

ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION OF CULTURAL POLICIES  
IN SWITZERLAND

FOUR MEDIUM-SIZED TOWNS IN THE CANTON  
OF VAUD

BY  
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This study was written by Mr Basterrechea and Mr Bassand at the request of Unesco. The views expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the point of view of the Organization.

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## INTRODUCTION

### THE MAIN LINES OF THE RESEARCH

1. 'Swiss identity is one of our obscure objects of desire which we turn to, using a sort of double talk, both in search of a base and to avoid being shut in' (Crettaz, 1987:6).

The Swiss Confederation contains more than six million inhabitants, four linguistic regions, 26 canton-States and more than three thousand communes (local councils). Thanks to its federal structure, Switzerland is one of the most decentralized countries in Europe.

These political institutions mean that in the field of culture the Swiss have to keep a delicate and sometimes stormy balance between a cultural identity that can only be defined at the local or canton level, and a more up-to-date vision of a culture firmly embedded at the heart of international cultural networks.

As for the relationship between the political and the cultural, it is linked to a long-standing political tradition according to which culture precedes rather than derives from political action. This conception has been upset by the appearance of new social movements which have reversed this order by denouncing not the workings of the political system but its effects on ways of being and thinking.

2. We have chosen to analyse and evaluate the cultural policy of four Vaud urban communes - Nyon, Morges, Vevey and Montreux.

Our investigation has been centred around four basic questions:

How can we measure the respective importance of forecasting and planning in the decision-making process?

How far does the local population have a say in the choices made and the activities carried out?

How great is the investment in manpower and financial resources needed to put programmes and projects into effect?

When evaluating the impact of the authorities' actions on the local population's cultural practices and experience, what significant differences are there between objectives, means and results?

These questions have constantly guided our thought and observations. We hope to answer them fully in this report. In conclusion, we shall reformulate them slightly differently.

3. The question concerning evaluation has emerged as central to our research. We should insist at the outset that it is impossible to separate evaluation from analysis. Even when the evaluation of public policy is reduced to its basic elements, namely the comparison of the objectives, resources and results of a policy, evaluation cannot escape from policy analysis. Analysis and observation go hand in hand.

Even the very idea of the results of public policy is complex. What results are we evaluating? Those defined by the policy's objectives, those brought about by policy in another field, or those resulting from political aims? And can the three be dissociated?

How can we evaluate policy when the main partners, consciously or not, do not want to be evaluated? Or when the objectives and aims are not spelled out?

In a decentralized State like Switzerland, can we evaluate local cultural policy without taking into account the activities of the canton and federal authorities? Can we ignore the social, economic and cultural impetus of society as a whole?

Can public policy be evaluated using qualitative methods? Surely evaluating public policy also involves giving it a meaning.

4. In order to try to answer these questions, we have studied the cultural policies of four communes. We analysed books, administrative and research reports, and press releases. We also conducted nearly 50 interviews with local and canton politicians, cultural workers, organizers, journalists, representatives of local business and various others involved in cultural activities.

We were rapidly forced to define more clearly the direction of our research. First of all we realized that we could not understand and explain the cultural policies of these four localities without placing them in the wider context of the canton and the Confederation. In Switzerland, the provision of subsidies is the rule in cultural matters and can only be understood by looking at the different responsibilities on the federal,<sup>1</sup> canton and local levels. For the first two, our analysis of their choices is naturally very brief.

The variety and complexity of these four communes' cultural policies rapidly emerged during the first few interviews. It was therefore impossible to attempt a global evaluation of their policies. Nevertheless, we have tried to grasp the specific character of each locality, taking into account its history and social structure. In this context we have analysed certain specific policies.

5. For evaluation we have chosen recent cultural policies concerning a living culture. Here again, even taking these precautions, we realized the difficulty of evaluation, particularly when those concerned are private individuals; they are not aware of the importance of evaluation because the policy is not public but their own private concern. In addition, the most elementary data are not usually available, or to acquire them would need resources greatly superior to those at our disposal.

6. Finally, we would like to thank the many individuals who have provided information, allowed us to benefit from their experience in the cultural field, or supplied us with useful documentation.

We would also like to thank Unesco's Division of Cultural Studies and Policies which financed this research, and in particular Mr Claude Fabrizio, thanks to whose patience we were able to carry out the work successfully.

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1. Concerning the federal level, see the Appendix which analyses federal public financing in relation to canton and local investments for the whole of the Confederation.

## CHAPTER 1

### CULTURAL POLICIES IN THE SWISS CONTEXT

#### 1.1 CULTURE AND POLITICAL TRADITION

##### 1.1.1 An unfinished object

Any public policy is based on a general consensus concerning the need for State intervention in a particular sector of social life. With the development of the Welfare State, whole fields have emerged in which government intervention is a generally accepted fact of life. Gradually the economy, industry, education, social insurance and environmental planning have become the responsibility of the State. Laws, administrations and financial and human resources have grown up around these new fields of State action.

This development has involved not only the organization of society, but also a whole new set of habits, values and expectations which have considerably altered the relationship of individuals and social groups to the State. Economic, industrial, social or educational policies have emerged as clearly identifiable objects not only in the eyes of researchers or politicians, but also for large sections of the public. Their practical effects on everyday life and their influence on the culture of private individuals make them recognized social objects.

For cultural policies, however, things are totally different. In Switzerland, the cultural field, seen in terms of public policy - that is, in the form of a programme for action formulated by one or more public bodies - is an object that is only vaguely perceived. It has not yet clearly emerged as a specific field for government action.

In Switzerland, culture is connected with local identity and inherited spiritual values. It goes to make up the famous Swiss consensus which ensures national cohesion and social peace. 'Thus it is essentially a culture of harmony. The traditional and still vigorous practice of village choirs, brass bands and village plays in which the villagers act out their own story - as for example in the canton of Vaud - are an extremely strong force for social cohesion' (Grandchamp, 1987:12-13).

Traditionally it has been the local authorities who have been in charge of the amenities needed to develop local cultural life. They provide for the needs of the often very active local associations by allowing them to use council buildings (usually the salle communale or village hall) and services. If they are rich enough they give grants to amateur theatrical groups and choral or music societies. Most localities keep up a museum, frequently founded when a local inhabitant bequeathed to the community a collection that he had built up over the years. Depending on the amount of interest shown, this collection has either stagnated or else been added to and diversified. If it is in a tourist region, the council - with the active backing of interested associations (of hoteliers, restaurant and café owners, and tradespeople) - enlivens the region's cultural atmosphere with a season of theatre or concerts.

This image of a spontaneous culture, naturally regulated at the local level by community action and by direct participatory democracy, is still widespread. We shall, however, see that recent developments on the Swiss

cultural scene, especially in French-speaking Switzerland, show clear signs of a profound transformation in the role of the authorities in connection with cultural activities.

Here we must distinguish between culture (a system of signs, symbols, values, knowledge and so on) and the cultural or cultural activities (organized activities, ranging from art to leisure and from the media to shows).<sup>1</sup> We shall come back to this in our conclusion. Culture and what we shall call the cultural are not automatically linked but that does not mean that they are independent; they represent two distinct levels of cultural policy analysis. We shall see in the second chapter that the Vaud Canton Law on Cultural Activities deliberately only considers the cultural, which it presents as a group of activities generally recognized as cultural in character. As for the relationship between the cultural and culture, it is never defined or even really taken into account in official documents.

The local council's actions in the field of culture are very rarely controlled by any administrative guidelines or regulations. Cultural activity, as a specific field of public policy, is thus not a fixed, unchanging object embedded in formal institutional practices. This has led us to take certain precautions when applying to the cultural sector in Switzerland the models of public policy usually adopted in sociology. Faced with the diversity of situations and levels of analysis (confederation, cantons, communes), the fact that the cultural field is rarely the subject of an overall strategy with explicit objectives, and the very different conceptions of the authorities' responsibility for cultural activity that can be observed, it was difficult to adopt a priori a 'programme' model for cultural policies in Switzerland.

When the researcher looks at the cultural field in terms of policy formulation, fixing objectives and purpose, mobilization of resources and implementation of a plan of action, he is dealing with an object that did not necessarily exist before he started to study it. Instead of a series of institutional actions which can be analysed in terms of relative efficiency, Swiss cultural policies often seem to be a succession of individual measures in reply to initiatives and social demands made from outside the official sphere.

We should emphasize that there has been a wide ongoing cultural debate since the 1960s, and that in this field a social demand has emerged and frequently been echoed by the media; new social movements making mainly socio-cultural demands appeared on the scene, sometimes violently in the 1980s. Thus Swiss cultural policies seem to be contradictory: on the one hand they are apparently residual and informal, and on the other their field of action has become the area in which new needs are most clearly expressed and where social demands are formulated with a forcefulness unusual for Switzerland.

It is true that public expenditure on cultural activities has considerably increased in the last 20 years, but this has not led to new types of action or a new purpose guiding the authorities' actions. The cultural field thus displays a great gap between a still rudimentary politico-administrative structure and a growing socio-political debate. This gap between policy and politics is symptomatic of a particular period of gestation, with the elaboration of new expectations on the part of social actors, which may eventually modify the role of politics in relation to cultural activities.

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1. In order not to complicate the terminology unnecessarily, we shall not systematically discuss this distinction but it is implied throughout our discussion.



### 1.1.2 The cultural and the political

In order to understand the relationship between the political and the cultural in Switzerland, two crucial elements should be kept in mind, namely its liberal tradition and its federal structure which, in the cultural field even more than elsewhere, lead to a rejection of all forms of central control and direction.

'Switzerland has never been a nation State. It has escaped the growing identification of the State and the nation which took place in other European countries. Culture belongs de facto to the people instead of being delegated by the State. Culture is by nature hostile to all political interference [...]. In Switzerland there is a feeling of hostility mixed with contempt for cultural civil servants, a rare species considered as a dangerous aberration' (Grandchamp, 1987:17). This statement needs to be slightly modified, as in the last 20 years cantons and most towns of a certain size have set up administrative structures to run cultural affairs. However, these structures are often skeletal and their main activity is to hand out the available money according to the requests they receive. On the whole, cultural activity is the concern of private individuals and associations, and the fear of a State culture places limits on official action in cultural matters.

The authorities consider their role in this field to be that of auxiliaries, not initiators. When he was Director of the Federal Office for Cultural Affairs, Frédéric Dubois declared unambiguously, 'Culture is the field par excellence for private initiative and that is as it should be' (Dubois, 1981:71). Official pronouncements consider culture to precede political action rather than to result from it. By means of participatory structures, consultative procedures, direct democracy (initiatives, referenda) and the system of commissions which play a crucial role in political decision-making, the Swiss political system is supposed to reflect in the best possible way the ambitions and values of a culturally very diverse population. The authorities rarely try to anticipate the cultural demands which emerge from the grass roots; instead they try to reply case by case. 'Pragmatism and necessity, as always in Switzerland, guide our actions. Our motto is, more practical, specific measures than theories about culture and more gradual achievements than over-ambitious targets' (Dubois, 1981:71).

Pragmatism and necessity - these are the order of the day. In the context of Swiss political culture, pragmatism takes on a particular meaning. It corresponds to an attitude of mediation between the interests at stake, a capacity for conciliation which the Swiss recognize in their government and which the government claims for itself. It is synonymous with compromise and the search for half-way solutions. It is radically opposed to ideology, seen as a source of conflict and tension, as pointless verbiage which could endanger the famous consensus ensuring national unity. Pragmatism is the Swiss national super-ego.

'The tradition of local autonomy and the wide participation of ordinary citizens in public life mean that cultural life is mainly organized on the level of communes; local authorities are expected to respond to the directly expressed wishes of their constituents, and they generally have the means to do so, especially in towns, with large tax revenues. This means that the local councils' cultural policies are inevitably pragmatic, adapted to local needs and rarely bothering with laws to define their objectives' (Trippet, 1978: 42). Rather than long-term strategies or planning, they prefer to adapt themselves to immediate requirements, which implies the existence of mechanisms for widespread popular participation to enable these requirements to be expressed by different social groups and noted by the relevant bodies.

Communes and cantons are the main public participants in the field of culture. According to the Federal Constitution these canton-States have real political and administrative autonomy, with a parliament, a government and a constitution. They are in charge of vital fields like education, health or the police; their powers extend from internal affairs to justice or the armed forces, and include social security and public works. The councils' responsibilities are fixed by canton laws concerning the organization of communes. In Switzerland, local identity - whether it is a meaningless term or on the contrary expressed in a wide range of social activities - is a basic value guiding political speech and behaviour. Any attempt by the federal authorities to control culture would be interpreted as an attack on the cultural identity of towns and cantons. It is therefore clear why federal action in cultural matters can only be subsidiary to that of cantons and communes. As a general rule, the Confederation only intervenes in order to support the activities of cantons, and cantons to support the local councils. Each level of the hierarchy is determined by the level below it.

Due to the country's linguistic and religious diversity, the autonomy of cantons and communes, the fear of creating a State culture and the primacy of private initiative, the relationship between the political and cultural spheres is not defined in any clearly laid down programme.

## 1.2 FROM A COMPARTMENTALIZED TO A SPLIT SOCIETY

The image of themselves that the Swiss like to project is that of a village society cultivating community values. It likes to see itself as a society organized around the parish. In an already dated description, Denis de Rougement saw the word 'compartment' as the key to understanding Swiss reality: 'Compartment is the key word for Switzerland - geographical or social, historical or sentimental, governed by rules or initiation rites, all touching each other and all so closed in. That is no doubt the essence of the Swiss mystery [...] Compartments, the group and society spirit; but small groups of people who know each other only too well, and societies which are solid if they have a limited aim. [...] Our culture lives in little compartments which are natural or historical - the city of Geneva, the Vaud country, Neuchâtel or La Chaux-de-Fonds, [...], Fribourg, the French-speaking half of Valois - which have never been unified or regimented by a central authority as was the case for the French provinces' (de Rougemont, 1970).

Today, this picture of a compartmentalized Switzerland is being overtaken by reality; urban growth has transformed the territorial divisions of long-standing socio-political communities. As in most modern societies, the urban region is becoming the context for urbanization. In a twofold movement of geographical, social and political implosion and explosion, the context of everyday life is being organized and structured hierarchically following an order that does not necessarily correspond to the historical, cultural and institutional compartments which were traditional on Swiss territory.

The urban regions of Lausanne and Geneva are typical of this development; they are in the process of joining up functionally and spatially. The Lake Geneva metropolis is coming into being despite political opposition from local councils, the canton and the federation. Urbanization and its consequences are more powerful than these institutions. In addition, certain indicators show that there is also a link-up with other Swiss urban regions. The Lake Geneva conurbation is only one facet of a much wider process, namely the birth of a many-centred Swiss metropolis of more than four million inhabitants.

Under the pressure of economic factors and with the appearance of new means of communication, ways of life are being transformed, new ways of using space are appearing, the emotional and symbolic landscape is being modified and networks of acquaintance are no longer built up exclusively around the village or the neighbourhood. The former territorial limits are vanishing and being replaced by an urban continuum which in turn creates different lines of separation, in particular in relation to specialization in the use of space.

Of course, these developments are not unique to Switzerland and, to a certain extent, its federal structure helps to restrict their effects. But it is precisely because they have encountered resistance both on the political level and in peoples' minds that the problem of how to adapt to these new structures is particularly acute. This problem arises both within the Swiss socio-political system and in relation to its contacts with the outside world.

In this situation of internal mutation and in the context of the rapid construction of Europe - in part without them - the Swiss are caught between their long-standing reflex of retreating into their historical compartments and a new spirit of welcoming contacts with the rest of the world which are seen as necessary but a potential danger for their particular identities. The inertia brought about by this hesitation is encouraged by their relative prosperity which creates an attitude of wait and see and an unwillingness to take the risks inherent in adaptation and new strategies.

As a result, Swiss society is now split socially and politically. Recent studies have shown that political decision-making bodies (professional organizations in trade and industry, organizations of artisans and farmers, centre and left-wing parties, unions and so on) are less and less capable of reflecting on the state of Swiss society as a whole. The general document of the National Research Programme, Processus de décision dans la démocratie suisse (Political Decision-making in Swiss Democracy) (Linder, 1987), shows that the policy of agreement between these different interest groups is largely incapable of taking account of innovation and social change. 'Consensus politics means that there are no periodical changes of majority, with the result that there is only limited room for innovation, as the majority is not challenged by a minority which could take its place' (Linder, 1987:76). It would thus appear that what the Swiss political system gains in stability it loses in capacity for accepting new ideas. Stability is maintained at the cost of a growing imbalance between rigid political choices and continually progressing social demands. 'Consensus politics also faces growing opposition from outside, which does not correspond to the traditional conflict between right and left and which does not concern wealth redistribution but instead the way in which society is developing' (Linder, 1987:180).

In their history of social movements in Switzerland, Duvanel and Levy (1984) note - on the basis of a detailed analysis of 6,000 events involving political opposition or demands - the appearance from the 1970s onwards of new social movements whose aim is to propose new values rather than to take power. 'What interests people is no longer society and its organization as such but instead criticism of the aims and ideals underlying that society' (Duvanel and Levy, 1984:187). The authors note the appearance of new social dividing lines which are superimposed on the traditional class structure. The political system is unable to take into account these new divisions and can thus only partially reflect Swiss social reality. A gap is thus growing between the legal country and the real country. In the face of an apparently rigid and immobile government there is less participation in public life, which is, however, a part of Swiss tradition. 'Several surveys have shown that a growing feeling of social and political powerlessness is felt by the inhabitants of this country' (Duvanel and Levy, 1984:205). This question of participation is at the heart of our study, as traditional cultural activity is developed at

the instigation of private participants outside the politico-administrative structure. In Switzerland we speak of a 'military militia' and an 'administrative militia', but we could also speak of a 'cultural militia'.

Beyond the crisis in the working of institutions, these factors show an ambivalence in the images determining the way the Swiss perceive their social environment, conditioning the individual or the group's relationship with this environment and hence influencing in part the ways they act on this environment. 'There are those who still venerate the official picture of Swiss democracy while groups of youths smash windows in the Bahnhofstrasse, and then are naïvely astonished that uprooted offspring with no control over their environment take such extreme actions' (Duvanel and Levy, 1984:205).

Thus the picture of a compartmentalized Switzerland, of a society of communities, which values closeness, common ideals and social transparency, coexists with a less idyllic image of a divided Switzerland in which there are beginning to appear contradictions which concern less the exercise of power than its purpose. Many citizens still identify with the reassuring picture of a miniature, understandable, governable, organized, unchanging, territorialized Switzerland which wishes to establish a consensus between its social groupings; for others, this picture means immobility, which stands in the way of many attempts at innovation. The main features of social movements in Switzerland could be rapidly summed up as passive satisfaction for some and annoyed resignation for others, with from time to time some more spectacular but rapidly controlled demonstrations of discontent. We could also mention a gradual shift in the type of demands made, with a move from a traditional concern for social justice towards the expression of a kind of cultural unease.

### 1.3 TERRITORIAL DIFFERENCES AND IMBALANCE

#### 1.3.1 Sharing the cultural budget

There are two studies available on public cultural investment.

One gives information on the cultural budgets of public authorities for the 1960s and 1970s and was carried out at the request of a commission of experts appointed by the Swiss Government in 1969 (Commission fédérale d'experts pour l'étude de questions concernant la politique culturelle suisse); this commission's activities led to the publication in 1975 of a long report entitled Eléments pour une politique culturelle en Suisse (Elements for a Cultural Policy in Switzerland, called the Clottu Report).

The other study concerns the fiscal year 1981 and was carried out by the Federal Statistics Office (Office Fédéral des Statistiques, or O.F.S.) which published its findings in 1983. In what follows we shall refer more particularly to data taken from this report (a summary of its findings is given in the Appendix).

The total budget devoted to cultural activities in 1981 was nearly one thousand million Swiss francs (750 million for running costs and 230 million for investment). Expenditure by cantons and communes represented, respectively, 32 per cent and 48 per cent of the total, and the Confederation's share came to 12 per cent or 0.72 per cent of the federal budget (see Appendix, chart 1).

To a certain extent these charts simply express the subsidy principle: cultural activities are first and foremost the concern of the local councils, followed by the cantons and then the Confederation. However, if we look more closely at the breakdown of the funding within each sector (see Appendix,

charts 2-5), we can see that there is a clear specialization of roles. Thus the Confederation is unable to play fully its role of auxiliary to the local councils and cantons in areas as vital as theatre, music or dance.

However, even though, when we observe the amount of money spent by the Confederation in these fields, we can question the application of the subsidy principle, nevertheless we can discern a certain overall logic in the sharing of tasks between the Confederation, the cantons and the local councils. According to this logic, 'live' activities involving large numbers of people and appealing to a wide audience, are the domain of local councils with support from the canton authorities. The local councils play a decisive role in theatrical and musical activities. As education, particularly in art and design colleges, is controlled by local councils, cultural training has naturally become one of their tasks. The Confederation's role is to help minorities defend their language and culture - as it helps the Tessin or the Grisons to defend Romansch -, or to facilitate exchanges within the Confederation and to promote Swiss culture abroad. It also plays a relatively important role in the fine arts, for conservation and the cinema, which need huge investments.

On the whole, the data provided by the Clottu Report indicate that the authorities' cultural policy is above all concerned with the acquisition and conservation of cultural property and the upkeep and creation of amenities. For the period under study (1960-1969), more than three quarters of public cultural expenditure on investment and more than half of expenditure on running costs involved the protection of the cultural heritage, theatres and museums.

Concerning regional differences, despite the federal structure there is nevertheless considerable inequality in cultural funding (see Appendix, charts 6-8). At a time when cultural expression is becoming international and requires ever greater financial contributions, highly urbanized cantons with large service sectors can, thanks to their available means and their integration into a vast international network, provide a wide range of cultural activities and events. The cultural expenditure of the cantons of Geneva, Basle and Zurich represents nearly 40 per cent of the total budget devoted to culture in Switzerland (including the federal budget), although these cantons only contain a quarter of the Swiss population. The great difference in the amounts spent by cantons and communes generally reflects the way Switzerland is spatially structured into centre and periphery; thus while the small cantons in central Switzerland spend less than 60 S.Fr. per inhabitant on culture, in the canton-towns of Basle and Geneva this expenditure is more than 300 S.Fr. per head (Appendix, chart 7).

The information provided by the O.F.S. concerning local council investment in the field of culture shows that per capita expenditure increases steadily with the size of the commune (see Appendix, chart 9). Commune size is thus one of the factors determining the size of cultural expenditure; this is particularly true for towns of over 50,000 inhabitants and for small communes of less than 5,000 inhabitants. For the large group of medium-sized councils there is a greater variety of situations (see Appendix, charts 10 and 11). For this category, what seems to be decisive is the political willingness to have a lively cultural life and also initiatives on the part of the inhabitants. Unfortunately the O.F.S. report's data are insufficient to allow us to make a more detailed breakdown of the distribution of cultural financing in the Swiss urban network.

### 1.3.2 Between canton and commune: the non-existent region

The Swiss inter-urban network, centred around the towns of Geneva, Lausanne, Berne, Zurich and Basle, cuts across cantonal frontiers and stretches along the Swiss Plateau between the Alps and the Jura. 'A more detailed analysis of the economic and social data concerning areas with high urban density rapidly brings to light the strict hierarchy which characterizes these urban territories; each town is part of a widening zone whose boundaries and limits of accessibility stretch ever further out and finally overlap in a twofold movement of concentration and expansion of the original core' (Racine and Consinschi, 1987:5). The socio-economic profile and the cultural potential of the Swiss territory is strongly determined by the interrelation of the urban regions which have grown up around these central nodes. Their zones of influence overlap, thus modifying socio-spatial practices and creating either 'blind spots' poor in cultural resources or, on the contrary, intermediate zones which are not necessarily better served but whose inhabitants have at their disposal services provided by several different urban centres.

At first sight, the availability and attractiveness of cultural activities are the two spatial characteristics which enable us to appreciate the effects of a cultural policy on a given geographical area. To oversimplify somewhat, availability and attractiveness are linked to the way in which financial resources and amenities for cultural activities are distributed. Optimum availability would be a situation where these resources were distributed as equitably as possible, in relation to the cultural demand, in a given area. A place or a region's cultural attractiveness corresponds to its capacity to bring in the public and it is linked to the quality and variety of what is on offer, in other words it takes the form in part of a concentration of cultural resources. These two parameters must also be weighted by the information the participants have concerning the available possibilities.

If we followed this line of reasoning to its conclusion, we would construct a model based on the laws of spatial economics, which would necessarily be formal and oversimplified. We shall simply note here that a spatial analysis of the effects of cultural policies must try to find the balance existing between equal sharing and concentration of resources, and between the availability and attractiveness of cultural activities.

Although we know that the five biggest towns control a large proportion of the country's economic potential, we understand less well their role in the cultural life of the surrounding regions and areas further afield. We need a study of the 'cultural market-places' of the Swiss urban system.

How is the supply of cultural activities distributed within the hierarchy of the urban network? How does demand differ according to the central position of towns? How do consumer habits for cultural goods change according to the distance from the centre? What is the socio-economic profile of 'cultural commuters' who live in one area but go to a larger urban centre to take part in cultural activities? What is the cost in time and distance that they are willing to pay for a particular type of cultural activity? What are the channels through which information about cultural supply circulates? All of these questions ought to lead us on to a more general question, namely: In the Swiss context, when large urban centres become the main 'poles of artistic and cultural production', do they create peripheries which are cultural backwaters or, on the contrary, do they become dynamic centres which foster and revive cultural life in the surrounding areas?

Such a study would doubtless show that the future of cultural life and vigour in Swiss regions will be determined by the balance established between the different levels of the urban hierarchy. For both overall and local cultural strategies to emerge they must have complementary functions and the cultural activities in the communes must be co-ordinated.

However, although in Switzerland there are cantons and communes, the regions have no administrative or political existence. It may seem strange that in a politically decentralized system it is so difficult for the idea of a region to emerge. But it is precisely because the system is federal and, what is more, delegates a large degree of autonomy to local authorities that a regional cultural strategy cannot be imposed by administrative directives or legal means. It can only come about by a gradual process of reconciling the interests of the local forces involved in culture.

In the final analysis, the attitude of local authorities towards things cultural and their willingness to co-operate with neighbouring authorities are crucial. What determines the development of a rich cultural life is often not the size of the cultural budget so much as the local authorities' capacity to draw up strategies, to support projects and explain them to other officials (neighbouring communes, cantons or confederal authorities) or private patrons and sponsors.

#### 1.4 SUMMARY: FRAMEWORK FOR THE EVALUATION OF CULTURAL POLICIES IN SWITZERLAND

In order to understand the issues at stake and the peculiarities of the situation, the authorities' role in Swiss cultural activities must be placed in the context that we have just described. Four crucial aspects must be taken into consideration when defining the framework of policies of cultural aid in Switzerland.

1. Cultural life develops in a political system dominated by pragmatism, an attitude which does not encourage the formulation of overall strategies; as a result, the possibilities for action are often restricted to the search for one-off answers to immediately perceived problems. In general, medium- and long-term planning are pointless.

2. Due to the federal tradition and organization, it is mainly the communes and cantons which intervene in the cultural field. The Confederation only plays a subsidiary role. Although their involvement is greater, cantons and communes take a back seat to the private sector.

3. The fear of producing a State culture means that the authorities can only be auxiliaries. Instead of a 'cultural policy' the authorities' role in this field should be called a 'cultural aid policy'.

4. Thus cultural events depend to a large extent on the initiative of private individuals or cultural associations. The cultural life of a canton or commune depends on the vigour and participation of these social groups. They are organized in many different ways, from an informal group of individuals to a legally constituted association. We shall see below that they play a vital role in the circulation of cultural goods. In addition, by creating networks of social acquaintance and communication, these cultural promoters help to structure the fabric of society.

Given this context, what is meant by the concept of the evaluation of public policy in the field of culture? What is there to evaluate in this activity? We hope to go some way towards answering these questions by

analysing the cultural policies of four medium-sized towns in the canton of Vaud and examining the four very different policies in them.

We must immediately point out that evaluation implies a scale of reference; we must first of all identify the relevant types of analysis in a given historical, social, political and cultural context.

Even more, evaluation is an activity that consists in analysing the results of a policy and measuring the effects of these results. It is defined by E. Vedung as a 'systematic study of the application and consequences of action programmes adopted by public authorities, with particular reference to the objectives, issues at stake and intentions which they are supposed to promote' (Swedish Ministry of Education and Culture, 1986:96).

This definition is still valid for most fields of public authorities' activity, but it is nevertheless difficult to apply to Swiss cultural policies. The absence of planning which is the general characteristic of the authorities' activity in this field makes it impossible to identify a programme or a series of coherently related actions guided by explicit aims and objectives.

Göran Nylöf sees objectives, actions and results as the three touchstones of evaluation (Swedish Ministry of Education and Culture, 1986:100). From this point of view the researcher can adopt certain categories of criteria. If he is looking at the appropriateness of the means employed in relation to a policy's objectives, he will question the programme's coherence. If he is studying the relationship between means and results, he will judge its effectiveness. If he takes into account expert opinion (performers, critics, etc.), his evaluation will concern the quality of what is supplied. If he concentrates on audience reaction, he will measure the satisfaction ratio. Lastly, if he is concerned with the larger context of the population as a whole, by observing for example the impact on its cultural habits and practice, he will evaluate the programme's influence or impact. These criteria - coherence, effectiveness, quality, satisfaction, impact - are only a few general examples to indicate the variety of possible approaches to evaluation. These criteria can be combined, differently weighted or broken down into more precise indicators.

Swiss cultural policies usually take the form of managing demand from outside the politico-administrative sphere. This situation is the result of the two guiding principles which we have already discussed, namely the separation of the cultural and the political - which presupposes a considerable involvement of private participants -, and federalism, which implies a fragmentation of the political institutions involved in culture. In terms of demand management, there are three vital facets to a critical examination of the authorities' activity: the way resources are distributed geographically; the way activities are co-ordinated; and whether the main participants (cultural actors) can make this complex machinery work.

Thus we can distinguish three main facets in the evaluation of cultural policies in the Swiss context, each of which throws a different light on the cultural arena.

Spatial facet. In Switzerland, except in the mountains, the region has no administrative or political existence.

Is the commune not too small a context to satisfy the demands of contemporary culture? Is it the optimum scale for cultural action? Is it both large enough to mobilize the ever greater resources needed for cultural development and small enough to allow social practices to appear which go



beyond the passive consumption of social goods? Do the geographical divisions (cantons) and the administrative divisions (communes) favour the appearance of intermediate spatial units which would allow cultural 'regions' to emerge?

Institutional facet. What kind of relations exist between the numerous official participants involved in the cultural field? For a given cultural activity, what conditions must be met to ensure that there is co-ordination between these different bodies? What is the decision-making process which leads to the granting of financial aid? Finally, is this galaxy of participants capable of perceiving the wide range of social demand in cultural matters?

Socio-political facet. The capacity of a group of individuals to mobilize political and administrative machinery is one of the factors determining the success of a cultural project. In Switzerland, the control of the social and institutional environment is not only an objective of cultural policies but is, more importantly, an instrumental imperative, a vital pre-condition for a cultural project to be implemented.

What, then, is the nature of the dialogue between cultural circles and the local, cantonal and federal authorities? What strategies do they adopt towards the official bodies which support cultural activities? How do they get in touch with decision-making bodies? To what extent do these procedures constitute a social filter, excluding at the outset certain social classes? What is the profile of these promoters and what are their motives? Do they represent innovation and social change? How do they help to mould the social fabric?

These three facets of the authorities' activity place evaluation on the structural level of analysis, corresponding to the human, economic and organizational resources and to the way in which these resources are distributed, broken down and appropriated by the different partners in the cultural field. These facets can also be linked to three other levels: supply, corresponding to the type and quantity of cultural goods produced and/or distributed in the system under study; audience, including the number and category of 'consumers' for each type of cultural product; and finally the more general level of the population, including the habits and expectations of the different strata of the population concerned.

In view of the particular character of the Swiss system, it is on the structural level that the authorities' intervention is decisive. In the second part of this work we shall study more particularly the institutional aspect of the canton of Vaud's cultural policy. In the third part we shall study, through an analysis of four examples, the nature of the relations between cultural promoters and officials. The aim of this analysis is of course to contribute to the evaluation of these policies.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE CANTON OF VAUD AND ITS CULTURAL POLICY

#### 2.1 OUTLINE OF VAUD'S CULTURAL SCENE

The canton of Vaud<sup>1</sup> is one of the historical and cultural compartments mentioned by Denis de Rougemont. It is at the heart of the French-speaking cantons but its history is not the same as theirs. It is both urban and pastoral, middle-class and peasant, and it is different from Valais which is Catholic and mountainous, Fribourg which was already part of the confederal alliance in the fifteenth century, the free Republic of Geneva, or Neuchâtel which was for long under Prussian rule. Vaud was at first part of Savoy, then in the sixteenth century it was under the control of Berne which brought the Reformation, and it only achieved independence in 1798 and joined the Confederation five years later at Napoleon's instigation. It was the Bernese, as both protectors and occupying power, who first represented Switzerland in the canton of Vaud. Unlike most of the German-speaking cantons, the idea of a 'Swiss entity' for the Vaudois is a concept imposed from outside rather than emerging from indigenous desires or developments.

The canton of Vaud has, in common with Geneva and Neuchâtel, the particular characteristic of being a territory which is both French-speaking and traditionally Protestant. Intellectual and artistic life in Vaud is strongly influenced by French thought and culture but at the same time it has been impregnated for the last four centuries by the Protestant ethic and it has doubtless been affected by this ambivalence. Instead of creating a split personality, this dual influence instead leads to hesitancy and indecision in displaying its personality. For the Vaud writer C.F. Ramuz, this hesitation has become a dilemma. 'The French[-speaking] writer, born in a Protestant country, has to decide whether he would be better off freeing himself immediately from an inheritance that can be embarrassing because it only concerns a tiny minority, or on the contrary if he should choose to be guided by this inheritance, considered as essential and vital, and take it as his guiding principle' (1935:291).

