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## **CULTURAL POLICIES IN PORTUGAL**

### **NATIONAL REPORT**

Abridged version of the original report

**Report written at the request of the Portuguese Ministry of Culture by a Working Party of the Observatorio das Actividades Culturais (Lisbon)**

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**1998**

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## FOREWORD

This report has been produced as part of the Council of Europe's programme of national cultural policy reviews, a programme that began in 1986 and which has already seen the participation of a large number of countries.

The aims of the programme are:

- to collect information on the different areas of cultural policy in the various countries;
- to further knowledge of the various problems, results and shortcomings of such policies;
- to promote a common methodology for analysing and evaluating cultural policy (statistics, indicators, etc);
- to contribute to the launching of new joint activities in the field of cultural co-operation.

Three major areas were singled out at the programme's inception as key topics to be dealt with in the reports:

- measures to promote creativity;
- the decentralisation of responsibilities and activities;
- measures to encourage broader participation in cultural life.

In its guidelines for the production of national reports, the Council for Cultural Co-operation makes a distinction between three levels of evaluation:

- identification of the aims of cultural policies;
- analysis of the means employed to achieve those aims;
- study of the results obtained.

In accordance with the programme's methodology, any review process necessarily entails the following stages:

- drawing up of a National Report;
- drawing up of an International Report (review produced by a Group of European Experts on the basis of the National Report and the Group's own experience);
- debate within the Culture Committee of the Council for Cultural Co-operation in the presence of the Minister for Culture of the country concerned, the delegation representing that country, and the Group of Experts.

The production of the Portuguese report was entrusted to a group of sociologists from the Observatory of Cultural Activities, commissioned by the Minister for Culture to produce a Review of National Cultural Policy. The founder members of the Observatory, an association established in 1996, include the state, through the Ministry of Culture, the Institute of Social Sciences of Lisbon University and the National Institute of Statistics. Its aims are to conduct research and disseminate knowledge in the field of cultural activities.

The methodology employed to produce the National Report entailed drawing on a variety of information sources and adopting a variety of procedures. In addition to the main sources used in devising cultural indicators - statistics of the State Secretariat for Culture (SEC), the Ministry of Culture (MC) and the National Institute of Statistics (INE) - other information was also drawn on, whether the result of talks with key informants or gleaned from various studies in the social sciences field dealing with Portuguese society, and more specifically, the field of culture (including surveys, dissertations and case studies).

Furthermore, in addition to the working sessions between the national team and the team of European experts, a whole series of encounters, meetings and round tables took place in various parts of the country (mainland Portugal and the Autonomous Regions) involving a wide range of local cultural players who provided the two teams with valuable first-hand information on various facets and problems of the cultural sector, as regards:

- central and local government;
- the arts "scene" (in different fields and in different locations);
- associations and trade unions.

Policy review reports cover different periods in different countries. In the case of Portugal, the review takes 1985 as its starting point, ending on a date as close as possible to the writing of the report. It spans a period that has seen four different governments, three Social Democratic governments and one Socialist government (the most recent). With regard to this latter, which took office towards the end of 1995, the analysis of information available was obviously affected by the very brief period that elapsed between the start of its mandate and the beginning of work on the report in 1996.

As the Council of Europe itself acknowledges, the production of national reports places very heavy demands on both human and financial resources. The weight of such demands is all the more keenly felt in countries with little experience in the area of assessment studies (this is the case in Portugal where work of a similar nature had never been conducted hitherto). The Observatory's team therefore had to explore more or less uncharted waters in an attempt to collate scattered information, fill in the gaps and reconcile conflicting data, side-stepping some initial reservations and distrust.

The results obtained, which are put forward here, are structured around three major headings. **Part I** is divided into two chapters, the first of which paints a quick portrait of the country for the purposes, in particular, of the foreign reader none too conversant with Portuguese reality, while the second chapter, already looking ahead to the question of cultural policies, provides a summary of the various approaches and instruments employed during the period under consideration. The changing nature of cultural policies is reviewed from the

time of the Salazar dictatorship to the present day. The report provides a general overview of current administrative structures in the area of cultural policy as well as a summary of the relevant legislation. General information is provided on public authorities' spending on culture (where a distinction is made between central and local government) with data concerning the distribution of the sponsoring ministry's expenditure per cultural sector and per function.

**Part II** analyses the different cultural sectors. The eight sectors chosen represent a compromise between different nomenclatures in use in the various entities that served as sources of information, nomenclatures which also vary over the period under consideration.

The aims of successive policies, as well as legislation and funding, are studied in respect of each sector from a longitudinal perspective, bearing in mind, as far as possible, the situation with regard to supply and demand and their distribution across the country (concerning the Autonomous Regions, the statistical data to which we were given access is far less detailed than for the mainland, with the exception of 1997, which falls outside the scope of our report, and for which information was received from the Azores, although it was organised into categories hardly compatible with those used by the SEC and MC).

**Part III** deals with a set of issues that cut across the various cultural sectors and takes the report's speculative aspect further. For although this aspect is already present earlier in the report, it is nevertheless the descriptive aspect that predominates up to this point. The report sets out to list a series of issues divided into seven subject areas which, though they may be common to several countries, nevertheless exhibit distinctive features in each of them. Part III focuses precisely on the distinctive features of certain cultural policy-related issues in the Portuguese context, with particular reference to:

1. the trend towards privatisation/denationalisation of culture
2. developments in arts education viewed in relation to the redefinition of professions in this sector
3. the emergence of new publics in a context of changing cultural practices
4. the expansion of the cultural industries and new technologies market
5. decentralisation as a means of cultural democratisation
6. the role of ethnic minorities in the right to culture
7. increasing interaction between the national/local and international levels.

The report ends (**Final remarks**) with a summing-up that includes comments on a certain number of obstacles and suggestions for possible avenues by which they might be overcome, while not losing sight either of the nature of national review reports or of their subject matter - cultural policies. As far as these latter are concerned, the report highlights the importance of a series of changes with which they are faced and which are having an impact on the present-day working conditions of artists, on the new relationships between

different cultural sectors and on the combination of different modes of cultural practice and the different locations where such practice takes place.

In a country in a "non-central" position and at a time when the national and local levels constantly intersect with the international level, cultural policies need to be tremendously open, up to the minute and flexible if the relationship between the state, civil society and the market is to be rethought in an attempt to uphold each level's diversity without lapsing into sterile parochialism or merely jumping on the cosmopolitan bandwagon.

**PART I: CONTEXT**



## **1. INTRODUCING A COUNTRY: PORTUGAL**

### **1.1. Political and constitutional organisation**

According to the Constitution of the Republic of Portugal, which was drawn up and adopted in 1976 (and later amended under successive legislatures), "the Republic of Portugal is a democratic state based on the rule of law, the sovereignty of the people, democratic pluralism of opinion and political organisation, respect for and the safeguarding of the effective exercise of fundamental rights and freedoms, and the separation and independence of powers, with a view to achieving economic, social and cultural democracy and furthering participatory democracy"<sup>1</sup>.

In accordance with these principles, first made possible with the Revolution of 25 April 1974, Portugal finally took up its place within the democratic Western world, turning its back on almost 50 years of dictatorship and the world's oldest colonial empire, the third in terms of size. Portugal's new territorial configuration attests to the country's return to its former boundaries: "Portugal is made up of the territory historically defined on the European continent, as well as of the archipelagos of the Azores and Madeira"<sup>2</sup>.

The country's internal administrative structures comprise three levels: Central Government, Local Government and the Autonomous Regions of the Azores and Madeira, "enjoying political and administrative status and endowed with their own governing bodies".

### **1.2. Geography and history - an overview**

Portugal, a country that occupies a narrow territory of some 90 thousand square kilometres, is situated on the Iberian Peninsula, Europe's most westerly region, where it has a long coastline and shares a winding common frontier with Spain.

Portugal's so-called "Atlantic vocation", favoured by its geography, dates back to the beginning of the 15th century with the capture of Ceuta and other fortified towns on the African continent, marking the beginnings of a colonial empire that was to take in Black Africa (Angola and Mozambique), the Far East (India and Timor) and Latin America (Brazil). However, unlike other countries in Central and Northern Europe, Portugal turned its back on educational and technological progress and it was not until much later (in the second half of the 19th century, and then only cautiously) that it embarked on its own course of industrialisation. The reasons for such a slow evolution have always lain in cultural, social and political factors. One need only consider the Inquisition, the fruit of the Counter-Reformation, the cautious disclosure of the ideas of the Enlightenment, the scant and purely formal spread of liberalism, the persistence of an ultraconservative Catholicism, or the 48 years of 20th century dictatorship that abruptly ended the short and vexed experience of democracy under the First Republic (1910-1928).

With the advent of the Carnation Revolution on 25 April 1974, Portugal adopted a new motto: "democratise, decolonise, develop". If the second process referred to in the

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<sup>1</sup> Art. 2, as amended by Law No. 1/97, of 20 September.

<sup>2</sup> Art. 5.

motto can be considered completed (with the exception of East Timor, brutally occupied by Indonesia but considered in international law to be a territory under Portuguese administration), the others are by definition being constantly perfected.

### **1.3. Recent population trends**

Many writers on the subject speak of a process of acceleration within Portuguese society, a process that has been visible since the beginning of the century, but which began to take effect with astonishing rapidity in the 60s.

In demographic terms, João Ferrão speaks of the consolidation of “‘modern’ demographic Portugal”, the last phase of which began in the 60s and still continues today<sup>3</sup>. So what is the nature of this transformation? Basically, we are talking about a set of indicators all pointing in the same direction: a very significant drop in the birth rate, in fertility, infant mortality (which went from 80 per thousand in 1960 to 9.2 per thousand in 1992!) and in natural population growth, generational replacement having ceased to occur.

The trend towards a homogeneous pattern in the variables making up natural population growth (with the more or less rapid disappearance of regional demographic systems) should not disguise the far-reaching asymmetries that continue to characterise the Portuguese territory. First of all, there is the powerful process of settlement in coastal areas correlative to desertification inland as a result of large-scale rural depopulation and the persistence of a low level of emigration. This bipolarisation remains an inescapable fact: Oporto's population increased 37% between 1960 and 1991, while that of Lisbon and the Tagus Valley increased 45% (Appendix Part I, Chap. 1, Table 1). However, growth in metropolitan areas was seen to slow down in the 80s, with population levels in major cities stagnating or declining as suburban levels increased.

### **1.4. Changes in society**

For the Portuguese, the Revolution of 25 April 1974 brought with it recognition of a wide range of social rights in the areas of social security, health, housing, the environment and quality of life, the family etc.

However, many writers on the subject stress the systematic discrepancy between legislative assertions and social reality and practice, with the former outstripping the latter by a considerable margin. Nevertheless, significant progress has been made in recent years. First there is the notable growth of the welfare state with its adoption of universal coverage to include even persons never having paid any social security contributions. In the area of education, it is worth noting that it is now the principal item of expenditure within the national budget, enjoying substantial contributions from various Community programmes too. The changes that have been brought about in education can be described as fundamental, resulting in a significant reduction in illiteracy among young people (in spite of its persistence in the older age ranges), a major increase in pre-school attendance figures (as high as 49% in 1993) and in the numbers of 13-23 year olds in full-time education (66% compared

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<sup>3</sup> V. João Ferrão, “Três décadas de consolidação do Portugal demográfico ‘moderno’”, in António Barreto, *A Situação em Portugal (1960-1995)*, Lisbon, Social Sciences Institute, pp. 165-190.

with 56% in the 80s). In the area of higher education, in spite of a residually high degree of selection (the result not of the imposition of a *numerus clausus* but rather of an accumulation of those abandoning or failing school during the previous 12 years), numbers have increased tenfold in the space of the last 30 years.

Other far-reaching social changes are equally worthy of note, such as the distribution of the working population according to sector of activity. Agriculture's relegation to a supporting role has gone hand in hand with a massive, and sometimes direct, shift towards the tertiary sector (the secondary sector, incidentally, has never occupied a dominant position, a factor which is important for an understanding of the process of industrialisation in Portugal). In 1992, the tertiary sector represented 55.2% of the working population in Portugal, with the secondary sector representing no more than 33.2% and agriculture accounting for only 11.6%.

It would however be somewhat unrealistic to say nothing of situations of glaring social exclusion, for there are many vulnerable sections and groups within the population: elderly pensioners, farmers on a low income, low-paid workers, workers with little job security employed in the informal or clandestine economy, ethnic minorities (Portugal is increasingly turning into a country of immigration, though not in a very marked way) and the unemployed, particularly the long-term unemployed and poorly qualified young people.

At the beginning of the 90s, Portugal's per capita GDP was the lowest of the European Union. It was also the country with the lowest average wage<sup>4</sup>.

### 1.5. On the margin?

On the one hand, Portugal can be said to be grappling with the problems that are typical of countries in a central position (ageing of the population, increase in dependency ratios, drop in the relative size of the working population with increased pressure on the welfare state, a clawing back of certain social rights, etc) while on the other it has not yet managed to throw off the problems which are those of the periphery. However, it is important to stress the idea of a profoundly restructured society: urbanisation, tertiarisation, growing numbers in full-time education, irreversible decline of the primary sector, major increase in the numbers of women in employment, a burgeoning lower-middle class, leading to the emergence of new social players, significant patterns of social flow with marked processes of upward social mobility<sup>5</sup>.

Back where it belongs in Europe and reduced to its historical boundaries, Portugal seems to have found its place in the world. However, nothing is immutable and new challenges, arising out of globalisation and the complex and contradictory processes inherent in it, loom large.

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<sup>4</sup> V. José Pereirinha, "Social exclusion in Portugal" in José da Silva Lopes (ed.), *Portugal and EC Membership Evaluated*, London, Pinter Publishers, 1993.

<sup>5</sup> João Ferreira de Almeida, António Firmino da Costa and Fernando Luís Machado, "Recomposição socioprofissional e novos protagonismos", in António Reis, op. cit., pp. 307-330.

## **2. CULTURAL POLICIES - APPROACHES AND INSTRUMENTS**

### **2.1. Stages in cultural policy**

Up until 25 April 1974, Portugal lived under the Salazar regime, a vehemently anti-communist, anti-liberal and nationalistic regime ushered in with the military coup of 28 May 1926. One of its first concerns was to structure culture around its clearly stated propaganda aims. The authoritarian regime, the Estado Novo, took it upon itself to define the culture appropriate to the Portuguese and the values upon which it was to be based. The role assigned to the educational system and to censorship was crucial in such a context.

