

Cultural policies in a changing world

Máté Kovács On 20 and 21 October 1994, the Department of Leisure Studies and the Department of Sociology of Tilburg University together with the Boekman Foundation of Amsterdam, will organize a conference on the actual and potential influence of GATT on the artistic and cultural exchange between the United States and Europe. The theme of this conference is closely linked with the key issues of the Unesco's World Decade for Cultural Development. In February 1994 an international commission discussed cultural policies in a changing world. In the text below, Máté Kovács considers the questions relevant to cultural policies in an international perspective.

Introduction

The enormous challenges faced by the international community at the end of this century call for new responses to cultural problems. When considering the requirements and possible developments in this respect, first and foremost, it is necessary to recall briefly the major world problems affecting the cultural life in the Member States. Then an assessment of the evolution of cultural practices and policies must be made. On this basis major

directions and the means for new cultural development strategies can be proposed.

1. Some major issues in the rapidly changing situation

One of the the major factors of the evolution of cultural practices and policies is the recession, resulting in a generalized stagnation or, at least, a slowing down of the economic growth even in the most dynamic newly industrialized countries. In the greatest part of the Third

World, this crisis has led to a dramatic process of pauperization, which aggravates the disparity between the 'South' and the 'North', in particular Africa and the LDC's, the socio-economic system of which risks collapse under the accumulated burden of external debt, fall in prices of their products, structural adjustment and the still rapid demographic growth.

The collapse of Communism, and the disappearance of the East/West confrontation have opened the way to disarmament and peaceful cooperation in the world, and to the democratic transformation of societies formerly oppressed by totalitarian regimes. These perspectives are however seriously jeopardized or hindered by the combined consequences of the world crisis and internal instability, due to ethnic conflicts and to the dramatic deterioration of the social and economic conditions of life of the population. As a consequence of the crisis, large masses are living in extreme poverty and facing unemployment, marginalization and exclusion, especially among women and the young people, minority groups and migrants. This situation has accelerated the migration from rural areas to the cities and from developing countries to the industrialized world. This raises new problems for the cities in terms of employment, housing and urban environment, and also as regards the co-existence of communities with different cultural identities in societies becoming more and more multicultural.

The trend towards multiculturalism is also strengthened by processes of modernization, globalization and regional economic integration, technological development, media communication and tourism, as well as by the expansion of some languages and religions. The same factors contribute on the one hand to the levelling and uniformization of cultures under the impact of alien models, and on the other hand to the development of original and innovative forms of creativity and expression.

2. Trends of cultural practices

The extent and rapidity of recent changes in all fields of economic, social and cultural life have made a strong impact in the field of artistic and intellectual creation. This calls for a new approach to the creation, production and dissemination of works.

Not long ago, certain works of art were of interest to only very restricted and privileged circles. At the same time, 'popular' creativity was developing in an autonomous manner, involving only intermittent contacts with 'highbrow' arts. Now, a new public has a growing access to cultural and artistic activities and mainly to products and goods produced by the cultural industries. There is also growing interest in museums, monuments and sites belonging to the national or international cultural heritage, and cultural tourism is developing rapidly. In some countries an increase in non-professional artistic and cultural practices can be noted, as well as a return to traditional cultural expressions, deeply rooted in the history of national and regional communities. At the same time, among certain ethnic groups, social minorities or marginalized groups, and often amongst the young people, alternative or different cultures are invented, or reinvented. They can even take the form of counter-culture where the transgression of values and standards set by society is sought.

The most significant phenomenon is the ever-increasing consumption of productions of the media and cultural industries which represent the overwhelming part of the total consumption of cultural goods and services. Even though access to outstanding creative works and different cultures is thus considerably facilitated, it remains that certain products can encourage a standardization of taste, behaviour, even a loss of creativity and quality. Furthermore, we are witnessing a

change in the focus of interest in cultural life: from its communal form to individual practice, from reading to audiovisual activity, from theatre and cinema performances to television, video, computer and their offshoots (especially with children).