The taste for introspection which seems to mark the work of Vaud creators and thinkers is generally ascribed to Protestantism. 'It [Vaud] is marked by a long-standing familiarity with the Bible and psalm singing and by an inward-looking sensibility. It ranges from the acute awareness of self in psychological novels of Benjamin Constant to the communion with nature which for Gustave Roud takes on a mystical dimension. Alexandre Vinet is the representative par excellence of a literature in which art is subordinated to ethical requirements. Even when the links with the Reformed Church are totally severed, the activity of writing is felt as a spiritual commitment and remains for these writers a private resolution which is stronger than a simple desire to tell a story or build a literary career' (Reymond, 1978:293).

Although 'learned' culture seems to involve the individual conscience and introspection, the practices linked to popular culture have an important social function. Peasant festivals and village shows play an important role in Vauds 'imaginary museum'. Thus the wine-growers' festival which involves the

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1. To clarify things, we should remind readers that the canton of Vaud is bounded on the south by the shores of Lake Geneva, on the west by the foothills of the Jura and on the east by those of the Alps. It has slightly over 500,000 inhabitants in a territory of 3,200 km<sup>2</sup>.

whole population of the Vevey region four or five times a century is one of the most important popular events in Switzerland and perhaps in Europe. The Jorat theatre in Mézière is also part of this popular tradition, and dozens of actors recruited from the local inhabitants take part in their plays. Local groups, choirs, amateur theatrical groups or brass bands are deeply rooted in tradition and are still seen, particularly in the communes, as essential ingredients of social life. Local notables are expected to take an active part in associations, and it is often there that local political life is decided. Thus local associations are still important catalysts of sociability.

It was against this background that there took place in the 1960s a profound transformation of Vaud's cultural scene. This development was not in fact confined to this canton but was part of a more general movement affecting most Western countries.

After the isolation of the Second World War and the immediate post-war period - when the talk was of the 'spiritual defence of the country' - and with the development of mass media, cultural life in French-speaking Switzerland and in Vaud diversified and developed considerably. 'The most fundamental aspect seems to have been the realization among not only the circles immediately concerned but also the authorities and the general public, of the importance of culture. It was in the 1960s that there grew up a widespread movement demanding that the status of the artist be defined. Opinions were loudly voiced, in all fields [...]. The disparate energies existing before the turning-point of 1960 joined together and French-speaking Switzerland was seized by a fantastic creative drive which continued and developed in the 1970s [...]' (Zahnd, 1987).

During the 1960s, professional grant-aided structures were set up, a wider audience was created and there was greater awareness of creation on the international level. At the instigation of the theatre director Charles Apothéloz, theatrical activity in Lausanne was co-ordinated by the 'Centre dramatique romande' which later became the 'Centre dramatique de Lausanne'. In several towns in the canton, pocket theatres were set up by local professional, semi-professional or amateur groups.

As for literature, French-speaking publishers were set up which enabled contemporary authors to be published and also classics to be reprinted. Literary reviews and the new publishing houses published and encouraged Vaud and other French-speaking writers and helped them to come together.

For the cinema, the Swiss Cinémathèque in Lausanne, directed by Freddy Buache, does remarkable work in distributing films. Since 1966 the Cinémathèque has organized regular showings and seasons and helps to conserve cinema classics while at the same time being open to contemporary experimentation. The late 1960s also saw the first attempts of the young Vaud film-makers.

The French language station, Radio Suisse Romande, whose studios are in Lausanne, plays an active role in the canton's cultural and musical life. It supports new works by French Swiss composers, helps to launch singers like Henri Dés, Michel Bühler or Pascal Auberson and to organize festivals or musical events. French-speaking television, together with French channels, were among the most powerful agents for cultural change during this period. More recently, the flowering of local radio stations seems to indicate a desire for regional control of the mass media (Ricq, et al., 1986).

This list is far from complete, and these are only a few aspects of recent developments in cultural life in Vaud. There are five essential aspects to be noted:

Vaud culture is moving from a local and micro-regional scale - which is geographically limited and in a minority on two counts (in relation to the 70 per cent of Swiss who are German-speaking, and in relation to France from which it is politically separate) and therefore relatively isolated - to being part of an international cultural network.

The level of technological know-how required by new forms of cultural expression means the creation of appropriate facilities, a considerable increase in financial resources and greater professionalism.

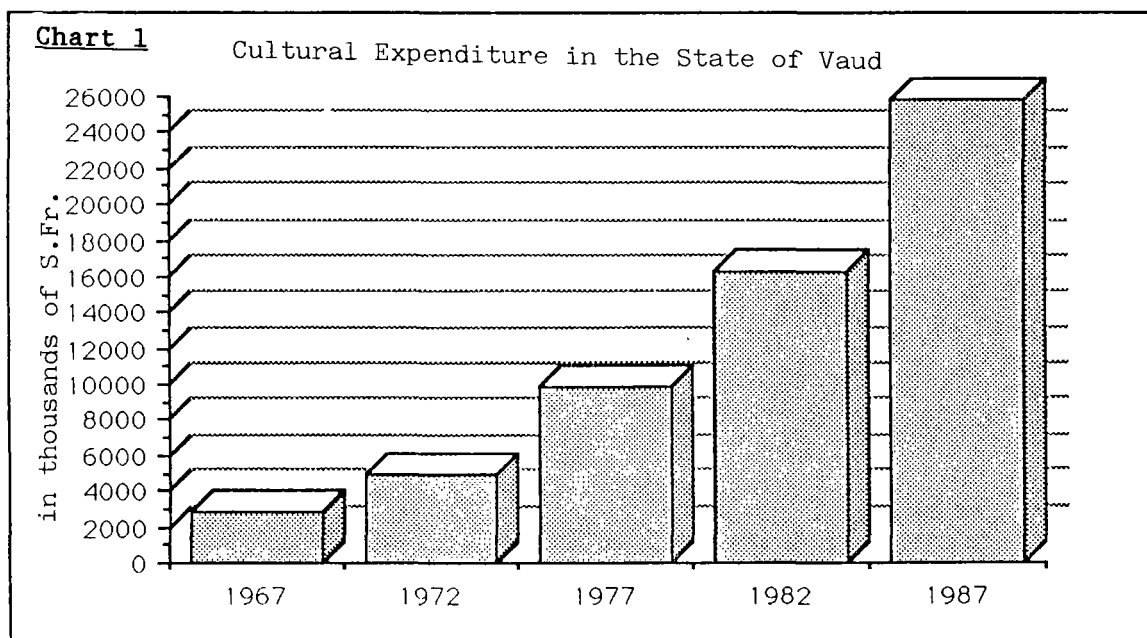
Due to rising costs and to the setting up of professional structures, cultural production is becoming more and more dependent on a market. Traditional local structures are often unable to adapt easily to these two new factors.

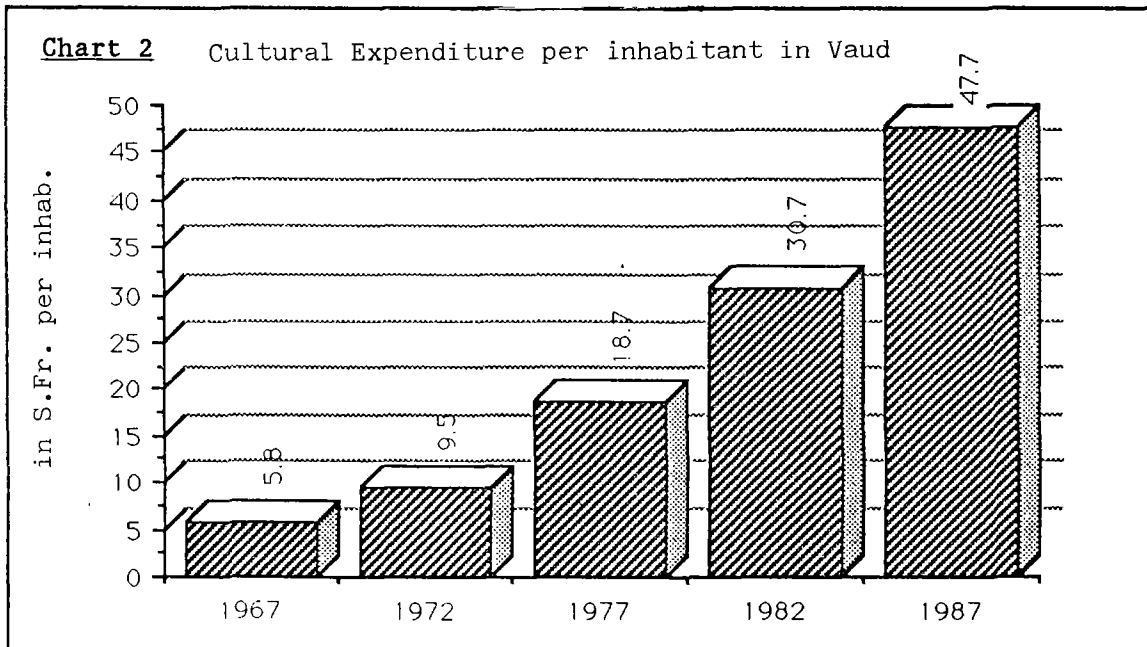
Culture, which was at first spontaneous and immediate and corresponded to the whole of social life, is now the subject of reflection and a general debate in society. By the same token, it has become an arena for action or demands, and a social and political issue.

In the same period we have seen a growing awareness of cultural phenomena on the part of the authorities. Over a 20-year period expenditure on culture has greatly increased (see charts 1 and 2). In 1978 the canton of Vaud voted a Law on cultural activities. Cultural commissions charged with distributing public money to cultural activities have been set up at the local and canton levels.

The following charts show the size of the increase in cultural expenditure in Vaud; from nearly three million Francs in 1967, they leapt to 26 million in 1987. In 20 years, cultural expenditure has multiplied by 4.6 (cultural expenditure represented 0.44% of total expenditure in 1967 and 0.86% in 1987). Note that the upkeep of historical buildings comes under the Department of Public Works and is included in its budget. The data given here and below do not take into account the expenditure of the Department of Public Education and Religion which is responsible for all other cultural fields.

But while the size of State participation greatly increased during this period, we shall see that its role and its type of activity has not fundamentally changed.





## 2.2 VAUD'S POLICY OF GRANTS FOR CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

### 2.2.1 The importance of cultural activities in Vaud's political system

As we have already noted, cantons enjoy partial sovereignty; the Swiss expression is the Cantonal State. Legislative power is exercised by a parliament, called the Grand Conseil or Great Council; executive and administrative power is exercised by a cantonal government, the Conseil d'Etat, which is run on a collegial basis. The canton administration is subdivided into departments. The government of Vaud has seven Conseillers d'Etat, each of whom is head of a department.

As in most cantons, cultural affairs are placed under the control of the Department of Public Education and Religion (D.I.P.) and more precisely one of its four services, the Service of Higher Education and Cultural and Religious Affairs. There is therefore no administrative body exclusively concerned with cultural affairs. In addition to tasks connected with higher education and churches, this service runs state cultural institutions like the canton library, museums, or canton archives. It is also in charge of cultural subsidies from the State to individuals, institutions or communes.

During its discussions of general financial policy, the Great Council fixes, at the suggestion of the Conseil d'Etat, the size of the cultural budget.

### 2.2.2 The legal framework for the canton's action

The canton of Vaud has, since 1978, had a law on cultural activities covering the different forms of State intervention in this field. This law is particularly important for an understanding of the role of the State in the cultural field, to the extent that the officials whose job it is to apply it try to follow both its letter and its spirit. 'What I try to do is to take into account the principles laid down by the law. [...] Then perhaps when

applying certain apparently rigid and simplistic rules, we can try to help without unfair favouritism' (L. Wettstein, Head of the Service of Higher Education and of Cultural and Religious Affairs, Gazette de Lausanne, 26.10.86).

To try to help without unfair favouritism: here again we see the desire for impartiality and non-directiveness typical of State intervention in cultural affairs. The intention is no doubt praiseworthy, but it is not very useful for drawing up an overall policy, which necessarily implies options and choices. Thus the text accompanying the law states explicitly: 'Culture is first of all created by individual initiative. Cultural activities must be the work of individuals themselves or private institutions, thus guaranteeing their necessary diversity and liberty. It is therefore not up to the authorities, whether state or local, to organize or control cultural activities' (Preamble, Bill on Cultural Activities, state of Vaud, 1978).

Thus the state's role is 'to encourage by various forms of aid the cultural activities of individuals or private institutions. The authorities should likewise help as many as possible to benefit from these activities. Thus they can in certain cases provide cultural institutions that they run themselves, like libraries, museums or theatres' (Preamble, Bill on Cultural Activities, state of Vaud, 1978).

The aims of cultural policy in Vaud could be defined as supporting culture and contributing towards more equal opportunity for all, ensuring the conservation and public availability of cultural property, and supervising the upkeep of facilities.

The notion of culture remains vague and deliberately undefined. The text accompanying the law refers to the definitions made by Unesco, the Council of Europe and the Federal Committee of experts for the study of questions concerning Swiss cultural policy, but it finally refuses to adopt a wider definition of culture. 'We have not chosen to define culture in this law, because it is not concerned with culture in general but rather with cultural activities, and more particularly their encouragement which is a more specific field, although still very broad' (Preamble, Bill on Cultural Activities, state of Vaud, 1978). The law's field of application, defined in Article 2, takes the form of a list of cultural sectors:

Article 2. The present law is applicable mainly to the following fields:

- (a) music; literature; theatre; fine arts; applied arts; choreography; cinema; popular arts; radio and television; science; archives; libraries; museums;
- (b) further education.

The law does not specify rigidly the nature of the relations between the canton and local authorities, but it recognizes the pre-eminence of the latter: 'It should not be forgotten that the commune, the political organization closest to individual citizens, is in the best position to encourage cultural activities in the first place. [...] The law imposes no obligations on the communes and does not subordinate them to the state, which would be in contradiction with the autonomy that the communes should preserve, particularly in these fields, and might lead to a dangerous centralization' (Preamble, Bill on Cultural Activities, state of Vaud, 1978).

While recognizing the crucial role of the communes, the state nevertheless reserves the right to take initiatives and not to intervene merely in a subsidiary role. The relationship between the two levels of canton and commune is thus elastic and informal, changing with the circumstances and the interests at stake. There is no body to provide or impose any co-ordination, and the search for complementary roles must take place spontaneously, with the state merely encouraging it. The only leverage the state has is linked to the principle of subsidization; there are certain clauses in the law giving the state the right to make its aid dependent on the petitioners' financial participation, or on the existence of a prior arrangement between the local authorities which are asking for the canton's aid. Apart from these clauses and statements of principle, the working out of common strategies is left to the local authorities' initiative.

The law specifies that public bodies with cultural objectives should see to it that the canton as a whole benefits from their activities. The accompanying text also indicates that the state 'will particularly encourage amateur groups who are often the only ones capable of enlivening the artistic life of isolated regions far from the urban centres' (Preamble, Bill on Cultural Activities, state of Vaud, 1978).

However, nowhere is there a clause providing for particular aid to be accorded to outlying regions or for a fund to assist cultural activities directed at or organized by particular social groups. Although a wider availability of culture is one of the objectives laid down in the preamble to the law, it does not single out any social groups which, owing to their economic or social situation, could receive particular aid. By distributing grants to keep entry prices down, the policy of wider cultural opportunity mainly takes the form of an encouragement to consume cultural products.

### 2.2.3 The workings of Vaud's system of cultural grants

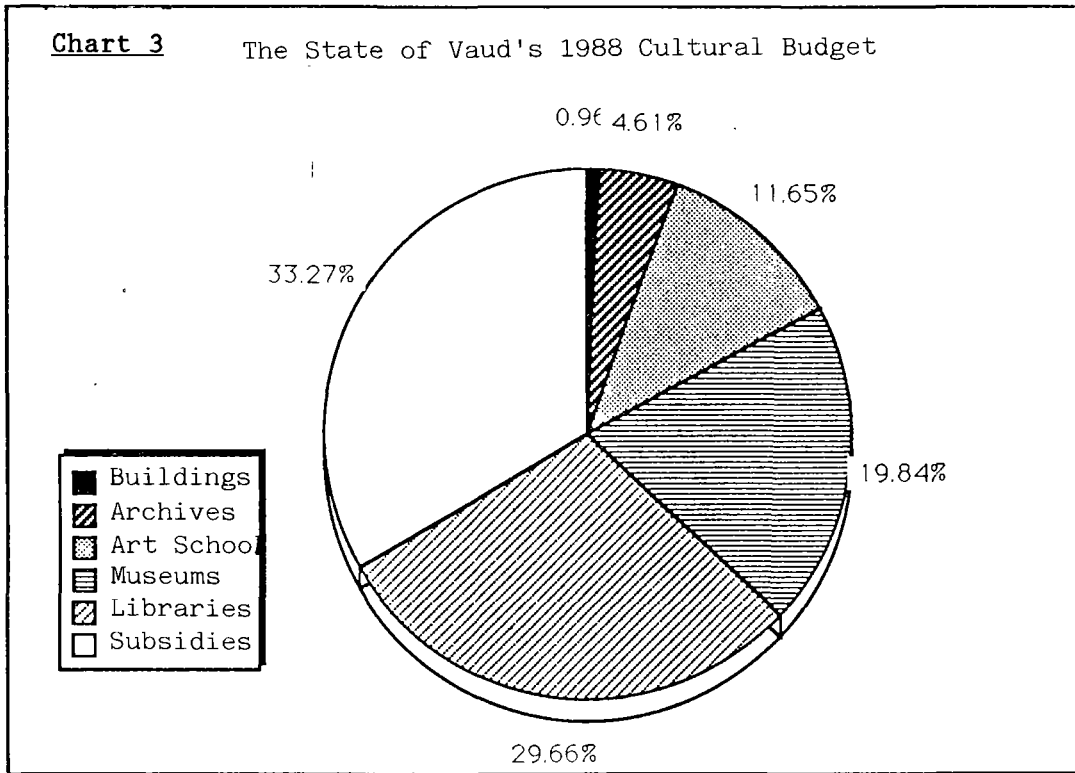
In cultural affairs we should distinguish two types of intervention on the part of the canton:

- complete responsibility for state-owned institutions;
- subsidies.

Complete responsibility applies to the canton's archives, the canton and university library, the canton's museums and the canton art school. Depending on circumstances, these institutions' material circumstances can vary, but their existence cannot be threatened. In recent years the canton and university library has received particular attention and financial aid. It is in the new university campus and has been completely computerized with a system of open access which makes it easy and efficient to use.

Subsidies constitute the second means by which the state supports the canton's cultural activity. In this case it acts at the request of private individuals or organizations, or of communes who need its help to put a cultural project into practice.

In 1988 the cultural budget of the Departement of Public Education and Religion came to slightly over 29,500,000 francs, which was a 14 per cent increase on the previous year. Subsidies represented almost one-third of the total (slightly over 12,000,000 S.Fr.); we should point out that the proportion devoted to the cultural heritage is greatly underestimated as historic buildings come under the Department of Public Works.



In order to understand better the system of grant distribution, one must also make a distinction between:

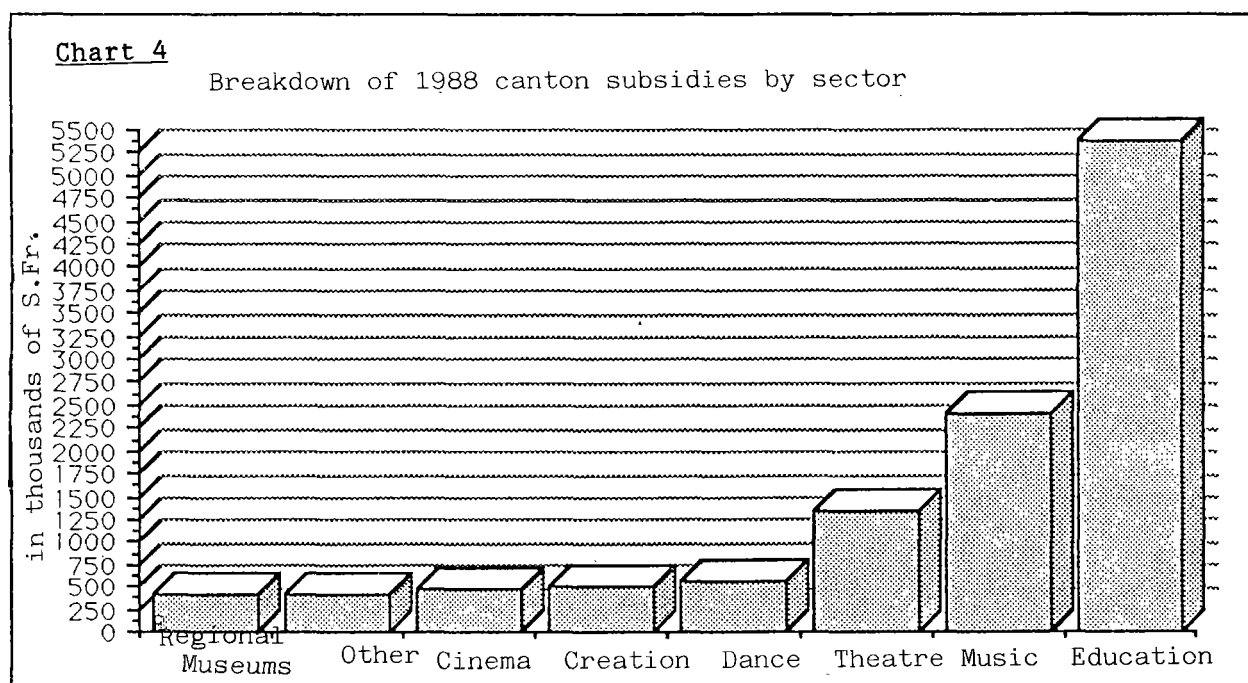
subsidies regularly listed in the state budget, which represent more than 90 per cent of subsidies paid out;

incidental subsidies;

the particular case of theatre subsidies.

Responsibility for including a subsidy in the canton's budget is vested in the Great Council, at the suggestion of the Conseil d'Etat or on the initiative of a deputy. There were nearly 35 subsidies in the 1988 budget. Music and musical education receive the largest proportion of these grants (chart 4). The state subsidizes in particular two orchestras and gives a large contribution to the professional section of the Lausanne Musical Academy and to a lesser extent to the musical education of amateurs in the rest of the canton. Others who receive regular subsidies are various festivals, some regional museums, and choirs and brass bands which play a particular role in Vaud traditions. Since the arrival of Béjart in the capital, Vaud has given a large grant for ballet to the commune of Lausanne.





As for incidental subsidies, granted on a one-off basis and not necessarily renewed, their total amount is likewise fixed by the Great Council (400,000 francs in 1988, representing 3.4 per cent of total subsidies). But their allocation is decided by the executive, and in particular the Head of the Department of Public Education. This money is kept in a fund, the Canton Fund for Cultural Activities. A consultative committee, whose members are chosen from the canton's cultural circles, gives a preliminary opinion on the requests made to the department. Grants made from the Fund for Cultural Activities can concern any cultural sector. Art and design also benefit from a legal clause according to which the state must devote part of its budget for the renovation or construction of public buildings (between 0.5 per cent and 1.5 per cent of the budget) to the artistic decoration of the buildings.

Professional theatre is helped by the state of Vaud and the *commune* of Lausanne which both contribute to the Vaud Fund for Drama, which is managed by a committee of nine (three representatives of the state, three representatives of the town and three representatives of theatre professionals). For the 1988-1989 season, the fund stood at 1,900,000 S.Fr. and the 26 requests for grants added up to nearly 2.6 times the available money. Most of the money from this fund went to four theatres which have been funded for several years and which are run by one or more local councils. A grant also went to a touring company, a troupe of young actors and the staging of an author's first play.

The main trends of the system of grants to cultural activities in the canton of Vaud are: complete financial responsibility for public institutions, mainly in the field of education, conservation and public availability of cultural goods, and financial assistance for artistic activity and the production and making available of the arts.

It should be noted that in the last two years there has emerged a political willingness to reorganize and increase cultural grants, with the members of the Great Council accepting large budget increases in 1987. The Conseil d'Etat, for its part, has declared that culture will be one of the priorities for government action in the coming years. The Conseiller d'Etat Pierre Cevey, head of the Department of Public Education and Religion, was quoted recently in the Lausanne press as saying: 'Financially, the present

moment is favourable. But this is not the only reason [for the renewed interest in culture]. Leisure time has increased while the importance of comfort and materialism has decreased. [...] the outlook of the députés has certainly progressed. [...] The canton wanted to take the initiative and no longer simply wait for suggestions. [...] The Conseil d'Etat has declared that culture is one of its priorities for the late 1980s. The aim is to reinforce the hinterland and not simply fund the Lake Geneva crescent' (Newspaper 24 heures, Lausanne, 5.1.88). The Conseiller d'Etat Pierre Duvoisin, head of the Finance Department, stated in defence of the increased cultural budget: 'Artistic creation stimulates the imagination. It works and breaks up the parched earth of our habits and our fear of innovation. Our action is not innocent' (Newspaper 24 heures, Lausanne, 19.4.87).

These themes - planning for decentralization, state-led intervention, the taking over of homo ludens for the purposes of argument - are far from frequent in Vaud politicians' speeches. In addition to increased budgets, this new state of mind has led in practice to setting up a Vaud Fund for Artistic Promotion and Creation. In 1987, this Foundation received a subsidy from the state of 500,000 S.Fr., which corresponds after all to nearly 5 per cent of the canton's cultural funding. Thus the state wishes to play the role of a 'modern patron'. The Foundation's objective is not to hand out small sums of money (which is still the role of the Canton Fund for Cultural Activities), but to award one or two annual prizes of 100,000 francs. It is, however, too early to measure the impact and the developments brought about by this new policy, if it is kept up. The change from a policy of aiding cultural activities to a cultural policy will no doubt necessitate amending the 1978 law, and the authorities have no plans for such an amendment.

### 2.3 SUMMARY: THE AUTHORITIES' INTERVENTION IN THE CANTON'S CULTURAL IMPETUS

The legal framework for the authorities' intervention in cultural matters provides no 'comprehensive' definition of culture, preferring an 'extensive' definition which consists of a list of cultural sectors. This enumeration gives an idea of the extent of their field of action but it provides no information about the state's responsibility and role in relation to the different stages of a cultural process.

The canton of Vaud's system of grants for cultural activities is little different from the general pattern described in the first part above. It is based on three interlinked guiding principles, namely, freedom of opinion and thought, the primacy of private initiative and subsidization.

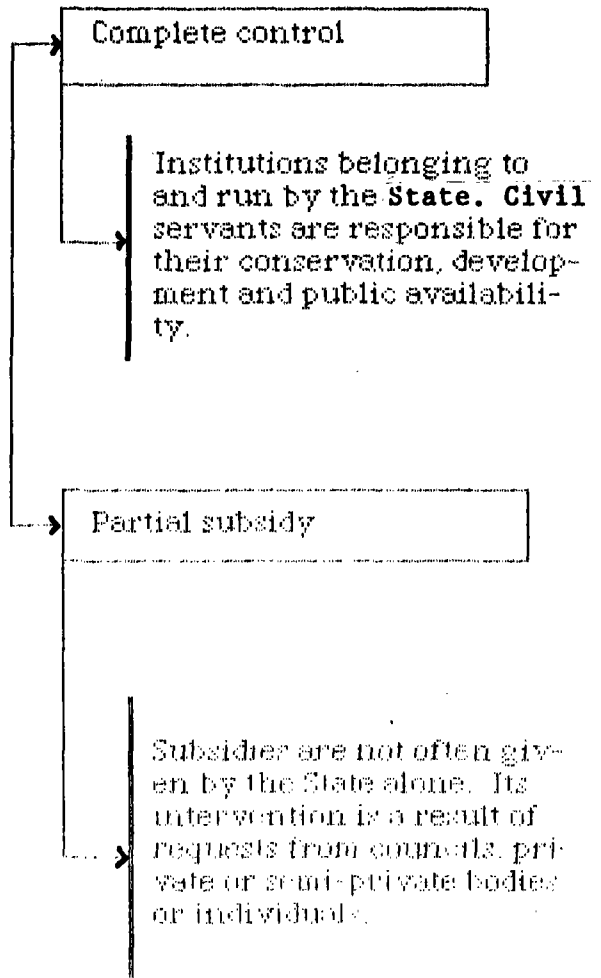
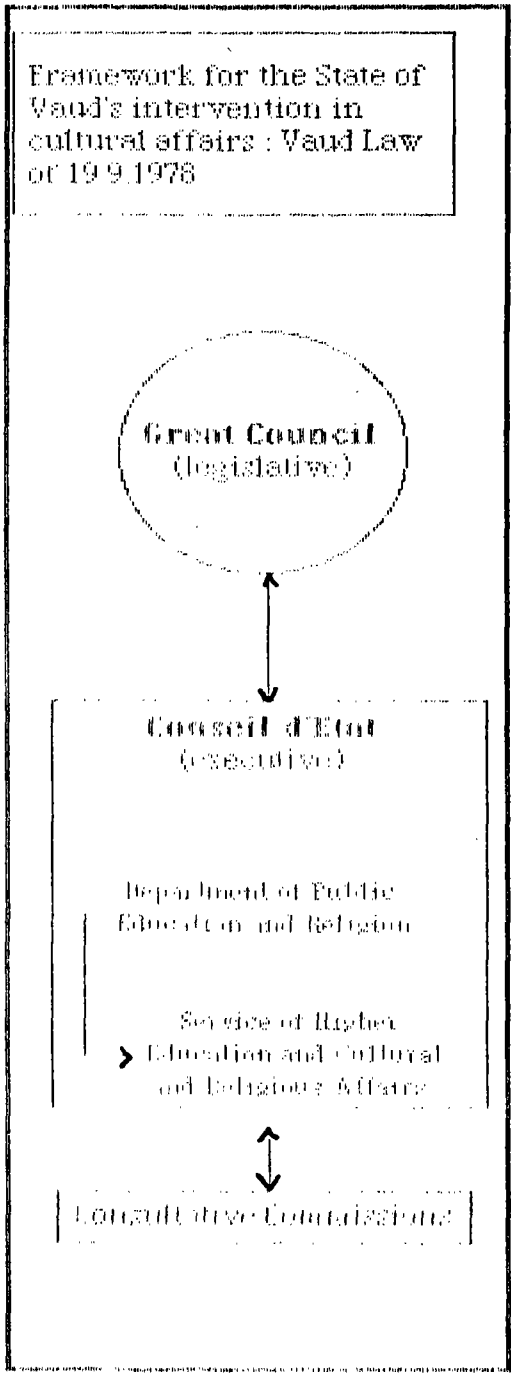
These three principles justify the authorities' action, but they also strictly limit its scope. This ideological basis leads to suspicion towards all forms of administrative centralization and results on the institutional level in responsibility and decision-making being shared among several bodies:

The Great Council, which decides how much is spent on culture.

The Conseil d'Etat, which on the one hand proposes and guides the Great Council's decisions and on the other has the power to grant occasional subsidies. Its financial resources come essentially from the Fund for Cultural Activities and a budget item called 'Other guarantees and subsidies'. The Conseil d'Etat's freedom of action is thus small, and its financial resources in 1988 represented about 7 per cent of the total subsidies paid out by the canton.

The Committee on Cultural Activities, whose role is to give a preliminary opinion on requests for canton grants.

SYSTEM OF GRANTS FOR CULTURAL ACTIVITIES IN THE CANTON OF VAUD



- Canton and University library
- Canton Archives
- Canton Museums
- Canton Art and Design Colleges

- MUSIC: - Lausanne Chamber Orchestra  
 - 2/3 Lausanne, 1/3 Vaud  
 - Swiss Romande Orchestra  
 - Conference of Vaud choirs  
 - Festivals, brass bands  
 - music schools

- FOUNDATIONS: - for creation  
 - for opera  
 - for cinema

- DANCE: - Ballet Ballé

- THEATRE: - Vaud Fund for Drama  
 - Just Theatre

- OTHER: - Canton Fund for Cultural Activities

- FINE ARTS: - Decoration of all buildings renovated or built by the State (0.5 to 1.5% of construction or renovation budget)

In addition, the state subsidizes quangos which manage and distribute the funds given them according to their specific objectives (Foundation pour la création, Fondation pour l'art lyrique, Fondation pour le Cinéma which in 1988 received nearly 11% of total subsidies).

The system of grants for cultural activities can thus be seen as an area of fluctuating relations between the different bodies which act at each level and for each sector. Although the system is not subject to any stringent guidelines or explicit objectives, its workings do nevertheless follow a certain logic.

To understand the importance of the authorities' intervention in the canton's cultural impetus, we must distinguish between a series of interdependent processes. First of all the conservation of the cultural heritage: this heritage acts as a basis for reference for creation and innovation, which can either continue in the same direction or deliberately break with it. Secondly, cultural education, provision of culture and consumption, which allow a particular cultural object to find a wider social acceptance and existence. Lastly criticism, which exists at all levels of this process and legitimizes it.

Associated with this process are various participants in the roles of creators, curators, critics, performers, popularizers, educators or consumers; these roles can be played separately and exclusively of each other or, on the contrary, combined together. It is generally accepted that the higher the individual's or group's position in the social hierarchy, the greater are the chances of their combining several roles in different cultural sectors.