The military coup of 25 April 1974 marked the end of the Salazar regime and the advent of democracy, bringing far-reaching changes in the political, economic, social and cultural systems in its wake. Six Provisional Governments, all very short-lived, succeeded one another until July 1976 in a climate of post-revolutionary turbulence and instability. The end of the Sixth Provisional Government in July 1976 marked the beginning of a new political period in the country, during which 13 Constitutional Governments followed one another into office, today's Government being the 13th.

Between 1985 and 1995, the approaches to cultural policy of the three Social Democratic governments (the 10th, 11th and 12th) that succeeded one another remained fairly homogeneous. The basic tenets of their government programmes in the field of culture included universal access to cultural property, heritage conservation, support for artistic creation, decentralisation, whereby the state remained responsible for guaranteeing the conditions of access to cultural property and fostering artistic creation but in a supporting role only with regard to other players, and finally the affirmation of cultural identity, understood for the most part as the promotion of the Portuguese language.

An analysis of the number of references to different cultural sectors in the programmes of the three governments reveals the importance attached to cultural heritage and to reading, with the former far outweighing the latter, and a correspondingly subordinate role assigned to dance/ballet, the plastic arts, drama, cinema and the audiovisual sector with, generally, direct repercussions on the volume of legislation produced.

October 1995 marked the beginning of the current Socialist Government's period of office (culture is placed under the responsibility of a Ministry of Culture). Its approach suggests a more interventionist role on the part of the state in matters cultural than was the case under the three previous governments.

Apart from allotting the cultural sector a more substantial role, the Government's programme also introduces more specific and detailed measures organised around five major principles: democratisation, decentralisation, internationalisation, professionalisation and restructuring.

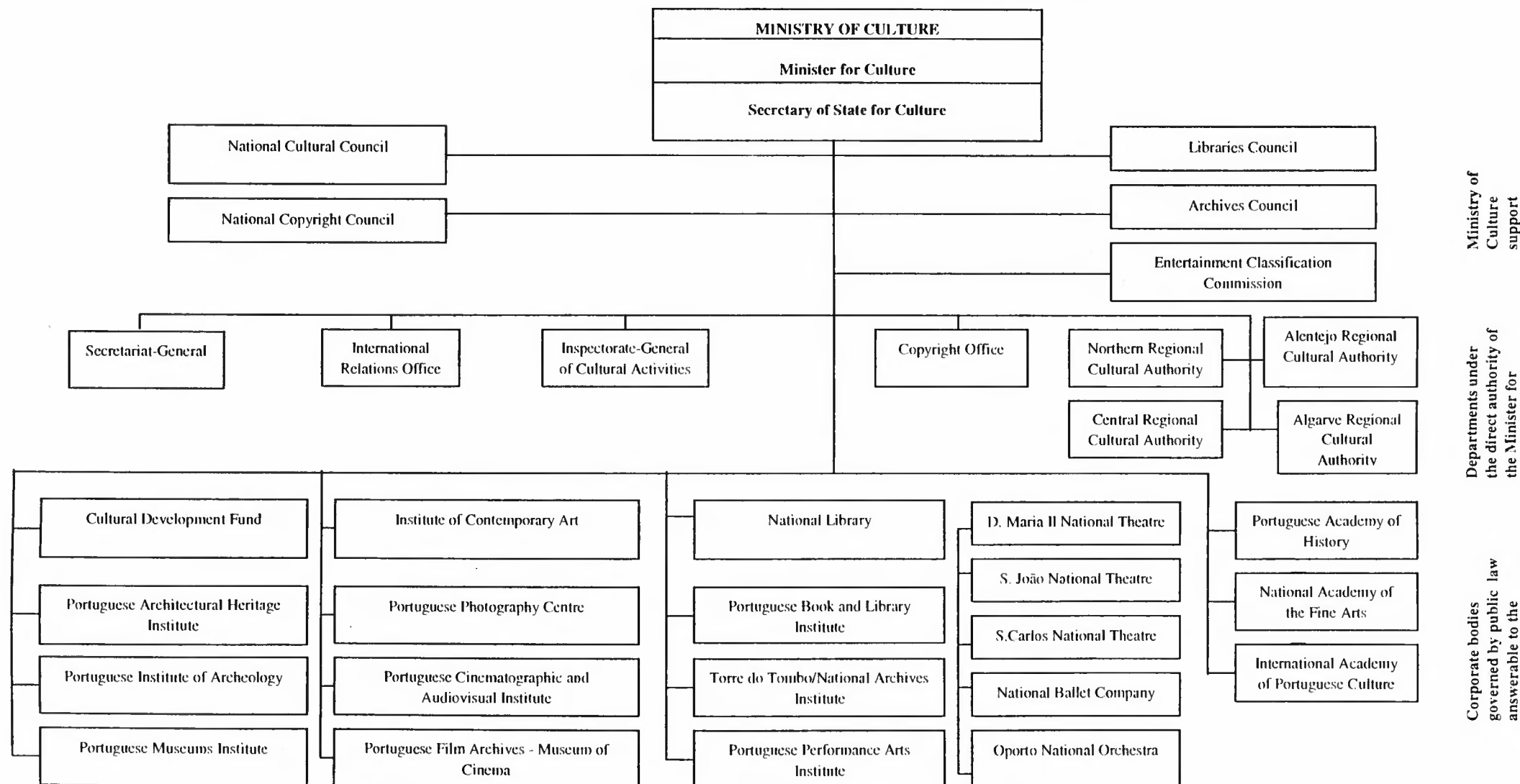
From 25 April 1974 until the present day, responsibility for the cultural sector has been entrusted to a variety of different state bodies. Depending on the political leanings of individual governments, culture has either been divided up among various ministries, made the responsibility of a single state secretariat, placed under the authority of a given ministry or of the Prime Minister or, finally, been given its own ministry.

It was not until 1983, under the 9th Constitutional Government, that a ministry was introduced dealing exclusively with culture. Its dissolution in 1985 and culture's return to a state secretariat under the following government was sharply criticised by the opposition, which saw in the decision an attempt to minimise the cultural sector.

Amid much controversy, the SEC came in for major restructuring under the 12th Government in 1992, involving the cutting down, closure or merger of departments considered unnecessary or redundant, or which merely duplicated effort, in an attempt to rationalise existing structures.

Under the present government, culture has once again been placed under the authority of a Ministry of Culture, reflecting the view that culture - like education, training and the sciences - constitutes a priority sector of government policy. The SEC's internal organisation has undergone further change with the restructuring of existing bodies and the introduction of new ones.

# Internal Organisation of the Ministry of Culture<sup>6</sup>



Ministry of Culture support

Departments under the direct authority of the Minister for

Corporate bodies governed by public law answerable to the

<sup>6</sup> For detailed information on individual bodies see Appendices, Part I, Chap. 2.

## 2.2. Public funding of culture

Taking the period 1990-1995 for the purposes of analysis, government spending on culture increased in comparable terms until 1993 (with a slight drop the previous year), a trend that has since been reversed. The highest level of spending, reached in 1993, was of 34,655 million escudos in inflation-adjusted figures<sup>7</sup>, a sum that corresponded to 0.57% of GDP that year, or in terms of *per capita* government spending on culture, 3,511 escudos.

Central government spending peaked in 1991 at 18,935 million escudos in inflation-adjusted figures, corresponding to 0.32% of GDP, or 1,915 escudos *per capita* expenditure. Local government spending, in turn, reached its highest level in 1995 with 16,833 million escudos in inflation-adjusted figures, corresponding to 0.26% of GDP or 1,696 escudos *per capita*.

Closer examination of government spending shows central government emerging as the main contributor until 1994, a year in which the spending of the two levels of administration was virtually identical, with the relative share of central government spending diminishing in 1995. It is also worth noting that local government spending during the period under consideration showed a far more marked growth than that of central government (43.6% and 14.5% respectively).

A study of total government spending on culture reveals an irregular pattern, and even a reduction at the end of the period under review. This reduction is largely due to central government. Although the convergence, and even reversal, of the relative shares of spending of the two levels of administration seems to indicate a trend towards decentralisation, a concept which has become very fashionable in cultural policies, the present study shows that this reversal is the result not only of local government's growing investment, but also, and more particularly, of central government's disinvestment.

SEC spending as a percentage of total central government spending varied between 0.54% in 1994 (highest percentage) and 0.39% in 1990 (lowest percentage). In terms of GDP, 1995 saw a drop (0.18% compared with 0.19% in 1994) following a period of constant growth up until 1994.

Taking spending per sector between 1985 and 1995, it emerges that the share of spending on 'heritage' reflects the priority assigned to it in the majority of government programmes. All the activities falling under the heading of heritage according to the SEC classification ('Museums', 'National Monuments', 'Archaeology', 'Other forms of heritage') account for 29%. If 'Archives' are added the figure is as high as 36%.

Local government spending on culture increased by 42.5% between 1990 and 1995, amounting to some 17,000 million escudos in 1995 (in inflation-adjusted figures), representing approximately 6% of total local government spending that year. Taking total government spending on culture, local government can be seen to bear the brunt, with 54% in 1994.

<sup>7</sup>

Inflation-adjusted prices are based on the (general) consumer price index for 1985.

Specific government investment in cultural facilities is another point worth noting. In the course of the last twenty years, the national register of such facilities has seen major changes, particularly in the last ten years. These changes relate to the size of such facilities (a move away from large cinema complexes towards smaller cinemas and theatres, together with the tailoring of cinema/theatre size to the local cinema/theatre-going public), to their number (where fewer large-scale facilities have made way for more facilities on a smaller scale), to their location (in an effort to reach out to a wider audience) and finally to artistic disciplines (with the 'crisis' affecting cinema on the one hand and the growing importance of musical events, and more particularly of concerts involving amplification, on the other).



## **PART II: SECTORS**

## 1. PLASTIC ARTS

The opacity surrounding the plastic arts sector and its development in recent years is hard to penetrate. Official figures, which are few and far between, do not yield much. Statistics on general policy measures, including those involving the use of public funds, are simply not credible.

The intentions behind the programmes of the 10th, 11th and 12th Governments could best be described as an attempt to pass the plastic arts over in silence as an artistic discipline. With the 13th Government, the plastic arts seem to emerge from their twilight existence and enter into a new phase, with omissions making way for clear proposals in government policy. Much legislation is also placed on the statute book.

Although the intentions and legislative practice of the present government contrast sharply with those of previous governments (as of 1985), it would be wrong to assume that the plastic arts were hitherto reduced to destitution, or that their position today is one of prosperity. For the state never ceased its intervention in the sector during this period, in a variety of ways, sometimes going far beyond the perspectives mapped out in basic policy options. It should be said that the institutional framework which is that of the plastic arts is strongly imbued with the state's presence, especially if one considers the dual dimension of central and local government.

With regard to public funding, and with the exception of 1990, the plastic arts have never been much favoured in the distribution of central government funds allocated to culture. In the period under study (1985-1995), of the cultural sectors accorded official status in the form of *SEC Activity Reports*, the plastic arts, with an average of 1%, constitute the second least funded sector, only slightly ahead of archaeology (0.8%). As early as the 80s, the same reports acknowledged that the plastic arts were the cultural sector least represented in overall cultural spending. Without the "abnormal" year of 1990, their average would probably have relegated them to last position in the spending league. However, and to be more thorough, one would need to add to this visible or direct support the financial contributions that the state, together with the local authorities, has channelled annually in the form of grants, subsidies and patronage towards a wide range of public or semi-public institutions active in the vast field of culture, far transcending that of the plastic arts alone. Unfortunately, given the present state of information, these contributions cannot be quantified, although it is not hard to believe that they have increased, and considerably so, between 1985 and 1995.

There are fifteen foundations of a cultural nature in Portugal whose aims and activities, alongside others, explicitly include the plastic arts. A considerable number of these foundations were established during the period 1985-1995 with the encouragement of the state or even as a result of joint initiatives, providing tangible evidence, although of a "qualitative nature" only, of the state's very real presence in the sector.

The increasing number of institutions such as these, and the strategic alliances between the state, local authorities and civil society that they might come to represent if expectations of their effectiveness were to be fully met, are part of a strategy, devised and refined towards the end of the 80s, of a reduction of direct state intervention in countless areas of cultural life. This strategy, better defined in 'doctrine' than in practice, is based on the non-dirigiste principle. The underlying idea seems to have been that the state, in

endowing the country with the necessary infrastructure, would serve to inject dynamism into general cultural activity by mobilising human and financial resources other than its own. Once they had reached "cruising speed", the various cultural projects would have gained their autonomy once and for all. In other words, the state would then have a very small role to play.

The enthusiasm it was hoped would be generated failed to materialise, or at least to far less a degree than initially envisaged. This initiative also added to the confusion surrounding funding patterns, making it all the more difficult to take stock of them. It became more difficult than before to know towards which cultural programmes, events and sectors cultural funds were being channelled.

The "doctrinaire", though in practice very restrained, policy of non-dirigisme was overhauled with the arrival in office of the 13th Government and the emergence of new players and institutions. Within a brief lapse of time, between 1996 and 1997, the Institute of Contemporary Art (IAC) was founded, the final decision was taken to build the future National Museum of Contemporary Art (MNAC) in Oporto, to be completed by the end of 1998<sup>8</sup>, the Portuguese Photography Centre (CPF) was established and its headquarters agreed upon, Portugal's first museum of modern and contemporary art - based on one private collection - was inaugurated with the strong support from one local authority, that of Sintra, and finally, it was decided to reserve the CCB's central museological unit for contemporary art on the basis of an agreement reached with the state whereby the unit would be 'supplied' with a part of the above-mentioned collection.

However, two things seem certain. Firstly, if the present system for calculating investment and spending on the plastic arts is maintained, a substantial area of funding will not show up in the statistics. It will be lost sight of under headings and "intermediate" agencies making it impossible to trace *ex post facto*. And secondly, irrespective of whether future annual grants for the acquisitions of both the IAC and MNAC are or are not limited, particularly in terms of international comparison, the building of their respective collections will require not only a certain regularity in the state's financial contribution, but also, and for the same reason, the creation of some form of organisational framework within the sector, in particular the emergence or consolidation of a form of public market in the plastic arts. If we hesitate between the words emergence and consolidation, it is because little is in fact known about the structure of the plastic arts market and how it operates in Portugal, and hence about its defining features (public/private, collective or individual enterprises), although some information is available (not sufficiently reliable) about the number of galleries and exhibition areas, the number of exhibits and exhibitors, the number of visitors and the scale of the bodies involved in the organisation of exhibitions.

