



p o l i c i e s f o r c u l t u r e

Workshop dossier

“Advocating Culture”

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1.1 Notes to the Introductory Presentation on “Advocating Culture”

by Vjeran Katunarić, Faculty of Philosophy, Zagreb

«If a thing isn't distinguished from anything else, it has no value»
(Donovan D. Rypkema, *American conservationist and town planner*)

1. *What kind of cultural policy? Which direction of development? Somewhere between the extremes of état-ism and a free market.*
 - Culture holds more meanings in theory than it does in practice. In theory inspired by postmodernism, "everything is culture". In practice, the cultural sector is limited (mainly to institutions of high and traditional culture), it has little influence and it appears to be withdrawing under the force of "culture of everything".
 - Cultural policy in Croatia has been seeking a regeneration point somewhere between cultural étatism (*state-ism*) and cultural *laissez-faire*. In étatism, based on the hierarchy of loyalty, the budget-and-financing lingo becomes the meta-language of culture, and the Ministry of Finance the master of its destiny. On the other hand, *laissez-faire* thrives on purchase-and-sale market relations and monetarism, drowning the public sphere into mass culture and mass democracy.
 - Reactions from the Croatian cultural sector to hints of de-étatisation are mostly defensive and regressive. Others express readiness to accept new challenges, but they seem insecure and lack sound arguments in advocating culture in a rather indifferent environment.
 - New cultural policy should seek a balance in its relationship with the protected segment (cultural institutions of national importance) and the segment abandoned to the "other sources of financing". Would it be possible to turn the Ministry of Culture into a first grade "public entrepreneur" in culture? Does the Croatian Government have similar second thoughts about other sectors as well?
 - While creating partnerships with other sectors, the cultural sector will undergo unavoidable changes. In fact, no sector - including macro economy - can allow itself the behaviour of the possessor of the "Holy Grail".
 - Cultural policy and the "new economy" – following the statement "artists and craft persons, by nature, are risk-taking entrepreneurs – takes risks with time and talent" (Hillman Chartrand): to what extent "may" creative ideas be far-reaching? An open question on how an inauspicious economic system could be changed without major confrontations. "Sustainable development" is not a subversive idea but a vital imperative for Croatia.

2. *What is the essence of the added value of culture? Coordination between the "culture of things" and the "culture of people".*

- A wide spectrum of different knowledge and skills used in "knowledge based industries", as well as for the building of social cohesion in the community. The specific added value of culture in the paradigm of sustainable development consists of various factors helping to maintain the dynamic balance between the "culture of things" and the "culture of people" (G. Simmel), in other words, between institutions and the community, profit and taste, free market and regulations, competition and solidarity, individuality and collectivism, male and female values, etc. We should firmly assume that the most creative and most productive of communities is the one that achieves a "spiral" equilibrium between these opposed forces. With this kind of development in view it is necessary to mobilise the resources of existing knowledge and to generate new knowledge, actually a set of special kinds of knowledge and skills.
 - A large part of the knowledge produced abroad can be imported like any other goods and applied usefully. None the less, this is not the case with the "culture of people" and with added values offering so called "soft knowledge". There is no copyright, licence or patent that could be applied to resolve a conflict in the community, or to bring to terms relationships between political parties and leaders. Practical, artistic-like creativity is needed to create an authentic balance amidst a chaotic reality.
 - Aversion to creativity is the key problem in Croatia. Influenced by neo-classical orthodoxy, an opinion prevails within state and business managerial structures that out there, in the world, there is know-how that can solve all problems. Such a practice diminishes value instead of adding to it, so that it is small wonder rent-seeking, spoil-system, massive layoffs and company shut downs became a dominant way of "entrepreneurial" activity in the last decade.
3. *Who do we address? Other ministries, other experts, business community and the media. Which arguments do we use? Arguments for specific added values of culture in the common areas of work.*

3.1. State ministries

Lack of cooperation and communication on common developmental projects. It seems that the departmental division limited developmental thought and that the prevailing opinion is analogous to the étatistic one: previously the problems were supposedly solved by the state, and now that will be done by a self regulating market, where the role of the ministries is to make the transfer from one point to another as painless as possible.

In the new "post-état", "entrepreneurial" or "flexible scope" state, the added value of culture lies in the use of cultural knowledge:

- To build expressive forms of communication strengthening public and private sphere of life in the context of the "culture of peace". This includes a set of knowledge on culture and wide-ranged intercultural competency, from international relations and educational systems to worldwide business partnerships.

- To reconstruct settlements and living spaces struck by war devastations and national conflicts. To restore cultural heritage, build new cultural institutions and create programmes. To develop sensibility for culture as the foundation of a common identity and international recognition, as the meeting point of differences and an entrance ticket into the family of European nationalities and cultures.
- To design a representative Croatian public image and define its differentiating features: in respect to others, including neighbouring countries, in relation to our historical periods and to how we picture ourselves in the future.
- To define various public places as merging points of the space of place and the space of flows, local and global, a café and a gallery-Internet-café.

3.2 Interdisciplinary cooperation with other professions

- In addition to sets of specific knowledge, from conservationism to intercultural competencies, creative imagination adds value to culture through interdisciplinary work with other professions. It is expressed in artistic visualisation and simulation of purposeful results of development, including design of a scenario and details: from future designs of industrial workshops and new urban landscapes to literalisation of futuristic contents of the media and direct communication between people. “Art, being the densest form of communication is often the supreme test of any means of communication” (Don Foresta). Art offers a "Gestalt" – a sense of entirety or a picture of the right solution (H. Hillman Chartrand).
- In Croatia there are interest centres in the areas of science, culture, tourism and environment protection for outlining the sustainable development of the country or its specific areas. However, as far as it's known, there are no initiatives to unite knowledge and financial means from several areas on the same assignment. Maybe culture should be the source of such initiative? We should try and make possible what very often seems impossible and is discarded in advance: to reconcile the interests of investors and the interests for greater employment, interests to preserve environment (natural and cultural) with the interests of the industries (tourism for example), exploitation, higher earnings interests and interests for other qualities of life, and so on. By taking a little from each of the confronted interests and by adding new ideas, the much-needed fund of common interests and values can be created to replace the confrontation of irreconcilable viewpoints in which unscrupulousness and tastelessness prevail.

3.3 Business community

The political circles and a good part of the business community point out the development of “small and medium-sized enterprises” as a chance for Croatia. However, it is a chance over clouded by the precariousness of the “new economy” imposing a relationship towards work and production that more harms than helps the cultural interests of the sustainable development. The aspects of

the “new economy” according to which people live to work and not work to live do not suite culture. Even the well known paradox attributed to different cultures – that in some countries people enjoy their work and in some when they stop working – has in fact more connection with a working situation than with culture. In regions of great unemployment, like in many in Croatia today, life of many becomes a curse.

The situation where the fear of loosing a job is prevalent, where satisfaction with work is insignificant and where finding any job becomes the most important matter does not suite the interests of culture in the “new economy”, either. Finally, what does not suite culture is the growing tendency of the “new economy” to favour vocational training instead of general and specialised education. What, on the other hand, suits culture in the "new economy" is emphasis on lean production and the competitive quality of goods, where trade and artistic skills in production as well as in marketing become prominent. The flexibility of professions and jobs in the “new economy” also suits culture, since research shows people with artistic professions or artistic components in their profession find their way easier in many fields of work.

In the situation described, the following reflection on creating added value in culture may seem unreal and utopian. However, beside the cynicism that we have all had enough of (like previously mentioned demand for return of hard étatism), there are not many possibilities left when thinking about making possible changes in the existing reality.

- The state employment agency should, in cooperation with private companies and the third sector, organise educational trainings for the unemployed that would include components of artistic workshops. The workshops would help unemployed people evaluate the existing and discover their hidden skills and talents; the results would be communicated to the business world and the workers informed of the commensurate vacancy announcements. Cooperating, employers should underline the most needed qualities of the future employees, especially of those that could be included in the long-term production programmes. Naturally, competitive markets as a rule do not accept such arrangements with human resources, but in this case the government or non-governmental foundations would allocate special funds to the employers with objective to develop their human resources and employment policies. (In Croatia, unfortunately, private employers consider employment to be exclusively a concern of the state – or a personal matter).
- With the support that should be gained from the industrial and cultural world as well as from abroad (maybe as a result of another shift in the philosophy of economics of the World Bank like the one Joe Stiglitz made) we need to rediscover and establish the values of products of direct human labour: material, aesthetic, health related, social and other values. I will dare predict that the biggest revolution in the economy of the future will happen when the incontestable causative connection between the "labour of happy hands" and

the products for personal use is discovered – and in reverse, the connection between a product produced by a machine that discarded or humiliated people and different problems, from health related to moral ones, with the use of such a product. In the context, the “labour of happy hands” is a synonym for artistic work or artistic activity. It seems that the “surplus value”, the famous category of the classical economics, produced by the human labour has not been thoroughly researched. This has not been possible in the era where work is "cursed", where workers are looked down upon as cattle and where new machines instead of making work easier replace workers making them redundant.

- Finally, cultural ideas can be employed for the invention of various environmental and work-intensive applications of new ICT. Machines and programmes cannot by themselves find suitable places in non-technical environments; they cannot be used by themselves. The content knowledge is essential.

3.4 Media

- If we continue waiting for all those who do not understand to be educated in order to understand, for example, why it is not good to destroy old historic town centres in spite of lucrative investment offers, we can hardly prevent public ignorance and indifference for the destiny of cultural monuments. Let's take for example the case of the new port project in Split. The arguments of the cultural sector should be understandable to the people of average education: incomprehensible arguments or abstruse phraseology are not a sound recommendation to the public pressured by commercial lobbies offering demagogically seductive arguments (promises of high revenues and new workplaces).
- If the politicians, in the opinion of the journalists specialized in culture, engage in culture inappropriately - usually to present their own views – why wouldn't cultural journalists and cultural columns replicate with their own statements on politics? They could, for example, comment actual politics, including the economic situation in the country in their own way, using their own discourse. This kind of representation of politics and economy in culture would not accurately reflect actual trends in politics, but would rather modify them, presenting a witty reinterpretation, some sort of a “cultural cabaret” of politics.
- Routine media speech should be coloured by cultural contents - bare information illustrated with literary citations, good painting or musical background – in cooperation with news, education, science and cultural programmes editors. Other editors and journalists should be offered guest appearances in cultural programmes. This way the interest spheres of the public for different subjects and their interrelatedness would be expanded beyond commonplace qualification on banal and elevated or interesting and boring. One thing should be underlined: this is a two-way relationship; culture complaining about low media coverage and little public interest and

looking for more attention should change its own way of presentation, too.

There are no "sun kingdoms" in democracy.

- The media, of course, is not sufficient to create a larger and more educated cultural audience. The media could motivate people to broaden their education, incite young people to enrol in artistic schools and point out to educational reformers the importance of generating artistic and cultural knowledge for pupils and students. Nevertheless, the image of culture in the media can be crucial for creating such a climate.
- The popularisation of education of human rights, peace and tolerance represents not only an obligation of the Croatian state and public media, but is also a big chance for culture. What is of great importance for life in a multiethnic and multicultural world should be accepted as a human need and not just as another programme to be regarded as a political whim because it was imposed just like the ex-socialist doctrine of "brotherhood and unity".

Instead of a conclusion

Cultural flirtation? Culture has been more open to others than others to culture. Some other sectors feel self-sufficient or are looking for, in their opinion, better partners, politically and financially more powerful. It's culture's obligation to show this is not fair, that their judgement of values is wrong, as is their understanding of the future development trends in Croatia and in the world. Nevertheless, in the first place we have to be quite clear about our goals, about what kind of common vision of development in Croatia we are pleading for, what would be the concrete contributions of culture in the developmental process, which partners we are looking for, what we offer and what we expect from them.

1.2 Food for thought!

by *Ela Agotić*, local *Policies for Culture* project coordinator, Ministry of Culture Croatia

These notes are based on:

- 1) "Re-creating Communities - Business, The Arts and Regeneration", a report sponsored by BT and prepared for Arts & Business by Phyllida Shaw, Arts & Business, July 1999
- 2) "Charity Lobbying in the Public Interest", a project of Independent Sector, prepared by David Arons, August 1999
- 3) "Components of a policy paper", International Policy Fellowship Programme website, OSI

The *Policies for Culture* Programme is structured around the triangular working relationship between the **third sector**, the **executive level** and the **legislative level**. Only a **real partnership** between these three levels, in policy-making and practice will result in a strong cultural sector, for cultural policies will have no effect if they are not supported and shared by the citizens whom they are to affect.

However, in many societies, the three above-mentioned partners do not have the same level of awareness of the role they can play, or the power they have in the decision-making process. Nor do they have the same willingness to work together. The executive and the legislative level often work more naturally together and are more aware of their roles in the decision-making process, than is civil society for example. In this text I shall attempt to provide the third partner in this process - the independent cultural NGOs, professionals, cultural operators and the artists - with some tools that could empower them to make understood that their mutual goal - putting culture centre-stage - is attainable only in conditions where all three sides of the triangle are equally active and are united in a mutually co-ordinated action.

For a successful advocacy campaign, the cultural sector (=Committee on Education, Science and Culture of the Croatian Parliament + Ministry of Culture and local authorities + third sector in the field of culture) should act as a whole, and the necessity of partnership between these levels should be not only stressed, but attained in practice.

In order to give all three levels some idea about how to advocate for cultural in partnership, we here set out some *Food for Thought*, some **arguments** and some **instruments** that are essential tools when advocating for culture as a goal of public interest, as well as some tips on **writing a policy paper**.

I. Arguments for advocating for culture (the arts) of public interest

® *Social benefits (on a community level)*

- Culture, and especially the arts, can change the perception of a community both within, as well as outside that community.

- Participation through the arts leads to a greater sense of belonging to a community.
- The shared experience of participating in cultural activities can improve the quality of communication between individuals and groups.
- The arts help us to explore and appreciate differences and similarities.
- A shared experience in the arts helps to lower barriers between people of different ages, abilities, backgrounds and beliefs.
- Participation through the arts can increase levels of self-confidence and powers of self-expression.
- Involvement in the arts over time can create a sense of progress and direction.

® *Economic benefits of cultural activities*

- A community with a developed cultural life is more likely to attract new businesses.
- A community with a strong cultural (arts) life encourages people to stay.
- The arts attract tourists.
- Attendance of arts events encourages expenditure on other goods and services (refreshments, car parks, books, babysitters).
- An increase in individual skill, self confidence and the ability to communicate can make an individual more employable.
- The skills required by many cultural activities are transferable skills.
- Involvement in cultural activities may increase an interest in further education and training and provide the skills to follow that interest through.
- Arts facilities can serve a wider function (e.g. for conferences, seminars, entertainment).

® *Environmental benefits of cultural activities*

- Commissioned works of art and functional items (benches, fencing etc.) can improve the appearance of a community.
- Commissioned work gives an area a distinctive identity.
- An attractive environment feels safer.
- Safer surroundings reduce stress and increase commerce.
- Well-designed, well-maintained surroundings promote a great sense of shared responsibility for a place.
- Arts projects can be used to raise awareness and increase understanding of environmental issues.

® *Benefits for the business community*

- "*Creativity is the key to development of our nation. Co-operation between business and artists can only lead to the development of a stronger, healthier, more vibrant society.*" Tony Blair, Prime Minister of Great Britain

- *"If you want to grow your business without ensuring the growth of individual people within the company, then you are deluding yourselves. The world class companies that I've seen actually manage to become world class because they are growing their people faster than they are growing their company... The arts can show us what we are, they give us a vision of what can be and how we do it."* Sir Alan Cox, the former chairman of Allied Steel and Wire
- Artists have the vision to grasp an idea and present it in a way that makes the world take notice. This is a talent that is desperately needed in the business world.
- During the 1990s, the range of business/arts partnership began to diversify. The traditional sponsorship, in which the business provides a sum of money in return for measurable benefits (e.g. the inclusion of the sponsor's name on publicity material and hospitality for the sponsor's clients) remains an important source of income for the arts, but some companies are offering other forms of support too. They are seconding employees to arts organisations to provide advice and expertise, they are opening doors and making contacts, and arts organisations are contributing more regularly to their business partners' staff development.
- Thanks to a co-operation with arts, business not only creates its public image, it also develops a more fruitful communication with its potential partners and potential customers (external communication), not to mention the communication with its own people and stake-holders (internal communication).

II. Instruments for advocating for culture as a goal of public interest

NGOs lobbying in public interest

There are four types of audience that can be addressed when lobbying in the public interest:

- I.) Legislative and Executive level
- II.) Private Business Sector
- III.) Media
- IV.) Broader public

Each one of these has its specificities and require a different way of lobbying (how should they be approached, how should one communicate with them, what kind of arguments can one use and in what form?).

Here are some basic rules of lobbying in public interest presented in three steps:

® Step 1: Prepare your organization for Public Policy Impact

- 1.) EDUCATE YOUR TEAM.
- 2.) STUDY THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS. Get to know the main laws and regulations in place that concern your work.

- 3.) **REVIEW THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN YOUR ORGANIZATION / ACTIVITIES AND THE GOVERNMENT.** Develop a comprehensive list of the ways government, at all levels, affects your work. For example, you will want to answer such questions as: How do various laws and regulations affect the way we work?
- 4.) **CREATE A WHO'S WHO LIST.** Make a list of government officials, including elected representatives and judges that make policy decisions about the laws, regulations and rules you have already listed. The purpose here is to build a list of persons who are in positions of influence with regard to your programs and services.
- 5.) **PREPARE YOUR BOARD OF DIRECTORS.** A dedicated committee of your board of directors can be supportive and influential in developing positive relationship with government.
- 6.) **TAKE STOCK OF YOUR HUMAN RESOURCES.** Make a list of key persons involved in or affiliated to your work, including people that would be willing to contact their elected officials on behalf of your cause.
- 7.) **DIVERSITY HELPS.** Invite and encourage persons from different groups to participate in your public policy work. Multiple perspectives will strengthen the process and outcomes of your efforts.
- 8.) **DEVELOP USEFUL DATA.** Find the cases that demonstrate the success of your work. If your program was made possible because of certain laws and/or funding from government (or from private business donations or sponsorships), include such information in your case. The connection between government or private business action and a positive impact on your community will be well received by elected officials and be useful in your future lobbying efforts. Prepare a short questionnaire for your target groups, members and those you serve to get information about the impact of your programs. The data will be helpful in future testimony before legislative committees, lobbying visits, communication with the media, and to include in your annual report.
- 9.) **LOOK FOR ALLIES.** Contact the local umbrella organizations that represent your cause before the state legislature or federal government to gather recent information about your issues and ways you might get involved. Make a list of other cultural organizations in your region that provide similar services. Contact them to find out if they also work on similar public policy matters. Remember, public policy work is not a solo activity. People and organizations must work together to gather enough public support for change to be made.
- 10.) **KNOW YOUR POLICY-MAKERS.** Research the interest of your elected officials to find out if they have professional or personal ties to your cause.
- 11.) **DEVELOP A PUBLIC POLICY AGENDA.** Identify the two/three most important long-term changes in laws and/or regulations that would benefit your cause.
- 12.) **HAVE A CLEAR NUMBER ONE PRIORITY SO YOU WILL BE ABLE TO MAINTAIN FOCUS.** Write it down. And also the benefits that change will bring.

® Step 2: Become a voice for your cause

- 13.) **BUILD A PUBLIC POLICY PRESENCE.** Attend meetings of other cultural organizations working on similar public policy issues.
- 14.) **BECOME A SOURCE OF RELIABLE INFORMATION.** Create a packet of information about your project/organization including its mission and services and send your public policy agenda to each of the key elected officials whose decisions impact your cause.
- 15.) **BEGIN BUILDING A RELATIONSHIP WITH POLICY-MAKERS.** Meet with one of your elected officials to inform her/him of the policies your organization supports and to learn how your organization may work cooperatively with them to achieve your public policy goals. Agree to disagree and maintain open lines of communication.

® Step 3: Increase and sustain your advocacy

- 16.) **MEET FACE TO FACE.** Meet with one of your state legislators or Members of the Parliament at their local offices to lobby on behalf, or in opposition to legislation that would affect your cause.
- 17.) **KNOW THE STAFF.** Often, the staff of a legislator may be the most knowledgeable person in the legislator's office about your issues. Send her/him your information packet. Meet with them as appropriate. On occasion, invite her/him to speak to your members.
- 18.) **USE THE TELEPHONE.** Make telephone calls to your elected officials about pending legislation, regulations, or other priority public policy matters to describe how a change in law would affect your programs. Urge your members and volunteers to do likewise by mail or fax.
- 19.) **TESTIFY.** Your organization/project has expertise that is needed by legislators before they make decisions about budget, regulations over programs, or new laws. Find out when the appropriate committees are holding hearings on subjects related to your mission and ask for permission to provide testimony in-person.
- 20.) **GIVE CREDIT WHEN CREDIT IS DUE.** Write a letter of congratulations to your elected officials when they act in a helpful way to your cause. Remember to thank all those who volunteered time and money to help your public policy efforts.
- 21.) **PROVIDE LEADERSHIP OPPORTUNITIES.** Host a speaking opportunity for an elected official to articulate her/his support for your cause.
- 22.) **INFORM THE MEDIA.** Write a letter to the editor of your local or regional newspaper about how a pending public policy issue would affect your cause.
- 23.) **BUILD A RELATIONSHIP WITH THE MEDIA.** The media can be a powerful ally in your public policy efforts. Meet with a member of the editorial board of your local paper to pitch a story idea about problems that you confront through public policy work.

