidence among people who until recently felt negatively about others. The examiners are not called upon to give any lessons in this regard, nor to propose specific projects for particular places or communities. At the same time, one must be aware that there are academics, researchers, policy thinkers, as well as NGO specialists and enthusiasts, in this country, who might well apply themselves to this task with greater insight and a more thorough knowledge. Instead, here is a reminder of a range of cultural instruments that may be of use over the coming period of time:
- a) Encouraging greater diversification of the cultural activities of communities/minorities, going beyond activities focusing solely on language and other cultural heritage aspects, by endorsing forms of living culture and activities which form meeting places for individuals or groups of different ethnic or religious or any other origins.
 - b) Funding projects and programmes aimed at improving communication and co-operation between national or mainstream cultural institutions and cultural institutions of minorities. Financial support from international foundations would probably be easier to obtain on this basis.
 - c) In situations where remembrance of recent injustices is fresh and painful, especially where the feeling of injustice is not compensated for by legal measures (eg, "Where there is peace, no truth, where there is truth, no peace"), the method of restorative justice, which is culturally specific, is preferable to the method of punitive justice.³⁰
 - d) The agents and actors in conflict resolution and post-conflict confidence building are politicians, including diplomats, religious leaders, civil society players, and also, more importantly, "ordinary" local people, neighbours from different communities – all of them being endowed with a creative mind or, simply, with a great reservoir of tolerance and preparedness to "listen to the other side".
 - e) An "early-warning system" should be instituted to prevent conflicts in places of emerging tensions.

²⁹ "Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje". OSCE, Activity Report No. 233, 5-18 June 2003.

³⁰ This and following paragraphs refer to: *Dialogue serving intercultural and inter-religious communication*, and also: J. Galtung, *Rethinking Conflict: the Cultural Approach*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2002.

- f) Art forms – music, dance festivals, exhibitions – may be used as the means of bringing together both authors and performers of different origins, as these are overarching projects to work on, and audiences of different origins, as these are events for all.
- g) Because the least educated are often the primary victims of conflicts and their propaganda, cultivation of a spirit of tolerance and understanding through education, the media and publishing is another crucial instrument for action with tangible results. This action is especially important in view of the fact that language, history, literature and other cultural facts that constitute the traditions of minorities are rarely mentioned or are inadequately interpreted. As already mentioned in this report, “they do a lot of things the same way as we do... yet, there are differences... but they differ among each other as well ... and when we add everything together, it emerges that they are very similar to us... and after all, this is their homeland”. This is a point of view that needs to be aired.

Culture(s) in the media ³¹

102. (In)competence. Although the Ministry of Culture has no competence over the media and the national report does not address this issue, the examiners stress the importance of the media in culture, and especially in setting standards for public culture and cultural industry products. Regarding this policy area, the examiners propose a set on non-interventionist, yet potentially effective, measures aimed at improving the public standards of culture represented in the media.
103. “Tricky” pluralism. From 1991 onwards an enormous increase was seen in the number of media operators. They broadcast entertainment and advertising, much less information and, least of all, information on the arts and culture. Only older newspapers and radio and TV stations that were founded or are still owned by the state have set aside more space for arts and culture information. The media landscape is an example of the “tricky” face of pluralism which characterises many countries: numerous media operators broadcast rather similar or identical programmes with low programming costs, unlike public broadcasters. Macedonian Radio and Television (MKRTV) is the only public broadcaster. There are a few dozen private TV stations in languages other than Macedonian, most of which broadcast programmes from the countries of origin, and three of the commercial ethnic televisions stations produce their own news and information programmes.
104. Creating multicultural forums. The MKRTV currently offers the best opportunity to establish a public forum in a multi-ethnic setting through a third national channel. The examiners’ present knowledge is too limited for it to say to what extent private media, including ethnic media, are capable of taking this direction. A certain spirit of tolerance used to be aired through the MRKTV even in the hardest times of ethnic conflict, although the degree of freedom and independence of ethnic minority journalists in the MRKTV was disputed. Now, owing to visible improvements in the political climate following the adoption of the Framework Agreement, more positive examples are expected on the part of the MRKTV, which in turn may spur private Albanian and other minority broadcasters to come up with information, dialogue and other content appropriate to a multicultural forum.