These major changes very strongly affect the cultural life also in developing countries, specifically in big cities. However, for great masses of the population, in particular in rural areas, culture remains essentially a part of the traditional way of life of their community for which the cultural activities, goods and services proposed by the official cultural institutions and business sector do not have any relevance.

3. Evolution of national cultural policies since the 1960s

National cultural policies

With regard to national cultural policies it can be noted that starting from the 1960s, more and more governments formulated and implemented strategies. Since the first conference, organized by Unesco in Venice in 1970, on the institutional, administrative and financial aspects of cultural policies, this trend has been extended and accelerated. In some countries, the public authorities play only a supportive or an incitative role for initiatives emanating directly from the cultural milieu. Other countries consider that cultural activity is a private affair and necessitates no direct intervention on their part. In this type of situation, private initiative and business sector relay for the action of public authorities.

If one wishes to classify cultural policies according to their scope, the role assigned to public authorities and their relationship to the population could be grouped into three main categories. In the first category, the overlying concern is for the development of the arts and conservation of the movable and immovable

heritage, and the promotion of artistic exchanges. The concern for greater participation in cultural life is limited to facilitating access to activities and products of classic culture, and the problems of creativity are mainly seen in relation to the needs of professional artists.

In the second category of cultural policies, concern for population education and socio-cultural activities comes in addition to the fore, that is to say, the need for cultural action aimed at encouraging creativity and broader participation in cultural life. At the same time, it appears that the development of cultural life is linked to school and out-of-school education, to the role of the media and that of cultural industries.

More recently, the role of State in cultural matters has been questioned and a new type of cultural policies are emerging. The role of the central authorities is being oriented towards the coordination and rationalization of the action of the different agents of cultural life, taking into account the law of supply and demand regulating the cultural market. Here there is, without doubt, one of the richest possibilities for developing cultural policies of the future.

Finally, especially at the level of reflexion now, there is a new trend towards the recognition of the necessity to take into account the cultural dimension in all aspects of the development policies. In the future this will lead to major revision of the prevailing development theories and practices, and to integrating objectives of cultural development into overall development strategies.

Cultural policies and international cultural cooperation

Following the Venice Conference, regional conferences on cultural policies were organized by Unesco in all parts of the world (Helsinki in

1972, Yogyakarta in 1973, Accra in 1975, Bogota in 1978). The conclusions of these conferences were confirmed by the *Declaration of Mexico* which was unanimously adopted in 1982 by the World Conference on Cultural Policies. Amongst these conclusions, certain fundamental points should be emphasized:

- a broad, anthropological concept of culture which includes not only arts and letters, but also way of life, human rights, value systems, customs and beliefs;
- the complementarity between the strengthening of cultural identity and the development of mutually enriching intercultural communication;
- an affirmation of the complementarity between access to and creative participation in cultural life;
- the need for freedom of expression and free movement for the artist;
- the interdependence of existing policies in the fields of culture, education, science and communication;
- the necessity to take into account the cultural dimension of development;
- the need for promoting international cultural co-operation, as well as mutual understanding and solidarity among peoples and cultures.

The importance given by the international community to participation in cultural life and to the promotion of artistic and creative activities led to the adoption of two important documents by the General Conference of Unesco: the *Recommendations of Nairobi* concerning participation in cultural life (1976), and the *Recommendation of Belgrade* concerning the status of the artist (1980). It is obvious that both recommendations assign to complex cultural policies and long term objectives still far from achieved.

4. The main issues in cultural policies in the 1990s

The recent evolution of practices and policies has led during the last decade to the appearance — and to the recognition by the public authorities — of new cultural development agents and protagonists. In the new situation cultural policy has to evolve progressively from direct intervention towards coordination and harmonization of the action carried out by all the different partners active in the field of culture.

The role of central and local authorities

This is firstly a matter of keeping a balance in the relations between central and local authorities, including in those countries with a federal structure, who have always accorded major importance to the centres of regional and national decision-making. The promotion of cultural activities at a regional or local level — and thus, decentralization of decisions and means — is being considered more and more as a priority. Today, it is generally accepted that decentralization and cultural democracy are one and the same reality, and the continuous concertation with the public at large has an effect on the adequate solutions to its needs and for the development of a new way of life.