- 24.) INFORM AND EDUCATE YOUR PUBLIC.
 25.) INITIATE GRASSROOTS SUPPORT.

III. Writing a policy paper: Components of a policy paper

(text taken integrally from the OSI International Policy Fellowship website)

<i>Presentation of the Issue</i>	What is the problem that requires action?
<i>Scope of the Problem</i>	What is the history and current context of the issue? How did it become an issue? Who is affected and how severely?
<i>Consultations</i>	What are the views or positions of groups or interests who will be significantly affected? What are the concerns of other ministries/agencies who will be affected?
<i>Options for Consideration</i>	What 3 or 4 distinct options should be considered? What are their implications? What are their advantages and disadvantages?

[Note: Think here in terms of:

- consistency with government's priorities
- effectiveness of option in addressing the issue
- economic cost-benefit
- effects on taxpayers
- impacts on the private sector
- environmental impacts
- fiscal impact on government
- disproportionate impact on various groups or regions
- complexity and timing of implementation
- public perception
- constraints raised by legal, trade
- or jurisdictional issues

<i>Recommendation(s)</i>	What is the proposed course of action? Why was it chosen over other possibilities?
<i>Implementation Issues</i>	What are the financial impacts of the proposed course of action?

What are the implications for government operations?
 Will the proposal require regulatory or legislative changes?
 What is the proposed means of evaluation?

Communications Analysis

What is the current public environment?
 What are the key contentious issues, and how can they be managed?
 What is the position of key stakeholders, both inside and outside government, to the proposal, and what communications vehicles should be used for each?
 How does the proposal relate to government reform priorities?
 What is the objective of communications on this issue?
 What is the key message?

IV. Case study

Here is one concrete example of lobbying for a goal of public interest. It has been done by GONG, a Croatian NGO specialized in election observation. In 1999, they started a strong lobbying campaign for inclusion into the Election Law of legislation permitting domestic non-partisan missions to observe parliamentary and presidential elections. This is what they did in a 7-months period.

- 1) Drafted the proposed legislation.
- 2) Sent the copies to the parties in the Parliament.
- 3) Made a personal call to each party in the Parliament.
- 4) Made personal contact with the opposition parties and the governing party.
- 5) Had numerous meetings with mayors, county administrators, political parties, unions, NGOs and other groups.
- 6) Held a seminar in Zagreb where it was agreed to carry out the lobbying efforts one step further by:
 - a) getting every GONG regional office to meet with the MP from its county.
 - b) introducing oneself to the representatives at all levels of government and cultivating good relations, not only with local authorities and institutions, but also with NGOs and the media. = "Find Your Friends" strategy
- 7) Initiated a "birthday" strategy: all MPs received a package from GONG on their birthday that included a T-shirt, a poster, a brochure, draft law on domestic election observation, a cover letter and a birthday card.
- 8) Collected signatures in 28 towns throughout Croatia for a petition demanding the inclusion of GONG's entire draft article in the Election Law.

- This launched them in the national spotlight.
- This caused a pool of volunteers to grow, which was an invaluable asset to GONG by serving as an activist base for each regional office and mobilizing an ever-larger section of the population.
- Seven months later, three-fourths of the GONG proposal was approved by the Parliament and adopted as an amendment to the Election Law.

1.3 Further reading on advocacy

Other on-line resources on lobbying/advocacy

(the overwhelming majority are from US organisations)

- Ø **“The Non-profit Lobbying Guide”**, available on the website of the **Charity Lobbying in the Public Interest (CLPI)**, a project of **INDEPENDENT SECTOR** launched in July 1998, which aims to educate charities about the important and appropriate role lobbying can play in achieving their missions - <http://www.independentsector.org/clpi>
- Ø **“Advocacy Toolkit for Your Theatre”**, an advocacy material prepared for its members by the Theatre Communications Group (TCG), a service organization that exists to strengthen, nurture and promote the not-for-profit American theatre, which is available on its website - <http://www.tcg.org>
- Ø The position papers and other publications and events of the **European Forum for Arts And Heritage (EFAH)**, a forum for policy monitoring and discussion at the European level, whose aim is to maintain continuous dialogue between the cultural sector in Europe and policymakers. EFAH was created in 1994 as an international association under Belgian law. Since then, the Forum has organised over 15 international meetings all over Europe. It has actively contributed to debates on cultural policies in Europe through its position papers, studies, publications and continuous dialogue with policymakers. - www.efah.org
- Ø Various advocacy materials and reports available on the website of the **American Arts Alliance**, a US consortium of nonprofit performing, presenting and exhibiting arts organizations, which aims to advocate for America's professional nonprofit arts organizations and their publics in representing arts interests and advancing arts support before Congress and other branches of the federal government. - www.artswire.org/aaa
- Ø Various reports and papers of the **Center for Arts and Culture**, an American “independent think tank which seeks to broaden and deepen the national conversation on culture” – www.culturalpolicy.org
- Ø Materials of the **Advocacy Institute**, an U.S.-based global organization dedicated to strengthening the capacity of political, social and economic justice advocates to influence and change public policy. - www.advocacy.org
- Ø Materials of the **Americans for the Arts**, an organisation which works with cultural, arts, and business organizations, arts patrons, and government leaders, in order to “provide leadership, research, visibility, professional development, resources, and advocacy to advance support for the arts in communities across the country”. Its website provides information on arts research, advocacy, and publications. - <http://www.artsusa.org>

2.1 Excerpts from the Application Forms

All invitees to this workshop were asked to submit an application form, in order to assist the project management team in their ongoing needs assessment.

To date (09/11/2001), we have received a total of 20 application forms (*three quarters of which have come from the independent sector*). We would like to thank all those who have filled in the form. They have been of immense help.

Below, some of the most interesting remarks have been summarised:

Professional responsibilities

Please describe briefly the nature of your professional work. To what extent does lobbying or advocacy make up part of your responsibilities? Please describe a successful or unsuccessful advocacy campaign you have either personally participated in, or observed.

My fundamental problem has always been – how to convince the investor to accept the IDEA – PROPOSITION. We have not been taught how to lobby.

In the Institute for Education of the Ministry of Education and sport, I am in charge of two fields: 1. Croatian language in high schools, 2. Dept. for professional-pedagogical supervision. Lobbying for knowledge and life-long learning carried out both individually and through groups and based on partnership relations makes an integral part of advisory work on both of these levels. Lobbying for knowledge and education is lobbying for culture.

A successful example of an advocating campaign is our co-operation with the Administrative dept. for social care in the Town hall and the related institutions (Centre for social care) on projects connected to the culture of young people and the prevention of drug addiction, while the advocating with the media has so far been more or less unsuccessful, mostly because of the absence of good will in the media preferring the sensationalism (not once have we been refused by a newspaper with an explanation that we would be more interesting if we have been working with real drug addicts and criminals; I assume that the newspapers would write about us if we have vandalized our town while in a drunken state). In the cases where we need a financial aid from the business companies we are regularly unsuccessful and therefore we have to lean on the Town hall and the Ministry of culture. The same situation happens when advocating for the second part of my job – professional theatre work and its importance for promotion of the drama literature, theatre culture, cultural and national identity, and for creation of not only cultivated theatre audience, but for the development of a conscious thinking individuals.

Being the editor on the Croatian Radio's Third Programme (meaning that it is a radio channel dealing exclusively with culture, on the national level), I have engaged myself quite strongly when the draft Law on Croatian National Television (HRT) in its both versions, threatened by an unclear formulation and by even more unclear interpretations, to abolish this Programme. I believe that it was only thanks to a massive pressure made by the cultural public, and, which is not negligible, thanks to an enlightened attitude of the then president of the HRT Committee and

a few of its members, that the final text of the Law included the formulation «on 3 TV channels and on 3 radio networks». I am also familiar, even though I have not participated in this myself, with a story in which the Society of Croatian literary translators has sent on time to the entitled Parliament Committees an explained proposition about the will of this Society to be included within 21 (sic!) civil and professional organizations that have the right to propose their representatives for the HRT Committee. This proposal was not accepted even though the part of foreign cultures, and therefore the part of the translators, is surely bigger than for example the part of retired people or of consumers. I don't know whether this proposal would have been accepted if my colleagues have lobbied (or, to use the term one used to use before the Anglo mania, if they have *antechambred*- from French, *chambre*) for their cause.

I am a head of the Administrative Dept. for education, culture, science and sport of a county. Besides this, I deal with things connected to culture and science: from planning of public needs in culture and science up to their realization. Lobbying and advocating culture is a part of this job already at the stage of planning and all the way to the realization of the programmes. As an unsuccessful example of advocating and lobbying campaign in culture I would highlight a part of the plan for investment sustainability of the cultural monuments. It is about projects of urgent interventions for the two rather devastated cultural monuments, for which the minimal financial means are insured only by the Ministry of culture; in the realm of the local community, in spite of the advocating and lobbying and this urgent intervention care, one cannot find the approval and financial means in the local community. A successful example would be when one managed to find the understanding and financial means in the local community for the plan of sanation of sacral objects in the County.

The County central service for libraries is advisory and supervisory service. With the Ministry's and the local authorities' help it insures the accessibility to the books and to the non-library materials in the adequate space. The success of this Service consists of the adaptation and putting in function 14 libraries and reading rooms. In the spring 1996, the adaptation of the library in Topusko and the arranging of the library fund have been accomplished, but the local administration has not opened the library for 6 months after this.

I'm a fellow research. In carrying out the market projects, I find myself often in a position to lobby for culture. Given the fact that I am into the topics of cultural tourism, and in Croatia it is often very hard to convince tourist workers/tourist sector in general about the need of including culture as one of the basic resources in tourism, the need to advocate culture is obvious.

The local administration is confronted with specific conditions and complicated interethnic relations. Movable and non-movable cultural heritage, cultural monuments, collections, buildings where the cultural institutions are situated, all that was almost completely destroyed or stolen. At the same time, houses and apartments were also destroyed or plundered, which means that there are no basic living conditions for people and their families. Schools, hospitals, kindergartens, factories were almost non-existent, or, in any case, they were the mere improvisation. In these conditions and such a life surroundings, it was particularly important to encourage the recovery of culture, and that in **parallel** with a recovery of other existential segments of life. It is exactly this need for a simultaneous rising of the level of cultural contents that was often incomprehensible to those who used to think that culture «can wait» because «there are more important/urgent things». Advocating the need for cultural activities and

consummation of cultural programmes was particularly important, and it still is so today, after four years. For the Dept., as for the cultural institutions, there is still a lot to be done.

As expert with the Committee on Culture, Arts and Mass Media, I am responsible with advising the parliamentarians on all sorts of subjects, starting, obviously, with the draft laws. In my work, I meet with representatives or NGOs or public institutions interested to promote certain initiatives or to block others. I have to attentively listen to all of them and try to give my most honest advice to the parliamentarians, about these issues. Also, I am devoting myself to different campaigns organised by the civil society, considering that it is my civil duty to take advantage on my position, in order to help those working in NGOs. My implication in the campaign concerning the alteration of the law on sponsorship is, maybe, the best example. (...) I have acted myself in the campaign, helping the organisations to draft the letters for the parliamentarians, bringing the letters to the Committee etc.

Lobbying and advocating are an integral part of my work in the magazine. Starting with the last year, «Libra» has for the first time become a part of programmes financed by the Ministry of culture (category A). Until then we have been subsidized by the Open Society Institute, European Cultural Foundation, etc.

For two years, from 1997 until 1999, the Institute has been advocating a project for opening a *cultural* library and reading room which would be available for the whole public, especially the cultural, Croatian and international one. The initial approval and understanding of the investors made us invest in rental and equipment of an according space. Once the programme of this library, the book-acquisition, the maintenance and, of course, the person who would work on all that needed to be paid, the investors have withdrawn, and our initial investment required an additional work in order for this whole thing not to fall into ruin. We have been advocating/lobbying mostly at sides of potential investors, because the public, the users of our book and documentation funds not only understand this project, but they are exactly the ones that need it.

The influence and the function of a journal for culture where I have been working are largely connected to the political situation: journals were partly in function of political (oppositional) campaign, which was the case up to the year 2000, and their influence was measured by the effect they had in the social, politicised reality. An interesting example of «advocating» a certain cultural project in the last 18 months, when the political influences were not as direct as before, is the advocating the project of a new literary generation (the so-called FAKOVCI), who have gained their popularity mostly thanks to a media promotion. The problem in that case is that the majority of the writers participating in the group of FAKOVCI are at the same time journalists, so that their media campaign was a sort of self-promotion.

Putting culture centre-stage in Croatia's development

What does the phrase "putting culture centre-stage in Croatia's development" mean to you? How would you like to see the profile of the cultural sector being raised or improved in the near future?

It means to give and to improve the culture's particular role in the society, as well as to prove its importance for the national development. An enlarged profile of this sector I envisage by its inclusion in the national strategies of each state, not in vague terms, but with strong linkage with the national economy and income making. Clear relationship between heritage and new artistic creation; regional revival by linking local cultural sites and events with the education and business initiatives as a part of a clear strategy or policy. The notion of culture, not in the largest, but in a larger sense to be introduced and legitimated.

Utopia.

Putting culture centre-stage is possible only through linking and inter-penetrating of culture with other areas, and not by detaching it, which marginalizes the culture by reducing it to an incidental topic. Such an approach to the culture pre-supposes the development of Croatia as well.

Putting culture centre-stage in Croatia's development means raising the awareness of all social factors about the importance of culture for the development of Croatian economy, tourism, education and democracy, through influencing the personal growth of individuals and their ability to contribute to the Croatian society. On the other hand, the cultural sector should not in the near future stay closed within itself, but it should develop with a full awareness of its direct influence on all spheres of life, which includes the awareness on responsibility that this influence brings along.

This sentence means an utopia to me – as long as there exists this fundamental non-culture of everyday thinking and behaving. And as long as there exists such an ideologisation and politicization of all sectors of public life.

A very important strategic direction for Croatia would be the putting culture centre-stage in the development: for us this would mean making culture important for the work of other (private and state) areas, through a parteneurial relationship. In this way one can achieve increase of investments in culture.

Many «battles» have no future without the initiatives and an active relationship of the Ministry of culture. It is necessary to link the state administration with the County heads in a more active way.

We would like the culture to gain more importance in the tourism sector. But, since the tourism sector still considers tourism only in the sense of "the sun and the sea", culture has so far not proven itself as a sector that could bring the tourism a profit. Given the fact that the cultural tourist is a more educated tourist, the one that spends more money, putting culture in the centre-stage of the Croatia's development could be at least partly justified. Partly because the cultural tourism, as a sector *per se*, does not generate a direct profit bigger than some 4% of the total income of the tourism, but it is important because it completes the basic offer and it guarantees the long-term development of the tourist programmes.

Primarily, it means - both expert and in layman's terms - explanation of the first-rate importance of cultural knowledge (artistic, human-social and practical/common-sense) in the self-sustainable development of the country. In this sense one should develop inter-sectorial cultural semantics - a language understandable to the "non-cultural" -, one should spread amateurism (and enthusiasm) in the arts and, in general, in cultural activities, and demonstrate examples of good practice of the effects of cultural knowledge and activities in other sectors. Cultural knowledge and activities should be spread and developed in the first (governmental), the second (economy/private) and in the third sector (civil society/voluntary public activities). The relations should be co-ordinated and harmonised between these three sectors: 1) state administration of national cultural institutions, 2) cultural management and profit and non-for-profit cultural industries, 3) alternative, experimental and, in general, unusual and innovative activities in the arts and the neighbouring marginal areas.

Putting culture centre-stage in Croatia's development would mean that the government policy should recognize and validate the society's, community's and the individual's need for all forms of consuming the cultural contents, of caring for and cultivating the cultural heritage. It also means: giving the consciousness of value and of benefit of the culture for the economy, health system, social cohesion building through educating all generations of the population. There are benefits for progress of the towns through tourism, increased consumption, which result in opening new working posts. In Vukovar, such an example is certainly the archeology-touristic complex of Vučedol – which is unique in Croatia, finding itself in a unique geographical position, at the banks of the Dunav river. That river element opens up with many possibilities.

I am personally mostly occupied by artistic amateurism. It is the largest cultural «basis», especially in the local environment. But, on the government level it is neglected, insufficiently valued... In the artistic amateurism, one can in spite of humble financial means achieve top artistic results. It would be desirable to balance the elite /high/ culture and the amateur initiatives... A partnership relation between these two, one all are truly interested in culture, can have extraordinary results.

Unfortunately, the Romanian Government did not pay enough attention to cultural development. The 2001 budget for culture was the smallest in the last 12 years. I could, frankly, say that "putting culture centre-stage in Romania's development" is just phrase without any supporting. My personal desire is to obtain the recognition of the economic importance of culture.

Until recently, culture has not been considered as originator of the development of Croatia; understanding of culture as «superstructure» is present today more than ever. Media picture of culture has not changed from «a special occasion provincialism», and I consider these to be the reasons enough for which the majority of society experiences culture as supplement, addition and superstructure.

I think that the main Croatian export «product» are the highly educated individuals, ecological agronomy, tourism and, of course, culture. In the way every product which is to be marketed has to have a marketing strategy and support, the same thing goes for culture. With a presumption that the money is «available», executive cultural workers have to stop just being the «forwarders» of the money without any responsibility for the results. A system of responsibility for spending the money should be established, and a system of rewarding the successfully realized projects, and only these systems can bring new money and new projects. There is no budget big enough in order not to be spent by sleeping and non-motivated people.

by an additional education of workers in culture – curators, journalists, artists, audience, donors; by opening a space for and, if possible, by giving means for independent initiatives; by acknowledging the benefits that culture brings to the society (economical, educational, spiritual...); by paying attention to the ethics in cultural management

«Putting culture centre-stage in Croatia's development» means stopping treating culture as an area of secondary reflection of social activities, stopping manipulating it and using it for representational nation-building purposes. For me, this means understanding culture as a primary field of an «openness» of a society in which there is an exchange of ideas and creative energies. Precisely in the field of culture it is possible to form a contemporary, modern identity of Croatia, an identity that is not exclusively thought of as a national or historically conditioned identity.

Importance of advocating culture

Why, in your view, is it important to advocate culture? What is the added value that culture brings to society, not only socially, but also for economic regeneration and regional development?

There are many examples of how those who have better lobby and contacts in the decision making power, can overcome cultural issues, no matter how much it may cost even to the state budget. The big challenge, therefore, is by the means of good advocacy, to link the culture stronger with the national economic issues (despite the danger it may occur) and to prove that it can be an income making sector, not only consumer of funding. (The example of moving the National Museum of History in Sofia to the former residence of the President in Boyana is interesting in that matter. It shows not only the crossroad of interests and lobbying power of two public sectors – culture and justice – in their competition for one building, but also leads to the question of how to turn into resource for the regional development the restituted objects of the regional collections. The latter refers to the local advocacy for cultural strategy building and for matching local funds for culture and tourism /ex. Plovdiv/)

Because it diminishes the NON-CULTURE. Quite a decent added value, see the example of Bilbao – one museum has changed one town.

Culture is the most qualitative part of every marketing campaign, both regional and national. In underlying the achievements on an individual and general level, culture is a fundamental factor for establishing the partnership relations as well as various forms of co-operation, especially the international one. Therefore its importance on a social and economic plan is without doubt.

It is important to advocate culture in order for it not to become a purpose in itself, in order for the institutions, NGOs or the individuals from the cultural sector not to become a social category «outside» the economic and social movements. (...) It is undeniable that our cultural offer contains some potentials that could make a tourist «super-power» of us, which would have a very visible effects on economic regeneration and the development of certain regions, and it is precisely in this field that a space opens up for advocating culture not only in the tourist sector, but also on the state level that determines the tourist policy.

In the local self-administration one forgets that the tradition is not something that lives on its own, but that it lives precisely because the contemporaneity gives it its specific expression.

Culture has a very important meaning in the tourist sector, often because the tourist chooses a destination precisely for cultural reasons, he chooses a destination according to some cultural values, attributes or preferences.

Culture needs to be advocated also because a great deal of people do not consider culture at all important: a lack of education, dealing with one's own daily problems of bare surviving and supporting one's family at one side, and on the other, an extremely high education but being occupied only with one's professional defiance, which creates a lack of spare time or an inertia towards other contents.

The strong discourse, in Romania, is that that culture does not produce economic welfare and that is why, any cut in it's budget would mean a cut in the general budgetary loss. Nobody have ever made studies, in Romania, about it's contribution to economic regeneration and regional development. One of the reasons, for this, would be the lack of a general accepted definition of "culture" and the lack of interest, amongst economists, for this subject.

I understand culture primarily as an informational value, and in this sense I determine its individual and national importance – it is in the individual sense and in the sense of development of the community.

I think that «advocating culture» is a concept similar to the current marginalisation of culture. There is no value that should be defended or attacked in itself. The cultural sector will bring back its power only then when the cultural products start being harshly criticized and put into question. In the vision of culture as «good» and non-polemic, no cultural product has a future, and in this context the power of culture is being measured by the amount of money given by the State.