³¹ We express our gratitude to Dr. Dona Kolar-Panov from the Institute for Sociological and Legal Researches in Skopje for providing the examiners with her research papers on the media.

105. Fostering good examples of media culture. The examiners do not want to take it upon themselves to urge managerial, technological and financial reform of the central public broadcaster to meet the demanding standards of a modern broadcaster, as this is really beyond the scope of the cultural sector as such. What the cultural sector with its current prerequisites may certainly do, however, is:
- a) Mobilise cultural institutions and public opinion to exert an influence on public media to ensure decent and equitable presentation of the arts, cultural heritage and living cultures of different communities and arts and cultural groups or projects. In this way, a special sense of unity in the ever-growing diversity and plurality of democracy and nationhood may be fostered more effectively than in traditional political debate with its for and against outcomes. The cultural mosaic is always more comfortable as long as it dehomogenises, without antagonising, major identities or worldviews.
 - b) Further to this, provide as many examples as possible of public discourse which demonstrate how messages conveyed through hate-speech and similar expressions of intolerance may be replaced by expressions that, although basically contentious or disagreeable, cannot be taken as offensive by the addressee. This should not merely be taken as an example of a rhetoric exercise in figurative speaking, however, as it soon becomes palatable to the taste of hypocrisy, but an exercise in creativity which carefully articulates sincerity in communication.
 - c) Design a public campaign aimed at incorporating the content of refined cultural taste into media messages, e.g. by inserting fragments of valuable artistic works, whether audio-visual or written – into political information, advertising or domestically produced entertainment. This request may seem too demanding for journalists in the media, but it pays for media as well. Such a “seasoning” makes media a more prestigious public player: more interesting but less sensational, more educational, but less imposing, more entertaining, but less trivial.

Reasons for civil society involvement

106. NGO scene. Of the total of 545 registered NGOs, 390 are active. Most of them have multi-stage activities, and more than half are active in rural areas. With a few exceptions, the level of networking and co-operation of NGOs needs to be upgraded. Well-organised NGOs include those dealing with gender issues, Roma, education, environment, and the arts and culture. These as well as other NGOs, however, do not see their role as being of importance to the broader public scene or policy-making., The Ministry of Culture recently took significant steps to approach the NGO sector (see section 29 of this report). Furthermore, a lump-sum is earmarked for NGOs this year and a special budgetary outlay is scheduled for next year. Lastly, the current Ministry regards NGOs as an important partner in the decentralisation process, notably as its “creative component”. The examiners strongly support this approach and regard it as a great opportunity for both sectors to combine their efforts in a complementary way wherever this is needed and does not call into question the final say of the Ministry and government or the autonomy of the NGO players. And there are so many areas where the state and civil spheres cannot work efficiently and effectively without co-operation. Here are some reasons for co-operation in the interests of both sectors:

- a) Strategic reasons. "The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" needs a greater input of intellectual and practical knowledge to create a mind-set and operational standards for a long-term strategy of culturally sustainable development. It should generally include people who think or act differently, but whose ideas may be crucial in understanding or tracing the best routes of development.
 - b) Public forum. NGOs may initiate public debates concerning important issues in culture, which other agencies in culture and society may not regard as such or seldom raise to the level of a public debate. In fact, NGOs have already played this role fairly successfully. Also, they (multimedia, primarily) have brought together a number of experts and public figures who otherwise might be reluctant to express their opinions. A permanent aim of such a forum would certainly be the furthering of the work on the national strategy and local strategies of cultural development with or without reference to the national programme.
- Information flow. Information spread should be speeded up outside the capital concerning the practicalities of registering new NGOs, as the success of the decentralisation process in culture will depend heavily on civil society support at local level, in view of the relatively large number of NGOs that are active in rural areas.
 - Advocacy and lobbying for culture. Providing examples of good practice of co-operation between the non-governmental, governmental and private sectors, and the commercial and non-commercial sectors, respectively, is a process that may be initiated by NGOs thanks to their greater knowledge in this regard, their greater room for manoeuvre and the flexibility of their arrangements. Also, new experiences in each sector may be combined in order to create knowledge about the added values of cultural activities and how to use those values in creating more attractive and inclusive milieus of economic activity, public life, conservation of natural and cultural heritage, working life, etc. Lobbying for culture is another reason for this co-operation, as intellectual advocacy of culture alone is insufficient and may often be counterproductive unless it is supported by actions targeting the powerful groups or persons in government, the business community, the media, etc.
 - Fiscal issues. Because the existing fiscal (and customs) legislation is viewed by both the governmental and the NGO sector as being inadequate and discouraging for donors, they could co-operate in developing ideas and tactics to persuade legislators to find better solutions for the third sector, for example by demonstrating the advantages (e.g., increasing employment opportunities) of a tax-reduction policy.
 - New forms of public expression. Some NGOs in the arts and culture favour alternative and new forms of artistic and cultural work. Some are dedicated to developing specific methods for improving ethnic relations in the country, for example by enriching the repertoire of public expression by conveying tolerant and broadly acceptable messages, including ethnic humour, concerning different communities in the Macedonian society.