"Seen from the outside" therefore, we are dealing with a sector that is having to contend with a legacy of numerous perplexities and contradictions. The gulf that for years separated the discourse and practice of the state, often caught in the mesh of its own policy options, is probably at the heart of such a legacy.

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<sup>8</sup> An idea put forward several years earlier, however, by the government authorities of the time.

## 2. MUSIC

Over the last twenty years the music sector, with its many facets, has shown great vitality.

Generally speaking, government policies reflect four types of concern: support and encouragement for amateur activities, preservation of the musical heritage, publishing (particularly record publishing), and more recently the administration of grants (scholarships and subsidies), with the focus varying according to different governments. The policy statements of the 10th and 11th Governments are fairly balanced, whereas the 12th Government made restructuring a priority. In 1995, under the Socialist Government, and following further changes, responsibility for music was transferred to the Portuguese Institute of the Performing Arts.

The lion's share of grants to opera goes to Portugal's only opera house, the São Carlos National Theatre (TNSC). Nevertheless, structural deficits persist. As the theatre's running costs (supporting an orchestra, chorus, ballet company and resident singers) absorb virtually the full amount paid by the state, balancing maintenance and production functions has proved particularly difficult.

Apart from the TNSC, the Oporto Opera Circle (CPO), a cultural association financed by other bodies including the Oporto local authorities, also receives state aid on a permanent basis. The regional cultural authorities also donate small sums to subsidise operatic events, incidentally almost a permanent fixture among activities supported by town halls.

It should also be said that, at least since 1984, the Ministry responsible for culture has regularly supported the organisation of a number of (international) music festivals in the country. Although varying from year to year, the highest number of festivals supported was 18 in 1985/1986. Alongside central government grants, mention must also be made of the growing involvement of local authorities in funding and organising this type of event. Moreover, although the great majority of festivals supported by the Ministry lay traditionally in the area of classical music, initiatives in the fields of popular music and jazz have been included more recently. And finally, mention should be made of the increase in the number of festivals held in Portugal in the three areas mentioned - from 18 in 1985 to 42 in 1997.

In 1997, there were eight orchestras with more than 33 musicians in operation on the mainland (one orchestra for 1.2 million inhabitants) and one in the Autonomous Region of Madeira. Of the eight, six are located in Lisbon, one in Oporto and one in Guimarães, five are professional orchestras and three are devoted to the training of young musicians. The Portuguese Symphony Orchestra (OSP) is the only orchestra with more than one hundred musicians - it has 110. With the exception of the Gulbenkian Orchestra (OG), all receive public funding. The Madeira Classical Orchestra receives most of its funds from the Regional Government and the remaining funds from the municipality of Funchal.

In the area of recorded music, the state's sphere of action covers legislation on copyright and neighbouring rights, the regulation, authentication (cassettes) and taxation of phonograms, as well as publishing and the funding of productions in the area of classical music<sup>9</sup>. The Record Publishing Authority (the name enjoyed by the unit within the State Secretariat for Culture) is primarily concerned with the production/publishing of serious national music (traditional or contemporary) with a view to the preservation and national and international dissemination of the heritage.

The most important facet of the world of amateur music, mentioned by several governments between 1974 and 1990, musical or orchestral ensembles are funded by a variety of different public and private bodies. There are thought to be some 700 ensembles spread across the various districts and the two Autonomous Regions, representing an estimated 40% of Portuguese musicians (20,000).

The first conclusion to be drawn relates to the very substantial role played by the local authorities, which account for the bulk of spending on music. They are also being increasingly called upon to enter into partnerships with central government.

Spending under the heading of 'music' in the SEC's budget has shown little variation, remaining between 2.5 and 4%, except in 1988, when it reached 9.6%. This was an exceptional year, with the founding of a new orchestra, the already mentioned Co-operative Symphony Orchestra. Over a period of 11 years, the rate of variation in real terms was 112%. At local authority level, spending on music increased considerably as from 1989, with a variation rate in real terms of 275% between 1986 and 1995.

The second conclusion to be drawn relates to the segmentation of music funding in Portugal. Most of the music events funded within the local authority circuit do not fall under the heading of classical/serious music. This is the preferred area of central government funding, as reflected also in its activities in the record-publishing field. Relations between central and local government therefore attest to a relative (and complementary) delegation of responsibilities according to musical genres.

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<sup>9</sup> On the subject of neighbouring rights, the law adopted and amended in 1985 is still waiting to be put into effect. It should also be noted that it was not until 1989 that regulations were introduced on the production of cassettes. The result was a drastic decrease in the number of pirate recordings (40% of cassettes produced the previous year), making Portugal one of the countries with the lowest level of pirate recordings in the world (approx. 0.3% of sales and of the total number of units produced in 1996). Cf. IFPI *The recording industry in numbers '96*, London, 1997, p. 24.

### 3. DANCE

In this overview of the world of dance we propose to pursue two main lines of enquiry: first we shall set out to describe and assess the action of the state, which obviously means reviewing government policy in this area (which, as we shall see later, comes close to being a "non-policy"), and then we shall try to form a picture of the main changes in the structure of the sector during the period covered by this report.

One cannot, if accuracy is a concern, talk of politically defined policy objectives in relation to the dance sector under the 10th, 11th and 12th Governments. Indeed, the rare references to be found in government programmes always appear under the heading of general education, in particular in relation to school curricula.

However, when in 1994, towards the end of this period, the Portuguese Institute of Dance and Ballet (IPBD) was established, and the main guidelines governing it laid down, the state seemed to adopt a non-interventionist stance. According to the "philosophy" laid down for the IPBD, "it shall not fall to the state to define, submit or defend a 'dance policy' for the country. The sole responsibility of the state will be to support dance in Portugal - in the role of a 'logistical rearguard' - in a context of rigorous and restrained budgetary policy"<sup>10</sup>

Generally speaking, the legislation produced in the corresponding period reflects all these policy definitions (or their absence), although the situation does change after 1992. These changes can be seen on the legislative front with the adoption of a decree establishing the Directorate General of Entertainment and the Arts, and the recognition of the National Ballet Company's (CNB) full legal personality, culminating with the creation of the IPBD.

Nevertheless, it was not until the 13th Government took office that a varied set of longer-term measures and guidelines was formulated. Examples of such measures include the introduction of programmes to support the creation of new works for theatre and dance, at the same time as funding traditional theatre and dance groups as a means of encouraging the diversification of existing models of organisation and management within these artistic fields. The state, it would seem, is at last prepared to take on a strategic role in the sector.

The inclusion of dance in the 'performing arts' from 1986 onwards makes it difficult to evaluate the level of state spending on dance over the ten years under consideration. The best one can hope for is a rough estimate of the proportion of spending on dance out of a total attributed to the 'performing arts'. This shows that dance's share of the funds spent on the 'performing arts' has always been a small one. During the least unfavourable year (1994), it received no more than 11%. However, there are years when its share is no more than 1-2%. These amounts are all the more revealing when one realises that the 'performing arts' as a category receive a very thin slice of the SEC's overall budget allocation for culture - never more than 17%. It should however be noted that between 1986 and 1995, on the basis of 1985 inflation-adjusted prices, total public spending on the 'performing arts' for mainland Portugal increased 316%. In spite of this positive trend, it can nevertheless be said that the overall investment picture only confirms the view that support for dance production and dissemination was never a political priority between 1985 and 1995. That being said, finally

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<sup>10</sup> See IPBD, *Apoio à Dança, Relatório 1995. Proposta global para atribuição de subsídios 1996, 1996.*

it is worthwhile examining the sector's institutional structure, both in respect of specific dance training and the production of fully-fledged professionals.

Towards the middle of the 80s, Portugal's dance scene was characterised by the existence of three repertory companies: the CNB, the Gulbenkian Ballet (BG) and the Lisbon Dance Company (CDL). The first, incorporated within the São Carlos National Theatre in 1985, operated under the administration of the state, the second under the auspices of a private institution, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (FCG), and the third enjoyed an independent status. The Gulbenkian Ballet combined the search for aesthetic perfection with critical recognition. Vocational training, for its part, was limited to the CNB and BG schools and to the Academy.

Ten years later, the dance scene has changed significantly, with, on the production side: a) a substantial increase in the number of independent repertory companies and groups in various parts in the country (for example in Setúbal, Oporto and Évora); b) the spread of companies linked to individual choreographers; c) the emergence of artists/choreographers not attached to specific companies; d) the emergence of associations specialising in production, promotion, design and technical management in relation to the independent dance sector; e) the appearance on the scene of foundations and institutions whose objectives range from teaching and research in the area of dance to the publication of research results and the production and distribution of innovative works; f) the founding of the annual "Cities Dance Festival" in 1993, which quickly became a veritable institution and a showcase for contemporary dance; g) the setting up of the Portuguese Dance Association in 1993, with the twofold aim of representing dance professionals and defending their rights in dealings with the authorities.

Important changes also took place on the training side. These included the closure of the CNB and BG schools, the establishment of a Higher Institute of Dance (ESD) as part of the Lisbon Polytechnic Institute and of the Higher Dance Course under the Human Motricity Faculty (FMH), both of which are public higher education establishments, and the proliferation of schools, academies and similar bodies, both public and private, sometimes forming part of wider projects within the dance sector. The growth of the training sector has however been hindered by the fact that on the one hand it is given encouragement by the state, while on the other, the state reserves the title of dancer for the higher level "traditional" official schools, thus undermining the artistic contribution to be made by new training bodies.

This is also the period that saw the emergence and consolidation of a heterodox movement later to be known as New Portuguese Dance (NDP). The movement's dancers and choreographers were to oppose not only the logic underlying the construction of choreographic works, but also the educational expression of such logics, as taught in existing schools.

Be that as it may, the scarcity of resources and public and private facilities available to the dance sector is, and remains, one of its defining features. One could even go so far as to say that the tensions associated with this scarcity of resources seem to have only increased during this period. To this must be added the state's initial misgivings about, and later rejection of, the idea of a real policy for the dance sector.

The conflicts plaguing the dance sector, directly attributable to the scarcity of resources or not, are reflected at the very core of the artistic works being produced, in the

form of allusions or distancing effects. In that respect, even they represent potential sources of artistic creativity and production and hence a way of enabling the sector to assert itself. Rather than raising the issue of their elimination, it would be more appropriate, for the state in particular, especially if it is considering adopting a joint strategy with the local authorities, to consider how to harness this element of conflict, on the understanding, that is, that it intends to back up its efforts with greater resources.



#### 4. THEATRE

There is unanimous agreement in government and artistic circles regarding the significant backwardness of Portuguese theatre in terms of drama theory, aid to national dramatic art, the encouragement of research and experimentation, the relationship between training and artistic creation, touring theatre and the processes of decentralisation, training and audience research, exchanges, dissemination, links with the other performing arts, etc. Insufficiently supported by low levels of funding, theatre has in fact never been considered as a national cultural priority in political terms. However, it is generally agreed that so-called "independent" theatre has for many years been contributing to the appreciation of the dramatic heritage through its provision of an invaluable public service: the dissemination and preservation of the Portuguese language at home and abroad.

Policies of state aid to the theatre sector are based essentially on the legislative orders governing aid to cultural creation ("criteria for the allocation of subsidies"), given the importance of such aid to the sector. In this field there is a clear dividing line between the views of the last Social Democratic government and those of the present Socialist Government. Under the previous government, and in spite of the prevailing principle of "convergence between the quality and cultural level of the product and the participation of the public", what emerges is the fact that the state merely played a supporting role. Greater use was made of own sources of funding (in the form of box-office takings) and their diversification encouraged (in particular through recourse to local authorities). Among the criteria for the allocation of funds, particular emphasis was placed on the need for an average annual audience according to theatre size, a compulsory minimum capacity, a compulsory minimum number of performances, and the drawing up of interim reports on attendance figures. Decentralisation was advocated as one of a number of elements designed to structure the sector (through the development of exchanges/touring theatre troupe projects and the introduction of the Capital City of Theatre concept). However, this package of measures, and especially those governing state aid, gave rise to controversy, in particular as from 1990. Following a period characterised by clear-cut lines of action and assertive, resolute and controversial policies, the government that took office in 1995 found itself in a position that lent itself to the promotion of a new policy for the theatre, one that represented a radical departure from earlier options. The new regulatory framework attests to the state's readiness to shoulder its responsibilities as the principal source of funding for the theatre sector in Portugal, responsibilities that cannot be dissociated from the concept of public service. Previous criteria are expressly revoked, in particular those whereby the allocation of state aid depended on the number of theatre-goers per theatre or per performance. Now it is diversity and quality that are the main factors governing the acceptance of applications for funding, alongside renewed support for decentralisation, due account being taken of "projects set in contexts which are particularly disadvantaged in terms of arts provision and where theatre production costs are higher"<sup>11</sup>.

Grants to professional theatre, expressed in 1985 prices adjusted for inflation, show a clear trend towards a constant increase, with the exception of 1989 and 1994. The figures become all the more meaningful when expressed in today's prices, with a doubling of the funds awarded between 1989 and 1991 and the symbolic ceiling of one thousand million escudos virtually reached in 1996. However, given the low initial amounts, these figures are

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<sup>11</sup> Legislative Order No. 43/96, Art. 15.

considered by many to be inadequate. Some, though stressing the substantial efforts made recently, consider funding to be "infra-European" in the light of the general situation prevailing in countries of the European Union.

One measure of the degree of decentralisation of cultural policies is the geographical distribution of aid. The more balanced the distribution, the less the risk of cultural "top-heaviness". The Lisbon region enjoys an advantageous position thanks to a concentration of professional theatre companies representing two thirds of the total. One is justified in thinking that a circular and replicating logic is being encouraged according to which investment in a given region increases as a function of the number of companies, whereas it is precisely where the former abounds that the latter tend to congregate. However, this geographical distribution has to be balanced against the demographic weight of each region in order to obtain overall *per capita* figures. (Appendices, Part II, Chap. 4, Graph 2). A study of the distribution of aid to professional theatre per major region, using the escudos per inhabitant formula, shows the need to somewhat temper the fashionable theory prevailing of the macrocephaly of the Lisbon region. Although Lisbon and the Tagus Valley remain the most favoured region, Alentejo is a close runner-up, and almost on a par in the past year, a situation due among other things to the pioneering role of the Evora Drama Centre. As far as the other regions are concerned, their situation is a far more marginal one.

In the area of international relations, the theatre exchange programme drawn up and supported by the state has proved essential. The Cena Lusófona (the Portuguese-speaking Stage), established in 1995 as a framework for theatre co-operation in Portuguese-speaking countries, plays a particularly important role. Reference should also be made to efforts to step up the theatre contacts established during Lisbon's tenure as the European Cultural Capital in 1994. Although priority was given to national drama production, the importance of contacts with internationally renowned institutions and artists was also emphasised<sup>12</sup>.

