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EUROPEAN PROGRAMME OF NATIONAL CULTURAL POLICY REVIEWS

Cultural Policy in Cyprus   –   European Experts' Report

by Mr Christopher GORDON

Item 10.1. of the draft agenda

If the stone falls on the egg, alas for the egg –
If the egg falls on the stone – alas for the egg.

The hardest crusts always fall to the toothless.

Cypriot Greek proverbs (quoted in *Bitter Lemons* by Lawrence Durrell, 1957)

A race advancing on the East must start with Cyprus. Alexander, Augustus, Richard Coeur-de-Lion and Saint Louis took that line. A race advancing on the West must start with Cyprus. Sargon, Cyrus, Ptolemy, Haroun-al-Rashid took this line. When Egypt and Syria were of first-rate value to the West, Cyprus was of first-rate value to the West. Genoa and Venice, struggling for the trade of India, fought for Cyprus and enjoyed supremacy in the land by turns. After a new route by sea was found to India, Egypt and Syria declined in value to the Western Nations. Cyprus was then forgotten; but the opening of the Suez Canal has suddenly restored her to her ancient pride of place.

(from *British Cyprus* by W. Hepworth Dixon, 1887)

History in this island is almost too profuse. It gives one a sort of mental indigestion.

(Robert Byron – *The Road to Oxiana*, 1937)

But the children
can't climb over high walls.
The children can't walk
in fields that have been dug with wounds.

(Neshé Yashin, contemporary Cypriot poet – from *Refugee Children*)

THE PANEL OF EXAMINERS

Ms Daniela Angelina Jelincic (Croatia)
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CHRONOLOGY OF ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN BY THE EXAMINERS

Saturday 14 – Thursday 19 December 2002 (A)

exploratory visit to Cyprus by Christopher Gordon and Domenico Ronconi

Monday 19 May – Wednesday 28 May 2003 (B)

Visit of full Examiners' Team to Cyprus

Monday 3 November – Sunday 9 November 2003 (C)

Follow up visit to Cyprus by Christopher Gordon and Domenico Ronconi

Thursday 5 – Saturday 7 February 2004 (D)

Examiners' Group drafting meeting in Montézillon, Switzerland

Thursday 15 April 2004 (E)

Informal meeting in Nicosia between Cyprus Minister for Education and Culture (and senior officials) and Christopher Gordon

Preface and Acknowledgements

The task of reviewing the cultural policy of the Republic of Cyprus, within the context of the Council of Europe's ongoing programme of National Cultural Policy Reviews, has proved to be a fascinating and demanding experience. The first-hand research and face-to-face discussions and enquiries were concentrated in three one-week periods between December 2002 and November 2003, although for the panel of Examiners and the Rapporteur in particular, the process of reflection and research has been continuous.

The period over which this review took place has proved momentous for four main reasons. The first was the December 2002 European Union summit in Copenhagen which confirmed Cyprus' Accession on the expected timescale – even if the hoped for progress towards reuniting the island as a federal entity was not achieved. The second was the Presidential election in February 2003 which also led to a change in government. We only discovered through conversations in May 2003 that there was a manifesto commitment from one of the coalition partners which has considerable importance for new and progressive thinking about the role of cultural policy, and about how it could be delivered better in a more coherent way. The third was the accelerating pace of the Cyprus government's preparation for full Accession to the EU in May 2004. So far as culture is concerned, the EU has a very restricted scope. This is not set to grow under the new constitution – whatever the aspirations of the Commission and the Parliament – but there are some very important implications (both positive and potentially negative) for future cultural provision and consumption in Cyprus which will arise out of the *acquis communautaire,* and opportunities to bid for new funds. The fourth was the relaxation from April 2003 of many of the long-standing restrictions on travel across the United Nations *Green Line*. Whilst this is still a hugely complicated political matter, with difficult personal implications for citizens of the Republic, it seems to be of more than symbolic significance and gives real hope for future normalisation.

Officials in the Cultural Services Department of the Ministry of Education and Culture provided us at the outset of our investigation with a draft National Report, which was enormously helpful in orientating our enquiries, and in identifying particular themes which we felt merited deeper probing. The fact that we have strayed far beyond the path initially indicated to us is no criticism of the Report itself, but rather a confirmation that we independently agree with the more 'holistic' approach to cultural policy that the government has now stated it wishes to pursue for the future. We found that Cyprus is rich in cultural practice, but could derive much more benefit from a greater focus on making strategy and policy more coherent.

We are deeply grateful to a large number of people (recorded at Appendix A) who were generous with their time and often candid with their opinions in dialogue with us. We hope we were not too inquisitorial – in some cases we returned to the same people for follow-up sessions once we had arrived at a more informed understanding of particular situations. This latter category includes the Minister himself, the Hon. Pefkios Georgiades, who was extremely generous with both his precious time and his hospitality. We were frequently challenged as individuals and as a group, and have also learned a lot through the constructive processes of this review. I am personally very grateful to my colleagues in the Review Team for their very active and committed participation in the processes.

Our initial contact and facilitator in the Ministry was Mrs Eleni Nikita, who set up the evaluation process and kindly tried to satisfy all our numerous demands. After Mrs Nikita was promoted to Acting Director of the Division, our Baedeker and chaperone was Mr Nikos Nikolaou, who went far beyond the call of duty on our behalf, seemingly able to arrange instant and impromptu meetings with new contacts as if by magic, and cheerfully drive us anywhere in the country at whatever hour of day or night we suggested. In the Cultural Services Division we were also grateful for the particular attentions of Mr Pavlos Paraskevas and Ms Louli Michaelidou. All of these people made huge efforts to ensure the smooth-running of our visits, as well as our personal comfort. Many of those who were good enough to spare the time to talk to us were also exemplars of the famous Cypriot hospitality. Gastronomy and viticulture were not included in our selected main issues for examination, but we certainly made an excellent and positive evaluation of them.

We are, of course, conscious that our brief report cannot offer an adequate reflection of the many aspects of cultural policy in Cyprus. There are limits to the depth of knowledge and understanding that can be achieved through concentrated visits of short duration. Furthermore, in such a complicated context, with Nicosia being the last divided capital city in Europe, we are sensitive to the very strong feelings which are evoked, but which we can only imagine within a changing political environment. Nevertheless, there did appear to us from the very start of the exercise to be a number of really important overall and strategic issues, which cry out for attention. It is on these that our report concentrates, in the hope that our conclusions and observations may make a positive contribution to necessary developments which are already beginning to take place. It is our hope that the public authorities in Cyprus, together with their key voluntary and private partners, can combine their efforts to take full advantage of the opportunities for cultural development as horizons expand during the next historic phase.

The views (and any errors) expressed in this report are, of course, our own, and should not be directly attributed to any of those who were willing to enter into discussion with us (other than where they have been published or publicly attested). It also goes without saying that the opinions expressed are the honest reflections of a group of independent professionals working in the European cultural field, and do not necessarily imply any responsibility on the part of the Council of Europe.

Christopher Gordon
Rapporteur
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June 2004

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Section 1

BACKGROUND TO A NATIONAL CULTURAL DEBATE

Cyprus, we were told, has its head in Europe, but at least one foot in the Middle East. Zeno of Kition (present day Larnaka), founder of the Stoic school of philosophy is believed to have been of mixed Greek and Phoenician parentage. From an entirely different perspective, His Holiness Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Paphos assured us that "Cypriot society is the child of the church". Another of our stimulating informants suggested that the only natural advantages ever available for Cyprus to exploit were copper and the wits of its citizens. On 1st May 2004, the Republic of Cyprus entered the European Union as a full member.

1.1   Instant historical context

These differing perceptions illustrate Cypriot realities and paradoxes, of which the Examiners' Panel became increasingly conscious as the evaluation process progressed. The island is at the crossroads of three continents – and, as Oedipus disastrously discovered, there is often a delayed price to be paid for actions at a *trivium*. Cyprus has an extraordinarily long history of civilisation with a spectacular (though interrupted) archaeological record going back to Neolithic times. The splendid display cases with fine examples of Cypriot pottery in the departure lounge at Larnaka Airport aim to impress this upon even the most casual tourist. There is evidence of habitations well before 8000 B.C. Burials associated with Early Bronze Age settlements (from around 2500 B.C.) have been discovered near the first copper mines to be opened. International trade and commerce was clearly established in the Middle Bronze Age. Mycenaean settlers from the Greek Peloponnese started to colonise this island of copper from about 1200 B.C. It is noteworthy that whilst Aphrodite, sprung from the foam off the Paphos coast, was the only deity in the Classical Greek pantheon who did not have a mainland Greek origin, her consort was Hephaistos the god of metal-working.

The turbulent history of the island includes periods of control by the Phoenicians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, Athenian Empire, Macedonians, Hellenistic Greek dynasties - Antigonids and Ptolemies - following Alexander the Great, Roman Republic and then Empire, Byzantium, English Plantagenet and then French Lusignan Crusaders, Genoese, Venetians, Ottoman Turks from 1571 and finally the British from 1878 up to independence in 1960.

As is well known, the 1960 constitution was a remarkably complicated imposition on a country with a population of just over half a million people, which rapidly proved unworkable in its application. Nevertheless, in some respects it is still a fixed point which acts as a constraint on change and progress which the Republic might wish to make as it enters the European Union, but not as yet as a reunified federal entity as is proposed in the United Nations' Annan Plan. One particular issue here is that the 1960 constitution stipulates the maximum number (though not the actual designations) of Ministers allowed to central government. There is a very understandable political reluctance to engage in any administrative reforms which, though well-intentioned and completely appropriate under modern circumstances,

could mischievously be characterised as a breach of the constitution. In 2004 this has an important bearing on how cultural policy can be formulated, and how it is delivered.

Ironically, perhaps, some of the government's cultural functions are carried out in Ministries which still mirror British government departments of over 40 years ago, but which have been reformed in the UK as obsolete at least once, and in some cases more often than that. We can therefore find in a small Mediterranean country ministries still reflecting the public, private, voluntary and general social and economic structures as they were nearly half a century ago in a distant northern European state. This was not the sort of heritage we thought we had expected to include in our review, but it inevitably has some bearing on our recommendations. We are encouraged that the present government of Cyprus had indicated its view in election manifestoes that this is a problem which needs tackling to try and deliver greater coherence, efficiency and to take a more 'modern' view of appropriate functions.

1.2   Where is cultural policy located?

Our main Cypriot government partners throughout the review process were the Cultural Services Division of the Ministry of Education and Culture. This does not have the status of a Government 'Department' and consists of just over 40 employees (including four seconded teachers) – from the Director of the Division to the Art Gallery cleaner. Heritage and Antiquities responsibilities are located elsewhere (but not united within a single ministry), Archives in yet another ministry, media and broadcasting policy elsewhere, as is policy for young people and so forth. A number of important cultural functions such as drama (and vital intersection points for culture with other broad policy areas, notably including tourism) are hived off into semi-independent bodies at arm's length from the government – although in certain circumstances it seems the arm can suddenly become very short indeed. Capital infrastructure and revenue needs are considered under differing rules in different ministries or boards, and in general we concluded that inter-Ministry communication on issues of common interest and importance is not as good as it should be. The working relationships with local government – which has general discretionary powers in culture under the Municipalities Law (111) of 1985 - are ad hoc and rather ill-defined.

The somewhat fragmented location of cultural responsibilities has come about as a result of the British colonial legacy and certain restrictive provisions which were enshrined in the 1960 constitution of the Republic of Cyprus. Subsequent events and the inevitable political sensitivities around them have meant that change to structures has been limited, or virtually impossible. We acknowledge that the present government is aware of the cultural policy and delivery difficulties which this has created, and commend the Minister, Mr Georgiades, for identifying it as an issue which must be tackled. To illustrate the problem, we record the several individual ministries (i.e. over and above the Council of Ministers and the Finance Ministry) where there is a legitimate role and interest in aspects of cultural policy:

Ministry of Education and Culture (libraries, literature, book distribution, visual and performing arts, percent for art, museums, festivals, folk tradition [post 1940], film development, grants and awards etc., international cultural promotion, arts education, Higher Education, training)

Ministry of Communications and Public Works (Department of Antiquities: archaeology, monuments and architectural heritage [up to 1940], museums, conservation and restoration, listings; Department of Town Planning and Housing: development control, listings, restoration)

Ministry of the Interior (local government; Press and Information Office: broadcasting, some film responsibility)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs (international cultural relations)

Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism (tourism, publishing, crafts)

Ministry of Justice and Public Order (state archives, youth policy)

Ministry of Agriculture, Natural Resources and Environment (landscape protection)

Planning Board (capital and strategic development)

From studying the draft National Report, and following an initial exploratory visit in December 2002, we concluded that our most urgent and productive lines of enquiry were likely to focus around six broad topics:

- The policy (and policy development) framework, and the management structures deriving from it;
- Decentralisation issues – both vertical and horizontal – but taking full account of the need for improved coherence in policy and its delivery;
- Cultural 'values' and the role of cultural policy in civil society, taking account of social cohesion and inclusion, young people, diversity, and the Church;
- Practice in contemporary cultural creation, production, distribution and dissemination, including the role of the media;
- Tourism and its key inter-relationship with the archaeological and ecclesiastical heritage, and the natural environment;
- Private sector and foundation practice – in which Cyprus is rich – and how this might be more successfully integrated with overall public policy and strategy.

A general dimension which we found difficult to locate in many of the above 'themes' was that of *quality*. There seemed to be little evidence of systematic evaluation or independent 'quality control'. Whilst this might not necessarily be a matter for the public authorities themselves to act upon, it is certainly something they cannot afford to ignore. We do not underestimate the difficulties in achieving this, but believe it is important that some mechanisms are put in place. It is not just a question of *post hoc* evaluation. Cyprus as a relatively small market is open to individual cultural initiatives, which may often require substantial sums of public money for their realisation. Who makes these choices, and who is accountable for them? The *koumbaros* phenomenon is inevitable in a small island country where society, public and private systems necessarily inter-connect at a variety of levels. 'Transparency' is an associated issue of great importance.

1.3   The National Report and Examiners' identification of key strategic issues

Given the complicated structural problems indicated above, it is not surprising that the draft report from the Ministry of Education and Culture which we had as our helpful initial working document was set out along fairly traditional art form and functional 'vertical' lines. One of the main drawbacks to this approach is that what officials *do* in their day to day work tends to be equated with policy, and is mistakenly assumed to be strategic. A surprising amount of this effort is direct promotion of activities, often initiated without much discussion or negotiation with local authorities, private or voluntary providers, or the commercial sector, who may all have a stake in it, or be potential competitors. This is not to say that in a small country the most appropriate and efficient solution in certain circumstances *may* indeed be direct promotion from the government, or some central agency. But one should not assume that without testing the assumptions and context rigorously.   Furthermore, it seemed to the Examiners that the internal focus on functions and delivery problems (the logic of which is always likely to envisage the solution in more money or more staff – usually both – thereby perpetuating the conflict between direct promotion and independent grant assessment) was in some ways preventing the development of constructive lateral connections with other partners or potential allies.   These might also be stakeholders in cultural policy, though often from a rather different policy starting point, and could actually help it achieve a stronger political profile.

Our attempts to imagine – in the informed light of our own varied professional experience in five different European countries and internationally – what these connections might be, and what additional relevant questions that would raise, caused us to formulate a number of questions as our agenda for the evaluation.

1.4   Twelve broad issues expressed as open questions

(a)   ***The place and importance of culture in the national consciousness***

- To what extent is cultural policy seen as part of the debate between the government and public authorities, and civil society and the media in Cyprus? (see 2.1, 3.1, 3.2, 3.5, 4.1, 5.1, Recommendations 7.5, 7.6)

- How successfully is cultural policy integrated with the whole range of other mainstream public policies by which it may be affected, and to which it can positively contribute?   (see 2.1, 3.1, 3.2, 3.4, 4.3, 5.1, 5.2, 5.4, 6.1, Recommendations 7.1, 7.5, 7.6)

(b)   ***The effectiveness of strategic policy coordination and implementation***

- How well does the government, as the strategic national authority, succeed in articulating and delivering a coherent and effective cultural policy framework together with the local authorities, voluntary sector, commercial operators and the many private trusts and foundations which are active in culture and associated fields? (see 2.1, 2.2, 3.5, 4.1, 4.2, 4.4, 5.1, 5.2, Recommendations 7.1, 7.2, 7.3)

- How transparent and efficient are the mechanisms through which cultural policy is delivered?   To what extent does any systematic evaluation and periodic review of cultural policy take place – always a particularly difficult

issue in a small country? (see 2.1, 2.2, 4.1, 4.2, 4.7, 5.4, Recommendations 7.2, 7.3, 7.4)

- How do the actions and strategic development roles of the public authorities support creative artists, producers and distributors? (see 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, 4.7, Recommendation 7.3, 7.4)

- Securing an adequate and modern capital infrastructure of cultural spaces and institutions is a major challenge in any small country, with a limited market. How are the genuine needs prioritised, and the competing demands of the various professional sectors mediated? (see 2.1, 2.2, 5.1, 5.2, Recommendation 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, 7.7)

(c)   *Culture as a shared value capable of assisting reconciliation and respecting diversity*

- Given that cultural identity has the capacity to be both a positive and a negative force – not least in an already divided island – to what extent is cultural policy showing awareness of, being informed by, and making use of cultural diversity? (see 3.1, 3.2, Recommendation 7.5)

(d)   *The Church in relation to culture and changing society*

- Where does the Orthodox Church, with its very powerful positions as moral arbiter, massive landowner, and key role in education, position itself in relation to broader 'cultural' issues? (see 3.2, 3.3, Recommendations 7.2, 7.6)

(e)   *Public access, consumption and availability of choice*

- Is the available level and quality of cultural life, accessibility to it, and official attitudes towards the need for involvement with it sufficient to meet the growing aspirations of people living in Cyprus? This not simply an urban issue, but perhaps also has particular relevance to rural areas and the lives of young people? (see 2.1, 3.1, 3.2, 5.1, Recommendation 7.3, 7.4)

- Does the government of Cyprus recognise and have any strategy to cope with the increasingly global trends in aspects of culture? How aware and prepared are the public authorities to deal with what may be needed to protect, and allow space for the development of traditional culture? (see 2,3, 3.5, Recommendation 7.7)

(f)   *Impact and opportunities from European Union Accession*

- How are the government and the public authorities dealing with challenges (both positive and negative) posed by Accession to the European Union in relation to cultural policy and factors which may affect it? (see 5.2, 6.1, Recommendation 7.7)

(g)   *The impact of culture within tourism, and vice versa*

- Heritage, culture and tourism are inextricably bound together both economically and in relation to the identity and image Cyprus projects at home

and abroad. Culture and the environment are two of the major concerns in new thinking about future tourist patterns – is this thinking credible, and are any results likely to be sustainable in the case of Cyprus?   (see 3.4, Recommendation 7.1, 7.2)

Section 2

CULTURAL POLICY AND PUBLIC STRUCTURES

Various concepts of 'culture' generally co-exist, without even getting into the debate about where the anthropological understanding takes over from the more closely defined arts/heritage one (see appendix C on cultural policy paradigms). Effective cultural policy needs to be rooted in a dynamic process. Our research has suggested that some of the current structures and practices in Cyprus may be hindering, rather than helping that process. A rather traditional and limited set of assumptions about what constitutes cultural policy (i.e. art form/heritage basis) seems to create an unintentional problem, as these fail to connect with many of the lateral connections reflecting today's social realities.