The best examples of connections between culture and economical prosperity are those from Great Britain and Italy, where, literally, even the smallest villages live on selling culture. It is

possible for culture to penetrate all segments of society and to become a national product on basis of which the whole community would benefit, and not only cultural workers. Culture should not be an end in itself.

culture educates; culture moves forward the threshold of tolerance; culture opens new business opportunities in the economy; culture is not only an expense, it has to be a profit for the society too.

Advocating culture is necessary in order to change the status of culture in society, in order to change the status of culture in the public and in the political opinions. Advocating culture is necessary in order to provide a support of the public for eventual political changes in the sphere of organization of how culture runs, and in order to bring awareness of a need for a change of the status of culture from a passive to an active social factor. In the sense of economic regeneration it is necessary to conceive culture (not separate from science) as a tool of a general social development and not as «an item in the budget». On the other hand, in the regional relations, culture represents a suitable communicational channel between countries and areas that do not have well-established economical or political relations. Culture is a communicational model for getting to know the other (other countries, other cultures) and it is a living model of co-existence of differences in the environment where a multi-culturality and cultural tolerance is a living standard.

Essential questions

Having read the essential questions listed in the introduction to the workshop agenda, what are your comments, additions, suggestions and possible solutions to these questions? Do you have any other questions to add?

I am deeply convinced that discussing issues like how the cultural sector could become more attractive for all kind of investments is of crucial importance for the development of cultural policy on local, national and regional level. Of course, being attractive is refers not only to the “cosmetic” changes, but also to an essential shift towards new strategy and initiatives for better legislation. If there are any really good examples from the region in the field of advocacy or lobbying for culture, in building reliable partnerships between culture and business, in particular legislation initiatives or specific local strategies in the sector, it will be good to have them in concrete case studies.

How can the producers of cultural projects become equal to the bureaucrats who decide on their propositions?

In what way can one make sure that the agreements, settlements, laws etc. really get carried out???

The questions are about whom to convince about the added value of culture, which mechanisms, practices and methods to apply in advocating, and about which actors one should include in the advocating culture campaign. These questions put culture in the position of «visibility» (as opposed to the position of «invisibility»), which will resolve in redefinition of the relationship between culture and other systems of society.

I would be pleased if the Workshop would give answers to these questions. I think we should not spread the range of questions, because these really are the fundamental questions.

I would add the questions whose answers could help resolving the reinforcement of culture in small communities.

My question would be a very sincere one: are there any serious studies about the added value of culture?

Previous remarks on the picture of culture as harmonious and in itself a non-polemic activity arise from the Essential questions as well. These questions are based on a presumption that culture is a neglected activity which can be brought back into the centre of society only by entering the market competition game. By using the liberal mechanisms of the free market, the autonomous culture gets in danger of losing its independent position and of stopping being the critic of the society.

How to insure a continuous advancement in cultural education and in education on culture?
How to create a new cultural public?

I think that the activities should follow the direction of bringing awareness to the political elite for the importance of culture (culture as a continuation of the politics through «other means») which is not a decoration or a mirror of society, but a field for resolving its conflicts and facing the reality. Political elites have to change their relationship towards culture, not only by increasing the investments in the culture, but by giving-up the manipulation and misuse of culture for representational and political-symbolic purposes.

Partnership between the public authorities and the independent sector

What is your view on the existing partnerships between public authorities (local and national) and the independent, or third sector (NGOs, cultural organisations) in Croatia? In your opinion, do the different levels co-operate and work together to strengthen the cultural sector? Which improvement would you like to see in this field?

Maybe they will co-operate one day, for the time being they are still in the old movie.

The co-operation between different levels exists but is insufficient. It is being realized mostly on an individual basis and it is a consequence of the will only of the interested individuals. Changes in the treatment of culture are possible only within a framework of the planned and systematic activities and co-operation.

This partnership happens more or less successfully, depending on the political and economic circumstances and on personal affinities of the professionals dealing with culture. It is my impression that these levels cooperate from one project to another, without being aware of the need for strengthening the cultural sector in general. Personally, I would like to see in this field more professionalism, both in public authorities and in the third sector, in order for the cultural sector to become truly a public one, instead of being subordinated to the changes in the government structures or to the personal acquaintances.

I have already cited one (negative) example, which in no way means that I find the relationship between for ex. the Ministry of Culture towards the professional association that I represent inadequate. I would like to live to the day when there shall be a more dynamic cultural sector, when the young generations will be more motivated, and when there one shall see historically meritorious cultural institutions and associations being gradually de-privileged.

The partnership between public authorities (state and local) and the NGO's and cultural organizations at this moment has not so far resulted as desired – in increasing the financial investments in culture. In one word, these levels do not cooperate enough in making the cultural sector stronger. Initiatives such as sponsorship, tax reductions, inter-sectoral cooperation and other are still insufficient.

I live in a town where the NGO «Local democracy» has initiated and realised many topics. We have maybe been taking some of their actions with some suspicion, which is understandable because we have been living on the demarcation line and for the long four years 62% of the territory in our neighbourhood has been occupied. In some other times, the citizens would react differently on such actions.

In the recent period this partnership has become stronger, although only several years ago it has been unthinkable. My opinion is that, in general, the inter-sectoral co-operation in Croatia is rather bad, i.e. it is not organised, but chaotic. Not only the co-operation between public authorities and the third sector is weak, but the one between different sectors of the public authorities and the one inside one sector itself.

General relations have improved (political climate, a clearly expressed will for a mutual co-operation), there have appeared some forms of co-operation, including the co-financing of projects (in the cultural sector), but the results that could be built-in the current cultural policy are still not in sight. I would like to see less of old divisions of interests and much more of new faces gathered around new projects.

Local and state administrations do cooperate but not enough, and sometimes not in the right way. There are many examples of a good cooperation and in that the results are visible. That is the example of the cooperation between the Ministry of culture and the local authorities during the restoration of the Municipal Library of Vukovar. The result is impressive. I will quote one bad-practice example. The Croatian Society of Libraries and the Dept. for library science of the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb organize in Zagreb a seminar (October 11-12, 2001) with a topic off «Libraries in the war area: restoration and restructuring». One week before this date they have called the libraries from the Vukovarsko-srijemska county to attend the seminar, but only as observers, without a possibility to present their experiences! And these are the libraries that have been most hardly damaged by war! Reactions are very tumultuous!

The existing partnership between the public authorities and the independent sector (esp. cultural organizations and cultural NGOs) I don't find satisfying for the time being, but there are some signs that suggest it could be better... These levels co-operate mostly in a «directed» way, which includes implicitly the favouritism of elitist institutions, of the well-paid cultural professionals, along with lobbying done by political power-wielders, and the results often do not justify the «investment». Political parties influence (through the government) have for years been

favouring and elevating always the same over-paid cultural professionals. Nor have the Cultural Councils by the Ministry of culture taken into account the strength of the amateurism in culture and arts... In what way could the artistic amateurs could stand by the shoulder of the institutionalised cultural professionals? How can they get a chance to get a subvention by the state and to represent it (if they are good enough)?

There were important partnerships between public authorities (both local and national) and different cultural organisations. However, in most of the cases, it was the cultural organisation that looked for a partnership (that would include, of course, a financing) with the local authority and not the vice versa. That is why I should say that these partnerships were driven almost exclusively by pure interests and not by the need of dialogue or by the desire of working together. The results of the co-operation are, still, far away from the real possibilities. I would like to see a growing trust between authorities and the cultural organisations.

Judging by the intense activity of the independent sector I estimate the co-operation between the public authorities and the third sector to be solid, which doesn't mean it could not be better.

Unlike during the totalitarian situation during the HDZ government age, today the autonomous culture is in great deal a partner to the state. However, the state still experiences this culture as a place of voluntarism and enthusiasm. It should be noted as well that the different sectors of culture are treated unequally. For example, theatres are far more protected in comparison with literary authors, literary critics and literary theoreticians.

I think that the public administration and the independent sector cooperate as much as they're expected to, that is, as much as the indispensable minimum is. A more open, more flexible, more partners-like relationship would probably result with a better outcome. (...) One can draw very useful principles from the examples of successful business companies and their managers. Stimulation – work – results – reward.

I think that there is almost no co-operation between the national and the local government, and even less between the state and NGO (civil society) sector. The efforts invested by the government in restructuring of the culture running and in creation of a strategy of development on a national level, do not have the according partners on a local level, and the civil society, on the other hand, still exists as some «parallel», «third world» which is not directly nor interactively communicating with the state sector. The institutional and the non-institutional culture are not equally positioned and I think it is very important, not only on the level of legislation, but on the level of a daily practice, to establish a loyal «cultural market» in which both the institutional and the NGO projects in culture would have equally footed development and competition conditions.

The role of the media

How much serious attention does the independent media pay to culture in Croatia? Is this enough? What, in your view, could be the role of the media to help the cultural sector position itself?

Media coverage of culture in Croatia is satisfying, even though the media give preference to the academic, institutionalised, even the elitist culture, which is, on one side, narrowly connected to the politicisation of our public life in general, and with the media' need of surviving in the market, on the other side. Thanks to its influence the media could play an important role in the positioning of the cultural sector: they could draw the public's attention to the benefits culture brings to the citizens, which overcomes its visible aesthetic dimension.

It is not enough, it not competent (half-alphabetical), and, basically, not-interested (except for the scandals and salacious stories). The esteemed editors of cultural sections in all media - both press and electronic – should take a look at how it is done elsewhere if they really want to participate in the promotion of culture.

Media in Croatia do not give a sufficient attention nor importance to the culture, and sometimes they play a role of a total devaluation of some cultural manifestations or of a project (this year's issue of Baroque Evenings in Varaždin).

The Croatian Television is giving my town a media blockage. That makes the citizens unsatisfied and they are constantly warning the local authorities about it. The role of the media is unspeakably important, especially in the area of culture.

Something has been done, that is, some journals have moved a cultural page in front, in order to give a more distinguished place to it. TV shows, especially the ones that deal with the topic of cultural tourism, which is my primary interest, are also frequent. The media is definitely useful in promoting this topic, even though the journalists sometimes expect more than in a given moment it is possible to be done.

Media presentation of culture is mostly obnoxious, it is maybe attractive to a culture which is closed within itself, but it is anti-propaganda for the general public. This includes as well some attempts of "drawing attention" by publishing some scandals and intrigues. Rare TV shows from cultural programme succeed in bursting through the membrane that divides the exclusive from the banal.

My experience of cooperation with the local media allows me to express a moderate satisfaction. I think it is good that we have offered the media a partner's relationship: it consists in informing them on time and with complete information. It is very important to inform the media thoroughly and completely, in order to help them in presenting the content.

Media do try to pay attention to the culture. The press pays attention to the culture in a more serious way only in the separated weekly supplements; on a daily basis it is all rather bleak, only informative. (...) All the possibilities that the media offer in the process of positioning of the cultural sector are not used.

Unfortunately, the daily media is interested only by the “events” and by their very superficial appearances. The role of the media would be huge if it would not be driven, exclusively by financial interests and/or by ignorant editors.

The media are one of the most serious factors of degradation of Croatian culture. The image of culture they, especially the Croatian TV, give to the Croatian society, is more dangerous for the culture than the marginalisation itself of the culture in relation to the financial centres. The main national TV journal, for example, represents culture exclusively through the segments with a «enlightening» content, so that one gets the impression that culture is something similar to the process of spread of literacy

The media treat culture the way the actual government treats it. Unfortunately, the really topical, independent, competent and technical examples are very rare. The media have great power in shaping the public opinion, in educating and, of course, in conditioning the public. Education of the public, provocativeness and contemporariness of the projects are important elements that can contribute in putting culture centre-stage.

The role of the media is bad, the journalists are mostly not educated, the editors are not interested, there is not enough space, the advertising space in media is too expensive, populism is not necessarily good for the culture.

The status of culture in the Croatian society of the nineties could be detected by the relationship between the media, both state and so-called independent media, towards cultural events and contents. The basic specificity of media presentation of culture in the nineties (and that condition is still lasting) is almost exclusive treating of culture as a (*political*) case or a (*scandalous*) excess. Culture gets a space within media primarily as an *event* with political aspects, and if it's possible to add some spice to the whole thing by some private scandalous details, it's even better. In the dailies and in the political magazines cultural themes can occupy some more space or get a prestigious form of an interview not according to their inherent esthetical value, but according to the political circumstances connected to the event or the person treated. One of the negative effects of such a polarization of the cultural stage is the complete loss of one's own critical criteria and ideas.

Personal development

What would you personally like to gain from attending this workshop? What are your expectations?

A little bit more of optimism.

I would like to leave the Workshop as a person that has been strengthened in order to transmit the energy indispensable for advocating culture on his community, without feeling like he is doing the «Sisyphian task».

The conclusions of the Workshop should be very seriously considered in the Ministry of culture.

Even though I would like to expect more, my experience tells me not to. I would say that even meeting the people, their projects and problems they encounter while carrying those projects out, is a great starting point for a creation of new programmes, that is, for a better organizing within the cultural sector.

I expect a narrowing of horizon of the expected (sceptical) and a widening of the horizon of the unexpected (a hope).

There is a feeling, here in the eastern border of Croatia that we are a little bit isolated, which could also be a sign of our own un-resourcefulness. If it is so, well it is also understandable, if one knows what surroundings it is about and what is the quantity of piled problems. The majority of our problems we cannot solve on our own. We need a comprehensive help and we should not restrain ourselves in saying so.

Own contribution

Apart from being a recipient at the workshop, what can you offer the body of participants from your own experience, what can you contribute yourself to the workshop?

I suggest showing a video-tape on libraries in the Sisačko-moslavačka County that have been transformed after the military action «Oluja». It lasts for 15 minutes and the text is spoken in Croatian.

Other comments

Do you have any major comments at this point, which you would like to raise?

I salute every attempt to promote cultural actions and events, and I especially wish for the cultural Croatia, the one that still exists, gets itself out from anonymity. Because it does EXIST. I appreciate the choice of the lecturers. I am afraid that this meeting also gets a media blockage – a three-line news!

I think it would be very important to discuss the definition of culture in the narrow sense - as the traditional cultural running and the cultural industries, in relation to the contemporary understanding of culture in the framework of cultural studies, which, by the word «culture» understands the whole system of human opinions, convictions, ways of behaving, communicating

3.1 Politiques culturelles françaises: priorité à la décentralisation et au partenariat

by Anne-Marie Autissier, European Studies Institute, University of Paris

Dans le n°33 de Culture Europe, nous avons reproduit les grandes lignes d'un article de Vijenac, consacré à une conférence sur les politiques culturelles croates, organisée en mars 2001, en présence de 200 professionnels des arts et de la culture. Nous avons ainsi identifié les objectifs-clé de ces politiques : participation de tous à la culture, pluralisme, transparence du travail et des décisions, système fiscal en faveur des activités et des professions culturelles, promotion du patrimoine croate et mise en relation de la culture avec les autres secteurs d'activité, utilisation des nouvelles technologies de l'information. Quoique la France bénéficie d'une politique culturelle démocratique de plus de quarante ans, certaines des priorités françaises ne sont pas très éloignées des vœux croates en la matière. La participation culturelle en particulier, reste l'un des domaines de préoccupation du ministère. Cette priorité, confirmée en 1999, fait l'objet aujourd'hui de diverses mesures, en particulier à travers un ambitieux plan pour les Arts à l'école, conjointement mis en place par les ministères de la Culture et de l'Éducation. Dans le prolongement de ces préoccupations, la France, traditionnellement centralisée, a mis ces dernières années l'accent sur la décentralisation et un partenariat accru avec les collectivités territoriales. C'est le sens des contrats de plan État-régions, signés pour la période 2000-2006. Dès 1999, il a été prévu d'accroître de 38% les crédits de soutien aux opérations d'équipement des collectivités régionales et locales (trois niveaux existent en France : régions, départements, communes). De façon plus large, les contrats de villes ou les conventions de développement culturel comportent un important volet culturel, bien que les lois de décentralisation soient peu explicites en la matière. Un rapide regard sur le financement de la culture en France montre le rôle décisif des communes (28% du budget total) auxquelles s'ajoutent les départements et régions (environ 6% de l'ensemble). En outre, l'appui des Fonds structurels de l'Union européenne (Objectif 2 et Programmes d'Initiative communautaire) amènent à renforcer le dialogue entre les acteurs locaux (professionnels, élus) et les préfetures de région. Sur le plan administratif, le ministère a renforcé le rôle et les attributions de la nouvelle DDAT (Délégation au développement et à l'action territoriale), pour appuyer ce partenariat, mot-clé de cette relation nouvelle entre l'État et les collectivités territoriales.

De même, le ministère a souhaité rationaliser les soutiens donnés au spectacle vivant, en créant une direction unique pour cet ensemble. Concernant ce secteur d'activités, Monsieur Fabrice Lextrairet a remis à la ministre un rapport complet sur la réutilisation des friches industrielles ou commerciales et la prospective qui doit s'ensuivre dans toutes les régions françaises. Rappelons que le réseau européen Trans Europe Halles dont la coordinatrice se trouve à Saint-Ouen en région parisienne, se montre très actif dans ses relations avec des partenaires européens et méditerranéens, voire asiatiques et

latino-américains. Enfin, le ministère de la Culture gère les questions relatives à l'architecture, désormais partie prenante de la DAPA (Direction de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine). Cette réorganisation a notamment permis des avancées substantielles avec les partenaires européens du secteur de l'architecture, lors de la dernière présidence française.

La préoccupation patrimoniale est également au cœur des soucis de l'État, avec de nouveaux objectifs : faire que le patrimoine national, régional et local soit l'apanage des citoyens, à l'instar de ce qui existe au Royaume Uni, avec le National Trust et English Heritage. A cette fin, Monsieur Duffour a été nommé auprès de Madame Tasca pour engager une nouvelle politique du patrimoine et de l'action territoriale. Une Fondation du patrimoine a également été créée, pour lancer des appels de fonds en direction du privé. Notons également que l'ACCR (Association des centres culturels de rencontre) s'est vu confier des missions d'élargissement de son réseau en France. Il s'agit de lieux historiques utilisés à des fins de création contemporaine. Là encore, il existe un réseau européen des Centres culturels-Monuments historiques.

En outre, les relations culturelles internationales font l'objet d'une réorientation sensible depuis ces dernières années : l'AFAA (Association française d'Action artistique) travaille désormais à parts égales avec les deux ministères des Affaires étrangères et de la Culture. Elle a signé une série de conventions avec les collectivités territoriales françaises pour des coopérations internationales. Le réseau des centres et instituts culturels français dans le monde s'est également rapproché des centres culturels et scènes nationales françaises, de façon à mener des actions conjointes plus fréquemment. De façon générale, on doit noter le formidable développement des échanges et coopérations internationales entrepris par les collectivités françaises, les grandes villes étant à l'avant-garde de ce mouvement (Strasbourg, Marseille, Lille, Nantes, Lyon, Rennes etc).

Enfin, l'avènement d'une société multiculturelle conduit tous les responsables politiques et les professionnels à s'interroger sur les modalités appropriées d'une éducation interculturelle. A cet égard, la mission confiée depuis quelques années à l'ADRI (Agence pour le développement des relations interculturelles) permet de réunir autour d'une même table administrations du Travail et des Affaires sociales, de la Santé, de la Jeunesse et de la Culture. Cette coopération, également relayée par beaucoup de partenariats avec les collectivités locales, permet de développer des actions audacieuses et exigeantes en matière de relations interculturelles, en y associant beaucoup de jeunes.

Concernant les nouvelles technologies de l'information, la France a lancé en 1998, un Programme d'action gouvernemental pour l'entrée de la France dans la société de l'information, visant notamment à soutenir la production de contenus culturels pour les nouveaux supports et les nouveaux réseaux.

Quelques points noirs toutefois, dans ce tableau essentiellement positif : la politique des Grands Travaux qui continue à grever une partie du budget du ministère de la Culture :

à elle seule, la Bibliothèque François-Mitterrand dévore un dixième du budget de fonctionnement du ministère de la Culture, pour ne citer que cet exemple. Au total, le ministère consacre 56% dudit budget aux édifices culturels de la capitale (Cité de la Musique, Parc de la Villette, Musée d'Orsay, Institut du Monde arabe, Opéra-Bastille, Grand Louvre et la Grande Bibliothèque déjà citée). Malgré les bonnes intentions affichées en ce qui concerne les langues régionales, le contrat-cadre entre les écoles Diwan (écoles bilingues breton-français) et le ministère de l'Éducation nationale vient d'être ajourné. La question des langues minoritaires reste à cet égard en France, une préoccupation mal assumée. Enfin, la difficile question du mécénat culturel qui, malgré les efforts remarquables de l'ADMICAL, reste à 1% des financements culturels nationaux. Là aussi, des initiatives doivent être prises, particulièrement à l'égard des petites et moyennes entreprises, sans doute avec une défiscalisation accrue.

