

COMPARATIVE STUDY ON METHODS
OF EVALUATION OF CULTURAL POLICY
MEASURES IN EUROPE

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Preface

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It is the purpose of this study to draw a "methodological summary" on the basis of the analyses of cultural policies of five countries, which should be of benefit to future evaluations of cultural policies.

Furthermore, special emphasis is laid on the "refinement" of evaluation methods on the one hand, and, on the other, to offer alternative solutions in case general problems of analysis are incurred.

The present study undertakes first to analyse the theoretical concepts of the respective national surveys.* Subsequently, the practical realisation of these theoretical elaborations is examined in order to point out the "missing links" and the positive results respectively.

In a further step, the problems and difficulties of a comparative analysis are set forth on the basis of the five countries' studies under review.

The recommendations - an attempt to contribute towards establishing guidelines for future evaluation work - conclude the study.

*Quotations from documents published in French are cited in the original language and have not been translated into English.

Studies under review

Studies from the following five countries form the basis of the analysis:

Austria:

Integrative Evaluation of Cultural Policies. Aspects of harmonisation of policy measures affecting culture in Austria. UNESCO, Vienna 1988. (Further referred to as "A")

France:

Experimental programme for the appraisal of cultural policies. Strasbourg 1987. (Further referred to as "F")

Sweden:

Swedish State Cultural Policy - Objectives, Measures and Results. Stockholm, Strasbourg 1989. (Further referred to as "S")

Switzerland:

Analyse & Evaluation des Politiques culturelles en Suisse. UNESCO, Paris 1988. (Further referred to as "CH")

Yugoslavia:

La Politique Culturelle en Yougoslavie - son Evaluation et sa Comparaison avec trois pays en développement à structure fédérale. UNESCO, Zagreb 1989. (Further referred to as "Y")

(The tables of contents of these studies are to be found in the Appendix)

I. ANALYSIS

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I.1. Theoretical concept

The results of the seminar "Methods for Evaluation of National Cultural Policies" (Stockholm 1985) constitute the theoretical framework for all five studies. On the occasion of this seminar five countries (FRG, France, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland) presented their respective theoretical concepts. The deliberations in the course of the seminar led to a proposed definition of the term "evaluation research": "Program Evaluation Research = a systematic study of implementation and consequences of adopted public policy programs, especially, though not exclusively, in the light of the goals they are designed to promote". (Methods for Evaluation of National Cultural Policies. Report from a seminar in Stockholm, Sweden, April 16-18, 1985 p.97 - further referred to as "Stockholm").

This definition was further specified by five concrete questions with regard to the practical application:

- "1. Have the goals of the program been achieved?
2. What are the costs and side effects of the program?
3. Why have (haven't) the goals been achieved? Has the program contributed to goal achievement? In an efficient way?

4. Why have side effects occurred? Has the program contributed to these side effects?
5. Under what conditions do policy programs succeed or fail?"
(Stockholm, 97).

In this context another important problem was mentioned namely the so-called "side-effects".

"In our opinion, policy evaluations should not merely deal with the achievement of preestablished goals and intentions and whether the policy instruments have in fact contributed to goal achievement. They should also track and assess intentional and unintentional, conscious and unconscious side-effects. A definition of our activity that too strongly stresses the search for goal achievement would miss the side-effects"
(Stockholm,97). (see also F,15 and A,104)

In this sense, a further difficulty is to be seen which is expressed in all the studies in varied ways and which can be summed up in a central question:

"Evaluating what happens and evaluating why it happens"
(Stockholm,96).

Especially in the field of cultural policy measures and developments a number of factors have to be considered - as e.g. the inroads of new technologies (satellites, cable, computer etc.), which not only influence the productions of creative artists but also dissemination and reception. These developments, however, do not occur in all countries at the same time and at the same pace. Therefore, the

questions mentioned are of the utmost importance but have to be treated with the utmost care.

In a very general way all these quoted studies regard policy evaluation as analysis of adopted programs, which means "that policy evaluation is considered an activity that concerns implementation and consequences of adopted policy programs" (Stockholm,95).

A further recommendation of a methodological nature concerning evaluation research was suggested by France, namely "that it must be quite clear whether the evaluation is to be made prior to a programme (evaluation of needs), during it (evaluation of modalities), or after it (evaluation of effects)" (Stockholm,67).

Some of these theoretical considerations - e.g. the incorporation of side-effects, the assessment of cultural needs, accompanying research etc. - have been adopted in the other studies under review (e.g. in the Austrian, Swiss and Yugoslav studies).

On the basis of theoretical suggestions developed in the course of the Stockholm Seminar the national studies formulated their methodological approaches according to their respective individual situation.

The French Study: Appraisal of Results

The French Study proceeds as follows:

Under the term "appraisal of cultural policies" - according to the authors - all the studies and reflections which aim to determine the effects of government action in the field of culture and the arts objectively and if possible quantitatively can be understood.

This also includes exemplary studies which take place prior to a decision being made, in order to determine the likely consequences of the various possible courses of action. The French study limits itself to deal "here with the appraisal of results subsequent to the decision being taken and implemented" (F,11).

Results in this sense are, for example, "funds used or distributed to cultural organisations and artists", but also "staff employed in museums and public libraries" and "services produced" - in the context of cultural policy. These services for example "are the immediate results of cultural policies. Through them we can gain an initial idea of the efficacy of the policies pursued". (F,11)

The interest of a cultural policy-observer should, however, transcend this level of information, i.e. should not only be restricted to a collection of data.

Because nature and extent of cultural policies changes are not stated in so many words by the authors of cultural policies,

it is necessary for cultural policies-evaluation "to formulate a reasonable hypothesis as to what they might have been".

(F,11)

This hypothesis should be based on the expectations of a modern society with regard to cultural policy measures and comprise the following items:

1. Identifying and measuring change.
2. Explaining the changes observed.
3. Comparing results and intentions.

ad 1: Identifying and measuring change:

It does not seem very difficult to state the fact that changes have been induced by cultural policy measures. However, it is very difficult to measure or quantify these changes.

"Quantitative measurement is an essential aspect of policy appraisal". (F,11)

A further problem consists in identifying and collecting significant data. ("Statistics are significant - or pertinent - when they really answer a question the analyst wishes to resolve." F,12) Especially this factor is also referred to in the other studies as an ever-recurring obstacle when trying to compare cultural policy measures (for example A, S, Y)..

On the other hand quantitative data should not be vested with a mythical aura as if they alone would be able to inform about the goals achieved by cultural policy measures.

Especially the field of cultural policy and its evaluation demands for qualitative statements to be operationalised.

ad 2: Explaining the changes observed:

Whenever changes (developments) in the domain of cultural behaviour are detectable, a very careful distinction should be made whether these results are attributable to policy or to environmental factors. It is also possible to try

"to establish a cause and effect relationship between policy implementation and the developments observed". (F,14)

ad 3: Comparing results and intentions:

This point - obviously the most important in a study on cultural policy appraisal - comprises essentially three considerations:

- Comparing results and objectives is only possible if the authors of the policies expressed their aims in appropriate terms in the first place.

- In case such explanations exist, the observer is well-advised not to jump to hasty, simplistic conclusions.

- Finally, it is to be observed that cultural policies too, like other government policies, sometimes bring about changes other than those intended or highlighted at the outset. (see F,15)

The Swiss Study: Analysis and Evaluation go hand in hand

The Swiss Study is based on the concept of analysis and evaluation. The study can be structured according to four questions:

" - Comment mesurer les rôles respectifs de la prévision ou de la programmation au niveau des processus de décision?

- Quelle est la participation de la population à l'élaboration des choix et à la réalisation des activités?

- Quelle est l'importance des ressources humaines et économiques à mobiliser pour mettre en oeuvre les programmes et les projets?