In the United States, the State Arts Agencies play a key role in promoting culture. In spite of the recent drastic reduction of their budget, the total funding secured for this purpose by the different states in 1992 remains more than 20 per cent higher than the appropriation of the Federal Agency acting in this field, which is the National Endowment for the Arts.¹ In the European industrialized countries, regions develop decentralized cultural policies and consider culture as an important factor in the strengthening of their identity and the shaping of their image, as well as a dynamic component of regional development and a sector of investment.

This trend was put in evidence particularly in Project N° 10 on culture and regions, carried out between 1983 and 1992 within the framework of the Council of Europe. This project examined available experience, future tasks, foreseeable developments in this field, and conditions such as information and cooperation necessary for enabling the regions to fulfill their new role with greater efficiency and to create growing synergy.² Along the same line, in Japan, in a period described as the 'age of regionalism', culture is now recognized by the local government as an important way to community development and meaningful local life.³

This decentralization process, as a requirement of transition to democracy, has been also undertaken at different levels in most of the former socialist countries in East and Central Europe, as well as in many countries of the Third World. For example, in the Russian Federation 'the constituent Republics of the Russian Federation, through their supreme organs of State authority and government in the field of culture, shall have responsibility for defining and implementing the Republican State cultural policy' and for their cultural legislation.⁴ Similarly, in Ethiopia, the Charter of the Transitional Government recognizes the right of the constituent nations and nationalities of the country to preserve their identity and have it respected, promote its culture and history, and use and develop their language.⁵ However, under present conditions, in most of the developing or former socialist countries, neither the cultural ministries nor the local government are in a position to cope with the needs and many of the state-financed cultural institutions and activities are facing a profound crisis.

The role of associations and groups

With the renewed importance of the regional or local decision-making centres for cultural

policies, the role of associations and groups of cultural, educational, social and professional character is gaining ground at the central as well as the regional and local levels. These movements can precede public authorities in the most innovative activities and, vis-à-vis the public sector, play a stimulating role. This is, for example, the case for regional cultural associations in the United Kingdom, associations of theatregoers in the Federal Republic of Germany, or youth associations.

The most dynamic associations are animated by local leaders who have a wealth of contacts with the population. Otherwise, people easily lose interest in these activities — as always happens — because they do not feel themselves involved. Special mention should be made here of the reactivation of amateur movements and associations encouraged in many countries. They offer on the one hand a framework for active participation in cultural activities for the preservation of cultural heritage and diversity, and on the other hand give opportunities for innovation and for new talents to emerge.

In East and Central European countries, after the fall of centralized regimes, where the transition to democracy has opened up possibilities to the long-time oppressed private and community initiatives, we witness the blossoming of all kinds and all levels of cultural associations which can mobilize significant resources as a substitute to diminishing state funding. In developing countries, very often informal and spontaneous community groupings are emerging which respond to the cultural needs of the population neglected by institutional cultural policies.

The role of private support

The role of private support in the field of culture is gaining increasing importance. First of all mention can be made of big business

patronage, very developed in some countries, but linked with existing favourable tax laws. Industrial, commercial and banking firms are particularly interested in supporting prestigious cultural events or cultural structures, and their financial support can in certain cases be absolutely decisive. Sponsoring is another form of financing which is becoming more and more common as enterprises give their support to events or cultural projects in exchange for public acknowledgment or advertising. Where they exist, national or international foundations represent also an important form of private support for cultural development. Through their financial capacities and their stability, they permit the realization of large-scale projects whose implementation necessitates regular financing. Reinforcement of foundations is linked to their legal and fiscal status, and to the tradition of supporting the arts in certain countries.

In the United States, according to a report of the Foundation Centre, more than thirty three thousand foundations made a total grant of 9.2 billion dollars, out of which nearly 1.3 billion (14 per cent) dedicated to the fields of arts and humanities.⁶ In Japan in 1987, with a total of 1.6 billion dollars, the private sector was reported to be the largest contributor to creative activities by far.⁷ In Western Europe, with the exception of the United Kingdom, mecenate, sponsoring and foundations have an important, but still very modest share in funding arts and culture. In most developing countries and former socialist States, private funding is greatly hindered by the lack of capital, absence of appropriate incentive measures, and the lack of tradition of private giving for culture.