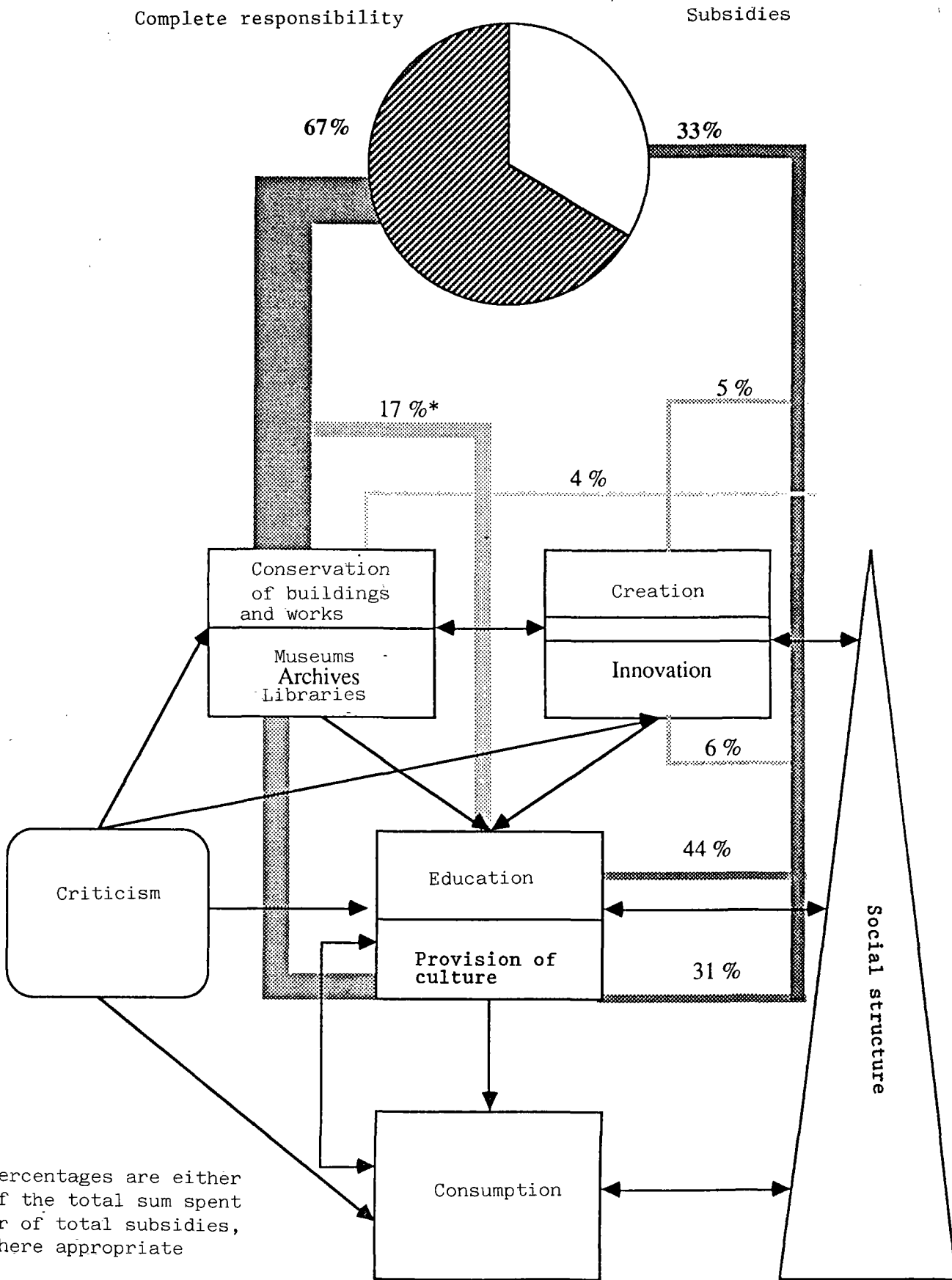
Diagram No. 2 shows how these five processes are interrelated and the flows of money between the official bodies and the different levels of this process. It was relatively easy to discover the destination of funds when there was total financial responsibility for public institutions, but much more difficult when it came to subsidies. To unravel precisely what, in canton-subsidized cultural activities, comes under the heading of creation, innovation, provision of culture or education, would have required a case-by-case study of each subsidy and of the way it was spent by the recipient. Therefore, the percentages shown in connection with financial flows are mainly to give a general indication. The important point to note in this diagram is the general pattern of the system of grants to cultural activities.

Under the heading of 'provision of culture', we have included subsidies for the organization of concerts and festivals and to support orchestras or ballets - in other words everything that goes directly towards maintaining a cultural 'supply'. We have distinguished between 'innovation' and 'creation': the first term covers more precisely subsidies to help put on a new event which does not necessarily involve fundamentally original elements (local activities, publications, exhibitions, etc.), while the second covers grants allocated more specifically for creation (in particular the money allocated to the foundation for artistic creation).

This diagram demonstrates what might be called a downwards-moving cultural impetus, as the processes involved derive from a pyramid-like social structure which presupposes that consumers are passive. In other words, this downwards movement singles out and favours the conservation and distribution of a heritage which is created by social organizations and groups with a high degree of 'cultural influence' and which, by the same token, are at the top of the social hierarchy.

Diagram 2

Role of Canton Funding in a downwards-moving cultural process.



\* percentages are either of the total sum spent or of total subsidies, where appropriate

When presented in this way, the policy of grants in aid of cultural activities seems closely linked to an 'ideology of greater cultural opportunity', which involves encouraging consumption and implies popularizing an élitist heritage among the lower rungs of the social ladder. But one can also look at the problem from a different point of view and analyse the role of the authorities in terms of 'cultural democracy'. Looked at from this angle, what must be measured is the importance of the grant-giving bodies' role in an upwards-moving cultural process.

An upwards-moving cultural impetus implies a great degree of participation, or at least 'active consumption' which makes it possible not only to assimilate but also to situate a 'piece of culture' in a context which gives it meaning. This context allows an individual to compare, contrast and criticize a particular cultural artefact and to see its place in a body of knowledge. This context is also - and perhaps above all - social and material, in which case culture brings changes and new strategies; it is part of an everyday environment, it acquires relevance from social practice and teaches the individual about his relationship to his environment. From this point of view, the authorities' action should take into account not only culture as prestigious heritage, but also culture based on the experience of individuals and groups at the grass roots and on the periphery.

An upwards-moving cultural impetus also implies a willingness to welcome new ideas or forms of expression. In other words it implies the existence of a relatively strong likelihood that a particular experimental innovation can be launched and popularized whatever the social or geographical context in which it originates.

An analysis of the social mechanisms behind local innovation (Bassand, et al., 1986) has shown that there is a series of clearly defined stages through which a new experiment passes. There is first of all a period of ripening during which the local participants become aware of the need to try a new experiment corresponding to their particular needs; they get together, discuss, make plans, reflect on ways to reach their goal, make contacts on a wider scale, approach the local authorities and take positions vis-à-vis other local actors. After a period of varying length in which they feel their way, proposing ideas which are new or deviant in relation to the 'norm' of the area or its culture, the project moves from an individual to a wider cultural field. This stage corresponds to the integration and development of the cultural experiment which thereby, by definition, loses its innovative function.

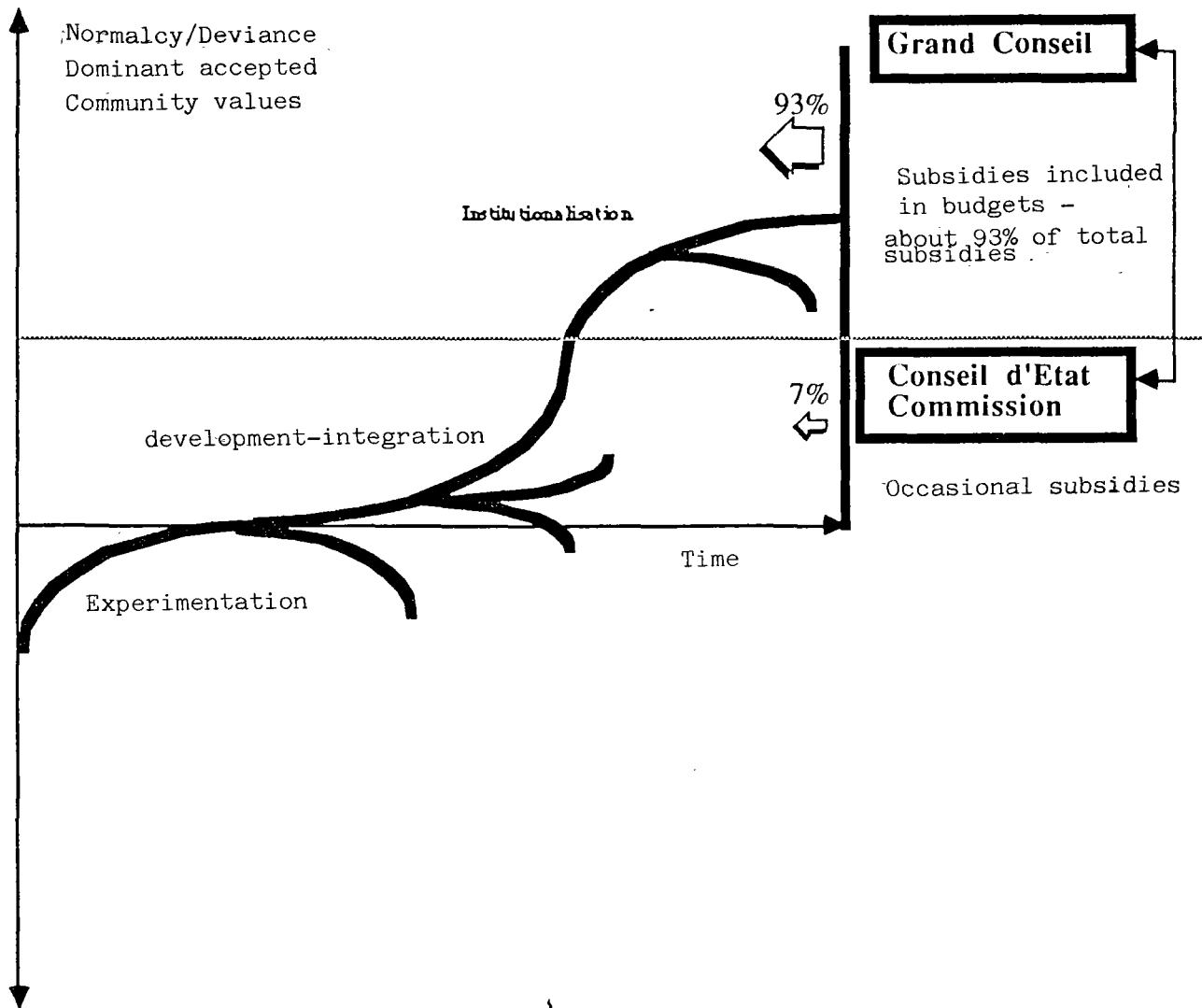
To understand the role of the authorities' intervention in this process we must look at the availability of money from the canton and at the conditions under which local groups can benefit from this money. Here we shall again make the distinction already made above between subsidies listed in the budget and those granted on a one-off basis.

As we have already said, the Great Council, on the advice of the Conseil d'Etat or more rarely at the instigation of a deputy, has the power to include a cultural event in the budget. Among the criteria which determine whether or not a particular cultural activity is included in the canton's budget are: the length of time it has existed, how well known it is, its importance in the life of the region or in tradition, the political support enjoyed by its cultural promoters, the amount of aid already granted by the commune and, to a lesser extent, the political willingness to see culture develop in a particular direction. If it is included, this means for its cultural promoters official recognition of public interest in their event. In addition, as the money continues to be voted year after year, inclusion in the budget is to a certain extent a guarantee that the canton's support will continue. In 1988 nearly 93 per cent of subsidies were accorded to institutions or activities named in the budget.

For new arrivals on the 'subsidy market', there is no question of immediately receiving this type of subsidy. The limited funds available to the executive are therefore the only resource open to innovators (essentially the Fund for Cultural Activities and the 'other guarantees'; we have also taken into account the percentage awarded by the Drama Fund to new plays and groups of young actors). Their requests go to the Department of Public Education and are examined under the authority of the Conseil d'Etat after a preliminary opinion from the commission.

Diagram 3

Canton Intervention in the Development of a Cultural Initiative



From Bassand, Hainard, Pedrazzini, Perrinjaquet, 1987

While it is doubtless inevitable, and preferable, for a certain number of institutions and activities with solid roots in tradition and habit to be assured of regular support, it is however obvious that not much is done at the canton level to allow the development of new initiatives which are not necessarily part of the normal cultural circuits.<sup>1</sup>

What is at stake in connection with this policy of grants for innovation is the role of prospection that should be played by the state. This does not mean the projection of the past and present into the future in a straight line. It is not a question of calculating the chances of success or failure, but of a willingness to share the risks inherent in innovation, and a capacity to make the best of present constraints and contradictions in order to envisage possible futures.

This role of prospection is incompatible with the doctrinal basis of Vaud's policy of aid to culture, which limits the role of the state to that of a grant-giving body. One might reply that it is for the communes to intervene at this level of the cultural process. In the last part of this study we shall look more particularly at the communes' intervention and examine the role they play in the process of cultural development.

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1. It should be noted that the size of the Fund for Cultural Activities increased from 180,000 S.Fr. in 1986 to 400,000 in 1988. But in view of the total increase in subsidies, the difference between the subsidies listed in the budget and the amount at the Fund's disposal has hardly changed (3 per cent of total subsidies in 1986 and 3.4 per cent in 1988).



CHAPTER 3

LOCAL CULTURAL POLICIES. THE CASE OF FOUR VAUD COMMUNES

3.1 BACKGROUND

3.1.1 The role of communes in the canton's cultural development

The first part of this study was devoted to a description of the general framework for cultural policies in Switzerland. In the cultural field, more than in any other, the relative lack of administrative structure and the absence of a clearly defined purpose and objectives can be explained by notions that are deeply rooted in Swiss cultural policy. The reverence for cultural and linguistic differences, the protection of local and canton spheres of influence, suspicion of all forms of dogmatism and the primacy of private initiative confine Swiss cultural policies within narrow limits.

These characteristics have led some observers to conclude that all the measures taken by the authorities in favour of culture do not add up to a coherent programme. P.O. Walzer, an observer of Swiss cultural life who has been on several official bodies in charge of distributing cultural subsidies, wrote recently, '[...] the fundamental principle behind Swiss cultural policy is that there is no policy. Initiatives from above are considered as unacceptable arrogance. The State should not guide culture; culture should instead guide itself and try to survive by seizing its oxygen in part from the Confederation, in part from the cantons, in part from the towns and in part from the private sector. The State will perhaps help those who help themselves. That is the sacred principle of the subsidy regime' (Walzer, 1988:50).

This view must, however, be slightly modified. A study of Vaud's policy of aid for cultural activities has shown that with the reorganization and professionalization of the cultural sector, the authorities have come, in the last 20 years or so, to play an increasing role in support of culture. This development can be seen in the steady increase in investment, the setting up of cultural funds and commissions to distribute them, and the voting of a law on cultural activities.

Nevertheless we agree with P.O. Walzer to the extent that this increase in public expenditure has not been accompanied by a new conception of its purpose. These bodies were set up to deal with demand rather than to propose new directions or a global vision of cultural development. Vaud's cultural policy is based on the principle of greater equality of opportunity and, instead of being original, follows a pre-existing model; it has the same objectives of reducing inequality as any other social or economic policy.

But one cannot adopt a cultural policy without envisaging the type of society it should help to create or with which it should be compatible. Thus, although it wishes to avoid adopting an ideological stance (or because of this), the state of Vaud's type of intervention implies all the same a certain conception of culture and thus the authorities responsibility for it. The cultural is seen as producing specific sectors of human activity (see para. 2.2.2 p.17, the definition of the fields to which the law on cultural activities applies), which are considered as belonging to society; the authorities should ensure their distribution within society, in theory as equitably as possible.

Concerning the canton of Vaud, greater equality of opportunity takes the form of widening the 'cultural market' by means of financial backing which

helps to reduce production costs. But no provision is made in the law or its application to allow targeting within this market of groups with specific needs or expectations, nothing has been done to draw up a profile of the audience or population reached by subsidized activities; and no study has been undertaken to determine the impact of the system of subsidies on the cultural output or on the 'models of cultural consumption' of the canton as a whole. It is no doubt true that on the level of the decision-making bodies, certain criteria concerning the type of activities helped or the audience reached play a role in awarding subsidies.<sup>1</sup> But these considerations only concern particular decisions and do not greatly affect the system of grants for cultural activities as a whole.

But although this system has no explicit guidelines, it nevertheless possesses an underlying logic which is not immediately obvious but which determines cultural development for the canton as a whole. The foregoing chapter brought out three essential points in this connection.

The three types of grants for culture preferred by the canton are for conservation, education and public access to cultural property by institutions like museums and libraries (see para. 2.3, diagram 2).

As obtaining a grant from the canton is normally the result of a long-term process taking several years, the cultural activities which receive a subsidy from the canton have usually reached a high degree of institutionalization (see diagram 3).

The canton's activity is usually part of what we have called a downwards-moving cultural impetus.

Given these factors, new projects can emerge, the specific needs of different social groups can be taken into account and cultural priorities can be decided only at the level of the commune. Thus the canton's cultural impetus, whether upwards or downwards moving, develops from initiatives taken at the level of the commune. That is where individuals, private or semi-private associations, consultative committees and sometimes special council departments launch new ideas, find financial resources and take charge of the organization of cultural activities which enliven local and regional life.

Here we must distinguish between the principle of subsidization - which is passive, as the authorities wait for requests for aid - and the purpose of cultural democracy, which implies that the authorities' intervention should be guided by an active prospective attitude aimed at stimulating and encouraging cultural demand, in particular from those social groups or cultural trends which are the furthest from the means of cultural production.

The aim of this third chapter is to take four medium-sized urban communes and study the main features of the authorities' role in the cultural life of these areas. We shall attempt to identify the local participants in culture, to ascertain the relationship between them and with the local and canton authorities, to examine the way in which funds are raised and shared out amongst these participants, and to evaluate the relative importance accorded to the principle of greater equality of opportunity and to the notion of cultural democracy. We shall analyse in particular the results and, where

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1. For example in 1988 the committee of the Vaud Fund for Drama helped a touring group, a troupe of young actors and the staging of a new play. There is no doubt that concern to encourage activities in outlying regions and help young performers and new plays influenced the decision to award a subsidy.

possible, the impact of cultural activities in relation to the original purpose and objectives.

### 3.1.2 Intervention at the local level

The communes play an important role in Swiss society and in the workings of the Swiss political structure. Their role is still important in the regulation of urbanization and more generally of social change. Unlike what seems to be happening in other European societies, in Switzerland the arrival of industrial, technocratic society has not destroyed local systems of action and regulation.

The degree of urbanization, with its resulting concentration of resources, amenities and services, emerges as one of the factors which accounts most clearly for variations in local financing of cultural activities (see Appendix 1, A.1.3). But we also find great differences in the situation of communes with between five and fifty thousand inhabitants (see Appendix 1, charts 10 and 11). The level of cultural activity in these areas depends in part on the amount of money raised by taxes but it is above all a function of the local authorities' sensitivity to the cultural sector, of their capacity to reply to the needs of local cultural groups and to set up common projects in collaboration with neighbouring communes, of their willingness to associate the town's name with a lively and dynamic cultural image, and of their degree of awareness of the impact of this image on the areas's economic development.

The Switzerland of villages and towns has always venerated insignia, coats of arms and emblems. Swiss townscapes with their decorations, flags, window-pots and coloured shutters still constitute one of the symbols giving each town its particular character. But apart from the picturesque, the town's image is today associated with places - art galleries, concert halls or theatres - or with events, exhibitions, festivals or music seasons.

With the arrival of the service-oriented society, local government is becoming more aware of the new importance of cultural life in local and regional development. The idea is gaining ground that the cultural liveliness of an urban environment has considerable influence in deciding the location of dynamic sectors of the economy. As is well known, the geographical location of these sectors is no longer determined by purely geographical factors like access to raw materials or markets. The spatial distribution of firms has been freed from these constraints by the possibility of instantaneous communication and is now much more linked to the human environment than in the past. Hi-tech firms, often small or medium sized, which deal in information or produce knowledge, look for a socially diversified environment which favours innovation. In addition their employees, who are often more highly qualified than hitherto, expect an attractive environment with leisure and culture on tap.

The quality and quantity of cultural supply is thus a symbol and contributes towards a town's image. Cultural events, widely reported in the media, play a direct role in projecting this image and associate the town organizing them with a high-quality life-style. Often the organization and financing of events whose main objective is to help 'sell' the area are in the hands of semi-public bodies like tourist offices or societies for regional development, backed up by professional associations and local authorities. These organizations play a vital role in local cultural life, ranging from a modest fair in a square or shopping precinct to the organization of an international festival.

Without underestimating the value of the cultural activities undertaken by this type of promoter, it must nevertheless be admitted that their aims are often linked to the interests of local business and in particular to the

tourist industry. The cultural events organized by local tourist offices are not noted for their daring and correspond most often to the relatively conventional tastes of as wide a public as possible, made up of shoppers and tourists. It is under their aegis that brass bands and local folk groups perform during the tourist season. During the rest of the year there is a considerable slowing down in the cultural activities organized by these bodies.

At the level of communes, any public policy which is not solidly anchored in the townspeoples' social practice would only lead to the fabrication of an artificial identity with no real cultural basis. Its only purpose would be to lengthen the list of events described in the tourist brochures. Hence the importance of local societies which cover a wide range of activities, from traditional choral groups to amateur avant-garde theatre groups. Associations, which deserve a separate detailed study, are a particularly important channel for relaying local cultural policies. These associations are involved in events which correspond both to an indigenous demand linked to local identity (parish fêtes, village dances, marriages, official visits and opening ceremonies, etc.) and an outside demand for picturesque folklore. Alongside local societies rooted in tradition and defending inherited values, there have appeared associations which are closer to contemporary culture and whose aim is to contribute to popularizing cultural goods, in particular by organizing concerts or festivals.

Associations are essential participants in the cultural process, but by monopolizing resources they can also become obstacles preventing other more original and sometimes marginal groups from expressing themselves. As such, associations are no guarantee of real participation by the various social groups which make up a district, and they can simply become tools in the hands of private economic interests. In addition, the institutionalized nature of local societies and the conventional character of the activities they provide are not likely to attract a significant fringe of activists who prefer more militant forms of cultural expression. The events of the last two decades<sup>1</sup> show clearly a deep-rooted dissatisfaction on the part of these social groups who are reacting against mass culture, the general trend towards uniformity and transformations in their way of life, by trying to work out a new type of relationship with their social and material environment. We believe that a genuinely sought local cultural development cannot ignore the potential of these groups, who are often young and available, open to the challenge of the outside world and willing to exchange creative and imaginative experiences.

Here the essential theme is that of participation, or in other words a spontaneous mobilization of human resources around a project which each individual can identify with and freely take part in. This theme runs through political speeches on culture, but to make it happen, words are not enough; the population must be given the means to participate, whatever their expectations or social origins. These means are 'political' rather than financial, namely a system of attitudes controlling the relationship between individuals and the authorities. For while the local authorities can by their backing help a cultural experiment to acquire wide social support, one should not forget that their intervention can also inhibit; local and canton regulations, with their numerous restrictions concerning security, hygiene, and permitted times and places are often more likely to discourage cultural promoters than lack of funding.

The commune is a local authority in permanent flux, under pressure from both inside and outside. Its particular structure depends on a functional matrix comprising firms, households, professions, associations and informal

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1. In particular the violent youth demonstrations in Lausanne and Zurich in the early 1980s, and recently in Basle and Berne.

groups. It is linked to a multitude of individuals and groups jockeying for position in the social hierarchy, who are part of a system of social movements. Each area, in accordance with its position near the centre or the periphery, expresses and reflects the surrounding society, and it does so in its own particular way, with conflicts of varying violence.

The cultural life of a district thus depends on numerous participants. The following table sums up the characteristics of the five principle types of cultural promoters who can be identified for the Vaud communes. One should not however forget that, as a rule, situations differ and even if these five types can be found in each commune, their relative importance varies greatly from one district to another. Each of these types develops differently according to the history of the commune and its political affiliation, and the presence of firms large enough to be sponsors, the importance of the tourist industry, the activities of local associations, the existence of alternative cultural movements (generally a function of the degree of urbanization) and other factors such as the existence of amenities, the size of the district and of its income from taxes, or its proximity to a large urban centre.

The place of these different types of promoters in the cultural life of a district and the way the resources are shared amongst them can provide a useful basis for classifying local cultural practices. In this connection, anticipating somewhat on the following pages, we may say that the four communes we have chosen correspond to clearly defined types.

One of them, Morges, has opted for the preferential development of a cultural complex, with an artistic director paid by the council but enjoying a considerable degree of independence from the administration. Another, Vevey, tries to preserve a balance between these different types of promoters, the existence of a firm of national and international importance has meant a large degree of sponsoring, and the Association for the Development of Vevey and its region (ADIVE, supported in particular by the council, hotel taxes and professional associations) also plays an important role. In addition, a council department is specifically responsible for running museums, libraries and the Vevey theatre as well as youth activities under the control of a youth leader paid by the council.

In the third commune, Montreux, one of the oldest and most important tourist resorts in Switzerland, the Montreux Tourist Office has naturally played a fundamental role in the district's cultural life, in particular by organizing the Montreux International Jazz Festival.

As for the last commune, Nyon, it must be admitted that, in P.O. Walzer's words 'culture has to find its own way', which has not prevented a group of Nyon young people from founding a non-profit-making organization which, with no public assistance whatsoever, has succeeded in developing what has become the most important music festival in Switzerland, the Nyon Paleo Festival.

### 3.1.3 The Lake Geneva region

The salient feature of the recent development of French Switzerland is the more and more obvious appearance of a specific regional entity, the Lake Geneva Metropolis. This is an urban region which stretches for a hundred kilometres along the northern shore of Lake Geneva. It crosses a canton frontier, is split into dozens of communes and is centred around two great urban centres, Geneva and Lausanne, but it nevertheless has the characteristics of a functionally integrated region.

It is one of the most advanced urban regions in Switzerland in terms of its creation of a reticulated and programmed society. It has a prosperous

Figure 1 CLASSIFICATION OF CULTURAL PARTICIPANTS

ORGANISATION AND FINANCING	Types of participants	Professional participants in culture	Amateurs and local associations	"Counter-culture" and alternative culture
<p>The commune is generally the main financial partner of local cultural participants. The cultural budget is always decided by the local assembly or council ("the commune's parliament"). In the majority of cases, cultural affairs are under the control of the <b>general administration</b>, whose decisions are backed up by a <b>consultative committee</b>. Sometimes there is an official or a special local council department to control the cultural budget or, more rarely, to draw up projects. If the commune has many buildings, such as theatres or halls, it may employ an artistic director in charge of the everyday running and planning. Libraries and museums usually belong to the council.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Usually indirect support. Subsidies from organisations or associations which put on professional shows.</li> <li>- If the commune has buildings, the budget is under the control of an artistic director.</li> <li>- Other forms of support.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Subsidies</li> <li>- Permission to use facilities or services.</li> </ul>	
<p>The <b>Tourist Offices or organisations for regional development</b> financed by hotel taxes, professional associations and the communes, organise many cultural events as part of their programmes of activities. They invite professionals, organise meetings or festivals and sponsor public performances by local societies.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Commercial know-how.</li> <li>- Organization of festivals, shows, etc.</li> <li>- Hunt for sponsors.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Patronage of performances by local groups.</li> <li>- Tourist activities</li> </ul>	
<p><b>Private firms</b>, by patronage or sponsoring, also play an important role in the cultural life of districts. Their help is usually restricted to financial and technical support, but cultural projects sometimes originate with them (financing and running a pocket theatre, devising and building a museum).</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Financial support, services.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Financial support, services.</li> </ul>	
<p>Some <b>local associations</b> consider their aim to be to popularize cultural goods rather than to practise a cultural activity. This type of association, which usually has no resources of its own, collects funds from public or private bodies in order to carry out a specific project (festivals, concerts, exhibitions, etc.).</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Semi-professional organisations for cultural activities.</li> <li>-Collecting private or public funds.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Amateurs groups, theatre, dance etc.</li> </ul>	
<p><b>Informal groups of individuals</b> constitute the last type of cultural promoter; they are often marginal, with no financial support and define themselves by their opposition to official culture. They are often young and defend the existence of socio-cultural centres on the fringe of commercial circuits, or free spaces with no control from professional social workers. As they have no income, they have elaborated alternative strategies, such as occupying disused buildings, marking and appropriating urban territory or organising concerts outside the places and times laid down by local by-laws.</p>			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Revenues typical of deviant groups, group consciousness which can lead to a high degree of mobilisation, inventiveness, new strategies, capacity for adaptation.</li> </ul>	

service and hi-tech economy, integrated into a worldwide network both by conventional means of transport and communication and by a sophisticated network of telecommunications, and it has public authorities and firms with the most up-to-date installations and equipment.

The Lake Geneva region is a good example of the metropolization affecting Swiss towns. Although it is highly integrated, it is also a conglomeration of local councils acting in relative independence from one another. The cultural sector is also affected by this development, as it is on the one hand linked to a region-wide market and on the other limited by the communes frequently restricted competence. The question is whether in the context of this high degree of integration and transformation of socio-spatial practices, the diversity of levels of intervention and their localized nature will lead to an ever greater concentration of resources or, on the contrary, to a balanced cultural development.

Most of the lake-shore communes are less than half an hour, by public transport, from one of the two great urban centres in which most cultural amenities and resources are concentrated. Thus, for nearly one million inhabitants, the conurbation has three universities, several drama and music schools, numerous art schools, important libraries and several opera houses. In addition, throughout the whole area there are dozens of public libraries, canton or local museums and different-sized theatres and concert halls.

As a rule, the professional cultural sectors prefer to stay in Lausanne and Geneva. As a result, these two towns have several permanent professional theatre or dance companies, orchestras or choirs. The other communes in the region have preserved, often on the basis of existing local societies, a large amateur sector, or have developed short-term events (festivals, music seasons, etc.).

Before moving on to the cultural policies implemented at the level of the four communes in this urban region, we must stop to consider briefly some characteristics of the Lake Geneva crescent, in order to explain the reasons for our choice of districts and to allow a comparison to be made between them. The classification of Swiss communes drawn up by the IREC/EPFL<sup>1</sup> provides a basis for comparison which will help us to understand better the place of the Lake Geneva crescent in the Swiss urban network. Without going into too much detail, we can briefly classify Swiss communes using the following table:

TABLE 1

CLASSIFICATION OF SWISS COMMUNES

CENTRES	Large centres Medium-sized centres Small centres Centres of outlying regions		
SERVICE COMMUNES	Rich Tourist Partially tourist Retirement and rest		
HIGH COMMUTER LEVEL	Metropolitan regions	Employment Habitat	Suburban Periurban

1. D. Joye, M. Schuler, R. Nef & M. Bassand, *Typologie des communes*, 1988; IREC and OES, Lausanne and Berne.

	Non-metro- politan regions	Habitat	Employment Suburban Periurban Foreign Indigenous
LOW COMMUTER LEVEL	Sectoral	Manufacturing and service Manufacturing Agro-industrial Agriculture and service Agricultural	
	Declining population		

By and large, we can distinguish between centres, service communes, and those with a high commuter level (more than 50 per cent of the active population work in another area), and districts with a low commuter level, broken down according to the sector of activity.

Among the commuter districts, the category is determined by their place in the regional system, their function (job or home) and the type of habitat. On the basis of this classification, the following table compares the situation of Swiss communes with that of communes belonging to the Lake Geneva metropolis.

TABLE 2  
SITUATION OF LAKE GENEVA COMMUNES: TYPE OF COMMUNES  
IN SWITZERLAND AND IN THE LAKE GENEVA CRESCENT

	SWITZERLAND	LAKE GENEVA METROPOLIS
	%	%
Centres	3.6	2.3
Rich	2.4	21.2
Tourist	6.3	3.4
Commuter	37.5	46.8
Sectoral	46.5	25.7
Declining population	4.4	-
Total	100	100

These data bring out clearly three structural differences between Swiss communes and those in the Lake Geneva crescent:

1. The high density of 'rich' communes in the crescent.<sup>1</sup>
2. Presence of a large number of commuter areas.
3. Lack of areas with a declining population.

The Lake Geneva crescent is thus seen to be a region with great economic potential and, compared to the Swiss average, high population growth. In addition, commuting indicates a certain type of development in which districts further and further from the large urban centres are affected by urbanization.

1. Based on average taxes paid per head. This characteristic is more important than the commuter level.



Of the eight Vaud towns with more than ten thousand inhabitants, seven are in the 'urban continuum' of the Lake Geneva Metropolis. Four of them<sup>1</sup> are part of the town of Lausanne, two others are the centre of a built-up area made up of ten communes,<sup>2</sup> and the eighth,<sup>3</sup> in the west of the canton, is in the process of being absorbed by the city of Geneva.

We have chosen four of these towns, Nyon, Morges, Vevey and Montreux. Each of them has between ten and twenty thousand inhabitants and they are all secondary urban centres. Although belonging to the same region, they differ in the nature of their relationship to the system as a whole. Nyon is greatly influenced by Geneva, while Morges, about ten kilometres from Lausanne, is part of the Vaud capital's built-up area. Vevey and Montreux are the centres of a relatively independent urban subsystem. In addition, Montreux is the most important tourist resort in the canton after Lausanne.

### 3.2 NYON'S CULTURAL POLICY, OR THE LIMITS OF SWISS PRAGMATISM

#### 3.2.1 An area in mutation

The historical development of Nyon, an old Roman town, is inextricably linked to that of the canton of Vaud. It was the centre of a Savoy baronetcy, then a Berne bailliage and with Vaud's independence it became a district town. It was always a small administrative centre, a crossroads and centre of exchange playing a leading role in the region's economic, social and cultural life.

In the 1940s there was the beginning of a rapid population growth; between 1950 and 1986 the population of the town grew 120 per cent, from 6,064 to 13,167 inhabitants. While the town's growth slowed down after 1970, the population of the surrounding district is still growing; between 1970 and 1980 it increased by 40 per cent. In comparison, the growth of some other Lake Geneva districts in the same period was 1.2 per cent in Vevey, 19.5 per cent in Lavaux, 23.2 per cent in Morges and 6.5 per cent in Rolle.

By its history and its political affiliation, Nyon is a Vaud town, but it does not have all of the Vaud characteristics. It is 25 km from Geneva, its life-style is copied from that of its neighbour and a large proportion of the active population (about 1,500 daily commuters) work in Geneva. The closeness of Geneva also accounts for the considerable mobility of Nyon's population, with about 15 per cent of the resident population changing every year. The housing crisis in Geneva means that many people who work there settle temporarily in Nyon until they can find accommodation nearer their workplace.

Due to its geographical proximity to Geneva, its economic dependence and its mobile population, Nyon has been gradually absorbed, spatially and functionally, by the Regio Genevensis.<sup>4</sup> This little borough with its own identity, which plays a role in structuring the social life of its region, has in three decades become a residential suburb of Calvin's city. At the same time, Nyon has reproduced on its territory the same phenomenon of the opposition between centre and periphery.