There is, of course, always a danger in over-concentrating on the structures and how they operate, rather than on examining the reasons for their existence. An apparently narrow focus on structures can often be an ineffective substitute for resolving the real underlying issues, which are more often than not about power, control and resources. Almost everyone we met was quick to identify lack of money (or political priority) as a major problem in cultural policy. Far fewer seemed prepared to admit that allocating existing resources in a more coherent and targeted way could in itself help lead to considerable improvements.

As well as noting the weak links between differing public policy areas, which could, if addressed, help 'culture' develop a stronger public and political profile, we also think that it would be beneficial for the delivery of existing policy to make more systematic connections between the various aspects of its own normal cycles:

- Policy and policy development
- Strategy formulation and implementation
- Practice and production
- Distribution and dissemination
- Communication and public relations
- Evaluation and consequential revision.

2.1 The Ministry of Education and Culture

Cultural policy in Western European states since the 1960s has developed in a number of phases which have similarities, despite the widely differing national and regional traditions and contexts. More recently, the trend has been to regard the relevant public authorities (at both central and local levels) as 'enablers' rather than direct providers of services, with many of the cultural institutions operating as independent grant-aided 'not-for-profit' legal entities. This in its turn has led to a more generally accepted recognition of the wider social, economic and political context within which cultural policy and provision sit, as well as giving greater prominence to the

complicated inter-relationships and 'instrumental' benefits which can arise out of this changing perspective. The role of the central government culture ministry in strategic policy co-ordination, rather than just a channel for taxpayers' money has grown. However, it is important to emphasise that for 'culture' to be able to respond effectively to these new and emerging challenges, its own specific policy space has to be respected and preserved. Different responses may be appropriate in differing circumstances, and it is therefore imperative that governments ensure that the relevant policy objectives can be reconciled within this evolving and constantly changing context.

Cyprus is fortunate to have within The Ministry of Education and Culture's Cultural Services team a high proportion of skilled officials who have some experience of cultural promotion or other 'hands on' professional cultural activity. This is unusual in a Ministry, and is a real potential asset in terms of knowledge and experience. This would certainly be the case if these skills were applied to the implementation and development of a policy which had been worked out coherently with the other key 'stakeholders' – the local, private and voluntary agencies active in the cultural field, as well as artists and performers and the public.

Roles and responsibilities

We requested sight of the job profiles for the Cultural Services staff, and these were prepared for us together with an organisation chart. Everybody seems to have a large number of quite detailed responsibilities, although many of these appear to overlap. The profiles, as one would expect, demonstrate the 'normal' range of overall or strategic tasks one would hope to find identified. What is more surprising, however, is the extremely large amount of time and effort given over to directly promoted activity – ranging from managing the state orchestra, its bookings and auditions, running the State Gallery of Contemporary Art to high profile festivals (Kypria, dance and folk festivals, elements of festivals abroad), regular musical events, book exhibitions and literature symposia, maintaining registers of war veterans and issuing medals etc. By contrast, there is no location of responsibility for developing the multi-cultural agenda, a hugely important issue for the island, which maybe represents future hope more than dwelling upon past conflicts.

Four senior officials are shown as working on the Kypria Festival, and it is inevitable that any workload which contains such a high proportion of regular activity relating to short-term promotional deadlines will, through apparent necessity, prevent proper attention being devoted to the longer-term strategic functions. Furthermore, in our investigations around the island, we encountered a fair amount of critical comment from other public, private and voluntary cultural operators that the Ministry has an unchecked tendency frequently to engage in unilateral unstrategic, conflicting and uncoordinated promotion which can seem to constitute unfair competition. One of our interlocutors put this succinctly as follows – "The Ministry scatters resources around way beyond what they should do; they have no proper strategy, and don't even know what they are doing in any given year. They are not really in control of their own policy – if they have one. There is talent there, but no system of co-ordination". We think these critics have a fair point, although there is an important mitigating issue, which we explore elsewhere, about the most effective means of ensuring availability of a dynamic cultural life in a small country with a good road infrastructure for the benefit of the whole population.

Growing awareness of the need for change

It is only fair to add that the Minister himself is questioning these levels of direct promotion from within his Department, and that hiving off the State Orchestra as a semi-independent body has been under consideration for several years. One official went so far as to concede that the Ministry had no real policy, only an accumulation of practice, which often turned out to be internally contradictory. Nevertheless, the reality is that the predisposition for events promotion will always delay these necessary reforms since (maybe conveniently) the time will never be given priority to carry them through. We had the impression that many officials believe that this dilemma could be solved with additional staffing and financial capability. Others – and we agree with them – can see that such a 'solution' might simply give temporary respite, whilst avoiding facing up to the real issue. It is a joint question of policy, strategy and management, which needs to be honestly confronted and answered. It is not about intensity of workload; it is all about identifying and agreeing appropriate governmental *roles* and *responsibilities* and then carrying them out in a coherent partnership with the other legitimate stakeholders. The fact that the Ministry itself has no clearly articulated vision of what it is itself doing also makes it difficult for the government-supported 'arm's length' organisations who are equally unclear as to what may be expected of them in the broader cultural context.

Grant aid processes

As one would expect, the Ministry is a significant provider of grant aid to independent operators and organisations. This is clearly useful and beneficial in helping sustain the impressive levels of activity, and in trying to ensure that rural provision is treated fairly and seriously. The Budget is drawn up in a way which protects a large number of specific areas of work which habitually apply for financial support. Consequently, it also generates an unpredictable workload. The application process itself appears to be somewhat ad hoc – neither tied to manageable application cycles or criteria, nor entirely transparent or followed up by clear evaluation procedures. Any accountable and defensible public cultural policy must be free from any hint of nepotism, otherwise (whether substantiated or not) there is the risk that established influences may have the effect of marginalising promising younger performers or experimental artists altogether**. We believe that there would be an advantage in bringing together the many small art-form based grant funds, and managing them more accountably through some uniform process of application with clear and open criteria, which should be devised and operated in a way that does not put smaller organisations at risk.** Having a rational system should also make for improved relations and partnership with the major foundations working in the same field. As matters stand, we gathered there may be an unnecessarily large amount of unproductive time and wasted effort in making, processing and cross-checking multiple applications.

The working budgets for 2003 and 2004 suggest that the standard procedure of the Department is to allocate global sums to the traditional art form, promotional and institutional headings once the overall government allocation for the year is known. Because the procedures seem to perpetuate this general practice, it will be difficult to adopt a more strategic and policy-driven approach without causing major upset within the Ministry itself, and to those in the sector more widely who are accustomed to benefit from grant-aid. Nevertheless, we believe this is a development what will have to be faced but carefully managed so as to minimise any possible short-term damage.

A more strategic role?

Cyprus has a rich and fascinating culture, but suffers from piecemeal implementation (which can mean over-provision in certain areas) and no effective strategic coordination. Government policy – even if entirely benevolent – can never directly generate great art, but it can and should be concerned to do whatever is possible to create the *conditions* which encourage its production and distribution. A Ministry which is using a high percentage of the available national budget for culture on its own promotions may only be reinforcing the particular tastes and limitations of the officials concerned and, according to one of our informants, unintentionally alienating young people along the way. A Ministry which has a clearly thought out strategy is likely to be more influential and credible with the other government Departments whose policies and actions may also have a significant impact on cultural creation, production, distribution and consumption across the generations. Current thinking from the government (discussed in detail at 5.4 and recommendation 7.3) for reforms to address the absence of overall strategy is logical and timely.

2.2   The Heritage and Environment

The Department of Antiquities has responsibility for all archaeological sites and activity, Ancient Monuments (up to the mid -19th century) and most Government Museums on the island. Although it has to operate under obvious resource constraints, the unit functions very effectively in relation to its narrow functions. The Department has existed since 1935 as a small unit of the Ministry of Communications and Public Works (on the model of the old British Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments in Ministry of Works, which was reorganised in the UK in the early 1970s). The Cypriot law was subject to some updating in 1964, 1973, 1995 and 1996. The Department's key functions cover the conservation (and, if appropriate, restoration) of monuments scheduled 'A' and 'B' under the Antiquities Law, as well as a parallel educational role to raise public awareness, and look after the heritage in the context of promoting cultural tourism. Most of the island's ecclesiastical buildings, along with privately owned vernacular buildings, constitute Schedule B, while the contents of Schedule A are all government-owned.

Archaeology responsibilities

All foreign archaeological missions refused Turkey's invitation after 1974 to continue to excavate in the Northern part (notably the site of Salamis), and were granted permission by the government of the Republic of Cyprus to work on 'new' sites in the southern two-thirds of the island. Consequently, and as a deliberate arm of increasing tourism, the pace of work has quickened at the key sites of Paphos, Kourion and Amathous. The Department has, however, also taken commendably strong action to ensure that permissions are tied in with an obligation to publish results (interim report within two years, final report within five). Secure storage space for finds is an increasing problem. It is hoped that plans for a new Cyprus Museum building will go some way towards alleviating this, but it is unlikely to be achieved in the short-term (see Section 5.2).

Monitoring and safeguarding heritage

The Department is also responsible for monitoring observation of the international conventions on moveable heritage and illicit trading, an all-too-burdensome task following the depredations of 1974 and subsequently. Cypriot and international efforts to establish a permanent UNESCO mission in Cyprus to monitor the situation have been consistently thwarted by the régime in the north demanding political recognition as a precondition for acceptance of such a body. Constant efforts are made to inform UNESCO member states and their relevant authorities to alert the Cyprus government to the sadly frequent cases where Cypriot antiquities, including mosaics and frescoes looted from churches, are intercepted on the legitimate and illegal art and antiquities markets world-wide. This is a complicated and time-consuming business. It should be noted that since this a such a high profile and contentious issue, it has been resolved that in the putative reunited federal state of Cyprus, Antiquities would be a *federal* responsibility (which is not the case for the other cultural functions, which are believed to be more rooted in their own 'communities'). This would have implications for any unified or co-ordinated cultural policy.

In carrying out these wide-ranging responsibilities, the Department is clearly under considerable pressure. The scientific personnel total only sixteen (12 archaeologists and 4 conservators). Support staff consist of 65 technicians and 189 skilled craftsmen, diggers, and museum technicians and guards. The Museums staff have the additional responsibility of documenting and updating all known private collections of antiquities declared between 1973 and 1996.

During 2003 the government's allocation for architectural heritage conservation work was €5,300,000, with 50% of the costs towards ecclesiastical monuments being met by agreement with the Church authorities. The Museums Branch had a working budget of €3,892,500 (roughly one quarter of the Department's total annual budget). Substantial additional funding may be available from private trusts notably, in the case of the heritage, from the Leventis Foundation (see further in Appendix B).

Listings

The register of scheduled ancient monuments has 1,156 listings, of which 184 are in the occupied north of the island. These listings were complete up to 1973, and most of the information is in the process of being transferred onto a digital database. A total of 480 of these listings are ecclesiastical – mostly churches or monasteries. The Department is responsible for up to around 90% of the designated national heritage. Privately owned traditional architecture now has its own protection law – defining it under 'Ancient Monuments' and with a government undertaking to fund 50% of the upkeep costs. The Department has no specialist staff to carry out this function.

Development control and tourism expansion

The twin needs for rapid housing development for refugees post-1974 and general modern development of the island's infrastructure has inevitably led to an increased demand for rescue archaeology. The rapid developments in tourism have led to a significant increase in the numbers of visitors to key sites over the past five years or so. Paphos achieved over 300,000 in 2000, up to 350,000 in 2001, Kourion almost 240,000 in 2000, up to 316,000 in 2001 and the Tombs of the Kings over 200,000,

increasing to 263,000 in 2001. The Department in consultation with the Cyprus Tourism Organisation (CTO) and the relevant national and local authorities is therefore developing and implementing visitor management strategies to improve the quality of visits through better routing, presentation and interpretation whilst also protecting sites from damage and erosion through increased usage. Master plans for the sites of Paphos and Choirokoitia have already been implemented, and one is now in progress at Kourion. Amathous is now in the immediate planning timescale, as well as a number of new site museums (headed by Idalion), and an intention to increase further the island's already impressive list of declared World Heritage sites.

There is clearly some unresolved tension between the Department and the CTO, fuelled by fears that over-exploitation could lead to irreversible archaeological damage. The CTO's Tourism Development Strategy and Master Plan (2003 – 2010) states "Despite the fact that Cyprus has the potential to satisfy a wide range of cultural interests like history, archaeology, religion, traditions and customs, arts and handicrafts etc., the opportunities offered to the tourist to discover and appreciate the depth and extent of civilisation of Cyprus in its wider sense, are limited. There are fundamental weaknesses in the way that monuments, sites of natural beauty and historical importance and the cultural wealth are presented and promoted."

2.3 Tradition, Originality and Development

Traditional music, dance and crafts receive a limited amount of grant aid to maintain activity. Studies and seminars are also supported to encourage accurate recording and authentic performance styles (so far as possible) and to ensure that traditions are not lost. Considerable assistance is given to the delightful Ethnographic Museum (the repository for folk art and crafts) in Nicosia, and also to rural museums towards their restoration and maintenance. We visited an excellent and well-displayed and interpreted small icon museum in the village of Palaichori. There is probably a greater social and political role to be exploited in due course amongst networks across the Green Line, where the traditions of the communities often prove to have more similarities than differences.

Rural heritage

Traditional rural buildings are in the process of being more valued and protected, in part as an important element of the growth in cultural and eco-tourism. Restored villages which have been abandoned – such as Phikardou in the Troödos – give a fascinating, but not 'over-interpreted', insight into a way of life which is rapidly disappearing. However, for the continued expansion of tourism in this sector to succeed, there is a need also to link it more closely with conservation and wildlife policy and action. We comment elsewhere in this report on the artificial administrative separation within government of 'antiquity' from more recent 'heritage', which is not always in the best interests of either, and have already noted that landscape protection and heritage also differ in their Ministerial location.

Static or dynamic?

There is always something of a dilemma in societies rich in folk traditions, such as Cyprus, as to how you maintain the purity of these styles and artefacts for ethnographic and historical reasons alongside their use as the starting point for

contemporary expression within an unbroken developing tradition. We believe there is a potentially larger role for contemporary artists and makers in this than has yet been realised. The Cyprus Tourism Organisation's Strategic Plan helpfully states "it is important to take measures towards the replacement of the standardised non-traditional items on offer at present by authentic Cyprus products, and provide tourists with ample shopping opportunities all over Cyprus." The Cyprus Handicraft Service, which is part of the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, is trying to negotiate this territory. One of its achievements has been to revive the genuine traditions (while also allowing for development) in the production of the world famous Lefkara lace, faced with the market risking being flooded with cheap and inferior machine made or imported articles. This has given employment to a significant number of lace-makers, many of them refugees from the north. The designs are redolent of the history of the island, with characteristics similar to fine 16th century Italian work, an influence clearly absorbed during the time of Venetian occupation.

Section 3

CULTURAL POLICY: SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REALITIES

The Cyprus authorities provided us with the government Press and Information Office's 2001 edition of the handbook *About Cyprus* which contains data and commentary about society, the economy, history and the political system. It also has a section entitled 'Education and Culture' which contains some data (e.g. annual attendance numbers at particular museums, number of works and artists represented in the State Gallery of Contemporary Art) and the global budget for the Cultural Services. We noted that the 'culture' sections of this publication treat the subject more as a matter of 'vertical' provision – categorised according to art forms or discrete topics like 'Antiquities', 'Festivals' – without attempting to cross-reference it with the sections on society and the economy. The focus is almost exclusively on what the government itself promotes directly or at arm's length. Informative as this is, it does not really offer a national strategic overview taking in the contributions made by the local authorities and the private operators and foundations. There is also an informative description of the available professional training.

Public attitudes changing

Very usefully, we also had access to the 2002/03 Cyprobarometer findings, the seventh annual independent public opinion survey commissioned since 1996 by the Planning and Economic Research Service of the Laiki Banking and Financial Services Group. This interpretation of a random sample of over 1,000 interviews with people between the ages of 18 and 75 often provided us with a useful check on our own impressions about broader topics and attitudes from the discussions we were engaged in.

The Cyprobarometer survey reveals that 85% of the sample interviewed believes Cyprus is facing a crisis of institutions, including and the family, the state and the Church. (61% felt the Church needed 'modernising', with only 23% disagreeing, while 80% disapproved of the Church's involvement in commerce and trading). The rising cost of living registers as a significant public concern, perhaps linked to fears

about EU membership threatening Cyprus' retention of the inflation-linked 'Cost of Living Allowance', which automatically adjusts salaries every six months. The figures for environmental consciousness as a principle governing people's conduct are worryingly low, although 81% said they believed the island was facing serious environmental damage and pollution, most commonly as a result of car use. Concern about drug abuse as a serious and growing problem also registered high (around 70%).

3.1 Cultural diversity

Recent research into cultural practice within Europe points to possible dangers in simplifying diversity into layers, or specially 'protected' categories, which can have the unintended effect of perpetuating them as separate (e.g. through 'positive discrimination'). The current trend is to find 'shared space', a concept which includes history and 'intangible' heritage as much as buildings or locations. It is a space into which various participants can enter without fear, and where conversations can lead to exchange which, in its turn gives rise to change. This often implies some need for some alterations to internal structures. One of the problems with the dominant 'national' paradigm of cultural policy since the 19th century (see Appendix C) has been the perceived exclusivity and subliminal role in defining national identity, which has actually worked against more pluralistic and inclusive practice in 'mainstream' cultural institutions (the very term implies some hierarchy of values). There is also a widespread perception that the way nation states and their key agencies have sought to protect their 'diversity' and individuality within the EU context, claiming 'subsidiarity', may often still be motivated by narrow national 'cultural diplomacy' or economic interest.

National identity is an extremely ambivalent concept. But *cultural* identity is perhaps even more complex. Increasingly it is recognised that we all have coexisting multiple cultural identities. Besides family influences, and the accident of geography (local, regional, national and continental) and ethnicity, there may be political or religious overtones. **Yet culture appears in general to have rather a low profile in relation to integration and social inclusion agendas. In the enormously complicated social situation in Cyprus, we believe this is one of the really crucial issues, touching as it does directly on democratic participation, human rights, the changing roles of women, the questioning of religious orthodoxy, and an increasingly materialistic society.**

Fortress Cyprus?