Culture and tourism

107. Cultural tourism. This is a relatively young branch of the tourism industry which the Macedonian government and citizens have adopted with talent and energy. They are also fully aware of the precariousness of the tourist market. In particular, the recent period of political instability in the country, and even more so the wars of the former Yugoslavia, have demonstrated the vulnerability of tourism. The political consolidation of the country and of the whole of South-East Europe has meanwhile become the central strategic interest. Cultural tourism, for its part, is a delicate offshoot of the development of tourism in conditions of peace and stability. Above and beyond these geostrategic conditions, however, the Macedonian potential for development of cultural and environmental tourism is great thanks to a relatively high density of cultural heritage and natural sites. Ohrid combines both in an exemplary way, but the number of tourists who visit other cities and sites is also considerable. The Ministry of Culture clearly perceives the advantages of cultural tourism, underlining its favourable effects on inter-departmental co-operation, cultural decentralisation, the revitalisation and speeding up of conservation work on cultural heritage, intercultural understanding, local awareness, local industries and services, including handicrafts for souvenirs, embroidery and carpentry, reviving folklore clubs, etc. The examiners sincerely support this ambition and work and recommend in addition:

- a) Taking Ohrid as a blueprint for how natural and historic sites can be blended in one and the same place and how investment in local cultural infrastructure, including re-allocation of part of the tourist tax for that purpose, can be managed by local authorities within the future decentralisation set-up.
- b) Introducing measures to extend the tourist season beyond the summer by expanding provision, e.g. social entertainment and local cultural events such as traditional food and cooking fairs, music and dance, or religious ceremonies, student exchange programmes dedicated to specific thematic routes in history, the arts, science, natural phenomena, etc.
- c) Involving all cultural sectors, from the book industry and fine arts through museums and new information and communication technologies, in the creation of tourist products and services.

Increasing international cultural co-operation

108. A truly co-operative partner. Besides co-operating with a number of countries throughout the world, but especially in South-East Europe, "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" is one of the most co-operative partners in the Council of Europe MOSAIC Programme and in other activities of that institution. An increase in co-operation has been particularly noticeable in the last two years. The examiners express their strong support for a continuation of these activities and recommend that the Ministry of Culture increase the importance and scope of the international sector by the following means:

- a) developing multisectoral and multimedia forms of co-operation which include use of the new techniques of international and intercultural communication and networking;
- b) ensuring co-ordination between cultural co-operation and other fields of international co-operation (education, science, environmental protection, tourism, etc.);

- c) initiating and/or further developing cultural encounters with South East European countries, such as the cultural follow-ups of the recent conference on the "Dialogue Between Civilisations" which took place in Ohrid, for such activities underline the deep European orientation of the Macedonian cultural sector.
- d) last but not least, enabling local authorities to develop their channels and forms of international co-operation independently in both the official and the NGO sector.

SUMMARY OF THE MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations represent a summary of the recommendations put forward in this report, and are intended as steps that the Ministry of Culture should take in co-operation with other sectors and other cultural stakeholders. The examiners would like to accompany these recommendations with two ambitious hopes. One is that the cultural policy of "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" should be linked to the mainstream of the country's political, economic, social and human development. The other is that cultural policy achievements should become some of the most remarkable on the country's way to European integration.

