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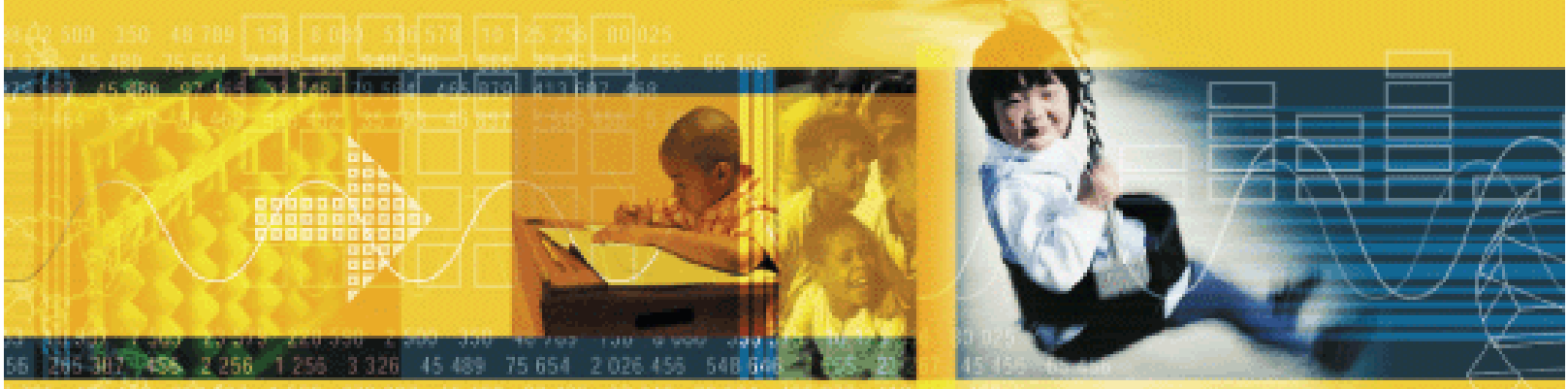

Actes du Colloque international sur les statistiques culturelles

Montréal, 21-23 octobre 2002

Proceedings of the International Symposium on Culture Statistics

Montréal, 21-23 October 2002

Québec

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Institut de la statistique du Québec
200, chemin Sainte-Foy
Québec (Québec)
Canada G1R 5T4
Téléphone : (418) 691-2401
ou
Téléphone : 1 800 462-4090
(aucuns frais d'appel au Canada et aux États-Unis)
Courriel : cid@stat.gouv.qc.ca
Site Web : www.stat.gouv.qc.ca

For information concerning the Institut de la statistique du Québec and the UNESCO Institute for Statistics, and the statistics available, please contact:

UNESCO Institute for Statistics
C.P. 6128
Succursale Centre-Ville
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Canada H3C 3J7
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The conference papers were published in the source language. However, the French or English translations, as the case may be, are available on the symposium Website at the following address: **www.colloque2002symposium.gouv.qc.ca**. Since the publication is in black and white, we suggest that you go to the Website so that you can see the figures in colour.

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June 2003

Avant-propos

C'est une conjoncture tout à fait spéciale qui a amené l'Institut de la statistique du Québec et l'Institut de statistique de l'UNESCO à s'associer pour organiser un colloque sur les statistiques culturelles, qui a eu lieu du 21 au 23 octobre 2002. En effet, l'idée de la tenue d'un colloque a surgi quelque temps après la création de l'Observatoire de la culture et des communications du Québec au moment où l'Institut de statistique de l'UNESCO se préparait à venir s'établir à Montréal. C'était un excellent moyen d'exprimer notre volonté de collaborer.

Le thème « Les statistiques face aux défis de la diversité culturelle dans un contexte de globalisation » s'est révélé un sujet porteur de débat. Certains pensent que la mondialisation nous entraînera vers un monde plus homogène, alors que d'autres pensent au contraire qu'elle favorisera le soutien et l'enrichissement des cultures locales. Le but du colloque était donc de regrouper des chercheurs, des praticiens qui ont à fournir des données relatives aux politiques et des utilisateurs de données statistiques culturelles nationales et internationales, et de les inviter à prendre la parole sur cinq sous-thèmes identifiés en partenariat avec l'INRS-Urbanisation, Culture et Société et HEC Montréal. Le colloque a réuni près de 30 conférenciers et une cinquantaine de participants, représentants d'organismes statistiques de 25 pays répartis sur tous les continents.