- Quels sont les écarts significatifs entre objectifs, moyens et résultats, du point de vue de l'appréciation de l'action des pouvoirs publics sur les pratiques et les vécus culturels des population?" (CH,7)

Also based on the central concepts of the Swedish Seminar, the Swiss study places its theoretical approach to the evaluation of cultural policy measures within a three-dimensional framework:
spatial dimension - institutional dimension - socio-political dimension. (see CH,28)

By means of these three dimensions the evaluation of cultural policy measures relates, in the first instance, to a "niveau d'analyse structurel, qui correspond aux ressources humaines, économiques, et organisationnelles, et à la manière dont ces ressources sont distribuées, composées, appropriées par les différents partenaires du domaine culturel". (CH,29)

These three dimensions are then complemented by three additional aspects:

the "niveau d'offre qui correspond à la nature et à la quantité des biens culturels produits et/ou distribués dans le système étudié;"

the "niveau du public qui comprend le nombre et les catégories de 'consommateurs' pour chaque type de biens culturels;"

and finally the "niveau plus général de la population qui inclut les pratiques et les attentes des diverses strates qui composent la population concerné." (CH, 29)

The Yugoslav Study: Objectives - Actions - Results

The Yugoslav Study also refers to the conclusions drawn by the Stockholm Seminar especially with regard to the investigation into the three areas: Objectives - Actions - Results.

From this concept the following considerations are derived:

"Ce travail part de l'idée selon laquelle le modèle d'évaluation doit être conforme, . . . , au modèle organisationnel de la politique culturelle, inscrit dans les lois et les documents en tant qu'un instrument idéal". (Y,31)

Evaluation in the sense of the Yugoslav study means the "interprétation du degré d'accomplissement de la politique culturelle dans un pays donné". (Y, 30)

However, the degree of accomplishment should not be restricted to a certain juncture but "il est préférable de valoriser les trajectoires globales des stratégies découlant des objectifs durant une période plus longue." (Y,31)

The Yugoslav study counts the following among the instruments for assessing cultural policy:

- instruments financiers;
- instruments normatifs (lois, résolution politiques et 'plates-formes idéologiques', etc.);
- instruments d'information;
- instruments d'évaluation. (Vgl. Y,31)

The Swedish Study: What has been done and what has been achieved?

The Swedish Study defines the following items as the pillars of a systematic evaluation of cultural policy:

objectives, measures, results.

The goal of its endeavours is "to put these three in relation to each other." (S,3:2)

This is followed by an extensive explanation of the interrelation between these three areas.

Finally, the Swedish report claims to answer the following questions arising in practical policies - as it were, the central questions of any evaluation study:

"What were the objectives?

Which concrete measures were made to achieve those objectives?

What were the effects of measures in relation to the objectives?" (S,3:5)

Using the French study as a guideline the authors of the Swedish study put forward three additional basic questions in

order to define the frame of reference of their study:

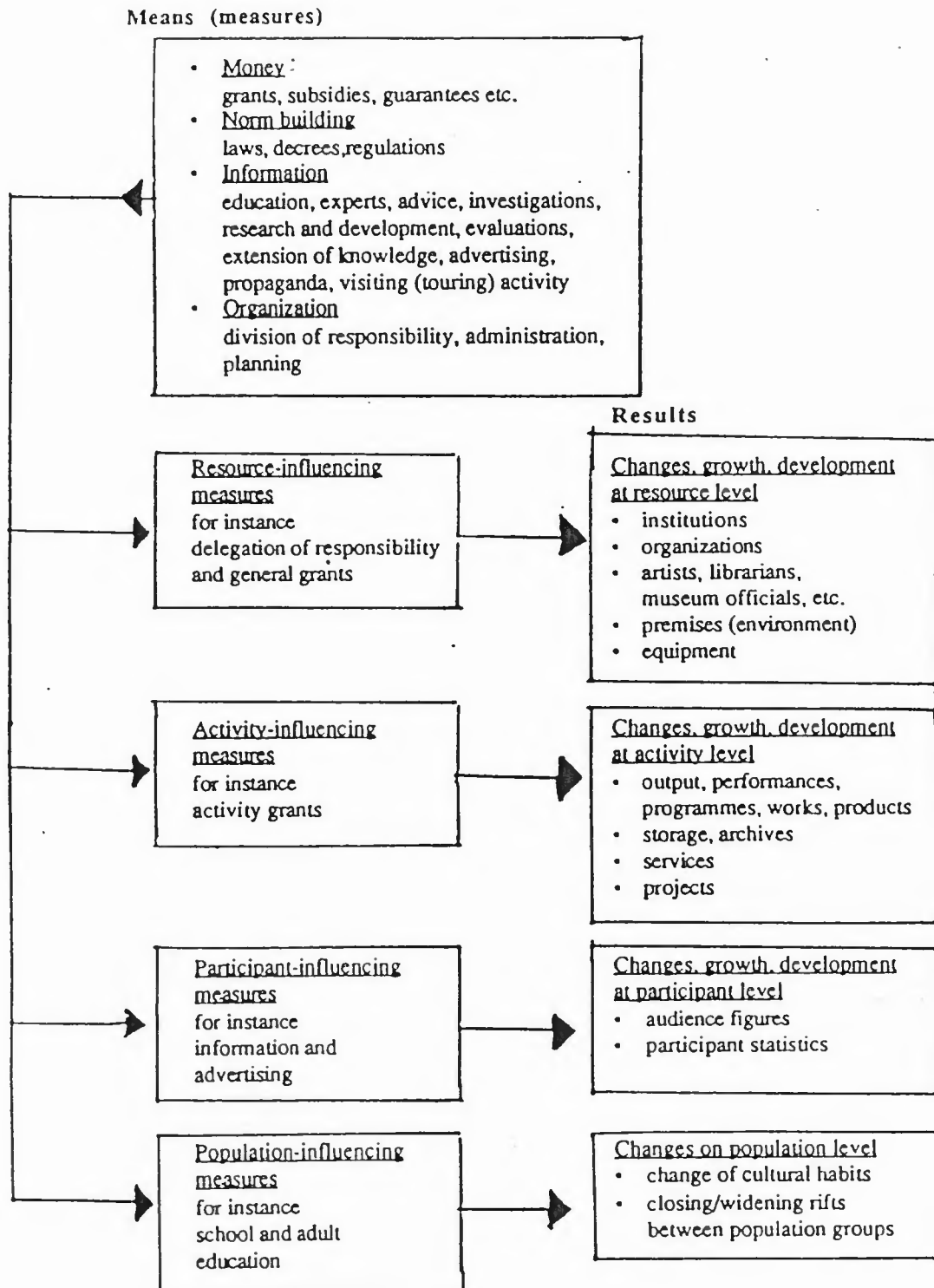
" - What have measures to promote artistic creation and artistic production led to?

- What have measures for decentralizing activities and responsibility led to?

- What have measures to broaden audiences led to?" (S,3:6)

(see the following page)

Figure 3.1 General model for evaluation of cultural policy measures.
Means and results



The Austrian Study: Towards a Method of Evaluation

Contrary to the primarily deductive procedure used in the other studies, the Austrian Study prefers to follow a mainly inductive line. It starts with a description of the present situation in Austria and from this a method of evaluation is elaborated, which could be adopted in future action.

In the method of evaluation three points should be considered:

- "1. The introduction of cultural-policy measures must, for the sake of expediency, be preceded by an identification of needs and a cost/benefit assessment;
2. with measures of cultural-policy intent related research is indicated for the purpose of establishing whether and to what extent the intention is being realised and which unexpected side-effects may have occurred;
3. the cultural implications of measures with and without cultural-policy intent are to be analysed in retrospect with reference to the network of those concerned." (A,104)

The interlinkage of cultural sectors with technical, economic and other sectors generates new types of interaction, which have to be taken into account when evaluating cultural-policy measures.