5. Growing economic importance of culture

When examining the place of culture in society, one should stress the growing economic

importance of the cultural sector worldwide. Some facts and figures show clearly that culture contributes in an increasing proportion to economic income and employment, and can play a dynamic role in the development of services in other sectors.

In France for instance, the cultural expenditure of households increased from 60 billion French Francs in 1984 to 110 billion French Francs in 1987. This amount, together with the cultural expenditure of the public authorities (40 billion FF) and of business firms (10 billion FF) represented 3.5 per cent of the Gross National Product in France for 1987.⁸ Between 1987 and 1990, the number of those employed in the cultural sector rose from 650.000 to 800.000. Therefore, culture is considered more and more as an essential component of both economic and social long term development strategies at the regional and local policy level. In the Land North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany), culture and media industries represent the third major economic sector with 232.000 employees.⁹ In Japan, there are half-a-million professional artists, and an even larger number of people working in the growing cultural industry. Information and tourism industries are also heavily relying on arts and culture. Copyright industries, such as publishing, radio and television, records and audio tapes and discs, alone contribute about 2 per cent of Japan's Gross National Product.¹⁰ In the United States, the revenue generated by the creative arts industry in 1989 constituted 6.0 per cent of the Gross National Product. This figure, however, includes the revenues realized by the for-profit constituents, most notably the highly lucrative entertainment industry. The arts also provide significant opportunities for employment. According to the Bureau of the Census and the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the number of Americans employed in what it designates as 'artist occupations' increased by

nearly 400 per cent between 1950 and 1990. Today, artists make up 2.7 per cent, or 3.2 million, of the total U.S. workforce.¹¹

In most developing countries the lack of information does not permit such a precise evaluation of the economic importance of culture. This is particularly due to the fact that the methods and indicators available do not allow a description of the cultural life consisting mainly of non-institutionalized, informal or traditional activities and manifestations, such as festivals, celebrations, which take place outside the market at the community level, but which still require considerable input in terms of expenditure, worktime and goods.

In some Third World countries there is an important audio-visual cultural industry, such as in India, Egypt or Brazil, or a rapidly growing tourism, as in Thailand, Tunisia or the Caribbean Islands, with its potentialities and all too often with its negative effects.

Handicrafts can be considered as a particularly important sector from both a cultural and economic point of view. In India, about 4 to 5 million people, mainly women, are working in handicraft industry essentially in the form of self-employment.¹² In Africa, millions are engaged, full- or part-time, in handicrafts. In a country like Burkina Faso, according to the general census of 1987, there were 530.000 artisans (13 per cent of the population), out of which 307.000 women (58 per cent) and 221.000 men (42 per cent), and handicrafts represented 20 per cent of the growth domestic product.¹³

The research data quoted above show that culture has an enormous economic potentiality which should be taken into consideration by economic development strategies, as well as by cultural policies. In order to permit policy-makers to take appropriate measures, basic notions like 'cultural sector', and 'cultural employment' should be clarified. On the other

hand, research methods should be developed and harmonized in order to achieve a common understanding of the phenomena and information, and improve the periodicity, reliability and comparability of the data necessary to integrate them in policy planning and action for development.

6. Cultural industries

The emergence and rapid progress of cultural industries was made possible by the applications of new audio-visual and electronic technologies for the reproduction and transmission of cultural goods and messages. They offer unprecedented new opportunities for the creation and dissemination of cultural products and services, and for extending access to culture and the arts and cultural exchanges. As it was shown, apart from being an indispensable support for cultural development, cultural industries contribute increasingly to economic development by creating jobs and generating income.

But at the same time their development may lead to undesirable effects: uniformization, imbalanced flow of cultural products, passive consumption of cultural goods, lowering the quality level, piracy, growing concentration of the production at the expense of small and medium-size centres of creation, et cetera. These problems are related to the fact that cultural industries have a double character. On the one hand they produce goods according to cultural criteria, and on the other they have to obey the law of the market (supply and demand). Thus the need of the expansion of the market and the profitability can often affect the level of quality, at the expense of the interest of artists and the public alike.