L'Observatoire de la culture et des communications du Québec est un jeune organisme qui a mis le colloque à profit d'une part pour raffermir ses liens avec ses interlocuteurs internationaux et d'autre part pour retirer de l'expérience des autres organismes de statistiques culturelles des enseignements pertinents pour la poursuite de ses projets.

Grâce à ce colloque, l'Institut de statistique de l'UNESCO nouvellement installé à Montréal, a permis d'augmenter sa visibilité au sein des autres organismes de statistiques culturelles et de créer de nouveaux partenariats. Il a également été utilisé comme laboratoire d'idées dans la première phase de consultation engagée par l'institut afin d'établir son nouveau programme de statistiques culturelles.

Nous tenons à remercier tous les participants au colloque sans le concours desquels celui-ci n'aurait pas eu le succès qu'il a eu.

Foreword

Very special circumstances brought the Institut de la statistique du Québec and the UNESCO Institute for Statistics together to organize a Symposium on Culture Statistics, which was held from 21 to 23 October 2002. Indeed, the idea of holding a symposium arose some time after the creation of the Observatoire de la culture et des communications du Québec, just when the UNESCO Institute for Statistics was getting ready to set up an office in Montréal. It was an excellent way to give concrete expression to our desire to cooperate.

The theme "Statistics in the Wake of Challenges posed by Cultural Diversity in a Globalization Context" proved to be a provocative issue. Some think that globalization will lead to a more homogeneous world whereas others think that it will provide opportunities to support and enrich local cultures. Thus, the aim of this Symposium was to bring together researchers, practitioners who can provide statistics on policies, and users of international and national cultural statistics and invite them to speak on five given sub-themes, identified in partnership with the Centre Urbanisation, Culture et Société of the INRS and HEC Montréal. The Symposium brought together some 30 speakers and about 50 participants, from statistical agency representatives from 25 countries spread across all continents.

The Observatoire de la culture et des communications du Québec is a fledgling organization that on the one hand, used the Symposium to strengthen its ties with international stakeholders, and on the other hand, to learn from the experiences of other cultural statistics agencies in the view to better pursue its mission.

This Symposium gave the UNESCO Institute for Statistics, newly established in Montréal, more exposure to other cultural statistics agencies which resulted in the creation of new partnerships. It also served as a think tank during the first consultation round launched by the Institut in order to establish its new cultural statistics program.

We would like to greatly thank all the participants without whom the Symposium would not have been such a resounding success.

Serge Bernier et Denise Lievesley

Comités scientifique et organisateur

Ce colloque a pu être réalisé grâce au travail des membres du comité scientifique et du comité organisateur.

Comité scientifique

Co-présidents : Diane Stukel, Institut de statistique de l'UNESCO
Benoît Laplante, INRS-Urbanisation, Culture et Société

Autre membre : Shiu-Kee Chu, Institut de statistique de l'UNESCO

Comité organisateur

Président : François Colbert, École des Hautes Études Commerciales

Assisté de : Marie-Thérèse Thibault, Observatoire de la culture et des communications du Québec

Autres membres : Diane Stukel, Institut de statistique de l'UNESCO
Patrick Lucas, Institut de statistique de l'UNESCO

Les organismes partenaires

Nous remercions nos partenaires pour leur aide dans l'organisation du colloque.

École des Hautes Études Commerciales – Chaire de gestion des arts
Institut national de la recherche scientifique – Urbanisation, Culture et Société

Les organismes commanditaires

Nous remercions les organismes suivants pour leur appui financier :

Conseil des Arts du Canada – Canada Council for the Arts
Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec
La Fondation Rockefeller – The Rockefeller Foundation
Ministère de la Culture et des Communications du Québec
Ministère des Relations internationales du Québec
Patrimoine canadien – Canadian Heritage
Société de développement des entreprises culturelles du Québec
Statistique Canada – Statistics Canada

Scientific and Organizing Committees

This symposium was made possible through the work of the members of the scientific committee and the organizing committee.