Whilst we were in Cyprus, the results of a European Commission survey of the attitudes of 10,000 young people in member and accession states was published. Cyprus was at the extreme end of the spectrum, with the survey showing that eight out of ten young Cypriots believed there were too many foreigners already in its territory (against an average of 17% in the other accession countries). Only 25% of the young Cypriots included in the survey thought that foreigners and immigrants should be accorded equal rights. If this sample is a genuine reflection of current attitudes, it is far from reassuring in the context of a possible solution to the island's long-standing political problems that would be enshrined in the principles of a multi-cultural state. It is perhaps worth quoting an extract which appeared in a strongly worded editorial in the *Cyprus Mail:*

"The survey was canvassing the opinions of youngsters, whose opinions will, one hopes, mature with age. However, the fact that they feel this way is bound to reflect on opinion in the home. This reflection of social attitudes is deeply depressing. For a community so desperately clamouring for its human rights in regard to the Turkish occupation, the blatant disregard for the human rights of others is despicable... It also reveals a shocking blindness to the [economic] realities of Cyprus."

Religious background

We did not encounter evidence of any serious examination of the concept of 'religious communities', only a rather crude assumption of solidarity between Orthodox, Armenian, Maronite and Latin (Roman Catholic) Christians simply by virtue of their being categorised as non-Muslim (following Article 2 of the Constitution). We had a rather different take on this in our discussion with the Pancyprian Artists group. But even from a more institutional Christian perspective, the (then) Presidential Commissioner for Religious Minorities while stressing his belief in the need to reinforce and strengthen particular religious identity (e.g. of the Maronites and Armenians who were largely dispossessed after 1974), agreed that greater use could be made of people's 'stories' to build understanding and tolerance in all directions. We also found it difficult to secure any official engagement to discuss multicultural or diversity issues in relation to TV and broadcasting. We noted that whilst Cyprus subscribes to international agreements on 'minority' and 'human rights' policies, we were unable to identify any distinct agreements or policies regarding 'communities' taken at the everyday level.

The multi-cultural challenge

We completely understand what must lie behind a lot of the hesitancy to become embroiled in the meaning of multi-culturalism in the Cyprus context. The colonial British practice which helped institutionalise the over-simplistic notion of 'Greek' and 'Turkish' Cypriots is an unhelpful legacy (many 'Turkish' Cypriots were 'Greeks' who converted to Islam during the time of the Ottoman Empire). Shared culture and history is surely one of the hopeful routes out of this apparent impasse. We were consequently delighted to be able to have a meeting in the village of Pyla (effectively in no-man's-land) to which representatives of the Pancyprian Artists' Association specially travelled. This inspiring and courageous group of individuals confirmed our belief that culture can indeed be a real agent of reconciliation and permanent change. 'Religion' they told us 'is not a problem – but language, telephone communication and crossing the Green Line are'. [1]

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[1]   The constructive approach of this Association fits well with trend described in a recent Council of Europe project: *"The international context in which national policy is developed is changing the landscape in which citizenship assumes a meaning. The context is bringing cultural participation and cultural policy into greater focus. National cultural policy has a new role to play... It will need to redefine the conditions of equity and fairness for cultural participation.* ***It will need to embrace diversity rather than cultural homogeneity as the norm.***" Council of Europe *Differing Diversities* (ed. Tony Bennett 2001)

From a recent project publication, we reproduce the words of Dr Maria Hadjipavlou in a passage which is specifically related to Cyprus:

"Since the conflict has a cultural and psychological component due to decades of alienation amongst the different ethnic groups, and especially between the Turkish Cypriot and the Greek Cypriot citizens, the development of a cultural policy on activities promoting bi-cultural or multi-cultural dialogue is a must, especially in view of Cyprus' accession to the European Union which can provide the missing space to all Cypriot communities to work together. This lack of cultural policy often contributes to ignorance of the other, so that the unknowable other becomes either a threat or invisible."

(Council of Europe, Case Studies on Divided/Shared Cities)

It was the Minister himself who said to us "we must cultivate the unifying elements" although several of our informants told us that despite the apparently conciliatory rhetoric, the country's education system does not really reflect multi-culturalism. It appears that maybe as an understandably sensitive and difficult topic, 'Cypriot-ness' as a political identity is studiously avoided, almost as if to promote it - as a shared and progressive concept – would constitute some form of betrayal of Greece. Yet clearly the future of Cyprus within the European Union has moved beyond any dreams of *Enosis* or *Taksim* however much diehards might wish to believe otherwise. We experienced in Limassol a performance of the *Time Elevator*, an 'edutainment' on the history of Cyprus aimed at both tourists and young people (attracting them in the approximate proportions of 60/40% according to current admission data). On any neutral assessment (internal or external) of the selective way the recent history is presented (or omitted) we were surprised to learn that this 'show' has been accepted by the Ministry as a valid part of the schools history curriculum. We therefore welcome the initiative (June 2004) of the Council of Europe and education experts from both Cypriot communities to face up to the challenges of history teaching in the island, and to begin to formulate new approaches and materials.

3.2 Young People

As will be clear from our list of general 'questions' for this review (see 1.4) we consider the role of cultural life vis à vis young people in Cyprus a major issue. We also found this to be the case in many of our conversations and interviews with individuals and institutions (ranging from artists to senior figures in the Orthodox Church) where this is seen as a very important cross-cutting subject. However, because the issue is so general, we found it quite difficult to get to grips with it methodically. Everyone has a view – but how can one assess the truth behind the often wildly differing opinions and judgements? To what extent do the formally established structures represent – or even fully comprehend – the general situation in which the 'silent' majority probably constitutes much the greatest part? Cultural participation registers at the low end (6.6% of respondents) of chosen leisure activities according to a recent Education Ministry survey to assist its development of lifelong learning initiatives.

We identified three broad issues as our route map for this topic:

- Is there any identifiable *cultural* policy aimed at young people – treating culture as a broad, horizontal definition including sport, media etc.?
- How are the cultural identities of young people promoted, and how are they supported in producing their own cultural forms?
- To what extent do the formal education system and ancillary learning mechanisms support young people's cultural aspirations?

We were pleased to have an opportunity to engage with three student leaders, who were clear, forceful and coherent in their opinions. It was salutary for us to be exposed to views which were expressed with conviction – though in many instances rather different from the 'official' viewpoint on the same topic. Some of the points made were entirely practical – for example drawing attention to the urgent need for a significant improvement in facilities for disabled people, the continuing barriers for women who wish to participate fully in political and social life, the constraints on normal social activities through police enforcement of the law on public assembly – whereas others were much more subjective, if familiar (traditional family values and roles, an older generation resistant to change, stress caused by the pressure to succeed individually, suppressed history and one-sided views making resolution of the island's political situation harder etc.) Many young people clearly feel the media now have a much greater influence on the way they live their lives than does the Church.

Expectations and experience of young people

The influence of the media, coupled with better levels of education and higher expectation, has a massive effect on cultural participation and consumption. Levels of expectation on both content and presentation are also raised through easier travel both within and beyond the shores of the island. This in its turn has a bearing on young people's career decisions and where they wish to live – which directly affects the rural economy, and demand for improved facilities in towns. Against this background we heard the view expressed that what the Ministry's Cultural Services actively promoted seemed (a) boring and (b) irrelevant. These young people did not, be it noted, declare it actually *was* boring or irrelevant, but stressed that the absence of effective linkage through the formal schooling process and failure to promote accessible culture ended up with its being consigned to a no-go area. They recognised that they were quite possibly missing out on something rather important, and that increasing travel abroad made them think more seriously about their common European roots from which they might feel distanced through the limitations of age and society. In parallel, young people increasingly developed their own counter-culture, which they were also capable of understanding might represent an equally limited concept of culture, but which they in turn were unable to communicate positively to their elders.

The Youth Board of Cyprus and broader connections

We spent useful time with staff of the Youth Board of Cyprus, and experienced a rock concert it was promoting in the football stadium on the outskirts of Nicosia. The Board was legally established in 1994 (succeeding the former Central Youth Agency). It represents the formal cooperation of the government with the political party youth organisations of the country. The formal link from this semi-independent 'arm's length' body to the government is the Ministry of Justice and Public Order. Does this structural link – i.e. not through the Education and Culture Ministry - imply some continuing predisposition to regard young people as a potential 'problem' requiring control rather than the future hope of the country? We thought we detected an

absence of trust and genuine empowerment of young people to represent and develop their own lives and futures – although this is perhaps just one aspect of the archetypal Mediterranean collectivist/family tradition. The Board has about 40 youth organisations which participate in its detailed advisory structures. It produces research on matters of concern to young people which it can represent to the government and political parties and, if appropriate, help shape policy (e.g. on the integration of young immigrants, media attitudes, and the generation gap). There seems to be no empirical evidence relating to formal/informal participation outside the structure of the constituted youth organisations. The Board also has an active programme of promotion of events, some of them cultural, although we are not clear on its actual policy or programming rationale.

The Cyprus government's Press and Information Office records that there are approximately 100 active youth centres with around 8,000 registered members (which received grants totalling CY£160,500 in the year 2000 through the Youth Board). There is also a network of 'municipal youth councils' which gives opportunities and support for discussion on topics of vital interest to young people. Some comments we heard suggested that many young people choose not to use the designated youth centres because of a questionable image (one bad press story is unfortunately likely to tarnish them all) and family pressure to stay away from possible 'bad company' in certain neighbourhoods. Although this is clearly unhelpful and unfair on the professionals and volunteers who are doing their best to provide a safe and constructive environment within which young people can freely associate, it serves to demonstrate that there is a very large number of young people who are totally 'outside' any formal political or social structures of provision or support.

Cyprus seems to have developed a good infrastructure for formal participation in young people's organisations. However, we feel there is a large gap between this level of available provision and the social reality, with quite a widespread passive or disillusioned attitude exhibited by the young in relation to their own, and society's, roles with regard to future social and cultural developments. Traditional religious and family social traditions to conform are intense, and the pressure on the individual to succeed may be crowding out the individual need to develop beyond traditional confines. Culture could be a significant positive influence in this, as the values of society become ever more materialistic and part of a more complex plural understanding than has been the case until recently. The Bishop of Tremithus suggested to us there was a greater need than ever for people to have 'some vision as a counter-balance to total secularisation and materialism'. We believe that culture should be a significant part of this, but conclude from the evidence and several of our conversations that fruitful connections are being missed.

Policy and linkages

Political and social issues around young people provide a good illustration of the need for a more integrated approach within cultural policy, and more effective cross-sector collaboration within government (linking the culture, education, youth and social policy fields with the local and civil society statutory and voluntary agents in order to deliver a meaningful overall strategy). It seems to us that the location of the Youth Board under the Ministry of Justice may reinforce this isolation, quite apart from its unfortunate connotations of damage limitation and control. Many of the key issues correctly identified in the Youth Board's policy agenda – e.g. empowerment of the young, popular culture as a central element of identity and welfare, the focus on

multi-cultural issues at institutional and everyday levels – do not appear to correspond to any of the government's cultural policy priorities, which derive from art form and institutional imperatives rather than a 'culture in society' agenda. Yet according to the findings of the Youth Board's 2002 Leisure Time survey, the single greatest concern of young people is the divided island, which would seem to confirm that cultural diversity and multi-culturalism require much greater policy focus and attention.

Cultural identity and participation

The Youth Board's 2001 survey (Active Participation of Young People in Cypriot Society, 2001) suggests that over half of the young population belongs to a youth organisation – with most of these being connected to the political party systems. But 86% of the other 'half' claim to prefer independent activity. It is much more difficult to interpret the needs and aspirations here, where there is inevitably an absence of data. Our impression is that the formal structures and available spaces for young people are quite well provided for in Cyprus. The challenge to policy and the relevant authorities is more one of understanding and responding appropriately to the way young people are making use of culture, the arts and the media, and indeed the changing concept of 'culture' itself. Is enough attention paid (both in policy formulation and in everyday life) to recognising and supporting the independent cultural initiatives - traditional or experimental - of the young, both in the context of local circumstances and the electronic media?   It is the approach that may be the most important factor, in order to give young people an active role as embryonic producers, and not merely passive consumers, of culture. This approach might also make positive use of culture as an instrument of social development, thereby counteracting the somewhat negative connotations of a generationally perceived 'youth culture'.

Education and Learning

The draft National Report provided in-depth information about the formal 'arts' curriculum, and we were also able to discuss possible future plans with the Minister. We came across evidence of diverse (if somewhat uncoordinated) practice in schools – with artists, with museum visits supported by foundations etc. In parallel with this good impression we had our conversations with young people suggesting they view this provision as very 'top down', didactic and traditional, and therefore not inspiring young people or taking sufficient account of their real interests and aptitudes. **We suggest that a more interactive approach could pay dividends here – thinking more about active student involvement, the role of teachers within a wider social and cultural context, and more 'contemporary' and varied learning environments and techniques.** One central policy issue is how to make better use of informal learning possibilities. The Youth Board seems to be fully aware of the Council of Europe's work and agreements in this area, but it may require more dynamic application coupled with sensitive contextualisation. We believe that the relevant educational reforms could benefit from improved dialogue which takes in the cultural perspective of young people themselves.

3.3   Society and the Church

From a European perspective on the history of the second half of the 20th century, the figure of Archbishop Makarios probably identifies Cyprus as the country where the

state and church are assumed to be most closely identified with each other. This external perception has been further reinforced following 1974 with 'Greek' seemingly equated with 'Orthodox', a crude elision which was evident in the April 2004 referendum campaign on possible reunification of the island. Whatever the objective truth of these observations, there is no denying the massive influence of the Orthodox Church on the secular state and on urban and rural society as a whole and its values. Orthodoxy itself is an expression of a certain historical and cultural identity, which is so strong that it automatically raises questions in relation to religious pluralism. We should not forget that first under the Crusaders and Lusignans, and then again under the Venetians, Catholicism failed to convert the Cypriots to any substantial degree – but not for want of trying. The current estimate of Cypriot nationals who are Latin (Catholic) adherents is 0.1%, whilst Armenians constitute 0.3% and Maronites 0.6%. The Catholic community in the major cities is increased through the sizeable presence of Filipino and other legal migrant workers in domestic and tourism related settings. The Orthodox Church is still the dominant force in the family, in social welfare, in the universal education system, and as a landowner of massive wealth. On this materialistic level, the unique ecclesiastical and monastic heritage also conveys on the church a major role in the island's tourism. It is therefore a constant for citizens, immigrants and visitors.

Some people characterised the Church to us as a rather conservative institution, which expected others always to adapt to it. Others believed the Church was succeeding in adapting itself to the rapid change in the world around it, whilst retaining its values. Doubtless as with any large institution you can find the evidence you seek to support your own preferred judgement. On several occasions people without any obvious vested interest told us that there was some evidence of a revival in adherence to the Church in Cyprus, and by young people in particular. This is probably no 'black or white' issue, but a symptom of the rise in materialism which improved prosperity has brought, on which Accession to the EU will shortly contribute a further chapter. Nor does this seem to be a simple 'generation' issue, directly linked to having lived through a particular time in a particular place where symbols and self-belief were necessarily inextricably bound together for survival.

Research conducted for the Cyprus Youth Board in 2002 suggests that communication between the generations is perhaps a larger problem than fundamental differences in values or beliefs. The qualitative part of the research provided some interesting evidence of attitudes such as the following:

Because parents appear to be overeager to provide their children with material goods, there can be a downgrading of spiritual needs. In today's Cypriot family, there is an absence of the most important value – communication. Family members are just people who live in the same house.

At the same time, the Orthodox Church in Cyprus has some serious reservations about possible consequences of the EU Accession of Cyprus, no doubt casting a glance sideways at the fierce current debate in Greece about the separation of the role of the Church and its traditional privileges in relation to the state. The broader concern is naturally about the secular advance EU Accession may herald, when there is already concern about the tourist influx having a negative effect on generally accepted family values. Increasingly easy mobility is also changing attitudes. Above all, there is some concern that the remorseless European process of legal harmonisation could

have a damaging effect on distinctive local culture and identities, one of the real richnesses of the island.

On a practical level, the Church cooperates closely with the Ministry of Communications and Public Works and the Tourism authorities about access to important ecclesiastical buildings, and itself contributes massively (sometimes unilaterally) to restoration projects. The World Heritage churches of the Troödos and the Monastery of Kykkos are amongst the most important tourist attractions of the island. There are also diverse arrangements with local authorities about elements of social and cultural provision, where the church as a landowner may frequently lease land for a notional sum for the local authority to offer or provide facilities. A good example of the Church providing much needed facilities itself (in consultation with the municipality) is the prototype social and cultural centre in Paphos, created by the Diocese. This new centre cost CY£500,000 to build, and has ten qualified staff and an annual revenue budget of up to CY£80,000. The Diocese has also in the centre of the town provided a mixed-use building, facilities and support for the substantial number of Pontic Greek immigrants to break out of the ghettos which had been allowed to develop, and to integrate with the rest of society.

3.4 Tourism in Cyprus

Tourism is a major contributor to the Republic's balance of payments. It accounts for up to 40% of foreign earnings, is the second largest single element in GDP (21.3% in 2000, but 18.3% in 2002) and employs approximately 40,500 people (or 14% of the working population on a full time equivalent basis). We should remind ourselves that between 1960 and 1974, an estimated 65% of the island's tourism was concentrated in what is now the northern third of the island not under the control of the government. Almost 50% of Larnaka's land area is owned by 'Turkish' Cypriots. It is effectively held in trust for them, or rented on a temporary basis, until reunification: it consequently cannot be developed for tourism or any other purposes. The figures alone therefore demonstrate that this is a remarkable success story – but we have to go on and ask ourselves, from a cultural perspective, at what price, and is it likely to be sustainable? Our impression is that tourism growth is taking place in a number of niche markets – some of which overlap, and all of which have their part to play as they adjust to changing circumstances. The analysis of market trends will vary in different parts of the island.

Tourism is notoriously vulnerable to price sensitivity and to security scares – as the trend since 2000 shows. A decrease of almost 20% in arrivals has taken place since 2002/03. So while Cyprus is blessed with a climate which allows for an unusually extended season for Europe, at times of political crisis and conflict its 'one foot in the Middle East' can be a major disadvantage. Furthermore, in relation to the island's market comparator group (e.g. Portugal, the Canaries, the Balearics, Crete, Turkey and Tunisia), the general cost of living in Cyprus puts the unit price at the higher end of the scale. Since 2003 other Mediterranean destinations have recovered more quickly from the Iraq war effect, which is thought to be a reflection on the competitive edge which Cyprus lacks through its comparatively high costs.

The Cyprus Tourism Organisation

The Cyprus Tourism Organisation (CTO) has since 1969 been the official (arm's length) public agency established by the government, which approves its board of nine. There are about 300 employees – half of those in its head office in Nicosia, 80 or so in eighteen offices abroad (seventeen of those in Europe, one in New York). As we also observe in relation to the quasi-independent Cyprus Theatre Organisation (abbreviated to THOC to avoid confusion with CTO), when it comes to financial approval and capacity to carry out agreed policy, the CTO is perhaps not quite as independent of the government as the legal structure would suggest. CTO's budgets, once formulated, have to go to the Council of Ministers and the Prime Minister for specific approval. The total working budget in 2002 was CY£37,800,000 of which half came directly from the state. The balance is made up from hotel levies, licences and a variety of other charges. CTO's ten year strategic plan (2000-2010), which has the required government approval and has been updated to cover 2003-2010, is deliberately placing an emphasis on *quality* rather than *quantity.* This strategy reflects a partnership between the government, the private associations of stakeholders and the local authorities which have a direct current or future interest.