During the period under review progress has indeed been made in the sector, with a significant increase in levels of public funding, the rehabilitation of theatre premises and facilities and some genuine steps in the direction of decentralisation.

However, although theatre cannot be said to exist only in Lisbon, there is no escaping the uneven distribution of companies and subsidies across the national territory, not to mention the relegation to the background of the Autonomous Regions and the Algarve. Although the Portuguese theatre scene comprises a number of centres offering a wider range of activities (Lisbon, Oporto, Coimbra, Evora), it nevertheless has some large gaps that hamper its operation as a network.

A further extremely sensitive issue is that of audience figures. Although it is fairly widely agreed that the success of a performance cannot necessarily be reduced to audience numbers, it is a variable that cannot be overlooked in any cultural policy purporting to be democratic. In this connection, despite a slight recovery recently, audience levels remain extremely low across the whole country. Moreover, in the various surveys of cultural

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<sup>12</sup> It should be noted in this connection that five out of a total of 22 productions were international, including a co-production between two national theatres, the D. Maria II National Theatre and the Théâtre National de la Colline in Paris.

practices, theatre remains confined to a narrow, generally well-educated segment of the population.

The question of audiences raises the question of the appropriateness of a national policy for the theatre. Although such a policy might vary with different governments, it would nevertheless be advisable to maintain some continuity, above and beyond the need to administer and allocate the available funds each year.

## 5. CINEMA, TELEVISION AND RADIO

In the mid-80s, the process of liberalisation of the cinema and broadcasting sectors emerged as the main organising principle behind a (re)definition of policies in these fields. As for television, this process marked the end of the monopoly of the public broadcasting corporation, the RTP, and the beginning of broadcasts by private operators (SIC and TVI). As for radio, it marked the end of the oligopoly enjoyed by public radio stations (RDP) and the Catholic radio station RR, with the granting of licences to new operators providing local, regional and national coverage. As for cinema, the fundamental change came in the shape of new forms of state intervention. What the various sectors have in common is the growing need to co-ordinate the action of the state with that of other interested parties. In the case of radio and television, these other parties are competing operators. As for cinema, they are complementary, if not alternative, forms of public funding, especially for film production.

The processes of granting licences to radio stations and television channels brought out a number of basic differences. In the area of television, unlike radio, the new operators are in a position to provide a national service. As a result, the regulation of regional television has slipped down the agenda, and this even includes rules governing other television services, such as cable television or satellite dishes. Also, whereas in the interest of national radio coverage it was decided to privatise an existing public radio station, in the area of television the decision was taken to maintain the existing public channels and grant licences to new operators established for that purpose. And finally, given television's greater social impact, the granting of new licences has resulted in greater tension between competitors.

The main change affecting cinema is the revision of the regulatory framework which, in spite of the amendments introduced, had governed the sector since 1971. Between 1990 and 1993, the period when it was decided to grant licences to private television operators, a major public debate was launched on the subject of a new legal framework to govern the film industry, leading to the new regulations of 1993. Compared with the prospects announced at the time, these represent a minimum, particularly in terms of what they say about co-ordination with the field of television.

Political hesitations at the beginning of the 90s with regard to a redefinition of the role of the state in cinema and television and the co-ordination of the two served only to compound the issue of the funding of public sector organisations. In this respect, developments in the two areas have taken opposite directions. Whereas for cinema, the 90s represent a situation of short-term growth in the funds allocated to the sector under the budget of the Ministry of Culture, for television the competition scenario has generally led to deregulation of the market and, for the RTP in particular, to "entropic" growth in costs.

The increase in public spending on film production at the beginning of the 90s represents an annual figure of almost one thousand million escudos (in today's prices). There is a downside to this increase, in that it was made possible by an increase in television advertising taxes and immediately led to a considerable drop in the RTP's direct investment (as the only channel that existed at the time) in film production.

Growth in the number of films being produced depends on increased financial resources. A clear increase occurred between 1985 and 1995, one that was more pronounced in the second half of this period. However, regular complementary sources of funding are

urgently needed. A further pressing issue and a constant concern for Portuguese cinema is the commercial distribution of films aided by the state. Like the number of films being produced, the number being distributed is on the increase.

Alongside aid granted by the Ministry of Culture for film production and preservation, local authorities have clearly shouldered their responsibilities with regard to a third area of cinema policy, namely investment in infrastructure.

The general increase in financial resources has had a different impact on television. But first it should be pointed out that advertising revenue, the main financial pillar of the television and cinema sectors in Portugal, has increased steadily in the course of the last ten years, with a tendency to be mainly concentrated on television. This concentration has not only fuelled competition between television channels, but has also had deregulatory effects for the media in general.

However, the one outstanding feature, from a political point of view, in the definition of the RTP's funding (and, by extension, in the financial basis for regulation of the television sector) was the decision to do away with television licence fees when the sector's liberalisation was in full spate. This option takes on added importance when it is considered that at practically the same time the decision was taken to keep radio licence fees. The public service function vested in the RTP and enshrined in the constitution, together with the corporation's cumbersome structure, place it in a situation of twofold dependency on advertising revenue and government grants. Given the lack of any definition of public service, such grants lead to a blurring of outlines, especially in financial terms. Not only is the RTP's loss situation worsening, and markedly so, it is part of an upward spiral of expenditure. In conclusion, the RTP's enormous deficit has obliged the state to intervene to prevent the corporation from going bankrupt, an intervention that the end to licence fees was intended to scale down. Moreover, it is the question of the RTP's funding and streamlining that constitutes the major obstacle to the framing of a policy in the sector, even after the initial shock of competition has been overcome.

The end of the state monopoly of television can also be seen in the light of another factor serving to shape public policies, namely the conflict between competition and the pooling of interests. The same thing can be said of the cinema sector. In such a context, the recent officialisation (in the form of an agreement) of relations between IPACA and the television channels with a view to preparing a new legislative framework and reorganising the sector takes on added meaning. It is a strategy of pooling of interests.

And finally, at the time of writing this report, plans for a new legislative framework and a basic redefinition of the Ministry of Culture's role in the cinema, broadcasting and multimedia sectors are in the final stages of preparation.

## 6. BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND LIBRARIES

In terms of administrative structures, it was the programme of the 10th Government that marked the beginning of a revitalisation of a "national books policy". The proposal to introduce a co-ordinating council led in 1987 to the establishment of the Portuguese Institute of Books and Reading (IPLL), later to be merged with the National Library under the 12th Government to form the National Library and Books Institute (IBL) in 1992. The institute continued until 1997, when under the 13th Government it was divided once again, on the basis of corresponding laws, into two separate entities: the National Library (BN) and the Portuguese Institute of Books and Libraries (IPLB).

Apart from institutional measures, the "national books policy" of the 11th Government also includes aid to the publishing sector (in particular book distribution) and artistic production, through the establishment of literary scholarships. It was the same government that ensured the policy's continuity by establishing a National Network of Municipal Libraries, computerising the National Library and introducing a National Bibliographical Information Network. The next government adopted the same approach, rekindling local authority involvement in the development of the Public Reading Network.

As for periodical publications, they have to be seen in the context of the *reprivatisation* of the mass communication media, the first attempt at which was made under the 10th Government. The *reprivatisation* of the written press occurred between 1987 and 1991 under the 11th Government. The task of consolidating this objective, as well as that of the liberalisation of radio and the opening of television to private enterprise, fell to the 12th Government. Issues relating to mass communication, to which it has attached priority, and reform of the Law on the Press<sup>13</sup> are some of the objectives being pursued by the Socialist 13th Government.

Reflecting government interest in the field of books and reading, the State Secretariat for Culture's spending on the sector reveals a significant upward trend in the ten years under consideration (1985-1995). To be precise, this increase is reflected in the spending of the government institute with responsibility for the book sector as of 1986. However, a study of the funds allocated by the Institute reveals that it is the "Public Reading Network", its establishment and maintenance, that consistently receives the lion's share.

Total spending on 'Publications and Reading' is a particularly prominent item of local authority spending in the area of culture and one that is growing more than is the case for general cultural spending. With regard to spending on 'Book publishing and Acquisitions', the relative growth of local authority spending mirrors the general increase in cultural spending, although the amounts involved are very low in absolute terms. Growth has tripled in the space of the decade, progressing gradually rather than in fits and starts.

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<sup>13</sup> The Law on the Press was promulgated in 1975 and revised in 1995. More recently (1997), the Office of the State Secretariat for Social Communication submitted a new draft law on the press. At the same time, changes were made in the composition of the High Authority on Social Communication and its powers redefined. Established in 1990, its remit, powers, organisation and functioning had already been modified in 1994.

In the field of libraries in general, spending has increased by approximately 116% (from 1,684 to 3,635 million escudos). When the figures are weighted to take account of the increase in the number of the country's libraries, average spending per library is estimated at around 3 million escudos in the first two years of the period. This is followed by a certain, though hesitant, increase, with spending running at a level of approximately 5 million escudos in the last two years of the period.

As for the written press, and in particular publications, aid distributed by the Institute of Social Communication is channelled for the most part to the regional press. It takes the form of both direct aid - for such purposes as modernisation and technological conversion or vocational training - and indirect aid.

It is worth noting that local authority spending on 'Newspaper publishing' never exceeds 2% of general cultural spending. This item nevertheless registered a marked increase (26%) in the course of the ten years in question.

The most striking feature of the sector over the decade is its growth, in terms of indicators of publishing output as well as in terms of dissemination and reading facilities.

Although growth has been uneven, in terms both of geographical distribution and the type of facilities introduced, the number of libraries increased by 32% (from 1,220 to 1,614) between 1985 and 1995.

A further significant aspect of the sector, according to statistics available, is the increase in the number of publishing houses from 221 in 1986 to 884 in 1995.

Just as the number of publishing houses has grown, so too has the number of titles published in the first years of the decade, starting with 2,702 titles in 1986 and ending with 6,933 in 1995.

Developments in annual circulation figures denote a greater stability than in the case of published titles, although figures nevertheless increased from 23 million copies in 1986 to 26.4 million in 1995 (a 15% increase). The average annual circulation per newspaper published remained at around 4,000 copies, with very slight variations, as from 1989.

As far as the dynamics of the book market are concerned, total sales in the period under consideration did not change significantly in the first seven years. Beginning in 1993, the market experienced a considerable boom, reaching 15,000 million escudos in 1995 (compared with less than 12,000 million in 1986 and less than 10,000 million in 1987). Figures for the period between 1986 and 1995 therefore reveal an increase of around 35% in the volume of sales, essentially concentrated over the last three years. These are also years that coincide with the consolidation of the position of "large and medium-sized outlets" within the distribution circuits, although bookshops remain the principal points of sale together with two other distribution channels - book clubs and mail order firms - accounting for 40% of sales during the period in question.

Another significant factor is the big difference of scale and the reversal of trends on the domestic and external book markets. The domestic market accounts for some 15,000 million escudos, the peak sales figure, reached in 1995, whereas the external market remains below the 900 million mark, a peak reached in 1993. The former expanded

gradually, whereas the latter plummeted, its fall virtually confined to the last phase of the period studied.

Periodicals production indicators, for their part, reveal a relative stability, with the exception of the last two years out of the ten studied. Generally speaking they fluctuate between 1,100 and 1,200 titles, 1994 seeing the loss of several dozen publications, whereas 1995 saw a jump of more than 400 compared with the preceding year. Newspapers and magazines make up almost all periodical publications in Portugal. Between 1994 and 1995, the former's circulation increased by approximately 17% and that of the latter, where the market is dominated by women's and television programme magazines, by 14%.

In a country such as Portugal, low average levels of schooling correspond, *ipso facto*, to relatively weak performances in the field of literature and reading. Books serve to propagate knowledge, the press, generally speaking, to propagate information, and a certain "popular" literature, together with certain magazines meets the need for recreation or escape. It is therefore in the light of the primacy of the book's cultural function that policy governing the sector must be assessed. However, such a policy cannot afford to overlook two decisive factors: the market's most salient features, and the central role of Portugal in the concert of Portuguese-speaking nations.

There is no shortage of indicators showing the small size of the book market in Portugal: low average print-run (and consequently economic fragility particularly in fields other than educational publishing), low ratio of books per inhabitant, trend towards the number of published titles of Portuguese-speaking writers (with the exception of educational textbooks) being outstripped by the number of translations, low quota of books for the external market. Added to this is the fact that there was no specific support for the book market between 1985 and 1995, the market operating freely and governed only by the general provisions of 1983 relating to competition. When measures were taken to correct possible malfunctionings, such as the agreement between publishers, wholesalers and retailers, they failed. Moreover, book prices increased in 1992 with the imposition of the lower VAT rate of 5% (lower in relation to the general rate).

Against such a backdrop, going as far as to trigger direct intervention in the marketplace in the form of the Socialist Government's introduction in 1996 of the Law on Fixed Book Prices, the three governments in office between 1985 and 1995 agreed above all on the strategy for motivating general interest in reading. The strategy's infrastructure, in the form of the Public Reading Network and its libraries at municipal level, symbolises the high hopes being pinned on the ability of central and local government to work together. The decision to devote more than 70% of the funds of the government institute with responsibility for books and reading to this particular front was justified by the priority it enjoys.

With regard to the defence and spread of the Portuguese language, a number of central government initiatives encouraging its "dissemination" were taken in the African countries where Portuguese is an official language (PALOP), particularly in the area of assistance with organising book fairs. However, financial commitments have proved irregular over the years and on average represent less than 10% of the total budget of the institute with responsibility for the sector, highlighting the discrepancy between the stated aims of government policy with regard to the promotion and spread (in particular through books) of Portuguese culture in the PALOP countries, and the relatively modest sums devoted to such an end.



## 7. HERITAGE, MUSEUMS AND ARCHIVES

The touchstone of the collective memory, history and national identity, heritage occupies a privileged position in cultural policy. During the period under review, heritage was cultural policy's top priority. As a number of officials from the world of culture argue, this political focus is the response to and result of pressure from a public that is increasingly motivated and aware of the importance of heritage.

In terms of political slants, it is the programmes of the PSD governments in particular that make frequent reference to heritage issues. They appear less frequently in the programmes of the Socialist Government, while clearly remaining a priority. The specific proposals put forward reflect a clear intention to complete the unfinished business of previous governments: rapid completion of the Heritage Inventory, institutional reforms, etc.