Measures with cultural-policy intent may cause:

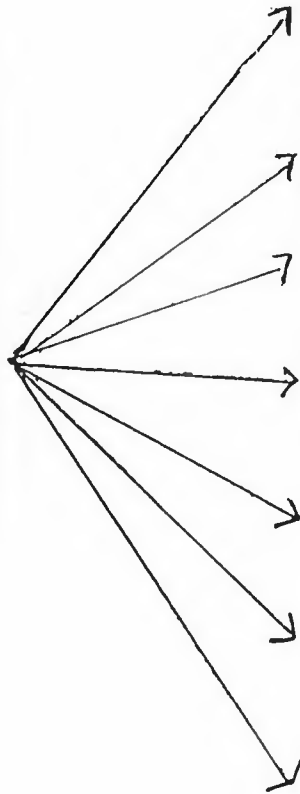
- a. effects in the field of culture (e.g. dissemination of works, attendance of events), but also

b. undesirable side-effects (e.g. subsidised ticket prices reduce the incomes of authors; the promotion of domestic, contemporary art narrows down the range of information on foreign products, etc.)

Measures without cultural-policy intent may also have cultural implications. (see A,101) (See the following three pages.)

SOCIETY

- Measures with cultural policy intent
 - a) legal framework for cultural-policy measures
 - b) measures encouraging artistic creation
- Media-policy measures with cultural policy elements
- Measures with different intent and cultural implications (tax-, copyright-, social security-, mechanical rights laws, etc.)



- Institutions for the communication of culture
 - theatre, concert, opera, ballet
 - museums, adult education etc.
- Personnel employed by such institutions
 - a) artistic
 - b) other
- Broadcasting institutions
 - a) public
 - b) private
- Personnel employed by broadcasting institutions
 - a) artistic
 - b) other
- Culture industries
 - phonogram, videogram, film, publishing
- Institutions distributing artists' compensations
 - a) creative artists
 - b) reproductive artists
- Culture consumer (audience)
 - a) making use of what is offered
 - b) compensation for use (entry fees, radio/TV licence fees, levies etc.)

This network graphically represents the strategies to be followed in the evaluation, keeping in mind the selectively listed principles given below:

- Measures benefitting one sector or one group presuppose that the society at large or other sectors or groups will bear the costs;
- measures with cultural-policy intent must be examined for any unintentional side-effects on the cultural or on other sectors;
- statutory measures under social law affecting artistic or non-artistic personnel have to be examined for an intentional or unintentional bearing upon the communication of culture as such;
- statutory measures under media law may have cultural implications because the electronic media have a major share in the communication of culture;
- non-intervention with a view to encouraging the free interplay of market forces must be regarded as tantamount to a cultural-policy decision whose consequences have to be identified by the evaluation;
- rules governing the compensation of claims under copyright and neighbouring rights regulations are elements of cultural policy and must be considered in the evaluation;

- the economic conditions underlying the operation of the culture industries decisively influence the communication of culture (customs duties, taxes, promotion measures).

Résumé: Common features of the theoretical concepts

Firstly, common to all studies is the division of cultural policy evaluation into "prior - during - after" and the definition of the time dimensions of the survey. Furthermore, all studies relate to a tripartite division of the area investigated:

Objectives - Measures - Results.

This distinction is made both on the theoretical level and then also adhered to in the practical process of evaluation. Differences between the individual studies can be seen in the areas included in the analyses (as e.g. the already mentioned "side-effects" or the consequences for the social status of cultural workers caused by cultural policy legislation) or what kind of cross-connections - on the theoretical level - are made. ("What has been done and what has been achieved?")

I.2. Practical application in the national reports

All studies with the exception of the Austrian present the theoretical concepts by means of which they intend to evaluate the national cultural policy. A closer examination of these national reports reveals, however, that the theoretical models presented at the outset are applied only to a very limited extent in actual practice. The impression prevails that the carefully elaborated theories had to succumb to the actual availability of relevant data.

A host of data is presented concerning the objectives, measures and results:

in practice this means data on cultural policy mechanisms, regulations, financing, production and participation. On the overall national scale the studies hardly succeed in putting these three areas in relation to each other.

The Swedish Study

The Swedish Study attempts to sum up the areas concerning objectives and measures in "What has been done" and to draw a resumé with regard to production and participation.

Following a detailed presentation of the historical development of Swedish cultural policy, the cultural areas are described which are defined, influenced, guided and supported by cultural policy measures.

This is succeeded by a detailed enumeration of facts and figures on the increase and/or decrease in the attendance figures of theatres, museums, cinemas and festivals, the sales of books etc. and a description of the various possibilities of the public sector to intervene in and support culture.

As is the case in the other studies, the Swedish study also discusses the changes in the area of administrative competencies. A general feature is the growing decentralisation of cultural policy measures:

"The state encourages decentralized cultural activities in all parts of the country primarily by awarding subsidies. The most important are those given to regional and local cultural institutions, but also of importance are grants for the

Swedish National Theatre Centre, the Swedish National Institute for Concerts and Swedish Travelling Exhibitions for their activities throughout the country." (S,7:10)

The Swedish study devotes ample space to the role of the media as cultural institutions, as mediators of culture.

Since media policy in the Swedish study is regarded as part of cultural policy (see also the Austrian Study), the important role of broadcasting in cultural policy - with regard to cultural production and job opportunities for creative artists - is incorporated into the evaluation.

"Strong pressure is applied to radio and television in order to ensure that they cooperate with independent artists, groups and institutions. The employment of freelancers in the production of programmes, both as contributors and producers, has varied considerably from year to year during the period in question, but now seems to have settled down at a stable level." (S,6:16 / 6:17)

The Swiss Study

At the beginning the authors of the Swiss study deal with the national peculiarities, with the "typical Swiss understanding of cultural policy" and, further on, proceed to describe in great detail the cultural policy measures, using the example of four middle-sized towns in the Canton of Vaud.

The Canton of Vaud is presented in its historical context, its specific situation as compared to the rest of the country and

its dependencies in the whole set-up of the Swiss federation are analysed.

What follows is a description of the cultural policy decisions on both the community and the national levels.

This is illustrated by measures to set up the Jazz Festival of Montreux, and reports on its influence on other sectors, e.g. on tourism, its organisational structures which, in the meantime, have reached a permanent status beyond the duration of the Festival; and the great international response it now enjoys.

This development is attributed by the authors mainly to three factors:

"- La renommée des artistes, qui se traduit par l'importance des coûts de production et un degré élevé d'internationalisation de la manifestation.