Local and cultural specificities

Some of the municipalities (led by Limassol) already have their own local plan. The CTO is providing some technical and financial assistance to help with the development of local and regional strategies and Action Plans – essential since in the coastal areas in particular there is often concurrent, but uncoordinated, responsibility between municipalities and Community Development Councils . Although the Minister for Education and Culture is not responsible for tourism policy, he felt he spoke for the government as a whole in expressing his belief that the island should not be allowed to become a playground for Europe. Cyprus would therefore continue to resist pressure for increased mass tourism which would generate a bad image. Associated with this is a difference of opinion between the CTO and the government (reflecting the view of the Church) in relation to possible introduction of licensing for casinos. However, we gather that the relaxation of restrictions on crossing the Green Line since April 2003 may be causing a reappraisal of the government's position, in the light of access to gambling in the north of the island.

We received a strong impression from a number of tourism operators and their representative bodies that if cost reductions are not achieved, capacity reductions will certainly follow. This combination of factors therefore does seem to put something of a spotlight on cultural and environmental tourism, which moves away from the volume market (pejoratively characterised as 'sun, sand, sea and sex') to a higher spending and more discriminating quality market (which the Hotels Association Director optimistically characterised for us as 'experience, education and entertainment'). What are the potential features of what Cyprus has to offer which makes it distinctive, sustainable, and likely to lead to 'brand loyalty' and repeat visits? With such a mixture of tourist markets currently operating on the island, and such an unstable world economic background, securing a clear and confident vision for the future is no simple matter.

Strategic plan

The strategic plan, at least, has some commendably clear targets

- Increasing the seasonal length of the tourist season
- Increasing per capita tourist expenditure
- Securing better 'quality' clients and encouraging repeat visits
- Sustainable development in both urban and rural areas
- Maximising economic and social benefit
- Contributing to quality of life, with culture as a major asset.

CTO feels that this is a realistic combination, believing that Cyprus can offer a uniquely diverse experience within a concentrated geographical location, with the natural world and cultural heritage and life as a clear attraction, and all at the stepping stone to three continents. CTO is open about their facing a number of accumulated problems and shortcomings, which include 'one-dimensional development and standardisation, and excessive pressure on the natural environment and cultural identity'. The Strategic Plan boldly states:

*"The success of this Strategy will be judged by its ability to create the appropriate tourist product as quickly as possible. The various aspects of this product will be developed with **culture and the environment** as the central points of reference. It must be emphasised at this point that the environment and culture constitute the two main axes that will help Cyprus bring out its identity and become a unique destination. The culture and civilisation of Cyprus is centred on the human factor, which is of paramount importance in the effort to emphasise the uniqueness and distinct identity of the destination."*

This does argue positively for initiatives which are already under way, or being developed, such as the *Aphrodite Route* within Cyprus itself, and a thematic Orthodox route also involving Greece and the Balkans, which could well have appeal to the burgeoning new Russian market. On the other hand, CTO seems insufficiently aware of the Cyprus government's commitment to certain Council of Europe programmes which are also developing similar concepts. **Given the fragility of tourism trends, and the CTO strategic plan's clear aim to develop *niches* rather than continue to build on capacity, it is vitally important that Cyprus is clear about its unique strengths and distinctive selling points.** Culture and heritage would probably not be the prime motivation for many people, in which context the *Aphrodite Route* would be a useful incidental attraction. This makes it all the more important that various bodies concerned are able to work confidently and rapidly together on their separate agendas which happen to coincide at key points. Facing up to the cultural diversity issues and history (see 3.1 above) is a key element of this.

The CTO's revised strategy lists nine ambitious priority projects in the field of cultural tourism, all of which have significant links (or possible conflict) with other 'cultural' providers and/or guardians:

- Organisation and marketing of Cultural Routes
- Organisation of Thematic Visitor Centres
- Development of Multimedia presentations at archaeological sites
- Design of models for cultural heritage sites
- Organisation of International Thematic Festivals
- Organisation of events in archaeological sites
- Management of cultural heritage sites

- Organisation and management of small museums
- Networking of cultural tourism attractions

Obstacles to coordination and progress

CTO needs to relate to a whole range of government departments as well as to the local authorities and its commercial constituency. Its faith in developing positive priorities based in culture and the environment is clearly genuine, but it does not have the power to impose them. Are all the main partners in the strategy equally signed up to the cultural and ecological agendas, or do they simply see them as desirable add-ons? We came across evidence of many inter-agency and interdepartmental meetings, but it seemed far from clear if anyone had real authority to set and drive agendas forward. In fact the cultural agenda even within the CTO itself seems to be split in three different ways, and we were unable to identify any designated responsible contact in the Cultural Services of the Ministry, despite their active events promotion role. The *Aphrodite Route* will make a good pilot to test. There is also considerable potential in the plans to increase walking holidays focusing on the extraordinary World Heritage churches in the Troödos, although we think that success could be affected by other ecological considerations which require concerted government action (see below).

The CTO has a difficult job, operating as it does at the intersection of so many government, public, private and other agendas. We were therefore not surprised to hear widely differing estimations of their effectiveness. From a narrow 'cultural' point of view we spent time considering relevant aspects such as visits to archaeological sites and ecclesiastical treasures, cultural routes, museums, festivals and seasonal events likely to attract tourists. However, with potential growth in this particular market in mind, we also had to consider such diverse related considerations as sign-posting and signage, display techniques, interpretation, opening times, quality and price of souvenirs and the overall appearance of the cities most concerned. This list encompasses a large range of special interests, and from what we heard, there appears still to be a need for much more dynamic and effective co-ordination. (It was not reassuring, for example, to be told that whilst people might pay privately for a missing directional sign to be made, they could not be confident that it was ever erected, as a consequence of bureaucratic paralysis). Essential capital development always seems to get postponed, we were told on several occasions. To be fair, this is precisely the problem the CTO strategy seeks to address, but the authority to implement what has been resolved seems to be a practical problem, with nobody in a sufficiently authoritative position to drive it through. **There are many excellent ideas, and money available in various pockets, but who is really *managing* the situation?**

There is also a tricky issue to resolve in that the local authorities may wish to pressurise for an increase in hotel building (although the Gulf War demonstrated how fickle the five star trade is) whereas the environmentalists are propagating a much lower profile style of tourism growth. This needs to be set against particular markets – some of which may already have peaked (the UK) or are proving difficult to break into (France, Germany, the Netherlands) – and the need to find new ones in central and south east Europe where price levels may be too big an obstacle. The task is further complicated, of course, by the co-existence of rather different market segments within the same country.

Eco-tourism and hunting: irreconcilable contradictions

One issue which may seem on the face of it to be beyond the scope of this Evaluation is hunting. It is mentioned since several informants we spoke to in Cyprus felt there was a growing market to be exploited in Northern Europe of new tourists with a shared interest in nature and culture – in particular, the possibility of expanding nature and wildlife walking in the Troödos Mountains coupled with visits to the UNESCO World Heritage churches. This seems to be a good and attractive idea, building as it does on features that are unique to Cyprus. We noted from responses to the Cyprobarometer 2002 survey and from incidental press coverage that hunting in the island is a topic which evokes strong – and frequently contradictory – views.

Further checking with experts in the field of European wildlife conservation reveals that the negative reputation of seasonally permitted, but in practice often indiscriminate, hunting in Cyprus means that a number of reputable specialist tour operators, active elsewhere in the Mediterranean, will not even consider including Cyprus as a possible destination until there is a significant improvement. Eco-tourism brings with it the principles and expectations of eco-tourists – not just their money. Even more damaging is Cyprus' reputation in relation to the illegal practice in certain areas of the island in trapping migratory birds with mist nets and lime sticks.[2] Over 150 species have been recorded as victims, at least two of them endangered and native only to Cyprus. The Cyprobarometer survey demonstrates a high degree of ambivalence in attitudes with a proportion (26%) of aware individuals saying they disagreed even with current legislation designed to protect the flora and fauna of the island. 10% of the survey regularly engaged regularly in hunting.

Although we have been pleased to learn that spring hunting practice was curtailed in Cyprus about fifteen years ago (partly in response to the concerns of the tourist industry), there is an influential lobby in the Northern European target market which believes that the scale of current autumn practice has no place in a civilised modern society. Whilst it is perfectly understandable in the former context of a rural peasant culture that these practices were regarded as 'natural', this can no longer be the case. We are gratified to learn that there has recently been greater political will to confront this issue, which has helped lead to a significant reduction in casual poaching, particularly in the south east of the island where it has been most prevalent along the bird migration routes to Africa. Specialist ecological magazines in the UK have recently carried articles seeking actively to *discourage* readers from visiting Cyprus. One of these is the monthly publication of the Royal Society for the Protection of

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[2] This is illegal under European Union law, though not adequately policed in many member states. It is also outlawed by the Bern Convention to which Cyprus is a signatory. It was estimated in 2001 that up to 12 million songbirds were illegally trapped in Cyprus each year, large numbers of them served up behind closed doors in local restaurants as *ambelopoulia.* 17% of respondents to the Cyprobarometer survey admitted they eat these birds. There is clearly big money on offer. We have even been told that the prize in a recent bird photography competition in Cyprus was a year's supply of shotgun cartridges! Newspaper reports estimated that on the first Sunday of the opening week of the 2003 hunting season, 50,000 shotguns were roaming the countryside. During that week three people were killed in shooting accidents, while a fourth was permanently blinded.

Birds – which is circulated to a membership of over one million people, and therefore probably read by many more.

For the island's reputation to improve, further robust action needs to be taken. One suggestion might be to consider earmarking a proportion of tourist-generated revenues to increase the areas of protected habitat and to employ trained wardens to control hunting and damage to rare species much more effectively.

3.5   The media and cultural industries

The draft National Report contained pertinent descriptive sections on the current situation for literature, publishing, bookselling, visual art and film, but places no emphasis on the wider potential of the creative industries. The comments we received regarding television and radio tended to focus more on the public information and pure entertainment aspects, rather than on the potential for creative linkages. Whilst it is understandable that Cyprus looks to Greece as its natural external partner because of the common language and shared history (seeing this as both an external opportunity, but also a limitation), it is surprising that more thought is not being given to the potential of the creative *media* in encouraging and facilitating exchange and cooperation amongst the island's creative talent. The creative industries are one of the largest growth sectors in the economies of EU member states. In addition, Cyprus, although itself a small market, has a considerable international advantage in its high levels of literacy in English. **We suspect that the fragmentation of responsibilities amongst a number of government ministries may be a factor in failure to identify the full potential of this cross-cutting agenda. Furthermore, the potential for connecting production and distribution with central 'art form' concerns with the market (young people in particular) and future economic development seems to merit more investigation.**

Film and TV production

A Film Advisory Committee (revived by the government in 1994) makes recommendations to the government on criteria for subsidy to film makers, for which it has a small annual production fund of rather less than €1 million. The Ministry of Education and Culture in November 2002 assumed formal responsibility for film and cinema, which was formerly with the Ministry of the Interior. However, this Ministry's Press and Information Office (still following the former British colonial structures) retains national responsibility for audiovisual matters and the media, notably the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation (which operates two TV channels). The Cyprus Radiotelevision Authority monitors compliance with the relevant EU directives by the private operators. Since the early 1990s there has been a mix of public and private TV contractors. A similar duopoly operates in radio – with many local stations which provide local information. The Advisory Committee also works with the Ministry of the Interior on regulatory and EU compliance or legislative issues.

The actions of Cultural Services seem to manifest themselves mostly in festivals, gala weeks, financial support to the six film societies operating in the island, and a certain amount of foreign promotion of Cypriot productions. They are also in discussion with the Greek Ministry of Culture about a possible Joint Production Fund. The National Report describes the concerns of the Cultural Services to steer clear of the

'commercial' and concentrate on supporting small scale work of 'artistic quality', while also aspiring to create a small-scale cinematographic industry which relies on and builds local talent. This seems to us a rather restrictive and defensive point of view which may miss out on wider and more productive connections to be made.

The draft National Report states that "The main problem that Cypriot film production faces is the division of responsibilities within two Ministries. In addition, there is no legislation to regulate and provide for the development of the Cypriot film industry". There is a further complication in that the Cyprus Tourist Organisation (under the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism) also sponsors documentaries – though on video, not film. Cultural Services which now has the main brief for development, has only just been able to increase the number of dedicated staff from two to three. The creation of a permanent Film Centre and Archive is a capital aspiration.

Whilst there is an ambition to create a small sustainable cinematographic industry, building up local skills and talent, as well as increasing the chances of Cyprus becoming an attractive film shooting location, a number of significant problems have been identified:

- Lack of infrastructure and the full range of skills on which to base a small industry
- Lack of film distributors – all in the hands of Greek commercial interests
- Directors usually have to be their own producers and scriptwriters
- Post-production relies on facilities in Greece and the UK
- Absence of any fiscal incentives for foreign producers to use Cyprus as a location
- The production fund is held centrally in the State budget. This means that it is almost impossible to use it as leverage in co-production deals, shackled to planning timescales and procedures which are quite unsympathetic to the ways the industry works. Unused money therefore 'falls in' regularly at year end.

We regret that despite requests we were unable to arrange face to face meetings with officials responsible for public broadcasting policy, especially to share and discuss issues around cultural diversity and the divided communities on the island. Our attempts to tease out issues of concern through correspondence raised more questions than answers. We understand that all Cypriot broadcasting services can be received across the whole island. Under these circumstances the public broadcasting sector can be a powerful force for good, and we would have wished to explore official thinking in relation to the role broadcasting plays in the promotion of cultural diversity in the current political context.

We wished in particular to contribute experience, which we felt might be particularly relevant, from Ireland – Europe's other 'divided' island – where the public broadcasting systems throughout Ireland's 'troubles' operated as forces for truth and mutual understanding on both sides of the border. It is a fact, for example, that since 1976 the public broadcaster in the Republic of Ireland is required under statute to be responsive to the interests and concerns of the whole community, be mindful of the need for understanding and peace within the whole island of Ireland, and to ensure that programmes reflect the varied elements which make up the culture of the whole island. (It is also worth noting here in passing that the two Irish Arts Councils have continued to work closely together on joint programmes and exchange throughout the political difficulties and despite the polarisation evident within certain communities).

Section 4

PARTNERSHIP AND TRUST: LOCAL, QUASI-INDEPENDENT, PRIVATE AND VOLONTURARY PROVISION

4.1 The Municipalities and local authorities

Local government has a major role to play in securing and helping develop the cultural life of the island, and in integrating opportunity and provision across a variety of broad policy areas for the benefit of its citizens. We were encouraged to find – albeit on differing scales – a municipal ambition to make use of culture in order to profile and promote a positive and progressive image. That this is sometimes done in a spirit of direct competition is probably healthy, provided that it happens within an overall strategic policy context which is understood and supported in national terms. But it is not. All our research into this issue tended to confirm our initial impression that local authorities are not regarded or treated as 'equal' partners by central government. This is partly, we suspect, a technical question of powers and authority (with some confusion an inevitable consequence of the emergency situation with which the island was faced in 1974 following the Greek junta's coup and the chaos following the Turkish intervention). But it is also a question of attitude, which we believe with goodwill can, and must, be improved. The current relationship struck us as somewhat akin to a dysfunctional one between a teenage child and its parents. The parents think their authority should be automatically respected, but the child needs to question that authority as part of the process of growing up in order to be able to have adult relationships, not least with the parents. But the child is still economically dependent on the parents. Frustration is resolved through picking fights with siblings – as municipalities seem to with their barring clauses in promotions contracts.

Clearer delineation of responsibilities and improving cooperation

We detected a regrettable suspicion on the part of local authority officials to engage in open dialogue with us when there were Ministry officials present. When their Mayor was present, however, this did not seem to be a problem. As matters stand, the Ministry seems to hold back and wait for local authority initiatives, while the local authorities tend to see the Ministry purely as (a) a source of funds, and (b) as an unpredictable agent in local cultural provision through the imposition of its own unilateral promotions. This is far from a constructive partnership on common agendas. In the extreme version, Ministry officials are perceived as only being interested in volunteering dialogue near the end of the financial year when they need to spend quickly up to their budget limit to protect the level for the following year's baseline figure. This is generally a recipe for poor and wasteful use of public funds, quite apart from being indefensible in overall policy terms. (For our reflection on capital expenditure, see Section 5).

Ministry officials assured us that they know very well what the municipalities do *not* do in culture – 'they don't subsidise artists or develop cultural policy – they are too busy promoting'. One is tempted to riposte that it takes one to recognise one! We do not seek to apportion blame, not least because we can understand the frustration both ways. However, we are certain that the existing situation is unhealthy, and that a number of steps could be taken rapidly to improve it. Legislation which could have significant financial implications would need careful preparation, but officials

working for the local authorities, from the Union of Municipalities and from the relevant Ministries could do much more than is presently the case to create a climate of trust and cooperation through sharing plans and being mutually supportive.

Two main causes seem to contribute to this general situation – lack of clarity on powers and responsibility, and disorientation which results from the absence of a coherent national strategy and framework which would encourage constructive partnerships on the basis of *jointly agreed* guidelines. A further confusion has supervened with European Union requirements (at least so far as they are being interpreted) on decentralisation in general, which is grossly misleading and unhelpful with regard to cultural policy and provision (see Section 6.1).

Policy vacuum and lack of adequate local capacity

We found it difficult to secure any overview on cultural policy at the local level in our discussion with the Union of Municipalities, and also had to go to surprising lengths to try and obtain a clear explanation from anyone within central government of the legal and fiscal regimes governing local government finance. Local government is, it seems, overwhelmingly reliant on central government tax transfers for its income. This rests upon a set total level of state revenues in any given year, which is liable to considerable fluctuation. Although authorities can apply to the government for additional development subventions, this is dealt with project by project, and can provide for no confident basis for long- (or even medium-) term strategic planning. Nor can it be the most positive way of encouraging local authorities to be more self-reliant.

The Minister shared with us his view that there was a major problem for local authorities in their lack of a legitimate way of raising sufficient local tax, and having constantly to have to resort to Parliamentary approval. He was also concerned that his intention to decentralise functions would be hampered by the small size of local communities (average 20,000 – 30,000) which did not have, or could not justify, the infrastructure required. The law is also very restrictive of enterprise development by local authorities. The municipality of Larnaka does derive some income from its oil refinery, but none from its airport or port (which goes to central government), or from its marina (which mostly goes to the Cyprus Tourist Organisation). The municipality of Paphos has successfully turned to the Church to fund or provide (and lease back for notional rents) facilities for social and tourism infrastructure.