Scientific Committee

Co-chairs: Diane Stukel, UNESCO Institute for Statistics
Benoît Laplante, INRS-Urbanisation, Culture et Société

Other member: Shiu-Kee Chu, UNESCO Institute for Statistics

Organizing Committee

Chair: François Colbert, École des Hautes Études Commerciales

Supported by: Marie-Thérèse Thibault, Observatoire de la culture et des communications du Québec

Other members: Diane Stukel, UNESCO Institute for Statistics
Patrick Lucas, UNESCO Institute for Statistics

Partner Organizations

We thank our partners for their help with the organization of the symposium.

École des Hautes Études Commerciales – Chaire de gestion des arts
Institut national de la recherche scientifique – Urbanisation, Culture et Société

Co-Sponsors Organizations

We thank the following organizations for their financial support:

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Patrimoine canadien – Canadian Heritage
Société de développement des entreprises culturelles du Québec
Statistique Canada – Statistics Canada

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Ouverture du Colloque et conférenciers principaux

Lundi, 21 octobre 2002

Opening Address and Keynotes Papers

Monday, October 21, 2002

Ouverture du Colloque

Opening Address

Mounir Bouchenaki UNESCO, sous-directeur général pour la culture, Paris, France

Conférenciers principaux

Keynotes Papers

Diana Crane University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, United States

J. Mark Schuster Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, United States

Résumé de la session d'ouverture

par Lydia Deloumeaux et Patrick Lucas
Institut de statistique de l'UNESCO

1. Mot de bienvenue et ouverture du Colloque

M. Serge Bernier, directeur de l'Observatoire de la culture et des communications du Québec, souhaite la bienvenue aux participants et prononce l'allocution d'ouverture. M. Gérald Grandmont, sous-ministre adjoint de la planification au sein du ministère de la Culture et des Communications, représente Mme Diane Lemieux. Il souligne l'importance du Colloque comme occasion unique pour un grand nombre d'experts d'échanger des idées dans le domaine de la culture. L'événement, dit-il, est vu comme une occasion qui arrive à point nommé dans l'évolution des connaissances. Il donne lieu à des échanges consacrés aussi bien aux statistiques culturelles qu'à l'établissement de réseaux entre les chercheurs et les institutions gouvernementales de l'UNESCO. Par ailleurs, M. Grandmont décrit le jeune Observatoire du Québec comme un organisme de consultation permanente sur les statistiques culturelles.

M. Mounir Bouchenaki, sous-directeur général du secteur de la Culture de l'UNESCO prend la parole au nom du directeur général, M. Koïchiro Matsuura. L'UNESCO considère l'événement comme un véritable jalon permettant non seulement la réflexion, mais également la redéfinition du concept des statistiques culturelles à l'échelle mondiale. L'un des principaux rôles de l'UNESCO, comme le signale M. Bouchenaki, consiste à aider les gouvernements des pays en voie de développement ou des pays émergents à bâtir leurs propres capacités de collecte de données, afin d'être en mesure de structurer leurs politiques en

Opening Session Report

by Lydia Deloumeaux and Patrick Lucas
UNESCO Institute for Statistics

1. Welcome and opening

Mr. Serge Bernier, director of "Observatoire de la culture et des communications du Québec" welcomed the participants and provided the open address. Mr. Gérald Grandmont, sous-ministre adjoint de la planification au sein du ministère de la Culture et des Communications, replacing Ms. Diane Lemieux, emphasized the fact that the symposium was a unique opportunity that allowed for the exchange of ideas by so many experts in the area of culture. The event had been characterized as a welcome opportunity in the flourishing of knowledge. It allowed for exchanges on cultural statistics as well as the establishment of networks between researchers and government bodies within UNESCO. Moreover, the young Statistical Observatory of Quebec had been depicted as a permanent consultation on cultural statistics.