In terms of the basic services required to put policies into effect, several measures have been taken. On the legislative front, the most important measure was the establishment in 1980 of the Portuguese Institute of Cultural Heritage (IPPC). The institute was entrusted with the following responsibilities: co-ordinating and encouraging research, drawing up an inventory of the immovable, movable and non-material assets making up the country's cultural heritage, and protecting and conserving those assets. With regard to the central archives, at the end of the 9th Government's period in office (June 1983-1985), and following reform of the internal working structures of the Ministry of Culture of the time, the Torre do Tombo National Archives (AN/TT) were inaugurated, enjoying a status similar to that of other Directorates General. In the meantime, given the development of certain departments within the IPPC, it became necessary to grant them their independence. 1987 therefore saw the establishment of the Portuguese Institute of Books and Reading (IPLL), 1988 the Portuguese Archives Institute (IPA), as a body separate from the TT/NA, and 1991 the Portuguese Museums Institute (IPM). Already under the 12th Government, and in the name of a set of measures referred to as the "rationalisation of existing structures", the IPA was formally done away with and a body known as the Torre do Tombo/National Archives established in 1992 during reform of the State Secretariat for Culture. 1992 also saw the foundation of the Portuguese Institute for the Architectural and Archaeological Heritage (IPPAR) as a body with supervisory powers in the field of cultural heritage.

Not all these organisational changes were free from controversy, it should be said, and cases of overlapping terms of reference remain. It is also true that heritage continues to be a field that is placed under the responsibility of a variety of public and private institutions. Apart from the IPPAR and the IPM, there is also the Directorate General of National Heritage, the Directorate General of National Buildings and Monuments, the Office of the President of the Republic, the church, universities and an infinite number of other bodies, all of which makes for additional difficulties when attempts are made to draft outline legislation on the heritage or carry out an exhaustive heritage inventory.

In conjunction with the defence of local history and the growing public awareness of the value of the cultural heritage, it comes as no surprise to note the permanent increase in the number of listed buildings. The increase is more pronounced in respect of 'municipal assets',

where figures were up by almost 50% between 1985 and 1995, whereas figures for 'buildings of public interest' increased by 28%<sup>14</sup>.

There has also been a considerable increase in the number of museums open to the public (229 in 1985 compared with 303 in 1995). More than one third of these institutions are concentrated in Lisbon and the Tagus Valley, followed by the Northern Region, with a corresponding scarcity in the Algarve and the Autonomous Regions. Is this a sign of a concentration in the more densely populated areas where demand is perhaps a greater stimulus, or an indication of centralisation?

With regard to the total number of visitors by region (Appendices, Part II, Chap. 7, Graph1) once again Lisbon and the Tagus Valley are in the lead. The difference, however, is incommensurate and probably to be attributed to the "capital effect" and the concentration in Lisbon of the best-known, most attractive and mostly richly endowed museums.

The large increase in spending on heritage on the part of the bodies with responsibility for the sector (first the IPPC and subsequently the IPPAR) during the period under review is a well-established fact. It represents a positive rate of variation of 144.7%. Between 1985 and 1995 heritage spending (according to figures relating to 'Archives', 'National Monuments', 'Archaeology' and 'Other forms of heritage') experienced almost uninterrupted growth, with the exception of 1987, 1990 and 1993, when spending fell. In relative terms, the sector accounts for 15.1%, 15.4% and 21.9% respectively. With regard to the total number of archives in Portugal between 1988 and 1993, there were no major changes, with the exception of the last year studied<sup>15</sup>. Until 1992 the total number of archives did not exceed 90, 1993 standing very much apart with 284 archives. Growth in the overall number of archives has gone hand in hand with increased expenditure of some 400 million escudos (1985 prices adjusted for inflation) over the five years of the period under consideration, the brunt of the increase occurring during the last two years.

According to some people employed in the heritage sector, the Achilles heel has been the lack of policy convergence, of particular importance given the scale and dispersal of the sector. Lack of co-ordination and absence of responsibility tend to prevail.

The successive postponements of work on the Heritage Outline Law and its accompanying inventory has also encouraged this idea, despite the fact that, since 1992, the IPPAR has been systematically publishing catalogues of buildings listed as forming part of the architectural and archaeological heritage since the beginning of the century. In the area of museums, a number of basic problems are still awaiting a solution (although basically the same could be said of the entire heritage sector). These include the need to increase the number of specialists and upgrade their qualifications, especially in areas as under-funded as restoration, publishing and inspection, to release posts within the civil service for the career of museum curator and to resolve the chronic financial deficit of museums, which is often such as to jeopardise the safety of collections and the structure of buildings.

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<sup>14</sup> This classification, dating back to 1932 ('National Monument' and 'Building of public interest') and 1949 ('Municipal asset') is considered outdated today.

<sup>15</sup> The period as from which statistics are available.

More intense and widespread efforts are also required to ensure that museum areas are used more actively (what could be described as an active promotional policy), something which is essential if new publics are to be reached.

With regard to a priority as clearly defined as heritage, the funds made available have been very modest and the results have not lived up to expectations. However, there are one or two positive notes, such as the rehabilitation of a certain number of significant buildings, something no one would deny, and the growing concern to improve the surroundings of monuments and to conserve historic centres (some of which are extremely run down). But possibly the most positive asset is the dynamism of heritage conservation bodies, the sign perhaps of a more active, demanding and organised citizenship.

## 8. SOCIO-CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Like the notion of cultural field, the concept of socio-cultural activity is not easily grasped, its limits and outlines not easily defined. Be that as it may, we believe it is possible to identify the lowest common denominator in the various approaches to the subject. The concept is based on the primacy of interpersonal communication, on reference to active and non-directive teaching methods, on the defence of the independence of individuals and groups as agents of their own history, on the elimination of barriers between production and consumption/reception, and on a project-oriented philosophy. The desire to bring public and artistic work closer has generated activities related to production/dissemination and reproduction/training, with the aim of renewing the production process itself (understood as a succession of stages and activities linking production/creation to the consumer/receiver). Such an approach to the organisation of activities/events cuts across the different cultural sectors or modes of expression (plastic arts, performing arts, audiovisual sector, etc), and despite the 'blurred' outlines of the area covered, it calls for decisive and determined policy measures.

Contrary to the clear priority attached to heritage over a period of ten years a deep silence seems to prevail in terms of both government policy and legislation when it comes to socio-cultural work. In the period under study, no legislative measures of any significance are devoted to the subject, with one possible exception being a handful of proposals on the promotion and rehabilitation of craft activities. Indeed, state intervention in the sector was limited to the period 1974 to 1979 and was a feature of the Provisional Governments in particular. One direct consequence of this disinvestment has been the dwindling number or closure of Regional Cultural Centres, although some of the more "resistant" continue, not without difficulty.

It can be seen that public spending on socio-cultural activities only tops the thousand million escudos mark (in 1985 figures adjusted for inflation) during the last two years of the period under review (1994 and 1995).

However, other statistics show that socio-cultural activities' relative share of total spending by the State Secretariat for Culture exceeds 10% in three years of the period under review - 1986, 1994 and 1995. It would be interesting to confirm whether the progress recorded in these last two years heralds a new trend (greater interest in socio-cultural work and hence the desire to support it), or whether we are dealing with a mere short-term variation, possibly linked to Lisbon 94- European Cultural Capital.

Be that as it may, in the breakdown of SEC spending by function, it is clear that socio-cultural work takes a back seat in relation to the heritage aspects ('Conservation'), the management side ('Operational management/Government Departments') and to support for the twin poles of 'Creation/Production' and 'Diffusion/Dissemination', illustrating once again the strategic option of investing in "traditional" cultural policy sectors.

It is important to remember that socio-cultural activities form a vast category that includes a wide range of cultural functions, although on a more general level they are more closely related to the mediatory characteristics of socio-cultural work in the wider community. However, upon analysing only the spending per cultural function of two key bodies (Directorate General of Cultural Action and the Directorate General of Entertainments - DGESP) we find that community work enjoys only a modest share: 8.3%. It

should be borne in mind, however, that functions such as those of diffusion/dissemination may share certain features with what we previously considered as community work, given their common aim of bringing public and cultural product closer together. Nevertheless, it is no less significant that the lion's share of spending should be concentrated on 'miscellaneous' and 'administration', which would seem to suggest some degree of hypertrophy of day-to-day management functions.

However, this also translates a shift in the sphere action of central government which, faced with the overriding need to revise its order of priorities and redefine its strategies, has pulled out of support for community work by entrusting it to the local authorities, ie the municipalities. Their approach to community work and the activities of associations has therefore been to use them as essential levers for promoting local development in areas such as community development, support for local employment policies, tourism promotion, recreational activities and vocational training/education. Total spending of bodies answerable to the SEC on socio-cultural activities amounted to 6,476,985 escudos in the period 1985-1995, whereas total local authority spending in the same period was almost twice as high: 11,570,577 escudos.

Associations, the permanent "laboratory" of organised collective action, are probably the area where community work methods are most applied. In spite of everything, the large number of associations spread across Portugal should be seen as an indication of vitality, especially if we take into account the fierce competition created by the professionalisation of the cultural sector, the fragmentation/individualisation of cultural practices and their expression and, inevitably, the dynamism of the cultural industries. The highest concentration of associations is situated in the Northern Region, closely followed by the Centre and Lisbon and the Tagus Valley. There is, we believe, a strong link with population density. The higher the population density, the greater the diversity of interest groups and collective activities. It is not for nothing that cities have traditionally provided fertile ground for the coexistence of different subcultures.

In a nutshell, it can be said that the first tentative and fluctuating moves in the direction of a policy governing socio-cultural community work, coming in the wake of the 1974 revolution, petered out during the period under review as the state scaled down, if not shrugged off, its responsibilities in the field. This situation quite clearly coincided with two things: the unprecedented development of the heritage dimension in an attempt to project a "national identity", together with a redefinition of differences within what was proclaimed to be a single coherent whole; and the aid granted to individual artistic creation. Socio-cultural work in the community is scattered across countless activities and bodies, and perhaps in danger of losing its ability to unite efforts, something which calls for a debate, still outstanding, between cultural players from different horizons and with differing sensitivities and responsibilities.

Briefly, one is forced to note that in spite of central government's disengagement, community work, as a set of methods for vitalising and mobilising grass-roots socio-cultural activity, persists (as it resists), imbuing human creativity, its processes and projects with civic energy.

**PART III: ISSUES**

## 1. THE STATE, THE MARKET AND CIVIL SOCIETY

The specific features of the privatisation/denationalisation process in Portugal emerged very clearly in connection with the 'Patronage Law', the introduction of private radio stations and television channels and the establishment of foundations on the initiative of the state.

Different forms of privatisation are involved in these cases.

They may be more or less "total", situated on a scale ranging from the transfer of ownership (the case of public radio and television when fully privatised in 1988 and 1992/3 respectively) to the introduction of forms of semi-private funding (the case of certain foundations established at the end of the 80s and the beginning of the 90s) or the establishment of public bodies operating in the manner of quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations (the case of certain associations set up on the initiative of the Ministry of Culture and entrusted with the provision of cultural services).

What should be emphasised in relation to the (relatively insubstantial) movement behind the privatisation of culture in Portugal is the impetus governments have sought to impart to private patronage<sup>16</sup> over the ten years in question and its application to foundations, some of which were set up at the state's own initiative.

Statistics relating to commercial private sector funding of culture (sponsorship) provide a profile of applicants and sponsors as well as their distribution throughout the country, the priority given to the various cultural sectors, etc<sup>17</sup>.

Most requests for sponsorship come from associations, followed closely by individual applicants. The sponsors are primarily undertakings in the industrial and services sectors and, as for the amounts involved, the highest sums are those put up by the financial sectors.

The preferred cultural sectors are music, theatre and the plastic arts, the greatest attraction being exerted by multidisciplinary projects (on account, possibly, of their spectacular nature and larger scale). The least popular projects include those relating to infrastructure and capital expenditure, conferences and congresses, dance and cultural work in the community.

With regard to geographical location, it is interesting to note that applicants and sponsors are concentrated in the same parts of the country, with the Lisbon region accounting

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<sup>16</sup> The 'Patronage Law' is to be found in Decree No. 258/86 of 28 August. It was followed by Decree No. 65/93 of 10 March and by later amendments contained in Law 10B/96 of 23 March, Law 52/96 of 27 December and Law 127B/97 of 20 December.

<sup>17</sup> Maria de Lourdes Lima dos Santos (ed.), José Luis Casanova, Helena Carreiras, Foão da Mata and Nuno Alves, *10 Anos de Mecenato Cultural em Portugal*, published by the Observatório das Actividades Culturais, in the OBS-Pesquisas series, Lisbon. 1998. The work includes an analysis of 1,500 procedures lodged with the SEC/MC and a survey conducted among industries engaging in sponsorship. Graphs in Appendix.

for 66% of sponsored projects, approximately 58% of patrons and 91% of the volume of funds.

Of the total number of projects submitted for sponsorship (1,500 registered between 1986 and 1996) only 20 to 30% actually received sponsorship funds; this corresponds to a maximum of 30 to 40 projects accepted per year.

The limited success of the Patronage Law will perhaps change with the recent introduction of a new tax-relief scheme.

The various manifestations of sponsorship witnessed in selection procedures are often characterised by highly personalised fund management and an understanding of patronage as something that verges on unpaid service. The Patronage Law is not looked on as a business promotion strategy. Yet, such a trend should not blind us to the existence of a different approach to sponsorship, one that is more in tune with the times, dynamic and professional. This latter version of commercial sponsorship is, however, still uncommon.

Foundations represent yet another possibility in the area of cultural funding, this time in the non-commercial private sector. The end of the 80s saw the publication of the legal provisions governing the establishment and operation of foundations<sup>18</sup>. According to legislation introduced in 1986, donations made to foundations automatically lead to tax deductions which can be offset against taxable income, on the condition that the state, the autonomous regions or the local authorities contribute at least 50% of the initial endowment<sup>19</sup>.

Several large foundations were established under these conditions between 1989 and 1993.

This particular type of cultural institution adds an element of independence and flexibility to the traditional public model of support for culture.

If the direct participation of private capital in cultural funding in the form of sponsorship has not been a resounding success, its indirect participation through foundations has been of the same order. In some instances, such participation has not even made up the additional funding required for foundations to continue to operate. At the time of writing, changes are being introduced into the way a certain number of foundations operate, reflecting a resolve to make them key forums for effective co-operation between the public and private sectors.

Analysis of a group of 41 foundations in the cultural field shows that out of the total, 17% are self-financing, 27% are heavily dependent on state funding and 56% are foundations in which contributions from the state take the form of complementary funding.