Local authorities, as is normal in Europe, have legal 'duties' (statutory) and 'powers' (which are permissive). Culture comes into the latter category, and given the financial background, it did not surprise us greatly that none of the municipalities had a cultural strategy they could discuss with us. **Strengthening local authority cultural competence, and setting that within an overall Cyprus context, might provide some positive stimulus and resolution of the 'who does what' argument. It could also – on the basis of a proper application of the subsidiarity principle – help define what central government should *not* be doing.** The Union of Municipalities has a standing sub-committee on Culture and Heritage, which meets only once per year, and its main business seems to be limited to the exchange of information on large-scale promotional intentions. **So far as we can gather, there is no forum – either political or professional – through which authorities can share information and expertise on cultural development and the use of culture *in* development across other policy areas. Even if only as an informal network, it could be useful**

to establish some such mechanism which could also provide a useful reference point for beginning to work with the Ministry and the other key partners on developing a coherent national strategy for culture.

Professional staffing and sharing expertise

One of the centrally perceived 'problems' in this is that only the four municipal councils of Nicosia, Limassol, Larnaka and Paphos have any full-time professional capability dedicated to culture. But even in these instances, the annual financial capacity is relatively small (e.g. Paphos around CY£130,000, Larnaka around CY£70,000) It has been suggested that this could put the other local authorities – improvement boards and village commissions – at a disadvantage, since they would have no equivalent starting point. On the other hand, a growing network of experience, information and good practice is something from which everybody could learn and benefit. The village networks around Limassol, we heard, are already quite strong and cooperative. The regular relationship of the rural and smaller authorities with the Ministry of the Interior (as well as with the section of Cultural Services which currently provides a touring service) might also help stimulate better dialogue and cooperation between central government ministries which are not communicating on shared agendas as well as they might.

Mixed provision

One of the most interesting and 'modern' aspects of cultural life in the municipalities is the variety of providers. For whatever varied reasons this pattern has developed, the fact that it has been determined locally is a strength. Indeed, some Western European states with over-extended public cultural infrastructures which are proving unsustainable might be envious. Although there is probably a need to develop overall strategies for cultural provision itself (to identify gaps and audiences), as well as to link with other vital policy areas, there is an impressive number of currently successful enterprises which are vital elements in the local quality of life. High profile examples might be the Nicosia Municipal Arts Centre, the Lanitis Centre and the Rialto Theatre in Limassol (all three of which are imaginative building conversions, the Rialto having been purchased by the Co-operative Bank in order to preserve it for the town), and the variety of summer festivals in Paphos. One clever partnership initiative in Limassol has succeeded over two years in providing the sea frontage with a 'park' of mostly large-scale sculptures by internationally celebrated artists.

The Nicosia Master Plan, with substantial EU and UNESCO investment, is helping restore and bring life back to the derelict historic part of the city along the southern edge of the Green Line, and is encouraging the Mayor to explore successful lessons on culturally-led regeneration strategies in other urban areas across Europe and the USA. Nicosia as a currently divided city is extremely conscious of its future potential, but also that, in the words of Mr Zambelas the Mayor "Every move we make must be good for the whole of Cyprus". As Cyprus enters the EU and cultural networking may expand westwards, Nicosia's existing dialogue and exchange with neighbouring regional capitals to the east, such as Damascus, is an exciting prospect for Europe.

4.2 Quasi-independent institutions and the arm's length

Through a natural process of evolution, Cyprus has developed a range of high profile institutions for the various arts which to the outsider can seem illogical and inconsistent. The State Gallery of Contemporary Art is an integral part of the Ministry. The State Orchestra (CSO), as its name would imply (and also the Cyprus State Youth Orchestra) is also currently within the Ministry's direct remit, although there has been a longer-term intention to change its legal status and grant-aid it as an independent entity since its formal elevation to fully professional status in 1999. The Cyprus Theatre Organisation (THOC) was set up by government in 1971 as an arm's length agency, as the national body responsible for drama and a first step towards creating a national theatre.

Confusion over roles and responsibilities

These institutions from their different standpoints raise common broad issues about premises, programming and their ability to deal with potential conflicts of interest. So far as capital requirements are concerned, they are also part of a broader problem concerning the need for tough decisions to be made by the government about the size, nature, location and long-term sustainability of the hoped-for permanent cultural infrastructure (see section 5.1 ff). It is clearly unsatisfactory and inefficient, for instance, that when the State Gallery wishes to mount a worthwhile temporary exhibition, it is obliged to put the entire permanent collection into storage because of space limitations.

The State Orchestra

The State Orchestra currently operates on an establishment of 40 professional players, with an aspiration to increase to 65, which would obviously expand the repertoire possibilities considerably. The musicians are employed on annual contracts. The budget has to be approved annually by Parliament and the governing body is directly appointed by the Minister. Direct management from the Ministry ensures the spread and regularity of concerts to key strategic locations on the island throughout the year, and the subsidy levels are set to guarantee low ticket prices. The orchestra is still in the process of finding its own identity, and accepts that it may so far have attained only 'medium rank', although it is clearly aiming higher. Under existing arrangements, all income earned is returned to the Finance Ministry, whilst as a directly managed service from within government, the orchestra has no chance of attracting commercial sponsorship or increasing its finances in imaginative ways. **We believe that the intention to give the orchestra an independent legal status would be beneficial from the financial, management and artistic points of view, subject to sufficient guarantees and undertakings that will ensure it is able to continue and improve the level and standard of service which it already provides.**

The Cyprus Theatre Organisation

The Cyprus Theatre Organisation (THOC) has been operating very successfully for over 30 years, with over 320 different productions to its credit. The Board, appointed by the Council of Ministers, employs the 18 permanent artistic and administrative staff, backed up by 20 technical staff. The Director is on a five-year contract, which requires the approval of the Council of Ministers. The Director's artistic freedom and responsibility is somewhat constrained by a politically appointed Artistic Committee, whose role seems to be quite active. THOC provides a range of professional annual

work for its rented main stage, experimental space, and children's stage, for which it employs a maximum of 23 actors on short-term contracts (which require additional budget approval by the Parliament). The organisation has one development officer, who has a general role. They also have an advisory role on theatre matters to local government in the island and a particular joint-venue management role with Paphos. Discussions are in progress with Limassol over the possibility of creating a theatre museum in the town. THOC's companies also represent Cyprus at festivals and events abroad.

This impressive range of activity (which is over 90% dependent on government grants) is supplemented by a developmental grant-giving role, to independent touring companies, amateurs, children's work and festivals, and to encourage new writing. THOC recognises that – as we heard – some smaller operators in the drama field regard THOC's triple role as *de facto* national theatre, development agency and grant-assessor as a serious conflict of interest. It is clear from all the evidence that THOC can move more quickly and decisively than the government Ministry, which justifies the original decision to set it up independently. On the other hand, the dependence on government funding, and the operational requirement to be involved in its administrative and political processes signifies that the independent status can be severely constrained.

THOC's success over its life seems to have made it a logical recipient of desirable extra public functions. It looks as if some of these roles may now be too general, and liable to lead to conflicts of interest, for THOC to be the right organisation to carry them out. Reviews and consultants' reports on a number of functions have already suggested that the time may have come for separating out the 'national' theatre roles from others such as grant aid, which might be returned to the Ministry (which to some extent already duplicates this role in drama). The helpful role as a distribution agent and partner with local government seems to be a real strength, although to some extent this is compounded by the natural rivalry between municipalities in the absence of the government having formulated any coherent national drama strategy.

If the ambition to secure a purpose built national theatre were to prove successful, then there are clearly new questions which would follow about THOC's financing and status. Doubtless there would be new and increased income from ancillary trading activities, but this would have to be offset against additional capital maintenance and overhead costs. **We were impressed by THOC's dynamism, range of activities and reach, and believe that it could be even more effective if it were allowed greater freedom and independence to manage its own affairs. However, as a consequence of government moves towards a more coherent and holistic cultural policy, there may need to be some renegotiation with THOC to define roles and obviate any risk of duplication.**

4.3   Mixed provision – public, private and voluntary

Whatever the limitations in strategic overview, Cyprus is fortunate in its wealth of diverse cultural provision. The varied pattern is in many ways a huge strength which means that there is massive public benefit secured at comparatively low cost to the government – an important factor in a small country with a naturally limited market scope. Obviously there are specific areas where the provision is poor, inaccessible or non-existent, where it may well be incumbent on the government and other public

authorities to give a lead.   At other points in this report we pay tribute to the commitment and imagination of many of these other providers – private, commercial, local government, voluntary, individual artists – who play such a vital part in the cultural life of the island, and to make it openly available to its citizens.

We think that it would be helpful to encourage even greater involvement of 'the third sector' through cultural networks and institutions in the formulation and development processes of national cultural policy.   Not only are these people vital partners in implementation at various levels, but as individuals we often found them to be more open minded and forward looking than some of the 'official' channels, which have existing practice to defend and can find themselves rather beholden to certain powerful interest groups in the sector.   We saw encouraging signs of a growth of interest at local level in a variety of cultural and civil society initiatives coming together within the framework of municipalities.   Larnaka in particular has seen the need to bring the partners together, but so far no coherent plan for co-operation has been developed.

The need for strategic clarity

Paradoxically, perhaps, this current strength in the mixture of provision is also an Achilles' heel.   For unless the rich patchwork of existing, and possible future, provision is overseen within the context of an overall strategic vision, there will be a continuing risk of ad hoc growth in certain areas, and total neglect in others.   There is some evidence of this happening.   It is not simply a question of art forms or facilities which may be apparently under-supported, or lacking in suitable 'national' premises. It is also a key issue in relation to topography (the sensible solution to a missing theatre 'problem' might, for example, lie within transport policy, not in an under-utilised new building) and to coherent policy and implementation which is capable of making the present rather narrow remit of cultural policy re-focus its attention on how people live their lives.   Within such a broad vision, everything can find its place.   It would also begin set an overall context within which some evaluative judgements about comparative *quality* could be made – a topic on which our questions received few answers.

Because the country is small, and its communities of shared interest are bound to be close, we were aware that on an everyday working level the various actors in the public, private and voluntary sectors are familiar with each other and mutually supportive towards general shared objectives.   However, these assumed objectives often seem intuitive or unexamined.   The actions which follow – with tacit mutual support – could end up being counterproductive.   The people involved are at risk of deluding themselves that because they have harmonious working relationships they are part of a coherent strategy.

Foundations have more freedom of action

Representatives of the foundations we met were aware of this, but since they have their own reasonably reliable sources of funding, usually accompanied by extremely clear policies defining their areas of activity (which may change from time to time), this is not a problem for them. They are fiercely independent, and will wish to remain that way. For the government, we think this is a much larger problem – which can make it seem a 'soft touch' when public money is expected to supplement other people's plans which are sprung upon them with inadequate consultation, let alone

within any coherent overall strategy. We would certainly not recommend that the government should 'invent' some form of all-embracing abstract (and therefore probably unrealisable) cultural plan into which it would try to accommodate everyone's desires and intentions, but it does need to establish with all its partner providers a working context which is strategic, and protects it from susceptibility to unforeseen short-term demands, or 'deals' imposed on them by influential figures which have never been properly assessed.

To take one specific example at the relatively well-defined level of contemporary visual arts provision in one place. We have already referred to the physical and fiscal constraints on the State Gallery of Contemporary Art. Only 500 metres away from its present building, very close to the Green Line, is the Nicosia Municipal Arts Centre, a partnership between the Pierides Foundation and the municipality, located (courtesy of the Electricity Authority) in a sensitive reuse of a late 1920s former electricity power station. The Director, an internationally respected curator of contemporary art, is responsible for maintaining and programming the two impressive exhibition halls, the entire 20th century international graphic collection of the Pierides Foundation (see also Appendix B), a specialist history of art reference library with over 15,000 volumes, a two-storey wing used for educational programmes, a shop and an excellent restaurant. The changing programme is a mixture of Cypriot, Greek and international (including historic) thematic, artist-centred or retrospective exhibitions.

These two institutions have a number of parallel common interests, and could probably do more in terms of joint-marketing and promotion to increase the public involvement and audience for both. When viewed within an overall visual art context, there are issues concerning branding and image. It is perhaps strange that visitors from elsewhere in Europe searching for contemporary art would find little to meet their expectations in the gallery which has 'contemporary' in its title, but miss out on the place where it does exist, since its name sounds like that of a mixed-programme performing arts space. On the other hand, those who might welcome the chance to see and enjoy excellent examples of mainstream late 19th and 20th century mainstream Cypriot painting and sculpture might miss the opportunity altogether through the gallery's misleading name. The Ministry itself spends substantial sums of money annually on exhibition subsidy and promotions of Cypriot artists abroad, and here too, there could be scope for improved liaison.

4.4 Trusts and Foundations

Cyprus has a large number of associations and foundations which foster an active interest in cultural development or aspects of heritage. They make a massive overall contribution to cultural life (see Appendix B for some examples). These are not always easy to categorise, and range from small local associations to international 'private' foundations with very substantial resources at their disposal. The Ministry's Cultural Services provides regular support to many of these, and other government departments work in partnership with some of the larger ones which constitute major providers, and fulfil vital national functions which government itself could not afford to carry out.

We have already touched on the question of whether government ministries or departments are capable of working with foundations as truly equal partners and to what extent their efforts are complementary, or just coincidental. **This touches on**

the straightforward issue of possibly unnecessary duplication, but also on the more difficult question for the public authorities of when to respond, and when not to respond, to the initiatives of others which have not been developed in partnership, and may not necessarily fit within rational strategies. One way to avoid this is to have a strategy in the first place as an aid to managing this situation. Some foundations have substantial regular funds, others much less – but they are free to 'front' new initiatives on more rapid timescales than the government could hope to manage. (We have already noted that the Co-operative bank used charitable arrangements to purchase and save the Rialto Theatre for the town of Limassol when the municipality was not in a position to do so). Sometimes foundations co-operate between themselves outside the framework of government. Whilst we heard that there was a genuine willingness to work with the government in partnership for the good of Cyprus, we also received a consistent message that this was rarely easy, with the slow, inflexible bureaucratic structures providing a disincentive.

More established cooperative practices in heritage

We noted that there was a substantial difference in the way the Department of Antiquities works with the foundations with which it has a common interest – clear and targeted – and the Cultural Services with theirs. Whilst it would no doubt only be fair to add that the Antiquities' brief starts off with the considerable operational advantage of a more simply definable focus, it is obvious that their existing plans and priorities mean that they are in much better control of their own agendas. Cultural Services, by contrast, through lack of clear strategy and somewhat unstructured grant systems (budget headings waiting to be raided but no criteria with which to 'police' and evaluate them) is a potential prey to all comers. Lack of transparency and the inevitable personal connections in a community as small as Cyprus' constitute a further possible danger.

Developing a strategic overview of museums

It is reassuring that the Minister for Education and Culture has asked his officials to present him with options for categorising and evaluating museums in order to be able to take a more strategic overview**. We agree that there is an urgent need for this before the island ends up with a sort of wholly unplanned museums pollution, which cannot be in the interests of any of the reputable professional operators.** There is perhaps a risk that if too many 'unplanned' museums, which are not distinctive enough in their own right to hold their own in the increasingly volatile tourism market, could end up competing with themselves unsuccessfully and affecting the take up the government would expect to see in new high quality national institutions. THOC's proposed theatre museum for Limassol might have a niche market, but how sustainable is it, and what else does it relate to? There was a large 'spontaneous' growth of museums during the 1990s, most of them private collections or individual houses, which conform to no recognised standards, have little or no policy, and have no trained personnel. We agree that this is a strategic issue which requires urgent attention.

The contribution of an impressive number of private foundations not only to museums, but to culture and quality of life in Cyprus in general, is so great that any 'national' evaluation should pay tribute through citing examples of work in which

they are active. Appendix B is far from exhaustive, but aims to illustrate the range of excellent work being done.

4.5   Contemporary Artistic Practice in a small market

Artists are citizens, but are often regarded as being somewhat apart from mainstream society. On the evidence we saw, this is not such a major issue in Cyprus as it is in many other Western democracies, but perhaps this is a fortuitous consequence of other factors. Two seem to have particular relevance, and both derive from the size and position of the island.

With such a relatively low national population, the 'commercial' market for culture and cultural products is inevitably limited. We were told that the number of Cypriot visual artists and writers who are able to make an adequate living from their work could be counted on the fingers of one hand. There is clearly a vibrant artistic life in the island, with much high quality work being produced in all the media. However, the population is too small to be able to support a community of artists and performers capable of making a reasonable living from their professional practice without the safety net of public subsidy or private support and commissions. For this reason it is vitally important that the grant application processes are accessible and perceived to be fair and transparent in their processes (cf. 2.1).   It may be that there is more potential through the tourist market than has yet been realised.

Similarly, in recruiting musicians for the State Orchestra – for which there is an informal quota system operating to ensure sufficient opportunity for Cypriot nationals – there is an acceptance that the principles of supply and demand economics are unlikely to provide the solution. This is not a question of professionalism versus amateurism, although available training up to the highest standards is again an issue which may depend on a certain level of demand and critical mass. The majority of practising artists in Cyprus are obliged to supplement (or almost wholly earn) their regular income through other work – often teaching in schools.

As well as the limitations deriving from the size of population, geographical isolation could be a problem, but it seems that the higher education and vocational training links are effectively provided through a combination of what is available on the island (where the government has aspirations to upgrade) and traditional partnership arrangements with institutions in Greece and the UK. During the Soviet era it seems that many people received professional training in Russia or Eastern bloc countries. Within the Cypriot diaspora, there is of course a much larger market, as well as much larger markets for language-based creativity in Greek, Turkish and English.

Greater opportunities for mutual support?

An issue we would identify as one that needs careful monitoring is the opportunities for younger artists in all media. In such a relatively small market, and where the professional and social networks are likely to be interconnected and self-protecting, it is often particularly difficult for younger, or even non-mainstream, artists to find their place. There is always the risk that the dynamic people who could be the creative future of the country feel unappreciated, and consequently move to work abroad elsewhere. Artists, of course, tend to be internationalist in outlook, and this is normal practice everywhere**. However, we feel that more attention needs to be given to**

grant aid and support schemes for these younger artists who may feel alienated from a dominant or traditionally-minded 'establishment'. We noted that works purchased for addition to the permanent collection of the State Gallery of Contemporary Art are selected by a special committee which is chaired by an official from the Ministry. Whilst one would expect to find an eclectic mixture of styles to be represented in any such collection, we were surprised to find so little contemporary work on display. Given that so few artists can make a living in Cyprus from sole practice of their art, there are also issues around perceptions and categorisations (not always helpful) of 'professionals' and 'amateurs'.