Conclusion : A l'instar des autres pays européens, la France doit prendre en compte la question des identités nationales et régionales dans un contexte globalisé, tout en s'efforçant de construire une Europe forte, y compris sur le plan culturel. Elle fait partie des champions de la diversité culturelle, milite pour la baisse des taux de TVA sur le disque dans l'Union européenne, pour les soutiens publics à l'audiovisuel et au cinéma et assume avec d'autres partenaires, la nécessité de prendre en compte la spécificité des professions artistiques. A cet égard, le statut d'intermittent du spectacle, même s'il fait l'objet de critiques récurrentes, constitue un acquis et un modèle. Si l'on examine les évolutions culturelles en France depuis les dix dernières années, on constate que le pays "réel" change beaucoup plus vite que la lecture politico-administrative que l'on peut en faire à l'échelon central. C'est pourquoi la prochaine réforme que l'on peut suggérer aux autorités françaises est celle déjà contenue dans le rapport Rigaud : pratiquer une délégation de pouvoirs beaucoup plus étendue à des organismes privés, chargés d'une mission de service public, comme c'est le cas aux Pays-Bas ou dans les États nordiques. Cela implique une remise à plat des missions du ministère de la Culture et une formation continue de son personnel. La même remarque s'applique à l'évolution des relations culturelles internationales et à l'acquisition accrue de compétences multilatérales, dans une Europe qui devient notre espace commun de coopération avec tous les peuples du monde.

Quelques chiffres en annexe : budget total 2000 du ministère de la Culture : 16, 131 millions de francs, soit une progression de 10% par rapport au budget de 1997.

Structure du budget : Personnel et fonctionnement : 46,92%

Interventions : 30,95%

Investissements : 22,10%

4.1 Lille 2004

...towards a new art of living

The city of Lille has been designated European Cultural Capital for the year 2004 along with the city of Genoa.

Being the cultural centre of Europe for a whole year is an exceptional opportunity to make known a large region, its heritage and its festivals, but also to strengthen its most innovative tendencies and confirm its place on the international scene.

The programme is ambitious with regard to these challenges, aiming to make the year 2004 a laboratory of what might be a new art of living at the start of the twenty-first century in a metropolis which is euro-regional in character.

The project has indeed been conceived as including not only the greater Lille area but also the Nord-Pas de Calais and cross-border regions. It is across this territory that the two major themes of the European Cultural Capital will be explored: speed rings and colours.

Speed rings mark out territories of space and time

“ The important thing is... not knowing where you are
but where you're heading,
and how long it will take. ”

Rem Koolhaas
S, M, L, XL

Speed rings symbolise the idea of abolishing geographical relationships and replacing them with space-time relationships.

They allow us to propel ourselves into the past, to live fully in the space of the present and to project ourselves into the future. At a crossroads of Northern Europe, Lille gives everyone the opportunity to perceive new forms of transport as an essential component of modernity. With its networks of automated subways, elevated tramways and high-speed trains linking the city to London in two hours, Paris in an hour and Brussels in forty minutes, the Lille conurbation is a testing ground for these innovations.

From large-scale festivities to the performing arts, Lille 2004 will cover all the disciplines, from cinema to literature by way of the new technologies, graphics, design, street culture, as well as the sports of the future and gastronomy.

The programme for the year 2004

The programme will be divided into three parts, using the image of the speed rings that will be:

- the symbolic link connecting Lille with its past, its festivals and colours,
- the concrete expression of a region opening up to the world,
- the tracing of these paths to the future through parallel worlds.

Roots and festive colours

The speed rings create new links between festivals and traditions, carnivals and spontaneous celebrations.

Structured by the great feast days of the North, this calendar of events runs through the year 2004 like a constant thread, reinforcing the image of generous and colourfully festive towns. The first of these celebrations will be held on 6 December 2003: the White Ball of St-Nicholas Day.

Rubens the painter and collector, humanist and man of the North, who worked on many occasions in the capital of Flanders, is celebrated by a large-scale event at the Lille Museum of Fine Art.

Mobility and openness

Symbolising openness to the world, mobility and the discovery of new worlds through different cultures, whether near or far, this part of the programme includes large exhibitions and explores the city as seen by artists from all over the world.

It will inaugurate the *ramblas*, the new urban walkways and settings for hyper-realistic snapshots of the world's metropolises: New York, Shanghai, Madrid, London and Buenos Aires.

In the context of the speed rings, railway stations will naturally become places of exchange and communication. The partnership established with the French railway company, the SNCF, based on the use of the latest technologies, will make it possible to conceive products such as the 2004-pass and to install concept stores and mobile mini-supermarkets in stations. Devised as commissions by architects, designers and artists representing the cutting-edge of the visual arts, these innovative units will provide a range of services, artistic and poetic installations and consumer goods.

The future: parallel worlds

In this third section, the speed rings transport us into parallel worlds taking the paths of a space-time dimension: both an anterior future and a reflection on our projection into the future: the universe of shopping, new technologies, bioethics...as well as the poetry of robots and extraordinary cars.

Colours give life to the city

An illustrious history as well as an industrial past has shaped a region which paradoxically has been seen in black and white, but which is now recovering the vibrant colours that created its wealth and testify to its diversity. These colours will be present in all of the events of Lille 2004 to remind us of this heritage and to forge new links in the present.

From *Colours of the Industrial City* to *Colours of the Coastline* and from the *Quarrel of Colour* that inflamed the painters of the seventeenth century to the new images of the twenty-first century, a series of exhibitions, artistic projects related to the city and festivals inspired by the fusion of different cultures will explore this central theme.

Lille pioneers a new art of living

Around the programme of events for the year 2004, but even more in its aftermath in the shape of the *maisons Folie*, the *ramblas* and new festivals, the foundations will be laid for a new art of living.

The *maisons Folie* will be places for community exchange and celebration, a new way of bringing people together, combining artistic activity and the involvement of local people. As innovative cultural spaces, they are designed to foster conviviality, friendly encounters and exchanges between local people and to put them into contact with all the different areas of creative activity, from the visual arts to design and from live performance to the new adventures of multimedia.

Located in old buildings whose activities have been of historical importance (old textile factories, breweries and other heritage sites), the *maisons Folie* will become part of the local community and should help to create a visible cultural link between the generations.

They will contain a fully equipped performance space; a garden people can work on; a kitchen and dining room that can be booked for parties; studios where people can record and listen to music; a library in which one can read and from which one can borrow books; artists studios and exhibition spaces; and a small cinema equipped with the latest digital technology etc. These spaces are open to everyone - local artists, musicians and gardeners, and are not only intended for use by groups or teams of artists. In this way, they will become laboratories for a new art of living.

Like the *maisons Folie*, the walkways created for this occasion will remain beyond 2004. Playing with the idea of the speed rings, these original inventions encourage you to fly a kite, hire a horse at a subway exit, jump from a boat or take part in a new kind of sport in the middle of a railway station. These walkways will join up with the *ramblas* which provide urban promenades on foot, rollerblade or by bicycle and contribute to making the city a source of amazement.

The festivities organised for 2004 will help to break down barriers and pave the way for new annual events of international standing which will become permanent fixtures. The events that will take place between now and 2004 will be conceived with this perspective in mind, in order to create the conditions for a new festival for the greater Lille area.

A partnership that builds a lasting project for everyone

Through the European Cultural Capital, the region as a whole will experiment with new ways of working together.

The mechanisms set in place aim to strengthen local initiatives comprised in euro-region by bringing them into contact with projects that are national or international in scope. The programme is being put together in close collaboration with the large arts institutions, the key local and regional figures in the field of culture, young companies, local organisations and the artistic structures

Lille 2004 wishes to encourage community and private sector initiatives to come up with innovative projects. Different kinds of partnership are being proposed to towns, local organisations, schools and businesses.

The towns of the euro-region are invited to sign up with Lille 2004 and to set up a Lille 2004 committee attached to the town council. This committee will bring together the influential forces of the town and will be charged with fostering projects in accordance with the central themes of Lille 2004. This invitation is extended to all the local bodies including schools, universities and local organisations, which will be responsible for their projects from their conception to their realisation. The creation of a Lille 2001 label will help to identify all of these different initiatives and bring them together under one banner.

In addition to the many partnership projects between the business world and the arts, a project, a company, invites businesses and their employees to become part of this movement and to initiate specific projects, making use of their skills and experience. A project, a company is a form of internal communication within the business, the aim of which is to get the employees actively involved in artistic creation. Lille 2004 will be responsible for ensuring the coherence of these projects.

4.2 European Cultural Month Zagreb 2005

May 29 – July 29 2005

by *Naima Balić*, Assistant Minister of Culture of Croatia

The **European Cultural Month Zagreb 2005** will be the most important cultural project to take place in Croatia since the achievement of independence in 1991 and the first project of this type to be organized by the wider European community on the eve of integration to EU.

We hope that Europe's attention will be focused on the capital of Croatia – Zagreb - the political and administrative centre. Zagreb is an old European city lying on the intersection of important routes between the Adriatic coast and Central Europe. The first traces of the presence of man in the surroundings of Zagreb date from prehistoric times. Much evidence is available of human settlements dating from the end of the powerful Roman Empire. The Museum of Archaeology marks the sites exhibiting artefacts in the open-air from that period. In the Middle Ages the real history of Zagreb started on the site of today's Kaptol and Upper Town: Bishop's Zagreb (1094) and the royal free borough on Gradec hill (1242). In 1850, the centuries – old royal borough of Gradec with the settlements under its walls (down town) had interconnected in the legal sense – and formed the City of Zagreb. After that the modern city centre started to develop. Prestigious public buildings were erected, parks established, infrastructure and transportation organised.

The twentieth century brought the Secession style, the population increased and the city lived in the plenty of a civil society with firm links with all the European centres of culture. The town entered the third millennium with a population of one million. In 1992, Zagreb celebrated the 750 anniversary of the status of free town (The golden Bula) and in 1994, celebrated its 900th anniversary.

After a proposal from the Croatian Government sent to Brussels, Zagreb will be confirmed as European Cultural City 2005, by the European Parliament (The Council of Ministers, European Commission and the Committee of Regions) in 2001/2002.

Our intention is to present Zagreb as the European Cultural Month 2005 through the themes:

- **Zagreb the Creative City, from the Centre to the Margins**
- **Heritage – Architecture – Artistic Creativity**

The idea is to present past **heritage** (tangible and intangible) through present our relations towards the past:

- **Architecture** – to raise the awareness of citizens that Zagreb does not only consist of a centre, but of other districts as well (Zagreb Ring)
- to renovate houses and buildings, to take concern about pedestrians constructing cycling tracks, to take care of environment and to build and finish the new Museum of Contemporary Art.

Artistic creativity is the mark of Zagreb. This is the guiding principle of the whole project, to show Zagreb as a cultural city. The leading role in culture and artistic creativity belongs to heritage, poetry and literature as well as scenic arts, music, theatrical productions, contemporary arts, film.

Programme

Zagreb has 38 institutions of culture and 20 international and domestic festivals, such as the Zagreb Music Biennale, World Animated Festival, International Triennale of Graphic, PIF – Puppet International Festival, EUROKAZ, Contemporary Dance Festival, International Jazz Fair, Folklore Festival, Zagreb Summer Festival, Zagreb Salon, Janigro Cello Competition. These established festivals will form an integral part of the programme.

The human resources, creative potential of people with a concentration of numerous artists that will be included in programme (workshops, exhibitions, symposiums, concerts) will give Zagreb a different image. This potential should be preserved after the end of the European Cultural Month Zagreb 2005. The continuation of these living activities is must for the future of Zagreb as a cultural town.

Zagreb is open to alternative culture, subculture whose bearers and consumers are youth. Special attention would be given to their events. A large number of events will take place in the streets and squares of the city, not only in Upper town, Preradović Square, Ban Jelačić Square, but in the districts on the outskirts of Zagreb and in open spaces in new urban settlements, as well as on the banks of the river Sava.

Zagreb as a European Cultural city will include in its programme foreign performances, concerts, groups, experts and outstanding foreign artist. The towns that signed a agreement on cultural cooperation with us as Mainz, Kyoto, Bologna, Saint Petersburg, Budapest, Shanghai, Beijing, Pittsburg will be invited to take part in highlighted events in 2005.

Special attention would be given to the towns of neighbouring countries such as Vienna, Graz, Ljubljana, Maribor, Sarajevo, Mostar. Zagreb has very long and friendly connection with these cities.

We shall try to have all European countries represented and included in programme through festivals, concerts, theatre performances, alternative groups, projects, exhibitions, co-productions, films, seminars, symposiums, workshops.

For the opening ceremony, a special event will be prepared that should reflect the theme of the European Cultural Month Zagreb 2005, as well as for the closing ceremony. During 60 days, between 150-200 performances will be presented.

We expect to attract a large public not only from Zagreb, but from the other regions in Croatia and from abroad as well.

An enormous gate will be opened for cultural tourism, for the future of living in Zagreb.

Program to be realised in **partnership with:**

- Municipality of Zagreb
- Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Zagreb
- Tourist Board,
- Croatian Tourist Board,
- Tourist agencies
- Cultural agencies,
- Foreign Cultural Centres,
- Embassies,
- Foundations.

Promotional Activities:

- logo – Zagreb symbol,
- web site,
- publications,
- spots,
- advertisement...

Funds – financial resources: Estimated expenses: 20,000.000 kn = 2,500.000 EUR

- | | | |
|------------------------|-----|---------------|
| - The City of Zagreb: | 60% | 12,000.000 kn |
| - Ministry of Culture: | 25% | 5,000.000 kn |
| - Other: | 5% | 3,000.000 kn |

Budget of the City of Zagreb is structured as follows: 61,41%: 38,58% (salaries + maintenance), operating cost and programme

It is to expect to establish an office, responsible head of the office and the staff / 5 people /.

Art council should be responsible for the programme.

4.3 Croatian Cultural Tourism Development Strategy

by Daniela Jelinčić, Research fellow IMO, Zagreb

In Spring 2000, the Croatian Government expressed the need for a Croatian Development Strategy in the 21st Century and therefore assigned independent teams of experts with the task of writing the drafts for this Project, divided into various sectors. Thus, the Institute for International Relations was assigned the task of creating the Croatian Development Strategy for the cultural sector. The independent experts' team developed the draft to be discussed with the professionals in the related fields of theatre, museums, film, visual arts, etc. sectors.

This Project relied on the former project 'Cultural Policy in Croatia: National Report' also executed by the team of independent experts in 1999 within the Council of Europe's 'National Cultural Policy Review' programme. Cultural Policy did not include 'cultural tourism' as an independent part of the policy, it only mentioned it, while the report of a European group of experts, lead by Charles Landry, recognized culture as the key selling point for tourism development. Usually, culture is the primary reason a visitor comes to an area, especially if culture is broadly defined. This was the starting point for the creation of the **Croatian Cultural Tourism Development Strategy**, the text being written by myself and used as a draft for discussion and creation of a greater and more detailed cultural tourism development strategy.

The presentation of the whole project was conducted in March this year, where a great interest for the subject of cultural tourism has been shown. It was concluded that cultural tourism has been presented too shyly in a way and that it should be taken more aggressively. It has been a European cultural-tourist subject number one for the last decade and a half, and has just entered Croatia to be recognized as an excellent tourism niche market. Although many tourist programmes included culture as a part of the tourist offer, it has not been enough, especially because most of these cultural programmes have been imported, not using **Croatian cultural distinctiveness** as a tourist resource.

Therefore, the proposed cultural tourism development strategy seeks to use the cultural resources of Croatia as its key selling point. Going beyond merely visiting heritage sites, churches and museums, although these are important, it seeks to celebrate every aspect of Croatian culture – food, wine, the landscape, activities and even the language. It seeks to involve the tourist with locals and make every tourist a cultural explorer and discoverer (Landry 1999: 37).

The very **local community should be competent** for the decision of the possibility for the development of tourism in its surroundings. Also, it should be left to the community

to decide if it wants to develop tourism at all, although in Croatia, this kind of decision is not likely to be made, because Croatia already has a tradition of tourism. A community cannot live if its population cannot be identified with it. Local community should be proud of its village/town/city, because successful tourism cannot be developed against the local community's will. This principle should be the basis for every tourism planning.

Main Aims of the Cultural Tourism Development Strategy

As mentioned before, the principles underlying the development policy should be **to use local resources** wherever possible and **to be distinctively Croatian**. The objectives aside from increasing visitors is to:

- Extend the season;
- Extend the geographical base beyond the beach and into the hinterlands;
- Guarantee sustainability;
- Encourage micro-business development and economic prosperity (Landry 1998 : 37).

Extending the Season and Extending the Geographical Base

So far, Croatia has been selling only sea and sun, basing tourism on one sphere such as coastal tourism. It is the very cultural offer that may stimulate the development of tourism in other seasons but summer. This is where we would like to stimulate the other forms of tourism development, especially urban tourism aimed at continental cities or cities in hinterlands. Cities located along the coast have normally developed greater tourism but due to the fact that they use their coastal position as the primary benefit in tourism and secondly use culture and other facilities as a tourist resource. Of course, also in this case, culture may be the means of extending the season, but we would also like continental cities to develop their own cultural tourism programmes.

To this purpose, one of the propositions may be the creation of the cultural routes that are so popular today, considering that Croatia historically belongs to the Austro-Hungarian cultural background which may be used as a common resource.

Also, other tourist resources may be used such as sports, religion or natural beauties to form coordinated tourist programmes. Therefore, mountains and hiking, speleology, flora and fauna may be used as a resource, all in coordination with the local lifestyle including architecture, gastronomy, and entertainment.

The out-of-the-summer offer may be related to various religious events extremely rich in the Catholic calendar. What is interesting and partly wrong in Croatia is the inversion of calendar events: carnival, instead of being offered in tourism in winter to which it normally belongs, is rather moved to summer as part of the mass tourism offer.

Croatian ethnography and ethno-destinations may also be used in any part of the year, especially if relating to the educational tourism. It can also be applied to castles

extremely numerous in continental Croatia as well as to archaeological sites, churches, monuments, museums and galleries for which season is not necessarily specified.

Guaranty of Sustainability and Encouraging Micro-Business Development

Guaranty of sustainable tourism development is closely connected to the stimulation of micro-business development. If a local community is able to integrate their everyday businesses and professions into the tourist activity and thus present their local lifestyle, it is likely that the quality of tourist visit, as well as the quality of local population life will be assured. Today, the fisheries and agriculture for example have already been in service for tourism sector, which is partly the guaranty for sustainability for the local community. Additionally, the development of traditional crafts, art galleries, restaurants offering local food and beverage should be stimulated. It is very important that the owners of such businesses should be come from the local population.

Within such an approach, a number of criteria for development become apparent: smaller scale initiatives rather than grand scale gestures and mega-projects; the establishment of comprehensive programmes such as a bed and breakfast strategy, where the role of agencies is to create thing like marketing consortia; joint signage or other branding devices or the training of locals in local distinctiveness issues (Landry 1999: 38).

Decentralization and Coordination of Cultural and Tourist Sectors

Another important issue in the Croatian Cultural Tourism Development Strategy is the issue of decentralization of Croatian culture and tourism. The European cultural decentralization tendency should be present in Croatian culture, too. If so, cultural tourism would enable local government as well as to the local cultural institutions and organizations their self-management, because of income increased by the cultural tourism. If the Croatian development strategy includes the development of cultural tourism, we may expect the cultural demand increase within the culturally directed tourist visit. In this way, local government would be given greater power and a chance to create local strategies since they are familiar with the locality itself. As a consequence, the result would be a richer, more inventive and more diverse cultural production and supply (Dragojević 1999: 79).

The issue of sectoral coordination seems obvious and a *conditio sine qua non* but so far has not been present in Croatia almost at all. The successful strategy cannot be created within the framework of one sector, for example tourism or culture, separately. Even, it is very difficult to plan taking into account these two sectors only. The key word here is **multidisciplinary**. Tourist planning should be executed within the framework of coordinated sectors such as economy, finances, education, health, science, technology, micro business, sports, religion, ecology, urban planning, industry, transportation, agriculture, fisheries, and culture.

Also an inter-sectoral approach within the framework of culture itself should be considered. If tourist programmes are coordinated among various cultural institutions and events in the destination, such as between museums, galleries, libraries, theatres, cinemas, etc. it will not be difficult to create common offer to be supplied for tourists in getting to know the cultural life of a community.

Cultural and tourist workers should be more aware of the need for coordination and be stimulated to create common projects. This development strategy draft could be a starting point for the discussion and an introduction to the debate with the aim of making the practitioners' work easier and clearer.

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4.4 Interest of the private sector for investments in Culture

by Dražen Pavić, Director Public Open Academy, Split

Subject: CASE STUDY: TEN YEARS OF EXPERIENCE IN SPLIT

Authors:

- OPUS – Public Open Academy in Split
- Vesna Popović (analyst and planner of cultural activities)
- Dražan Svemir Pavić (dramaturge and producer of cultural activities, manager of OPUS)

In the last ten years there have been important changes in Croatian cultural policy considering the normative regulations of the status of investors in culture (sponsors and donors).

Since we are a cultural institution that has, through a series of projects, developed relations in that domain in the last ten years, we would like to summarise the basic characteristics of the situation in this report.

About the institution:

The official statistics categorise our institution into a special category of ‘ambivalent institutions’ that are active not only in the domain of culture but in education, as well. This bipolarity of our role is often a source of misunderstanding that shifts our activity from one pole to another and changes the profile of the institution to the public. The result of these misunderstandings is often a lack of comprehension of the institution's role both in culture and in education.

The particularity of our institution is its environment: we operate in a city with a population of 200 000 (the second largest city in Croatia), with a solid cultural infrastructure and a rich monumental cultural heritage. In distinction to many smaller towns where institutions of our type are exclusively cultural institutions, the ‘Pučko otvoreno učilište’ (Public Open Academy) in Split has, in several decades, grown into an institution with a recognisable image. In 2001 the Academy will celebrate 75 years of existence and 30 years since the establishment of the film archive "Zlatna vrata" which ensured a continuing presentation of film classics.