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<sup>18</sup> Legislative Decree No. 215/87 of 29 May.

<sup>19</sup> Article 40 of the Corporate Income Tax Code (CIRC) and Article 56 of the Personal Income Tax Code (CIRS).



Since the end of the 80s, there has been a constant increase in the number of foundations. It has not been a spectacular increase (11 cultural foundations were recorded in 1985, with 30 more established between 1985 and 1996) but it has given rise to greater competition between the more prominent among them. This situation seems to have had the effect of "revitalising" their strategies, enabling them to break away from routine procedures and take the initiative of granting funds to specific projects without waiting for applications.

Against the backdrop of the changes that have occurred in the last ten years, policy-makers cannot fail to consider the role of the state and of the public sector in general in the risks associated with the free play of the forces of cultural supply and demand. One risk is that of a division of supply into a "commercial" culture and a more "challenging" kind of culture, with the public sector rising to the defence of the latter independently of the private sector. It is a situation that the cultural policies of the second half of the decade have attempted to transcend, particularly in terms of the relations between the two sectors. But there is also a risk of seeing the supply end of the market oscillate between a policy of state aid (with the increasingly captive supply which that would entail) and a policy of liberalisation where supply is the plaything of the private sector. It should be recalled that recent market regulation measures (see the Fixed Book Prices Act and provisions relating to the audiovisual sector) have tended to protect cultural interests from the dictates of competition.

In an economic climate that is hardly culture-friendly (economic liberalisation, technological progress, the global market) it befalls the state, and the public authorities in general, to maintain a certain cultural priority. One answer to the problem of funding would be to promote society's awareness of culture and to encourage independent initiatives (aid to foundations, associations, etc).

Associations will be able to play an important role in the development of culture if they lay greater emphasis on culture in their regional development efforts. Such efforts are particularly evident in the north of the country, possibly reflecting the need to show some degree of regional dynamism in response to Lisbon's supremacy.

## 2. TRAINING AND PROFESSIONALISATION

The inclusion of cultural/artistic subjects in education is a reflection of the relations between education and culture at a broader political level. These relations may be viewed from two angles: the learning of such subjects as part of general education, with a view to the (future) publics, and arts education proper. Both these dimensions are recognised as objectives in the context of the education system. Their definition, however, comes up against the immutable problem, in both regulatory and practical terms, of overcoming the deficiencies associated with their implementation.

Arts education has grown, albeit it somewhat irregularly, with the most recent years seeing the highest number of registered pupils. Pupil numbers in 'private establishments' are clearly higher than those in the 'official establishments', although the number of pupils enrolling in the latter has also risen. A further indicator of the importance of private arts education is to be found in the area of the fine arts in higher education, where there has been a very clear drop in the numbers enrolling in the 'official establishments' and an increase in those enrolling in 'private establishments'. The two categories have been at the same level in recent years. In overall terms, these figures reveal the serious limitations of official educational provision, unable to cope with the requirements of arts training, as the future professionals are never slow to point out.

One last element concerns an indication of the different fields of study. The fields that stand out in terms of the number of courses leading to a degree or DESS/DEA qualification in 1997 were those of the plastic/visual arts (accounting, broadly, for 43% of courses) and music (36%). At the bottom end of the scale were community work (4%), theatre (2%), conservation and restoration (2%), dance (1%) and cinema (1%). Other, unspecified technological fields of study account for 11% of courses. This distribution reveals the importance of the plastic arts in the arts education curriculum, and the relative marginalisation of certain other sectors, in particular the performing arts and the audiovisual sector. Even if these figures are distorted (given that they indeed relate to the number of courses and not to pupils) there is a very marked discrepancy with the distribution of arts employment per sector. One is forced to conclude that this discrepancy is symptomatic of the failure to adjust arts education in schools to the labour market.

Despite a fall in the perceived value of diplomas (a criterion only of relevance to 15% of young artists in the definition of themselves as artists) and the lack of any professional accreditation machinery, their need is nevertheless felt in the area of labour market regulation. One obvious example of a regulatory mechanism is the professional record card. In addition to the fact that there may be some resistance to the clearly formal nature of the definition of the artist's status, the history of the professional record card is coloured by its connotation as an instrument of political control under the pre-1974 dictatorship, a period when it was compulsory if one wished to exercise an activity in the field of the performing arts. The card ceased to be compulsory with the advent of a democratic order. However, its current absence only exacerbates deregulation on the labour market, something of particular relevance to the performing arts sector. In such a context, the definition of a system of accreditation governing the subsequent exercise of the profession in the field of the performing arts, a process that began at the start of 1998, takes on particular relevance.

Although the concept of training tends to be somewhat lost sight of in the general debate, it does exist, serving as a hidden asset in an itinerary that may lead to professional

recognition. For the majority of young artists, artistic training begins before the age of 20, which, together with other factors, attests to the importance of schooling. It is artists with higher levels of education who tend to be more attracted to specialised arts studies. Alongside arts training at secondary and higher education levels, the relevance of early learning, which is on the increase, is also acknowledged. And finally, formal education (in public and private schools) is by far the most important gateway for young artists wishing to receive a training in the arts.

Other means of acquiring more specialised skills should also be taken into account (workshops, courses and study grants, for example). This type of experience is more common among artists with a higher level of education (secondary/higher) and among young professional artists. However, experience of this type of specialised training is far from widespread, even for those with high levels of education or who are professionals.

Returning to the initial issues raised, there is one form of state support that has fuelled great expectations on the part of artists, ie support that would meet the need for greater investment in arts training, and more particularly in training of the public. It comes as no surprise to learn that this concern is more keenly felt among young professional artists.

Although the available statistics are insufficient for a precise delineation of the artistic professions, something can be said at this point about the volume of employment in different areas of cultural activity. A table showing the volume of employment in culture-related branches of activity in 1991 has publishing at the top of the list, followed by the audiovisual sector, the performing arts, and libraries, archives and museums. The total for all these fields is equal to the volume of employment in communications, and slightly lower than the total for culture-related industrial activities (printing and the graphic arts, manufacture of audiovisual materials). As for general trends, the only assessment that can be made with any certainty is that of the growth of the audiovisual sector during the 90s.

The artist's professional situation is eloquently depicted when one considers the difference between the area of the performing arts and other sectors in terms of the relative share of the self-employed (27% in the performing arts world compared with 8% in the audiovisual sector), revealing the importance of self-employed activity/work. This proportion also reflects a greater vulnerability in relation to employment contracts and employment stability, independence being only a small step away from unemployment.

### 3. THE PUBLIC AND CULTURAL RECEPTIVITY

It was not until the 13th Government took office that explicit reference was made to the word "democratisation" in government policy relating to the cultural sector. Until this point, the body of ideas it connotes appeared in various diffuse forms, couched in formulae such as "universality of access to and enjoyment of cultural assets" (10th Government). With the 13th Government, the objective of democratisation takes on greater consistency in parallel with the aims of decentralisation, internationalisation, professionalisation and restructuring, which together form the core of cultural policy as governed by the "basic principle according to which cultural creation and enjoyment represent essential rights of citizens and vital components of the quality of their lives". This is also the government that for the first time seems to attach importance in its policy statements to the existence of a "cultural market". It is professionalisation which is "the precondition for the establishment of a genuine cultural market, based on stable circuits for the production, distribution and consumption of cultural goods".

In spite of this however, the direct link between the establishment of this market and cultural democratisation still awaits definition. Moreover, the major obstacles standing in the way of democratisation are related to material difficulties, educational shortcomings or mere lack of understanding. These obstacles are further compounded by the concentration and limitations of cultural supply. For although supply is not specifically affected by intentions in respect of democratisation, it almost always anticipates the measures to which such intentions give rise. From this point of view, there is a legacy handed down by previous governments. Basically, the co-ordinates of cultural democratisation are generally plotted along a path that has already been mapped out.

Audience figures available for certain sectors tend, more than anything else, to "confuse the picture" with regard to the issue of democratisation and the emergence and consolidation of new publics. For if, in overall terms, the trend between 1986 and 1994 is one of declining numbers - although there is a turnabout starting in 1991/1992 - would it not be more accurate to talk of winning back a public previously lost?

It is important to note that the decline identified owes much to the significant and uninterrupted drop in the number of cinema-goers up until 1994, although 1995 saw the beginnings of a reversal of this trend, an increase that was further accentuated in 1996. Although it is true that for 100 spectators in 1985 only 38 remained in 1994, it is also true that cinema-goers accounted for 70% of the public's composition in 1986. What is perhaps more important is that this trend hardly permits us, except with a considerable degree of imprecision, to establish categories of public by correlating them with certain characteristics of the cultural commodities they have chosen or with the cultural baggage implicit in such a choice. To that extent, any finding may conceal as much as it reveals. It is far from certain that "the culture of arts and letters" has lost its followers. Indeed, according to Mega Ferreira, director of the 100 Days Festival, a festival of "high cultural standing" preceding, but also "heralding" Expo 98, in the light of the public turnout generated by the festival, at least in the case of Lisbon, there would seem to be an elastic demand for "highbrow" cultural products.

To round off the picture, let us briefly analyse the (stated) cultural consumption propensities emerging from surveys into cultural practices. One fact worth noting is the prevalence of home consumption, even in respect of those social categories less bound by it

(young people, those with higher levels of education, persons of higher social standing). This fact is all the more significant in that it relates to the inhabitants of Greater Lisbon, where the "lion's share" of national cultural supply is concentrated, making the discrepancy between cultural supply and demand even more blatant. Moreover, this concentration of supply seems often to be something the inhabitants of Lisbon are simply unaware of. Many of them have never even heard of several of the city's cultural amenities, or if they have they have never been to them. The same thing is true of the majority of cultural initiatives, which normally go unnoticed, and more particularly, are sparsely attended, though it should be said that this in no way invalidates the hypothesis that Mega Ferreira claims to have demonstrated.

Probably on account of its specific nature, the field of reading (like cinema) seems better able than others to withstand dwindling cultural demand. Especially among those with a grounding in literature, very few people claim not to be readers of any kind of material at all. Moreover, there was little variation in the proportion of non-readers between 1988 and 1995: 15-11%. Clearly we are by no means living in a "bookless" age.

Spending by Portuguese families on culture is in line with the pattern of cultural consumption briefly described above. An analysis of the National Accounts between 1988 and 1994 shows that cultural spending's share of the total family budget in Portugal, while increasing over this period, never exceeds a modest percentage (approximately 6% as of 1992 compared with 4.7% in 1988). However, were one to use a more restrictive criterion that would eliminate from cultural spending the portion relating to "recreational facilities, their accessories and repair", although the trend is still towards an increase in the relative share of cultural spending, the figures obtained are particularly low (2.7% in 1988 and 3.6% in 1994).

This set of figures, in turn, raises one last question. Are we not in the process of reducing the possible forms of cultural enjoyment to those that conform to the statistical conventions governing cultural demand? For it is on this basis that non-practice and non-consumption are detected and brought out and that the barriers to the enjoyment of culture and any shortcomings are identified. It will indeed be extremely difficult to foster so-called cultural participation and enjoyment if we continue to label the social groups that do not engage in them as lacking in the necessary skills or understanding. The fact is that cultural receptivity is made up of readings, interpretations, reconstructions and indeed (re)creations. If we are to put an end to what stands in the way of cultural participation and enjoyment, then rather than work against the symbolic and cognitive structures on which they are based, we must work with them. This will involve a negotiated process of mutual shifts in position in the course of which not only those at whom cultural action is aimed, but also those who administer it, will need to question the educational (in the broadest sense) divide separating them. In today's worlds of education and culture, we are very far from shaping cultural and educational policies according to the principles of reciprocity. Much, doubtless, remains to be done in this area.

#### 4. CULTURAL INDUSTRIES, THE MEDIA AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES

The action of the state in relation to the cultural industries is inevitably influenced by the tensions surrounding the problematical interaction between discrete sectors. A first area of tension is the uneasy coalescence between the cultural and economic sectors in efforts to guarantee the viability of forms of production that are not strictly speaking commercial, but which cannot avoid being commercial to some extent. A second area of tension has to do with the involvement of different spheres of political responsibility.

Within the sphere which is that of the Ministry of Culture, one example that stands out is that of cinema. The 90s have been characterised by recognition of television's growing importance. Agreements were drawn up under the 13th Government between the Ministry and the television channels (RTP and SIC) guaranteeing the latter's direct involvement in cinematographic projects in return for ministerial support for television production. Agreements were also drawn up in 1998 between the ministry and various distributors to ensure better conditions for the distribution of Portuguese films. This type of agreement is of crucial importance in more than one respect. On the one hand it makes it possible to cover various sectors and areas of government responsibility and on the other, and no less importantly, it allows for the development of co-operation strategies between public interests and the interests of economic operators.

There are two other features characterising what could be referred to as this "policy of concertation". They are the agreement between the Ministries of Culture and the Economy aimed at guaranteeing film producers access to aid programmes for small businesses, and the review of the Ministry of Culture's policy in the audiovisual sector following the submission towards the middle of 1997 of the *Report of the Inter-ministerial Committee on the Audiovisual Sector (CIMA Report)*. This committee, which brought together representatives from various ministries and involved contacts with operators in the sector, defined one of its objectives as the development of a "contents industry" in Portugal. Still within the ambit of the Ministry of Culture, mention should be made of *Iniciativa Mosaico*, established recently with the aim of contributing to the development of a Portuguese multimedia industry with a cultural content and to promote citizens' access to culture in such a context.

Then there is the Ministry of Science and Technology, an entity of vital importance in the sector, with its programme for developing the "information society" in Portugal. As is the case for the audiovisual sector within the cultural sphere, here too policy options draw on contributions from various areas of government, as exemplified in the *Green Paper on the Information Society in Portugal*. Among the principal measures outlined in the *Green Paper* particular mention should be made of the Internet in Schools Programme, organised jointly with the Ministry of Education, which covers all schools between the 5th and 12th years of schooling (from the last year of primary to the last year of secondary education), and which in a second phase will be extended to municipal libraries, archives and museums.

A further government sector of vital importance for the cultural industries is that of telecommunications, given both the far-reaching transformations which it is undergoing and its economic impact. One factor which will serve to reorganise the telecommunications sector is the privatisation of Portugal Telecom in October 1998 as well as its impending wholesale liberalisation.