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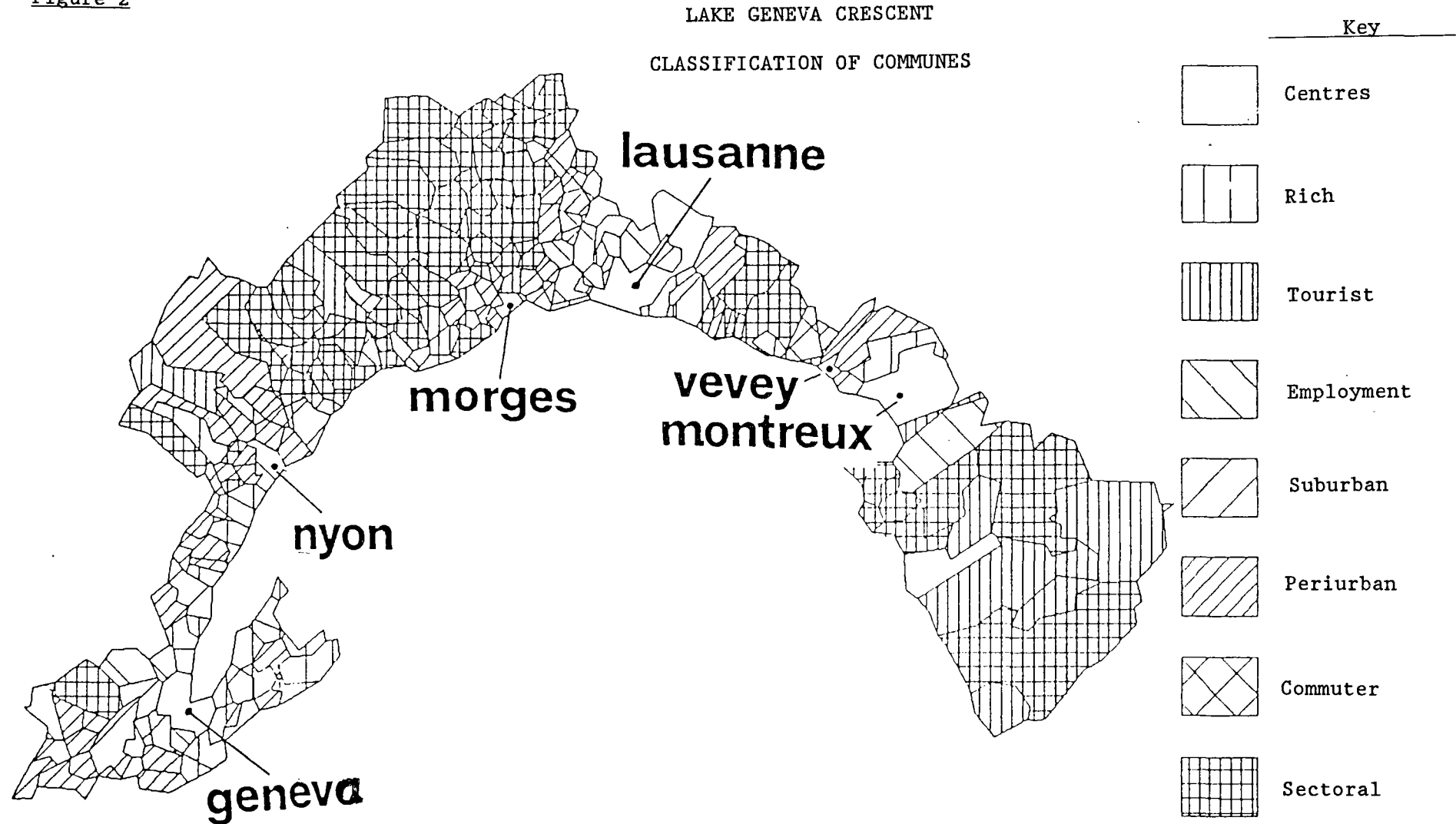
1. Prilly, Pully, Renens and Morges.

2. Vevy-Montreux, which has over 60,000 inhabitants.

3. Nyon.

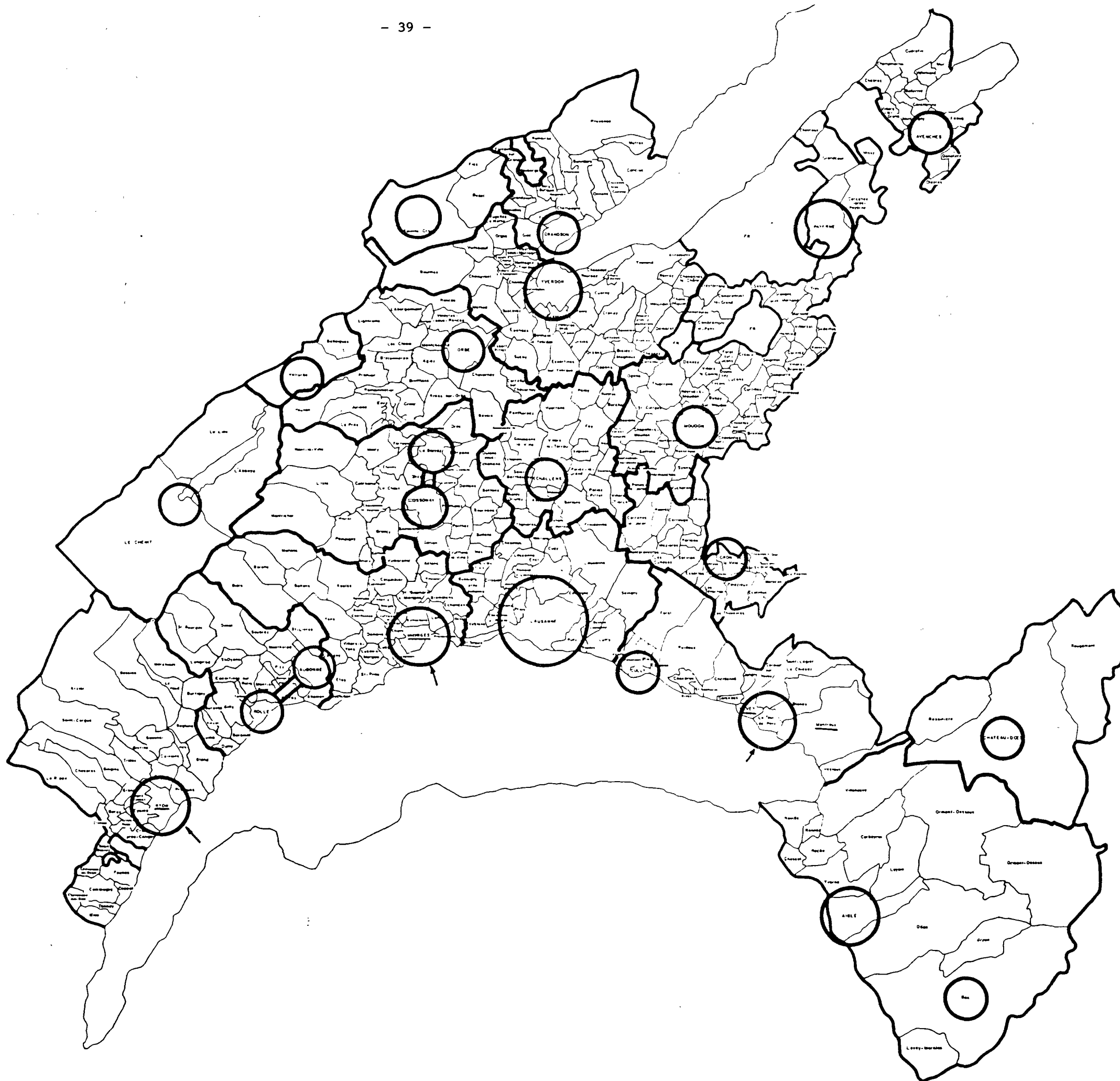
4. According to the criteria of the Federal Statistics Bureau, in 1970 the city of Geneva only included Genevan communes, while in 1980 13 communes from the Nyon area were included in it.

Figure 2


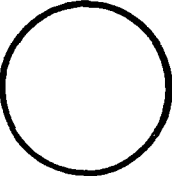





From M. Schuler.

Figure 3



Regions and centres

-  Regional boundaries
-  Canton centre
-  Secondary canton centre
-  Minor canton centre
-  Double centre

Map taken from " Documents de l'aménagement du territoire - Contribution à l'étude du réseau urbain vaudois". Service cantonal de l'aménagement du territoire: Lausanne, 1985.

An old core contains most of the urban activities; this is where are to be found the services, pedestrian and shopping princincts and leisure activities, cafés and the town's sole cinema. It is the old city with its restored buildings and commercial bustle.

To the north of this old town, the urban area is divided by a railway line running from east to west, which until the nineteenth century marked the limit of urban development. The modern town lies beyond this line, a recent zone with an exclusively residential function. It is dotted with housing estates and presents the familiar landscape of suburban zones, being a relatively homogeneous and unifunctional area. There is little diversity of sociospatial practice, partially because of the lack of services. The inhabitants of these new suburbs, who are more numerous than those of the old town, feel cut off from the centre which seems a long way off. According to a poll among the inhabitants of Nyon in 1974, 57 per cent of them considered it to be a commuter town. For the inhabitants of the new suburbs, this percentage rises to 68 per cent (Commune de Nyon, 1974).

### 3.2.2 Council activity in the field of culture

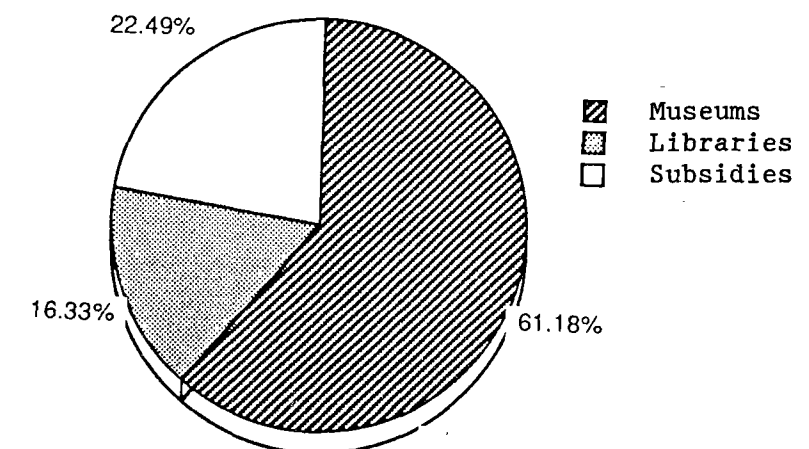
In this situation of population and urban growth, how important do the local authorities consider cultural development to be? Are the local cultural participants aware of the changes coming about in their district? How is their cultural activity integrated into this environment? And how does it link up with the authorities' actions?

We shall first of all describe the local authorities' resources and the ways in which they can intervene in the cultural field, after which we shall examine at greater length the cultural event which has received the greatest backing from the council in recent years, namely the Nyon Summer Theatre Festival.

The town of Nyon's cultural expenditure was 845,000 S.Fr. in 1987, or in order words 1.3 per cent of council expenditure or 64.2 S.Fr. per inhabitant. As is the case for the canton, the museums (the town has three) and the library absorb the greater part of the cultural budget. Subsidies for live cultural activities (theatre or music, cultural associations), came to 190,000 S.Fr. or slightly under 14 S.Fr. per inhabitant.

Chart 5

CULTURAL EXPENDITURE IN NYON IN 1987



Sum total: 845,000 S.Fr.

Three institutions receive regular subsidies, the Nyon Town Brass Band (12,000 S.Fr), the Nyon Music School (13,000 S.Fr.) and the International Documentary Film Festival (25,000 S.Fr. plus 5,000 S.Fr. in additional subsidies in 1987).

The other subsidies paid out by the council (140,000 S.Fr.) are shared out between a score of associations or cultural events. Three of them receive, in the form of subsidies or debt guarantee, 65 per cent of this sum. These three main beneficiaries are:

The Théâtre du funambule (20,000 S.Fr. in debt guarantee), which is a pocket theatre seating about 100 which plays host to about 15 shows a year.

The Nyon Paleo-Folk Festival which is the most important event in Nyon as it attracts more than sixty thousand spectators each year (more than 100,000 in 1988). Although it has existed for about ten years, the Festival received for the first time the sum of 25,000 S.Fr. in 1987: in previous years it received no council aid except for a debt guarantee of 10,000 S.Fr. which was not even used.

The Summer Theatre Festival which received the highest subsidy, of 30,000 S.Fr. and 20,000 S.Fr. in debt guarantee.

The rest of the subsidies were shared out in the form of one-off grants ranging from 500-6,000 S.Fr. in particular for the publication of a monograph on a regional artist, for various local societies, for a choral group and an amateur film-makers' club.

In Nyon as in other Vaud communes, grants in aid of cultural activities are organized on similar lines to the canton's system. The Conseil Communal (the 'commune's parliament') fixes every year during the budget discussions the amounts listed in the budget to be devoted to culture. The Municipalité (the executive) has the power to award one-off subsidies of limited size. In addition, as is frequently the case in cultural matters, Nyon has a Commission for Cultural Affairs whose role is to give a prior opinion on the requests reaching the Municipality. It only has advisory power: 'The aim of the Commission is to promote and advertise culture in Nyon and to advise the Municipality [...] The Commission's job is to give an opinion on what is submitted to it, while the Municipality never gives such an opinion. For it, what is important is for the events it supports to have a local character' (a member of the Commission).

The Commission for Cultural Affairs, which was created in 1974, has ten members appointed by the Municipality and chosen from the district's cultural circles. There is, in particular, the chairman of a cultural association, the organizer of the Nyon Paleo-Folk Festival, the manageress of the Théâtre du funambule, a teacher, a music teacher, a ceramic artist, and a representative of the Municipality. They are what is called local 'V.I.P.s', known for their competence in a particular cultural field or because they have organized a cultural event of some importance.

A recurring theme in cultural grants policies is that the collective decision-making should be impartial. 'Basically, what, we don't want is a cultural director. A "one-man band" is unthinkable in the field of culture because as soon as culture is put in the hands of a single individual, there is necessarily an element of arbitrariness' (a member of the Commission).

The Commission's independence from the authorities allows its members to voice opinions that are sometimes very critical of the authorities, as can be

seen in the following extract from a letter addressed to the Conseil Communal on 22 January 1988. Of the 13 signatories representing Nyon cultural groups, three were members of the Commission:

'The situation is serious because after a long discussion, the following three crucial points were unanimously agreed upon by the invited representatives:

The Cultural Commission does not follow its mandate.

Complete lack of a coherent cultural policy in Nyon.

The Municipality does not take the problems of the various associations and creative artists seriously'.

A member of the Commission who did not sign the letter and who considered these statements to be exaggerated nevertheless told us that 'There are no amenities worthy of culture in Nyon. Most of the suggestions we have made on this subject have been met either with a refusal, or with indifference or with empty promises. In the last few years the Commune has spent millions on a sports centre but nothing really serious has been done for culture'.

The demands of Nyon's cultural circles concern two vital points. First of all, the lack of amenities. Apart from two halls with a capacity of 500 - the salle communale and the Nyon school hall (which belongs not to the council but to the district) - there are no buildings designed for cultural activities. In addition, the equipment in these halls, in particular the council's hall, is considered to be totally inadequate for certain types of shows. The organizers of cultural events are therefore forced to spend large sums of money on renting or buying lighting or sound equipment.

The second reason for discontent is the local entertainment tax. In Nyon as in most of the Vaud communes, 12.5 per cent of the entry price of a show goes to pay this tax. The organizers of cultural events thus find themselves in a situation which they consider ridiculous and contradictory as on the one hand they receive council subsidies and, on the other, a large proportion of these subsidies has to be paid back to the council in the form of taxes. This situation is particularly flagrant for the Paleo-Folk Festival which attracts a large audience. In 1987 the local taxes came to a total of 200,000 S.Fr. (eight times more than the local subsidy paid to the Festival). Thus the taxes from this one event added up to considerably more than the total subsidies paid out by the council in 1987.

### 3.2.3 The Summer Theatre Festival: from local to international event

In 1984 a group of Nyon inhabitants founded a non-profit-making organization, the Association d'Animation Théâtrale de Nyon (AATN). The aim of this association was to organize a theatre festival and theatre workshops for local amateurs. It set up a permanent committee of 12 who, during the year, saw to the work connected with the organization of the event, arranged for the early summer.

The contacts needed to draw up a well-planned and high-quality programme, and fund-raising activities, were the job of four people in particular. During the Festival itself, which lasted nearly two weeks, about 50 unpaid assistants joined the group to take charge of the various activities surrounding the plays themselves. Friends of the organizers, theatre buffs or the frankly curious came to sell tickets, welcome the public and the actors, prepare the hall or the scenery and see to the numerous other details involved in such an event. Only two professional technicians were hired during the Festival to ensure that the technical side of the productions was as good as it could be.

In the early summer of 1984, the first festival called the Nyon Summer Theatre, took place in a former gas-works adapted to house the invited performers. The Festival programme included eight plays, in particular premières by Jean-Luc Bideau and Peter Wissbrod. The event attracted audiences of 1,750 over 12 days.

In its second year, the Festival became international with French, Belgian and Italian companies performing on the stage of the former gas-works in Nyon. During the two weeks of the Festival 3,800 people came to watch the 14 plays performed. The event diversified and alongside the plays, two exhibitions were organized, one on 'posters and the theatre' and the other on 'the mask'. In addition to this programme, a series of lecture-debates and classes for amateurs was organized during the Festival. In addition to organizing and staging plays, the AATN wished to educate and inform.

This imaginative policy of innovation and diversification continued with the 1986 Festival. Music was included, with the Lausanne Chamber Orchestra and dance with Carlotta Ikeda. Vocal music also appeared, with a recital given by the French Swiss singer Yvette Theraulaz. The AATN organized a poster competition for the region's young people on the theme of 'women and the theatre', in which more than 500 projects competed. The organizers were trying to break with the habit of passive consumption. In an area designed to accommodate actors and spectators, the audience was invited to take part in informal discussions with the actors after the play. In addition the AATN members tried to involve the region's cultural circles by organizing during the Festival an exhibition of the work of 20 regional artists. In this way the Festival grew and in 16 days there were 20 shows with 90 performers, which drew audiences of 4,400.

The 1987 Festival was characterized by emotion and the unexpected. The programme tried to be original and the organizers wanted to surprise and make people think: 'A new type of show emerged from the wings. They were neither plays nor one-man shows, nor modern ballet; labels were put aside and cultural varnish stripped away. These unusual shows upset our habits' (AATN programme organizer). Diversity and audience participation were still the key words of the Festival. Alongside evening performances, which now took place in Nyon's school hall, a children's theatre festival was created and a 'fringe' Festival in a small café-theatre in town. The 23 shows put on over three weeks attracted 6,000 spectators and nearly 200 performers appeared on stage in Nyon.

In four years the Festival quadrupled its audience and tripled the number of shows. While becoming more international, the AATN, despite running the risk of destroying the programme's coherence, stuck to its policy of originality, audience participation and involvement of regional cultural circles. Thus alongside Swiss, French, Belgian, Quebec and American actors, a troupe from Nyon put on a show which was the result of workshops organized by the Association.

The main purpose of the AATN's cultural activity was to break with passive consumer habits, welcome new forms of creation, maintain and reinforce local identity, stimulate ties of solidarity between the inhabitants and involve local cultural circles in order to create a movement which went beyond the event itself.

As we have seen, Swiss habits and institutional structures mean that private initiative is the primary condition for cultural development. The AATN is in this respect typical of what is happening in a large number of districts, where groups of individuals come together for a project which they first work out on the fringe and then try to bring before the public. This type of association plays a vital role in the popularization of cultural

products at the regional level and it is often at their instigation that music or theatre seasons come to enrich a region or district's cultural environment.

The members of the AATN are not cultural professionals. Nevertheless there is little room for amateurism in view of the careful planning and technical preparation required to organize this event, the tenacity needed to raise funds, the nature of the contacts and links that must be established with national and international cultural circles, and the programme quality necessary to meet the demands of an audience with frequently sophisticated tastes. These cultural promoters do not see themselves as voluntary workers or a 'cultural militia', but as unpaid professionals.

Their motives are varied. They are, of course, interested in the theatre, but they also have a liking for communication and for sharing with others an experience or an individual interest. They would call themselves popularizers rather than creators: 'We are not performers but we want to launch performers. We want to share with the audience our admiration for high quality troupes and actors, but we do not try to exhibit or perform ourselves, except for our small theatre group which rehearses all year round and which we include in the Festival, a bit like a fly in the ointment, in order to show that things are happening here after all. But we have no intention of putting ourselves in the limelight; we stay in the background and leave the performers on stage' (an AATN member).

The organizers' activities are not only guided by a need to increase or diversify cultural supply, or a taste for 'higher things', but also by a desire to work out strategies for adaptation to a social and physical environment whose transformations they feel acutely. 'Most people still think of us as a little village, but we are being taken over by Geneva and Lausanne, and more than half of the population - the ones who live on the other side of the railway line - are new arrivals. Those who now run the town are all people who were born and went to school in Nyon. They still think of it as a village. It is one of the regions in Switzerland with the highest birth rates. They've built concrete monstrosities where they house the new arrivals in plasterboard. They've stuck up traffic lights and schools but nothing else. [...] We organized activities around the plays, we put up a sort of amphitheatre where the audience and the actors could talk to each other. The spectators were completely amazed at no longer being admiring consumers. Links were forged, there were discussions in all sorts of languages. It lasted for an hour or an hour and a half after the show. [...] We tried to irrigate the social fabric' (an AATN member).

A strategy of cultural development centred around the involvement of local groups and a willingness to welcome international creation implies mobilizing a large number of people and considerable facilities and money. Although the AATN rapidly succeeded in attracting a regional audience and finding unpaid help, the lack of buildings and financial resources became the main obstacle facing the organizers as the Festival developed.

The role of the local and canton authorities became crucial in connection with technical and financial viability. The link-up between the cultural promoters' action and the authorities intervention comes in this phase of putting a cultural project into operation. The local authorities' help can be in the form of a financial grant, but it can also consist in providing council services (roads, police, public buildings or land), or in mediating between the cultural promoters and the canton authorities.

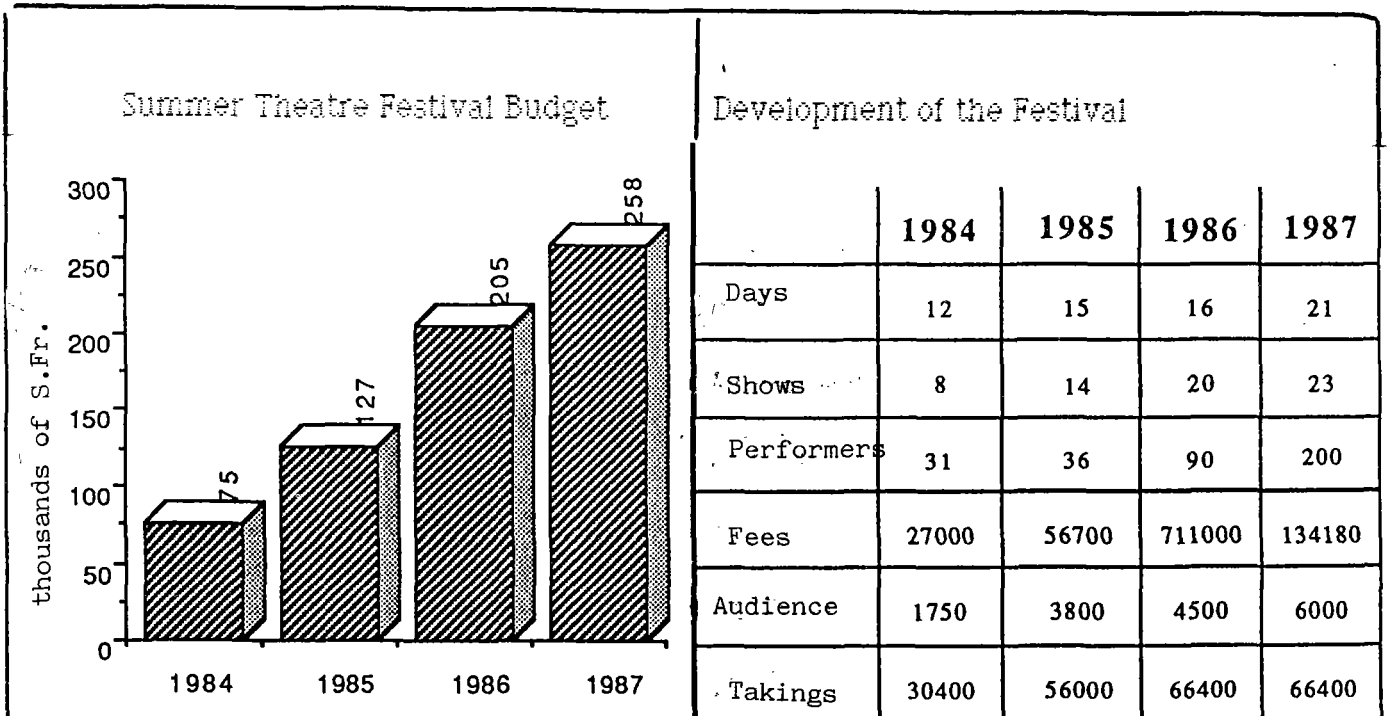


3.2.4 The Summer Theatre Festival: facts for an evaluation

In four years the Festival developed enormously. Its budget more than tripled (chart 6) and the audience quadrupled. During the same period the local council's grant rose from 15,000 S.Fr. in 1984 to 50,000 by 1986. There was no canton grant until 1985 and it remained small until 1987 (5,000 S.Fr. in 1985 and 1986 and then 20,000 in 1987). The district's councils gave grants totalling slightly over 1 percent of the Festival's finances. It should also be noted that in 1986 the Festival received a federal grant (10,000 S.Fr.) through the Pro Helvetica Foundation, to organize an exhibition of regional artists' work. Overall public financing steadily increased, from 15,000 S.Fr. in 1984 to 72,600 S.Fr. in 1987.

From one year to the next we can see considerable variation in the relative importance of the Festival's different sources of funding (chart 7). Although the event steadily attracted large audiences, box office takings represented a decreasing percentage of its financial resources. This implies that funding was more and more diversified and thus that fund-raising activity was stepped up. A year-by-year breakdown of the Festival's finances shows the AATN's growing dependence on the different grant-giving bodies. This method of financing, combining private and public funds, is widespread in Switzerland. Depending on the year, public funding fluctuated between 20 per cent and 40 per cent of the Festival's finances, while the private sector's proportion (patronage and sponsorship) steadily increased as the event grew in importance.

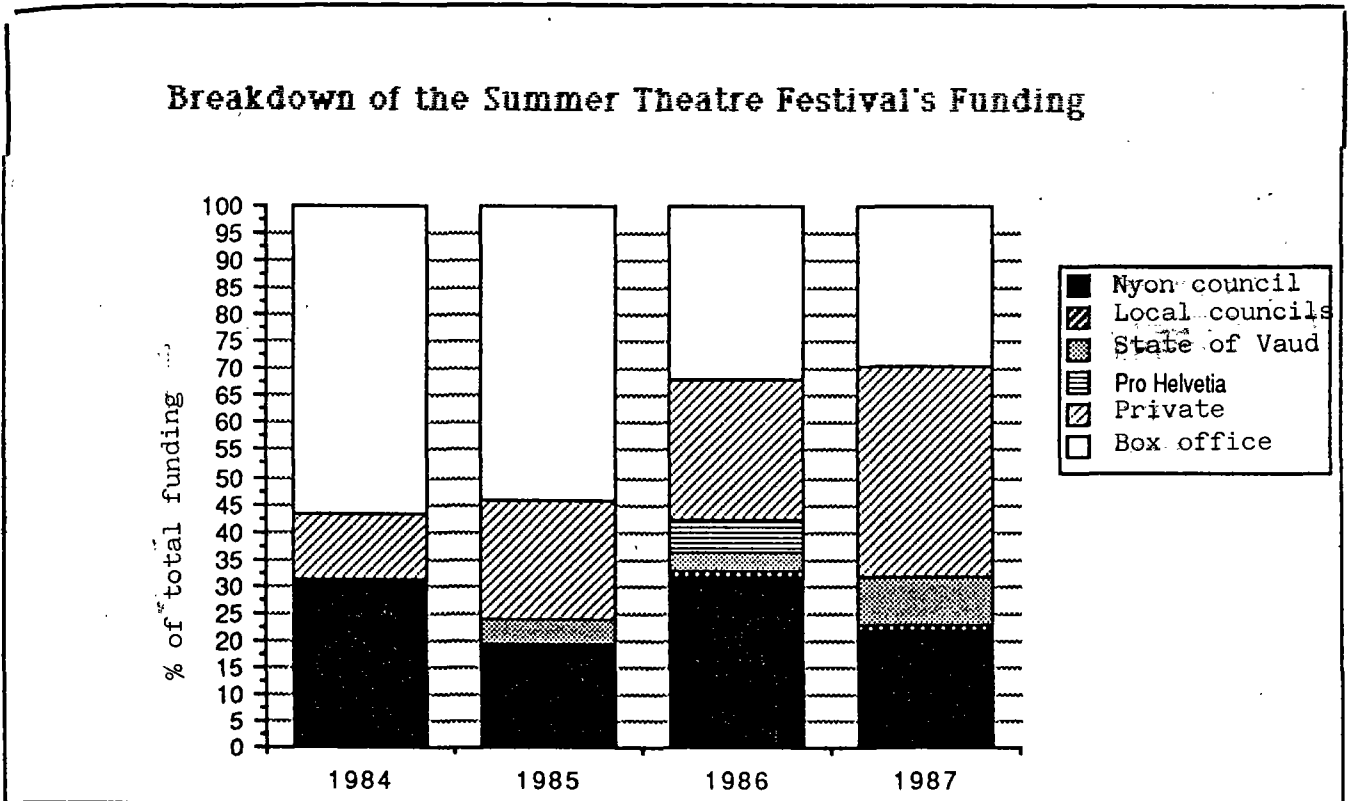
Chart 6



Development of the Festival

	1984	1985	1986	1987
Days	12	15	16	21
Shows	8	14	20	23
Performers	31	36	90	200
Fees	27000	56700	711000	134180
Audience	1750	3800	4500	6000
Takings	30400	56000	66400	66400

Chart 7



Running an event like the Summer Theatre Festival demands, as one can imagine, great availability and often great personal sacrifices. The organizers have to concern themselves simultaneously with their own jobs and with the immense amount of work involved in preparing such an event. 'In four years none of us got a kopeck; no one received any money at all. We are a committee of twelve people who work regularly for the Festival, with four of us working full-time on programming, public relations and relations with the authorities, and it takes up a huge amount of time. Luckily I can do it as I am self-employed, which means I can run my business on Saturdays and Sundays and deal with the theatre during the week! Recently we calculated that we have lost a huge amount of money, enough to endanger our firms. For the 1987 Festival I paid out nearly ten thousand francs of my own money in cash, and about 50,000 in lost profits for the firm. For the twelve members, the investment in money and even more in time, came to about two hundred thousand francs for the 1987 Festival' (an AATN member).

Nearly all of the council subsidy went towards the cost of technical installations needed for the event, local taxes and hire of halls. This situation makes the organizers say that the council subsidy is not a grant for culture but funding aimed at making up for Nyon's lack of amenities.

Yet the problem raised by the organisers comes more from the method of awarding the subsidies than from their amount: 'One of the most serious problems is that in fact most of the people who now organize events have to go through the same procedure every year to get a subsidy. That's why we can't work, because we aren't told from one year to the next how much money we can have' (an AATN member).

Here we come to one of the faults in the subsidy system. The lack of guarantees and the authorities' unwillingness to commit themselves permanently on the side of the cultural promoters make any attempt at planning, even in the short term, tricky. The work of prospection needed to draw up the programme, engage performers and invite companies, as well as most of the Festival's preparation, take place at a time when the organizers have no assurance as to the official backing they are going to receive. The organizers only receive a definite reply from the local authorities three or four months before the Festival begins.

This disparity between the way the subsidizing bodies work and the time needed to prepare an event is made worse by the fact that it is passed on and added to at every level. For a subsidy request to be examined by the canton, it must have been accepted by the commune: 'It's the famous principle of subsidization, which means that if it gets stuck here it gets stuck at the canton and it gets stuck at the Confederation and it gets stuck everywhere. It's a snowball but in the opposite direction' (an AATN member).

Faced with huge financial difficulties and in particular discouraged by the feeling that their problems were not being taken seriously by the authorities, the members of the AATN published an open letter at the beginning of 1988, in which they announced that they were giving up organizing the Festival again.

### 3.3 MORGES: CULTURE IN THE SUBURBS

#### 3.3.1 The beginning of an experiment

Morges, ten kilometres from Lausanne, shares some of the characteristics of Nyon. It, too, has been gradually absorbed into one of the biggest urban regions in the country, and is part of the Lausanne built-up area which has more than 250,000 inhabitants. In recent years, the population of Morges has grown like that of Nyon, more than doubling since 1950, from 6,400 to more than 13,000 inhabitants. It is also the centre of a booming district whose population has grown by more than 150 per cent in 40 years (to reach 56,000 in 1986).

In 1986 Morges celebrated its 700th anniversary. The festivities during that year included 75 events, ranging from historical re-enactment, via popular music, to pure artistic creation. In addition, ten exhibitions of works by noted Morges painters were organized in a local museum. For the celebrations as a whole, the council spent the considerable sum of 1.8 million francs, or 3.6 per cent of its budget.

The local authorities and the organizers wanted this event to be a turning-point in Morges's cultural life. One of its objectives was to stimulate the region's cultural life and to ensure that the celebration had long-term effects.

In the same year, the town opened an educational complex including a secondary school, a sports centre, a music school and an 850-place theatre (the Beausobre Theatre) with modern multi-purpose facilities. One of the advantages of this theatre is that it has technical equipment suitable for use by television teams. For local cultural circles, the 700th anniversary celebrations together with the inauguration of this cultural complex constituted a welcome combination providing a solid basis for the movement launched in 1986.