The film archive "Zlatna vrata" is mentioned here not only on the occasion of its anniversary, but as an example of how the programmes of the Academy were and are shaped - and that is according to the needs of the city. If the purpose of this text is to

inform about our experiences in co-operation with sponsors and donors, then we would like to stress our point of view - that support should be given to those projects that have those characteristics that are important for the majority and for the welfare of the community and that fulfil common purposes.

Aware that by focusing exclusively on our regular activities we would quickly exhaust the circle of sponsors and donors, we have decided to seek investments from the private sector on a project-by-project basis. We consider our experience important because following our decision on co-operation with investors, we have managed to single out our institution from other institutions in the cultural infrastructure of our town.

Examples of projects for which investments from the private sector have been sought:

1) Programmes for children

The following situation which arose at a meeting where we negotiated with a foreign donor about his readiness to invest in non-profit programmes, has been quoted as an anecdote. On that occasion, the representative of the foreign investor interrupted the debate saying: " We would like to be clear from the very beginning, we will not invest in programmes aimed at children since, during our short stay in your country, we have witnessed everyone's readiness to give support to this type of public!"

We admit that when we started the project, we did not expect such a high response from sponsors and donors, and in that sense we acknowledge that the foreign investor was right.

So what kind of programme are we talking about here? Split is a city shaped by a turbulent migration that started in the 60s of the last century. The flow of immigrants was so big that all sociological studies warned about the problem of the destruction of urban identity (the inflow from neighbouring rural areas and the problem of maintaining rural habits and culture). Conservationists and protectors of monumental heritage warned that the young generation and children were not urbanised enough and that they were in that sense unfamiliar with the monumental heritage of the city.

Split has a unique feature, rare even among other cities in the world, that its urban roots can be found in an ancient-roman palace (Diocletian's Palace). Conservationists and protectors of monumental heritage warned that there is only a small number of teenagers capable of circumscribing the Palace, which is the central part of the city. In that sense, they claimed, there was no big difference between "our children" and the foreigners who wander within the walls of Diocletian's Palace with maps in hand, stopping locals to ask for directions as to where they could find that " famous palace". There are plenty of anecdotes about the search for the Palace at a moment when someone was standing in its very heart. As a title of the project we chose a question that preceded one such touristic excursion: "We will arrive at night. Where will you leave the keys to the Palace so that we can enter?"

We changed the question into a title: "Where is the key to Diocletian's Palace?" It was aimed at children of the higher classes of elementary school (5th – 8th grade). Structurally it meant a number of workshops offering the same programme:

- a) Lectures on the history of the Palace,
- b) Production of an art work on the subject of the Palace,
- c) Production of a social game with the same title,
- d) Composition writing on the same subject and
- e) Quiz on the subject.

This entertaining and educational programme was carried out in springtime for four years in a row (1993 – 1996). Some 2000 children took part. The field information we received in the following years proved that our little students had become well acquainted with the history of the city's heart.

So how did sponsors and donors react to the programme? It is worth mentioning that in the preparatory stages of the programme we decided to ensure valuable prizes for the best participants (gold chains with a small key pendant, cassette-players, video-games etc.), which means that we asked for donations in either money or objects. Every year for this programme only, we provided for 10 000 to 20 000 DM in money or objects of value. The kindness of the donors exceeded our expectations. Our opinion is that the programme gained support when it was still in an idea phase, for two reasons:

- a) its urban character,
- b) the children as the consumers.

2) Programmes of common importance - special activities

Following our positive experience with sponsors and donors, on the occasion of the anniversary celebration of a hundred years of film and film art (1995), we started the experiment of searching for sponsors for this special media/art activity. The programme had mosaic content and in that sense we considered it not generally transparent. The only transparent element of the programme was the occasion (world day) to which we added another festive tone. Knowing that the city would celebrate 1700 years as an urban city, we defined another demand for potential sponsors: to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the film within the 1700th anniversary of the city. We managed to close the budget at 15 000 DM that would cover the project costs.

3) Programmes of common importance - without special activities

Aware that we could get financial means for common themes, on two occasions we tried to find sponsors that would cover the costs of the programme for the celebration of the anniversary of the World day of environment protection. In both cases we realised exhibitions of art photography, knowing that we could get sponsors if we play on the card of ecology and the anniversary, while the particularity of the programme

(exhibition) was put in the second plan. The costs of those programmes were not high and were estimated at 5000 DM.

4) Programmes of special importance – special activity

Faced with the fact that the means from the state and local authorities cannot cover the costs of two exhibitions (the first was a cultural exhibition on a kind of fishing boat called "falkuša", and the second a photography exhibition titled "It's nice to live in Split"), we tried and found sponsors and donors, and with their help managed to close half of the financial construction. The amount was from 5000 to 7000 DM.

Comment

The quoted examples happened chronologically in the last ten years. We would like to draw attention to the oscillation of the financial means. In all examples the negotiations with donors lasted two to three months at the most. Although we set limits for ourselves to certain amounts, a slow decrease can be noticed: while in the first example the amount attained was 20 000 DM, this number was hardly attainable in the last cases. We consider that although organisational effort was the same, we shared the effects of the poor financial situation in the country. And although we consider praiseworthy the measures of the state policy on tax exemptions for sponsors, the effects of the measures are less and less important.

The resources from sponsors and donors constitute only a part of the resources that we make in culture: a large part of the resources comes from courses, workshops and seminars offered as free-time activities. In the last ten years we organised different activities: drawing and painting school for children and adults, course on the theory of painting, ceramics, school of film animation, graphic design, fashion design and sewing, fashion styling, guitar and synthesiser course, seminar on film and film art, design and architecture and others. The surplus of resources from the programmes was used for the presentation of the programme.

On sponsors and donors

The organisational team of the institution that worked with sponsors and donors (2-3 employees) would like to acknowledge the help of middle and small enterprises from the Split area, which we directly co-operated with.

The big state firms were inaccessible to us (a try during the exhibition of all- national importance on the fishing boat "faluša" remained just a try).

Resume: In the production of cultural programmes the development of relations with donors is of great importance. Our experiences teach us that support and understanding can be found for the programmes that are local in character and universal in their meaning.

4.5 How to write a good proposal for sponsors and donors

We have decided to include the application form of Mrs *Ines Vranješ*, Zagrebačka Bank in its entirety. Mrs Vranješ will speak on how to write a good proposal for sponsors and donors at the workshop itself.

Professional responsibilities

I am the head of corporate communications dept. in Zagrebačka bank, and my job includes public relations activities (internal and external), sponsorships, donations, event-management, ecological projects et al.

Of course, according to the range of my work, lobbying represents a part of my job, sometimes inside the institutions where I work, sometimes in relation to the media, sometimes in relation to some other target groups. One of the most successful advocating campaigns, even though «campaign» is a bit too heavy a word, is advocating the sponsorship for the exhibition «Historicism in Croatia», both with media and in the bank itself.

Putting culture centre-stage in Croatia's development

Cultural development of the country is one of the most important parts of its identity, along with natural geographical conditions and its economic development. We in Zagrebačka bank like to say that culture is a pre-condition of a spiritual richness of a country, in the same way as a successful economy is a pre-condition of the development of material richness.

In the near future, and with an objective of advancing and developing the cultural sector, it is necessary to initiate and render possible the qualitative development of all segments of cultural activities, with an accent put on a regional approach, and to elaborate a plan for realization of long-term co-operation between the segments in order to attain some synergetic effects, and all that, of course with a support from the government and private sector and of the media.

Importance of advocating culture

Alongside its unquestionable role in the development of the civil social community, culture is a product, which in the contemporary world is used as a mighty weapon for the development of the tourism. I believe we are all aware of the fact that the cultural heritage of Croatia is an extraordinary product, which we need just to «pack» in an appropriate way and sell it in the package of tourist services. A special occasion here represent the richness of different customs, which is really unique even in the European scale, regarding the size of our country (let's compare it to Austria for example, which practically has homogenous customs in its whole territory).

In the same way, culture should today be connected to ecology, a topic becoming more and more actual every day, and it should in that way initiate the development of awareness in a wider community about the value of these two segments of social activities.

Essential questions

Comments on questions:

Who does the cultural sector want to convince of the added value of culture and for what reasons? (the answer is already in the text) – I would suggest to change this question into –

how/with what tools/in what ways can the cultural sector convince the government sector, the private sector and the media about the added value of culture?

Suggestion: to make a model of communication (lobbying) towards the aimed segments during the WS.

Which arguments should one use when trying to convince others of the added value that culture can bring? It is necessary to define these arguments depending on the target group, and on the interest of the segment in question (what do they want to gain by promoting culture, what could make them promote the culture) – all this can be the open questions in the WS – different arguments for the government representatives, private sector representatives, media representatives.

Partnership between the public authorities and the independent sector

This is not in my domain of work and I am not competent to bring any conclusions.

What I can comment on is the relationship between the business people and the cultural sector, and it is not enough developed in professional sense. It is a fact that more and more business people become interested in developing a positive image of their company through promoting cultural events and institutions. A common problem still is non-understanding, and sometimes even a negative attitude of the cultural people regarding the way this partnership gets realized. It is natural that the sponsors and donators want to have a positive publicity because it is a way to a positive image, which requires a tight co-operation between the organiser and the sponsor/donor in all phases of the development of the project, with a mutual respect of the priorities and objectives and with mutual lobbying of the media. Concretely, this means that one requires an on-going communication and inclusion between the organizer of the cultural event and of the sponsors in the project. I would highlight here one institution with which we have established an especially qualitative co-operation, and it was precisely because it respects these principles: it is the Museum of arts and crafts. Thanks to its professionalism, both in their own area of work and in the relations towards sponsors and the media, this Museum has managed to establish long-lasting relations with the cited interest groups.

The role of the media

I would like to point out that media highlighting of those that give support to the culture, both public and private investors, is very important for stimulating of investments in the cultural sector. I think that it is clear enough that in order to build a “cultural image” of the public and private institutions, one requires the media’s readiness to transmit to the public this fact. Even though I myself used to work as journalist, I cannot agree with the colleagues who think this is all but a “free advertising”. I think that “the silence of the media” in this case leads only to closing of the negative circle, and non-directly influences the diminution of the support given to the cultural projects and institutions.

Own contribution

How to write a good proposal for sponsors and donor, how to establish a successful cooperation with the media representatives, how to make the topic of cultural events interesting and accessible for the wide audience – these are the areas where I could give concrete suggestions and propositions based on my personal experience gained in the leading bank of Croatia. Furthermore, how the profit institutions can build the image of “patron of the arts”...

Other comments

I thank the organizer for inviting me to participate and I salute the idea of this WS, for which I believe it could bring up new concrete shifts in the development of the cultural sector and make possible for other participants to gain some new knowledge and open up new possibilities for cooperation between business people and the culture.

4.6 Monument as a backbone: Cultural policies and tourist attractions of the City of Poreč

by Gordana Restović, Deputy mayor of the City of Poreč and director of the city's cultural institution

Euphrasian Basilica

The Euphrasian Basilica complex was entered on the World Heritage List, under the auspices of UNESCO, on 6 December 1997.

Here we are speaking about multi-layered sacral building in which the first oratory was built in the 4th century, whilst major architectural and artistic elaborations were conducted around the 6th century. World Heritage Committee criteria are equally demanding on the quality of the monument, its legal status, financial infrastructure and accomplished preservation and protection. Thus we can surely claim, that in this case, the architectural and artistic dimension was crucial, but also, what was important, was the care of the local self-government, church and state authorities, the City of Poreč authorities, Poreč-Pula diocese and above all the preservation of the cultural heritage protection service.

In the process of entering the monument on the World Heritage List, criteria numbers 2, 3 and 4 set by the operational directives on implementation of the Convention on world heritage were used. That criteria relates to the creations that testify: on significant exchange of human assets during historical periods or in the cultural area of the world, on development of architecture or technology, monumental art, decoration of parts of the city or landscape (2), on goods that contain unique testimony about some living or long-gone cultural tradition or civilisation (3) and which is considered as an extraordinary example of the buildings, architectural units or landscapes that illustrate important periods in the history of mankind (4).

Here, I would like to note that there are total of 6 protected monuments or areas of that kind in Croatia and this is the only one in Istria County.

The complex has been built and changed during centuries, and its roots date from the ancient Poreč, as a symbol of Christianity. It is situated in the town centre, and for centuries it has acted as a backbone of life and living. It has always attracted attention in one way or the other.

Surely, the entering of the monument on the World Heritage List has not brought more awareness about the monument, in the minds of the citizens, but it is indisputable that it changed the way they thought about it, and that it brought big changes and opened up possibilities.

It is interesting to follow the changes in relation to the monument, before and after it becomes a WH monument in the fields of cultural and tourist activities of the City, that is in the development of its policies.

City of Poreč

The city has 20 000 inhabitants and its territory is spread over 142 km², with the length of its sea shore and islands reaching 37 km.

Its economy is based on tourism, which ensures 70% of its income. It is capable of receiving 50 000 tourists per day, and with all its accommodation facilities could enable 5 mil. overnight stays per year.

City contributions for culture in the year 2000 make up to 5,8%, that is, for the preservation of the monuments 2,3% of the budget. The city tourist board contributes with 1,2% of its budget to culture, and with 0% to the monumental heritage. Comparisons with the financial indicators before the listing are not reliable because those years were “war years” and the functioning of the units of local self-government changed in the meantime.

The City and the Monument

For a while now the city has its own evaluation system for monumental heritage which has really changed since the listing. To be correct, this act initiated a lot of other actions, out of which some were representative and short term, while others left a significant impact on the city and the county. It all looked like this:

- **End of 1980s** formation of a Committee for revitalisation of the old city nucleus
- **1990** establishment of the Fund for the protection of cultural monuments of the Municipality of Poreč
- **1992** opening of the lower part of the old diocese and the exhibits for the visitors
- **1993** the name is changed into the Fund for the protection of cultural monuments of the City of Poreč
- **1994**
 - new Diocese is constructing and the old premises of the Diocese are clearing out
 - application to enter the UNESCO List of monuments is submitted
- **1996** reconstruction of the historical nucleus begins
- **1997**
 - establishment of branch office of Rijeka’s conservation office in Poreč
 - paper: Revision of labelling, devices and urban equipment in the historical nucleus of the City of Poreč
 - International scientific conference: “Euphrasian Basilica and Poreč”
 - Official listing of the monument in UNESCO’s List of monuments
 - reconstruction of the historical nucleus II
- **1998**
 - Round table “World heritage: protection of monuments and the role of cultural tourism“

- Signing ceremony of the City Council Declaration on commitment to the preservation of such monuments
- **September 7th**, Celebration of the listing of Euphrasiana, episcopal complex of the Euphrasian Basilica from Poreč in UNESCO's World Heritage List.
- Round table on tourism and culture
- Guide to Euphrasian Basilica, by A. Milovan was published,
- International scientific conference "Euphrasian Basilica and Poreč (Euphrasiana II)"
- Opening of the Office for conservation in Poreč as a part of Pula's branch office
- charters were duplicated and put into frames, distributed to the businesses with the goal to be put up in all public places on all city buildings
- **1999**
- Establishment of UNESCO's workshop for children
- Symposium "Complex of Euphrasian Basilica: Monument protected by UNESCO – how and what to do in tourism"
- commemorative stamps of Euphrasian Basilica
- new insights about the Dioces of Euphrasiana, lecture by professor Ivan Matejčić
- Redecoration of the Romanesque house
- Move of the Office for conservation to the city's Romanesque house "Two saints"
- Buyout of the Vergotini Palace
- **2000**
- beginning of the reconstruction works of the Istrian parliamentary house
- Opening celebration of the Old diocese and its museum
- **2001**
- Lecture by Professor Ivan Matejčić on new scientific data on Euphrasiana
- initiative for the decoration of the Zuccato Palace

In the above-mentioned data, not all of the activities like commemorative exhibitions, programmes, independent lectures in the country and abroad as well as individual presentation of the monument's value were mentioned. The intention was to give summarised overview of the City and its relation to the monument. Only some of the indicators were used here, while the whole story is much more complex.

Tourism and the monument

It is not necessary to emphasise the many awards won by the City as a tourist destination for quality, decoration and in general its contribution to the tourism and its long tradition.

Unfortunately, the Tourist Board of the City of Poreč and the two important tourist companies like "Plava laguna" and "Riviera Poreč" did not acknowledge this value and did not make it a part of its tourist products.

To be exact:

- Since 1998 all of the materials and brochures have emphasised that there is a UNESCO monument in the City.

- In 1998 Photo exhibition of Euphrasiana by Alfio Klarić was set up and made in the way to be put up on the tourist trade shows
- 2001 publishing and framing photos of the monument so that they could be put next to the charters in the city buildings

County Tourist Board:

- made Istria Card, a card and a guide with all the monuments including Euphrasiana
- made a monthly Info News Istria with listing of all events during the summer months
- made a brochure Cultural Itineraries
- Office for the organisation of congresses lists in its catalogue city areas with monuments as elite ones
- Initiative for the offices of the Tourist board to move to the old city nucleus got off ground, that is, to move to the cultural monument, palace the they would want to decorate

Conclusion

It is obvious that monument's value can serve as initiator to many changes, which happened in the City of Poreč. Also, what is obvious is the fact that in the City there is no systematic approach to Euphrasian Basilica and no real evaluation of it.

In this story there are couple of positive points that need to be emphasised:

- Co-operation between the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia – City of Poreč and Poreč-Pula diocese
- Financial and expert support of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia
- The role of the City in other investments in the monumental heritage
- The existence of the Office for conservation in the City
- Very positive approach to the monument by the media

Situations that need to be changed:

- Attitude of the tourism business to the heritage
- The rate of investment in the monuments
- Creation of a study approach to the monuments, i.e., to Euphrasian Basilica
- Citizens' awareness on existing monumental values
- Attitude to the annuity of the monuments

Such monument puts in front of its citizens, high standards and that is why it should be preserved with dignity. Its existence gives an opportunity to make the most beautiful stories about the City. But it is all up to its citizens' abilities.

5.1 Lobbying

by *Virgil Nițulescu*, Legislative expert in the Culture Committee of the Romanian Chamber of Deputies

to lobby – to influence or urge or procure the passage of a bill, by lobbying (= frequenting the lobby of a legislative chamber to influence the members)

The initial meaning of the term was changed, in the last two decades, by extending the action of lobbying to other bodies (not only the legislative) and to other goals (not only for passing bills). The reason lies in the world process of democratisation that started by the mid '80s and had its glorious peak during the years 1989 – 1991. This process gave confidence to people that everything may be changed for the better.

Why lobbying?

We shall never have the one and only opinion about what is best for each of us and for all together, but it is in human nature to try to obtain it. In democracies, voting ensures this. However, delegating power is not enough and corrections have to be applied, using democratic means. Lobbying seems to be the most acceptable.

Whom to lobby?

Parliament is, usually, designated as being the most democratic power in a democratic country, leaving room for expression for most of the representative parties. That is why it is not at all homogenous. It would not be enough to say that the Parliament should be lobbied. The need is to lobby the entire Parliament (i.e. all the parliamentarians).

The Government is the expression of the Power. It prepares most of the bills and carries the task of implementation. It cannot be avoided, neither before a certain bill enters the Parliament, nor after it becomes law.

The local powers are more and more important for lobbyists, as subsidiarity principles are more and more accepted.

Now, the international authorities and organisations are the most recent targets. The reason rests in the increasing importance of supranational organisations like the European Union or the Council of Europe.

When to lobby?

Whenever necessary. It might be very often. However, it is not recommended to exaggerate and to transform lobbying in a permanent action. It would become pointless.

Who has to lobby?

The person(s)/organisation(s) who would be designated as “artist”/“artists” are those that considering themselves as artists, creators in the cultural field, cultural institutions and organisations and persons working there, whose interest is to promote culture, arts and cultural creativity. For all these “artists”, one choice would be to act on their own. They may have a good chance, only if those “artists” who have the interest to lobby, are extremely well known and appreciated by the body or person who is being lobbied and/or if the “artists” have the same political sympathy as the one who is lobbied. Another choice would be to hire professionals to lobby.

How to lobby?

An act of lobby should be taken as seriously as possible. It has to follow a certain strategy. This implies the need of a professional agency and of a legal frame permitting the lobby in a manner easing the activity of the lobbyists.

First of all, the “artists” would need to define their goal as precise as possible and this goal should be explained not only to the lobby agency, but, also, to the entire “artistic” community.

The programme of lobbying should be planned in the same way a plan of management is done, with precise dates, with tasks for persons and terms of negotiating. The lobby action should be thought as a campaign with precise dates for starting and ending. No person that could have the slightest influence on the final decision should be forgotten.

During the campaign, mass media should be considered as a natural ally of the lobbyists. Each step and each victory (irrespective of its dimension) should be made public. This would help, first of all, the other interested “artists” to find out about the campaign. Also, it would help disseminating the problems and interests of the “artists” in the entire society, exploiting the “natural” ply of the society to support the “artists”.

A campaign should not be considered ended when a certain bill is adopted (if this is the case). The final goal of a lobby action is the real implementation of the law and the moment when most of the virtual beneficiaries of the act for which the lobby was done become aware that that act exists and that they could use it for their benefit.