4.6   Festivals

Festivals abound in the island, on differing scales and timescales. Some are very local community affairs, others, Such as the Limassol wine festival are growing year by year, and attracting a larger clientele from beyond the locality. The annual Kypria International Festival (organised by the Ministry's Cultural Services), which was instituted in 1990, is normally spread out over a couple of months, and in locations across Cyprus incorporating both foreign and Cypriot programmes. Certain festivals – such as the renowned Paphos Festival of Ancient Drama – have established a particular niche for themselves, whilst others like the Paphos Aphrodite Festival attempt to cater equally for locals and tourists, also drawing audience from Nicosia and the other cities for major events such as the opera. The 'European Festival of Limassol' has now operated successfully for eight years, but is perhaps more an overall marketing concept for 10 –12 events between November and April, rather than a festival in any artistic sense.

Artistic motivation and civic branding aspirations

This is an area of cultural promotion which local authorities frequently use to try and build their own profile and civic identity, and indeed through which to compete with rival cities. There is always therefore some risk of spontaneous growth and development ending up with over-provision beyond the level that local markets can stand. Arts festivals can also span the range of programming – from commissioning new work and using the framework to show and promote neglected work to the predictable 'rent-a-festival' packages of unchallenging programmes, or a mixture of both.

Two issues seem to call for some comment. Firstly, a number of our witnesses (speaking from an artistic standpoint) suggested that there was a risk of festivals reaching saturation point, which called for some rationalisation and concentration of efforts in order to improve regular quality and build audience loyalty. The second point returns our attention to the question of possible unfair competition. This is not unexpected within a relatively small or seasonal market where the government and public authorities are active alongside subsidised arms-length organisations and private promoters, not always operating on the same ground rules. The Ministry is subsidising several of these festivals directly as well as acting as a promoter itself. We suggest that there may be a continuing risk of conflicting interests which needs careful consideration – unless a clear application of the subsidiarity principle demonstrates particular cases where the Ministry would be the most appropriate actor.

4.7 Private Promoters

As with the birth of Aphrodite, Cyprus likes to create a splash. This is certainly true in respect of large scale cultural events. A number of people described this to us almost in terms of an unfortunate addiction.   Although there are twin disadvantages in a small domestic market and physical isolation which add to risk and costs, this does not seem to act as a deterrent. Perhaps it is just a tradition deeply embedded in history.[3]

We have already speculated that overemphasis on the 'big' event at expense of more modest community-based, experimental, participatory, and/or sustainable activity might prove unwise in the longer term. There is no doubt that some of these large-scale events are popular, and that Cyprus has a limited number of resident promoters who are determined and resourceful. The success of such events when viewed in the context of a relatively small market and the lack of purpose-built venues of the appropriate size is some tribute to their ingenuity. However, it has also been suggested that substantial sums of government subsidy which bolster some of these 'commercial' events may rely, despite tendering processes, on connections and social networks rather than on any transparent overall strategy, considered artistic choice or value for money.

On the other hand, it seems perfectly reasonable to take advantage of the substantial Russian presence on the island to use links to bring in large events from Eastern Europe which would be prohibitively expensive if they came from within the EU – as long as this does not undercut the Cypriot promoters who are attempting to make an honest living. There is probably no 'correct' answer to this conundrum, existing as it does in a grey area of flair, opportunism and backing subjective judgement. Nevertheless, when such large sums of public money are at stake, we think there is a public obligation to face up more responsibly to questions of (a) relative value for subsidy and (b) artistic choice and quality. It is difficult to justify massive subsidy to engage commercially successful international 'stars' – of whatever quality – which uses up a large proportion of available public annual funds when there has been no real consideration of artistic policy or worth, or consideration of the overall context.

In addition to this policy vacuum and absence of appropriate infrastructure, we have the Cultural Services' own predilection for event and festival promotion, which seems to antagonise both private promoters and local authorities. This seems to be for three main reasons – territorial, artistic and equitable. In so far as there is any control on pure opportunism, there are advertised press 'calls' for ideas from which government

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[3] Plutarch relates that when Alexander the Great was biding his time at Tyre in Phoenicia in the early summer of 331 B.C., following his foundation of Alexandria, and before the campaign which finished with the decisive victory over the Persians at Gaugamela, he decided to hold celebratory games and a festival. The fiercely competitive promoters (*choregoi*) of this event were two rival Cypriot kings – Pasikrates of Soli and Nikokreon of Salamis. Despite the short notice, two of the major theatrical stars of the contemporary Hellenic world, Thessalos and Athenodoros, were successfully engaged. In order to be able to participate, the latter broke his contract with the Athenian Dionysian Festival, for which he was heavily fined (happily, Alexander paid up for him!).

selects what it will subsidise. Our understanding is that the great majority of proposals are submitted by private operators. But the operational rules and costs are not the same for public and private concerns (e.g. in relation to VAT and entertainment taxes, and payment schedules – a significant factor when cash flow is affected by foreign withholding taxes etc.). Some of this accumulated practice will probably not be sustainable under EU fair competition rules (see Section 6.1). Where the government is determined to promote on a large scale, it will be obliged under EU rules to compete in an open market with the big European promoters. There is also a difficult balance to be struck between the public's natural interest in experiencing international performers, and the equally understandable wish to see native Cypriot artists given the maximum possible opportunity.

Section 5

THE CULTURAL INFRASTRUCTURE AND CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT

5.1 Strategic Planning and Vision

With EU Accession, Cyprus has a passing moment for addressing the clear needs in respect of the capital infrastructure for culture across the island. There is every reason to try and coordinate a rational strategy, with agreed priorities, as quickly as possible. Despite some well-intentioned and useful theoretical work which has already been done on this, it seems to us that there is an excessive number of unrealistic 'wish lists' in circulation. Everybody wants to build his or her own 'nest' for their own particular interest, but the fact is that there are simply not going to be enough twigs to make that possible. There is additional doubt arising from the competing claims and aspirations of the major municipalities, and even some inspiring, but probably over-ambitious, ideas coming from consortia of rural authorities. Nor is it encouraging to find that what we would regard as natural allies - such as Archives and Libraries - may have difficulty in full cooperation on a joint solution, simply because of their location in different government departments.

There is an urgent need for a clear vision and realistic priority setting within Government in this area. Otherwise there is a serious risk that the competing plethora of claims from within the cultural sector may result in their cancelling each other out, whilst other sectors able to make more convincing and unified cases will succeed in entering the funding programmes. We acknowledge that this will be a difficult and painful process, but are convinced that it must be done. It is inconceivable that within the foreseeable future the island will succeed in equipping itself with all the new infrastructure under consideration – yet at the moment, these proposals all seem to co-exist with something like the same priority in a range of plans. The Minister (himself a practising architect and the designer of the Nicosia Municipal Theatre) expressed the view to us that multi-purpose buildings designed to accommodate a range of different cultural functions are generally unsatisfactory as they involve too many compromises. This has often proved to be the case. We suspect that different places will require different solutions. All the more reason to make some hard choices now about *national* priorities, and look at a longer planning horizon which may still give some realistic hope to those who initially miss out.

5.2   Infrastructure and capital development

We have some difficulty in squaring broadly-based priorities for cultural development with notions of a cultural infrastructure and institutions which are largely 19th century in their underlying assumptions. The Ministry of Education and Culture submitted a proposal during 2000 on cultural infrastructure to the Council of Ministers, which ratified it as the way forward. The rationale is largely abstract, in that it is based on five population-based categories which are then checked against an ideal list of fourteen types of cultural facilities, all of which imply some permanent dedicated building, management and promotion. The planning 'bands' are set out as follows:

- Large municipalities – population over 20,000
- Municipalities needing a sizeable complex – population 12,000 to 20,000
- Rural municipalities – population 6,000 to 12,000
- District rural centres/Improvement Boards – population 1,500 to 6,000
- Communities/Community Boards – population under 1,500

The proposal states that 'the number, type, size and capacity of each infrastructure project will be determined in relation to the actual number of the population living in each specific location. A 'district cultural centre' is only proposed for those rural local authorities which can be considered as the natural centre of a greater population catchment district. Museums are not included, as their creation is felt not necessarily to be justified according to population data, but might be included on a case by case basis where local history or tradition is strong. Implementation started in 2002, and the fund is open to application from local authorities and other cultural agents. The budget allocation for 2004 is CY£900,000.

'National' projects

There is a further 'Special Category' list for what are termed 'national projects' which are expected to be located in Nicosia as the capital city. The two examples specified are a National Gallery, and a National Concert Hall (Megaron). What this limited, if understandable, Ministry thinking betrays is that no realistic acknowledgement is made of the maybe equally strong claims being made and fought for elsewhere – e.g. a National Library, a National Archive, a new National Museum, a National Theatre, a National Open Air Arena etc. Any such facilities would need to be managed and be capable of being sustainable round the year in order to justify the capital and management costs. The general situation is compounded by lack of clarity between the national and local authorities about who is doing what. We are far from convinced that the island's population is large enough to support all that is being proposed from the various quarters, even if the money to develop facilities were to be found. It may well be that in some rural areas there could be voluntary assistance in running shared facilities at an appropriate level for communities, but we would suggest this cannot be left to a mechanistic population-based calculation. Consideration of approximate community size is no doubt helpful as one element in the thinking to be taken into account.

Role and overall objectives of the Planning Bureau

The government of Cyprus carries out its strategic planning through the Planning Bureau – an independent unit reporting to the Ministry of Finance. Social and economic development planning is coordinated by the Bureau to reflect the

investment and development expenditure of the public sector, but taking account of the wider economic and social environment. The Bureau's Strategic Development Plan for 2004-2006 takes account of its role as the main coordinator of government actions in relation to EU Accession. There are five main identified development priorities:

- Expanding and upgrading basic infrastructures
- Enhancing competitiveness
- Developing 'human capital' (promoting Equal Opportunities and Social Cohesion)
- Balanced regional and rural development
- Protecting the environment and improving quality of life

Culture (together with sport) is included as one of five priority themes under this last broad heading. Environmental protection is another. Goals set out and indicative actions for culture have the following general objectives:

1) Modernisation of the institutional framework and administrative structures, and to establish the necessary mechanisms to promote cultural development;
2) Protection, conservation and promotion of the country's cultural heritage;
3) Creation of cultural infrastructure;
4) Developing cultural creativity and cultural education (at primary, secondary and tertiary levels);
5) Making use of culture's potential to help promote employment, economic cohesion and development;
6) Promote culture and sport to strengthen relations between the communities of the divided island;
7) Sports development.

The development expenditure for implementing this three-year strategic plan in culture and sport is CY£36 million (or 0.11% of GDP). Objective (1) focuses on formulating an 'integrated cultural policy' and the establishment of an 'independent unified authority' for culture, as well as the creation of a 'Cultural Council', and a restructuring of the Cyprus Theatre Organisation. There is also a line concerning 'decentralisation in the organisation of cultural activities'. The capital development aspirations under Objective (3) 'include actions such as' an infrastructure to facilitate cultural 'decentralisation', a new base and performing spaces for the Cyprus Theatre Organisation, establishing a theatre museum, and conversions or new build to provide for the National Library, State Gallery for Contemporary Art, Opera House (Megaron) and Cinematographic Centre. This is a highly ambitious list, with interests which cut across a number of Ministries and independent operators, but no clear priorities or indication of how these will be set. Many of the ideas are undeveloped, and they are not yet backed up with detailed market assessments to try and gauge their likely sustainability or annual running costs. There appears to be no specific mention of the new National Museum of Antiquities, or of the Archives aspirations separately of the Library (although there is some emphasis given to the need to digitise heritage records and archives).

It is clearly important that this lengthy 'wish list' is rapidly consolidated into meaningful priorities which can be deliverable and sustainable so as to be able to make some real impact on the initial EU timetable for the Structural Funds. We are very concerned that there has already been a considerable delay in making

any progress towards the desired national coordinating body, while in the meantime everybody seems to be fighting their own corner – which could result in a lack of clearly agreed strategic priorities, which are likely to fare badly in the national picture against stronger contenders. It is urgent that the various Departments and interested parties rapidly come up with a rational strategy in order to retain the goodwill and support of the Planning Bureau, the Finance Ministry and the Council of Ministers. On the basis of our knowledge of the EU's operation, we would have to comment that some of the 'cultural' ambitions in the Strategic Development Plan would be unlikely to qualify for structural funds.

It seems to us that the Planning Bureau is correctly identifying the need for the Cyprus government to move towards a role in **strategic coordination** (involving the private sector), **policy development**, **creating an environment in which culture can flourish**. However, the specifics of the outline plan reflect too much existing practice which is not in the spirit of the identified new roles. The Bureau can only work with what it is given – which lacks policy and is still insufficiently clear in any vision of where responsibilities should lie or the major priorities be set.

Both the Planning Bureau and the Ministry of Education and Culture are seized of the need to make the best possible joint 'cultural' use of available (and planned) facilities in rural areas for the benefit of the local community. This will often also involve the Church. Experience elsewhere in Europe shows that the key to successful operation of such facilities lies in the management arrangements. For example, where education authorities' control is too strong, the community and cultural (or sporting) interests can be marginalised or lose out altogether. Relatively simple measures – such as including sufficient equipment and storage space from the outset – can make all the difference between a progressive policy and its effective implementation.

5.3   Heritage conservation under the Town and Country Planning Law

The economic boom in the 1960s, the aftermath of the emergency in 1974 and the 1980s rise in tourism have increasingly threatened the Cypriot urban heritage. The Department of Town Planning and Housing is responsible for heritage conservation and urban planning and has a multiple role: maintaining and continually upgrading the inventory of the heritage; issuing building permits; restoring heritage and issuing restoration guidlines; organising courses to raise low levels of public awareness on the issue; and providing fiscal incentives (direct grants, authorising tax deductability, exemptions from property tax, transfer of development rights, etc.).

The issues surrounding urban planning and heritage conservation are crucial not only for urban regeneration but equally for the overall appearance of cities. The image and impression created is an extremely important marketing factor in tourism. Nicosia exemplifies some stark contrasts, defying normal expectations of what a tourist city should look like, with well maintained churches and beautifully restored villas cheek by jowl with with dilapidated or half-demolished buildings. Whilst we appreciate the economic and structural difficulties that underlie some of these problems, the overall impression given should not be underestimated. Whilst the role of the Department of Town Planning and Housing is vital, the pace of progress is slow for a number of reasons:

- Property owners can be hard to contact (often living abroad) although their permission for restoration or reconstruction is legally required;
- Many houses are unoccupied, or owners cannot be traced;
- Lack of sufficient professional staff numbers within the Department who could accelerate progress;
- Bureaucratic problems deriving from the number of differing permits that have to be issued before restoration projects can be approved.

Legal solutions could surely be devised to tackle the internal bureaucratic problems and the difficulties over securing owners' consent. Agreement might be reached with owners who continue to live abroad, for example with the State undertaking to renovate properties in return for owners' consent to permit concessionary occupation by young artists and creators for the time being. Although urban planning as a tourism issue does not generate direct tourist revenues, it certainly has a significant long term impact. **With the Mayor of Nicosia expressing increasing enthusiasm for using culture as a driver in urban regeneration, particularly in the old city quarters close to the Green Line, we would expect the State to be negotiating greater involvement and partnership with the city authorities in order to facilitate rapid progress.**

5.4 A 'single unified authority' for culture?

Political parties in Cyprus, it seems, do not set out cultural policy objectives, and it is considered normal for most cultural transactions which need to go through the Parliament to be adopted by consensus without to much dispute. This can mean two things – or possibly elements of both. Firstly that culture is seen as a positive value in society, and is relatively free from ideology, or second that it is a low priority which is not worth arguing about. Clearly the overriding concerns about the archaeological, cultural and ecclesiastical heritage and how it has been treated in the territory not under the control of the government since 1974 is a national and *political* matter of a completely different order.

In the light of our general concerns about the division of key cultural functions between several separate ministries, the unclear division of roles and responsibilities between central and local government, the dynamic but often wholly independent initiatives of the private operators, and the overall absence of strategic vision or clearly stated priorities (for both revenue and capital expenditure), we were pleased to discover that the government intended to pursue a manifesto commitment to try to create a 'single cultural authority' – whose role might be advisory rather than directly policy-driven or executive. Although no detailed possible options have yet been worked out, we believe the idea has considerable merit and should be fast-tracked. It should have the effect of making the Cultural Services think in a more strategic way, and call into question their dominant events promotion habits. One immediate and very practical reason is that the Minister who will represent Cyprus in the EU's Cultural Council after May 2004 will need to have a clear mandate for *all* the cultural functions which are currently dissipated.

What makes this outline idea peculiarly difficult is the understandable nervousness of the government to change the 1960 constitutional arrangements regarding the number of central government ministries. Under current and continuing political sensitivities, it would be impossible to 'invent' a unified and coherent ministry for culture. A

further possible complication exists in that in a unified federal state, the heritage and antiquities function has already been identified as a *federal* responsibility. However, aspects of the media, broadcasting and trade would also no doubt have an overall 'national' remit, so that ways will need to be found to accommodate both levels sensibly within one overall strategic vision.

We have seen that it is unsatisfactory, and not in the interests of culture as a political and spending priority, for functions to be fragmented. For example, it appears to us that the reasons for libraries and archives to be in separate ministries, and for responsibility for 90% of the heritage to be in one ministry, with 10% elsewhere, is an accident of history which has now moved on. It no longer makes sense in terms of the government's overall responsibility. (The position of the archives derives from outmoded UK public record law. The British public library function is clearly with the local authorities, but in Cyprus is in 'no-man's land' based on a 1927 colonial regulation!). The 'Cultural Services' being located within an Education ministry is also a dated model. This originates in the old paternalistic post-World War II ideals rooted in belief in 'cultural democracy' (see Appendix C, point 4). There is nothing fundamentally wrong with this, and a few Western European states still operate it effectively. However, many others have reassessed it in the light of how culture is now seen in a much more holistic and democratic way – in relation to social inclusion, citizenship, the economy in general, tourism and export in particular. A number of our informants were strongly of the view that Cultural Services lack authority and credibility precisely because they are such unequal partners with education – which will always have a much higher political and spending priority.

With the EU Accession opportunity imminent, we believe there is a symbolic moment, which could also have considerable practical advantages, for the government to take a holistic overview of culture and rapidly agree some developmental priorities, notably in capital provision – on which the key influences will be the Finance Ministry and the Council of Ministers. **Any further delay while individual ministers and their officials attempt to protect their own small share of the territory could be disastrous, with culture missing out altogether in the larger national picture. Because of the constitutional ramifications, a long-term structural solution (e.g. a coherent and unified Ministry) may have to wait, but that is no reason to delay implementing an interim working solution which will require real commitment and leadership. There may indeed be some advantage in creating an interim working solution which can be tested and refined against the long-term possibility of a coherent single government department in due course.**

As a result of the constitutional complexities there can only be an interim 'solution'. (Education was already a separate 'Greek' and 'Turkish' function under the 1960 arrangements, which we saw in the strictly segregated linguistic practice even in the 'non-segregated' community of Pyla. To a considerable extent education, and the teaching of history in particular, *creates and perpetuates* difference). However, we strongly believe that the government is right in pursuing a structurally more coherent way of dealing with cultural policy, and we urge rapid progress towards an appropriate workable solution, probably with a single Minister and a designated senior civil servant responsible for co-ordination. We say 'towards' since it will clearly take some time to achieve the most effective solutions, but we also emphasise the need for decisive action in order to prevent immediate opportunities from being lost.