It is an undisputed fact that since the Beausobre Theatre opened in January 1987, the town of Morges, which was until then culturally almost non-existent, has begun to make its mark in the cultural calendar of French Switzerland. Within a year, the name of Beausobre meant that the town was no longer an anonymous large Lausanne suburb. This phenomenon, with no federal or canton aid (except for building the theatre which, being part of an education complex, automatically received aid from the canton), is particularly interesting as it is the result of a purely local initiative. It derived from a set of clear options and political and financial choices which - although they have not transformed cultural habits - have allowed this risky project to be successfully carried through.

Before examining this experiment in greater detail, we shall describe rapidly the public money spent on culture by the Morges council.

### 3.3.2 Local expenditure on culture

The local council's planned cultural expenditure for 1988 was 1,300,000 S.Fr. (nearly 2.2 per cent of the council's budget). This expenditure was shared out (chart 8) differently from the way we saw for Nyon: the majority of cultural funds went to 'live culture' while the town museum, the Cultural Archives (les Archives Culturelles Romandes) which contain documents (manuscripts, letters, etc.) concerning the career or the work of French-speaking creators, and the two public libraries, only accounted for 38.4 percent of cultural expenditure.

Although the town museum receives only a relatively small percentage of cultural expenditure, the council has decided to revamp its collections (glasswork, works by Morges painters, toy collection, etc.) and now provides a subsidy of 20,000 S.Fr. In addition, in order to encourage the directors of the museum (which is a private institution) to look for patrons, the council has agreed to double the private aid that it is possible for the museum to receive, up to a ceiling of 50,000 S.Fr. As we have already seen in connection with the AATN, most cultural activities in Switzerland combine private and public funding. It is, however, rare for the authorities actively to encourage fund-raising from the private sector.

We should also note that Morges is currently converting a former barracks into a cultural centre which will house the Cultural Archives, the library and the Musée du vieux Morges. A hall for chamber music concerts seating two hundred is also planned. With this Centre culturel des anciennes casernes, Morges will have a 'history complex', while the Beausobre complex caters for contemporary culture.

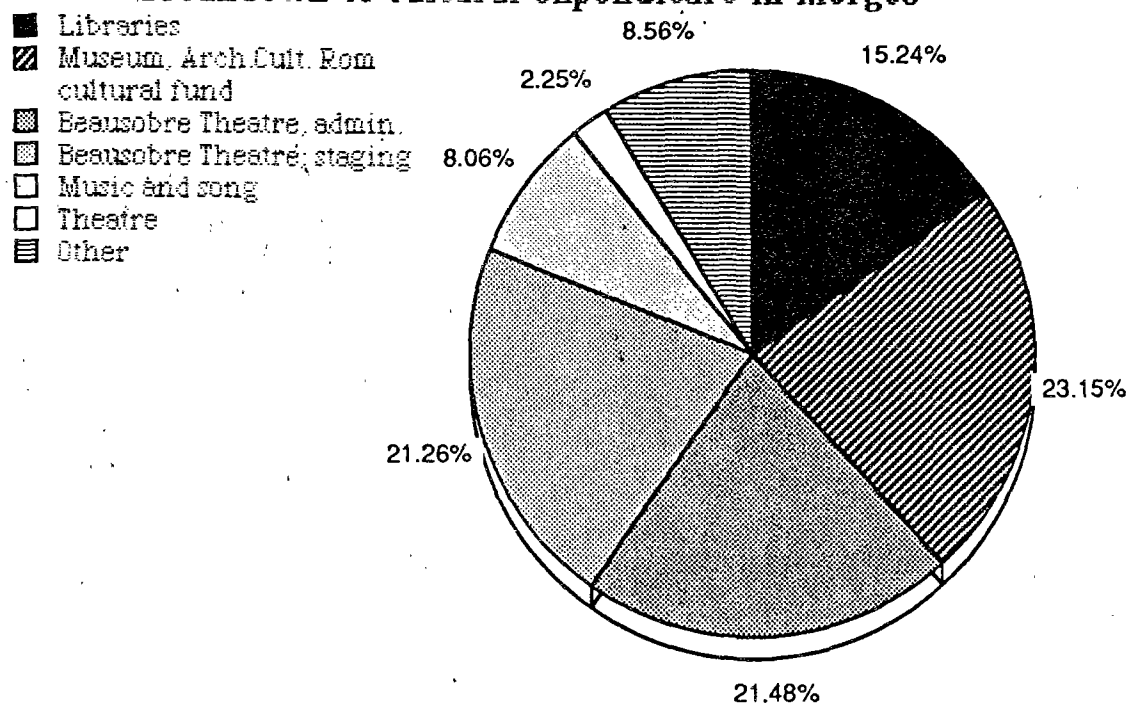
For many years, the town of Morges has also contributed to the upkeep of a small theatre (60 per cent of subsidies under the heading of 'theatre') run by a troupe of 20 actors who put on five or six plays a year. For music, the lion's share of the subsidies (68 per cent) goes to the Morges Music School. The rest is divided into small sums for different local cultural societies (choirs, brass band, youth clubs, etc.).

So far, the pattern of cultural aid is relatively conventional, with its occasional aid to local societies and more global responsibility for museums, the library and musical education.

What is unusual in the way Morges council has intervened in cultural matters in the 1980s has been the importance attached to the activities of the Beausobre Theatre (43 per cent of the town's cultural expenditure). It is in fact rare for a commune to concentrate its efforts on a particular activity. At first sight, this could mean that cultural resources are centralized to the detriment of local associations and activities launched by private individuals, but it would appear instead that the authorities have tried to create a balance between different local cultural actors.

Chart 8

### Breakdown of cultural expenditure in Morges



#### 3.3.3 The Beausobre Theatre: the search for complementary functions

The plan to build the Beausobre complex, at a cost of 42 million francs, was accepted in 1981. The decision to build a theatre in this complex was taken mainly because of three basic needs:

to provide the school with a hall

to give local groups and societies somewhere for their activities

to create a place for cultural events needing more sophisticated technical installations.

This last need was not immediately seen as a priority. Instead, it emerged progressively as the choices concerning the building and its installations came to be made. 'Originally it was above all being built as a school hall but there were several people on the building committee and among the local authorities who seized the opportunity to give the place a cultural character. [...] I was a member of the theatre's building committee, [...] with the architects and those who were working to build the theatre, we analysed the decision-making process. At first there was no lower ground floor, the dressing-rooms were badly placed and there was no restaurant because it is forbidden on school premises. Exceptions were made to the regulations and courageous decisions were taken' (Manager of the Beausobre Theatre).

If these decisions were courageous, it was also because by opting for a more ambitious theatre the authorities were committing themselves not only to the upkeep of a building but also to running it. An artistic director was appointed by the council. As soon as he took up his post in early 1987 he began advertising the theatre and organizing a theatre season. The theatre's manager, who was at first appointed part time, quickly obtained a full-time post from the council. The success of the theatre's initial activities created a climate of confidence which led to the appointment, after a few months, of a secretary and a stage manager.

In 1988 the council gave the theatre a budget of 871,450 S.Fr. for expenses and 389,000 for income (Table 3). Most of the money goes towards staging plays, while running costs and salaries represent 28 per cent of expenditure. The theatre's income is mainly from box-office takings (87 per cent) and advertising (10 per cent).

TABLE 3

BEAUSOBRE THEATRE BUDGET FOR 1988

	EXPENDITURE	INCOME
ADMINISTRATION	242,550	0
Salaries and social security	229,850	
Other expenses	12,500	
STAGING PLAYS	628,900	389,000
Temporary staff	69,000	
Actor's fees	290,000	
Taxes	65,000	
Royalties	20,000	
Creation	50,000	
Other expenses	11,900	
Advertising	95,000	
Renting buildings and material	28,000	
Box-office takings		340,000
Other revenue		49,000

Thus the council has committed itself to making good an annual deficit of 240,000 S.Fr. This budget reveals three important aspects of the authorities' policy towards the theatre.

First of all, the theatre management's obligation to cover more than 60 per cent of the costs involved in staging plays. This obligation has an effect on the theatre's programme.

Secondly, the importance accorded to advertising the theatre and its activities, which represents 15 per cent of staging costs.

Finally, 50,000 S.Fr. (8 per cent of staging costs) go on creation. If the budget is kept to, this sum can accumulate from year to year. Thus the theatre's management and the authorities hope, while each year aiding small new productions by local groups or societies, to put on more ambitious new productions every four or five years.

The 1987 season's programme consisted of 37 shows which earned more than 420,000 S.Fr. and attracted audiences of more than 19,000. The programme's content indicates the image which the theatre is trying to create, with variety, jazz, popular songs, comedy, shows for a wide public but 'not necessarily lowbrow' insists the Beausobre's manager. Featured are names like Juliette Greco, Gilles Vignault, Claude Nougaro, Léo Ferré, Bernard Haller or Henry Dès. French singers like William Scheller, Pierre Perret or Sim shared the programme with Latin American music or Indian dancing. Classical music was also represented, with the Swiss Romande Orchestra and the Lausanne Chamber Orchestra.

The aim of this programme is threefold: to minimize the financial risk, give the theatre's activities popular appeal and take advantage of the nearness to Lausanne which might have been a handicap. By inviting French-language stars with an established reputation, the management is trying to bring in a wider audience from the whole Lausanne region. Taking advantage of the theatre's easy access, its policy is to create habits in the Vaud public and to induce them to 'consume cultural activities in the suburbs'. A few months before the theatre's opening, a French-language weekly wrote: 'Since Carrefour, Ikea and other giant out-of-town shopping centres, it has become the done thing to go to the suburbs to buy food and furniture, so why not to "buy" cultural activities?' (L'Hebdo, 29.1.87).

The theatre very quickly established its own identity and its management tried to publicize the 'Beausobre brand name'. For this purpose, the theatre's manager uses conventional advertising techniques, cultivates relations with the press and pays particular attention to the way the public is welcomed. In the initial phase, the theatre's policy has been to market a theatre; for the potential audience, Beausobre must become a place on the map with a particular atmosphere (the council has changed the town's signposts so that, in the artistic director's words, 'Beausobre is the best signposted theatre in French Switzerland'). Putting Beausobre on the map also involves the media; thus early in 1988 the Télévision Suisse Romande broadcast a variety programme from there which helped to make the theatre known throughout the country.

In less than a year, the Beausobre Theatre became a familiar landmark in the Vaud cultural landscape. While it plays fully its role as a theatre, it should not be forgotten that initially it was to be a school hall and a hall for local cultural events and the activities of Morges societies. The local authorities have not ignored these original objectives, but instead are trying to make the theatre's different activities complementary.

In the minds of the Morges authorities, the theatre and its activities should support local creativity: 'By bringing in stars, we do not simply want "showbiz" or something like that. In fact it allows local groups to create. The interesting programme means that people get into the habit of coming to Beausobre and thanks to this, local young people can be creative while at the same time attracting large audiences' (Morges Syndic). In 1987 two new productions by young people from Morges were put on at Beausobre; in four performances these shows attracted audiences of nearly two thousand two hundred.

This coexistence implies a balanced budget, which is guaranteed by the famous names invited, but it is also guaranteed by a structure which controls the theatres's activities and the local authorities' support for cultural life in Morges.

This organization is three-tiered: firstly, there is a council employee, the délégué culturel, whose role is to co-ordinate support and to receive and transmit requests for financial aid from local cultural groups; next there is

the theatre manager who has a large degree of autonomy; and finally, as in Nyon, there is a cultural affairs committee. This committee, chaired by the Syndic, includes representatives of schools, local societies, the tourist office and the town's cultural notables. It is a consultative body which draws up proposals for the theatre's management and sees that the theatre is available for local cultural activities.

This balancing-act is also to be seen in the way the theatre is run: 'I am half-way between the private and the public sectors. If we were completely private, we would fall into the trap of festivals and variety concerts where everything is on a huge scale, where the performers' fees increase every year, the technical equipment increases and, as a result, the audience has to increase. [...] Things get out of hand and there is no end to it; there is no creativity and everything is dictated by profit. But complete council control is not the answer either. I've seen in France amenities similar to Beausobre where there were seventeen people working full time, where everything was designed for professionals, but where the public and the local population tended to be forgotten. Part of my funding comes from the council and the rest from the public. We are controlled by these two partners' (Beausobre theatre manager).

The sharing of responsibilities between the local authorities, representatives of local interests and a cultural professional is an original formula in a canton where fear of 'municipal culture' is strong. From this point of view, the Morges authorities have not in fact broken with accepted policy according to which cultural activities should be the result of initiatives on the part of the local population and associations. But the tone is more muted. 'We believe that the authorities should take some initiatives, but I prefer them to come from the public or from associations. This does not mean that the authorities should lag behind, but it is more convincing if this sort of activity is left in the hands of the population' (Morges Syndic).

Morges is a good example because it represents a situation in which the authorities are trying to redefine their role in relation to a culture which should answer both the requirement of profitability inherent in a cultural enterprise of any scale and the need to maintain local cultural activities adapted to a commune of 13,000 inhabitants. The local authorities' intervention in the cultural field is in this case aimed at establishing a synergy and making the market mechanisms of the culture industry harmonize with the conditions needed to develop local culture. Thus the authorities in Morges are trying to reconcile the upwards and downwards cultural impetus.

### 3.4 THE LAKE GENEVA RIVIERA: THE PRE-CONDITIONS FOR CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN A SMALL REGION AND ITS TWO MAIN COMMUNES, VEVEY AND MONTREUX

#### 3.4.1 Sketch of the region's identity

'The "Lake Geneva Riviera" could be called a Switzerland in miniature. The motorway, the Grand Hotel, the holiday chalet and the big firm (Nestlé's) are all there in idyllic picture postcard surroundings in which nothing is missing - lake, view of the Alps, vines, paddle steamers and old castles' (Moos and Peverli, 1977:3).

While Morges and Nyon were seen as secondary urban centres gradually absorbed by the built-up areas of Geneva and Lausanne, the Vevey-Montreux



region<sup>1</sup> (the Lake Geneva or Vaud Riviera) presents a very different picture, as on its own it constitutes a town of more than 60,000 inhabitants and ten communes.

Despite its proximity to Lausanne, which is only 20 kilometres away, the Vevey-Montreux region should be seen as a relatively independent urban system which has developed its own network of economic exchange and complementary functions.

The Vevey-Montreux built-up area lies at the foot of the fore-Alps, near the lowest ski resorts; it covers the territory of the Vevey district, extending beyond its limits as far as the commune of Villeneuve at the eastern point of Lake Geneva. The two communes of Vevey and Montreux, six kilometres apart, are the two centres of this urban system. They contain nearly 55 per cent of the region's population (in 1986 Vevey had 14,681 inhabitants and Montreux 19,603<sup>2</sup>) and most of the jobs and services

There are ten or so little hamlets around the two main communes. These little localities which were originally agricultural, concerned in particular with wine-growing, have over the last 30 years become mainly residential areas. While cultivating their atmosphere of 'wine-growing villages', they have gradually grown by building housing estates inhabited usually by people in the top socio-professional categories, who mostly work in Vevey or Montreux.

The Lake Geneva Riviera, which is a small, urban, economically and functionally integrated region, is also a territorial entity with its own history and identity. Four recurring elements are to be found in what is said about the region and the picture painted of it.

Themes involving vines and wine constitute one of the most immediately obvious aspects of the region's traditions. Among the events which exploit this theme, the Wine-growers' Festival organized at Vevey every 25 years is undoubtedly the most important cultural event in the life of the region. This event, which celebrates the vine and the seasonal rhythms of peasant life, needs years of preparation and involves thousands of participants from the surrounding population.

The urban environment, in particular in Vevey and the surrounding area, is still marked by traces of this wine-growing heritage; the shop signs and carefully restored street ornaments, café decorations, cellars or winegrowers' houses recall the importance of wine and vines in the region's history.

Since the first half of the nineteenth century and even before the first industries arrived, hotel-keeping was one of the most important sectors of economic activity in the Lake Geneva Riviera. Hotel advertising is based primarily on selling a rural, wine-growing atmosphere. As is common in Swiss tourist regions, the possible contradiction between local tradition and the tourist industry is resolved by a synthetic product, the picturesque.

1. The term region is here to be taken in a wide sense. It does not mean a political or even administrative entity, but a territorial framework in which most of the population's activities - not only economic (work, shopping, etc.), but also social and cultural - take place.
2. SCRIS. Annuaire statistique du canton de Vaud, Lausanne, 1987.

Today, tourism is still, particularly in Montreux, one of the most important activities of the region's economy. But the nature of this activity has changed since the 1950s. Tourists first came for the climate or because it was fashionable, but tourism has now become 'technico-commercial', with the many international conferences organized at Montreux providing its grand hotels with a large proportion of their clientele.

The industrial character of the town of Vevey - which was one of the canton's first industrial centres - is the third element frequently seen as particular to the region (in this connection it is significant that one of the popular names for Vevey is Vevey the industrious).

Vevey's industry was particularly developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During that period the production of malted milk, chocolate and tobacco made Vevey famous and its products were exported throughout the world.

After the stagnation of the Great Depression, the end of the 1930s saw the development in Vevey of new, smaller firms with more diversified activities. But it was only in the 1950s that Vevey began to boom again, particularly in machine construction and the building industry.

It is true that recent developments in the region's economic structure have been marked, as elsewhere in Switzerland, by considerable growth in service industries. However, Vevey's industrial past is still deeply embedded in its inhabitants' collective memory, and some parts of the town still have the sociological and morphological appearance typical of working-class areas.

The fourth element which recurs frequently when talking about the region is the presence of the headquarters of the largest Swiss multinational, Nestlé's, founded more than a century ago in Vevey. The head office has more than two thousand employees and many local firms depend on the multinational's activities.

On the regional level the repercussions of the 'food giant's' activities are not only economic. The influence of the firm is felt in all aspects of social life; it organizes for its employees and their families numerous leisure, sports and cultural activities. In addition, Nestlé's directly funds many local societies and most of the region's cultural events.

The 'Nestlé's employees', a large percentage of whom are commercial or technical management staff, make up on their own a particular social group, which is both cosmopolitan and at the same time attached to the region in which the chemist Henri Nestlé founded the company. Although no specific study of the subject has been made, it is no exaggeration to speak of a 'company micro-society' with its own values, which creates its own particular social models and practices.

The Lake Geneva Riviera is thus a region which is both wine-growing and industrial, with both tourist and service industries. These four characteristics are of course not the only ones which go to make up the region's identity, which also consists in an attachment to the land and a feeling of belonging. Nevertheless they act as emblems, that is figures or representations which stand for a territorial entity as a whole. They constitute recurring identity references, which are continually being reinterpreted, reformulated and brought up to date in speech and action.

Whether they define themselves as being in opposition or as accepting the values invoked by these identifying characteristics - farming values, tradition, hard work, the international success of a humble chemist - social

groups generally refer to one or another of these themes when they have to characterize their region. It is therefore not surprising that they appear, in the most stereotypical forms, in tourist brochures:

'They must have had a sensitive soul and a gourmet's palate on that distant day when they planted the divine grape here [...] And stretching along several kilometres of the shore, the urban Riviera. Images of a prestigious past. Symbols of a region already looking towards the twenty-first century. Here, to the west, is Vevey the industrious, still discreetly nestling against its rural backdrop. [...] Vevey is of course the home of Nestlé's, the multinational. [...] Here is Montreux, pearl of the Riviera, renowned holiday and pleasure resort. Russian princes and European nobles chose it as their place of exile or relaxation. Today, Montreux has adapted perfectly to the needs of modern tourism and offers everything to satisfy the most demanding visitor, whether he is here for pleasure or business - the Conference Centre houses a series of large-scale events.'

These different facets of its image - the luxury of grand hotels, peace and quiet suitable for work, prestige combined with simplicity - guide the region's cultural development.

This development is an integral part of an important sector of the regional economy, namely tourism, which in turn contributes to its finances (in particular through the hotel taxes which partly go to pay for regional activities and the organization of cultural events). The Riviera's cultural environment also contributes to the prestige of one of Switzerland's leading economic giants (Nestlé's) whose interests are also served by an atmosphere which attracts its employees.

As for the region's traditional values - associated with working the land and the vine - they are even more easily reconciled with those of modernity and progress, as they contradict neither the food multinational's 'caring mission'<sup>1</sup>, nor the bucolic Alpine image so easily exploited by the tourist industry.

#### 3.4.2 Aspects of regional cultural development

If we have insisted on the notion of region, it is because there is a desire for cultural development on the regional scale. Local councils are still the ones which actually apply the policies of grants to cultural activities. They find their own resources and define their priorities; but there is now co-ordination between the different groups involved in the cultural field.

The Centre Régional d'Activités Culturelles et de Loisirs de Vevey-Montreux (Vevey-Montreux Regional Centre for Cultural and Leisure Activities, or CRAC) is an attempt to co-ordinate cultural activities. It was set up in the mid-1960s at the instigation of a Montreux theatre director and

1. Nestlé's trade mark is still a nest in which baby birds are being fed by their mother. Nestlé's own particular mythology still appeals to land-based values which impregnate language concerning the company. 'It [Nestlé's] has remained, thanks to the type of goods it produces, close to the land [...] From this contact with the land, Nestlé's has absorbed a feeling for the rhythms of life, of the long term and of passing time which are different from those of other large firms. [...] Today, as in Henri Nestlé's day, the firm's development is conceived as a perpetually renewed response to certain of man's vital needs' (Rieben, 1979:159).

after 15 years' existence it was asked by the region's local authorities to organize a theatre season. Each commune contributes to its finances according to the size of its population and the number of shows put on in its area. Thus, with three theatres, a potential audience of several tens of thousands and the financial backing of the area's councils, the CRAC puts on every year 15 or so plays by invited troupes. The CDRC (Chablais-Riviera Drama Centre), the canton's only professional troupe not to be based in Lausanne, also stages two or three plays during the theatre season.

The programme is drawn up by a commission which includes representatives of local authorities, theatre managements, journalists and important figures in the region's cultural life. The CRAC's guiding principles are eclecticism, appeal to a wide audience and popular entertainment, a policy which accounts for the fact that the favourite types of plays in the theatre season are comedy, slapstick and musical comedy. The theatre season has attracted a faithful and essentially local audience; a particular effort has been made in the region's schools, and schoolchildren can buy tickets at greatly reduced prices.

The CRAC's activities concern mainly the theatre. For other cultural sectors co-ordination exists, but it is informal and comes about naturally between council representatives during discussions on the region's general problems (for example during the Syndics' conference).

In addition, such regulation and guidance of regional cultural development as there is, is brought about by a galaxy of participants and interest groups from outside official circles but in close contact with them. As is to be expected, these intertwined interests are not easy to unravel.

There are the local inhabitants - with their expectations, particular tastes, models of cultural consumption and sometimes their own initiatives - who can put pressure on or make requests of the local authorities, but who influence local cultural development mainly by acting as a market and thus playing their role as regulators of cultural supply. There is also the tourist industry which covers a very wide range of economic sectors and which thus alone represents a multitude of participants whose interests can differ. As for the local political authorities, they have in theory the difficult task of arbitration.

One unexpected effect of tourism on the Riviera's cultural life was the fact that it provided - at the end of the last century and in the inter-war years - an environment which attracted large numbers of Swiss and foreign artists. Even before the creation of a culture industry, the region provided the conditions for the flowering of an intense but élitist cultural life. Alongside the workers in Vevey's industries, the rich customers of the grand hotels and the rapid appearance of patrons among local notables and captains of industry - in short, a relatively closed circle which was both bourgeois and aristocratic - doubtless contributed to the creation of a favourable setting.

In many ways, cultural life here has preserved certain characteristics from this recent past. In 1921, an arts society was created at the instigation of artists and musicians who had settled in the region, together with two Vevey notables. This association, which is today called Arts and Letters, still runs an art gallery in Vevey and organizes exhibitions, lectures and concerts of a very high standard. The Clara Haskill Competition, held in Vevey every year, is also inherited from a period when many cultural figures took refuge in Vevey. The Hindemith Foundation, named after the composer who lived in the region, organizes chamber music concerts. The Montreux-Vevey Classical Music Festival in the early autumn, created in the

post-war years, is also a survival from this period. The Vevey Comedy Film Festival in mid-August can be explained by the fact that Chaplin spent the last 30 years of his life in Corsier, above Vevey.

But as well as continuity there has also been a break with the past. In the 1950s, with the creation of the global village, of the culture industry and mass tourism, the region's tourist industry underwent a transformation, began to look for new international markets and redirected its activities. As luxury hotels and the high rate of the Swiss franc were ill-adapted to the development of mass tourism, Montreux turned towards technico-commercial tourism. 'Ready-made conferences' became a product which could fill up grand hotels and give work to many connected economic sectors, such as organizers, technicians, translators, drivers, café and restaurant owners, shop-keepers and so on. Thus, with 12 conferences of more than a thousand people, Montreux was in 1986 the leading conference centre out of the 26 in Switzerland, with Zurich in second place.

At the same time, the character and role of the cultural has changed. It at first grew out of the social setting, to provide leisure and entertainment for well-heeled customers; it was encouraged by the local bourgeoisie who appreciated 'the spiritual and the artistic', and was helped by the European talent which came to live here. Now it has instead become an aid to marketing.

The cultural is an integral part of the region's economy and in many cases the purpose and objectives behind the development of a cultural activity coincide with the interests of the tourist industry. Two bodies particularly in charge of marketing tourism and providing tourist activities - the Montreux Tourist Office (OTM) and the Association des Intérêts de Vevey et Environs (ADIVE) - contribute greatly, by both organizing and financing different events of a cultural nature.

Among the activities provided by these bodies, we must distinguish two different types of events:

Organizing entertainment, in particular during the tourist season. This usually involves occasional, relatively small-scale, events (shows in squares, in the street, small concerts in the open air or in hotels). They are mainly intended for 'immediate consumption' and to answer an outside need for the picturesque. They provide a chance for instrumental groups (brass bands or small orchestras) and the region's folklore groups to perform under the patronage of one or another of these bodies.

More important events which bring prestige and fame to the region. Thus the ADIVE, and even more the OTM, have greatly contributed to developing four national or international events: the Montreux Jazz Festival, the Montreux-Vevey Classical Music Festival, the Vevey International Comedy Film Festival and the Montreux International Choral Meeting (we have not included here the Golden Rose Television Competition which has little local impact, being directed mainly at television and radio professionals; we should however mention that since 1985, rock concerts have been organized in connection with this event, which perhaps indicates a desire to interest a regional audience).

Entertainment and marketing are among the main motives for organizing such events. But these activities cannot do without a regional audience - which to a great extent guarantees their financial viability - particularly if the events are on a large scale and hence imply high production costs. They must therefore appeal to the region's cultural market, in Vaud and French Switzerland, while at the same time being sufficiently prestigious and

international to fulfil their marketing aim. What characterizes the Riviera's cultural life is this permanent pendulum swing between internal demand and the external need to project an image.

Another aspect of the region's cultural life is the existence of firms large enough to have a policy of patronage or sponsorship. We have already mentioned the importance of Nestlé's which, amongst other things, entirely finances a remarkable food museum. Other firms in the area take part in the region's cultural life, such as a building material company<sup>1</sup> which has financed the creation of the Théâtre de Poche de la Grenette in Vevey and which covers its losses. It is particularly difficult to provide a precise estimate of the size of private funding in the region;<sup>2</sup> nevertheless the size of this private aid, whether it consists in technical or financial backing, is no doubt equal or even superior to public subsidies.

The cultural development of the Riviera, a small built-up area with a population of 60,000, seems to us both typical and different. It is different because it is linked to a historical, social and economic situation which has encouraged a large degree of cultural development, quantitatively speaking<sup>3</sup>, but which also emphasizes quality because the size factor means financial pragmatism, which obviously conditions the nature and programming of events.

This development is, however, also typical to the extent that the Lake Geneva Riviera combines all the ingredients which go to make up the cultural life of Swiss districts; the local authorities, local societies, professional organizations and private firms are here, as elsewhere, the main partners in cultural development. What is different is that two of these cultural partners have taken on an importance which is unusual in a small town.

Marginal cultural groups also exist but only in a latent form and they have not joined together to form social movements which formulate demands as in Geneva, Lausanne, Berne, Basle or Zurich.

So far we have emphasized the region's general characteristics, but we should also point out its internal differences. The Lake Geneva Riviera is a bi-polar urban region in which each centre has its own characteristics while at the same time closely complementing the other. Thus Vevey's economy is linked to the international sector and in particular the commercial and technical service sector, while tourist services are overwhelmingly important in Montreux.

Montreux has a much higher potential tourist capacity. In 1986 the number of hotel nights in Vevey and its surrounding area was 210,000 with a ratio of occupation of available beds of 44 per cent, while in the same year in Montreux it was 557,000 with an occupation ratio of nearly 55 per cent.

We shall see below that these differences have a considerable impact on the institutional solutions to the problems linked to culture.

1. Getez Romang S.A.
2. We were not able to obtain a figure for Nestlé's contribution to the Vevey Comedy Film Festival.
3. Four national or international events, numerous concerts, plays and exhibitions, a troupe of professional actors, four theatres, the Vevey and Montreux Music Schools, a canton Design School, two public libraries, seven museums, three of national importance, and numerous local societies, leisure or social clubs, etc.

### 3.4.3 Vevey's cultural policy

#### (a) The commune's activity

In July 1987, the Vevey municipality (the local executive) sent the council a brief on Vevey's cultural policy. This 20-page document began with a long preamble which analysed the different definitions and recommendations given by the Clottu Report, Unesco and the Council of Europe's Cultural Co-operation Council. The municipality interpreted these texts and laid down the three principles which should guide Vevey's cultural policy.

'Everything that has been written above also applies to the town of Vevey, and to sum up we can state certain principles:

1. The citizens must take control of and solve their own culture and leisure problems.
2. The role of the authorities in cultural matters is a subsidiary but important one of encouragement, information and financial backing for the efforts of private individuals and associations.
3. Neither the authorities nor the administration should interfere in cultural choices, for fear of producing an official or administrative culture, which is undesirable'.

It is clear that these principles indicate what should not be done rather than what should be done. And yet Vevey is alone among the four towns studied in this report in having developed an administrative department specializing in cultural affairs.

Vevey's Service for Cultural Affairs was set up in 1986 and its administration employs seven people full or part time. If the personnel in charge of upkeep, conservation or activities are included (curators, librarians, guardians, porters, youth leaders), the service is responsible for about 20 jobs.

Its function is mainly to manage council property connected with Vevey's cultural life. In particular it looks after four local museums, the public libraries, Vevey's churches and the running of cultural events which take place in them. It is also responsible for the commune's theatres. In addition, the service transmits to the municipality the requests it receives for subsidies and thus acts as a mediating body between those who ask for subsidies and the authorities.

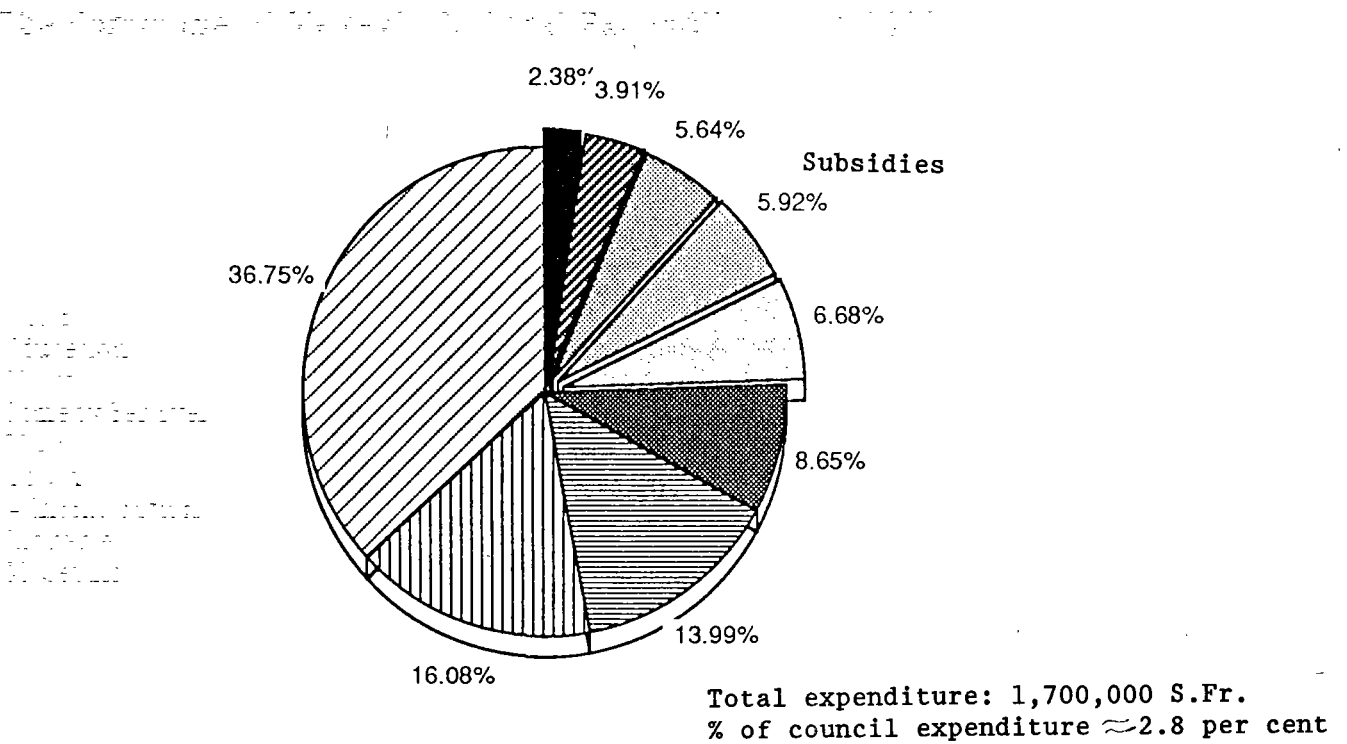
The service employs a youth leader whose job is mainly to organize youth events during the month of May. A new youth leader was appointed in late 1987 and it is too early to judge the work undertaken. We can, however, note that his general intention is to spotlight the cultural efforts of Vevey's young people. The May activities allow groups of young people to present their theatrical or musical productions. During the year, the Vevey youth leader also helps to give substance to young people's cultural projects. He thus acts as a catalyst and a connecting link between culturally active young people and the local authorities.