- 1. Draw up multiple criteria for the evaluation of applied programmes in culture on the basis of a vision of contemporary and future trends in different areas of culture and cultural development.**
- 2. Produce a strategic document defining the long-term goals of policy and cultural development, serving, in place of a four-year programme, as a basis for drafting policy papers.**
- 3. Further amend and modify the Law on Culture with the aim of making it more concise in dealing with issues, definitions and conceptual aspects, and shape it as a framework for special laws.**
- 4. Build a new role for the Ministry as chief entrepreneur in culture, exemplifying the principles of fairness or shared burdens in transformation, equal access, efficiency and effectiveness.**
- 5. Introduce the arm's length principle by allocating a role in decision-making to the Council of Culture and prepare the way for the establishment of divisional and local councils, which is necessary to ensure broader participation, professional and other, in decision-making in culture.**
- 6. Require matching funding for state-subsidised and other institutions or programmes.**
- 7. Develop a spirit of advocacy and lobbying for culture in other state sectors as well as the private sector.**
- 8. Build up inter-sectoral co-operation for labour and social protection, as well as education, training and retraining of human resources.**
- 9. Continue with and further consolidate inter-sectoral co-operation for the sake of full implementation of copyright.**
- 10. On the basis of the evaluation of pilot project results, map out available cultural resources and other prerequisites for the launch of the decentralisation process. Also, lay down the criteria to be met by local authorities, i.e. municipalities or cities, in order to be entrusted with policy responsibilities.**
- 11. In co-operation with international institutions or programmes, establish mobility schemes or regular workshops dedicated to education and training skills in cultural management.**
- 12. Assess the present state of the houses of culture and redefine or revise their current and possible future uses.**
- 13. Continue with work, especially intersectoral co-operation, on integrated conservation of cultural heritage.**
- 14. Foster research into and presentation of the intangible heritage and draw up a list of examples of masterpieces of traditional culture.**
- 15. Introduce legal and other incentives for establishing a market for quality cultural products, and promote co-operation between artists and cultural industries.**

- 16. Streamline the financial support to some festivals or suggest to the organisers that they redefine the economic rationale of such events in co-operation with other donors or sponsors.**
- 17. Subsidise incubator units for domestic cultural industries.**
- 18. Encourage more varied theatre repertoires with the aim of reaching broader and culturally diverse audiences.**
- 19. Initiate or support campaigns aimed at enlarging the cultural competence of the media in terms of both multicultural content and public dialogue.**
- 20. Co-operate with NGOs and other civil society players in areas of mutual interest and especially in the creative pursuit of decentralisation objectives.**
- 21. Make a case for culture in extending the tourist season.**
- 22. Extend international co-operation to include multisectoral and multimedia forms and develop international co-operation at local level.**

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APPENDIX 1: List of people interviewed

The given titles are those that were applicable at the time of the meeting and are not necessarily still valid today

List of people interviewed in May 2001

Team which prepared the first version of the National Report:

Mr. Nove CVETANOVSKI, coordinator (editor of the National Report), Director of Publishing House "Makedonska kniga" (The Macedonian book)
 Ms. Sonja ABADZIEVA
 Ms. Zoja ANDONOVSKA
 Ms. Katica ATANASOVA
 Ms. Zorica CVETANOVA
 Ms. Magdalena DIKOVSKA
 Ms. Ana EFREMOVA
 Prof. Jasmina HADZIEVA
 Ms. Viktorija KOLOAROVSKA - GRMIJA
 Mr. Milosh LINDRO
 Prof. Dragi MITREVSKI
 Ms. Sonja NAUMOVSKA
 Ms. Ilindenka PETRUSEVSKA
 Mr. Mitko PRENDZOV
 Mr. Riste STEFANOVSKI
 Mr. Georgi VASILEVSKI

List of people interviewed:

Mr. Emil ALEKSIEV, Director of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Skopje,
 Mr. Kiril APOSTOLOV, Chairman of the City Council
 Mr. Panche ARSOV, Chief of the Mayor's Office
 Mr. Bodan ARSOVSKI, music composer (freelance)
 Mr. Demush BAJRAMI, Delegate in the Parliament and Member of the Parliament (Albanian party)
 Mr. Oliver BELOPETA, music producer, Director of Skopje Jazz Festival
 Mr. BODAN, musician
 Mrs. Silvana BONEVA, Director of the Popular (Workers') University
 Prof. Ivan DZEPAROVSKI (Aesthetics), University of St. Kiril and St. Metodij
 Ms. Ana EFREMOVA, Counselor to the Minister, International Cooperation Department
 Mr. Cvetan GROZDANOV, expert for Cultural Heritage
 Mr. Georgi HADJIEV, Head of Department for Urban and spacial planning
 Mr. Guner ISMAIL, General Manager of the Forum Publishing house, publicist and Former Minister of Culture,
 Mr. Ivo JANKOVSKI, music producer, Private Producing House-Third Ear
 Prof. Gordana JOSIFOVSKA, professor at the Faculty for Music Art and artistic director of the Ohrid Summer Festival
 Ms. Froska JOVEVA, Director of the Institute for the Protection of the cultural monuments in Strumica
 Mr. Gode KOLAROVSKI, Dean of the Faculty for Music Art
 Mr. Pasko KUZMAN, Director of the Institute for Protection of Cultural Heritage and the Museum of the City of Ohrid
 Mr. Vase MANCEV, Member of the Parliament (VMRO)
 Mr. Dacho MIHALOV, graphic artist (free-lance)

Mr. Delco MIHAJLOVSKI, artist (freelance)
 Mr. Vladimir MILCIN, Director of the Open Society Institute in Skopje
 Mr. Oliver PELOPETA, Director of the Skopje Jazz Festival
 Ms. Violeta SEMJANOVSKA, Director of the Music Festival SINTESIS
 Mr. Jovan SHUMKOVSKI, artist (freelance)
 Mr. Rade SILJAN, writer, Director of the Publishing House - Matica Makedonska
 Mrs. Violeta SIMJANOVSKA, Director of Performing Arts Centre Multimedia
 Mr. Alexander STANKOVSKI, painter (free-lance)
 Mr. Blagoj STEFANOVSKI, Director of Bitola's Popular Theater
 Mr. Mirko STEFANOVSKI, Director of the Direction for Art and Culture
 Mr. Valentin SVETOZAREV, scenographer and technical manager
 Mr. Marijan TANUSHEVSKI, chairman of the City Council
 Mrs. Biljana TURUNOVSKA, video/film/new media producer, Performing Arts Centre
 Multimedia
 Ms. Zaneta VANGELI, artist (freelance)
 Mr. Vasil ZOROSKI, Ohrid Summer Festival
 Representatives of SOROS Foundation
 Representatives from the Local self-government in Ohrid
 Steering Committee of Ohrid's Summer Festival

List of people interviewed in April / May 2003

Ministry of Culture:

Mr. Blagoj STEFANOVSKI, Minister of Culture,
 Mr. Gorjan TOZIJA, State Secretary
 Ms. Biljana PRENTOSKA, Advisor of the Minister, International Cooperation
 Department, Ministry of Culture

Editor, consultants for the National Report:

Mr. Zlatko TEODOSIEVSKI, Editor of the National report and Director of Skopje Art
 Gallery
 Ms. Magdalena DIKOVSKA, Head of the Sector for Normative and Administrative
 Affairs, Copyrights and Related rights
 Mr. Nikola GELEVSKI, Kontrapunkt (NGO)
 Mr. Jovan RISTOV, Director of the Republic Institute for Protection of Cultural
 Monuments, expert for the Law on Cultural Heritage

Heads and representatives from different Departments in the Ministry of Culture:

Ms. Katica ATANASOVA, Head of the Department for the Protection of Cultural
 Heritage
 Mr. Goce BOZURSKI, Head of Galleries and Arts Department
 Ms. Snezana KITANOVA, Assistant of the Head of Drama, Film and Cinema
 Department
 Ms. Dragana KURCIOSKA, Assistant to the Head of Normative and Administrative
 Affairs, Copyrights and Related Rights Sector,
 Ms. Ana PEJCINOVA, Head of Publishing and Libraries Department
 Ms. Sonja NAUMOVA, Head of Finance, Investments, Informatics, Documentation and
 Supplies Sector
 Ms. Ruza RISTESKA, Head of Administrative and Supervision Issues Sector,
 Mr. Aco STEFANOVSKI, Head of Copyrights and Related Rights Department,
 Ms. Biljana TUDZAROVA, Collaborator to the Publishing and Libraries Department