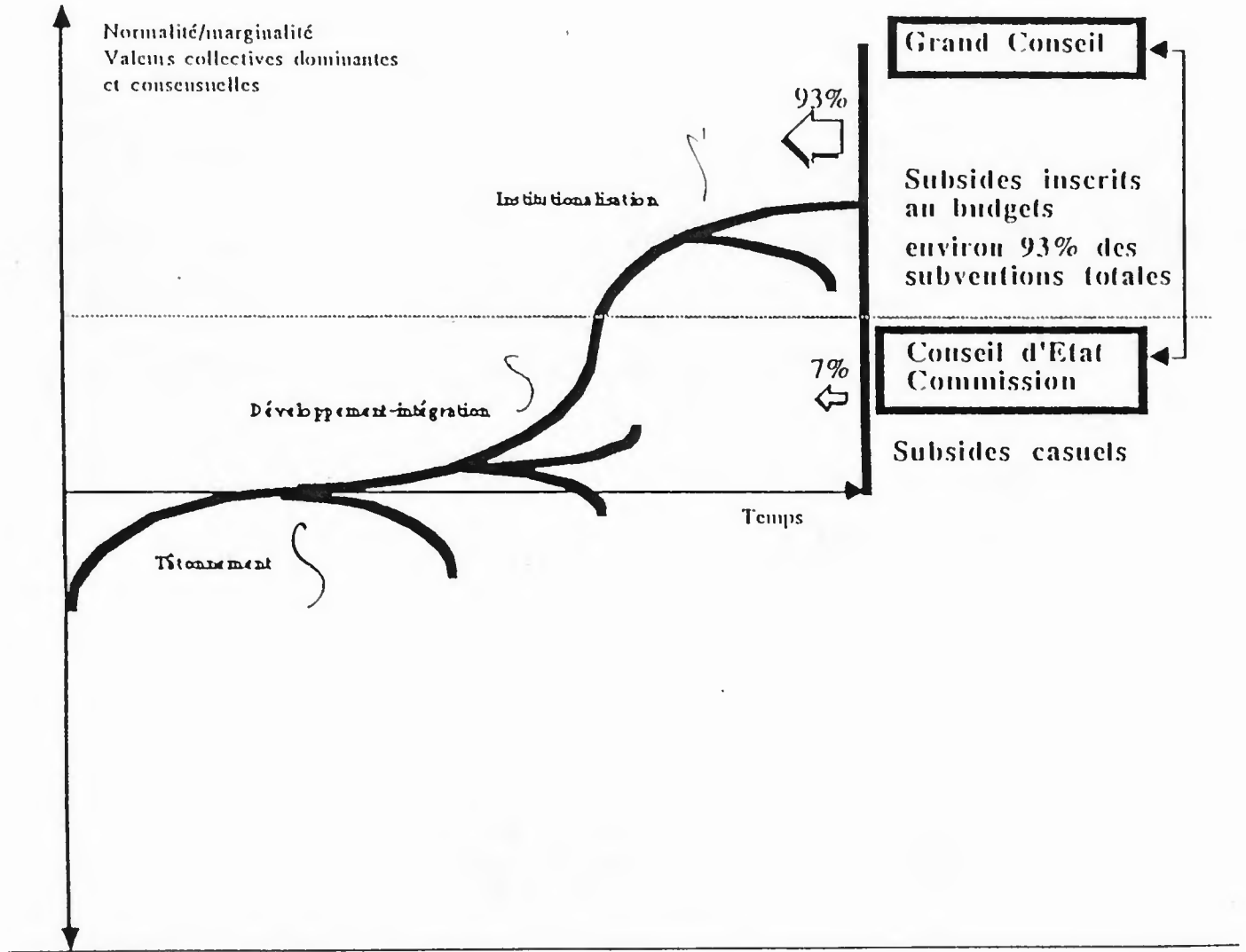
- La couverture médiatique de la manifestation.

- Et dans une mesure tout à fait moindre, de la politique des prix pratiquée par la manifestation." (CH,130)

(See the following two pages)

schéma 3

Intervention cantonale dans le développement d'une initiative culturelle



D'après Bassand, Hatnard, Pedrazzini, Perri Injaquet, 1987

FIGURE 1: TYPOLOGIE DES ACTEURS CULTURELS

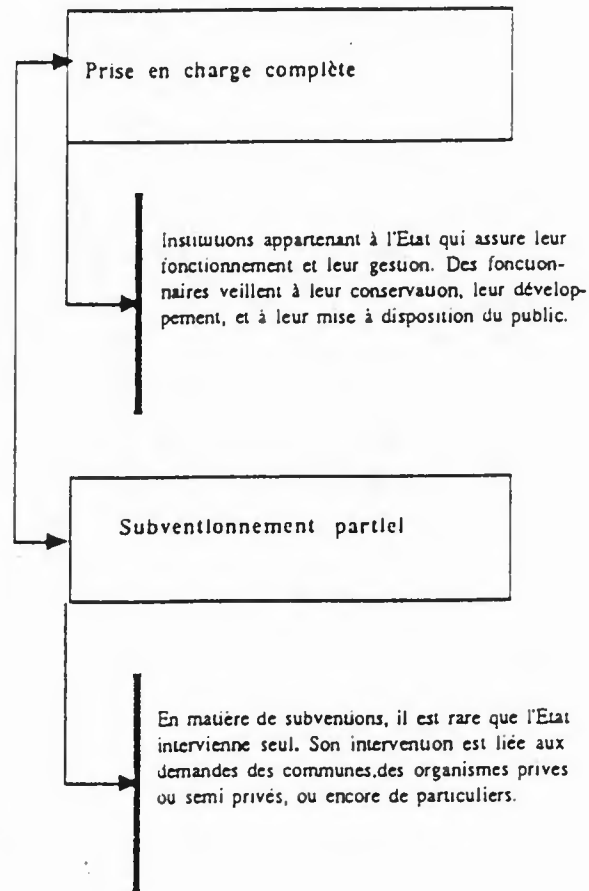
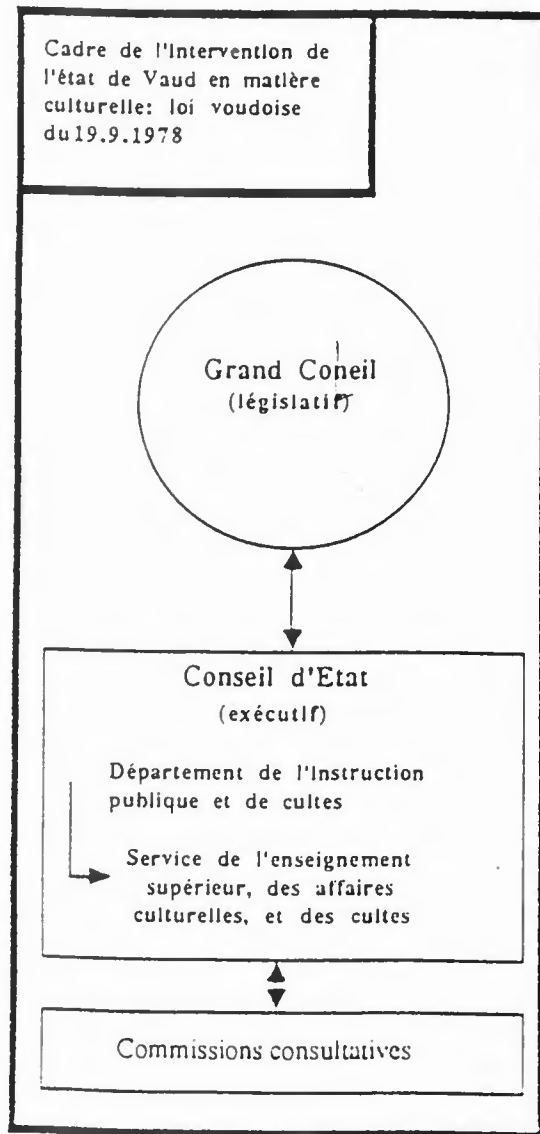
Types d'acteurs ORGANISATION ET FINANCEMENT	Acteurs culturels professionnels	Acteurs culturels amateurs et associations locales	Acteurs "contre culturels" culture alternative
<p>La commune est généralement le principal partenaire financier des acteurs culturels locaux. Le budget culturel est toujours fixé par l'assemblée ou le conseil communal ("parlement communal"). Dans la plus part des cas, les affaires culturelles sont placées sous la responsabilité de l'administration générale appuyée dans les prises de décision par une commission consultative. Parfois, il existe un fonctionnaire ou un service spécialisé de l'administration communale chargé de gérer le budget culturel ou, plus rarement, de formuler des projets. Si la commune est dotée d'infrastructures importantes, salle de théâtre ou de spectacle, elle pourra engager un directeur artistique responsable de la gestion et de la programmation. Les bibliothèques et les musées sont généralement propriétés communales.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Soutiens le plus souvent indirects. Subventions d'organismes ou d'associations qui produisent des spectacles professionnels. - Si la commune possède des infrastructures, le budget d'animation sous la responsabilité d'un directeur artistique. - Autres formes de soutiens. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Subventions. - Mise à disposition d'infrastructures ou de services. 	
<p>Financées par les taxes hôtelières, les associations faitières et les communes, les offices du tourisme, et les sociétés de développement régional organisent dans le cadre de leur travail de promotion et d'animation de nombreuses manifestations culturelles. Elles invitent des artistes professionnels, mettent sur pieds des rencontres ou des festivals, ou encore patronnent les représentations publiques des sociétés locales.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Savoir-faire commercial. - Organisation de festivals, spectacles, etc.. - Démarclage auprès de sponsors. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Patronnage de représentations de groupes locaux. - Animation touristique 	
<p>Les entreprises privées, par le biais du mécénat ou du sponsoring, jouent également un rôle important dans la vie culturelle des localités. Généralement, elles se bornent à apporter un soutien financier et technique, mais il arrive également qu'elles soient à l'origine d'un projet culturel (financement d'un théâtre de poche et de son fonctionnement, conception et réalisation d'un musée).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Soutiens financiers, services. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Soutiens financiers, services. 	
<p>Plus que la pratique d'une activité culturelle, certaines associations locales se donnent pour mission la diffusion de biens culturels. Ce type d'association, généralement dépourvues de ressources propres, s'occupe de collecter des fonds auprès des instances publiques ou privées en vue de réaliser un projet spécifique (festivals concerts, expositions etc...).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organisation semi professionnelle d'activités culturelles. - Recherche de fonds privés ou publics. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Groupes d'amateurs, théâtre, danse, etc. 	
<p>Le dernier type d'instigateurs culturels, est constitué par des groupes informels d'individus souvent marginalisés, ne bénéficiant pas d'appuis financiers, et se définissant en opposition avec la culture officielle. Souvent jeunes, ces acteurs revendiquent le droit à l'existence de lieux socio culturels en marge des circuits commerciaux, d'espaces libres sans encadrements de professionnels du social. Démunis de ressources, ils sont amenés à élaborer des stratégies de détournement: occupation de locaux désaffectés, marquage et appropriation d'un territoire urbain, organisation de concerts en dehors des lieux et des horaires prévus par les règlements communaux.</p>			<p>Ressources propres à un milieu marginalisé, conscience de groupe pouvant déboucher sur une mobilisation élevée, inventivité, stratégies novatrices, capacité adaptative.</p>