Mr. Mounir Bouchenaki, Assistant Director-General of the Culture sector of UNESCO spoke on behalf of the Director General, Mr. Koïchiro Matsuura. UNESCO regarded the event as a true landmark that permitted not only the reflection but also the redefinition of the concept of cultural statistics on a global scale. One important role of UNESCO, as stated by Mr. Bouchenaki, was to help the governments of developing countries or emerging countries in building up their own data-gathering capacities so as to enable them to frame their policies in full awareness of the facts. The presentation focused on three domains of the past and current work of UNESCO in the culture field: the importance of the approach to cultural statistics, its new advances to methodology and challenges in the area of culture.

pleine connaissance de cause. La présentation est axée sur trois aspects du domaine culturel, soit l'importance de l'approche des statistiques culturelles, ses nouveaux développements méthodologiques, et les défis du domaine de la culture. Ces trois aspects ont déjà fait l'objet de travaux de l'UNESCO par le passé et ils figurent toujours à son programme.

M. Bouchenaki souligne, par ailleurs, que le principal objectif du présent Colloque consiste à examiner la question des statistiques culturelles dans le contexte de la mondialisation. Depuis l'adoption de la Déclaration universelle de l'UNESCO sur la diversité culturelle en 2001, l'Institut de statistique de l'UNESCO (ISU) est appelé à jouer un rôle clé dans le domaine des statistiques culturelles. Le « patrimoine culturel immatériel » est le creuset de la créativité, de même que la force motrice derrière les cultures vivantes. À ce sujet toutefois, les données culturelles sont nettement insuffisantes et un travail important reste à faire. M. Bouchenaki signale le besoin de compter sur une plus grande transparence dans les marchés et dans les institutions de la culture.

Il termine en déclarant que l'UNESCO doit poursuivre ses travaux dans les domaines reliés à la culture et au développement et doit continuer de promouvoir les capacités d'assistance, de concert avec l'excellence scientifique. Le but ultime est de bâtir un système exhaustif et intégré, capable de lier la culture et le développement sous les aspects tant quantitatifs que qualitatifs.

2. Conférenciers invités

1. « *La mondialisation culturelle vue sous l'angle de la sociologie de la culture* »

Prof. Diana Crane, University of Pennsylvania, United States

Mme Crane explique que la définition traditionnelle de la culture était fondée sur des

He also pointed out that the principal objective of this Symposium was to address the issue of cultural statistics in the context of globalization. Following the adoption of UNESCO's Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity in 2001, the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) is called upon to be a key player in the area of cultural statistics. "Intangible cultural heritage" is the crucible of creativity and is the driving force behind living cultures. But in this domain, cultural data is mostly lacking and major work still lies ahead. Mr. Bouchenaki addressed the need to look ahead with greater transparency in the cultural markets and cultural institutions.

He concluded that UNESCO should continue to work on areas of culture and development and to strengthen the assistance capability in tandem with scientific excellence. The goal is to build an integrated and exhaustive system that could link culture and development in quantitative as well as qualitative aspects.

2. Keynotes papers

1. "*Cultural globalization from the perspective of the sociology of culture*"

Prof. Diana Crane, University of Pennsylvania, United States

Ms. Crane explained that the traditional definition of culture was based on ideas,

concepts, des valeurs traditionnelles, des croyances et d'artéfacts culturels ; la culture était considérée comme une chose qu'une personne apprend ou acquiert. Considérant l'ambiguïté croissante relative aux sens donnés à la culture, les sociologues ont proposé un nouveau modèle théorique en définissant la culture comme des systèmes de symboles (comment le sens est véhiculé), des ensembles de pratiques (comment les gens utilisent la culture) et des sphères institutionnelles (les sites où la culture est produite). Au micro niveau, les sociologues cherchent à évaluer comment la culture émerge à partir des interactions sociales des petits groupes. Au macro niveau, ils étudient les institutions culturelles où l'on partage les mêmes valeurs, les mêmes écrits et les mêmes comportements. Ils analysent, par ailleurs, des sondages illustrant la complexité et la diversité du phénomène de la mondialisation culturelle, lequel prend naissance dans différentes régions et différents pays.