NGO's representatives, artists, freelancers, researchers:

Mr. Bodan ARSOVSKI, musician-composer (freelance)
Prof. Maja BOJADZIEVSKA, University of St.Kiril and St.Metodij, Skopje
Mr. Aleksandar CVETKOSKI, Director - AKTIS (NGO, Prilep)
Mr. Nikola GELEVSKI, Director - Kontrapunkt (NGO, Skopje)
Mr. Veniamin HADZI NAUMOV, painter (freelance)
Mr. Bedi IBRAIM, sculptor, Prof. of the Art Academy, Skopje
Prof. Denko MALESKI, University of St.Kiril and St. Metodij
Mr. Oliver MUSOVIC, artist (foundation PROHELVECIA)
Prof. Dona Kolar PANOV (PhD), Institute for sociological and legal Researches, Skopje
Mr. Ismet RAMICHEVIC, sculptor and art teacher in secondary school
Mr. Goce SMILEVSKI, writer (freelance)

APPENDIX 2: List of Council of Europe experts and other participants in assistance activities**1. Consultation on the law on culture (16-19 February 2000) :***Experts:*

Mr. Werner HARTMANN (Austria),
Mr. George KESKENY (Hungary).
Mr. Norbert RIEDL (Austria),
Mr. Peter SCHREIBER (The Netherlands),

Ministry of Culture:

Mr. Ljuben PAUNOSKI, Minister of Culture,
Mr. Blagoj CHOREVSKI, Deputy Minister of Culture,
Mrs. Zorka CHEKICHEVSKA, Undersecretary,
Ms Ana EFREMOVA, Councilor to the Minister
Ms Vesna ILIEVSKA, Councilor to the Minister
Ms Eliza SHULEVSKA, Assistant Minister
Mr. Ruza RISTOVSKA, Inspector in Charge

Representatives from the Culture Committee in the Assembly of 'The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia',

Ms Valentina BOZINOVSKA
Mr. Mihajlo GEORGIEVSKI
Mr. Stole POPOV

Representatives of cultural institutions and independent artists:

Ms Donka BARZIEVA-TRAJKOVSKA, Director of the State Institute for Protection of Cultural Heritage-Skopje
Mr. Oliver BELOPETA, representative from a NGO
Mrs. Ganka CVETANOVA-SAMOILOVA, Director of the Macedonian Philharmonic Orchestra
Mr. Vlado CVETANOVSKI, Director of Macedonian National Theatre
Mr. Benjamin HADJI-NAUMOV, freelance artist
Mr. Pasku KUZMAN, Director of Institute for Protection of Cultural Heritage and Museum-Ohrid
Mr. Delcho MIHAJLOV, freelance artist
Mr. Dragi MITREVSKI, Director of the Museum of Macedonia
Mr. Muhamed SHERIFI, Director of the Theatre of Minorities
Mr. Blagoj STEFANOVSKI, Director of the Theatre of Bitola

2. Consultation on the Macedonian national cultural programme (6-9 May 2000) :

Experts:

Mrs. Pirkko RAINESALO (Finland)
Mr. Norbert RIEDL (Austria)
Mrs. Helle-Helena PUUSEPP (Estonia)

Ministry of Culture:

Mr. Ljuben PAUNOSKI, Minister of Culture,
Mr. Blagoj CHOREVSKI, Deputy Minister of Culture,
Mr. Nove CVETANOVSKI, Chief of the Cabinet.
Ms Zorka CHEKICHEVSKA, Undersecretary,
Ms Eliza SHULEVSKA, Assistant Minister
Ms Ana EFREMOVA, Councilor to the Minister
Ms Vesna ILIEVSKA, Councilor to the Minister,

Members of the Cultural Council:

Mr. Rodoljub ANASTASOV, Professor at the Faculty of Fine Arts
Mrs. Sihana BADIVUKU
Mr. Marin CRVENOV
Mr. Zoran GEORGIEV
Mr. Ljubisha GEORGIEVSKI, Professor at the Drama Faculty and Theatre Director
Ms. Jasmina HADZIEVA - ALEKSIEVA, President, Professor at the Faculty of
Architecture
Mr. Bedi IBRAHIM
Mr. Vitomir MITEVSKI
Mr. Rade SILJAN, Publisher
Mr. Gjorgji VASILEVSKI