The authors of the Swiss study are well aware of the problems which may arise from the concentration on selected examples of limited scope. However, they defend their decision by pointing to the historical dimension of the relationship between Canton and Federation in Switzerland:

"La Suisse n'a jamais été un Etat-nation. Elle a échappé à l'identification croissante de l'Etat et de la nation qu'ont connu les autres pays d'Europe. De fait la culture appartient au peuple, elle ne se délègue pas à l'etat. Par nature, la culture est réfractaire à toute politique." (CH,14)

(See the following page)

SYSTEME D'AIDE AUX ACTIVITES CULTURELLES DANS LE CANTON DE VAUD



Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire.

-Archives cantonales.

-Musées cantonaux.

-Écoles cantonales des Beaux-arts et des arts appliqués.

MUSIQUE: -Orchestre de chambre de Lausanne

2/3 ville de Lausanne, 1/3 Etat de Vaud

-Orchestre de la Suisse Romande

-Conférence des chorales vaudoises

-Conservatoire de musique de Lausanne

-Festivals, fanfares, écoles de musique

FONDATIONS: -Fondation pour la création

-Fondation pour l'art lyrique

-Fondation pour le cinéma

DANSE: - Ballet de Béjart

THEATRE: -Fonds Vaudois pour le Théâtre dramatique

-Théâtre du Jorat

DIVERS : - Fonds Cantonal des activités culturelles

BEAUX-ARTS: - "Animation artistique" pour tout les édifices rénovés ou construits par l'Etat (0.5 à 1.5% du budget de construction ou de rénovation)

What, in Switzerland, is taken as a more or less "natural matter", namely that the communities and Cantons enjoy utmost freedom in their decisions is, in reality, the result of historically grown socio-political structures which can be created only with great effort on the legal and administrative levels, as is demonstrated impressively in the study from Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Study

The authors of this study also describe the historical development of the Yugoslav State with its specific political structures. At the beginning of the seventies, changes in legislation entailed far-reaching consequences for the field of cultural policy measures.

In Yugoslavia there is no Ministry of Culture on the federal level, decisions and measures on cultural policy are taken by the individual republics and autonomous provinces.

These cultural policy entities - to be understood as "somme globale de procédés conscients et réfléchis" consist of the following cultural policy organisations:

organisations socio-politiques (DPO), communautés socio-politiques (DPZ), communautés d'intérêt autogestionnaires pour la culture (SIZK). (See Y,41)

The description of the complex structure of these organisations is followed by the analysis of their respective competencies, responsibilities and of the problems and obstacles which are encountered in the realisation of an efficient cultural policy.

The respective sectors of cultural life which are supported, subsidised or generally influenced by cultural policy measures - e.g. theatre, cinema, museums, festivals etc. - are listed in the same manner as in the other studies although no comparable statistical material is presented.

This may be due to the fact that in Yugoslavia the all-powerful administrative bureaucracy is also responsible for both cultural policy measure and the relevant statistics.

There is no correspondence between the actual needs and the system of information.

"Les besoins dépassent les informations. Le système statistique part d'une conception dépassée de la culture en identifiant l'infrastructure culturelle avec les organisations culturelles." (Y,97)

In the debate on the role of cultural activities in the relation between production and reproduction the entities vested with competencies in cultural policy matters often have a biased approach. That means for instance that "le système d'information des SIZK ne possède pas de banque de données centrale. Le système du Service de comptabilité sociale procède au suivi de la culture en adoptant les mêmes indicateurs que les activités économiques, ..." (Y,97)

The same misapprehension also exists on the level of evaluation:

"Les techniques d'évaluation, inexistantes, ne sont pas encore appliquées." (Y,97)

Data on infra-structures and resources of cultural policy activities available for some individual republics do not yet exist for Yugoslavia as a whole.

Comparison of Cultural Policies in Developing Countries

Aside from the problems induced by the multi-lingual character of the State of Yugoslavia the study deals - as the only one - also with three federally structured developing countries, namely Brazil, Nigeria and India.

The present study underlines more than once that the comparison of cultural policies in different countries is, for many complex reasons, very difficult. What then, can be the motive to embark upon such a comparison on an even more complicated level, namely in non-European countries?

The authors of the Yugoslav study cite among others, the following reason:

"L'un des motifs (....) réside dans la tentative de prendre connaissance de la situation d'un pays par rapport à un autre (ou à d'autres), ce qui peut servir utilement à l'orientation, la correction et au développement de la politique culturelle nationale et contribuer, à un niveau globale, à une coopération et une compréhension meilleures." (Y,187)

A common denominator of the countries under review is their federal administrative structure.

Although the respective countries - Nigeria, Brazil, India and Yugoslavia - differ to a large degree, this common basic structure can bring to light similar processes of development on the cultural policy level:

"La Yougoslavie ne possède pas de ministère de la culture: les affaires relevant de ce domaine sont déléguées aux unités fédérales, républiques et provinces autonomes, au Nigeria, de nombreuses fonctions de l'état fédéral (ministères) se multiplient au niveau de chaque état; en Inde, les organes du gouvernement central dirigent par le truchement de plusieurs institutions d'envergure nationale, tandis que les autres relèvent des gouvernements de chaque état ou de la direction des départements; au Brésil, le modèle d'organisation suppose un étalement sur tout le territoire, mais toute l'activité est encore centralisée, car les décisions sont prises dans les centres, et la dimension des actions s'amenuise avec l'éloignement". (Y,188)

These differences existing within a common administrative framework make possible both intercultural communication and an exchange of experience.

Some further common features could be cited here, such as the diversity of languages in India and Yugoslavia, the current process of decentralisation in these respective countries etc.

The French Study

As already mentioned, the theoretical deliberations in the French study are very explicit and have been partly taken up by the authors of the other studies and adapted for their own purposes.

Following these theoretical explanations, the different eras of French cultural policy (Malraux-Decade, Musée imaginaire, socialist cultural policy) are described and their specific influence on and shaping of the cultural landscape.

In the context of this presentation the measures are explained which have contributed towards improving branch by branch the situation of artists and cultural workers.