The production, distribution, marketing and advertising need sizable investments which are not available in all the countries or cannot be rentabilized due to the limited size of national

markets or linguistic areas. Thus the production is more and more concentrated at the level of a limited number of transnational societies. With regard to this evolution, the different countries adopt different strategies according to their interests and possibilities. The United States providing the greatest part of the international supply are advocating for the liberalization of the market. Less competitive countries try to protect and support their national production. In Canada and in several European countries, specific cultural policy measures are taken to support the diversity and quality of the production and their distribution. However, the discussion on 'cultural exception' and on 'culture being a different type of merchandise than the others', carried on in the perspective of the GATT negotiations or the European Single Market, shows clearly the limits and difficulties of combining national cultural policy objectives with the requirements of the growing economic integration, the general trends of the market, and the new technologies of programme distribution by satellite.

In the case of France, where the greatest support is given to the national film industry, the share of French films in the total annual entries decreased by 10 per cent since 1983 while, in the meantime, that of the American films went up by approximately 20 per cent.¹⁴ Due to the generalized trend towards the deregulation of audio-visual communication in Europe, the share of American TV programmes has increased even more quickly.

One of the reasons for this trend is due to the fact that it costs less to buy American programmes than to produce them locally. In fact, American films have already recovered their costs on the national market before they are exported. In the case of Jurassic Park for example, the film was produced with an investment of 60 million US dollars which was

reimbursed four days after the presentation of the film in 2430 cinemas in the United States, and the gains of the five following days covered the cost of advertising, totalling approximately the same amount. This means that income resulting from any further commercialization of the film in the country or abroad, through cinema networks, TV and video as well as commercial products, represents a net benefit.¹⁵

Outside the United States, Western Europe and Japan, there are some other important centres of production, such as Hong Kong and India, Egypt, Brazil and Mexico, where huge film, TV and music industries have developed to meet the demand of vast local or regional markets. However, their products have very limited access to the international distribution networks. It appears from a report prepared in 1992, that India is the largest film-making country in the world with 900 feature films a year. According to estimates available, the audio cassette production was about 150 to 200 million cassettes a year, 60 per cent of which pirated.¹⁶

In East and Central Europe cultural industries, controlled and subsidized formerly by the State, have to adapt themselves to the new requirements of democracy, market economy and international competition in very difficult economic conditions. Some of them are privatized or restructured and modernized, if the necessary capital can be mobilized, and if the existing legislation make it possible. Some of them survive by offering their services to foreign producers at low cost, but many of them risk disappearing, reducing their activities, or accepting compromises as regards the quality of their production.

In Africa, apart from some small or medium-size firms, cultural industries are very poorly developed. This can be explained by the lack of capital, the limited demand due to the low income of the population, the limited human

resources, the existing fiscal and tax regulations hampering production and distribution of cultural products, the poor system of copyright protection. However, the importance of cultural industries has been recognized in the development of African cultures, as well as in the economic recovery of the continent at the highest level. Thus the establishment of an African Cultural Common Market is foreseen in the *Treaty on the African Economic Community*, adopted by the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government (Abuja Nigeria, 1991), which approved also a *Plan of Action* for the development of cultural industries in Africa (Dakar, 1992), prepared as a result of a joint effort on the part of the OAU and Unesco.

In Latin America, where the financial conditions and available human resources and infrastructures have allowed, to a certain extent, the development of cultural industries, the free circulation and distribution of cultural goods and services seem to be a key condition for any further progress in developing national and regional markets and for access to the international networks. This concern is clearly reflected in the *Accord of Partial Scope for the Free Circulation of Cultural Goods*, signed in 1988; in the priority given to the progressive establishment of 'sectorial' common markets in the region for the book, music, cinema, radio and TV programmes, et cetera; and by the successive meetings of ministers of culture and officials in charge of cultural policies in Latin America, in particular the last one (La Serena, Chili 1993), which devoted a specific point of its agenda to the development of cultural industries.