Expenses connected with youth activities, the Service for Cultural Affairs and the institutions for which it is responsible represent a large percentage of the council's cultural expenditure (see chart 9). Museums, the library, youth activities and administration represent 75 per cent of all of the council's expenditure, which in 1987 was a little over 1,700,000 S.Fr. or 116 S.Fr. per inhabitant, or 2.7 per cent of total expenditure.

A quarter of this expenditure (425,000 S.Fr.) went in the form of subsidies. Out of about 20 institutions, societies or events supported by the commune, six received 80 per cent of the total: the CDCR café-theatre (30,000 S.Fr.), the theatre season organized by the CRAC (45,000 S.Fr.), music societies (49,000 S.Fr.), the Montreux-Vevey Classical Music Festival (50,000 S.Fr.), the Classical Music School (65,000 S.Fr.) and the Vevey Comedy Film Festival (102,000 S.Fr.).

The Comedy Festival is thus the event which receives the highest local subsidy. It is also the showpiece of the ADIVE, which launched the idea for the Festival in 1979, and represents an example of cultural activity jointly run by a body representing the region's economic interests and the local authorities.

Chart 9





(b) A local development society's initiative: an attempt to evaluate the Vevey Comedy Film Festival

According to its statutes, the ADIVE's aim is to contribute towards economic and regional development by promoting tourism in all its forms. Its main tasks are to improve regional amenities, to advertise the region, welcome tourists and to provide activities to entertain them.

The Association represents the economic, tourist and commercial interests of Vevey and its eight surrounding communes, which constitute the west of the region (Montreux has its own development society). Its board, which decides on the Association's general policy, is made up of political representatives of the councils concerned, of members of the various development societies in each commune, and representatives of regional associations of café and restaurant owners, and hotel and shop keepers.

The Association's income comes from council subsidies (50 per cent of income), membership fees of the Hoteliers' Association, canton and commune tourist taxes (respectively 9 per cent and 16 per cent of income) and membership fees paid by firms or individuals (8 per cent).

This income covers the ADIVE's expenses, which in 1986 amounted to half a million francs; the principal items were salaries and advertising (respectively 25 per cent and 31 per cent). The latter includes the expenses connected with the Association's participation in various commercial fairs, reception of foreign journalists and publishing and distributing brochures.

The expenditure connected with leisure, entertainment, or cultural events came to a little over 14 per cent of the total. The subsidy paid to the Comedy Film Festival alone represented 8 per cent of the Association's expenditure (40,000 S.Fr.), while 'entertainment' represented 6 per cent of the expenditure (32,000 S.Fr.), which mainly went on organizing concerts in squares or in the little open-air theatre in Vevey. The programme includes seven or eight events (in particular, jazz bands during the Montreux Jazz Festival, chamber orchestras, sometimes a play and, of course, the traditional Vaud choirs and brass bands). In addition, the Association sponsors performances by folk groups in the region's hotels.

Judging by the means at its disposal and its activities, the ADIVE is a medium-sized local development organization. We shall see below that at the regional level, the OTM has considerably greater means at its disposal. This is due to the fact that the number of nights spent in hotels in Montreux is much greater, and also that Montreux's clientele is of a different kind (in 1986 nearly 70 per cent of nights in Montreux hotels were spent by international customers, as against 53 per cent in Vevey). In international markets, the Lake Geneva Riviera is represented by Montreux, and for an international clientele Vevey is overshadowed by its prestigious neighbour.

The ADIVE cannot aim to reverse this situation as the amenities in Vevey are insufficient. As competition is unthinkable, it can only try to take more advantage of Montreux's booming economy, to find a new balance and thereby to reinforce the region's tourist potential. In this connection it is interesting to note that Vevey's council is planning to create a conference and seminar centre which would complement the one in Montreux. It has also agreed to the construction of a high-class hotel.

Vevey has thus had to differentiate and define itself and find characteristics and an image likely to interest Montreux's customers. 'The ideal solution for marketing the best tourist image is to find distribution

channels adapted to the goal aimed at. [...] Here Vevey has not yet decided on its speciality. Luckily or unluckily, modern marketing methods will force us to define our role more precisely. In addition to an exceptional geographical situation, our town should be able to provide, among the range of its attractions, certain advantages which will bring in customers. That is why we had the idea of creating an annual comedy film festival ...' (ADIVE Chairman, ADIVE Annual Report, 1980).

In creating the Comedy Film Festival, the ADIVE was trying to develop an event specific to Vevey. In 1979, following the proposals of a regional institute for the study of tourism (GLION), the Association's chairman asked an ADIVE employee to draw up plans for a film festival. Contacts were made with the owner of Vevey's cinemas, who was also chairman of the ADIVE committee in charge of Vevey's cinema club. The Chaplin family, who live in Corsier above Vevey, agreed to the idea of a commemorative event. Finally a plan and a budget for a 'trial Festival' were submitted to Vevey's council.

In 1980 the council granted a special subsidy to the ADIVE to organize a dummy run of a comedy festival. At the same time, ADIVE's advertising expenditure increased from 23,500 S.Fr. in 1979 to 130,100 in 1980. The amount spent on 'entertainment' doubled, from 24,000 to 50,000 S.Fr.

The trial run of the Festival, which was in the form of a Chaplin season, took place in 1980. For five days, all of Charlie Chaplin's feature films were shown in a Vevey cinema. The season attracted 5,000 spectators to its ten showings, thus proving that the comedy theme could draw local and regional audiences. The council examined the plans for the first Vevey Comedy Film Festival and gave its official agreement for the first Festival in 1981. Lady O. Chaplin, the actor's widow, agreed to be the Festival's honorary president, thus placing the event under the patronage of one of the most important figures in the history of the cinema and guaranteeing for the organizers vital access to international cinema circles.

The first Festival took place in August 1981. The event comes after the Montreux Jazz Festival, which is in the first fortnight in July, and slightly before the Montreux-Vevey Classical Music Festival which begins at the end of August. Thus the Festival provides a bridge between the two great events in the Riviera's festival season.

Ten films competed in the first Festival and the jury was chaired by James Mason (another actor living near Vevey). In addition, a season of Charlie Chaplin shorts was organized in connection with the Festival. One of the four Vevey museums, the Swiss Camera Museum, also took part by putting on an exhibition of unknown portraits of Charlie Chaplin. In 1982, the Vevey Festival joined the International Federation of Film Producers' Associations. Ten films competed in the second Festival and there was a Michel Simon retrospective season.

Canvassing, which at first concentrated on the Cannes, Berlin and Chamrousse Festivals, was extended in 1983 to include the American film market. As a result, more English-language films took part in the competition. Three prizes were awarded at the 1983 Festival, the International Jury Prize, the Audience Prize and a 'Kodak' Prize.

In 1984, the Swiss Romande radio and television was associated with the fourth Festival and awarded a special prize for a young Swiss film-maker. Two photography prizes - Cinegram and Zodak - were awarded to the best short, one for Switzerland and the other open to all countries. The official selection included films from Hong Kong, India, Denmark and Yugoslavia.

There was an innovation at the fifth Festival, with the audience being invited to vote on the film competing for the Audience Prize. The ten feature films in the competition included examples of Mediterranean film production, with films from Spain, Greece, Italy and Yugoslavia. Hungary and Senegal were also among the countries from which films were selected. In addition, Swiss films were presented in the 'Young Swiss Cinema' section created the year before.

In 1986, two new prizes were created, one from the Vevey district councils and the other from the Cointreau Foundation; this showed a desire to extend the Festival's financial base with public and private backing. An Association of the Festival's Friends was also founded in order to contribute materially towards the Festival's preparation and attract more subscriptions.

After six years of promotion and prospection, the Festival's fame has spread. The management receives various invitations to participate in different festivals, particularly in Latin America (Colombia, Brazil, Argentina) and in Poland. Many Latin American countries participated in the 1987 Festival, in which an Argentinian and a Venezuelan film were officially selected, and there was a 'panorama of Brazilian films' with six comedies from that country.

On the whole, the Comedy Festival is organized in quite a conventional manner, with an international competition in which ten films compete for four prizes and a Swiss competition with three prizes awarded to shorts. In addition, each Festival has a theme centred around a retrospective (Italian comedy, romantic comedy, Brazilian comedy, etc.) or pays tribute to a leading cinema figure (Capra, the Marx Brothers, Charles Bowers, Truffaut, Tati ...). An exhibition is also organized, usually in collaboration with the Swiss Camera Museum in Vevey.

Over five days, including the 'previews' before the official opening, the Festival regularly attracts between five and six thousand spectators. The audience comes mainly from Vevey and its region, from Lausanne and eastern Vaud. The seasons, tributes and exhibitions provide a historical perspective on comedy films and are an opportunity to situate contemporary films in the history of the genre. The programme is particularly open to Third World and Eastern European films, which is no doubt one of the event's main qualities. Thus the Festival provides, via humour, a rare insight into other cultures.

The Festival has quickly become one of the leading cultural events which the population of Vevey looks forward to. Like other local cultural events, it generates its own atmosphere which encourages exchanges. A faithful audience and the paid or unpaid helpers who take part in its preparation and running are thus brought together every year for the Festival.

Finally, not the least of its merits is the fact that the Festival helps to advertise the region's cinemas. For cinemas in medium-sized towns are losing audiences to competition from cinemas in large urban centres<sup>1</sup> (in this case Lausanne), which attract a large proportion of the region's cinema-goers by presenting the latest films, sometimes months in advance. In this respect, the Festival constitutes a successful attempt to encourage and promote small outlying cinemas.

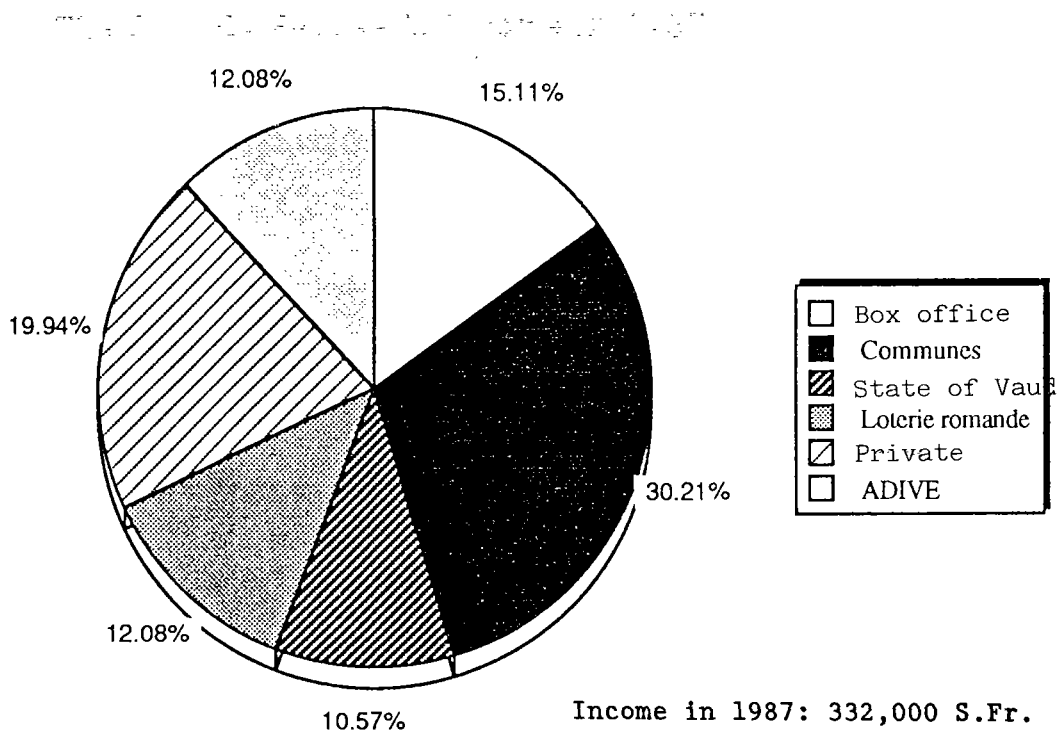
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1. In the Vevey-Montreux area, five cinemas have closed in the last ten years. Montreux, which has one of the most prestigious congress centres in Switzerland, has now only one small cinema!

But the work of prospection, selection and advertising for such a Festival implies considerable expenditure in proportion to the nature of the 'product on offer'. In 1987, the Festival's revenue was 332,000 S.Fr.; chart 10 shows the breakdown of this revenue according to the source of funding<sup>1</sup>. The Festival's own income, mainly from box-office proceeds and advertising, came to 15 per cent of the budget. Note also the Lottery which, as part of its policy of aiding cultural activities, provides considerable backing for the event. The private sector, represented by about 30 firms which help in one way or another (by providing financial backing, printing programmes or providing technical or logistic assistance, etc.), represents nearly one fifth of the Festival's revenue.

But the most important share of the Festival's income is from public funding; the Vevey council and the state of Vaud provide 41 per cent of the Festival's revenue (100,000 and 35,000 S.Fr. respectively). If we add to that the contribution of other councils in the region, paid until 1987 through the ADIVE, more than half of the Festival's money comes from public funds.

Chart 10



1. These data have a margin of error of several per cent, as our informers refused to give us a detailed budget for the event, invoking in particular the need for discretion concerning income from the private sector.

Apart from a screen set up for the occasion in one of Vevey's squares, the amenities needed for showing the films and organizing the Festival are simply Vevey's four cinemas, which have to be rented. Installing equipment does not therefore cost very much. This can be contrasted with the budget for the Nyon Summer Theatre Festival, which lasted two weeks with about the same sized audience and which required considerable installations, plus the expense of lodging and paying dozens of actors.

An event of this type can only exist if it is widely known outside the area, which was in any case part of its original purpose. The travel and other costs involved in research, the cost of inviting journalists or foreign VIPs and the jury's accommodation costs are among the expenses inherent in the marketing nature of the Festival.

#### 3.4.4 Montreux's cultural policy

##### (a) Introduction

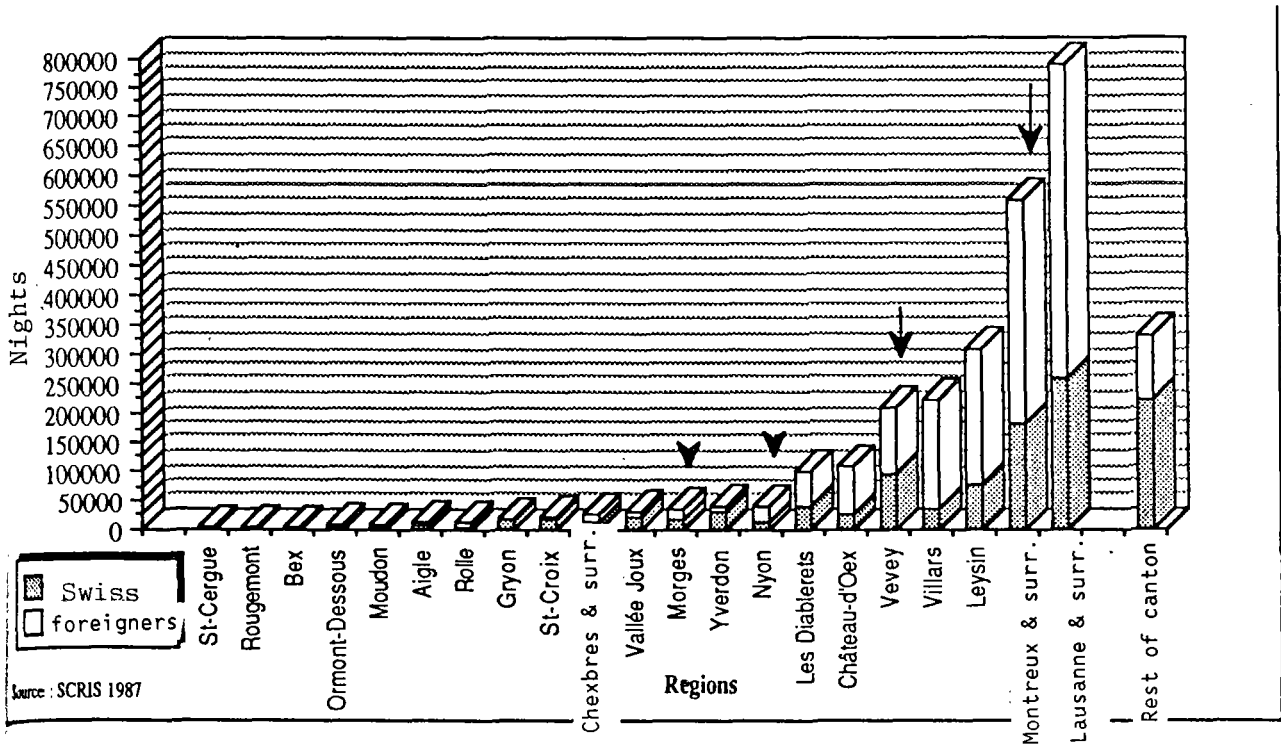
'In forty years (1870-1910), the upper Lake zone [Montreux and its immediate surroundings] became an urban region. This development was equivalent to building a multi-centred, fluctuating town, with stretched-out railway and energy installations, with no core, laid out according to the hotel industry's competing and concerted private interests' (Gubler, 1977:7).

'When speaking of Montreux, one should not forget that it is not a town. It is a conglomeration of little villages. Montreux is very young, hardly a hundred and fifty years old, [...] The town was created by tourism and grand hotels. Even well-to-do shopkeepers were not allowed into the Palace tea dances. [...] Montreux only became a town little by little. Vevey was built up around the square and the church, like all towns. It is a deep-rooted town which has grown up over the centuries. Here [in Montreux] there is a particular mentality as, due to tourism, contacts between people are not the same. It is more superficial. For example, someone from Montreux will more readily go to see an exhibition in Lausanne or elsewhere. There is no clear identity. Perhaps in another hundred and fifty years...' (a Montreux actor).

Montreux is a strung-out town, bustling, but with no well-established identity; it is a place for business tourism and, with 19,000 inhabitants and more than 170,000 visitors per year, it is the canton's second tourist resort (see chart 11). It is also one of the Swiss resorts best known both in Switzerland and abroad for the tourist, commercial and cultural events that take place there. The Jazz and Classical Music Festivals, the Television Symposium and the Golden Rose Competition are some of the events responsible for Montreux's fame outside Switzerland.

In the early 1960s, when the canton's other medium-sized communes were still at the stage of cultural activities mainly conditioned by internal factors, Montreux's cultural development, pressured by the need for a reorganization of the tourist economy, was receptive to the transformations affecting industrialized societies. The development of mass communications, the appearance of the culture industry and the possibility of increased mobility for people and information necessitated, and at the same time contributed to, the growth of international-scale events. In response to new demands from the international culture industry's distribution network, Montreux was no doubt one of the first Swiss communes, outside the big urban centres, to turn towards forms of cultural expression which require a high level of technical know-how, increased professionalism and hence considerable financial means.

Chart 11



(b) The council's activity

In Montreux, cultural affairs are under the control of the general administration and thus the Syndic; there is not, as in Vevey, a special council service for cultural matters. This is mainly due to the fact that in Montreux there is only one small museum of purely local interest, the Musée du Vieux Montreux. In addition, the public library, which is much smaller, needs fewer personnel and less money than Vevey's. And Montreux's amenities - the Casino and the Conference Centre - are run by bodies which do not depend on the local council, namely the Montreux Tourist Office and the Casino Company.

Thus no need was felt for a specialized administration in Montreux. The 'municipal' sector of cultural affairs consists solely of the public library. The local authorities have thus chosen to reduce the bureaucracy. For music, the International Jazz Festival and the International Choral Symposium are organized under the auspices of the Montreux Tourist Office (OTM) and the Montreux-Vevey Classical Music Festival, although it has its own management independent of the OTM, still uses its administrative structure. Likewise the Regional Centre for Cultural Activities (the CRAC) and the Montreux troupe called the Chablais-Riviera Drama Centre (the CDCR) are in charge of Montreux's theatrical life. These bodies receive subsidies from Montreux and other councils in the region. In order to have some control over the running of these bodies, the council is generally represented, either directly or through its representatives on the OTM's management committee. The subsidy principle is thus consistently applied in Montreux.

These characteristics should not be forgotten when trying to understand the Montreux authorities' role and intervention in cultural matters. For a simple comparison of budgets could give the impression that Montreux makes less of an effort in the cultural field; with cultural expenditure standing at 874,000 S.Fr. in 1988 (or 1.4 per cent of council expenditure, or 44.6 S.Fr. per inhabitant), Montreux apparently spends the same as or even less than Nyon (where investment in culture was 845,000 S.Fr., or 1.3 per cent of council expenditure, or 64.2 S.Fr. per inhabitant).

But this is not in fact the case; in the first place because since 1987 the Montreux council no longer charges local taxes on tickets for theatre and entertainment. (It is the only one of the four councils to have taken this step, but it is under discussion in Nyon and Vevey and most of the canton's medium-sized communes are likely to follow Montreux's lead.) In 1986, taxes on entertainments and the theatre came to a total of 190,000 S.Fr. with a large proportion of this revenue coming from the Jazz Festival (nearly 140,000 S.Fr.). In practice, abolishing this tax has not changed things very much for the Jazz Festival, as the commune paid back in the form of subsidies the equivalent of the taxes received, and these subsidies are no longer granted now that the event is no longer taxed. The advantage of abolishing the tax was thus mainly to simplify and clarify the financial relationship between the authorities and the event's organizers and to put all the Montreux events on an equal footing.

The second aspect which is particular to Montreux concerns the considerable amounts invested in buildings. These buildings<sup>1</sup> serve the interests of tourism while at the same time being equipped with installations suitable for staging Montreux events. The theatres are run not by the Council but by bodies such as the Casino Company, the OTM for the organization of congresses or the CDGR for theatrical activities. Thus in 1988, the investment entailed by the conference centre extension (with the plan for building a concert hall) came to 4,000,000 S.Fr.<sup>2</sup>

The third and final aspect which singles out Montreux is the fact that its cultural events are designed for marketing purposes and for that reason are backed by the tourist industry, mainly by means of hotel taxes.

These factors mean that the make-up of local cultural funding is noticeably different from that of the other communes dealt with in this study. While for the first three the major part of the cultural budget was absorbed by museums, libraries and, in the case of Morges, by running the Beausobre Theatre, subsidies to outside bodies represent more than three-quarters of the Montreux council's cultural expenditure.

Montreux makes a particular financial effort in the direction of musical events, which represented 35 per cent of expenditure on culture, or 308,500 S.Fr. in 1988. The largest subsidy went to the Montreux-Vevey Classical Music Festival, with 90,000 S.Fr. paid through the OTM. In addition, in order to increase the Festival's independence from the OTM, the council contributed 80,000 S.Fr. as capital for a Festival Foundation. The aim

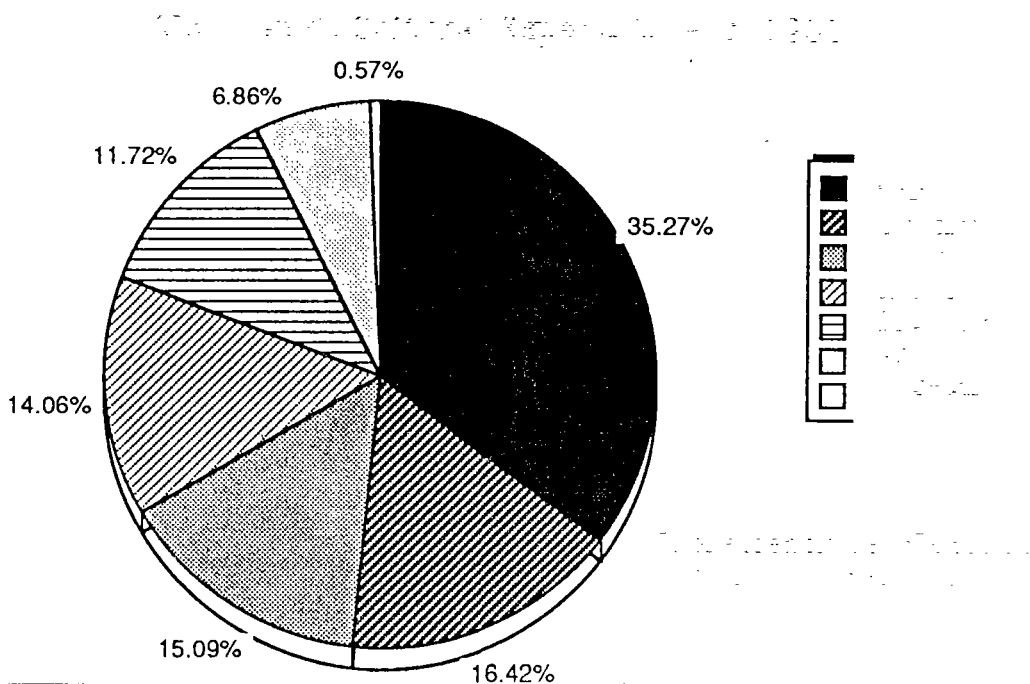
1. 'Mainly the Montreux Casino Theatre (2,500 seats), the Conference Hall (2,000 seats), the Grande Salle du Pavillon (1,400 seats) and, separate from tourist amenities, the Théâtre du Vieux Quartier-TVQ (110 seats).
2. For other investment expenditure in the 1988 budget, we could mention the conservation of historical buildings, with the restoration of Montreux's old covered market which required an investment of 1,216,000 S.Fr.; Montreux also contributed 544,000 S.Fr., together with the canton, to create a sound museum (the Auditorium).

of setting up an independent foundation was above all to clarify the Festival's statutes, mainly in order to facilitate fund-raising outside the commune. 'At the moment, the Festival is financially linked to the OTM, which creates certain problems at the administrative level, and particularly in relation to the principle of subsidization. It would be better for this body to be independent and less closely linked to the Montreux council, to avoid giving the other councils the impression that they are subsidizing Montreux. Discussions with the state [of Vaud] will also be easier' (a Montreux council employee).

Still in the field of music, Montreux provides considerable backing for music societies (36,000 S.Fr.), for the Cadets' Music Corps (60,000 S.Fr.) and for the organization of summer concerts (10,000 S.Fr.). In addition, the council pays out 12,500 S.Fr. to enable its inhabitants to attend concerts at reduced prices. Finally, it provides 20,000 S.Fr. for the International Choral Symposium in which 20 choirs, mainly from Europe, take part every spring.

Theatrical amenities in Montreux consist of the TVQ theatre (Théâtre du Vieux Quartier), and the organization and staging of plays is done by the CRAC and the CDCR. The council contributes 100,000 S.Fr. annually to these two bodies, which are also helped by other communes and by the canton. Among the main subsidies, we could also mention 100,000 S.Fr. for musical education, awarded each year to the Montreux Music College, and 60,000 S.Fr. for buying works of art.

Chart 12





On the whole, the Montreux authorities intervene in a subsidiary capacity. Although the council financially backs a large number of activities, their implementation involves independent regional or local bodies.

REGIONAL LEVEL;

CRAC: theatrical activity, financed intercommunally

CDGR: Montreux troupe, but also backed by other communes, mainly through the CRAC

Montreux-Vevey Music Festival: backed by several communes, but more particularly by Montreux, with help from the OTM administration.

LOCAL LEVEL:

Local associations

Music College

Municipal sector: Library

OTM: financed by local interests, by hotel taxes and by the Montreux council.

(c) The OTM (Montreux Tourist Office)

The OTM, with forty or so permanent employees and a turnover of sixteen million francs, is one of the region's largest enterprises. Its role in the regional economy, and more specifically that of Montreux, is that of a real driving force. It lays down the pattern of 'regional marketing', ensuring that Montreux is present in international markets, and attracts tourists by organizing in particular technical and commercial events (congresses, company seminars, commercial exhibitions, etc.). By running the various activities which stimulate and enliven the tourist industry, the OTM also plays the role of a regulator in sharing out resources within the region's economic system.

In addition to these functions of selling, organizing, advertising and market prospection, the OTM is also responsible for attractions in the resort of Montreux. Its 'entertainment' department puts on the traditional summer concerts, but its main function - whether in the field of cultural supply or marketing - is to organize events on a much grander scale, such as the Montreux Jazz Festival

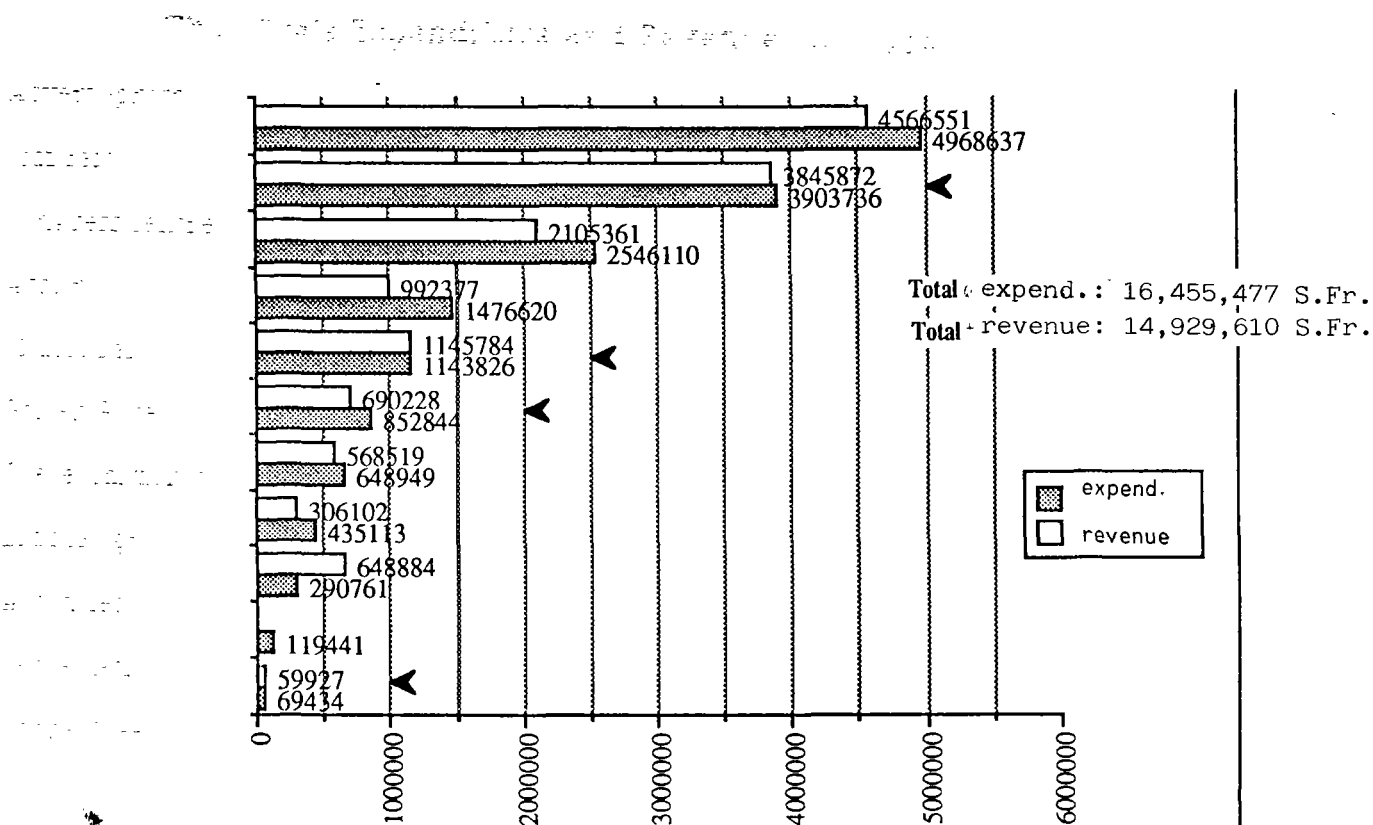
In the 1960s, Montreux already began to turn towards the sector of television and radio, and communication in general. It was during this period that international television circles decided to create an annual event in Montreux and to award the Golden Rose for the best programmes presented on this occasion. A commercial side was rapidly added to this event with the Montreux Television Symposium, which is an opportunity for many exhibitors to present the most recent technological developments in the field of television and radio. At the same time, the Montreux Jazz Festival was created and, thanks to its close links with media circles, it rapidly developed to become one of the most important international events in the field of jazz and related musical genres.

In the 1980s, with the general drop in tourist industry profits in Switzerland, the need for change and for a diversification of the activities available in the resort of Montreux encouraged those in charge of the OTM to

develop new events. 'In the years to come, with a view to adapting the OTM's structure, we should try to create regularly new cultural or technical and commercial activities, to avoid the present over-concentration of efforts. [...] The events which we manage, both artistic, technical and commercial, are attractions vital to our economy. Their international reputation has grown over the years, but we must be aware that their success will not last forever. That is why we have set up three new events - Ergodesign, Automacom and Spacecommerce' (Director of the OTM, Annual OTM Report, 1986). Ergonomics, cybernetics and space commercialization are three sectors which fit in with the general theme of communication, information and high technology domination the different Montreux events. In addition, a new congress has been organized within the framework of the Golden Rose Competition, the Music and Media Congress, which brings together the directors of record companies and the trade press.

Thus in recent years, the OTM's policy has been in favour of organizing new events which can both diversify the resort's activities and reinforce Montreux's position in the market which it has already cornered. Nevertheless, as is shown in chart 13, the OTM's efforts are still concentrated on traditional events. The 1986 accounts show a deficit of more than one and a half million francs (partially compensated by drawing on 820,000 S.Fr. of its reserve). This unfavourable result is due, on the one hand to the amount spent on developing new activities and on the other to the absence of the Television Symposium, which takes place every other year. This event makes a large profit, which in 1985 amounted to 873,000 S.Fr. (for an expenditure of 4,092,000 S.Fr.).