Irrespective the results of the campaign, one should keep in mind that lobbying for a better life is not a favour offered by the authorities, but a right of each of the communities that are compounding the society. In our case, of the “artists”.

5.2 Guide to the legislative process in Romania

by *Virgil Nițulescu*, Legislative expert in the Culture Committee of the Romanian Chamber of Deputies

Introduction

This guide has been prepared by one of the experts on the Policies for Culture Programme, Mr Virgil Ștefan Nițulescu, legislative expert in the Committee on Culture and Mass Media in the Romanian House of Deputies.

It is a very useful tool for all artists, professionals, cultural operators and administrators who intend to tread the path of lobbying the state institutions, as well as for those who are simply interested in the workings of the legislative process.

The guide aims to:

- 1) explain briefly how policy-making works, which bodies are involved and how they interact;
- 2) explain what the role of the third sector can be in the policy-making process (i.e. commenting on legislation, initiating legislation, lobbying and advocacy)
- 3) indicate how the process works within a temporal framework (what happens to a legislative draft?);
- 4) indicate how and where to attend plenary sessions, committee meetings (what are the procedures; who are the people and departments to contact?)
- 5) indicate how one can gain access to legislative drafts.

Although the guide is written for a Romanian audience, we thought that it would be interesting for the participants to this workshop in Croatia also.

THE MAKING OF A LAW

The “actors” involved

The actors that take part in the process of making laws include:

1. political parties
2. the Executive
3. the Legislature
4. the President
5. the “Third Sector” or civil society

1. *Political parties*

Each of the parties competes in electoral campaigns with a certain programme, which includes an “offer” made to the voters, about the measures that the party intends to take in order to change the way culture is administered.

In Romania, the main parliamentary parties are: Romanian Social Democratic Pole (an alliance of three social-democrat parties, the most important being the Social Democracy Party of Romania), Great Romania Party, Democrat Party, National Liberal Party and the Democratic Union of the Hungarians from Romania.

2. *The Executive*

The Executive is the highest executive body; it has the power to administrate the country, under the provisions of the law. It also adopts certain acts of delegated legislation – ordinances – and decisions for enforcing laws and is entitled to initiate the adoption of laws by drafting, deliberating and forwarding bills to the Legislative. The Executive is the expression of the political will of the electorate, its composition being decided by the Legislature that approves, also, the programme under which the Executive will govern. Theoretically, this programme should be the one that holds the main characteristics of the programme presented during the electoral campaign by the party/parties that won the elections.

In Romania the Executive level is called the Government and includes the Prime Minister and 25 ministers.

3. *The Legislature*

The legislature debates and approves the bills sent to the Parliament by the Executive, after which it presents these laws to the President for promulgation.

The Legislature is elected by a system of proportional representation by universal adult suffrage for a four-year term. In Romania it is called the Parliament and it has two chambers (the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies).

4. *The President*

The President promulgates the laws, making them come into force, after having being published in the Official Gazette.

The President is the head of the State and is elected directly by the electorate under a system of majority representation every 4 years, for a maximum of two four-years terms.

5. *The third sector and the civil society*

Leaving apart the state administration and the business community, the rest of the (independent) organisations that comprise the cultural sector are considered to be the “third sector” of the society. Many of them have civic and cultural goals, some of them being considered to be important representatives of civil society.

Some of the persons active in these organisations are full time employees of public cultural institutions. Others work in private cultural organisations. Many are members of professional bodies and/or trade unions.

The process of drafting laws

The Minister

In most cases, a bill is drafted by the personnel from a Ministry, at the request of the Minister.

In Romania, the Ministry of Culture and Religious Affairs establishes a team that has the duty to draft a bill, using persons working outside the Ministry for expert advice (depending on the capabilities of the in-house employees) or not as the case may be. If the subject of the draft bill is connected with social – economic problems, the Ministry has the obligation to ask employers and trade unions active in the cultural field to express their opinions. If the subject of the draft bill is linked to the activity of certain non-governmental organisations, the Ministry has to ask their opinions also.

When the Minister approves the draft bill, it has to be sent to different ministries that have competence on the matter, in order to let them express their opinions. In Romania, after all the stakeholders have accepted the draft bill, it needs more approvals - from the Legislative Council and the Economic and Social Council (the latter, if the draft bill deals with social – economic problems). Then, the draft bill has to be approved by the Government and it is sent to one of the two Chambers of the Parliament.

The Parliament

Furthermore, one or more parliamentarians may initiate a draft bill, in which case, it is sent, directly, to the Standing Bureau of one of the two Chambers. Then, before coming to the Committees, it obtains a visa from the Legislative Council and, if it would have financial consequences, it is sent to the Government for an opinion.

The Citizen

A draft bill may be, also, initiated, in Romania, by a number of at least 250,000 citizens entitled to vote. Citizens manifesting their right to legislative initiative must belong to at least one quarter, of the country's counties, and in each one of these counties or in Municipality of Bucharest (the Capital city), there must be registered at least 10,000 signatures in support of the respective initiative. Fiscal issues, international questions, amnesty, and pardon may not form the object of the citizens' legislative initiative. Legislative proposals involving a modification of the state budget or of the budget of the state social insurance must be substantiated on the information compulsorily required from the Government.

The Procedure

In Romania, the procedure for the adoption of laws is the same in both Chambers of the Parliament, because they are equal in power.

The bills may be presented to one of the two Chambers, by the choice of the initiator. The initiatives are registered in the order of their presentation. After they have been received and registered, the Standing Bureau of that Chamber will distribute them to the parliamentarians and send them to the standing committees for examination in the substance and formulation of an advisory opinion.

After they have received the **draft bills** (initiated by the Government) the **legislative proposals** (initiated by parliamentarians) or **the legislative initiatives (by citizens)**, the parliamentarians may advance motivated amendments in writing, which are transmitted to the standing committees at least 5 days before the date they have to conclude their report.

At the request of the chairman of the parliamentary committee informed of the matter, the Legislative Council analyses and issues an advisory opinion on the amendments submitted to the debate of the committee and the draft bills or legislative proposals received by the committee after their adoption by one of the Chambers of Parliament.

The Standing Committee informed of the matter draws up a report including proposals with regard to the amendments presented, to the adoption or rejection of the draft bill or legislative proposal as well as to the advisory opinions communicated by the committees informed to this purpose.

The Standing Bureau distributes the report drawn up by the committee informed of the matter to the members of the respective Chamber and to the Government.

The draft bills and legislative proposals for which the committee informed of the matter has drawn up a report are entered on the agenda of the Chamber of Parliament. **Before it is entered on the agenda, the author of the legislative initiative may withdraw it.**

After approval of the agenda by the Chamber, the draft bills and legislative proposals are submitted to debate and adoption in the order in which they were entered on the agenda.

The development of the legislative procedure in the plenum of the Chambers involves a general debate on the draft bill or of the legislative proposal and a debate by articles. The general debate is preceded by a presentation by the initiator or his representative, of the motives that have led to the promotion of the legislative initiative.

The initiator's intervention is followed by the presentation of the report of the standing committee informed of the matter. A rapporteur designated by the committee presents the report. After presentation of the report, the president gives the floor to the parliamentarians in order of their names entered on the speakers' list. **The initiator has the right to take the floor before the closing of the general debate.**

At the general debating stage of the legislative initiative amendments can be neither proposed, nor adopted. If the report of the standing committee informed of the matter proposes the rejection of the legislative proposal, after closing the general debate, the president of the Chamber may put the matter to the vote.

After exhaustion of the general debate, the Chamber passes to the debate of the legislative initiative by articles, only if there are modifications proposed in the report of the standing committee informed of the matter. In the discussion of each article,

parliamentarians may take the floor to express their own opinion or that of the group to which they belong. The initiator also may take the floor. In the speeches only amendments can be suggested regarding clarity of expression and style or issues which do not affect the substance of the case and which are of lesser importance.

The discussion of the articles begins with the amendments. During the debates, the parliamentarians or the Government may raise for discussion the amendments rejected by the committee informed of the matter or the amendments handed in to the committee, but not appearing in its report. By way of exception, new amendments may be handed over during the debates in plenum as well. Amendments must refer to the contents of a single article.

In case the amendment has important consequences on the draft bill or on the legislative proposal, it may be decided to send it for an advisory opinion to the competent committees. **The initiator of the amendment has the right to be heard at the proceedings of the committee.** The discussion begins with the amendment proposing the elimination of some texts included in the article submitted to debate, and continues with those regarding their modification or supplementation. In case there are several amendments of the same kind, they are submitted to the vote in the order in which they were presented.

The Chamber decides by distinct vote on each amendment. At the request of the Government or on its own initiative, the Chamber may adopt draft bills or legislative proposals by an expeditious procedure established according to the standing orders of each Chamber. At the closing of the debate by articles of each draft bill or of each legislative proposal the Chamber proceeds to their final voting. Draft bills or proposals for the revision of the Constitution are adopted by a majority of at least two thirds of the number of members of each Chamber. Drafts of organic laws are passed by the vote of a majority of the members of each Chamber. Ordinary draft bills are passed by the vote of a majority of the members present in each Chamber.

If the draft bill or legislative proposal has been adopted, it is signed by the president of the Chamber and sent for debate to the other Chamber of Parliament. A draft bill or a legislative proposal adopted by one Chamber and rejected by the other is sent to the Chamber that has rejected it with a view to a new debate. A new rejection is final. If one of the Chambers has adopted a draft bill or legislative proposal in a wording different from that passed by the other Chamber, the presidents of the two Chambers initiate the procedure of mediation through the agency of a parity committee. The mediation committee would try to eliminate the texts on which there is division of opinion by drawing up a formulation acceptable to the two Chambers. The proposals of the Mediation Committee are entered in a report, which is submitted for debate and adoption to the two Chambers in separate sittings.

In case the Chambers adopt the Mediation Committee's report, the law is sent for promulgation.

In case the Mediation Committee fails to reach an agreement with regard to the issues on which there is division of opinion, or if one of the Chambers does not approve the Mediation Committee's report, as a whole or in part, the texts on which there is division of opinion are submitted for debate in a joint sitting of the two Chambers, according to the standing orders of these sittings. The laws adopted are submitted to a preliminary control as to their constitutionality at the intimation of the President of Romania, of one of the presidents of the two Chambers of the Government, of the Supreme Court of Justice or of a number of at least twenty-five senators, or at least fifty deputies. In order to exercise this right, the law is handed to the secretaries general of the two Chambers, it is communicated to the interested parties, and, after passage of a term of five days, it is sent to the President of Romania for promulgation. Intimation of the Constitutional Court suspends the term for the promulgation of the law.

If the Constitutional Court has been informed and has declared the law unconstitutional as a whole or in part, the Constitution provides the release of the re-examination procedure. This procedure presupposes an examination of the objection of unconstitutionality first in the Juridical Committee, and then, on the basis of the report of this committee, in the plenum of the Chamber, where the law declared unconstitutional is submitted to a single vote only. The objection of unconstitutionality of the Court is removed only in case that both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate have adopted the law in the same form, with a majority of at least two thirds of the number of members of each Chamber. In case in one of the Chambers the two thirds majority is not obtained, the provisions declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court are removed from the law, and the necessary technical and legislative correlations are operated with the Chamber's approval; if the law as a whole is declared unconstitutional and the Chambers once more fail to adopt it by at least two thirds majority, it will no longer be sent to the President of Romania for promulgation.

The laws adopted by the two Chambers of Parliament with identical texts are sent for promulgation to the President of Romania. The promulgation is made within 20 days at the most after its reception. Before promulgation, the President may ask Parliament, once only, to re-examine the law within not more than 20 days after the law was received for promulgation. If, after re-examining the law, both Chambers adopt or reject the objections of the President of Romania, the President is obliged to proceed to the promulgation within 10 days after the reception of the law adopted after re-examination. The same promulgation term operates also in the case in which the President of Romania has received the decision of the Constitutional Court by which the law is declared constitutional.

In Romania, the law comes into force on the day of its publication in the Official Gazette of Romania, or at the date provided in its text, which date may not be previous to the publication.

Importance of the third sector

During the communist regime, the artists had a kind of dual status in society. On the one hand, they – exactly like the entire society – had to obey the dictatorship. There was no question of liberty of creation or of autonomy of art in relation to politics. On the other hand, culture was almost entirely supported by the state and even the few artists who worked as freelancers had a certain material support to count on. Simultaneously, the artists were the only ones who had the possibility to express some truths about the society they lived in, but only by indirectly using their artistic “language”. In many cases, the artists formed the only visible opposition to the regime.

Nowadays, artists are not anymore in the position of forming the “opposition” and there is still a process of adapting to new realities. Though this process started in 1990 already, it has not ended, even today. Some artists are not interested in legal matters, considering that it is not their duty to think about legislation, either that it is useless – because they would not solve their problems by being involved in the legislation process. Of course, first of all, it is their right to think so and, secondly, not everybody has the same abilities and interests to act inside a non-governmental organisation and/or to spend time and energy in (often boring) debates about legal documents and administrative problems. However, those who have made this effort have learned some facts about it:

1. **There is nobody who knows better the needs of an artist than an artist himself.** Somebody, inside the profession, has to sacrifice a creative time, to tackle administrative problems. It is unfair to always stay on the touchline and criticise those who, at least, have tried something.
2. The best way to defend the artists’ rights is through an **association of artists**, with at least one clearly defined goal (for instance, managing authors’ rights).
3. Artistic value has no importance in legal matters. A law cannot make a distinction between a masterpiece and a no-value-at-all piece of art. Before the law, a work of art has the same appearance, irrespective of the author or of its value. That is why an association that is trying to obtain the recognition of certain rights for the artists (authors), it is very important to have as many members as possible. Obviously, it is preferable to place famous and respected artists in the honorary positions, in order to attract the public interest. But there is no point in transforming such an organisation in an elitist organisation. “As many members as possible” and “the best managers in the highest executive positions” are two good principles for each such organisation.
4. Politics has nothing to do with professional organisations. A third sector organisation that is trying to influence the legislation has to stay out of politics. If it is identified with a certain political party, it is not trusted by the others and it is rejected when political change occurs (it will always happen!). On the contrary, it is at its best when it has members sharing different political opinions, because it will always have an audience on the side of the parties. A professional organisation has to have allies in all the political parties, irrespective of their

orientation, in spite of the fact that some parties may look quite “non-friendly” for artists, for creators and for the intellectual elite.

5. If an organisation has enough members who could pay a yearly contribution, it may hire independent counsellors (lawyers, accountants) to pledge its needs in front of the official bodies. The leaders of an association have to understand the laws and the legislative or/and financial mechanisms, but they do not need to become experts in these fields.
6. Each law is the expression of a particular interest. In order to accomplish a certain objective by the mean of a law, an organisation should think about starting a campaign for each of its targets. The media should be a partner in such a campaign from the very beginning. **Media and the artists, together, are making the most influential force of the society.**
7. The campaign should be carried out for as long as it takes: from the issuing of the problem and the first analysis with the personnel of the Ministry, up until the moment that the new law is promulgated.
8. After promulgation, the law has to be explained to the professional body that the law was made for. Sometimes, it is not so easy to understand a law, even for the lawyers, let alone the artists. A professional community has the need to know what could be its benefits from a law.

The importance of the third sector organisations is not always recognised by the authorities, even though the state cannot properly regulate the system of cultural administration without their help. Many times, the authorities seem to be deaf to the requests of those working in cultural institutions. Ironically, when the same requests are sustained by civil society - there are more chances for success. The relationship between the Ministry and the institutions is one of subordination. The relationship between the Ministry and the non-governmental organisations is that of partnership. No Minister would like to have a bad relationship with the civil society.

Important areas for third sector organisations

There are some fields for which third sector organisations have to have special attention.

The very first of them is that concerning the **legal status of the non-governmental organisations**. It is important because it defines the limits of action the associations, leagues, unions and all the other are offered to exist in. Also, the law concerning the trade unions is important, because some of the rights of those working in the cultural institutions may be obtained only by using the powers the trade unions have.

According to a UNESCO definition (contained in the 1980 Recommendation on the Status of Artist), an artist is “any person who creates or gives creative expression to, or re-creates works of art, who considers his artistic creation to be an essential part of his life, who contributes in this way to the development of art and culture and who is or asks to be recognised as an artist, whether or not he is bound by any relations of employment or association”.

For every person considering himself/herself an artist, one of the most important parts of legislation is that concerning **the authors' rights** and the **neighbouring rights**. It is worthy to mention that not only those considering themselves artists need to be aware about the provisions of this specific legislation. Publishers, curators, owners of galleries and newspapers, translators and librarians – to mention just a few – are or should be equally interested in this legislation.

The **financial legislation** is, maybe, the most difficult to be understood. However, it is of extreme importance. Not only the annual **budgetary law** or the **law on sponsoring**, but, also, other laws should stir up the cultural community interest: the laws on value added tax (VAT), on excise duty, on income tax, on local taxes and that of the fiscal stamp applied to different cultural services and products in the benefit of the artists.

The legislation on **education** is, also, of interest. It may affect arts' education.

Of course, the laws concerning all kind of cultural institutions have to capture artists' interest, irrespective of very content of the law. Often visions concerning a whole category of organisations or artists may be issued in laws with economic or very general issues. That is why, the title of a law is not, always, indicative about all its details.

Lobbying – sep by step

Although it has not as yet been settled by the means of a specific law, the action of lobbying is a common custom. There are many organisations that have already obtained certain abilities in lobbying: such as the Association for the Defence of the Human Rights – the Helsinki Committee, the Group for Social Dialogue, the Association for the Protection of and Promotion of the Press Liberty, the ACCEPT group and many other similar organisations that are very active in the field of defending all human rights and the constitutional provisions. We may add to this a long list of trade unions and a special organisation that is bringing together several professional organisations of artists: the **National Alliance of Creators Unions**.

As a noun, **LOBBY** means **ANTECHAMBER**, and, as a verb, means **TO INFLUENCE**. In fact, both meanings are important. The interested organisations have to influence the Executive and Legislature and their only chance to do this – being not parts of these bodies – is to make it in the *antechamber*, with all sort of influence.

First of all, it should be said that the process of lobbying asks for a lot of energy, efforts and patience. It is almost impossible for a law to appear in only one year in Romania. If the process of lobbying starts at a certain T moment (the first stage), the initiators of the process should expect to read the law in the Official Gazette in T + 2 or even 4 years! A shorter time should be considered almost a miracle. However, if it takes more than 4 years, it means that something went wrong during the lobbying campaign.

The first stage of the lobby is an **initiative** (this verb is extremely important during all the process). The interested professional organisations have to have the initiative. Maybe, not everybody is aware of the fact that the Executive and the Legislature are in the service of the society (and not the vice versa!), the original meaning of the word *minister* (for instance) being *servant*. Developing the governmental programme is not enough. During the process of delegating the powers (Electorate → Legislature → Executive), parts of the will and interest of the voters may be lost or misunderstood. Those in power have to listen and respond to civil society's initiatives – that are not the expression of a privilege, but of a right. That is why, the third sector's structures have the moral duty to be the partner of the Executive, and offer it ideas and solutions and, when possible, even draft bills or draft governmental decisions.

One of the reasons for which it is desirable that the professional organisations have their own legal adviser is the fact that some of civil society's problems could be solved with the help of only a simple ministerial order. In other cases, the problems' solution lies only in the issue of a new law. A kind of “natural impulse” for the third sector is to super-evaluate its role and ask, almost always, for amending the laws, when things may be solved with simpler methods. A fault in the target of the initiative may be equivalent with a polite NO – as the answer of the authority.

Sometimes, the Executive may not be so interested in the initiative presented to it. This should not be treated as a complete defeat. There are, at least, two other solutions.

The first one is the appeal addressed to the **press**. Mass media is the natural ally of the third sector organisations, being a part of the civil society. No journal should be left aside in this effort and no distinction should be made (political or cultural) and no journal or newspaper should be identified, exclusively, with the positions of the interested non-governmental organisations.

The second is to address the **parliamentarians**. As each of them, in each of the countries, has the power to initiate a bill, they have to be asked to do this and many of them would be proud to do it. However, the organisation has to check, first of all, if the problem is, really, to be solved using a law and not a lower power act (such as a governmental decision). It would be the best if the organisation could convince parliamentarians from different parties to sign the draft bill. Usually, it is easier to convince those from the Opposition to sign these kinds of bills; many of those from the majority may be tempted to send the initiators, back, to the Ministry. If, by any means, the initiators would have no other choice than to come back to the Ministry, it would be preferable to ask parliamentarians from the Majority to support them in their discussions with the governmental experts or dignitaries.

After the draft bill initiative (if it was decided to draft a law and not only a governmental decision) was accepted by the Executive or by one or more parliamentarians, this does not mean at all that the fight for that initiative should come to an end. On the contrary, this is only the beginning.

The draft bill has to be “followed” in all the institutions where it comes for a visa. Each of these institutions has a certain term (in days) in which it has to answer to the initiative. Usually, the state bodies have the tendency to postpone their answering, if they are not under a certain pressure – and they should be under pressure (by mail, fax, email or phone) – starting with the very first day after the answering term has come to an end.