These supporting measures can be characterised as follows:

" - helping living artists and in particular the younger of them by giving them the possibility of working, creating new works and making a name for themselves;

- improving the artist's material situation by providing him with a decent living and health insurance and welfare benefits;

- setting up the required conditions for French artists to be able to play a major role in the future development of the international art scene;

- enriching the national heritage with works representative of today's art." (F,31)

A further chapter is dedicated to the endeavours which have been made to further the participation of new groups of the population in cultural activities. (FIC - Cultural Intervention Fund):

"The FIC shall research new forms of cultural action involving increased participation on the part of the individual, test new methods or update existing ones, broaden the traditional scope of culture, which is often too restricted." (F,98)

What follows is a description of the "decentralising activities" and the accompanying "institutional changes". These gain importance in France especially in the seventies and are summed up under the term "contract policy" (F,115-117).

In a special chapter, the French study also deals with the media and their important role in cultural policy. After presenting statistics on consumption of media in general and of cultural programmes in particular etc. the authors come to the conclusion that

"Radio and television have enabled a large number of French people to come into contact with various artistic and cultural activities which they would never come to know without these new technologies." (F,133)

Traditional art forms - such as theatre, ballet and opera - reach a large audience through the media and above all an audience that never before had attended cultural events of this kind.

The rapid development of broadcasting has, however, also influenced the relation between cinema and the public to the effect that an increasing number of films is viewed at home.

Thus, television became the "major vehicle for the diffusion of culture" (F,133).

The French Study underlines, with regard to the media, above all the aspects of production (and in this context also the consequences for creative artists) and dissemination, devoting less attention to the dimension of media policy.

The Austrian Study

The Austrian Study embarks in detail on the relation between cultural policy and the media stressing the changes in working conditions and in the professional profiles for creative artists in the media.

"The development and the mass-application of new technologies which permit the recording and dissemination of 'live performances' (photography, film, record, radio, television) have created new conditions for cultural communication and consequently for cultural policy-making." (A,47)

Departing from a description of cultural policy-structures in Austria, the authors of the study attempted to develop a model methodology designed to permit comparative studies of cultural-policy measures in several countries. Taking the example of the currently practised coordination between the federal state and the federal provinces of Austria, new

aspects of cooperation were analysed with special reference to the cultural mandate of public institutions and corporations. The emphasis was placed on measures for the coordination of educational, media, social and cultural policies taken with the aim of encouraging to a growing extent artistic and cultural activities in the face of ever more stringent free-market constraints.

Summary of the practical application in the national reports

Differences between the respective studies are noticeable especially in the manner in which different areas of cultural policy are covered. The individual national studies put variable emphasis on the respective cultural fields e.g. in the realm of the media. Whereas the Yugoslav study lists them together with theatre, concerts, opera etc. and presents data on the increasing number of employees in broadcasting, the Swedish, Austrian and French studies go into more detail about the influence of the media on the development of cultural policy.

Not only the dissemination and consumption of culture have been enhanced by the media, the sector of production has also become increasingly important. For the creative artist working conditions have been changed dramatically by the inroads of

the media and new legislation was necessary (copyright, taxes, levies etc.) in order to support and guarantee artistic production in the sphere of the media.

Differences can also be detected with regard to the social and political status of broadcasting. The Swedish and Austrian studies especially underline the educational and cultural mandate of the broadcasting stations and stress the idea that media policy has to be regarded as a part of cultural policies.

The Swiss study reveals a less direct approach in this matter. The example of the Jazz Festival in Montreux is chosen to illustrate the great importance of dissemination through the media for the Festival itself, for its artists and for tourism in the whole region.

I.3. Comparative Analysis

I.3.1. Political and administrative framework

Comparative surveys in the areas of cultural policy and studies of cultural behaviour reveal above all two problems:

- The different systems of national cultural policies and their organisation (e.g. centralised v. decentralised structures);

and in connection with this:

- Different forms of organisation and methods of compiling cultural statistics.

The definition of "Program Evaluation Research" in the Stockholm Seminar comprised five questions which should vest the term with concrete content (see Chapter I: Theoretical Concept).

The first question in this context was: Have the goals of the program been achieved?

The question, however, what the goals actually are and how they can be defined is not raised. The question pertaining to the respective competencies in this context is left open, and would have to be clarified by analysing the political and administrative structure (centralistic - federal) of the countries under review.

If these questions are not considered a comparison between different nations with regard to the attainment of cultural policy goals is not feasible.

A comparative analysis in this sense is possible only if each national report clarifies the differing political and administrative structures and, furthermore, explains where the competencies for certain measures lie.

This can be exemplified by the Yugoslav study:

In this study the endeavour was made to analyse the different levels of political decision-making and to explain how strongly the political and administrative structures influence the decisions about and realisation of cultural policy measures.

The comparison between the Yugoslav situation and that of three developing countries with a federal set-up once again stresses the importance of considering the political structure when carrying out such an analysis.

The timid endeavours of the French government during the past 25 years to decentralise which are presented in great detail in the French study serve as a further example for the varying problems arising from a quite different distribution of political-administrative competencies.

"From 1959 to 1981, no government, as far as we know, announced its intention to bring in legislation to increase the sphere of action and the responsibilities of local assemblies in the field of culture and the arts and reduce the role of central government accordingly. Nor, during this time the local authorities express much interest in any such measures." (F,109)

In 1981 the new socialist government took the first decisive steps on the legal level to decentralise cultural policy activities. The result of these measures is hard to describe, as the authors underline, because the opposition on the part of the Ministry of Culture was enormous:

"It is hard to imagine what state cultural policy will involve once the transfer of power has taken place." (F,113)

In contrast to the French situation described above, "Austria's federal provinces (are) endowed with considerable autonomy by the constitution, which gives them an almost exclusive say in all cultural matters." (A,31)

In this context the question with regard to the "degree of awareness" has to be raised. In Austria first steps toward democratising decision-making in the cultural policy sector consisted among other things in the annual publication of Arts Reports (since 1971).

"This Arts Report gives an annual account of Austrian arts policies. It is published in the form of a booklet which contains precise figures on all the promotion measures taken. It provides information on the status of arts promotion and comments on the most substantial subsidies, explaining why funds were granted for certain projects." (A,38)

Further examples of the various possible points of departure for cultural policy measures with regard to centralised/decentralised administrative structures are to be found in Yugoslavia and Switzerland. Whereas in the Yugoslav study the functioning of the administrative apparatus is mainly analysed, the Swiss study emphasises the mutual - qualitative - influences both on the community and national levels by means of cultural policy decisions.