Chart 13



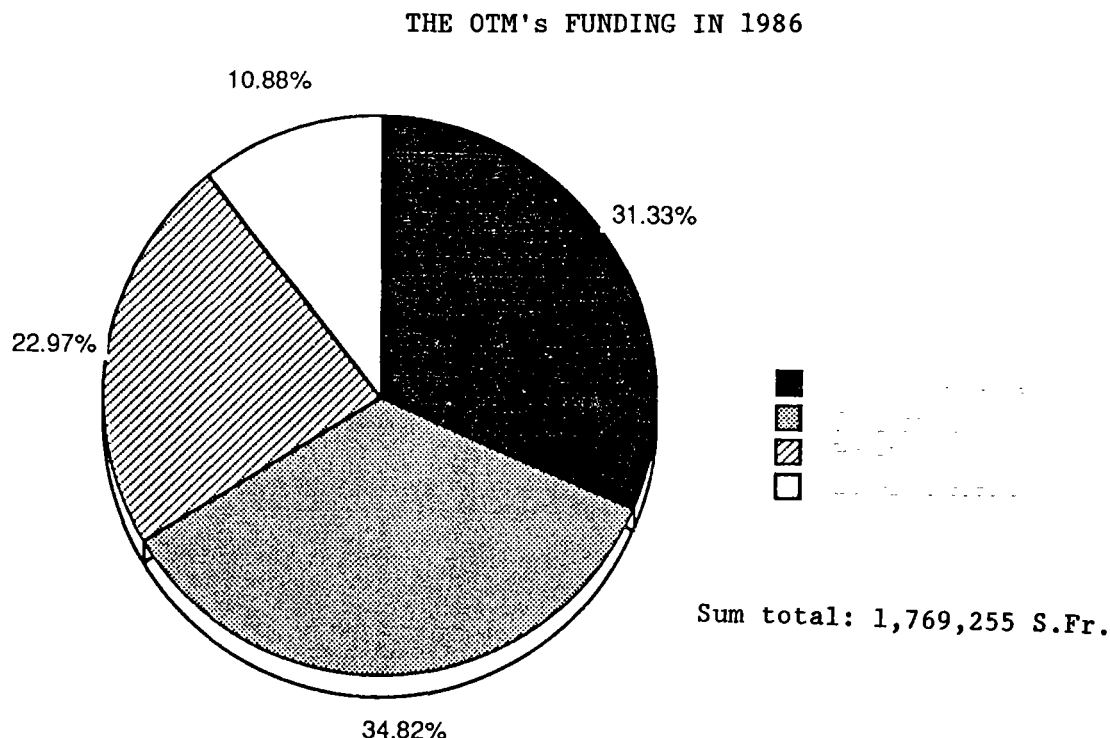
The OTM's largest budget item is for prospecting and advertising the resort. The Jazz Festival is, with the Symposium, the event which accounts for a large proportion of expenditure. On the whole, cultural events - the Jazz Festival, the Classical Music Festival and the Choral Symposium - account for more than 31 per cent of the OTM's expenditure (more than 36 per cent if the Golden Rose is included).

These sums show how cultural development concentrating on prestigious events with a national and international audience and adapted to developments on the world culture market could not have happened without the economic potential of tourism.

The OTM differs from other tourist offices in the canton in its size and the means at its disposal, but not in the interests it represents and defends. The OTM, which is run like a private company, minimizing its risks and giving priority to economic interests, is therefore largely self-financing. It nevertheless has the permanent financial backing of regional interest groups, local authorities and, of course, the hotel sector.

Chart 14 shows the source of the OTM's external funding in 1986. The hotel industry was the main financial partner as, through the hotel tax or the hotel-owners' society, it provided nearly 58 per cent of the Office's financial backing (respectively 430,600 and 397,900 S.Fr.). Subsidies from the Montreux authorities and to a lesser extent from other communes in the region<sup>1</sup> were the second source of the OTM's external funding (542,000 S.Fr., of which 480,000 or 31.3 per cent of the total came from the Montreux council). Finally, membership fees from local firms (mainly shops, cafés and construction companies), the region's many private schools or clinics, and insurance companies or banks constitute an important source of the Office's funds (192,515 S.Fr., or 10.9 per cent of the total).

Chart 14

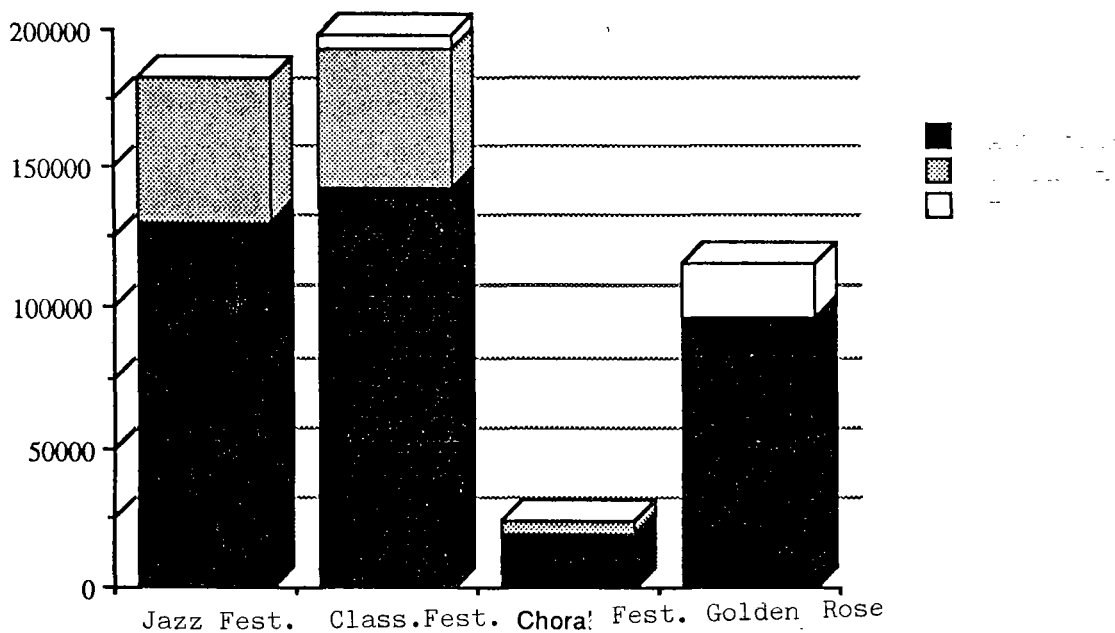


1. Whose grants go mainly to the Classical Music Festival, the Golden Rose and the OTM's congress section.

Part of the private or public aid given to the OTM goes directly towards organizing cultural events. The size of these sums is shown in chart 15. The data given here have greatly changed since 1986. With the abolition of the entertainment tax in 1987, council subsidies paid through the OTM have gone down from 282,500 S.Fr. in 1986 to 108,000 S.Fr. The 137,000 S.Fr. subsidy given to the Jazz Festival, which, as we have said, was only a reimbursement of the taxes paid to the council, completely disappeared in 1987 (by way of comparison, the Nice Council gave nearly three million French francs to the organizers of its festival in 1984). On the other hand, the Classical Music Festival was not affected as the subsidies from Montreux and Vevey (90,000 and 50,000 S.Fr. respectively) continued to be paid in 1987.

Chart 15

BACKING FOR CULTURAL EVENTS IN 1986



Apart from these grants, the cultural events organized by the OTM attract sponsors, mainly because of their wide media coverage. The role of banks in the cultural field has considerably increased in recent years, with, for example, the Banque Cantonale Vaudoise associating itself with the Classical Music Festival. Radio and television broadcasting rights and the participation of the record industry<sup>1</sup> also contribute to the Montreux Festivals' financial solidity.

1. To take but one example, the 1988 Classical Music Festival included a cycle of six concerts with Nikita Magaloff as soloist in an international co-production for the public recording of a piano anthology on compact disc.

Undoubtedly, Montreux's cultural development is a result of a combination of the interest of the tourist economy and the culture industry. The effect of this combination has been magnified by the close links with media circles and by the rapid setting up of installations which allow events to be widely publicized in the media. Televised broadcasts from the Jazz Festival and radio broadcasts from the Music Festival have played a role in the development of these events; firstly, by providing capital and secondly - and perhaps most importantly - by contributing to a large extent to marketing Montreux as a resort. This last point is the fundamental one for the tourist economy sectors and justifies their investment.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the OTM's annual reports pay particular attention to media coverage of these events. 'Local or international radio stations such as Europe 1 and Tokyo FM in particular, Swiss, German and American television stations and 500 VIPs from the newspaper world have again broadcast the name of Montreux throughout the continents of the world, thus confirming the advertising impact of one of our most important events' (OTM Annual Report, 1986).

The economic impact is not only immediate, linked to an audience which comes to consume tourist goods and services on the spot, but is also more widespread and long term. In 1986 the Golden Rose alone had, for example, twenty-seven hours of broadcasts on the New York music channel MTV. In addition to the many direct broadcasts from it, the Jazz Festival helps to ensure Montreux's presence on American and Japanese markets by being associated with the Detroit-Montreux Jazz Festival and the Sapporo-Montreux Jazz Festival.

(d) The Montreux International Jazz Festival: towards an evaluation

In the following pages we shall not repeat what we have already said about the financial and organizational aspects of the Jazz Festival. Instead, we shall mainly sketch the general profile of the event, stress its main objectives and judge its impact in the context of French Switzerland.

'In the mid-1960s we had to organize musical evenings for the Golden Rose. We saw that these concerts were successful and so we organized a second series, called the Jazz Festival' (head of the Montreux tourist economy).

The Montreux Jazz Festival, which grew out of the Golden Rose, very quickly became a separate event with its own reputation. The original choice of strictly jazz music was also developed and became more eclectic, with more room for connected musical genres such as rock and African or Latin American music. This musical diversification has not, however, ousted jazz, which is still the Festival's centre of gravity, but it has helped to lengthen the event which now lasts for more than a fortnight at the beginning of July. The increasing cost of installations encouraged the organizers to prolong the Festival, as the expenditure is more easily recouped over two or three weeks than over a few days.

While it is true that the Festival originally benefited from a favourable context, existing facilities, television and radio events, and support from Swiss Television, it is also true that it developed at the instigation of a small group of OTM employees. 'The ideas originated here, in the OTM offices, with little outside help. Of course we created and made the most of contacts in different directions, in particular with record companies. The then accountant [the Festival's present director] was interested in jazz and he gave up accounting to organize the Festival. It all began on a small scale and grew on the basis of our ideas and our work. [...] The Festival didn't begin with big meeting and big committees. The present director "went to work" on

performers in the depths of California and they signed a contract with him. That's how it happened and not at all with big sponsors' (head of Montreux's tourist economy).

If the Festival receives backing from the region's economic circles it is because it is a remarkable advertisement for the resort. 'The aim is not to promote jazz; the main motive is tourism. If it makes jazz fans happy, so much the better, but that is not the basic idea, which is to enliven the tourist season and make the name of Montreux better known. It's like for the Golden Rose; if the audience doesn't like the shows or the programme, that doesn't matter so much. What matters to us is that it is heard in Scandinavia or Britain and that the clips we produce are shown on the American networks or on NHK in Tokyo. [...] What should be done for the local population is no business of mine, it's the Syndic's problem [...] The Jazz Festival wasn't created at the request of the authorities or at their suggestion, or at the demand of local people. [...] You have to remember how it began; it didn't begin with a cultural purpose. [...] The aim is to make the town's economy thrive' (head of the Montreux tourist economy).

In 1967, the first Festival's star attraction was the Californian Charles Lloyd. But it still had a very European tone, with jazz groups from twelve European countries coming to play in Montreux. By 1968 the Festival already had a large audience. The second Festival also marked the beginning of the record industry's association with the event, and a first public recording (the Bill Evans Trio, Eddie Gomez, Jack De Johnette) was made, mentioning Montreux. This recording won the Grammy Award, the American record industry's Oscar. In 1969, McCann, Eddie Harris and Benny Bailey recorded a jam session which sold more than a million records.

In 1971, the Festival was extended from three days to three weeks and attracted more than three hundred musicians. At the same time, more different types of music were included - classical, modern and contemporary jazz as well as blues, folk, rock and pop.

The record industry, which was overwhelmingly present at the early Festivals, is still very important but no longer controls the organizing of concerts as it did at the beginning. 'It plays a role in programming and in publishing albums. In addition the concerts have been digitally recorded for at least the last five years [since 1979]. In view of the boom in this technique, the industry will issue many concerts on compact disc' (Director of Jazz Festival; Voir, No. 4, January 1984).

Like other events involving the arrival of a large audience which does not always fit in with the social norms of a small locality like Montreux, the Festival at first met with sometimes hostile reactions on the part of the inhabitants. 'What provoked some instinctive reactions among the public was mainly the appearance of some of the Festival visitors. If I say "was", it's because today youth fashion is more classical and conventional. We are now seeing suits and ties again, just slightly closer fitting. The hippies with their jeans and long hair have vanished. This change has meant that the tourists mix in better with the local population. And their behaviour has changed too. They're calmer and come in small groups' (Jazz Festival Director, Voir, No. 4, January 1984).

The Festival, which in the 1960s and early 1970s was a unique event in French Switzerland, is now part of a phenomenon that seems to be much more widespread on a national and even European scale. Festivals and musical or artistic fortnights are springing up everywhere and culture is becoming a necessary ingredient of regional development. Each town therefore has to stand out by organizing a cultural attraction capable of drawing the media's attention and bringing in the crowds.

To take only the example of rock, folk or jazz<sup>1</sup>, there are tens of thousands of 'culture commuters' who are drawn towards the Swiss urban centres. In June 1987, three open-air concerts in Basle (Genesis, Tina Turner and Eurythmics) attracted audiences of 150,000. In the following month nearly 165,000 people attended three great musical events, the Nyon Paleo-Folk Festival (63,000 spectators), the Leysin Rock Festival (42,000 spectators) and the Montreux jazz Festival (60,000 spectators, including associated attractions)<sup>2</sup>.

The scale of these three events is thus not merely local, and they necessarily depend on a national or at least French-speaking market. Their general characteristics are a programme featuring international stars and a huge exploitation of the media. These festivals, which all take place within three weeks, follow on one from another but are different from each other. Despite their labels (folk, jazz, rock) which correspond less and less to the music featured, each one preserves its own particular atmosphere and image.

Although the great urban centres monopolize a large proportion of cultural resources, secondary urban centres have managed to develop events which can appeal to a much larger 'cultural market' than in the past. Medium-sized communes, which take advantage of the potential audience in the large towns and also of a shift in ways of consuming culture - in particular greater spatial mobility - have been able to host events requiring a much larger potential audience than exists locally.

The success of these events seems to us to depend on three very general factors (Anderson, 1987:30):

The fame of the performers, which means high production costs and a considerable internationalization of the event

Media coverage

To a much lesser extent, the event's pricing policy.

But the fantastic development of these seasonal events can also be explained by a fashion for 'cultural pilgrimages'. The 'journey', however short, becomes at least as important as the cultural product that is consumed. The point is not only to attend a particular concert or performance, but to go to Montreux, Nyon or elsewhere. Together with a musical experience, there is now a desire for an atmosphere, to experience a 'change of scenery', which consists as much in what is happening on stage as in the audience.

1. Part of the same phenomenon, but on a smaller scale, are other festivals which have sprung up in different fields, such as the Fribourg Belluard (dance, theatre and music), the Comic Strip Festival in Sion (in the canton of Valais) or, as we have seen, theatre in Nyon and cinema in Vevey.
2. If we add the audience of 20,000 at the Lausanne Hot Point rock festival, which is held at the end of August, nearly 185,000 people attended events in the canton of Vaud in the 1987 summer season.

## CHAPTER 4

### CONCLUSION: CULTURAL POLICIES, THEIR EVALUATION AND ANALYSIS

#### 4.1. PRELIMINARY REMARK

We have, we believe, been sufficiently brief and explicit during our discussion to avoid having to review systematically the different points dealt with in this study. The reader can consult the summaries in each chapter.

Our conclusion will concentrate on the theme of evaluation. With this in mind we must clarify certain concepts, taking into account the considerable amount of work that is currently being done on cultural policies and their evaluation. We shall refer particularly to the Council of Europe publications (see Wangermée and Gournay, 1988; Bassand, 1987). We shall here explain the main stages of a cultural policy, the concepts of purpose, objectives, resources and results of a cultural policy, its participants and the concept of evaluation.

Finally we shall adapt this analytical framework to take account of the experiences and cases described in our discussion.

#### 4.2 THE PARAMETERS OF A CULTURAL POLICY

##### 4.2.1 Stages

The order in which we shall present the stages of a cultural policy (preparation, decision, implementation and winding up or continuation) could give the impression that it develops in a straight line like any policy. This is not, however, the case as these five stages are linked in different ways and their relative importance varies greatly.

For our purpose, the term 'public policy' covers a process particular to political institutions whose most typical (but not necessarily most important) stage is the political decision. By public policy we mean the process of working out and taking legitimate political decisions, and putting them into practice. We could add to this definition the idea that public policy should be understood 'as a system of purposes, instrumental objectives and means desired by a group and implemented by an authority' (Girard and Gentil, 1982).

##### 4.2.2 Working out a cultural policy

This is the stage at which a cultural demand enters the political system. This demand comes from a particular participant (or system of participants) who - using various arguments - succeed in convincing the other political actors of the relevance of their demand. It is in theory at this stage of the policy that the purpose, objectives and resources are discussed, laid down and negotiated. The different possible solutions, which link aims and resources on the one hand, and on the other relate the objectives to the policy's purpose, are the subject of plans, projects and different sorts of forecasts - mainly technical and financial. The working out of a project is a step-by-step process involving continual negotiations and compromises between political or economic partners and cultural participants.



During this stage, there is also informal evaluation comparing available resources, the cultural policy's purpose, the objectives envisaged, the hoped-for results and the present state of the community's cultural life. Is this policy really necessary? Does it add anything? For whom? With what consequences? Is it really the authority's job?

According to the relative influence of different groups, a solution is adopted or imposed. It is submitted to the decision-making body in the form of a bill, a regulation or, much more frequently, a simple request.

#### 4.2.3 The decision

This is the stage at which the political institution alters for the last time the project submitted to it, and then accepts or refuses it. The decision-making phase makes the project official. Afterwards the authorities can act according to the resources, objectives and purpose that have been decided on. However, in the majority of cases the last two are not spelled out and only the amount of funding is laid down.

#### 4.2.4 Implementing the decision

Here there are two different possibilities: implementation is either the job of the executive authority and its administration, or it is under the control of a body outside the politico-administrative structure.

Implementation usually implies another discussion of objectives, resources and purposes, taking into account very precise factors that could not or would not be envisaged at the decision-making stage. In addition, certain conditions have often changed in the meantime, in which case the decision must be interpreted or the project must be resubmitted to the decision-making process. In short, it often happens that to implement the decision it must be explicitly or implicitly modified.

In view of the fact that the decision can be put into practice in various ways, in this phase there is normally a new planning process. It is up to the implementing body to choose the solution which corresponds best to the options chosen during the decision-making process.

#### 4.2.5 Evaluation

This phase of public policy can be taken in a wider or more restricted sense. Evaluation can consist in judging whether a policy's objectives have been achieved in accordance with the resources allocated. But evaluation can also try to discover the medium- or long-term consequences of a policy's results in the field of culture or in related fields. More specifically, this means looking not only at whether a theatre has been built, but also if it has been built within the financial limits laid down when the decision was taken. Evaluation can go even further and look at whether the theatre is still really used three or four years after it has been built, whether it is used for plays or rock concerts, whether it is used by a particular sort of audience or all social categories in the area, and whether it is an instrument of more equal access to culture or of cultural democracy, or both at once.

It is clear that evaluation can be a very simple or alternatively a very long and complex process. It can concern a restricted group of notables or all of the inhabitants. Evaluation can be implicit and secret or very open.

#### 4.2.6 Winding up or continuing a policy, or its life cycle

According to the results of evaluation, a policy can be brought to an end or corrected, because its objectives and purpose have been achieved, or for the opposite reason, because the participants admit its failure in relation to the original objectives. Usually a particular policy is only part of a long-term undertaking. Once the theatre has been built, a budget must be voted for its upkeep and, even more important, another budget must be voted for its use and activities. This marks the beginning of another policy involving more working out, decision-making, planning, implementation and evaluation. Public policies are thus very complex processes which rarely move in a straight line as some specialists tend to think.

The five stages that we have analysed sometimes overlap. During the decision-making process, questions involving the working-out of the policy, its planning and implementation are all present. For example, one of those involved does not want to take a decision as long as the procedure for implementing it has not been laid down; or, while the policy is being worked out, various possible solutions are evaluated. In other words, public policy moves in fits and starts, with interruptions, periods of waiting, jumping the gun, going back to the beginning and reductions of or increases in both resources and objectives. Sometimes it satisfies the original demand, but sometimes it creates a new demand and leads to conflict.

#### 4.3 PURPOSE, OBJECTIVES AND RESOURCES

Purpose refers to the basic values guiding what is done. In a cultural policy, the purpose can be expressed in terms of more equal cultural opportunity or cultural democracy, or a mixture of the two.

More equal opportunity implies a process of cultural creation that is first and foremost the concern of a cultural élite. This creation is followed by a process of conservation, making available and consumption in the lower social classes. It is thus a downwards-moving cultural process.

Cultural democracy is an upwards-moving process. It is based on the hypothesis that the lowest social classes are also capable of creativity that can lead to cultural creation. The point is therefore not so much to provide the lower social classes with cultural products of greater or lesser prestige, but to allow these social groups to produce works and compare them with those of the cultural élite. More equal cultural opportunity and cultural democracy are two purposes that should interact, and one of the purposes of cultural policy may be to bring about this interaction.

The objectives (or aims) of a cultural policy are productions that are limited in space and time, that contribute towards one purpose or the other, for example, building a theatre, financing a festival, setting up a group for cultural activities over two or three years, etc. Achieving objectives sometimes leads to unexpected, even opposite results, which are important elements to keep in mind.

The resources of a cultural policy may be human, financial, in equipment, etc. The combination of purpose, objectives and resources enables us to define the main types of cultural policy.

As a result of what we have seen, we can distinguish five types.

1. Cultural policies of assistance. These consist simply in distributing subsidies to private cultural participants who ask for them. According to the principle of subsidies, this type of policy is the main one. Culture is the sole affair of private initiative and the authorities restrict themselves to helping those who can prove that they are capable of conducting cultural activities worthy of the name, which correspond to a cultural purpose that has been explicitly or less explicitly adopted by the authorities.

2. Cultural policies of persuasion. In this case the authorities try to persuade all those engaged in cultural activities to work towards one or other cultural purpose.

3. Cultural policies of encouragement. The authorities encourage the private sector to act according to a particular purpose in a particular field (architecture, art, theatre, etc.). Those who participate are given a previously fixed proportion of grants following the principle of subsidies.

4. Policies of regulation. Here the authorities merely lay down norms for action which are not accompanied by subsidies. Often these norms do not directly concern culture, but rather health, the police, safety, etc. Nevertheless they have a considerable impact on cultural activities.

5. Directive cultural policies. These are a sort of combination of the previous four. The authorities fix a cultural objective such as building and running a museum; in order to do this, they vote and hand out financial and other resources, draw up appropriate regulations, encourage others to take part in this activity and conduct campaigns to encourage people to use the amenity in question.

It is important to distinguish between these five types, particularly when talking of evaluation, as it is not done in the same way for each of them. In the four communes studied, cultural policies which we have called policies of 'assistance' and 'directive policies' predominate.

#### 4.4 PARTICIPANTS

We have frequently used this term, which it is not necessary to explain at length.

We believe that a cultural policy without participants is meaningless. It is impossible to understand or explain a policy without highlighting the people who are involved in it. Who requests it? Who works it out? Who decides? Who implements? Who evaluates? Who benefits?

The individual or collective participants can be defined by the resources which result from their position in the social structure. These resources are financial, cultural, relational, technical, political, and so on. The participants can also be defined by their identity and their projects.

The relationship between the participants' resources, identity and projects determines to a large extent the development of a cultural activity. On the basis of the local cultural policies in Vaud that we have analysed, and of other research on culture in Switzerland (Bassand, et al, 1986) and in Europe (Bassand, 1987), we can distinguish three general categories of participants:

Cultural participants (creators, critics, organizers, popularizers, consumers, etc.) intervene individually or in groups with projects aiming at more equal cultural opportunity and at cultural democracy. Those who aim at the latter tend to be in a minority.

Political participants (elected representatives or party workers) almost always combine a cultural project with a social vision and tactical considerations. What is important to emphasize is the fact that these three projects (social, political and cultural) are not mutually exclusive (see figure 1, para. 3.1).

Technical or economic participants are of different types, such as financiers, economists, representatives of the tourist industry, shopkeepers, planners, and so on. Their activity is very great and often, to the disappointment of the first group, they change the nature of a cultural project by introducing considerations which may have nothing to do with culture. Cultural purposes do not greatly interest them; they are concerned with questions of efficiency, profit, etc.

#### 4.5 THE EVALUATION OF CULTURAL POLICY

##### 4.5.1 Approach

The analysis of a cultural policy cannot be separated from its evaluation. The different parameters we have discussed above are vital for policy analysis and also evaluation. Not to take this fact into account would lead to a limited evaluation with no real significance in relation to the social, political and economic context in which the cultural activity under consideration takes place.

In the narrow sense, to evaluate a policy consists in examining the results of an action taken by the authorities in relation to the objectives fixed and the resources allocated. As we have already seen, evaluation also has a wider meaning, which is either to make a value judgement on the results of a policy or to elucidate a policy's aim or to analyse its consequences. Within the limits of the available data, that is what we have tried to do in the above chapters.

The very specific analyses of local cultural policies made above come under the restricted definition that we have just given. And yet we realized that it was very difficult to stop at this type of evaluation. It became clear that the examination of the results in relation to objectives and resources could throw light on only a narrow aspect of cultural policies. The problem of purpose and its corollary, the impact or repercussions of a programme, could only be approached with extreme caution. The way in which the system of grants for cultural activities works hardly encourages a clear and explicit formulation of purpose. The bodies in charge of distributing public funds are more concerned by the financial feasibility or economic realism of a project than by its long-term aims or hoped-for impact.

An empirical grasp of the impact of a cultural activity in a medium-sized commune would require considerably greater means than those at our disposal. In addition to an analysis of figures relating to results (prices, number of visitors, income, audience size, satisfaction ratio, development of these indicators over a period of time or according to the type of activity proposed), impact evaluation requires a comprehensive approach which implies distinguishing between the different socio-cultural groups making up a district's social mosaic, identifying their expectations, how they define their identity, their wishes for social change, their cultural practices and their models of cultural consumption.

#### 4.5.2 The cultural foundations of evaluation

This methodological opposition between an 'analytic' approach (which can take different forms - an econometric or quantitative approach, an analysis of a series of actions according to their relative effectiveness, the correspondence between cultural supply and demand, use of guided questionnaires) and a 'comprehensive' approach (which implies immersing oneself in the reality experienced, perceived and represented by the different social groups) covers a conceptual opposition which we consider to be crucial for the issue of evaluation, namely the opposition between culture and the cultural.

Culture, from a conventional anthropological point of view, can be seen as an intersubjective area providing for group cohesion, the possibility of communication, identity formation, socializing and personalizing functions, a particular individual's capacity to interpret involving his values, purposes, capacity to formulate a project, his strategies of adaptation, his mastery of and capacity to change his social and material environment.

'The cultural', the adjectival noun, is what is accorded a cultural characteristic according to the norms accepted by different social groups, the commissions who run cultural affairs, the media and the political or economic circles concerned. It is a field in which the authorities or private cultural promoters intervene, and it is the object of planning. The cultural is a set of economically interrelated activities which, like the social or the economic, can be financed by the authorities, make profits for the private sector or, less frequently, be used by deviant social groups as an agent for social change. The cultural is also a subject of discussion and has become a marketing argument, a political factor or a demonstrator's slogan.

While culture is a concept covering and impregnating the whole of society, the cultural is a specific field of activity arising from a specialization or compartmentalization linked to the general functionalization (or institutionalization) of society.

In this study, we have seen that there is not necessarily a continuity between the cultural and culture. In other words, a considerable investment on the first level does not necessarily imply a noticeable transformation or strengthening of the second. Culture is far from insensitive to actions on the level of cultural, but the relationship between the two levels cannot be seen as a mechanical and straightforward one of cause and effect. The cultural is continually being interpreted, reorganized, appropriated, deformed, validated or rejected by culture or, more precisely, by the particular subcultures of different social groups. In this context, it is very interesting to note that one of the things which sparked off the violent demonstrations by young people in Zurich in the early 1980s was the size of the council subsidy to the Zurich Opera compared to the meagre funding for alternative cultural movements.

The interrelations between culture and the cultural thus seemed to us to be the touchstone for the issue of evaluation. The opposition between the cultural and culture highlights the two axes of evaluation, namely its 'existential' axis and its 'instrumental' axis (see table 1).

These axes can become elements for a critical analysis, as each can be developed into a series of criteria defining a particular cultural action. These two registers also provide criteria applicable a posteriori to a cultural action, during the evaluation process, and a list of initial purposes and objectives.

As we have seen, the cultural, thanks to the resources invested in it and its economic repercussions, has important economic implications. With the possibilities for general spatial mobility within a conurbation like that of the Lake Geneva Crescent and the creation of a service-oriented economy, the urban environment is no longer merely a place to live, but has become a marketable product. Thus the cultural is an integral part of regional marketing strategies. This development no doubt tends to favour the instrumental nature of cultural actions on the local level. In the years to come, economic interests will play a more and more decisive role in local cultural life and more particularly in large and medium-sized communes.

TABLE 1

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF CULTURAL ACTION

EXISTENTIAL

Identity - Conviviality - Strengthening community ties - Traditional values - Innovation - Accepting differences - Cultural democracy - Social critique on the basis of cultural liberation - Involvement of local cultural sectors - Interest in, understanding and control of international cultural trends - Mastery of modern techniques and methods of expression - Participation.

INSTRUMENTAL

Efficiency - Profitability - Economic repercussions - Availability - Public interest - Greater equality of opportunity - Cultural industry's contribution - Private sector's contribution, sponsorship, patronage - Co-ordination of public aid from cantons and communes - Professionalization - Technical level, quality of amenities and installations - Media and international interest.

The role of local economic interests does not necessarily involve a noticeable increase in sponsorship and patronage. Generally speaking, the use of cultural events for advertising purposes is of little concern to purely local economic interests (it tends to concern big firms, banks, cigarette manufacturers, luxury products, etc., which have the means to develop general sponsorship policies by financing several national events).

Broadly speaking, sponsorship intervenes in a later stage of the cultural project. Of course, sponsors can exert considerable influence on the programming, organisation of a performance, theatre layout or the importance the organizers accord to media coverage, but they only play a secondary role in the formulation of the project itself. Local economic interests, however, intervene at a totally different level. As they are very close to the local authorities, they can intervene at a very early stage and exert influence on the project's beginnings. They take part much more directly in the political decision-making process.

The fantastic development of the cultural sector in the last 20 years - which can be seen in the regular increase in canton and local budgets - corresponds to a transformation of the needs of an economy and society in mutation. As it becomes the arena for conflicts of interests between the political, cultural and economic participants, the cultural must have specific instruments for social control. Here evaluation should play a central role.

Instead of being merely an analysis undertaken a posteriori by outside experts, evaluation should be a political resource for cultural actions undertaken on the level of cantons or communes. As such, evaluation should be an open procedure fully integrated into the political process. It should take the form of a permanent questioning which cannot be confined to political or economic decision-making circles and which should lead to as wide an agreement as possible. Evaluation is meaningless if it is not the result of a real political desire to question the actions undertaken and it can only succeed if those concerned are interested in evaluation and agree to take part. 'It is a democratic, not an administrative process. Evaluation is not a commitment to be lightly undertaken. It is a political decision and is part of the continuous elaboration of cultural policies which must be constantly brought up to date' (Girard, Swedish Ministry of Education, 1985:65).

Finally, if evaluation is not to remain restricted to the cultural but is also to concern culture, it must be applied to a much wider range of activities. Opening a hypermarket in a town centre, creating a pedestrian precinct or drawing up a development plan for a neighbourhood are likely to have a much greater effect on habits and forms of sociability, on ways of being and seeing oneself than the decision to create a festival during the summer season.

The very concept of evaluating a cultural policy should be questioned, as to consider only the positive actions taken by the authorities means in fact ignoring all that has not been done and all that inhibits an area's cultural development. In the final analysis, evaluation runs the risk of ignoring what is essential if it stops at cultural policies. It should be a method of reflection, a permanent interrogation concerning the whole of public policy.

#### 4.6 CONCLUSION

More than any other policies or actions, cultural policies need evaluation, but this is a complex process, for at least four reasons.

1. External variables are more numerous, more influential and more difficult to separate.

2. In addition, the number of different participants involved and an informal system of action mean that the objectives and purposes on the one hand, and the results and impact on the other are particularly closely intertwined.

3. If we add to these elements the lack of uniformity in the available statistical data on cultural activities - which can be explained mainly by the high degree of decentralization - it is clear why a statistical analysis of these policies is difficult.

4. Finally, cultural policies are, more than any others, subject to value judgements, which complicate the analysis of purpose, objectives, results and their consequences (project No 10, Amendola).

In addition to these difficulties, the issue of the purpose of evaluation itself must be raised. Evaluation of cultural policies can be a management tool aimed at action. It makes it possible to avoid launching programmes which, at an excessive cost, do not stick to the purpose and objectives; it thus increases the authorities' efficiency. Thanks to evaluation, policies can be corrected as they go along.

From another point of view, if evaluation is open and not restricted to specialists, it can also be a way to improve democracy. In this sense, evaluation is also educational and thus cultural, for if it is open it provides knowledge and competence in the field of political and administrative functioning. Thus evaluation can contribute towards increasing the citizens' say in the cultural activities available to them. The more complex and hidden political processes are, the more the educational role of evaluation is important. But those involved must agree and evaluation must be integrated into the political process. This implies that the criteria used to evaluate a policy should be clarified.