Elle explique également que la mondialisation de la culture est un phénomène si complexe qu'aucune théorie ne peut l'expliquer adéquatement. Elle présente quatre modèles théoriques qui peuvent aider à comprendre la culture dans le présent contexte.

Le premier modèle, la théorie de l'impérialisme culturel, met en évidence, en ce qui a trait à la dissémination de la culture, les pays puissants, situés au centre du système mondial, qui dominent les pays plus faibles, situés en périphérie. Ce modèle porte sur les rôles des gouvernements et des sociétés multinationales et transnationales dans la dissémination des différentes formes de culture mondiale. Maintenant appelée l'impérialisme médiatique, cette théorie peut servir à établir la mesure suivant laquelle des acteurs médiatiques nationaux exercent davantage d'influence sur la culture mondiale par rapport à d'autres acteurs. Par exemple, même si l'Inde est reconnue comme un important producteur de films de fiction en Asie, en raison

traditional values, beliefs and cultural artifacts; culture was viewed as something that was learned or acquired by the individual. Given the increasing ambiguity surrounding the meanings of culture, sociologists have tried to develop a new approach to culture by defining it as systems of symbols (how meaning is conveyed), sets of practices (how people use culture), and institutional spheres (sites where culture is produced). Sociologists work at the micro level to evaluate how culture emerges through social interactions in small groups. At the macro level, they study cultural institutions in which values, texts and behaviors are shared. They also analyze surveys showing that cultural globalization is a complex and diverse phenomena originating from different regions and countries.

She explained that the globalization of culture is such a complex phenomenon that no single theory can explain it adequately. She presented four theoretical approaches that can be used to understand culture in this context.

The first model, cultural imperialism theory, emphasizes, with respect to the dissemination of culture, powerful nations at the center of the world system dominate over weaker nations, that are at the periphery. The theory focuses upon the roles of governments and of multinational and trans-national corporations in the dissemination of different forms of global culture. Re-conceptualized as media imperialism, the theory can be used to analyze the extent to which some national media actors have more impact on global culture than others. For example, although India has been cited as being a large producer of fiction films in Asia, due in part to his huge internal market, there has been minimal external dissemination. It is therefore appropriate to ask whether domination by Western media is leading to a reduction in the cultural diversity of global culture.

notamment de son immense marché interne, la diffusion externe demeure faible. Il est donc légitime de se demander si la domination des médias occidentaux n'entraîne pas une réduction de la diversité culturelle de la culture mondiale.

Selon le deuxième modèle, le modèle en réseau, la culture mondiale évolue non pas seulement à partir des pays du centre vers les pays situés en périphérie, mais bien dans les deux sens. Il en résulte une expansion des choix médiatiques, tant dans les pays développés que dans les pays moins développés, laquelle mène à une diversification de la culture mondiale et à une hybridation des cultures nationales. Par conséquent, l'impact mondial de la culture occidentale subit le contrepoids des cultures régionales. Par exemple, certains pays émergents sont de grands exportateurs de produits audiovisuels. Le Brésil est devenu un important exportateur de *telenovelas* en Amérique du Sud. Ce phénomène serait attribuable au fait que certaines régions partagent une même langue et une même culture.

Un troisième modèle, la théorie des récepteurs, pose l'hypothèse selon laquelle l'auditoire réagit activement plutôt que passivement à la culture véhiculée par les mass médias et porte sur les attitudes des consommateurs par rapport à des produits spécifiques. L'impact de la culture mondiale pourrait donc être réduit. Cette théorie examine, par ailleurs, les effets à long terme de produits culturels disséminés à l'échelle mondiale sur l'identité culturelle nationale.

Le dernier modèle a pour objet les stratégies des politiques culturelles utilisées par les États et les organisations pour encourager la mondialisation de la culture ainsi que la sauvegarde et la protection de la culture traditionnelle. Le processus selon lequel on détermine les politiques internationales concernant la distribution des produits culturels implique autant la concurrence que la négociation entre les pays.