When, finally, the draft bill has arrived to the Legislature, the professional organisation first of all has to check if the text that has been presented to the parliamentarians, was that in the form convened with the governmental partners. The public relations departments have the obligation to send the texts of the draft bills by request. They are public documents and no secrecy should be tolerated in these cases. If the text proved to have inconvenient provisions, they still may be changed. The organisation should send a letter to each of the members of each of the standing committees where the bill has been sent for an advisory opinion or for a report. More than that, the letter – having strong arguments – should be sent to each of the leaders of the parliamentary groups, asking them to instruct their members in the interested standing committees to support the organisations’ positions. All the names of the members of the standing committees and those of the leaders of the parliamentary groups (and many other information) may be found out from the Parliaments:

If the campaign is properly followed, there are chances that the lobbyists could be invited to a private discussion (previous to the debates) or even to the debates. If so, the lobbyists have to come with very precise amendments to each paragraph they want to change and with sound motivations.

A further attempt may be made even when the bill arrives in the plenary debates, but only on an individual basis (address to each of the parliamentarians, if it is necessary).

Finally, if the law proves to be an extremely serious peril to the existence or to the survival of certain third sector structures, they are fully justified to address the President and to try to send back the law in the Legislature, before promulgation.

One final principle that any lobbyist has to remember: there is no permanent law! Sooner or later, each law, good or bad, will be amended. If, against all efforts, an inconvenient law has been promulgated, the first thing the (temporarily defeated) organisations have to do is to start a campaign for the immediate amendment of that law. If the cause is right, eventually, they will succeed.

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5.3 The Media as Ally

Preliminary thoughts of a PR consultant

by Lyubov Kostova, Public Communications Manager, British Council Sofia

Reputation is a company's most important asset. Get it right and you're a winner. Get it wrong and it could be a different story.

I read this quote some time ago and have now pinned it onto the notice board by my desk.

Why would anyone consider talking to the media in the first place? - Because on the one hand, every organisation - whether in the food or in the car industry, health and safety, child-care or pesticide production, whether dealing with higher education standards or weather forecasts, sooner or later becomes the object of attention of the media. And on the other hand many organisations in fact *need* to speak to the media if their product is to meet their target, if they are to project an image and gain a reputation.

In this process culture is no different. Cultural organisations are part of the same market and like the pesticide producers need to sell their product.

And when the product is a national policy for culture, talking to the media becomes a crucial factor.

That there is no second chance to make a first impression is a truth well known to all. The same applies to the relations we make with the media. Many people think reporters go out and beat the bushes for stories. That doesn't happen much anymore. Television stations and newspapers face profit pressure just like every business. One way they keep costs down is by relying on companies to help them come up with story ideas and find sources. This process is beneficial to both sides, for while journalists get their items from us we are building relationships of trust with them that enhance our chances for success.

"Creating stories" is one of the most exciting roles of the PR manager. And since any advocacy campaign is in fact an attempt at reaching the public at large, the media are the partner of central importance.

The British Council in Bulgaria initiated a project aimed at redefining the cultural identity which Bulgaria "exports" of itself - the image with which the country represents

itself abroad. This project is part of a wider British Council world-wide initiative called Representing Culture (<http://www.britishcouncil.org/networkevents/2000/0112an.htm>).

After an informal working group was created including prominent specialists involved in the process of culture "export", one of the very first initiatives of the Bulgarian project was to call a press event and to inform the media of the aims and proposed action points over the project period. The main objective of this press event was to in fact bring in the media as early as possible into the "consortium" of partners. We not only wanted to tell them we were "creating a story" and to get publicity for our project, but more importantly to encourage journalists of a variety of media to act as initiators and mediators in a wide public debate on the issues of national cultural identity. Since then several radio programmes were dedicated to different viewpoints on the issue and we are hoping that in the future these voices will become more in both numbers and diversity. Some journalists saw direct opportunities in taking our "story" "on board", they now feed back to us the results they got in the studio and those could become a more or less accurate barometer of the public opinion.

As the project evolves more contacts will be made with the media both through press events and regular updates of latest developments, for their active participation is one of the guarantees that our aims will be achieved. And on the other hand, the mere fact that the media were invited into the process at such early a stage, the fact that their support was sought not only in dissemination but also as rightful partners has won us, we hope, an insuperable and trusted ally.

The role of the media in the promotion of new cultural values

by Andrea Zlatar, Member of the City Office for Culture, Zagreb

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS: Changes in Croatian culture in the 90s

The idea of bourgeois culture: the middle class between the "élite" and the "common people"

If there is anything in which we can equate the efforts of the socialist-communist system and the right-oriented totalitarian parties, it is without doubt the intolerance towards the independent intellectual, the bourgeois individual. Because of syntagms such as "bourgeois individual" and "bourgeois culture" one could have served sentence in the 50s, while in the 70s and the 80s publishing of his/her works would have been made difficult and his/her presence in public life restricted. In most cases, bourgeois culture survived during the socialist-communist period as a habit, often becoming one of the norms of (petty) bourgeois life, guarding privacy from the jaws of the totalitarian ideology. In socialism, bourgeois culture was recognisable in regular visits to the opera as the symbolic peak of the (petty) bourgeois culture, it was sheltered in apartments decorated in "bourgeois" style and protected through the high-style habits of the everyday culture of life. Nevertheless, this form of culture is attractive for a sociological analyses of the protection (or even preservation) of urban life in socialist countries where the process of the destruction of the middle-class lasted for decades, never leading to the "final solution of the bourgeois question". The analyses of the role of the middle-class in the production and reception of culture in socialist and post-socialist countries is furthermore impeded by the impossibility to draw analogy with the development of bourgeois culture and resistance to it in the form of alternative culture taking place in some capitalist countries in the 50s. Particularly interesting is the way a special type of bourgeois culture in the socialist Yugoslavia was constituted – I have in mind the culture-oriented generation of '68. They were, as a generation, the "children of partisan generals", who entered the public space implementing the bourgeois/anti-bourgeois relationship taken from the model of the western revolution of '68. It was completely obvious that this analogy could not have been complete because the fundamental centre of political power – the Communist Party and its ideology – could not have been directly attacked. Besides, the reaction of the Party (Tito) was wise: they embraced the generation of '68 and used the situation to "clean" its own ranks. The consequences of the year 1968 were crucial for the constitution of avant-garde/alternative art in Yugoslavia in the 80s. Its protagonists were the ex-generation of '68, and the avant-garde/alternative art became an élite cultural product with strong support from the Communist-Party state. The attribute "bourgeois" could obviously not have been used. Even in post-socialist countries alternative culture often becomes a constituent element of "élite bourgeois culture" essentially resistant to the totalitarian type of the social system shattering and denying a right to individuality.

In Croatia of the 90s, "bourgeois culture" again became, similar to during the socialist period, a harbour or a refuge where resistance was fostered to the dominant unifying ideology of the national all-encompassing-unity. The shortest cultural equation of the 90s in Croatia would be: bourgeois versus populist, where the notion of individualism is crucial in defining the bourgeois. A special problem of middle-class intellectuals in the last decade was the fact that they received the political changes of the 90s unprepared and in a naive way: the last thing they expected was that they will again have to fight against totalitarian, populist and anti-intellectual tendencies in society. The mechanisms of resistance that the socialism-surviving middle-class was inoculated with started to break down in the early 90s. The formation of the Croatian state and war circumstances generated a totalitarian feeling of unity and, in most cases, created an affirmative identification in the sphere of national.

Nevertheless, the 90s brought something new to Croatia – a new social élite recruited from the members of the political élite, who slipped into the bourgeois attire, mostly presented through status symbols: clothes, private possessions and luxury cars. The new élite also needed paintings on the walls of their villas; and since it needed public places to show off, theatres and galleries were used for that purpose. Culture was being exploited and used in a way resembling socialist model, since the political élite of those times equally needed its "abstract painters" and used to take the first rows on the opening nights. The new élite, on the other hand, appropriated the semantic field of the bourgeois, what the previous élite could not have done and was not allowed to do for ideological reasons.

The destruction mechanisms of modern bourgeois individuality in the 90's differed from the old ones: although not openly declared, since the bourgeois was promoted as value, in reality, the middle class was being impoverished, socially degraded and marginalized. The new "system of values" was the one established on the bases of pragmatic experience: in the new order it was possible to steal and kill without being punished, it was possible to become rich overnight, it was possible to buy social privileges, a reputation and a university degree, acquaintance with artists and a seat in the Presidential box, newspaper interviews and appearances in TV-shows.

The mental framework of the HDZ - Croatian Democratic Union authority was in its essence distinctly and openly anti-intellectualistic.¹

The elementary system of middle class values, in which know-how and professionalism are a guarantee for a job, and where professionally done work brings money – had been destroyed. The most horrible consequence of the transitional period and the war is not

¹ One of the famous statements from that period is a statement by Ivan Milas (HDZ - Croatian Democratic Union), the so-called "keeper of the state seal", who in the midst of Sabor (the Croatian Parliament) asked: "How much does a kilo of brain cost?" and replied immediately by himself: "A kilo of brain costs – 2,5 DM". The political populism was demonstrated on a daily basis in an aggressive form of downright anti-intellectualism.

the material impoverishment of Croatian society, but the destruction of the value-system that was functional in particular areas of human activity.

The average citizen remained unprotected against transitional transformations, shocked by early-capitalism acts of plundering and without a possibility to find a place where he could protect his individual bourgeois privacy. The area of culture that for decades served as a resistance place to the ruling communist ideology also ceased to exist as such. Or maybe culture was that place, since it does not exist but as resistance to the reality and the existing? The survival of culture as a public activity accessible to all became questionable since the primary means HDZ as a ruling party used to protect itself, was exactly the refusal of public space to all who thought differently. To all who did not participate with all their heart in the proclaimed "spiritual renewal" with a fundamental aim to subjugate culture, turning it into an instrument of the state ideology based on the idea of national and Catholic unity, ethnic and religious "purity" and aptness.

The "alternative cultural scene" of the 90s is therefore how I call the area of all cultural and artistic initiatives that – unconnected mutually – happened without state financing and support of culture. We are talking about a series of isolated, we could say "private" projects (in the best sense of the word, private keeping the meaning of individual and independent) without a common denominator in a poetic, aesthetic and ideological sense. This definition of "alternative culture", derived from the reality, fundamentally differs from the artistically conceived and socially networked alternative scene in the West. What unites all those aesthetically and qualitatively different projects (from art-workshops to publishing projects, from contemporary dance to independent film productions) is an attempt to establish aesthetically regulating value-systems that would help valorise the products of the Croatian artistic and cultural scene in the contemporary international context. We are talking about a process in its beginning stage, a process of establishing value criteria that connect us synchronously, horizontally, in the context of contemporary cultural production, but that should simultaneously function in a diachronous way, establishing a relation with cultural tradition and respectable aesthetic value-systems that were established in Croatian culture, particularly in two moments of the 20th century – in the 30s and the 60s. One of the problems that today's young Croatian cultural scene has to face is the fact – mainly because of total resistance towards everything coming from heritage, in the last decade the heritage was ideologically postulated as the only good – that all relations and connections inside Croatian artistic and cultural tradition are shattered, that all generational bridges are destroyed and that every generation starts for itself from the beginning the work of re-establishing values. As if nothing existed before. For culture, in whose immanency is the idea of tradition, in the long-turn, this cannot be a good thing.

II National culture and globalisation: the media transition of the "old" and the "new" cultural values

It appears as if there are two cultures in Croatia since the 90s, two separate spheres of culture that are neither in contact with each other, nor exclude each other. The only form of their contact is a conflict – a clash that leaves both sides doubtless about their standpoints, and even surer that each of them is the only one in the right. The first one is a culture that I will call ethno-centric and neo-conservative, informed about the past and auto-referential. This culture is autistic and xenophobic although, paradoxically, it often refers to the common European roots when its own mythical origins are questioned. The motto of this culture can be found in one of the nationalistic kitsch hits from the beginning of the 90s: Croatia since the 7th century. This culture, to be more precise, is a radical result of the cultural politics of HDZ and was best declared (and still is) in the cultural weekly *Hrvatsko slovo*.²

The other culture is that of independent intellectuals, writers and critics, who put forward their stands in *Feral*, *Arkzin*, *Vijenac* and *Zarez*.³ This culture is contemporary and modern, it tries to consider the present and to be critical against it, it is open and communication-thirsty and it measures and compares its own achievements with close and more distant neighbours. It is a culture of translations, a culture of connections and a culture of changes. It asks questions and does not always expect the right answers. It is a culture of provocation and not of affirmation.

These two cultures are woven into the bases of Croatian society. On one side there are those who reject all that "comes from abroad", who oppose communication and changes. These are not only older generations, what could be presumed at first thought, but – as in many other countries of Middle and East Europe – a group of people who cannot adapt culturally. The second group consists of those who without restraint embrace all that comes from abroad, mostly young people, who successfully adapt to the demands of the new age. Kazimierz Krzysztofek, from the Polish Institute for culture, who calls this phenomenon cultural dualism⁴ in which the parallelism of two cultures, two systems of values, is manifested, has also discussed this phenomenon. The new system comes from the market economy and brings along the idea of an open society, asking from culture to establish a cultural market as a natural continuation of the market of mass culture. The second system is older, it does not accept the ideas of

² **Hrvatsko slovo** has been published since 1994, when it was started, with a substantial financial help from the state, by the Croatian Writers' Society, as a sort of "spiritual" counterbalance to the activities of the Croatian P.E.N. and the independent **Vijenac** that was started by Matica hrvatska (Croatian cultural society) in 1993 during the chairmanship of Vlado Gotovac, future leader of the Liberal Party. **Hrvatsko slovo** repeatedly used racist discourse and language of hate. The paper was, among other things, financed through direct purchase by the Ministry of Defence and was printed in the state printing-house. Since 1999 the Croatian Writers' Society has not been signed as the publisher.

³ **Zarez** was started in 1999 after a group of editors and co-operators because of political pressures, as well as different kinds of indirect or direct censorship left **Vijenac** published by Matica hrvatska. The conflict in Matica culminated after the decision of the board not to allow the publishing of a photograph of a Muslim camp inmate from the Croatian camp Dretelj. **Zarez** was started with the help from foreign foundations, with a goal to bring about a space of culture where critical discourse could be shaped and discussions opened on all questions in the society.

⁴ "The New Role of the Cultural Factor in the European Processes", *Culturelink*, special issue: Dynamics of Communication and Cultural Change. The Role of Networks, Zagreb, 1996

the cultural market and it entirely relies on the system of state welfare when it comes to financing culture.

Croatian culture in the 90s as a matter of fact fluctuated between these two extreme poles, one marked by the globalisation trend and the other showing tendencies to confine to ethnocentric, self-sufficient concepts. We could say that everyday culture in Croatia is rather "universal" and "global": the average citizen considers himself personally integrated in Europe through Barilla pasta and Lotto sneakers. He inclines, what is more, towards real globalisation and multicultural trends – eats Chinese food, drives Japanese cars, drinks Coca-Cola and Australian wines. This particular citizen is not an ideal reader of the previously described Hrvatsko slovo. He reads Rushdie and Kureishi, follows European film, and gets wild on Buena Vista Social Club music. The question on the national identity of culture and the preservation/expression of the national identity through culture today is, however, more and more in the centre of theoretical discussions dealing with the phenomena of multiculturalism and the effects of globalisation on national cultures. Croatian culture of the 90s was burdened by the heritage of the past, the grafted idea that during long centuries culture was place/space where the idea of Croatian statehood, the inner essence of Croatian nation, was protected and bequeathed. Long centuries without a state in legal sense conducted the mythologisation of the cultural sphere as a privileged media for the transition of national essence and burdened a large part of contemporary Croatian cultural production with questions from the past. For, Croatian culture has never had the right to deal with itself, its own topics, poetical and aesthetical questions, but always had to worry about the other, the First, to be correct: namely how to protect the Language, how to save the History and how to constitute the Nation. It is almost incredible how even today these questions, even unconsciously, burden the youngest generations of authors, who were never forgiven dealing with trivial topics and genres models by the official critics of the 90s that through the state media constantly imposed interiorised demands for every product of culture to deal with questions essential for the community, with big themes of concern to all of the nation.

III The Media and culture: cases and excesses

The status of culture in Croatian society since the 90s can be detected from the relation of the media, both state and the so-called independent media, to cultural events and programmes. The fundamental distinction of the media presentation of culture in the 90s (this situation exists, prolonged, even today) was an almost exclusive approach to culture as a (*political*) case or a (*scandalous*) excess. Culture, in the first place, entered the media as an event with political aspects, if possible spiced with private scandalous details, preferably linked to well known personalities. In daily papers and political weeklies, cultural topics could appropriate somewhat larger space, or get a prestigious interview form, not because of their inherent aesthetic value but because of political circumstances linked to an event or a person. The interest in "private" often crossed the limits of journalistic ethics and carried favour with the lowest passions of the audience, thirsty for yellow-press scandals. Actors, poets, writers and painters would get the

media coverage dependent upon whether and what kind of political stands they publicly expressed. Since the media of the 90s were politically polarized, in simple terms, on two groups, on the "nationally constructive"⁵ media and the independent media, cultural materials also entered these two groups according to two criteria: the nationally constructive media covered nationally constructive artists and representative manifestations, while the independent media gave space to so-called independent intellectuals and artists who did not show sympathies for the HDZ rule but openly criticized it. What happened to those in between? In public, there was not room for them. The 90s by no means had taste for nuances and did not accept a possibility of the existence of an interspace. The tension between the authorities and the opposition in the last three years escalated to a point where almost every artist/intellectual was asked to directly and clearly express his/her own political orientation. It was assumed that those who were silent or "undecided" in fact implicitly supported the survival of the ruling party.

One of the negative effects of such polarization on cultural scene was reflected in the loss of personal critical principles and criteria. What we condemned in HDZ at the beginning of the 90s – the promotion of valueless artistic programmes in the name of "nationally constructive" and "homeland-loving" message, in the second part of the decade became the practice of the opposition media. In the independent press, and therefore organs in opposition, a huge publicity was given to artistic acts of those individuals, whose political preferences were unquestionably in opposition, placing the criteria of the aesthetic and artistic values in the second plan.

Žarko Puhovski, a philosopher and political scientist best described this situation, equally perceptible in the journals for culture, in his speech at the public debate on the media and culture⁶, saying that the critique in Croatia became "artificial" (serving its own purpose), and that the artistic production was subordinated to the political dictates. A healthier situation both for the critique and the art would exist if art was concerned with art, and if the critique in its analyses analysed contextual circumstances, ideological encumbrance and political implications of the works of art.

This is particularly important if we ascertain that the so-called small-edition media, daily papers and journals, succumbed to the pragmatic ordinance of the daily politics and gave up their space to petty-political stands. The question is what is the "political" impact of such a media conduct: in any case it is a question of a continuing manipulation with culture for political goals and for the promotion of clearly marked political ideas. Today, in the reverse sense, we have examples when the political

⁵ The term "national construction" and the adjective "nationally constructive" appeared at the beginning of the 90s as a linguistic sign for semantic identification of the state and the concrete political power (namely, HDZ-Croatian Democratic Union). Those who were for HDZ were automatically "nationally constructive" and therefore for the Croatian state, while those who criticized HDZ were accused of being against the Croatian state since there was no semantic distinction between state and authorities nor between state and homeland. Both artists and intellectuals were proclaimed "nationally constructive" – namely those who were involved in the project of so-called "spiritual revival".

⁶ The debate took place in Croatian journalist centre in February 2000, and the transcript of the debate was published in March 2000 in **Zarez**, a two-weekly for cultural and social events.

etiquette (the extreme right one, as for example in the case of the writer Ivan Aralica who spoke in favour of the war of Croats against Muslims) is used as propaganda on the market. I have in mind the last scandal-case over the promotion of Aralica's book on the national bookstand on the Frankfurt fair. The journalistic and the media dust that was raised, even when it was aimed against Aralica and the promotion of his blasphemous book, exclusively helped the promotion of the right stands. All book lists show that titles from the field of political memoirist writing, as well as the works of politically marked authors are bestsellers. This proves that politics have direct consequences on the book market however small it may be in Croatia.

Negative examples of "advocating culture"

There were many negative examples in the process of advocating culture in the media in the last decade. The extreme cases were the examples of the satanisation of certain individuals and the use of the language of hate. The best-known case was the case of the "Witches from Rio" where Croatian women writers and journalists in the large-edition weekly "Globus" in an anonymous text – table (produced by a so-called investigation squad) were demonised as state enemies, mostly on the criteria of nationality and "anti-Croatian orientation". Dubravka Ugrešić, Slavenka Drakulić, Vesna Kesić, Jelena Lovrić and Rada Iveković, were through a systematic and long-lasting media campaign thrown out of the public space, while their normal professional life was rendered impossible. A similar campaign in the early 90s was conducted against, at that time, the best Croatian actress Mira Furlan. The consequences were very efficient: only two out of six women remained in Croatia, and only one of them is active in larger public sphere.

It should be stressed that during that period there was an independent media space ("Feral", for example) where different voices could have been heard, the voices of the "proclaimed enemy", although the range and the influence of those media were far less important compared to large-edition political weeklies and especially to the electronic media. Although this question cannot be opened on this occasion, a special problem in Croatia in the sense of advocating culture through the media is the fact that there are no long-range electronic media that would function as the "public media" and present cultural programmes. On state television cultural programmes are reduced to some two hours weekly in rather unattractive times.