We have detected further possible confusion through the current system's mix of government and arm's length bodies operating in the field across the broader policy area (THOC, CTO, Cyprus Youth Board etc) which leads some to suggest a co-ordinating body independent of, or at some distance from, government. Whilst it is not for us as outsiders to propose any particular model solution, which rather needs to be devised taking account of all the local and national circumstances, we strongly feel there is a strategic *government* responsibility, and that is where it needs to be located, so that the lines of accountability and the allocation of resources are clearly visible.

Section 6

CYPRUS IN THE EUROPEAN AND WORLDWIDE CONTEXTS

6.1   The European Union

Accession to the European Union by Cyprus is an historic moment, which brings new opportunities and responsibilities. We believe that there are likely to be important structural funding possibilities in the short term, having regard to the place of culture within a holistic view of social welfare and broad economic policy, and to the cultural infrastructure where there are parallel regeneration plans with suitable criteria. Since it is likely that many of the larger current EU member states will resist moves to legislate for substantial increases to the gross EU budget, one cannot assume that the opportunities for 'culture' on any traditional definition may become substantially greater as time passes. Should Qualified Majority Voting be introduced for culture, the reality is that a focus on narrow national interest is likely to persist.

There is therefore very strong reason for the government to secure the maximum possible agreement on a limited, but convincingly justified and costed, list of cultural priorities where these can be matched with the broad programme criteria. This is a matter partly about capital and physical regeneration, and partly about a strategic overview of culture as part of a holistic social and educational policy. Preserving a traditional policy space for its own sake is no longer generally assumed to be defensible democratic practice. It can only be justified against other competing demands on the public purse if there is a rationale and clear purpose – all the more reason for those ministries whose remit includes aspects of cultural policy to forge strong links and alliances with other, and maybe more powerful, ministries where there is a shared interest.

There will be aspects of future EU directives and of the *acquis communautaire* which will have a significant impact upon current practice, and from which culture will not be exempt. The cultural sector in current member states has often been taken by surprise by the unforeseen effects on their practices by such diverse directives as those relating to health and safety at work (including decibel levels to which working musicians are subjected), working hours (which can create financial problems for theatres), direct mailing, and data protection. Promoters and the government will have to find quick and efficient ways of dealing with the competitive tendering requirements – which the country as a small unit with limited internal competition may find onerous, and maybe even inappropriate. Cyprus' traditional role and position as an entrepôt, and its unavoidable dependence upon importing large-scale cultural

manifestations, probably means that it will encounter these early on. The effect of government subsidy to culture, interpreted by American commercial operators as a restraint of fair trade, is still a live issue in the context of GATS negotiations and future prospects for *l'exception culturelle*. What is regarded currently as 'normal' practice in covering advertising and other promotional costs could also be open to much greater scrutiny. There is also a feeling within the cultural world, which thrives on international touring and exchange, that since 1997 the *Schengen* visa arrangements have made life more difficult than it was previously.

There are two aspects of a further issue of immediate importance we would wish to draw to the notice of the Cypriot authorities. The competence of the European Union under the Treaty is extremely limited in cultural policy. A number of the member states have seen to that, and will probably continue to do so despite attempts by the Commission and the European Parliament to increase it. This manifests itself in severely restricted budgetary capacity and the member states fiercely defending their own national interests by reference to subsidiarity. **Nobody should therefore delude themselves that Accession will suddenly provide prospects of significant new money for culture *qua* culture.** In fact, such opportunity as there is has already been open and available to Cypriot organisations under programmes such as *Culture 2000* . Because of our concern about potential misunderstanding of the realistic possibilities, we quote below from an April 2003 consultation document issued by the EU Commission itself (DG for Education and Culture):

 "The EU should only intervene in the cultural field so far as the aims of the action envisaged may be better achieved at Community level than at Member State level, for instance with projects with a true European dimension."

"The EU has had competence in cultural matters since the Treaty of Maastricht (Article 151). This is complementary to that of the national or regional authorities, with each State taking charge of its own cultural policy. Community cultural action is not binding; on the contrary, the aim is to supplement and support national policies without seeking to harmonise the legislation of Member States. The final part of paragraph 5 of Article 151 particularly stresses this point. The Article lays down that actions in the cultural field shall be adopted by Parliament and the Council in accordance with the co-decision procedure, with an additional condition: unanimity is required in the Council. The Committee of the Regions is also to be consulted."

These statements are helpfully clear, and corroborate beyond any doubt that Cyprus will continue to be firmly responsible for, and in charge of its own cultural policy. We were therefore alarmed to hear – on several occasions – from government officials dealing with Accession issues sweeping statements like: "As EU members, we know we have to decentralise". This is only half true. Central and Eastern Europe post-1989 is sadly littered with the corpses of cultural organisations and initiatives which were irresponsibly decentralised into a vacuum. It is all very well after the event for central government to blame local government, but in many instances the resources and relevant professional skills were never there to sustain it.

Cultural policy is firmly written into subsidiarity, and subsidiarity is *not* a synonym for decentralisation. Subsidiarity means carrying out functions at the lowest level possible which is consistent with achieving the desired results effectively and efficiently. In a small country like Cyprus, this may well mean in culture that in certain cases, on grounds of economy of scale and effectiveness, the central

government ministry already *is* the most logical mechanism (for example in coordinating rural touring programmes, unless there is a consortium set up by those rural authorities themselves to oversee this role). On the other hand, there may well be promotions currently handled centrally without adequate consultation which would far better fit within the programmes of the municipalities where they take place – provided the relevant skills and resources are there. **In other words, the most appropriate model of provision for Cyprus as a whole is likely to be a mixture, which needs to be based on a logical and *negotiated* strategic pattern which has involved all the main players in drawing it up.**

It is interesting to note that in recent years some European countries (e.g. France and the UK) the centre has re-colonised elements of cultural policy and delivery which had been decentralised, whilst in federal states such as Switzerland and Germany, the federal governments have defined certain central roles in culture which was previously unthinkable. The detailed reasons for this vary, but are partly a response to European and global economic trends. In Switzerland, the classic example of subsidiarity in practice, the state has attempted to define for culture those areas where the cantons and local authorities are not necessarily the sole agents. As a result, and effective since 2000, the government of the Confederation is undertaking some national roles in provision, but always sensitive to the tensions between centralisation and decentralisation, and ensuring that anything it does is complementary to the legitimate competences at lower levels. Since culture is dynamic and operates within a constantly changing environment, the situation is considered subject to continual review.

6.2   Other international perspectives

The image Cyprus presents to the outside world largely derives from its history and geography. It is a fact that the fascinating richness of the island's culture and history is a by-product of its strategic location – which has also always been the cause of its vulnerability to external predators. It is the reason for the continuing reliance of the economy on tourism and the island's traditional role as a trading entrepôt. As the political situation stabilises, and with the Republic's accession to the EU making a clear statement about future directions, it is much more apparent to the rest of the world that Cyprus' door is open beyond Greece (and to a lesser extent the UK). Projecting a lively and progressive cultural image is one way of helping *close* the door on the external 'trouble spot' perception.

These new possibilities have implications for creation and production – and we have already indicated our view that greater attention should be paid to the role (both as means and ends) of the creative industries. Whilst the island lacks professional training opportunities in certain key areas (such as cultural management and fundraising) it has the advantage of access to training through widespread knowledge of the English language. The relatively small market for artists has always been an incentive to travel abroad, but many return with enriched experience. One of our interlocutors described this as 'not a school, but an international federation'. Although we have not been able to pursue our enquiries much further in this particular, it seems to us that there may be additional creative potential to be exploited through closer links to the worldwide Cypriot diaspora beyond Greece and the UK, encompassing Australia, Canada and the USA. The government might consider

pursuing a more active international dimension in its cultural policy with regard to those countries where there is a sizeable Cypriot émigré population.

Tourism, as we have discussed, brings many of these strands together. The Minister of Education and Culture was clear to us that Cyprus did not want to be seen as a 'playground of Europe' and would continue to look for ways of developing 'higher quality' tourism. We have commented that we believe artists and craftspeople in local production have a greater potential role than has yet been realised in producing attractive souvenirs. The historical and cultural 'offer' which Cyprus makes is a large element in this quality of experience, and the enhancement of facilities will be of direct benefit to citizens as well as to foreign visitors. The Department of Antiquities however is properly sensitive to the balance which must be maintained between expanding visitor demands and potential and the imperatives of protection and conservation.

Section 7

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Examiners hope and believe that their investigations in Cyprus will have encouraged and accelerated the process of self-questioning concerning cultural policy which was already quite widely evident. In the light of the enormous political problems which still confront the island, and their impact on social attitudes and aspirations at all levels of society across the generations, we approach the making of recommendations with a certain humility. When current cultural identity is so bound up with the traumatic events leading up to 1960, and following on from 1974, it would be foolish to deny the force of memory. However, it may be that EU Accession in May 2004 provides another key date which encourages less of a concentration on the *culture of memory* (divisive) and more onto the *memory of culture* (shared).

As outsiders we were able to identify clearly a number of important issues which could provide the key to finding better solutions to long-standing difficulties. It is our view that the most appropriate and effective answers will be those the relevant authorities in Cyprus work out together for themselves. We have therefore concluded that there would be little benefit in our predicating a substantial number of detailed recommendations, since many of these would inevitably assume developments or reforms which may, or may not, happen. It is our hope that we can help stimulate a much wider public debate in Cyprus, on the threshold of major changes, about the positive roles culture can play, and that this will lead on to progressive reform and development.

There is no desire on our part to impose any particular approach, not least because many of our overall conclusions overlap within the complicated social, cultural, economic and political matrix, and there is no 'simple' solution.   In a positive and forward-looking spirit we submit the following recommendations to assist the public authorities in Cyprus to make progress in those areas where, on our evaluation, there is most need for rapid change or development.

7.1   Policy and strategy

Although there seems to be no real political agenda for cultural policy, we commend the government's manifesto recognition of the need to bring the scattered elements of cultural policy together as a useful catalyst.   However, any flaws in the delivery system are merely symptoms of the absence of comprehensive policy and a strategic approach to its implementation.   Because of the absence of any clear strategic perspective and sense of direction, there is widespread evidence of the gulf between aspiration and reality.   A reform of the structures will not on it own solve any of the problems.   Difficult choices will *have* to be made, not least so that opportunities are not lost.   In order to do this, a clear overall strategy needs to be put in place, with dynamic leadership and a timescale which is realistic and achievable.

We urge the Minister to proceed speedily with his review of possibilities for a 'single unified authority' for culture, and to assert leadership across the government in achieving this.   Any permanent reforms to the administrative structures can, and probably should, only follow once the inter-departmental agendas and priorities for corporate policy and action have been resolved.   As an early part of this part of this process, the government should formulate and publish its 'high level' objectives and strategy for cultural policy and development.

7.2   Unclear roles and responsibilities

Cyprus has rather a 'modern' pattern of mixed provision in culture, embracing the public, private and voluntary sectors.   A considerable advantage of this is that the country does not suffer from the common ailment of 'over-institutionalisation' in the public cultural sphere, although we have detected some aspirations in that direction.   Even if this situation is partly a consequence of resource limitations over the years, we think the government may be undervaluing it as a current strength through the general confusion about roles and responsibilities.   Once again, this highlights the need for a clear and *strategic* grasp of who does what.   This lack of clarity shows itself in the mutual suspicions of central and local government, and in the government's unwillingness to permit its 'arm's length' agencies to take full advantage of their independent legal status. It also may lead to an unnecessary degree of duplication and wasted effort in the private trusts and foundations.   The absence of overall strategy for cultural policy and implementation is also leading to some mistaken interpretations of requirements resulting from EU Accession, which need to be corrected rapidly before they do damage to the infrastructure.

As an important element of reviewing overall cultural policy, urgent attention should be given to clarifying the roles and responsibilities of central and local government.   We appreciate that there are complicated issues around local government finance which may have legal and inter-Ministry implications which will take time to resolve.   Nevertheless, central government should proceed to draw up some form of concordat in full partnership and consultation with the local authorities nationally to clarify where responsibility lies – and does not lie. This process should encourage the Ministry of Education and Culture to be more open and specific about its appropriate national functions, whilst also setting out a clearer agenda for partnership (not duplication) with the municipalities and other local authorities.   We believe that there is similar need for clarity and

greater transparency in relation to the roles of the quasi-autonomous and private partners.

7.3   The Ministry's roles

Whatever the detailed outcomes of the above review exercises in terms of coherence and connections across government and broader public policy areas, we are convinced that the Cultural Services will need to re-examine their own practices and priorities. To some extent, the appropriate answers will depend upon any developments arising out of the above two recommendations. Broadly speaking, the appropriate roles in which the Department could take a more effective lead would be covered under the following headings:

- Defining and developing policy, and setting out overall cultural strategy and targets (outcomes) to relate to agreed timescales and global budgets;
- Advocacy role for culture with other government departments and policy areas, as well as with the public sector generally, including local government;
- Structural support for the sector, delivered in an open, transparent and accountable manner;
- Ensuring that the maximum possible collaboration and partnership is taking place vertically and horizontally, for the benefit of the sector and taxpayers, and setting the framework for this to operate in consultation;
- Setting standards for high quality provision across the art forms, and acting when necessary to ensure that appropriate training and development programmes are available.

The Ministry needs to adopt a more rigorous and self-critical approach in coming to decisions about how it invests precious time and money, which will enable it to act more strategically in future. This should reduce any tendency towards 'client capture' and change the Department's image from gatekeeper to door opener. In coming to any conclusions, it should heed the principles of *subsidiarity*. This means that if, in some areas of work, it is still appropriate for the Ministry to act as a direct promoter, this is the most cost-effective solution for the island as a whole, and is agreed and understood after discussion and/or negotiation with the other partners (public, arm's length, private or voluntary), and minimises conflicts of interest.

7.4   Information and Evaluation

We encountered many examples of cultural provision to a high standard of imagination and presentation. We also noted other examples where perhaps the public is not receiving such good 'value for money'. Some neutral system of evaluation should be in place as part of the government's own direct promotion and grant aid actions. Self-evaluation is often now part of the grant aid cycle in many countries, which puts the trust and responsibility on recipients of public money to monitor and improve their own performance – often in relation to their own strategic plans, which may reflect the government's own 'high level' policy objectives. The difficulties which the Ministry had to overcome so as to produce the National Report point to the need for some national monitoring and analysis of data capacity. There are good examples of 'Cultural Observatories' in Europe which carry out this function

at national or regional level. Their location varies from government to independent agencies to academia. The government should have an interest in terms of its stewardship of public money in having some independent assessment of the consequences and effectiveness (qualitative and quantitative) of its own policies and political choices.

Cultural policy development and strategy in Cyprus could be assisted through the existence of an acknowledged agency able to carry out regular evaluation, and to make an evidence based assessment of the impact of culture on other government policy areas (and vice versa). We suggest the authorities establish a constructive dialogue with potential partners about how this could be established and managed. The current moves towards creating a 'European Cultural Observatory' may, in time, increase expectations on Cyprus' ability to relate to it.

7.5   Cultural diversity and multi-culturalism

It will be clear from the considered views stated throughout this report that we regard cultural diversity as a cross-cutting issue of major importance for Cyprus. It links many of the 'pure' arts and heritage concerns directly with civil society, media and religious matters, as well as being a large factor in economic development and tourism in particular. Although we recognise that this broad issue is often difficult and painful to deal with, suppressing it can offer no solutions. The government should ensure that the broadcast media are used as an aid to achieving peace and harmony on the island for the future, and not to shore up entrenched attitudes and positions which can hinder progress. The surveys of young people's opinions which we have drawn attention to, together with many of our conversations demonstrate – for both positive and negative reasons – that this needs to be a high public priority. Yet although it is always there, it is almost 'the dog which does not bark'.

In the context of moves towards a more united and comprehensive approach to cultural policy and implementation, we suggest that cultural diversity and multi-culturalism should be identified as important themes to be pursued. At present they appear to fall between the cracks in individual policy areas which results in nobody accepting responsibility for pursuing the issues or the linkages. This is not simply a question of integration as an 'island' issue, but has an equally important bearing on respecting and guaranteeing equal 'cultural' rights to minorities. Judicious and sensitive approaches to the reconstruction of shared pan-Cypriot cultural identity seem to us have so much to offer for the future that it is a mistake to underplay the importance of the issues.

7.6   Civil society and young people

Our research and dialogues have suggested that many of the broad social concerns sit uncomfortably alongside the relatively self-confining cultural establishment. Whilst the blandishments of continuity may appear to offer a welcome degree of stability to the professional cultural sector and public policy in times of rapid social and economic change, it is equally possible that this is hindering adaptation to more powerful trends within society, and therefore not developing the flexibility and openness which are necessary for long-term survival and evolution of culture as a

powerful living force within society. The culture of young people is not an aberration from some static norm, but is a vital part of the evolutionary process. It is important that the *processes* of formal (and to a lesser extent informal) education represent and reinforce the importance of more traditionally perceived 'culture' in ways that can be understood as relevant and meaningful, as well as assigning due value to the more popular cultural forms.

We recommend that the impending discussions about linking the disparate elements of culture find a way of considering them in a broader context. This should include giving proper weight to the importance of the education process in finding the most productive longer-term solutions, in addition to recognising the value of diverse participation in young people's culture.

7.7   The effects of EU Accession and globalisation

These constitute two irresistible forces in Cyprus' cultural and national identities. Whilst much of the potential is positive, we find ourselves agreeing with many of the concerns we heard about the possible threats. The inevitable limitations of the existing public systems and a relatively small production capacity and market mean that the economic challenges will certainly not decrease. All the more reason (as in tourism) for Cyprus to be clear and determined about its own unique strengths, and to build upon them.

As a result of EU Accession Cyprus will have greater opportunities, but must be prepared to resist any unwelcome pressures towards homogenisation where that could result in loss of cultural specificity. Since under EU law culture is firmly written into 'subsidiarity', it is for the government and other public authorities to accept full responsibility for working out their own best solutions to cultural policy, strategy and delivery.