The second model, the network model, argues that global culture is moving not only from countries at the center to countries at the periphery but vice versa. This results in an expansion of media choices in both developed and less developed countries that leads to a diversification of global culture and hybridization of national cultures. Hence, the global impact of Western culture is counterbalanced by regional cultures. For instance, certain emerging countries are major exporters of audiovisual products. Brazil has become a major exporter of "telenovelas" in South America. This phenomenon can be attributed to the fact that certain regions share a common language and culture.

A third model, reception theory, suggests that the audiences respond actively rather than passively to mass-mediated culture and addresses the attitudes of consumers in relation to particular products. Consequently, the impact of global culture may be reduced. In addition, this theory examines the long-term effects of globally disseminated cultural products on national cultural identity.

The last model is based on strategies of cultural policies used by states and organizations to facilitate both globalization of culture and preservation and protection of traditional culture. The process of determining international policies for the distribution of cultural products involves both competition and negotiation among nations. Governments act in three ways: protection of the indigenous cultural heritage (e.g. construction of museums); resistance to global culture using taxes, tariffs and government controls and subsidization of local producers; and globalization of national or local cultures by retooling tourist sites. An interesting example is that of Singapore where

L'action des gouvernements est triple : la protection du patrimoine culturel autochtone (par ex., la construction de musées) ; la résistance à une culture mondiale par l'imposition de taxes, de tarifs douaniers et de règlements et l'octroi de subventions aux producteurs locaux; et l'adaptation des sites touristiques. Singapour constitue un exemple intéressant avec ses sites historiques recréés artificiellement par l'État. Les organisations adaptent les cultures qui sont créées pour être disséminées aux autres pays afin de les intégrer à la réalité locale du pays qui les accueillent. Au Japon, de nombreux produits « culturellement neutres » ont été créés en vue d'être disséminés dans d'autres régions de l'Asie. C'est le cas, par exemple, des films d'animation dans lesquels les différences physiques, raciales et ethniques ont été atténuées ou effacées.

En conclusion, les quatre modèles exposés aident à mieux comprendre différents aspects de la mondialisation. Lorsque nous connaîtrons mieux la nature et les effets de la mondialisation culturelle, il faudra revoir sans doute ces modèles et nous attendre à ce que de nouveaux modèles émergent.

2. *« L'information sur les politiques culturelles – données, statistiques et signification »*

Prof. J. Mark Schuster, Massachusetts Institute of Technology of Urban Cultural Policy, United States

M. Schuster met l'accent sur plusieurs questions qui sont reliées aux sessions thématiques du Colloque. Il est d'avis qu'un institut de statistique ne doit pas collecter des données uniquement pour dire qu'il collecte des données, mais plutôt pour exercer une influence sur les politiques. Il explique ensuite pourquoi il est nécessaire d'établir une distinction entre les données et les statistiques. Il définit la notion de « laisser les données parler d'elles-mêmes » comme une façon dangereuse de considérer les données devant servir à la formulation des

the state has artificially created historical sites. Organizations adapt cultures that they disseminate to other countries to suit local conditions in the receiving countries. In Japan, many products that are culturally "neutral" have been created for dissemination to other parts of Asia. This includes, for example, animated films in which physical, racial and ethnic differences have been erased or softened.

In conclusion, these four models are useful for understanding different aspects of globalization. As we learn more about the nature and effects of cultural globalization, these models are likely to be revised and new models are likely to emerge.

2. "*Informing cultural policy – Data, Statistics and meaning*"

Prof. J. Mark Schuster, Massachusetts Institute of Technology of Urban Cultural Policy, United States

Mr. Schuster highlighted several issues that linked to the thematic sessions throughout the symposium. He suggested that a statistical institute should not collect data just for the sake of collecting data but rather to collect data with the aim of affecting policy. Secondly, he explained why it is necessary to differentiate between data and statistics. He characterized the notion of "let the data speak for themselves" as being a dangerous approach for data that will be used in policy formulation.

politiques. Il se dit convaincu de l'importance d'accorder une signification particulière aux données et d'établir des indicateurs culturels solides pour appuyer les politiques.