Another interesting example of negative promotion is the media coverage of Dubrovnik summer festival in the season of 2000, when the media in conflict with each other because of political reasons rose the temperature of the clash between the leading people of the Festival to the point where the artistic quality of the Festival itself became unimportant and the whole clash resulted in the defeat of the audience by the politics. (Vido Bogdanović remained the mayor of Dubrovnik, and S.P. Novak was not confirmed the artistic manager of the Festival).

Positive examples of "advocating culture"

One of the rare positive examples of advocating culture is the action of intellectuals to defend the Third programme of the Croatian Radio, an eminently intellectual and artistic programme. However, the media poorly covered the campaign that was only given attention in low-edition media ("Zarez") where eminent individuals gathered and raised their voice against the loss of independence of a cultural radio programme. A true lobbying for this media space went thorough private channels, by private lobbying of the politicians who decided about the conflict.

Another example (or, another examples) we could mention are the cases of the media promotion of the so-called alternative art, "new" and "contemporary" as opposed to "old" and "traditional". Such divisions clearly show a political sign on both sides. The Media promotion of the "new art" is rather successful in the short run, but without long-range effects.

Cases for discussion:

FAK-writers (writers who are in the same time journalists promoting themselves)

Musical biennale, Eurokaz – an organised media promotion on the criteria of "new" art that is in itself "better" and "more valuable"

Andy Warhole exhibition – first media spectacle with a support of strong sponsors (VIPnet) with high box office receipts for the gallery, but in the same time with a shift in the real aesthetic values

In all these cases we can outline the media discourse: cult performance, fine arts event of the season, scandal, artistic provocation, innovation.

Theoretical comment:

Boris Groys: "Contemporary kind of censorship of the artistic production is based on the notion of "new" and "innovation". If previously in the artistic critique we were saying "We don't need this because it's not good", today we say, " We don't need this, because it is not new or innovative enough". The innovative has been equated with the creative. A negative mark in the media runs: "This has already been seen/heard/read"

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MEDIA AS ALLY – How Dubrovnik summer games used media for its promotion?

By *Tomo Vlahutin*

“Surely, every one of us had a moment in Dubrovnik when he thought to himself that he should unpack and say: I’ve arrived.” There are places that radiate beyond words. Miraculous harmony of this city is not only a question of form, but also a thing of the uttermost spiritual content. How many photos were taken and sent outside the city and the borders of Croatia. It is unimaginable. How many times and in which way were news sent about the opening ceremony of the Games, the concerts in Dvor, fields of Dubrovnik, and all the other churches, monasteries and fortresses? How many times and how was the picture of Hamlet or Otello in Lovrijenac, or the picture of Dundo from Gundulić’s field or the pictures of Karajan, Kletski, Matačić or Horvat sent to the world? Or how were the news, pictures or reviews about what was going on during July and August nights in Dubrovnik sent? It is really difficult to answer. Almost impossible. But, it is possible to express thoughts on how and in which way Dubrovnik festival entered through wide open doors the homes and offices of millions of visitors to Dubrovnik.

Those visitors were, and will be from Europe and the whole world, poets, artists, rulers, kings and queens, directors, musicians and dramatists. The city was visited by Ionescu, Ustinov, Strehler, Richter, Karajan, Kondrašin, Rostropovič, Caballé, just to give a few names out of many who visited this white, stone city. Some of them visited Dubrovnik couple of times. That is why I am positive that their impressions and experiences, in written or told thoughts have presented Dubrovnik and its Games in the best possible way to the world.

Good quality art programmes, expert selection of drama and music literature simply made media send good vibrations to the world about the Dubrovnik summer festival.

From the very beginning, daily press, weeklies, magazines and others were following closely the programme of Dubrovnik festival, thus promoting it. Expert reviews of theatre shows, concerts and all other articles and news about Round tables performances made part of Festival events. Last couple of years, the percentage of expert reviews from Croatia and abroad is worsening. There is more of news reports that follow certain affairs, conflicts and misunderstandings. All of this proved to be more interesting for the news than the real art events.

There are numerous voice recordings of many concerts, even some cult plays. Radio stations Dubrovnik and Zagreb hold an archive with very precious recordings of the musical programme. All of the music events have been recorded. This rich music repository got reproduced on almost every Croatian radio station, even couple of times. In international exchange all of the tapes were irreplaceable and sought by many.

During last 20 years, the number of concerts reduced significantly. Unfortunately, reasons for it, lie in: reduced funds for recording, as well as for paying the copyrights to the authors and

troupes. Equally, another obstacle to recording represents the fact that almost every artist or a troupe is tied by an exclusive agreement for a particular radio station or a network

As, far as radio reviews and radio critics, some organised radio shows and talks, the situation is somewhat better. Lately, there were live concerts broadcast from Dubrovnik for larger part of Europe. This certainly has been a strong support to Croatian culture and arts.

Croatian Radio, Radio stations Dubrovnik and Zagreb always includes festival events and reviews in its programme. For couple of years, every Sunday at noon, there is Festival panorama show.

Parts of some drama performances, as well as numerous music pieces are recorded on records, cassettes and CDs.

Croatian television (and former TV Zagreb), regularly includes the programme of Dubrovnik festival in its programme. Unfortunately, sometimes the time of broadcast of the shots from Dubrovnik is not really the best. All opening ceremonies in last 30 years were broadcasted live on all of the territory that Croatian radio television covers, and before it was Yugoslav radio television coverage. Via satellite, opening ceremony can be watched in all countries that receive Croatian television satellite programme.

Many concerts and plays are recorded, and some of the concerts are even broadcasted live. This practice, though, for the last couple of years is reduced only to few pieces. Reasons for that are similar to those in the radio systems. TV Zagreb, and later Croatian television, for many years had "Festival panorama" or "Festival chronicles". During some of the years, chronicles were broadcasted even some 4, 6 or 8 times during the summer.

Croatian television regularly reports and announces in daily news shows or shows about culture, special contributions from the performances or significant concerts. In the international TV exchange, recorded materials from Dubrovnik festival are appreciated. The events during the games are covered by 8 to 10 TV crews from Europe and the world.

For the purpose of serious and professional relations with the print, radio and television, Dubrovnik festival has set up press and communications service in mid 1960s. Also the Festival started organising a Press office. Press officers were usually well-known, leading music and drama critics, or professional journalists, literary managers, musicologists or writers. During all these years, Press office was publishing a bulletin named "Festival News", "Bulletin", etc in Croatian and some editions in English language. The bulletin was sent to all relevant media addresses in the country as well as some addresses abroad. Press office held regular press conferences and organised meetings and briefings with the artists, as well as interviews, book promotions and promotions of all relevant festival print materials.

Lately, the organisation of the Press office got special attention. Last year, Europa Press Holding organised a very successful Press office.

At the end of 1980s, Press office organised publishing of a special issue of Večernji list dedicated to the anniversary of Gundulić, and last as well as this year Jutarnji list published special contribution about the Festival.

In average, every year the Games were covered by a large number of reporters, journalists and critics. It should be about 150 domestic and 50 foreign people covering it. Couple of times, when the circumstances allowed, the Games used to invite foreign and domestic critics few times to Dubrovnik, during the Festival. This practice proved to be very useful.

It is difficult to say how much have the above-mentioned media helped the promotion of the Games in the country and abroad. However, when mentioning Dubrovnik in any part of Croatia, Europe or the world, people would always know and remember that this city has a summer festival.

Promotion of the Festival in the world was supported by the promotion of the Tourist board of the city and the Tourist board of the county, as well as Croatian Tourist Board. Also, the promotion was supported by some advertising pieces about the Games in promotional brochures of the airline company Croatian Airlines, Croatian rail, Atlas travel agency and other.

The promotion of the Festival in the country and abroad was revolutionised and enriched by the Internet which offered huge positive communications opportunities. In the beginning (1994) the use of Internet in the promotion was very shy, but since then its usage got expanded. Last two years, thanks to Internet, news about the Festival reached practically every corner of the world. Festival has really good web pages now. Last year, for the first time, all of the stages of the Games were shot digitally and published on the Internet. Over 300 different photographs of the city, stages, artists, troupes, scenes, promotions, exhibitions were published on the web page of the Games. A large number of texts were published (over 320 per year), which were usually taken from domestic or foreign print. Also, the web page announced all the other festival related events such as exhibitions, promotions, visits of the statesmen... etc. During last Festival, web page was accessed 380000 times, and 60% of the accesses was from abroad – 28,8% from Europe and 29,7% from North America. About 400000 people visited these years' web pages of the Games. The web pages also offer numerous links to the cultural institutions, tourism authorities in country and abroad, artists and troupes. Equally, those links hold a link to the web pages of the Games.

Numerous film companies and studios have realised the value of covering Dubrovnik summer games. In co-operation with Croatian television many crews from Czech Republic, BBC, US made films about Dubrovnik and the Games.

All of the above mentioned, gives additional commitment to thorough thinking on how and in what ways can Dubrovnik summer festival make further contributions to itself, to Dubrovnik and Croatia in general. In all of that, the media can give additional value, quality and further recognition.

Festival can play an important role in the process of integration of the Republic of Croatia in global developments, on many levels. Firstly, quality artistic productions which were gathered throughout the years by the Festival, make it even more stronger in putting additional requests for quality production, gathering that way not only Croatian artists but inviting foreign artists as well, thus increasing the exchange with the best of them. In that part of the production and experience in the organisation of the festival, some other activities are opening, for example, creation of information centre of all performance arts (comprised of archive, library, video library, disc library), making links to educational activities (organisation of expert art workshops, seminars, talks), publishing and other. Along these activities it is important to attract

talented artists from abroad, management culture know how, assistance of all the available funds in Europe and wider for small countries of Central and Eastern Europe and big networks of theatre institutions.

Of course, Dubrovnik summer games can only with the quality of its programme realise parts of its production with the assistance of the funds for culture from EU, Council of Europe and UNESCO. It seems to me that the most important task of the Dubrovnik summer games is to connect Croatia and the world, but not in the way of presenting the domestic production to the world, or the other way around. The right way would be to see Croatia and the contemporary world as one. It is not possible to divide them by some old fashioned concepts of nations, artists, etc. Because Dubrovnik is Croatia and Croatia is a country of the world.

6.1 Available legislation

The following laws are available in English from the *Policies for Culture* Programme

- Ordinance of the Government of **Romania** No 26/ 30 January 2000, Concerning Associations and Foundations
- Common Declaration of the Status of the Authors and Performers in **Romania**
English and French versions
- **Romanian** Sponsorship Law
English version
- **Croatian** Acts in the field of Culture (in *English*)
 - Law on Institutions
 - Act on Foundations and Funds
 - Law on Administration of Cultural Institutions
 - Law on Rights of Free-lance Artists and on Stimulation of Cultural and Artistic Creativity
 - Law on Theatres
 - Law on Archive records and Archives
 - Draft Law on Museums
 - Law on Libraries
 - Law on Protection and Preservation of Cultural Goods
 - Law on Cultural Councils
- The **Bulgarian** Protection and Development of Culture Act
- The **Bulgarian** Local Self-Government and Local Administration Act

6.2 Law on Culture Councils of Croatia

Article 1

(1) Cultural Councils (hereinafter referred to as Councils) shall be established at the Ministry of Culture for specific fields of artistic and cultural activities with a view to proposing the objectives of cultural policy and the measures for its implementation, and in particular, for proposing programs of cultural needs for which funds are earmarked in the state budget of the Republic of Croatia, as well as for effectuating the influence of cultural professionals and artists on decision-making relevant for culture and the arts.

(2) In the course of fulfilling the tasks from paragraph 1 of this Article, the Councils shall professionally assist the Minister of culture in the process of adopting and enacting annual and long-term programs of public cultural needs of interest to the Republic of Croatia and of their funding, actively partake in the bringing of decisions in the process of establishing cultural policies, and to that end, provide expertise and opinions to the Ministry of Culture and the Minister; propose to the Minister of Culture the submission of proposals to the Government of the Republic of Croatia for initiating procedures for the adoption of a separate Law on the setting up of foundations or funds for specific areas of cultural and artistic activity, and carry out other activities provided by the Law which contribute to the achievement of tasks from paragraph 1 of this Article

(3) The activities of the Councils shall be public. The Councils' presidents shall be responsible for ensuring the transparency of the Councils' work.

Article 2

(1) Councils may also be established for particular county or city regions.

(2) The act on the establishment of the Councils from paragraph 1 of this Article shall be adopted by the representative bodies of the counties, i.e., cities, and shall determine the tasks, methods of work and decision-making process of the Councils in compliance with this Law.

SCOPE OF THE COUNCILS

Article 3

Councils established at the Ministry shall cover the following areas:

- Film and the film industry,
- Music,
- Performing arts,
- Fine and applied arts,
- Architecture and urbanism,
- Books and publishing, and
- Media

(2) Along with their spheres of action provided by specific laws, the Croatian Museum Council, Croatian Library Council, Croatian Archive Council and Croatian Council for Cultural Heritage shall fall within the purview envisaged for the Councils by this Law.

STRUCTURE OF THE COUNCILS

Article 4

(1) The Councils shall have a president and six members. Council members shall be appointed from among cultural professionals and artists engaged in particular artistic and cultural fields who can, owing to their prior achievements and knowledge of problems linked to the establishment and enactment of cultural policy, contribute to the implementation of the objectives a particular Council has been set up for.

(2) The president of the Council and the Minister of culture may invite individual artists and cultural professionals to participate in the proceedings of particular Council sessions without the right of decision-making.

(3) Officials and other employees of the Ministry of Culture responsible for the field of activity of specific Councils shall also participate in the proceedings of the Councils without the right of decision-making.

ELECTION OF COUNCIL MEMBERS

Article 5

(1) The Minister of Culture shall initiate the procedure for the election of Council members from Article 3, paragraph 1 of this Law by inviting institutions, associations and individual artists and professionals in culture from various artistic and cultural fields, to submit written substantiated proposals for Council nominees from the specific area of culture and the arts they are engaged in. The deadline for submitting proposals shall be at least 15 days from the date of sending the letter of invitation.

(2) The Minister of culture shall, based on the received proposals, put forward to the Government of the Republic of Croatia the structure of particular Councils. Along

with the candidates proposed in line with paragraph 1 of this Article, the Minister of culture may propose one candidate as member of a specific Council.

(3) If the Minister of culture considers that the proposed candidates do not ensure an appropriate membership structure of a particular Council, the candidacy procedure may be repeated or the subjects from paragraph 1 of this Article asked to supplement their proposals. The Minister may call for the repetition of the candidacy procedure or supplementation of proposals only once.

(4) The presidents and members of the Councils shall be appointed by the Government of the Republic of Croatia.

Article 6

The structure of Councils from Article 2 of the Law, procedure of electing, appointing and relieving of duty Council members shall be determined by the representative bodies of particular counties, namely, cities.

MANDATE OF COUNCIL MEMBERS

Article 7

(1) The Councils' presidents and members shall be appointed for a period of four years whereby half of the Council members shall be appointed every two years.

(2) The Councils' presidents and members may be, at the proposal of the Minister of culture, released of duty prior to the termination of their mandates if their work in the Councils or public activities is such as to make them inappropriate for further engagement in the Council or if they have been convicted to a prison term for a criminal offence, or else upon a written request by the subjects referred to in Article 5, paragraph 1 of the Law.

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CULTURE

Article 8

(1) The National Council for Culture shall determine the proposal of the National program of culture, coordinate the work of the Councils and assist the Minister of culture in the establishment and enactment of cultural policy.

(2) The National Council for Culture shall comprise the Council presidents from Article 3 of this Law. At the proposal of the Minister of culture, the National Council for Culture shall elect its president.

(3) The Minister of culture may appoint up to five (5) distinguished cultural professionals or artists as members of the National Council for Culture.

(4) The provisions of Articles 10 and 11 of this Law shall, where appropriate, also apply to the activities of the National Council for Culture.

ADMINISTRATIVE TASKS

Article 9

(1) Administrative, technical and other tasks required for the work of the Councils from Article 3, of this Law, as well as for the National Council for Culture, shall be carried out by the Ministry of Culture. Funds for their activities shall be provided in the state budget.

DECISION-MAKING IN THE COUNCILS

Article 10

(1) The Councils shall bring decisions by majority vote of the total number of Council members.

(2) The Councils shall adopt their Rules of Procedure.

EXEMPTION OF COUNCIL MEMBERS FROM DECISION-MAKING

Article 11

(1) Council members who have a personal interest in a specific question regarding which a decision has to be made may take part in the discussions on that particular issue but may not participate in decision-making.

(2) It shall be considered that a Council member has a personal interest in a particular question being decided on if it is related to an artistic or cultural project he is personally involved in.

(3) The provisions of paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article shall not apply to decision-making on annual or long-term plans and projects if the respective Council

member has been exempted from the discussion on a particular issue which falls within the scope of the plans and projects.

NATIONAL PROGRAM OF CULTURE

Article 12

(1) The Councils from Article 3 of this Law shall determine the proposal of development projects and basic general cultural policy objectives, each Council for its field of activity, as a draft proposal for part of the National Program for Culture. As a rule, the National Program of Culture shall be adopted for a ten-year period and shall represent a long-term program of public needs in culture in the Republic of Croatia. The National Program project shall comprise program, infrastructure and financial priorities, a proposal of required legislative changes as well as the protagonists and general time limits for implementing the cultural policy goals and other relevant issues.

(2) In the elaboration of the National Program of Culture, the Ministry of Culture shall provide the Councils with financial and other required data and analyses, and shall obtain, where appropriate, the views of other ministries and bodies on issues from within their competence. The Ministry of Culture shall inform the Councils on financial and other possibilities for implementing the planned project.

(3) In the process of elaborating programs, which are to be jointly implemented with local and regional self-government units, the Councils shall, where required, hold consultations with these units. Upon acquiring the opinion of the Councils referred to Article 2 of this Law, the competent local and regional self-government bodies shall adopt the projects or parts thereof in which they are directly involved.

(4) The Minister of culture shall, based on the projects prepared by particular Councils and adopted by the National Council for Culture, propose to the Government of the Republic of Croatia to establish and submit the draft National program of culture to the Croatian Parliament for adoption. The National Program of Culture shall be published in the "Official Gazette" and be binding for the Ministry of culture and other state bodies, including local and regional self-government units in as far as they are involved in its implementation.

LONG-TERM PROGRAM ARRANGEMENTS

Article 13

The Ministry of Culture and local and regional self-government units, in as far as they are involved in the National program of culture, shall make arrangements with institutions and other legal and physical persons (theatres, libraries, museums and galleries, orchestras, festivals, films and multi-media project producers, publishers, etc.)

as the protagonists of particular activities linked to the implementation of the National Cultural Program, regarding the ways and means of its enacting, as a rule for four years in advance, depending on the nature of the project.

EXPRESSING OPINIONS ON ANNUAL PROGRAMS

Article 14

(1) The Councils shall give the Minister of culture their opinions on the annual program of public needs in culture, including annual programs of specific state budget users, as well as on the amounts the Ministry of culture has earmarked for particular programs.

(2) The Minister of culture shall be required to consider the opinions of the Councils prior to the final determination of annual programs and means for their financing in the state budget, as well as in cases of amended programs or financial plans.

(3) In case the Minister of culture does not take into account the opinions of the Councils, he is required to give a written explanation and submit it to the respective Council.

(4) The Minister of culture shall not be required to seek the opinion of the Councils when deciding on cultural programs subsidies not exceeding the amount of 100,000 kunas, and in total, one tenth of the overall amount intended for funding cultural programs in that year.

PROMOTION OF CROATIAN CREATIVITY AND ASSERTION OF NEW CULTURAL VALUES

Article 15

The Councils shall, within their competence, give particular consideration to Croatian cultural and artistic creativity as well as to the assertion of new cultural values, and shall propose to the Minister of culture measures for their promotion within the National Program of Culture and annual programs of specific state budget funds users.

Article 16

The Councils shall, within their fields of activity, give consideration to the assertion of amateurism in culture and the arts, as a particular and irreplaceable form of cultural and artistic creativity, especially in fields from Article 3, paragraph 1 of this Law.

INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL COOPERATION

Article 17

(1) In their activities the Councils shall devote particular attention to the promotion of Croatian cultural and artistic creativity abroad, as well as to measures allowing the Croatian public to get to know recognized values and contemporary trends in the art and culture of other peoples.

(2) Proceeding from the cultural and artistic requirements of national minorities and the need for developing international cultural cooperation, the Councils shall affirm the principles of multiculturalism.

CONSULTING ACTIVITIES

Article 18

(1) At the request of the Minister of culture, the Councils shall discuss specific issues from the sphere of culture and the arts and give their opinions and proposals to the Minister.

(2) The Councils may deliberate on questions from the sphere of culture and the arts from within their competence and inform the Minister on their conclusions and proposals.

TRANSITIONAL PROVISION

Article 19

(1) The Minister of culture shall be required to initiate, within a period of one month from the date of coming of this Law into force, procedures for the election of Council members and provide for the appointment and constitution of the Councils not later than six months from the coming of this Law into force.

(2) The Minister of culture shall propose, within a period of one month from the expiration date from paragraph 1 of this Article, the president of the National Council for Culture and convene the first session of the Council.

(3) In view of the implementation of the provisions of Article 7 of this Law, three members of each Council shall be appointed for a two-year term at the first session.

COMING OF THE LAW INTO FORCE

Article 20

This Law shall come into force on the eighth day from the date of its publication in the “Official Gazette” (“Narodne novine”).