7. New cultural development strategies for the future

As it was pointed out above, the transformations occurring in the cultural,

economic and social life in the Member States and the problems created at world level thus make the evaluation, redefinition and continuous updating of cultural policies indispensable. However, one should recognize the limits of cultural policies which do not, and cannot, alone embrace the entire cultural reality, in particular its informal and traditional aspects.

As a matter of fact, most decisions and determining actions for cultural development are implemented beyond that of the specific sector of cultural affairs, in fields such as social policy, education, science and technology, communication or urban development. The growing importance of the market has also been shown when discussing the overwhelming impact of cultural industries as compared with the limited possibilities of the cultural policies. It would therefore seem necessary that future cultural policies be drawn up and implemented in the framework of coherent cultural development strategies and harmonized with those of other fields having important cultural implications. The success of future cultural policies will greatly depend on whether the relationship between culture and development is taken duly into consideration, and on the capacity of the policy-makers to promote a positive interaction between the different fields.

Of course, it is at the national level that such new strategies for cultural development will be elaborated. But consideration of the transformations described above, and an international comparison of the trends, give some indication of the basic requirement of such cultural development strategies.

Everyday reality as a starting point

As to the new strategies, it is clear that public authorities cannot embrace the entire field of cultural life nor could they substitute

themselves to all other partners in cultural development. However, in order to clearly pinpoint their role, they should be able to possess a complete and coherent knowledge of the problems, needs and practices in the cultural development field. This makes it necessary to create and develop structures of coordination as well as cultural research and information services which constitute key instruments for designing, monitoring and adapting cultural policies to the changing needs.

Research should be extended in two main directions. On the one hand, new methods and indicators should be developed, showing, beyond institutional aspects and consumption, a real picture on the participation of the population in cultural life, including informal everyday cultural activities. This is particularly necessary in developing countries, where, for huge masses of the population, culture remains an integral part of the traditional way of life of the community. On the other hand, greater attention should be paid to the interactions existing between cultural policy and the policies concerning other sectors of socio-economic development, such as education, communication, housing, urban and rural development, youth and women.

New roles for creation and creativity

With regard to artistic creation and creativity, it is important to reevaluate the situation of the artists, creators or interpreters, in the light of new technologies of communication and the cultural industries. Should these changes entail new legal, social and financial measures aimed at improving the way of life and work of creators? What new instruments do the new technologies provide for the creative imagination? How to protect intellectual property against the possible negative consequences of the development of

technologies for reproduction and diffusion and, even more so, against the ever increasing possibility of piracy? Does the evolution of cultural consumption and the arts market lessen the opportunities for young artists to have access to the public and to fame? Consequently, how should the creators become associated with the elaboration and implementation of cultural development strategies of the future? And, finally, how can creators and artists be solicited to call upon their imagination and intuitive talent in the search for more human and harmonious ways and means of solving development problems in general, in more specific fields like urban planning, housing, et cetera? It is evident that all these questions must be examined first and foremost with the creators.

Cultural and artistic education

In the long term, improvement of the conditions for creation and stimulating the creativity of the general public require better integration of cultural and artistic education in school and out-of-school curricula and high-level training in the different disciplines. Strengthening people's appreciation (especially children and young people) of beauty, of the esthetic dimension of life and the environment, or the objects of everyday life, as well as their initiation to traditional and modern forms of artistic expression is also important for the promotion of culture, arts and creativity in the future.

As a matter of fact, the cultural education of future generations is the only way of enabling them to make critical judgment of and qualitative choices in the wide-ranging supply of cultural activities, goods and services proposed by an ever increasing number of agents, in particular by the media, and to develop creative participation in cultural life as against passive consumption of cultural

productions. In its turn, the growing exigence for a better quality could have a positive influence on the strategy of cultural industries which adapt their supply closely to the demands of the market.

Far beyond the sensitization to arts, litterature and music, cultural education currently appears to be a key instrument for social crises management which opens up discussions about the future prospects of the 'working society' and the 'leisure society'.¹⁷ In addition one could add that cultural education has a fundamental role in creating conditions for authentic cultural pluralism and international understanding in a multicultural world.