In such a context, policies relating to the cultural industries are an attempt to strike a balance between assistance and regulation. Thus, the state's political protagonism is gradually giving way to more of a supporting role, as recognised in the *CIMA Report* in connection with the inter-sectoral strategy which is advocated there. This search for partners on the part of public bodies finds a parallel in the need of economic operators for strategic allies in the pursuit of their activities.

The telecommunications sector is clearly the one with the greatest economic impact (485 billion escudos), representing twice the sum of all audiovisual goods manufacturing (200 billion escudos) and distribution (221 billion escudos) sectors. Each of the latter roughly represents twice that of the audiovisual activities sector proper (108 billion escudos). The entertainments sector (11 billion escudos) is equal to one tenth of the audiovisual sector. These disparities attest to the fragility, or at least the lesser economic vitality, of sectors which in some ways can be considered closer to the cultural sphere, as well as indicating the foreseeable impact on them of weightier economic sectors.

Alongside the disproportion between sectors, one needs also to consider the concentration of the market in major groups at national level. In the case of telecommunications, 10% of undertakings account for 99% of total turnover in the sector, in the case of the audiovisual sector that figure is 89% and in the area of entertainment it is 79%. With regard to this latter, it is perhaps not without relevance to note that 44% of undertakings have a turnover of 0%, lending further weight to the idea that the entertainments sector, which is the least "industrial", is also the most fragile.

The other main media groups in Portugal, more closely associated with the audiovisual sector, although on a different scale, nevertheless wield enormous influence on the national market. The downside of this predominance of the major groups is the weak fabric of small producers, something which is particularly true of the audiovisual sector.

Although the trend towards concentration of the market is an obstacle to the diversity of cultural output, its viability is vouched for by estimates of the growth of the media markets. Overall growth for the 90s (in today's prices) is estimated at 88%. As the *CIMA Report* makes clear, on the one hand the prospect of market growth would seem to indicate the possible development of the cultural industries, and on the other, market structures reveal the increasing share of low-cost sectors (newspapers and television, where investment is being channelled into less costly production areas), at the expense of products with a higher value. In addition, the pace of investment in telecommunications infrastructure has increased, although this is matched by a slower progression in its use.

Estimated growth rates for the market segments of the new communication media (cable television, computers, Internet, CD-Rom) give some idea of the rapid transformations taking place in the field of the cultural industries. These are products, it should be said, the consumption of which is both fairly selective and home-based (or at least consumed within a confined area, given the preferred use of the Internet at work or at school). One can infer from this a strong trend towards an increase in individual cultural practices, coinciding with the processes of technological convergence and market integration.



## 5. DECENTRALISATION, PARTICIPATION AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES

As in other countries with long-standing and rigid authoritarian traditions, decentralisation's roots do not run very deep in Portugal. The provinces and districts, the basic cell divisions of the country, have never been more than administrative entities. The powers of the prefect, the representative of central government at district level, are essentially of a bureaucratic nature. Furthermore, one of the principal features of the dictatorial regime that preceded the April Revolution was precisely its very high degree of territorial centralisation (Lisbon proudly claimed itself to be the capital of a vast empire stretching from the Minho to Timor). It was only after 25 April that a genuine process of democratisation was to get under way with the setting up of local authorities (municipalities), Autonomous Regions and the introduction of the constitutional principle establishing Administrative Regions (for which the basic law was recently adopted in Parliament, with a referendum on the subject planned for the end of 1998).

It is important to realise that this is a sensitive area, characterised by the clash of varied and fluctuating interests. In other words, post-revolutionary decentralisation has experienced various advances and setbacks, especially if understood as a real exercise in the delegation of powers, which is in no way comparable with the purely functional decentralisation of central government agencies (Regional Offices of the various ministries, Regional Co-ordination Committees, etc).

When it comes to culture, the difficulties are compounded. This is firstly due to the scale and fragmentation of the cultural sector, which cuts across very varied fields (communication, education, the economy, etc) with differing degrees of decentralisation. Secondly, it is to be attributed to the delays in the decentralisation of state cultural agencies. Until the 70s, and without counting Oporto (which, although peripheral in relation to the capital, serves as a centre for several other regions), the list of regional agencies in the field of culture was truly derisory<sup>20</sup>.

However, any analysis of the political discourse of the governments in office during the period under consideration soon reveals a repeated concern, at the level of policy aims, to catch up on lost time. All governments (10th, 11th, 12th and 13th) have reaffirmed their intention of co-operating with the local authorities in the field of culture through the transfer of powers and responsibilities.

The 13th Government has proved the most forthcoming in terms of intentions with regard to decentralisation. Apart from its emphasis on the responsibility of the state in the creation of cultural amenities, it talks of channelling government aid in three directions: towards local authorities, towards "independent citizens' initiatives" and towards public and/or private local cultural institutions (cultural centres, galleries, festivals, universities, businesses, foundations, etc). Finally, the 13th Government has placed very specific emphasis on the establishment of regional centres for the performing arts outside the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Oporto, support for touring cultural initiatives and regional artistic production projects.

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<sup>20</sup> V. José Maria Cabral Ferreira, *A Desconcentração e a Área da Cultura*, Porto, Comissão de Coordenação da Região Norte, s/d.



With regard to the regional outposts of the Ministry of Culture, mention should be made of the Regional Offices established in 1980 with the aim of reducing socio-territorial imbalances in access to culture. The Regional Offices were granted administrative and financial independence in 1988, but have extremely small budgets which barely enable them to provide one-off funding for certain initiatives or local associations. In the absence of any real independence, more often than not their role boils down to that of "embassy" of the Ministry of Culture in the outlying regions.

Municipal involvement in the cultural field is a relatively recent development, but is growing all the time. Local authority involvement in the post-revolutionary period was in fact primarily geared to ad hoc initiatives in response to the pressing needs of a local population highly mobilised by the political climate that prevailed at the time. However, concerns began to be increasingly voiced as from the mid-80s in connection with the centralised nature of cultural activity in Portugal and its effects on the territory as a whole. The proclaimed paradigm of integrated development, allegedly a response to technical and practical necessities, is in fact based on an underlying vision which is non-material in nature.

A look at the variation rates in local authority spending on culture per sector and per region for the period 1986-1995 clearly shows very unequal rates of investment. Lisbon and the Tagus Valley, apart from accounting for the highest amounts in absolute terms in the sectors considered (which is after all reasonable since it is the most highly populated region), also show the highest rate of variation in certain sectors (music, photography and libraries). Such a finding reflects the widening gap, which was already considerable to begin with, between the region of the capital and the rest of the country. However, a trend which might possibly correct these imbalances is already visible in certain sectors. In the field of the plastic arts, for example, the Centre region has made quite substantial progress (1,118.4). The same is true of the performing arts in the Northern region (where Oporto's powers of attraction are not to be overlooked, in spite of being situated on the 'relative periphery') or libraries in the Algarve with a variation rate (450.3) that is higher than that of the whole of mainland Portugal. However, given the slow start, and taking into account the high positive variations that Lisbon and the Tagus Valley continue to show, it would be excessively optimistic to believe in any reduction of interregional imbalances in the short-term.

In spite of the proliferation of regional bodies (the result more of an attempt at dispersal than of decentralisation proper) there remains an absence of an overall vision, a lack of inter-sectoral co-ordination, an unnecessary duplication of responsibilities and resources, a "multiplication of parallel interventions" and basically the absence of a minimum of institutional consultation, all of which is compounded by areas of friction and uncertainty as to the powers of central and local government.

However, there have been a number of positive achievements. In the area of infrastructure, mention should be made of the purchase or rehabilitation of cultural facilities, some of which are multi-purpose, in several district capitals. The network of public libraries has rapidly expanded since it was given priority status, with the budgetary implications that entails, by the present government (the aim is to equip all municipalities with a library by the year 2005). The Portuguese Institute of Archaeology is about to open seven regional branches from the north to the south of the country. Local authorities are playing an increasingly active role in heritage classification and conservation, and tending more and more to supplement the state's public service function as part of a growing awareness of the importance of a strong and dynamic network of associations.

However, the country continues to operate at different speeds and according to the logic of the concentration/increasing scarcity of supply and infrastructures. This inevitably implies unequal access to cultural products and services as well as accumulated delays in the building of the process of cultural democratisation.

## 6. ETHNIC MINORITIES, EMIGRATION AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Although small in territorial terms, Portugal is a country with a high degree of internal diversity in terms of its population density, socio-economic dynamics, cultural traditions and identities. One of the biggest divides is that between the urban coastal area, which is economically, demographically and socially more dynamic and better served in infrastructure and services, and the rural hinterland, where the situation is one of general backwardness. The urban coastal area is further divided into the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Oporto, where a considerable proportion of the population and of economic and administrative activities are concentrated, and the remaining areas.

These divides have been the cause of major migratory movements, both internally from the rural hinterland towards the urban coastal areas, and especially towards the large centres, and to other countries. At the same time, it is in the major coastal cities that a large percentage of immigrants have chosen to settle.

Portugal's ethnic minorities, although not reaching the same proportions as in other countries of the European Union, such as France, the United Kingdom or Germany, have nevertheless grown in recent years as a result of an increase in immigration from a wider range of countries of origin. Officially registered foreigners currently represent barely more than 2% of Portugal's resident population.

Until the middle of the 60s, the number of foreigners resident in Portugal was relatively low. It was after 25 April 1974, and decolonisation, that several thousand African immigrants, coming for the most part from the former Portuguese colonies, began to settle in the country. In the mid-80s, immigration took on greater significance, with the arrival of large numbers of immigrants from the African countries where the official language is Portuguese (PALOP), as well as from other countries in Africa, America and Asia.

The largest ethnic minorities in Portugal are of African origin, principally from the PALOP countries. They include Cape Verde, the oldest emigration country, and, although the numbers are smaller, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, more recent emigration countries whose quotas increased considerably between 1986 and 1996. Immigrants began arriving from other African countries also during this period. Although their numbers are much lower, there has been a substantial increase in the number of Asian immigrants.

Alongside immigrants belonging to ethnic minorities, there are also some 40,000 Gypsies living in Portugal. Present in the country as of the 15th century, they enjoy Portuguese nationality if born on Portuguese soil.

Ethnic minorities in Portugal are particularly vulnerable to social exclusion, but given socio-economic conditions in the country, their situation does not differ greatly from that of other categories of the Portuguese population, with the result that social differences are not very marked. As for cultural differences, which do exist, they are more or less marked depending on the specific characteristics of each ethnic minority. Ethnicity, it can be said, is not a very pronounced feature of Portuguese society, and the ethnic, social or political problems that do arise are less the result of widespread xenophobia or racism than of isolated conflicts of racial origin.

Consideration by the political authorities of questions relating to ethnic minorities is relatively recent in Portugal. At the same time, associations representing minorities have not made sufficient impact and have failed to serve as pressure groups at a political level to obtain rights or press claims.

However, the situation has begun to change over the last five years. Associations have grown stronger and the state has adopted a more interventionist role, with measures targeting ethnic groups in areas such as the introduction of extraordinary amnesty procedures for illegal immigrants or the setting up in 1991, under the aegis of the Ministry of Education, of the Co-ordination Unit for Multicultural Education Programmes together with the 1993 Intercultural Learning Project covering primary schools in areas with a high density of ethnic minorities and high rates of educational underachievement.

In 1996, the present government set up the High Commission for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities, having recognised the lack of any instrument to further the integration of immigrant communities in Portugal within the structures of the state. One important measure in the promotion of immigrants' citizenship rights was the enactment in 1996 of the Municipal Electoral Law. It governs the right to vote and stand in regional elections on the part of Community citizens, citizens from Portuguese-speaking countries and other foreign citizens resident in Portugal on the basis of reciprocity between the countries concerned.

Portugal is a country where the phenomenon of emigration, dating back to the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, has played a significant role. Over time, Portugal has known various bursts of emigration, characterised either by the number and category of persons emigrating, the countries of destination or the type of emigration and the logic governing such movements.

In 1995/96 there were almost 4.5 million Portuguese and persons of Portuguese descent living abroad, primarily in America and Europe. The number of Portuguese emigrants leaving for the American continent increased considerably between 1986 and 1995/96, only slightly lower than the confirmed increase in numbers emigrating to Asia, although in absolute terms emigrant numbers there are low compared with those in other continents. Mention should also be made of the drop in numbers emigrating towards the African continent, the only one to have experienced negative growth during this period. In overall terms, Portuguese emigration increased 37% between 1986 and 1995/96.

Portuguese emigration and Portuguese communities abroad have been a constant item on the government policy agenda. All government programmes include a chapter devoted to the Portuguese Communities setting down a number of general objectives. These include the defence of the rights of Portuguese communities scattered throughout the world and the furthering of Portuguese identity through the defence and promotion of the Portuguese language and culture, which are the subject of a set of specific measures.

Since 1994, emigration issues have been the responsibility of the DGACCP, answerable to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which replaced the Emigration and Portuguese Communities Aid Institute, founded in 1980. One of the DGACCP's main responsibilities is the co-ordination and application of policies in support of Portuguese communities abroad, in particular in the field of culture.

## 7. INTERNATIONALISATION AND CO-OPERATION

With the end of the Estado Novo and its isolationist policy, best rendered in the words "proudly alone", the internationalisation of Portuguese culture has become a constant concern in recent decades, taking on particular importance during the period under consideration. This concern has found expression in different policy approaches, variously structured according to the political hue of the day.

National cultural policies in respect of internationalisation can be divided into three major lines of approach:

1. The first lays emphasis on the combination of the Portuguese language and Portuguese culture. In this approach, Portuguese history and the legacy of the centuries of contact which other peoples have had with the language, as a vehicle of Portuguese culture are defined as essential components of "national identity".

A view of the language as the principal defining element of Portuguese culture is patently clear in the policy option of defending the Portuguese language and relations with communities and countries whose official language is Portuguese, an option that meets with a broad national consensus. Indeed, any controversy to have arisen has related more to the subtle differences in implementing such an approach and the instruments and resources mobilised to such an end rather than to the major principles on which it is based.

Portuguese, as a language spoken throughout the world, is, one might say, one of the co-ordinates of national cultural policy, one that is constantly being renewed through the reformulation or the creation of national instruments (such as the Camões Institute), or transnational instruments, such as the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP), closer co-operation with the African Countries whose Official Language is Portuguese (PALOP), efforts in the area of Portuguese radio and television broadcasting or recent initiatives in the multimedia field.

From a governmental point of view, this line of approach comes under the responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, although this is not the case with all departments and programmes.