M. Schuster traite du rôle de l'ISU en posant en principe deux de ses objectifs. Le premier objectif suppose la nécessité d'établir un niveau de comparabilité entre les pays. Le deuxième effleure l'idée selon laquelle les collectes de données devraient être conçues de façon à étayer les programmes de l'UNESCO dans le domaine des politiques culturelles.

Il signale, par ailleurs, la nécessité d'établir des délimitations définitionnelles autour de la « culture » en adoptant l'une des méthodes suivantes. La première aurait recours à une délimitation inclusive dont l'objectif serait d'inclure *toutes* les définitions de la culture soutenues par les États membres. La deuxième méthode, le concept des délimitations flottantes, permettrait aux pays de définir chacun leur culture et d'exercer leur propre autorité quant à l'information fournie aux fins d'études comparatives. Enfin, une troisième méthode, celle des délimitations fixes, s'appuierait sur l'utilisation d'une définition déterminée (par exemple, une définition occidentale) qui fournirait un point de vue sur les politiques culturelles de tous les pays sous l'angle d'aspects sélectionnés.

M. Schuster fait le résumé de son récent projet de recherche, *Informing Cultural Policy: The Research and Information Infrastructure*, et dresse un portrait détaillé des nombreux intervenants culturels qui ont fait l'objet de ses recherches, en indiquant dans quelle mesure ils ont contribué à l'infrastructure de l'information. Il passe en revue les institutions et les chercheurs ainsi concernés, et met en relief les principaux résultats de ses recherches. Ses conclusions portent sur la résurgence extraordinaire qui s'est manifestée sur le plan de l'investissement dans la recherche et l'information relative aux politiques dans le domaine de la culture. Il fait remarquer que la collecte,

He espoused the importance of bringing meaning to the data and developing sound cultural indicators that inform policy.

Mr. Schuster discussed the role of the UIS by positing two of its objectives. The first objective suggests the need to establish a level of comparability across countries. The second objective touches upon the fact that data collections should be designed to inform UNESCO's own programs in the area of cultural policy.

He further expressed the need to set a definitional boundary around "culture" by adopting one of several approaches. The first approach would make use of an inclusive boundary, which would attempt to incorporate *all* definitions of culture advocated by Member States. The second method, the notion of floating boundaries, would permit countries to define culture individually and exercise their own sovereignty in the information they provide for comparative studies. Anchored boundaries, the third approach, would involve using the selection of a fixed definition (for example, a western definition) through which to view selected aspects of all countries' cultural policies.

Mr. Schuster summarized his recent research project, *Informing Cultural Policy: The Research and Information Infrastructure*, and mapped out the many players he had researched and their contributions to the information infrastructure. He reviewed these institutions and researchers and outlined his main findings. He concluded that there has been a dramatic resurgence of investment in policy-relevant information and research in the field of cultural policy. He noted that information gathering, analysis, dissemination and the division of labor among these tasks varied substantially across countries. He suggested that there is not necessarily a shortage of data but rather a lack of use of the existing data. However, given that there is a multitude of sources, the task of assessing data quality and

l'analyse et la diffusion d'information, de même que la répartition du travail relatif à ces tâches, varient fortement d'un pays à un autre. À son avis, il n'y a pas nécessairement une pénurie de données, mais plutôt une sous-utilisation des données existantes. Or, étant donné la multitude de sources, la tâche de mesurer la qualité des données et, par conséquent, de déterminer les institutions appropriées revient à l'ISU. M. Schuster expose ensuite le rapport entre la recherche et l'établissement de politiques. Certaines questions ont été soulevées, notamment : « L'ISU se voit-il comme un promoteur de l'évaluation des politiques? » et « Quelle importance sera donnée au rôle de la défense dans le cadre des nouvelles compétences de l'UNESCO par rapport aux statistiques culturelles et à la préservation des politiques culturelles axées sur l'État? »

Pour terminer, M. Schuster déclare que les initiatives à venir ne doivent pas se limiter à la simple création d'information, mais également inclure la communication documentée et l'utilisation de l'information. Adopter la perspective de l'utilisateur situé à la toute fin du processus de collecte de données est essentiel à la réussite d'une telle entreprise.

therefore identifying institutions of relevance is integral to the UIS. He then addressed the relationship of research to policy making. Such questions as, "Does the UIS see itself as a facilitator in policy evaluation?" or "Will advocacy play a role in a renewed UNESCO capability with respect to cultural statistics and the conservation of state driven cultural policies?" were raised.