Appendix A

LIST OF INFORMANTS MET BY THE EXAMINERS IN CYPRUS

(A) December 2002

Dr Petros M. Kareklas - Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education & Culture

Dr Stelios A. Hadjistyllis - then Director, Cultural Services, Ministry of Education & Culture

Dr Eleni Nikita and staff – Cultural Services, Head of Sector of Arts

Dr Georgios Moleskis and staff – Cultural Services, Head of Sector of Letters

Mrs Lefki Michaelides – Director, Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation

Mr Manolis Christophides – then Presidential Commissioner for Religious Groups

Mr Andy Bargilly – Director, Cyprus Theatre Organisation

Dr Sophocles Hadjisavvas – then Director, Department of Antiquities, Ministry of Communication & Public Works

Mrs Phryni Michael – Director, Cyprus Tourism Organisation

Hon. Michalakis Zambelas – Mayor of Nicosia (plus 4 key staff)

Mrs Katia Taoushani – Nicosia Cultural Services & Public Relations Officer

Mrs Loukia Hadjigavriel ▬ Director, Leventis Municipal Museum, Nicosia

Mrs Agnes Petrides ▬ Planner/Architect responsible for Nicosia Plan

Mr. Yiannis Toumazis - Director, Nicosia Municipal Arts Centre/Director Pierides Foundation

Mrs Titina Loizides – Past President, World Federation of Tourist Guides Associations

Hon. Dr Dimitrios Kontides - Mayor of Limassol

Mrs Nadia Anaxagoras – Head**,** Cultural Services Department, Limassol Municipality

Mr Giannakis Polykarpou   - Managing Director and Chair of Board, Rialto Theatre, Limassol

Mrs Georgia Doetzer - Artistic Director, Rialto Theatre, Limassol

(B) May 2003

Mr Antonis Maratheftis – Director, Cyprus Library (Ministry of Education and Culture)

Ms Euphrosyne Parparinou – State Archivist, Ministry of Justice

Dr Marina Solomidou-Ieronymidou – Archaeological Officer A´, Department of Antiquities, Ministry of Communication & Public Works

Mrs Athena Aristotelous-Klerides – Chief Officer, Head of the Conservation Section, Department of Town Planning and Housing (Ministry of the Interior)

Mr Andreas Christodoulou – Head, Audio-Visual and Mass Media Section,

Ministry of the Interior (written submission of evidence)

Mrs Stella Roussis – Administrative Officer A´, Local Authorities Administration,

Ministry of the Interior

Mr Thrasyvoulos Thrasyvoulou – Executive Secretary, Youth Board of Cyprus

Mr Christos Tsingis – President, Student Party POFNE

Mr Antonis Vrasidas — President, Student Party PROTOPORIA

Mr Stelios Stylianou — President, Student Party EFAEFP

Mr Andy Bargilly – Director, Cyprus Theatre Organisation

Mr Yiannis Toumazis – Director, Nicosia Municipal Arts Centre/Director Pierides Foundation

Mrs Koulitsa Demetriou – Tourist Officer, Cyprus Tourism Organisation

Mr Kyriakos Kyriakou – Tourist Officer, Cyprus Tourism Organisation

Mrs Titina Loizides – Past President, World Federation of Tourist Guides Associations

Mr Christos Hadjiyiangou – Assistant Secretary, Union of Municipalities of Cyprus

Mrs Chryso Michael – Planning Officer A´, Planning Bureau

Mrs Loukia Hadjigavriel – Director, Leventis Municipal Museum, Nicosia

Professor Maria Hadjipavlou – University of Cyprus

Mrs Neshé Yashin – poet

Mrs Marina Vryonidou-Yiangou — Head, Laiki Group Cultural Centre

Dr Vassos Karageorghis – Director, Leventis Foundation

Mr Demetris Z. Pierides — President of the Pierides Foundation

Mr. Peter H. Ashdjian, Curator, Pierides Museum - Laiki Group Cultural Centre

Mrs Lefki Michaelides – Director, Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation

Mrs Catherine Louis Nikita - Director, Lanitis Cultural Centre, Limassol

Hon. Phidias D. Sarikas – Mayor of Paphos

Mr Themis Philippidis – Secretary of the Municipality of Pafos and Director Paphos Aphrodite Festival

Mr Yiannis Anthis — Associate of Paphos Municipality on European, Communication and Tourist Affairs

Mr Lefteris Empedokles — Municipal Town Planner, Municipality of Larnaka

Mr Akis Ioannou — Cultural Officer, Municipality of Larnaka

Hon. Pefkios Georgiades – Minister of Education and Culture

Dr Petros M Kareklas – Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education and Culture

Mrs Eleni Nikita – Senior Cultural Officer (Team A), Acting Director

Mr Giorgios Moleskis – Senior Cultural Officer (Team B)

Mr Pavlos Paraskevas – Cultural Officer

Mrs Eleni Papademetriou – Cultural Officer

Ms Nadia Stylianou – Cultural Officer

Ms Eleni Christodoulidou – Cultural Officer

Mr Nikos Nikolaou – Cultural Officer

Ms Louli Michaelidou – Cultural Officer

Mrs Eleni Theodoulou-Charalambous – Cultural Officer

Ms Niki Menelaou – Cultural Officer

Mr Aristodemos Anastasiades – Cultural Officer

Mrs Marina Stavrinidou – Cultural Officer

(C) November 2003

Mr Panicos Schinis — Partner, Papadopoulos & Schinis cultural events promoter, Limassol

Mrs Melina Schinis — Partner, Papadopoulos & Schinis cultural events promoter, Limassol

Ms Andri Orphanidou – Managing Director and Partner, Galaxias Productions, Larnaka

Ms Zoe Christophorou   - Partner, Galaxias Productions, Larnaka

Mrs Antje Papageorghiou – Managing Director, AEOLOS Tour Operators

Mr Zacharias Ioannides – Director General, Cyprus Hotel Association

Mrs Dora Lagou - Guard of the Byzantine Heritage Museum of Palaichori

Mrs Demetra Demetriou - Guard of the Local Museum of Phikardou

Mr Christos Antoniou — President of the Community of Pyla

Mr Stavros Stavrou — Secretary of Community of Pyla

Papapostolos Papapavlou — Priest of Pyla

Mr Ahmet Sakalli – Turkish Community Leader, Pyla

Mr Nejdet Enver – Deputy Leader and Secretary, Turkish Community, Pyla

Mr Panayiotis Neokleous – artist and President, Pancyprian Artists' Association

Mr Bertan Soyer – artist and active member, Pancyprian Artists' Association

Mrs Neveser Mehmetçik – writer and active member, Pancyprian Artists' Association

Mrs Olga Lakovets – musician and active member, Pancyprian Artists' Association

His Holiness Chrysostomos Metropolitan of Paphos

His Grace Vasilios Bishop of Trimithus – Church of Cyprus Ecumenical Relations Officer

Hon. Michalakis Zambelas – Mayor of Nicosia

Mr Christos Athanasiou – Town Clerk, City of Nicosia

Mrs Katia Taoushani – Cultural Services and Public Relations Officer, City of Nicosia

Mr Andreas Stavrou — Financial Officer, City of Nicosia

Hon. Pefkios Georgiades – Minister of Education and Culture

Appendix B

EXAMPLES OF CYPRIOT FOUNDATIONS

The **Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation** dates from 1979, and exists to support educational, cultural, artistic and philanthropic causes in Cyprus, Greece and elsewhere (the Leventis family made its money trading in West Africa, Ghana and Nigeria in particular). The Foundation's head office is in Paris, and it maintains an independent foundation in Cyprus with a dynamic (but minimal) staff. Since Leventis' home village of Petra is in occupied territory and saw major destruction in 1974, the Foundation's activities have – besides their intrinsic value – always aimed to heal the wounds caused by the invasion and occupation. The Foundation has therefore been particularly active since inception in helping with refugees, medical care and in restoration of heritage and repatriation of treasures looted and/or illegally sold abroad. Protection of the heritage and physical environment is supported by a substantial ongoing programme of research and publications.

A huge amount of practical and financial assistance has been given over the years to working closely with the Department of Antiquities and those responsible for the upkeep and restoration of vernacular buildings and to find constructive contemporary uses for them. This concern for rural areas has gone hand in hand with programmes of conservation for the flora, fauna and ornithology of Cyprus, as well as very active involvement in underpinning and promoting agro-tourism particularly around Paphos). The Foundation also concerns itself with professional training, for example in providing scholarships to ensure a supply of qualified and skilled native Cypriot restorers and conservators for Cyprus. Besides maintaining important museums on the island, activities abroad have ensured – through specially dedicated galleries and improved interpretation – better displays of objects from the Cypriot past in the Musée du Louvre, British Museum, Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, Metropolitan Museum New York, and in Toronto. They are also involved in conservation and display programmes with museums in Vienna, Moscow, Oxford and Dublin. There are major programmes supported in Greece, and the foundation is the largest donor to the Hellenic Centre in London, where it also supports the artistic work of Cypriot and Greek diaspora groups.

The Bank of Cyprus Foundation was created in 1984 and since 2000 has operated a branch in Greece, in order contribute to cultural issues concerning the entire Hellenic world. The bank itself is Cyprus' oldest – dating from 1899 – and a long-term pioneer and benefactor in the cultural field. The establishment of the Foundation itself arose from the events of 1974, with a clear remit to preserve and promote 'Greek' Cyprus, its history and culture. The Foundation is now the curator of the bank's exceptional collections of art, maps and coins – which is constantly being added to. The specimen collection of coins is now displayed in the Foundation's excellent Numismatic Museum in Nicosia, and there is close liaison over any purchases with the Department of Antiquities, and sharing of information over any items spotted on the international market which is suspected of having been stolen. The cartographic collection, which as significantly added to through two private collections in 1988 and 1993, is open to the public under controlled conditions. The Foundation's collection of Cypriot antiquities (over 600 items from the early Bronze Age till late Mediaeval times), largely the result of another donation, is open free to the public in the Foundation's premises close to the Green Line in Nicosia. This is a compact, high quality

collection which is beautifully exhibited in a state-of-the-art display, with excellent interpretation and cataloguing. The Foundation also maintains a reference library on cartography, numismatics, and the history and archaeology of Cyprus.

The collections are all linked to long-term projects involving research, publishing, public lectures/seminars and educational programmes for schools, besides temporary and permanent exhibitions. Annual Awards in young people's literature and a schools' theatre competition are also sponsored (the latter takes the winning participants to Athens to compete in the Panhellenic schools competition). We saw a range of well designed educational material which has been produced by the bank on Cypriot culture and heritage for use within the school curriculum, and is distributed through the Ministry. This work is evaluated, so that there is regular feedback from teachers. The Foundation also has an active interest in the natural history of the island, and produces a range of material in both Greek and English.

An active commitment to furthering cultural tourism is evident in the series of splendidly illustrated guidebooks which the Foundation produces on individual archaeological sites and the World Heritage churches in the Troödos Mountains. These are produced in Greek, English, French, German, and now Russian, and supplied free for the Antiquities Department and the Orthodox Church to sell and retain the income. The English version of the guide to the mosaics at Paphos, selling at CY£3, has already sold over 60,000 copies.

The Laiki Group Cultural Centre in Nicosia was created in 1983 as a cultural training centre, and to provide a focus for the contemporary visual arts – particularly to bring in high quality European artists' work to Cyprus, and to promote young Cypriot artists on international circuits. We detected an understandable impatience with the public sector tendency to select for exhibitions through committees of interested parties rather than trusting the judgement of individual curators. The Group (which operates in banking and financial services) has a general involvement in culture which goes back much further, and has had a clear international dimension since 1974. Local cultural programmes are supported in the nine countries (across five continents) where the group has a commercial presence, most notably in Greece, the UK, Australia, Canada, USA, South Africa and Russia.

Since 1985, the Group has been building up a major archive – which is accessible free on the internet – related the history of Cyprus, ranging from rare books and Grand Tour material to early photographic collections, which the government archive was not in a position to purchase. The policy of reclamation and presentation of important historical material concentrates on the period from Mediaeval times to the present day. The several Cypriot foundations which are active in purchasing historic material communicate effectively so that they do not compete unnecessarily with each other. The international and contemporary art interests of the Group make it an increasingly active participant in cultural exchange, and it has aspirations to make more use of Cyprus' geographical position, and see EU Accession as a new opportunity to link Greece and Western Europe with the Levant.

Given the nature of the Group's business, it is not surprising that they take a very substantial interest in tourism in Cyprus. Cultural and 'quality' tourism is therefore a particular concern in many of its programmes, on some of which it works in partnership with the Bank of Cyprus Foundation. The focus is often local, with programmes involving relevant local authorities, and an increasing range of joint-

ventures to support and promote eco-tourism. The Group also takes on 'national' initiatives such as producing tourism promotional leaflets in five languages, and researching into background factors which should assist future tourism developments for the island.

The Pierides Foundation is ubiquitous in museums and arts centres all over Cyprus. From his base in the family mansion in Larnaka (now given over in trust to the Laiki Group) the current head of the family, Dimitrios Z. Pierides, propagates his family's illustrious name through a network of partnership arrangements which often seems to end up with the public sector or others accepting responsibility for the bulk of the ongoing costs. A leaflet we were given shows at least fourteen of these initiatives (three of which we have noted housed in the excellent Nicosia Municipal Arts Centre, another three are in Greece), and we heard that there is a new ecological museum in the process of being established in Pano Platres in the Troödos with substantial government financial commitment. This may also be a welcome and relevant new departure both for the village itself, and more generally for the new style of holiday packages being currently developed. But whilst new museums continue to be created, the 20th century graphic art collection in Nicosia is static and not being added to.

A good number of these initiatives have identified and satisfied a real and appropriate market need, and accomplished this at commendable speed in a way the government itself could never have achieved. Examples would be the Tornaritis-Pierides Marine Life Foundation and the Thalassa Municipal Museum, both at Ayia Napa, the latter developed in partnership with the Greek Institute for the Preservation of the Nautical Heritage.

The Evagoras Lanitis Centre in Limassol is a good example of a local family foundation which is making a very useful contribution to cultural life and the local economy, and has helped to raise the profile of the town. The centre is an imaginative reuse of a former industrial building (a carob mill and warehouse) in the heart of the historic quarter of the town, just behind the castle on whose site Richard Coeur-de-Lion is supposed to have married Berengaria. The Lanitis family were modernising pioneers at the beginning of the 20th century, and large employers in the town. The now redundant, but extensive, factory space has been converted at a cost of around CY£1 million. The family were aware of the potential of the space, which was costing maintenance, but no longer providing anything for the local community.

With no track record in cultural sponsorship, the family did not have any clear idea of long term reuse of the building, but secured it for the future by turning it into a multi-purpose contemporary conference and exhibition centre, and retaining a small part of the original machinery etc. to display and interpret as an important part of local history. The tourist attraction *Time Elevator* is a tenant of part of the space. The centre has a dynamic internationally minded director, who is programming the spaces and building up a distinct identity for the centre. Successful short-term events (such as a book fair) have been programmed alongside major exhibitions, and a range of public events. The main current limitation is lack of regular operating budget, although strong efforts are being made to forge public and private partnerships to ensure the success of the centre's aspiration to show an outward-looking and international face of the town.

Appendix C

PARADIGMS OF CULTURAL POLICY

The Welsh intellectual Raymond Williams in his important 1976 book *Keywords (A Vocabulary of Culture and Society)* declared that 'culture' is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language. He explains that "This is partly so because of its intricate historical development, in several European languages, but mainly because it has now come to be used for important concepts in several distinct intellectual disciplines and in several distinct and incompatible systems of thought". Studies and commissioned papers published in recent years by the Council of Europe – notably *In from the Margins* and the series of Culture Policy Notes – have usefully added to our understanding of this shifting ground and often artificial borderlines, although they have understandably avoided trying to pin down particular working definitions.

In the very complicated cultural policy situation within Cyprus, where notions of culture can easily evoke strong feelings and trigger particular reactions, it may be helpful to attempt to identify certain ways in which culture is perceived in order to encourage thought about cross-referencing, and how culture can be better used in the context of a rapidly changing, developing modern society. These headings (which are purely indicative) illustrate different aspects of culture which are frequently found to co-exist in varying combinations in public policy statements, which may not appear to be about culture at all.

1)   Heritage

Culture is seen as a body of monuments, works and artefacts 'sanctified' by experts and providing – collectively – a definition of a particular civilisation or group of them. The public cultural policy objective is the preservation, study and re-interpretation of this corpus of material by scholars and those considered capable of comprehending these works. Notions of 'quality' are central and 'civilisations' are often ranked.

2)   Propaganda

Crudely evident where cultural forms are pressed into the services of a political ideology or the glorification of an individual leader as was evident under Soviet Communism, Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Falangist Spain. Still visible in the recruitment of war artists under particular circumstances, as well as in 'softer' forms such as marching bands, mass choirs, display teams, triumphal statues and celebratory architecture.

3)   Cultural defence or change

The preservation of a cultural identity against attack or encroachment from other (stronger or feared) cultural influences in food, language, clothing, dance, music etc. exemplified today in the concern of *l'Académie française* for preserving the purity of the French language. The converse is the deployment of cultural activity to encourage the acceptance or celebration of cultural diversity, and to help overcome fear of

'other-ness'. Public cultural policy objectives relate to the qualities of the broader culture itself.

4)   Educational

The accepted canon of created art in various media, and the preserved physical heritage is acknowledged, but the public cultural policy objective is broadly educational (i.e. extending beyond academe and 'experts'). The widest possible public is to be encouraged and enabled to comprehend the inherent qualities of what is put before them. (Examples: programmes in schools; free admission to museums and galleries; subsidised seats in the performing arts and the encouragement of touring).

5)   Entertainment

Circuses rather than bread. Traditional seaside resorts and spa towns in the 19th and 20th centuries would be a typical location, also updated nowadays as an adjunct to tourism policies, 24 hour cities and their cultural quarters (where it begins to merge with 'economic' instrumentalisation). Public cultural policy goals are to provide for the relaxation and enjoyment of the population and visitors and often closely linked to commercial interests.

6)   Experiment

The argument is made that it is the function of the arts within culture to create the new and to re-interpret the old. The artist as innovator, and often critic of the status quo. The arts as the masseur of culture – keeping culture (and people) flexible and adaptable during a period of great change. This public cultural policy objective – which reasserted itself in Western Europe during the 1960s – is now enjoying a new lease of life in parallel with recognition of the crucial importance of new 'content' to feed digital communication technologies.

7)   Individual growth

Individual growth and fulfilment is to be achieved in part through the practice of, and participation in, the arts and through the study of cultural artefacts and materials from across the world. The quality of serious engagement for the individual rather than the quality of any art or object produced or studied is held to be the key factor. The public cultural policy objective is the achievement of greater human potential. Often now linked to therapy and to achieving change in socially unacceptable behaviour. Jungian 'self-actualisation'. Certain current concern that governments are increasingly interpreting this as a tool for social control rather than primarily for personal empowerment and growth.

8)   Social

Public funding which is derived from the whole of the tax base must be used to benefit the whole of the tax base. Outreach and community programmes. Pro-active not reactive, and targeted at particular identified groups in need or at risk. Also recognises the role of cultural activity in promoting community/neighbourhood well-being. Specific programmes in relation to schools, health, crime, the elderly etc. Emphasis tends to be on participation and groups more than presentation or the individual. Public cultural policy objectives are democratic and about empowering the

community and building its confidence to deal with the challenges of contemporary society and rapid change.

9) Economic

An aspect which has been around for far longer than is generally recognised and in many more cultures than Western Europe and USA, even though the trend for culturally focused 'economic impact' studies only really took off in Europe in the 1980s. Public cultural policy objectives are to increase employment or decrease unemployment, to attract tourists, visitors or conventions. To regenerate parts of Cities or Regions. To grow a "creative industries" sector.