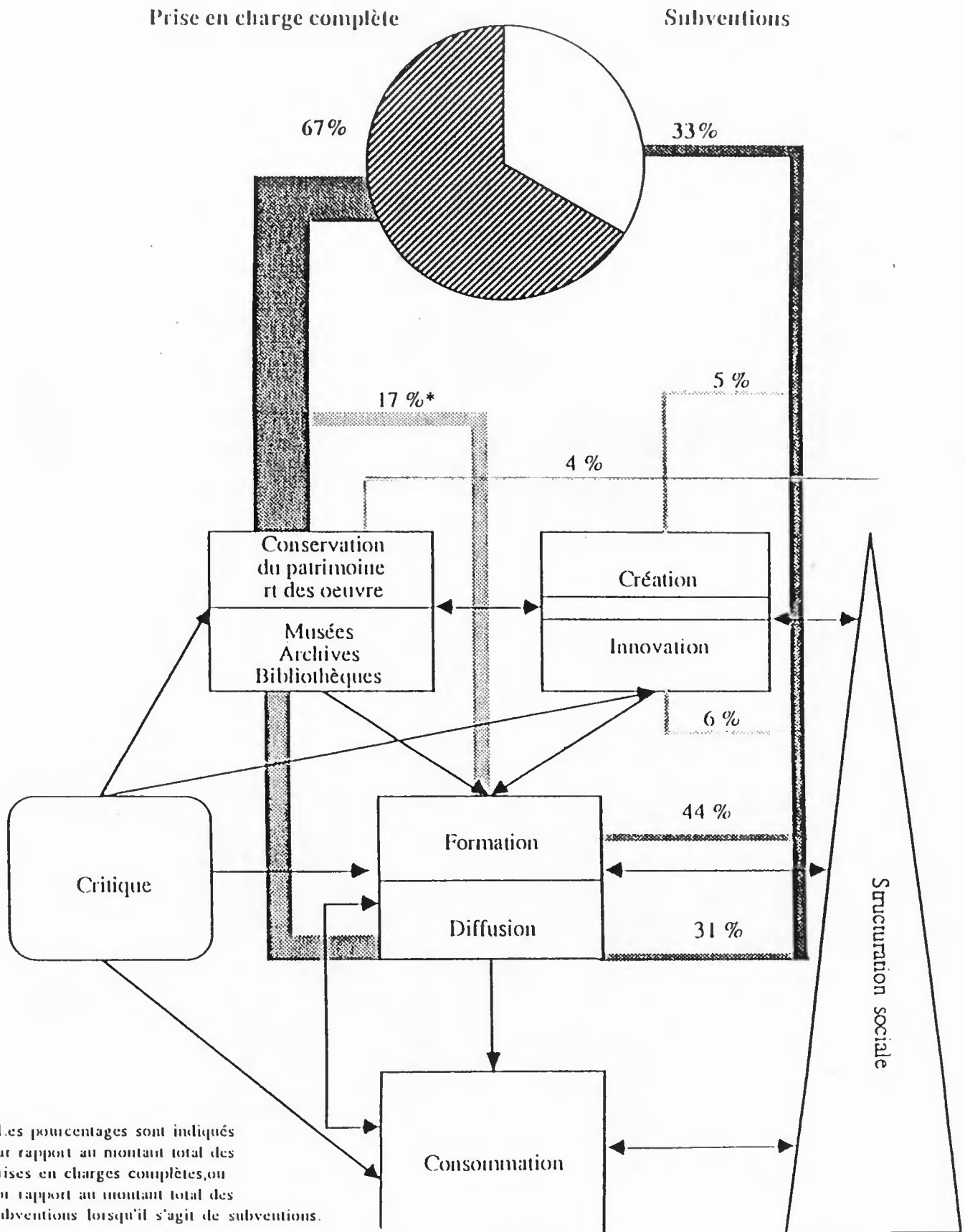
It is pointed out in the Swiss study that the State subsidises organisations outside of the political-administrative structure which administer and distribute the funds they

receive according to their specific goals. The system of support for cultural activities can be seen as a field of changing relations between different levels of administration which intervene on all levels and in all sectors. Although this system is neither equipped with strong guidelines nor with explicit goals, it nevertheless functions with a kind of inherent logic. (see CH,47)

The schemes on the following pages offer some insight into the systems at work in Switzerland and Yugoslavia.

(See the following three pages)

Rôle des aides cantonales dans la dynamique culturelle descendante



* Les pourcentages sont indiqués par rapport au montant total des prises en charges complètes, ou par rapport au montant total des subventions lorsqu'il s'agit de subventions.

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Tableau 6. Schéma des corps des organisations socio-politiques (DPO) s'occupant de la politique culturelle

Niveau territorial Organisations socio-politiques (DPO)				
	LCY	ASPT	Confédération des syndicats	
1. République				
Région	(auprès du CC de la LC) Commission pour les questions idéologique et politiques Centre du CC de la LC pour le travail idéologique et théorique	(auprès de la Conférence de république) Section pour la culture	(auprès du Conseil de la CS) Commission pour l'éducation, la science et la culture	Conseil de république (syndicat) des travailleurs engagés dans l'éducation la science et la culture
2. Communauté des communes				
Ville	(auprès de la Conférence de ville de la LC) Commission pour le travail idéologique et théorique	(auprès de la Conférence de la communauté des communes) Section pour la culture	Conseil de ville de la CS Commission pour l'éducation, la science et la culture	Conseil de ville et intercommunal des travailleurs engagés dans l'éducation, la science et la culture
3. Commune				
	certaines comités ont une commission ou des cadres chargés des activités sociales et culturelles	(auprès de la Conférence de la commune) Section pour la culture	Conseil communal de la CS Commission pour l'éducation, la science et la culture	Conseil communal des travailleurs engagés dans l'éducation, la science et la culture

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4. Communauté locale et organisation de travail	OBLC dans les organisations de travail	Organisation de base de la CS dans les organisations de travail	Organisation de base du syndicat des artistes indépendants (Zagreb)
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Sigles: LCY = Ligue des communistes de Yougoslavie

CC = Comité Central

OBLC = Organisation de base de la Ligue des communistes

ASPT = Alliance socialiste du peuple travailleur de Yougoslavie

CS = Confédération des syndicats

Summary: Political-administrative Framework and Declared

Goals

In order to be able to compare the attainment of goals, the question pertaining to the comparability of goals has to be dealt with first.

The authors of future national reports should have the courage to explain if and to what extent the political-administrative structures of the respective country are of advantage to the goals declared.

Furthermore, it is possible that behind administrative structures goals are hidden which are not quite clearly defined. (See also the text of the Stockholm Seminar, in which the definition of goals is clearly called for - however, without explicitly considering the political-administrative framework and the distribution of competencies.)

In this respect the Austrian Study is the only one which endeavours, in its theoretical part, to introduce such an integrative approach by means of which these "hidden" goals should be analysed.

I.3.2. Research methods and problems involved

Difficulties incurred in an overall method of evaluation:
In a sensitive area such as the cultural life of a given country which is influenced by a variety of factors such as the economy, politics, cultural and artistic tradition etc. it seems especially difficult to draw up a concept which can be applied to more than one country.

Furthermore, it appears that overall national studies lag behind the dynamic development of cultural needs and their changes and are, therefore, outdated even at the moment they are published. It therefore seems advisable to combine such global surveys with local qualitative studies on limited fields of culture and with clearly defined objectives (as proposed in the Swiss and Austrian studies).

The integration of quantitative and qualitative research: In the context of the concepts for evaluation research, it became quite obvious that merely quantitative empirical surveys are not sufficient in this sensitive area for more than one reason.

Cultural statistics even within one and the same country are usually compiled by different authorities using different methods and therefore cannot be used in relation with each other.

It seems very difficult to obtain comparable data, since, at present, the individual national reports refer solely to the conditions prevailing in the respective countries .

I.3.3. Selected results of the studies under review

In spite of the problems mentioned above, the comparison of national reports can yield very useful indications for measures which could be adopted by other countries.

In this context, comments on rather limited areas of cultural

policy seem especially valuable. The measures intended to improve the social status of cultural workers in the field of social security, tax and copyright regulations can serve as an example. The Swedish government, for example, uses a variety of instruments to support the production and distribution of art: - subsidies to cultural institutions, independent groups and other artistic activities;

- trade subsidies;
- compensation for use;
- grants to artists;
- higher art education;
- employment opportunities;
- taxation of artists. (S,6.4)

Employment policy in the cultural field for example is regarded as a part of the general labour market and in principle the same employment policy means are used.

French cultural policy also supports creative artists to a large extent by placing them on the same footing with the working population in general with regard to social security measures (see F,31 ff.)

A further benefit of such studies can be seen in the realisation that long-term surveys on cultural behaviour of the population (participation) form an important basis for research accompanying policy measures.

In this context the following studies should be mentioned:

The surveys of the French Ministry of Culture "Pratiques Culturelles des Français" (since 1974) and, with regard to

Austria, the studies on "Basic Research in the Field of Culture" carried out by the Institute for Empirical Social Research - IFES (since 1974).

II. RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations are to be regarded as an attempt to establish - in a sensitive area such as the cultural life of the country - a basis for comparison for future studies which are to provide insights into cultural development.

If there is an intention to continue with the accomplishment of studies similar to the present ones (by other Member States of UNESCO), the following recommendations should be considered, in order to reap the maximum benefit from a comparative analysis.

1. Description of the political-administrative framework

The political-administrative set-up of the individual country, which constitutes the framework for the goals and measures must be clearly outlined to allow for the levels of comparison to be determined.