Cultural policies based on partnership

Partnership of public bodies of the different levels is a determining factor if cultural development efforts are to reply to the needs and aspirations of the society. If one is to reach not only the cultivated elite of the capitals and the major towns, but also the other strata of urban and rural society which are less familiar with 'high culture' and less well served, the decision-making centre which determines the choices and has the means of intervening, must be close both physically and culturally, to local communities. It is there that local or regional cultural activity can be activated, taking into account the socio-professional structure of the population, the dynamic forces of cultural life and the strength of associations and groups which should play a growing role in the elaboration of decentralized cultural strategies, or in the management of cultural affairs.

Concertation and participation are the natural complement of decentralization of decision-making regarding means and activities. This can take the form of a cultural animation activity destined to adapt the

proposed activities to the needs of the population or to facilitate their access to more ambitious events. But it should always be carried out by associating the public with the choice and implementation of cultural projects. Participation and concertation with the population obviously requires a major effort of information and sensitization of the different partners, including the public.

The collaboration and complementarity between the public bodies and the private sector will also be an important element in future cultural policies. The multiple financial charges of public budgets, at the central, regional or local governmental level, can at certain times, and in certain countries, lead to stagnation, and even to a reduction in the cultural budget. It would therefore be appropriate.

If account is taken of the overwhelming influence of the media, cultural industries and the market in cultural development, it is obvious that the cultural policies cannot compete with them. However, public authorities could, if they so desire, protect the creation and development of diversified national industries by setting out guidelines relating to the support of endogenous creativity and the preservation of cultural identity and heritage as well as the freedom of cultural expression.

Infrastructures and human resources

With regard to institutions, it appears that the most prestigious structures are nearly always situated in the capitals and big cities. As regards regional and local cultural life, the experience shows that interest is oriented towards plurifunctional and architecturally transformable structures, local cultural centres which could be considered more and more as multipurpose centres and cultural meeting places, offering a set of diversified facilities, services and information necessary

for the practice of cultural activities by individuals or groups and acting, at the same time, as a support to neighbourhood culture and to the promotion and dissemination of the arts.

The training of appropriate human resources is a key condition of new cultural development strategies. This makes it more than ever before necessary to train cultural administrators, managers of projects and institutions, cultural advisers, educators and animators, as well as specialists in cultural media and industries, professionals of cultural research, training and information, and make them aware of these interactions. In this field, the new strategies of cultural development will make it necessary to set up methods of training adapted to new developments and problems which were mentioned above. At the same time, some kind of training in matters of culture for non-cultural decision-makers would seem to be advisable, if one wishes that importance of culture and the cultural dimension of their action be recognized not only in declarations but also at the level of the decisions.

8. Culture policies and development

Strictly speaking, it might appear that we have diverged from the field of cultural policy, but the evolution in these other fields is indeed closely linked with cultural policies and directly affects the chances of success in implementing their objectives and reciprocally. At the same time, it is now largely recognized that major challenges which societies have faced cannot be fully appreciated nor harmoniously resolved until all the cultural and human factors contributing to identity are taken into consideration.

An assessment of the first three international decades for development has revealed the unsatisfactory results which the concept of development, based only on quantitative and material growth, has led to. It

supports the principle whereby the consideration of cultural factors is essential to all innovative undertakings. In this perspective, cultural development is not only the qualitative factor in economic and social development, but is one of its main objectives. Active participation of those concerned in the planning and implementation of the projects is thus a determining factor for its success.

At the international level, the growing awareness of interdependencies have not yet led to sufficient solidarity — for cultural reasons as well. The ideas that people have of themselves, and of others, is still imbued with obsolete attitudes, stereotypes, even prejudices. It is also well established that only international cooperation, founded on a respect for diversity, on the acceptance of equal dignity, and the mutual knowledge of all cultures, would allow for the development of mentalities towards a truer appreciation of oneself and others. In this respect, in an increasingly multicultural world, authentic cultural pluralism constitutes a basic requirement of future cultural development strategies, both at the national and international levels. This is one of the essential conditions and international dimensions for defining both cultural policies and development strategies for the future.

Notes

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