APPENDIX

DIFFERENCES IN PUBLIC FUNDING OF CULTURE

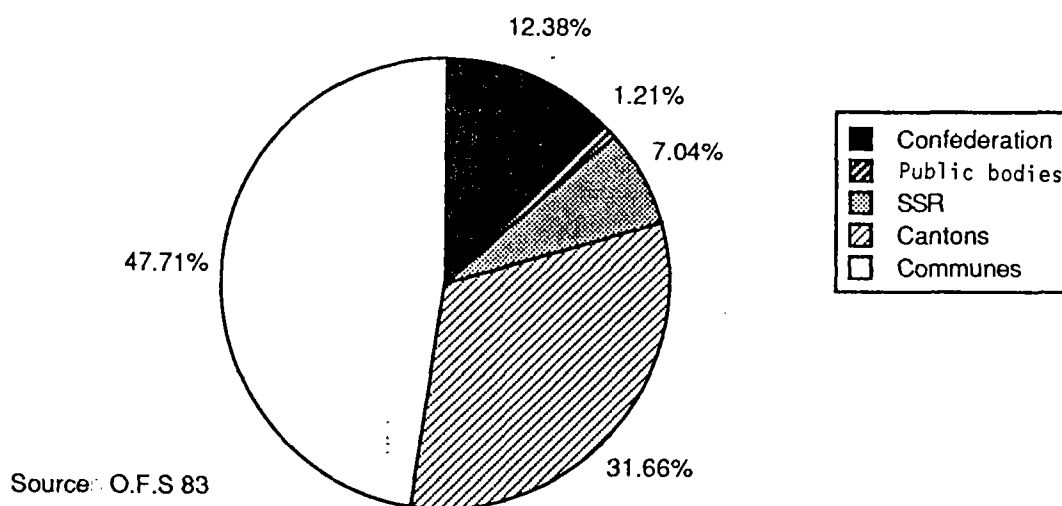
A.1.1 General situation

The fact that there are many different official organizations which intervene in the cultural field means that there are great differences in the means they deploy in favour of culture. The following analysis is intended to illustrate the source and destination of public funding of culture, and the regional differences that can be observed. It is based on data taken from a report published by the Federal Statistics Office (OFS) on the basis of an inquiry carried out in 1981.

Where the Confederation was concerned, the inquiry distinguished between expenditure financed by money from taxes and that financed by public bodies (Federal Railways, Post Office). Due to its importance for cultural funding, the Swiss Broadcasting Company (SSR) is mentioned by name.

Chart 1

BREAKDOWN OF CULTURAL EXPENDITURE IN SWITZERLAND IN 1981

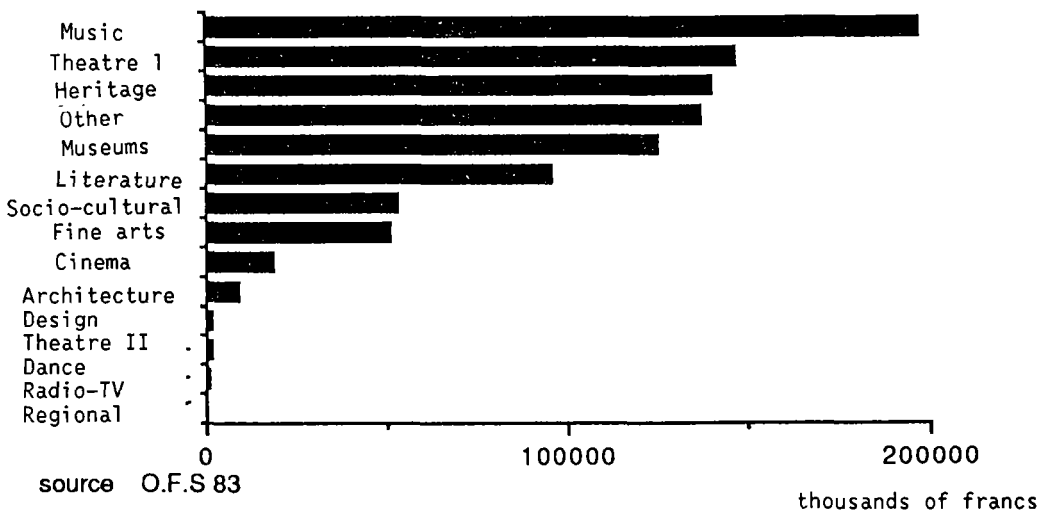


The general pattern of public cultural funding (chart 2) shows the importance of local councils (48%) and cantons (32%), as against the Confederation, which only covers 12 per cent of cultural expenditure; the SSR plays a significant role with 7 per cent while the participation of public bodies is minimal (1%).

The recipients of the funding by cultural sector are shown in chart 2. It can be seen that the main beneficiaries are music, theatre, protection of the heritage, museums and literature (including libraries). Note the unclassifiable category, which ranges from 'cultural administration' to multi-purpose organizations, via funds earmarked for cultural activities in general. There is also a second group, which includes support for socio-cultural activities (training of cultural workers, youth centres, popular education, etc.), fine arts and cinema. A third group covers 'marginal' sectors such as architecture, design or theatrical arts (mime, street theatre, circus). The overall pattern is quite conventional and favours traditional cultural sectors.

Chart 2

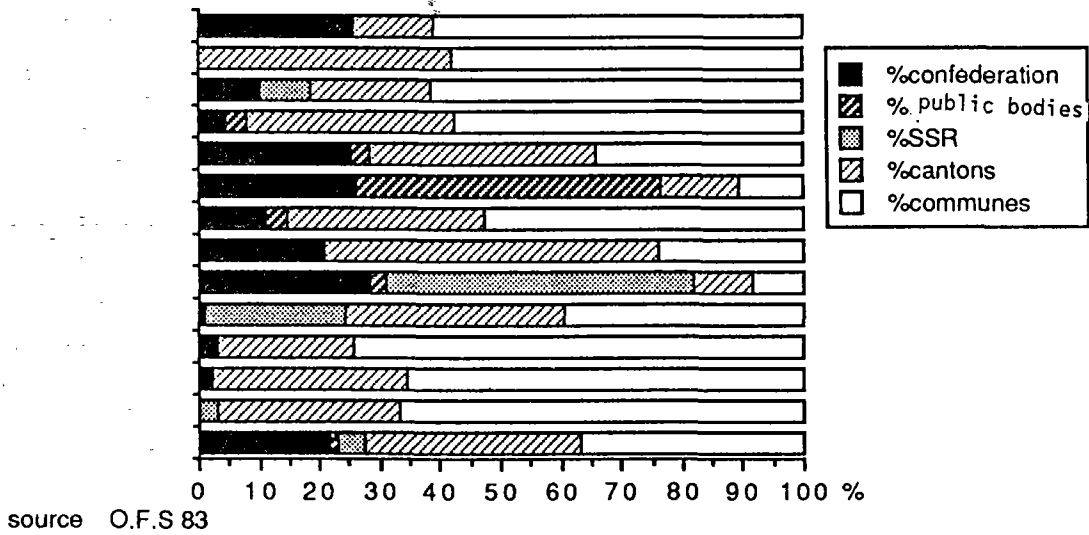
EXPENDITURE IN SWITZERLAND IN 1981 BY CULTURAL SECTOR



A study of the relative importance of public bodies' support for different sectors (chart 3) shows considerable differences. It can be seen that the communes make a particular financial effort in the direction of theatre and allied arts and dance. Socio-cultural activities needing localized action are also mainly funded by the communes. Fine arts depend above all on the cantons, which finance arts colleges generously. Communes and cantons are responsible for museums, radio stations and the few local television stations; together with the SSR they provide most of the grants for music. As for the Confederation, its funding of cinema, while not as great as the SSR's, is relatively large (note that the only article in the Federal Constitution dealing directly with culture concerns the cinema). From this rapid overview we can see that fields needing installations and equipment, such as concert halls, theatres or museums, are to a large extent paid for by the communes and the cantons, while the Confederation is responsible for the huge one-off investments needed to produce films.

Chart 3

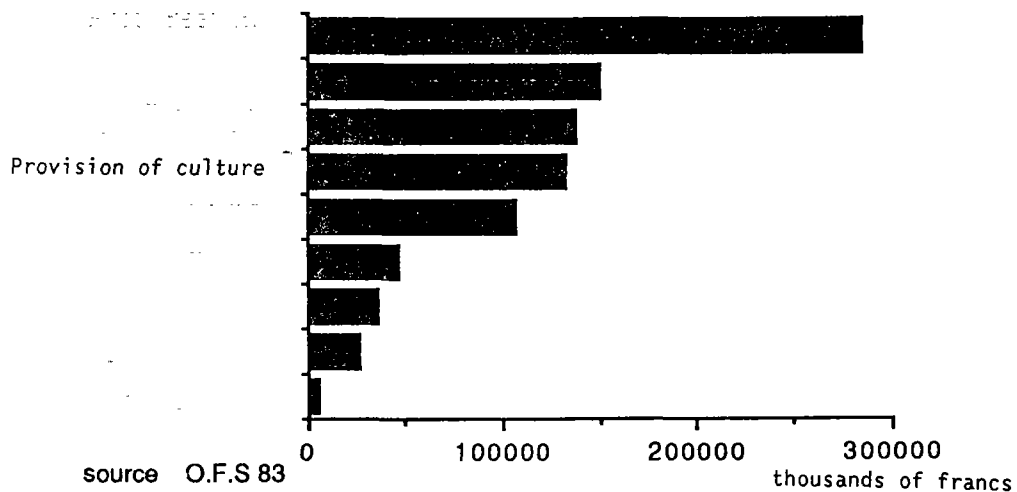
BREAKDOWN OF EXPENDITURE IN SWITZERLAND IN 1981 BY CULTURAL SECTOR



The following two figures show the breakdown of public investment not by sector but by function. We should emphasize that the categories which the authors of the inquiry call professional creation and artistic creation should be understood in the sense of aid for artistic practice and not in the sense of aid for artistic innovation. These categories include forms of aid as different as grants to orchestras or theatre companies, the creation and upkeep of amenities or the organization of competitions. As for creation in the true sense of the word, to quote an extract from the conclusion of the Clottu Report, 'When we see that only 4.7 per cent of investment expenditure goes to help cultural creation (subsidies, grants, commissioning or buying works of art) we have to agree that cultural policy is above all a policy of acquiring and conserving cultural property. The risks involved in creation are still left to private individuals...'. It is true that the data given go back to the 1970s, but they provide an idea of relative importance that is still valid. Having noted these details, a study of chart 4 shows that support for professional creation is the field which receives most public funding, amounting to six times the amount given to amateurs.

Chart 4

EXPENDITURE IN SWITZERLAND IN 1981 BY TYPE OF CULTURAL AID

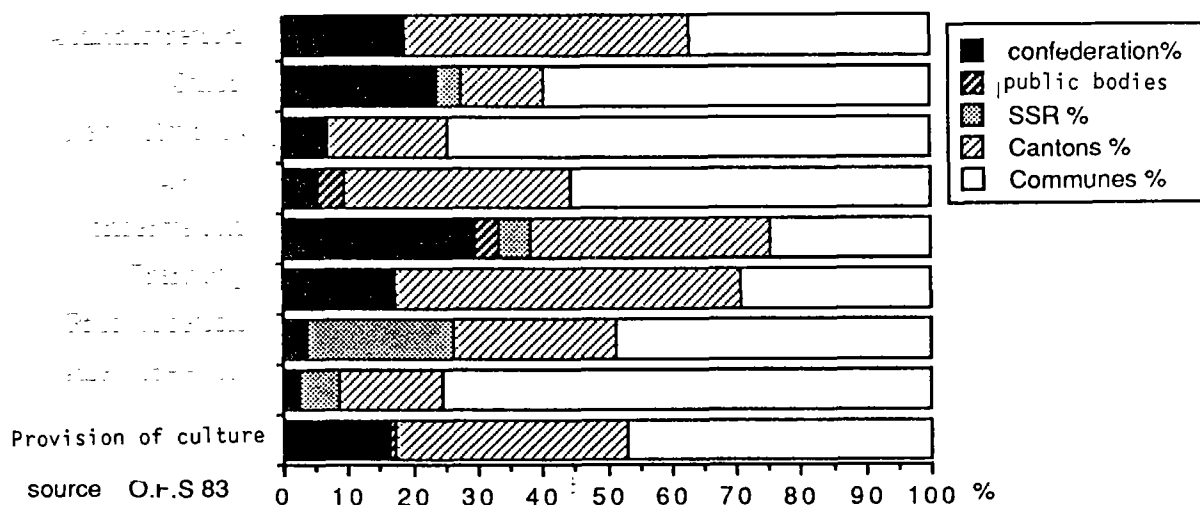


Training, the provision of culture and museums constitute the second group of beneficiaries. Conservation of cultural property includes only such funding as grants for linguistic minorities, archaeological excavations and protection of the countryside, and should not be confused with protection of the cultural (in particular architectural) heritage which received a much greater amount (see chart 2). New cultural forms are the poor relations of official aid.

Chart 5 gives details of the relative size of public funding for each type of aid. We can see that the Confederation's intervention mainly concerns the conservation of cultural property and the provision of culture, while education is left to the cantons. Amateur creation has to rely essentially on local councils, while the SSR is important as an employer of professional performers. It is interesting to note that administrative duties are mainly the responsibility of the canton and the Confederation. On the local level, the organization of cultural life depends on the unpaid participation of the citizens, and only towns of a certain size have special employees to run cultural affairs.

Chart 5

BREAKDOWN OF EXPENDITURE IN SWITZERLAND IN 1981 BY TYPE OF CULTURAL GRANT



### A.1.2 Regional differences and cultural funding

'The inequalities in economic development between large and small cantons, and between industrial and predominantly agricultural cantons are considerable and constitute one of the main disadvantages of federalism when these inequalities are not corrected, either by co-ordination between cantons and between communes, or by the central government intervening as a regulator. Political debate in Switzerland is influenced to a large extent by a search for such an internal balance. But as far as culture is concerned, this debate has as yet hardly begun'. (Trippet, 1978:48).

The following figures illustrate these remarks and show the great differences in the means deployed by cantons and communes in the field of culture. These differences are dictated by the canton's income from taxes. More comprehensive data show that they correspond to a great extent to the centre-periphery pattern which is typical of Swiss socio-economic organization. Following this classification of Swiss cantons into 'centre' and 'periphery' (Joye and Schuler, 1984), we can first of all see five types of cantons.

(a) Highly or moderately urbanized cantons:

- (1) the three central urban cantons of Geneva, Basle-Town and Zurich;
- (2) then the three suburban cantons of the central urban cantons, Basle-Country, Aargau and Zoug;
- (3) then the five cantons with large and medium-sized urban centres and hinterlands, the cantons of Vaud, Fribourg, Berne, Lucerne and the Ticino.

(b) These three categories of urbanized cantons, the more central of which have large service sectors, can be contrasted with:

- (4) the industrial cantons of Glarus, Solothurn, Schaffhausen, Appenzell, the Outer Rhodes, Saint-Gall, Thurgau, Neuchâtel and the Jura;
- (5) the very peripheral cantons, either large like Valais and the Grisons or small like the four central Swiss cantons of Obwald, Nidwald, Schwyz and Uri, to which can be added the cantons of Appenzell.

The distribution of funding largely corresponds to this centre-periphery pattern. The centre cantons are at the top, followed by a relatively homogeneous group including moderately urbanized or industrialized cantons, and finally the last category of peripheral cantons, in particular the small cantons in central Switzerland.

Chart 6

CULTURAL EXPENDITURE IN 1981 IN CANTONS AND COMMUNES

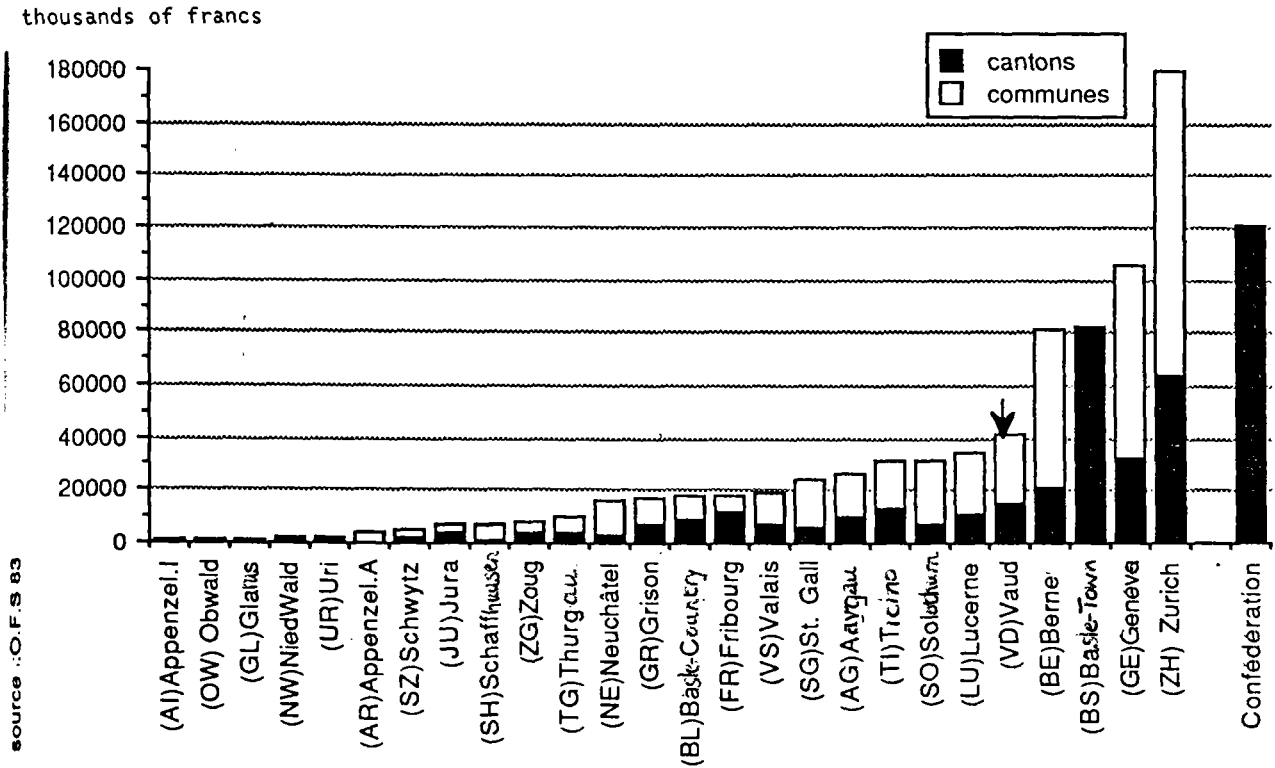


Chart 7

CANTON AND COMMUNE CULTURAL EXPENDITURE PER INHABITANT IN 1981

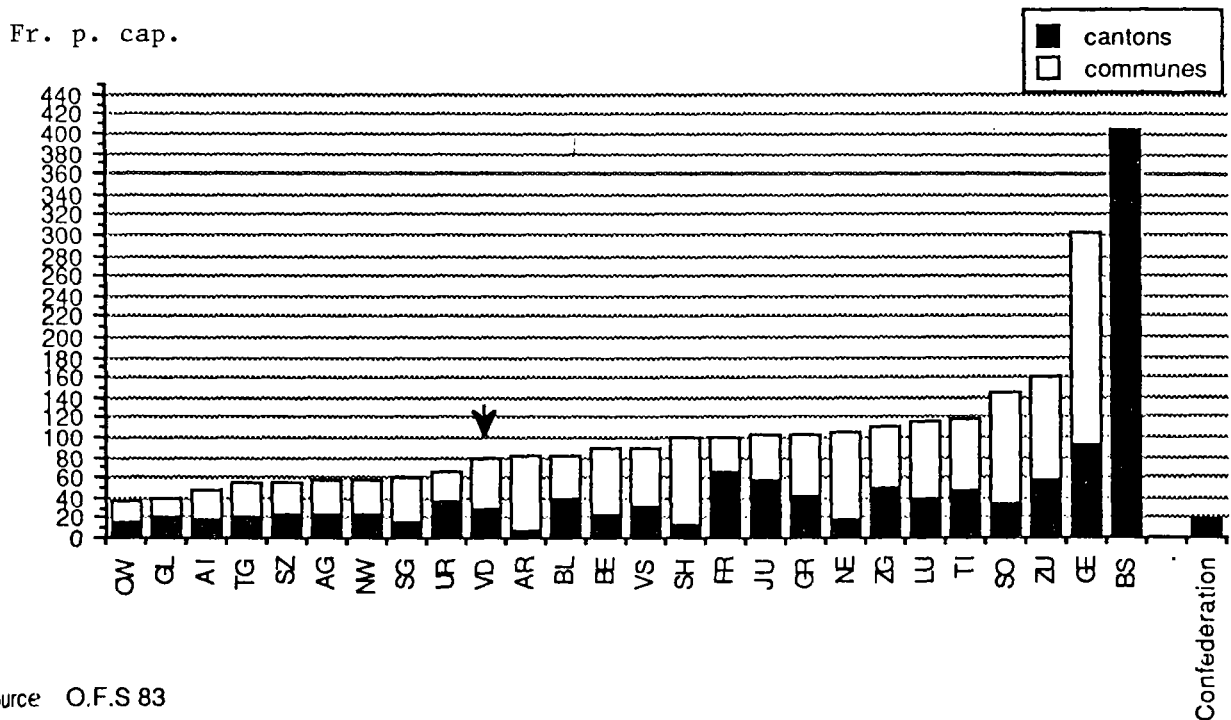
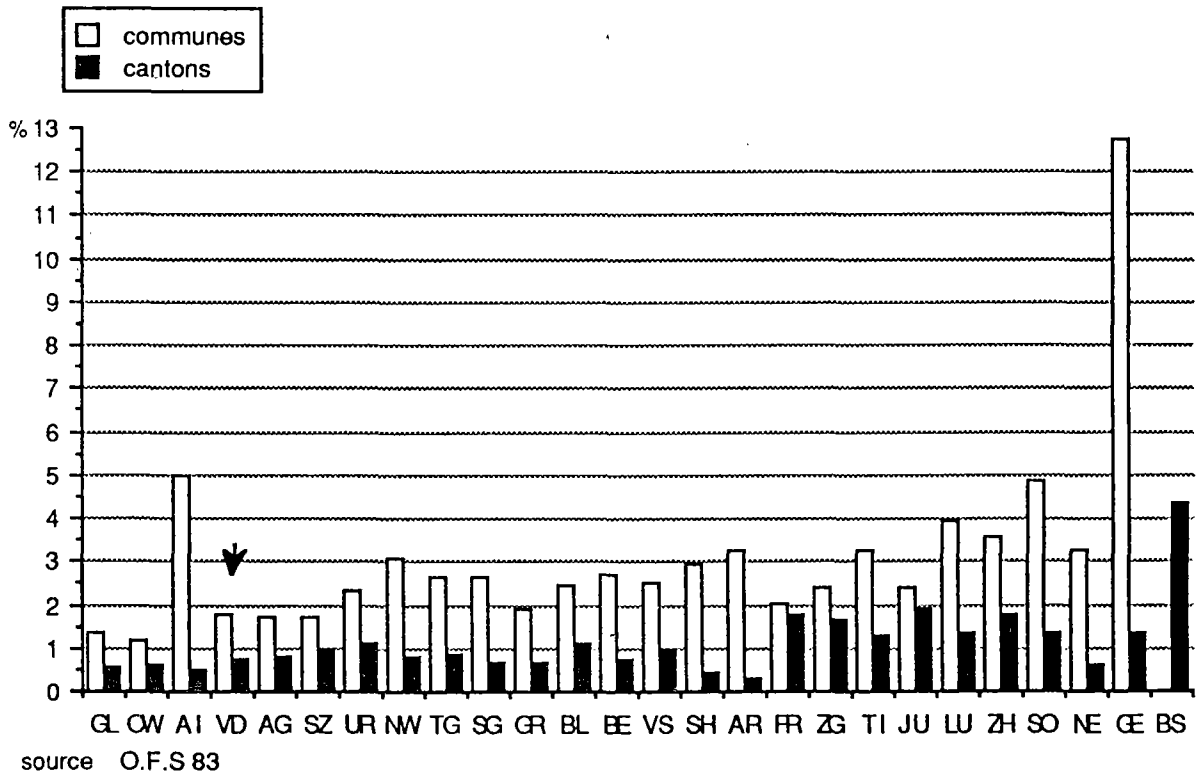


Chart 8

CONTRIBUTION TO CULTURE

Culture as a percentage of canton and commune budgets



A.1.3 Cultural expenditure according to commune size

If we ignore canton boundaries and follow more closely the distribution of 'centralness', we find an equivalence with the Swiss urban pattern in which towns are linked to the longitudinal Geneva-Saint-Gall axis, around which most urban development is concentrated. Nearly 65 per cent of towns of more than 5,000 inhabitants are situated in this middle region which covers only a third of the Confederation's area, with a concentration in the Germanic north and another around the Lake Geneva Crescent, in French Switzerland and two important sports in the regions of Berne and Lucerne.

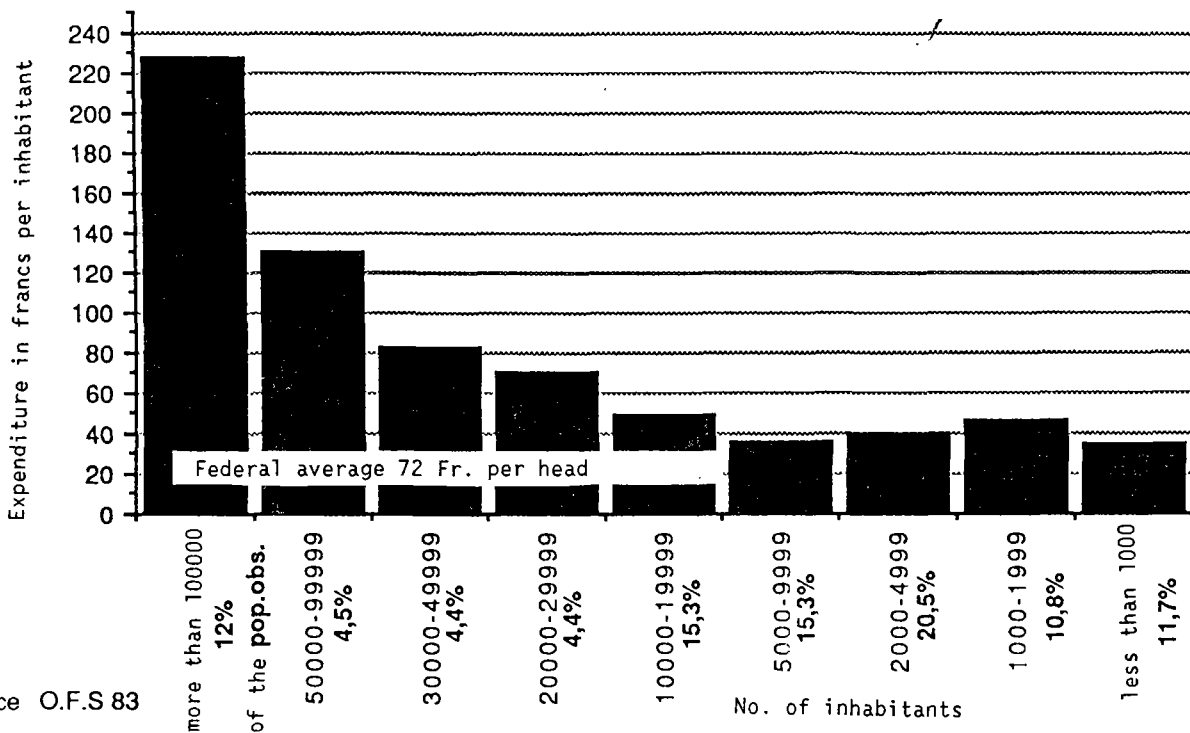
The OFS's data enable us to see partially the character and extent of the differences in cultural funding in the Swiss urban network. Chart 9 shows differences between investment per inhabitant according to the size of the commune (also shown are the percentage of the population of each category of size). These data show that towns of less than 20,000 inhabitants (in which more than 70 per cent of the total population live) receive on average cultural funding which is far below the Federal average.

Charts 10 (towns with populations of more than 10,000) and 11 (towns with populations of less than 10,000) show the frequency distribution for towns of each class of size according to cultural expenditure per inhabitant. According to the type of distribution, we can distinguish three categories of towns:

- (a) urban centres of more than 50,000 inhabitants, with high distribution levels;
- (b) communes of less than 5,000 inhabitants in which cultural expenditure is generally about 10 francs per inhabitant. Note that some of them however make a considerable effort in favour of culture;
- (c) the distribution of intermediate towns shows a more spread-out pattern with greater differences between them. What seems crucial for these towns is less the number of inhabitants than the political will to provide cultural activities, and the initiatives taken by the local inhabitants.

Chart 9

SWISS CULTURAL EXPENDITURE PER CAPITAL IN 1981  
ACCORDING TO COMMUNE SIZE



source O.F.S 83



Chart 10

FREQUENCY OF COMMUNES BY CLASS OF SIZE ACCORDING TO PER CAPITA CULTURAL EXPENDITURE

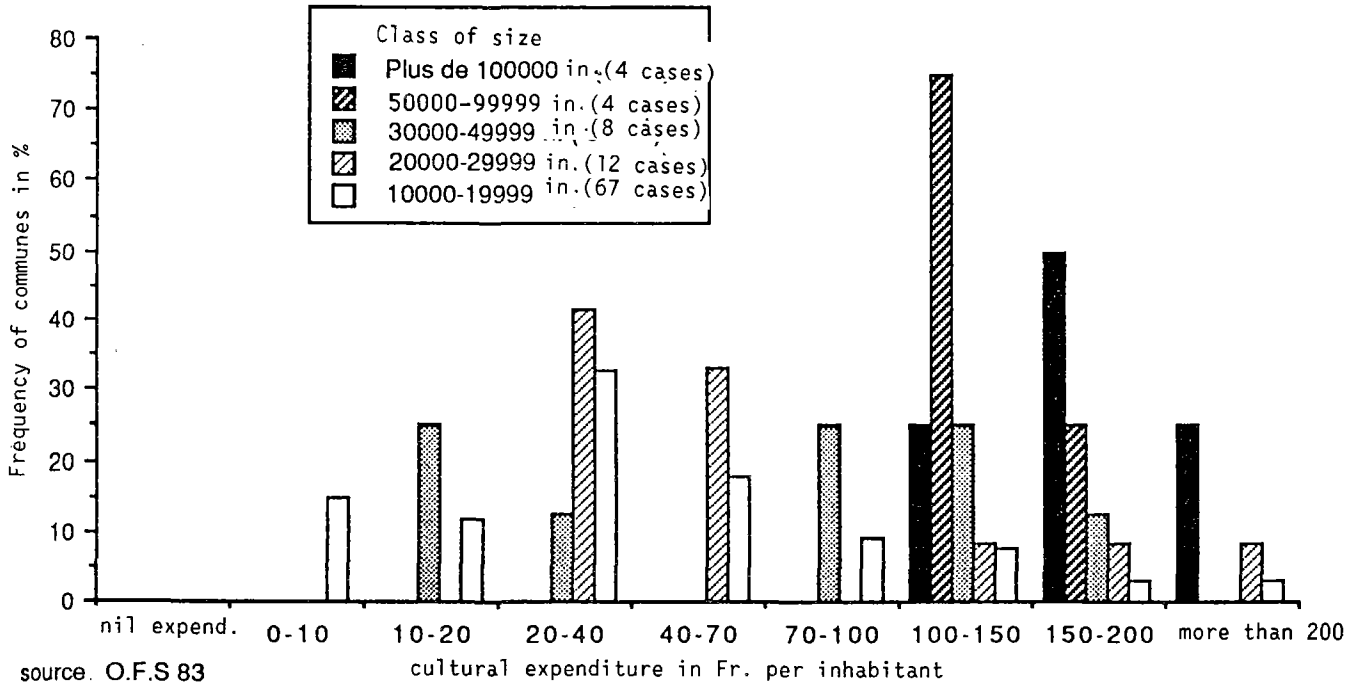
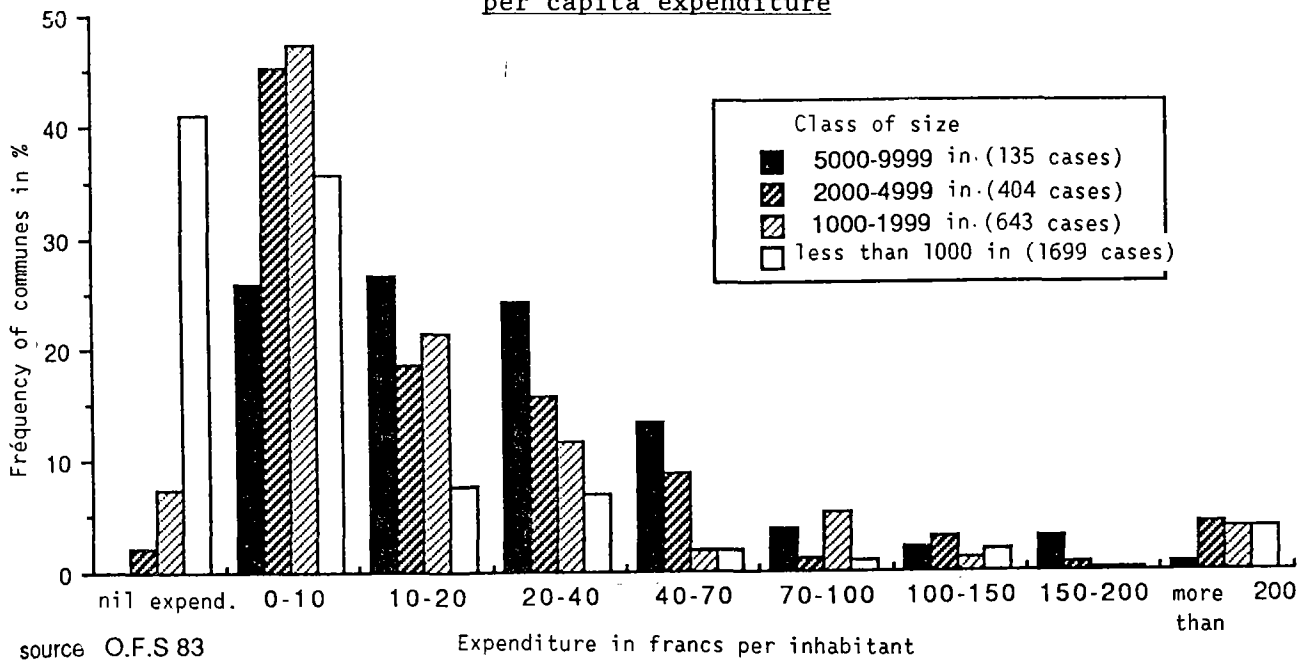


Chart 11

COMMUNES OF LESS THAN 10,000 INHABITANTS

Frequency of communes by class of size according to per capita expenditure



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