2. The second line of approach is that of the internationalisation of the arts, in the form of the dissemination of Portuguese works and production abroad, but also the circulation in Portugal of foreign works and artists. It is an approach to the internationalisation of culture, and of "highbrow" culture in particular, that is based on artistic creation and Portugal's inclusion within the process of globalisation. Obviously, certain areas of creative activity, such as literature (or, more generally, the printed word) are intimately bound up with the previous line of approach. This second, more recent, cosmopolitan approach is characterised more by the broadening of aid criteria in respect of internationalisation to include other art forms, and Portuguese society's increasing openness to foreign arts productions.

In this connection, the major events staged in or organised by Portugal, the first of which was the 17th Art, Science and Culture Exhibition, held in 1983, have made a major contribution to internationalisation in the aforementioned areas of the circulation of Portuguese works abroad and of foreign works in Portugal.

This is a field where the private sector has proved remarkably dynamic in a variety of sectors (sponsorship, stage productions and exhibitions), leaving some to conclude that the situation is relatively satisfactory, in spite of the state's modest contribution to all but major events. It should be said, however, that alongside literature, cinema and heritage, the plastic arts and contemporary art in general have received growing attention from political leaders.

3. The third and last line of approach relates to Portugal's integration within international forums, first and foremost among which is UNESCO, the Council of Europe (CE) and the European Union (EU).

Although membership of UNESCO in 1965, suspended between 1972 and 1974, and of the Council of Europe in 1976 were the subject of a broad consensus, the same cannot be said of Portugal's recent membership of the European Union (of which Portugal has been an official member since 1986), which at first triggered heated controversy between opposing camps. However, as regards the dimension of concern to us here, this did not stand in the way of Portugal's participation in initiatives in the cultural field.

Apart from statements of general enthusiasm concerning the spread of the Portuguese language and Portuguese culture in the world and the need to participate in international forums, the policy objectives of the democratic governments that have succeeded one another have centred on three things: the Portuguese communities, Brazil and the PALOP countries, and the European Union.

With regard to the cultural sectors referred to most frequently, these include the heritage sector (in conjunction with the dissemination of the history and language of the country), books (with particular emphasis on distribution to Portuguese-speaking markets, and especially the PALOP countries) and the audiovisual sector (including integration within European programmes and strategies).

With regard to government instruments for external cultural action, although formal responsibility for overall strategy and for links with international forums lies with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, other ministries, but first and foremost the Ministry of Culture, also play an important role. The result is that in spite of the professed aim of co-ordinating the work of different bodies, such co-ordination remains more formal than real.

## FINAL REMARKS

### 1. Continuity, innovation and new departures

As has been said, the greater part of the information presented in the context of this report (see original version) corresponds to the ten years in which Social Democratic governments held office, the remaining part relating to the current Socialist Government's period in office, which began in October 1995.

At the time of writing, as stated in the introduction, we did not have at our disposal the statistics that would have enabled us to extend the various indicators to cover the present period. Hence the difficulty of identifying resources and assessing results with a degree of systematisation equivalent to that used for the period 1985-1995. This is true of resources, since in a number of instances they were still awaiting definition (the drafting, for example, of various laws and decrees was still in progress), and the same applies to results, as it was still too early to be able to gauge the impact of the majority of new measures adopted.

Those who in Portugal have taken only the mildest interest in what was happening in the area of culture over the ten years of concern to us here will at least agree on one thing, and that is the increasingly unambiguous role culture is playing in the life of the country. Although it takes different forms - with social and regional asymmetries, and asymmetries even in relation to the kinds of culture involved - and is responsive to the different rhythms and multidimensional and contradictory changes characterising the development process, in spite of everything, the social standing of "things cultural" is undeniably on the increase in Portugal.

The relative growth of culture's visibility has not been matched with a cultural policy that has encouraged and fostered the changes emerging in civil society in a structured and systematic way.

Until 1995, culture's place within internal government structures was not such as to confer a predominant role upon it. Figuring alternately alongside education or science, it only appeared under the responsibility of a Ministry of Culture under a single government (the 9th Government, in office, as we have said, between 1983 and 1985, a coalition of the Socialist and Social Democratic parties).

It is in the policy statement of the 13th Government that culture is declared a government priority (together with education and science) and made the subject of what can be considered a government programme, to the extent that it lays down a series of objectives organised and structured according to set strategies.

Culture's budget allocation was increased and the present Ministry of Culture established. One point of note in the ministry's new internal structures is the emphasis placed on the consultative component and on a division of responsibilities, something which is reflected in the large number of institutes created, bodies which in principle enjoy greater autonomy than the Directorates General (and hence the need also for greater co-ordination).

Over the period between the beginning of the period of interest to us and the present day, two dynamics have developed, cutting across successive governments and external to

them- the one being the process normally referred to as globalisation, and the other being the development of the new technologies, both of which are in fact interrelated. Although there have been transformations down the years, these two dynamics have had the same impact on different governments, namely that of pressure for change.

In the field of culture, this pressure is more spectacularly felt in the sector of the cultural industries, and within these the growing inevitability of relations between cinema and the audiovisual sector (be it in terms of production or distribution) is particularly indicative of such pressure for change.

## **2. With regard to the three key topics**

Support for artistic and cultural creativity - A brief assessment of the three key topics put forward in the programme of national cultural policy reviews (supporting creativity, decentralisation of responsibilities and activities, broadening of participation in cultural life) might begin by emphasising how a policy of support for artistic creativity and cultural production needs to bear in mind the ways in which the world of the arts and culture is evolving, and in particular the changes affecting the current status of the creative artist/cultural producer, and the increasing internationalisation of careers.

Arts education in Portugal, whether in the form of specialised or more general training, has not benefited from the much-needed political co-ordination between the fields of culture and education the legislative basis for which is supposed to have been established in 1990. With regard to the relative share of private arts education, although it can be seen as a way of responding, albeit it patchily, to the need for training tailored to the requirements of the current labour market, it all too often leads to an increasing number of short-lived courses whose diplomas prove highly perishable commodities. At the same time, a certain number of new courses have nevertheless been introduced or existing ones "elevated" through, for example, the conferment of degree or post-graduate status, in particular in areas of training with a strong technical bias, whose relegation to a secondary position in the hierarchy of cultural legitimacy had become an obvious anachronism.

The state can play a regulatory role, either directly or indirectly, in access to, and the organisation and validation of, professions in the cultural and artistic sector.

But the impetus that different cultural policies can give to support for artistic creation - either by regulating training or professionalisation or by channelling funds into national cultural production and into various sectors - inevitably has repercussions for the development of the cultural jobs sector.

Greater professionalisation in the arts world means addressing the complicated issue of the definition of artistic professions in an area where a wide variety of often irreconcilable criteria co-exist. Permanence of recognition by one's peer community as the basis of an artist's identity, together with the notion of charisma and the idea of a distinction between creative work and ordinary work, is not easy to reconcile with the institutional criteria used for defining the profession.

Not unrelated to this ambiguity is the representation in the minds of young Portuguese artists of the image of the artist as combining seemingly paradoxical elements of self-identification, such as the importance attached to the idea of a vocation and the ability to



live off the fruits of one's artistic labours, with the trend towards a devaluation of the formal acquisition of specific skills, although most of them would have been given arts training in school.

A further aspect of the changes that have taken place in the world of art and culture, and to which we referred earlier, is the need for the artistic professions to adopt an increasingly international profile. Gaining prominence as an artist today presupposes a presence at international level; maintaining that position means recognising the need to set one's artistic career in the context of the local/global relations defining the world of the contemporary arts. It also means, in Portugal's case, raising the problem of its (semi-peripheral?) position in that world and the problem of the access of Portuguese artists to international recognition in spite of the obstacles posed by its non-central situation.

Non-centrality can be seen as representing an alternative, in which case it is important not to limit it to cases of individual resistance, but rather to consider it as a problem to be situated in a wider context, so that as an alternative it represents the prevailing view within an entire sector<sup>21</sup>.

The principle of non-centrality as an alternative is a basic problem with which the cultural policies of non-central countries must reckon when defining their action beyond their own borders and stepping up their efforts to confer a more international profile on the producers of national culture and on their output. However, it is hardly likely that the conditions will be created enabling such a principle to be taken on board if cultural policy in these countries is not organised in a systematic and structured way. This is what is tending to happen in Portugal where, in spite of the development of a number of interesting initiatives in the area of internationalisation (organisation of and participation in major events, support for the presentation of works and staging of performances), there is a palpable lack of any integrated policy to co-ordinate the work of the many government departments involved in external cultural policy.

Decentralisation of responsibilities and activities - With regard to the scale of both cultural supply and demand, and the funding of various cultural sectors, Lisbon, as we have seen, is in a privileged position, followed, at some distance, by the coastal areas of the north and centre. Concerning decentralised networks of cultural institutions and services, resources and results have been generally modest, with the exception of the Public Reading Network, part of a wider national book policy on which, from the very first years of the period under review, successive governments have banked and under which a national programme for the promotion of reading has been running since 1996, incorporating the three dimensions of staff training, research, and community work/awareness-raising.

Mention should also be made of the increase in spending on culture at municipal level (it should be remembered that local authorities account for the highest proportion of total public authority spending on culture). Investment in infrastructure, and particularly in multi-functional cultural amenities, is in line with the relevant programme (1985-1995), which has since been taken over by the current government. It is this government that has introduced a competitive element into the programme.

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<sup>21</sup> Carlo Ginzburg, Enrico Castelunovo et Carlo Ponci, *A Micro-história e outros Ensaios*, Lisbon, Difel, 1989.

The geographical distribution of amenities (whether it be designated performance areas, or other buildings, such as libraries, which are the focus of efforts in Portugal) will not lead to effective decentralisation unless it succeeds in fostering a more intense and wide-ranging cultural life at local level, both in terms of the local producers of culture and their audiences.

The decentralisation of cultural supply presupposes the decentralisation of responsibilities and funds, a process which in Portugal, after heated controversy on the subject of regionalisation, has returned to square one pending a future referendum.

There is, however, a pressing need to reflect upon the different cultural models possible at municipal level. Judging by the results of the few studies on the subject, it would appear that a certain number of transformations/tensions have become perceptible at local level in the course of the last ten years (with differing degrees of impact and contradictions according to the "structural area" in question and according to the imbalances inherent in each area).

These transformations are reflected in various tensions:

1. between the aspirations of the majority of the local population and the expectations of staff working on local development programmes, with the former laying emphasis on the ethnographic/folklore aspects of culture, while the latter tend to focus on initiatives designed to promote high-quality, up-to-the-minute cultural decentralisation,
2. between the aspirations of different categories of the local population, with the emergence of new youth cultures enjoying particular prominence, providing a cultural matrix within which aspects of traditional, popular culture rub shoulders, not always peacefully, with urban cultures ("cultivated" and "commercial")
3. between the very strategies underlying municipal cultural policies, varying between the need to satisfy the different aspirations of municipal residents, the need to encourage initiatives aimed at upgrading/modernising local cultural provision and the need to respect the electoral logic informing political action<sup>22</sup>.

Broadening of participation in cultural life - The question of cultural participation takes us back to the issue of cultural practices, although not exclusively, since one can just as easily participate through the use of cultural goods and services as one can through the influence brought to bear on such supply via the various channels available for this purpose. Cultural policies, therefore, that seek to address the key issue of participation must take into account the two ways in which it can be exercised.

In the case of Portugal, efforts have focused on increasing the diversity of supply - one need only recall the increase in aid over the period under consideration, while not losing

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<sup>22</sup> See the work of Augusto Augusto Santos Silva, "Políticas culturais municipais e animação do espaço urbano - uma análise de seis cidades portuguesas", in Maria de Lourdes Lima dos Santos (edit.), *Cultura & Economia*, Lisbon, Social Sciences Institute, 1995.

sight of the way it has developed and the fact that it tends to be channelled mainly towards certain sectors (heritage, performing arts, cinema, books and reading) at the expense of others (the plastic arts, for example), and the well-known fact that it is mainly concentrated on Lisbon. With regard to the pattern of demand, as far as we can judge, there is no real cause for enthusiasm.

If we now take the second part of the participation equation, the ability to exert a deliberate influence on supply, efforts in this area appear somewhat low-key, at least as a form of collective expression, which given the critical component inherent in this form of participation only impoverishes the dialogue between the parties involved (state/civil society). Yet, it is true that outside party political or trades-union circles, the practice of setting up pressure groups is fairly uncommon in Portugal. They have started to burgeon, however, in recent years, remaining loosely organised and focusing around crisis situations, with a preference for minority rights or environmental issues.

If we turn now to participation in the sense of the use of cultural goods and services, in other words, as an exercise in cultural practices, it is immediately obvious that broadening such participation can seek to satisfy two objectives: broadening the range of social groups who enjoy access to the use of such goods and services, which is one of the priorities of a democratic society, and increasing the diversity and intensity of such use (increasing the range of cultural practices and their frequency).

There is a wide variety of cultural policy measures from which to choose in pursuit of one objective or the other, and there is clear interdependence between the principle of broader participation and the two other principles - support for creativity and decentralisation - in the furtherance of these objectives.

Research into cultural practices and publics has increased in Portuguese academic circles in recent years, giving a higher profile to such issues at a time when the world of politics is becoming increasingly alive to the need for research.

A few thoughts have emerged from such studies which are of relevance to the two approaches we have chosen to the subject of the broadening of participation, the policies/practices approach and the participation approach (as an exercise in cultural practices and in social and political organisation).

These thoughts, then, which might serve to guide cultural policies, have to do with the different ways of relating to cultural commodities<sup>23</sup>: the cultural creation mode (professionals and amateurs), the expressive mode (festivals and encounters), the participatory or receptive mode (as the public of both "live culture" and culture as conveyed by the media) and even the mode which entails acting upon/influencing "matters cultural".

These different modes may combine with the different contexts in which culture is given expression: highbrow culture, the cultural industries, subcultures (popular and

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<sup>23</sup> Reference is made to certain proposals by J. Madureira Pinto, "Uma reflexão sobre políticas culturais", in *Dinâmicas Culturais, Cidadania e Desenvolvimento Local*, Lisbon, Portuguese Association of Sociology, 1994.

“alternative”), public and semi-public contexts (festivals, encounters) and the domestic context.

Depending upon the various configurations to which the combination of different modes and different contexts gives rise, different requirements are made of cultural policies. These include the need to develop socio-cultural community policies that do not stifle existing dynamics, and the need for cross co-operation between institutions both inside and outside the public authorities, and even the need for self-limitation of the powers of the state through the establishment of “quangos” (quasi autonomous, non-governmental bodies). These are just some of the pointers on which cultural policies might wish to focus in pursuing the aims of broader participation, cultural democratisation or the democracy of culture.

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