2. Definition of goals

The goals of every cultural policy measure have to be clearly defined. This definition should be of a rather comprehensive character and the goals be placed within the respective political-administrative area of competency.

3. Cultural Policy measures

The measures necessary to reach cultural policy goals must be embedded in the respective field of competency. The political-administrative structures should be clearly recognisable within which these measures are taken in order to facilitate the analysis of social and economic spheres affected.

An initiative for the amendment of the Austrian copyright legislation can serve as an example shedding light on the interrelations between cultural and legal policies.

It concerns the Levy on blank cassettes (See Blaukopf 1989, pp. 103-112).

The technical possibility of producing cheap private copies by means of cassettes made it necessary to compensate for the damage thus caused both to the market and to the authors of such works. By means of this legal initiative the author should be entitled to a compensation for private copying. The amount payable as compensation depends on the playing time of the cassette. The claim for compensation can be raised exclusively by the copyright societies.

In the course of the deliberations with regard to this amendment (of 1986) to the copyright law this claim was justified i.a. with the rather small size of the Austrian market entailing negative consequences which could be balanced by this kind of market correction:

"For this purpose a variety of measures is necessary, which would have to be carried out by various organisations and institutions of cultural life (of the Federal State, of the Provinces and of the private sector). It seemed reasonable to use income from this compensation claim also for the support of Austrian creativity...." (Walter Dillenz, quoted in Blaukopf 1989, p. 106)

4. Evaluation of measures

Evaluation studies demand a very carefully worked out project design and research programming. Qualitative studies could also be designed according to the methodological procedure in three steps of prior - during - after the implementation of measures.

5. Impact of media policies on cultural policies

With regard to the analysis of objectives in the area of cultural policy and the efficiency of cultural policy measures it seems indispensable to include the role and function of the media.

In this context, it is necessary to examine the cultural mandate of the respective broadcasting institution in order to be able to compare the role and function of these media. Thus, the Swedish report states that media policy forms part of cultural policy. The Austrian study also stresses this

point and devotes much attention to this new aspect.

The other studies treat media policy merely with regard to the production and consumption of traditional cultural goods.

Media and cultural industries are of great relevance not only in connection with cultural policy aims but above all with regard to the professional opportunities and profiles of cultural workers (as is underlined in the Swiss, Swedish, French and Austrian studies).

The inroads of the so-called new technologies call for an analysis of the role of the media on various levels:

- political-administrative level
- production level
- dissemination level
- consumption level

In evaluation research it, therefore, seems advisable to combine the results of traditional cultural research and statistics with those of media research.

6. The area of cultural dissemination

A further shortcoming both in the theoretical conception and the processing of cultural statistics exists with regard to the area of dissemination of culture and those active in this field. Cultural communication not only comprises creation and participation but it can only function by means of an ever-increasing system for dissemination.

Therefore, it does not suffice to test the efficiency of cultural policy measures on the basis of an output model: production of cultural goods and the activity of creators and the reception (acceptance) of cultural goods by the population. This model takes into account only the role of the creators of cultural goods, leaving aside the important role of the cultural "mediators" in communicating the cultural products to the public. It is especially in the Swedish and the French studies that the efforts of cultural policy to include new groups of the population into the cultural communication process are underlined and analysed.

These endeavours are, however, directed primarily towards an increase in the fields of cultural production and consumption leaving aside the dimension of distribution and, thereby also to a large extent, participation.

The social and economic status of cultural workers

The social and economic status of cultural workers as well as their working conditions etc. are also an important indicator for efficiency in cultural communication. The projects of cultural research carried out within the framework of CIRCLE (Cultural Information & Research Centres Liaison in Europe) on the situation of cultural workers are but one indication regarding the growing importance of cultural dissemination . In this context two further examples of cultural research in this field should be mentioned:

Firstly, the study of the Commission of the European Communities: "La Situation sociale des Travailleurs culturels dans les Pays de la C.E.E." par Michèle Vessillier (1988). Secondly, the project initiated by UNESCO to elaborate an Educational Handbook for the Training of Personnel engaged in the Production and Dissemination of Cultural Goods and Services. In this Handbook guidelines should be summarised to serve as basic information for training centres, teachers, staff etc. working in the spheres of audiovisual production and distribution. (Mediacult 1989)

7. Methodology

a) Periodical surveys on the cultural behaviour of the population (participation):

The dynamic development of cultural needs demands overall enquiries with identical questionnaires to be carried out periodically. (see the surveys on cultural behaviour in Austria and in France already mentioned under I.3.3.)

b) Qualitative case studies:

These overall studies should be supplemented by regularly performed case studies limited to restricted areas of cultural policy.

8. Integration of qualitative survey into overall studies:

The requirement for specific case studies

The basic question to be asked is the following: should only those areas covered by official statistics be considered, or

would it not be advisable to carry out qualitative studies of a new kind shedding light on the communication process with regard to public support and subsidising, e.g. as an addition to general data on the production of cultural goods, on employment figures, on cultural consumption etc.

The following types of investigations could, for example, be carried out:

Checking the efficiency of cultural policy measures with regard to those "affected"

It could be asked, for instance, in which way cultural policy measures actually concern the individual creative artist?

Which channels of information exist for cultural policy measures?

Which long-term perspectives are attainable by cultural policy measures?

Socio-cultural activities (grass-roots activities)

Aside from the surveys on the "official", established cultural and artistic enterprises and institutions, special investigations should be carried out in the field of the so-called "culture from below", e.g. activities of private associations, informal cultural expression, spontaneously formed groups with innovative concepts etc.

Investigation into cultural barriers

As pointed out already in this context, France and Sweden, especially, have endeavoured by means of specific cultural

policy measures to encourage new segments of the population to engage in cultural activities.

A study on evaluation should also deal with the problem of "cultural barriers" which still divide the population into segments in the area of cultural production and consumption (See: Blaukopf, Kurt et al. (1983): Kultur von unten.)

9. Standardisation of national cultural statistics

The national studies prove that the present practice of official cultural statistics is no longer in keeping with the complex state of present cultural developments. For future joint projects a concept making provisions for comparisons should be elaborated for official surveys on the cultural situation. (See Chapter III)

III. CONCLUSIONS

Summing up, it can be stated that a general comparative method of evaluation can be attained only in rough outlines. Although comparability is a desirable goal, it should not be forgotten that cultural communication is an extremely sensitive area as a result of organic development. The impact of the so-called new technologies (satellite, cable-TV, telecommunication, etc.) cannot yet be assessed in its full dimension. Not only the producers of cultural goods but also the sphere of dissemination and the consumers are directly affected (copyright, international networks, commercialisation etc.).

This development takes place at a different pace and in a different manner in each individual country. Therefore, only a cautious approach towards comparison is feasible. In this respect, experience gained in past efforts, especially with regard to an international standardisation of cultural statistics, can certainly be helpful and instructive. In this context especially, the know-how could be useful which was won in two projects, already embarked upon by UNESCO some time ago:

Framework for Cultural Statistics (FCS)

Cultural Indicators

The FCS endeavoured to assess internationally comparable data on cultural life in order to make it possible to relate the cultural policies of different countries to each other. In the course of the work on this project valuable experience has been gained with regard to the problems arising from differing national overall conditions. The cultural areas and categories defined and specified in the course of this project should be taken into account in order to attain comparable results in the field of evaluation research.

Further useful indications could be derived from the discussion, going on for quite a while now, on cultural indicators which deals with similar problems on the basis of the FCS.

Upon completion of the project on cultural statistics a meeting of experts initiated by UNESCO held in Vienna in 1986, endeavoured to discuss the preconditions for the definition of cultural indicators (based on the already more advanced research and practice in the fields of economic and social indicators) which would make it possible to provide instant and comprehensive information on important quantitative aspects of cultural life.

It seems worthwhile to consider whether it would not be of great advantage in the given context if UNESCO continued to give support to the standardisation and systematisation of data on cultural life in order to facilitate the application of compatible evaluation methods in the member countries.

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APPENDIX

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