Representatives competent in the field of music, performing arts and houses of culture

Ms. Zorica CVETANOVSKA, Councilor of the Minister
Mrs. Ganka CVETANOVSKA-SAMOILOVA, Director of the Macedonian Philharmonic
Orchestra
Mr. Boris KONESKI, member of the Commission for Music
Mr. Stojko STOJKOV, Composer and Member of the Comision for Music

Representatives competent for libraries and publishing

Ms Zorka CHEKICHEVSKA, Undersecretary
Mr Milos LINDRO, Councilor of the Minister
Mr Rade SILJAN, Publisher and member of the Cultural Council

Representatives competent for the field of theatre and film

Mr Boris DAMEVSKI, President of the Film Commission in the Ministry of Culture
Mr Ljubisha GEORGIEVSKI, Professor at the Drama Faculty, Theatre Director and
member of the Cultural Council
Ms Ilindenka PETRUSEVSKA, Councilor of the Minister for Film and Theatre

Representatives competent for visual arts

Mr. Rodoljub ANASTASOV, Professor at the Faculty of Fine Arts and member of the Cultural Council

Zoja ANDONOVSKA, Councilor of the Minister for Museum and Galleries

Mr. Vladimir VELICKOVSKI, Member of the Comision for visual arts

Representatives competent for the protection of cultural heritage

Zoja ANDONOVSKA, Councilor of the Minister for Museum and Galleries

Ms Katica ATANASOVA, Councilor of the Minister for Protection of Cultural Heritage

Donka BARDJIEVA- TRAJKOVSKA, Director of the State Institute for Protection of Cultural Heritage

Mrs. Jasmina HADZIEVA – ALEKSIEVA, Professor at the Faculty of Architecture and President of the Cultural Council

Mr Ivan JOLESKI, Director of the Institute for Protection of Cultural Heritage in Bitola

Mr Pasku KUZMAN, Director of the Institute for Protection of Cultural Heritage in Ohrid

Mr Dragi MITREVSKI, Director of the Museum of Macedonia

3. Meeting "Propositions (remarks) for Revision of the current Macedonian Law on Culture" (8-9 November 2002):

Experts:

Ms Vesna COPIC, State Undersecretary, Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia (Slovenia)

Ms Delia MUCICA, Senior Advisor, National office for Cinematography (Romania),

Participants

Mr Emil ALEKSIEV, Director of the Museum of Contemporary Art

Zoja ANDONOVA, Advisor of the Minister for Museums and Galleries activities, Department for Creativity and Heritage, Ministry of Culture

Ms Katica ATANASOVA, Advisor of the Minister for Cultural Heritage, Department for Creativity and Heritage, Ministry of Culture

Mr Darko BASESKI, Director of Vardar Film

Ms Magdalena DIKOVSKA, Assistant of the Head of the Department of the Normative, Administrative and Supervisory Affairs, Ministry of Culture

Ms Ofelija DZORLEVA, law officer, MNT

Ms Jovanka EVTIMOVA, law officer, MNT

Ms Vesna ILIEVSKA, Head of the Division for Legislative Affairs, Ministry of Culture

Paskal GILEVSKI, Director of the National and University Library

Jovan KONDIJANOV, Director of the Republic Institute for Protection of the Cultural Heritage

Mr Melpomeni KORNETI, nominated for Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Culture (we are waiting official confirmation by the Parliament)

Mr Klime KOROBAR, nominated for State Secretary, Ministry of Culture

Ms Dragana KURCIOSKA, Head of the Department for Legislative, Administrative and Supervisory Affairs, Ministry of Culture

Ms Vesna MASLOVARIC, Director of the Macedonian Cinemateca

Mr Bojan MILCIN, Head of the Legislative Department, MNT

Mr Branko PETROVSKI, Head of the Division for Film, Drama and Cinematic activities, Ministry of Culture

Ms Biljana PRENOSKA, Coordinator of the MOSAIC project, Advisor of the Minister, International Cooperation Department, Ministry of Culture

Mr Mirko STEFANIVSKI, Director of the Macedonian National Tatar (MNT)

Ms Biljana TANOVSKA, Inspector for Culture, Ministry of Culture