In conclusion, Mr. Schuster stated that future initiatives should go beyond the creation of information to also include the informed communication and use of information. The notion of putting oneself at the end of the stream of data collection and seeing it from the perspective of a user is paramount to a successful effort.

Conférence d'ouverture — Opening Address

Mounir Bouchenaki UNESCO, sous-directeur général pour la culture, Paris, France

UNESCO, Assistant Directo-General, Culture Sector, Paris, France

M. Gérald Grandmont Sous-ministre adjoint à la Planification, au Patrimoine et aux Affaires interministérielles,

Ms. Denise Lievesley Director of the UNESCO Institute for Statistics,

Mr. Serge Bernier Director of Observatoire de la culture et des communications du Québec de l'Institut de la statistique du Québec,

M. François Colbert Titulaire de la Chaire de gestion des arts,

Honourable Members of the Symposium Scientific and Organizing Committee,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a real pleasure for me to be here today to address this audience, on behalf of Mr. K. Matsuura, Director-General. UNESCO, on an event which is regarded by UNESCO as a true landmark on the path to reflect on and attempt at redefining the concept of cultural statistics in a global context, its new challenges and implications.

The role that reliable statistics play in government decisions in developed societies is no longer in doubt. Many developing countries or emerging countries lack such date, and very often no objective evaluation of data whatsoever are available to set against the impact of emergency situations, the pressure of political negotiations or the force of widely held convictions or opinions.

One of the most important roles that UIS is therefore called upon to play is to help the governments of the developing countries or emerging countries to build up their own data-gathering capacities so as to enable them to frame their policies in full awareness of the facts.

I will focus my intervention on three domains: **first**, on the background on which UNESCO can rely in the culture field, what has been done so far, and for which purpose; **second**, the importance of the approach to cultural statistics and its methodology; **third and last**, I will question the new advances and challenges in the area of culture that need to bring about a revised way of informing decision-making processes at the international level, that is, how should we advance?

Part 1: Background

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In 1998, the Stockholm Action Plan on Cultural Policies for Development adopted by the Ministers of Culture of 73 States made an explicit call for the strengthening of international research on culture and development, therefore, hinting at the growing importance of devising cultural indicators to inform policy-making agendas.

On the occasion of the international Conference entitled "Culture Counts", held in October 1999, the World Bank, the Government of Italy and UNESCO jointly organized a seminar on cultural indicators based on the experience that the Organization had gainded in this domain, and the advances made through the publication of the *World Culture Report*.

The construction of cultural indicators of development was one of the *Report's* research priorities, conceptualized to complement the work being carried out by UNDP in its *Human Development Report*, and the World Bank's *Development Indicators*. In pursuing this task, UNESCO collaborated closely with other United Nations Organizations and institutions, among which the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD).

On the basis of UNESCO's specific mandate in the area of culture and its access to research at the international level, the objective of pursuing the collection of cultural statistics was to exchange experiences and policies in connection with research on culture and development statistics. Drawing on existing practices as well as on the complex and multi-faceted nature of world cultural processes, the experts called upon by UNESCO made an attempt at identifying specific implications and concerns in the process of statistical analysis.

A wider policy-oriented aim was to increase awareness among national ministries, not only of culture, but also of finances, and of the soundness of investing in research on culture and development as a useful tool for policy decision-making.

Part 2: Methodology

The field of statistics has today moved beyond the technical sphere and is recognized as a key instrument in many areas of social, cultural, economic and political life. Governments, international organizations and NGOs have come to understand the fundamental importance of basing their analyses, their policy-making processes and the programming and evaluation of their activities on data that is relevant, reliable and comparable at the national, regional and international level. A further difficulty arises because of increasing globalization and new forms of cooperation and partnership. Statistical research must therefore remain at the forefront of methodological advances. With the recent birth of the UNESCO Institute of Statistics, which will be celebrating on the 30th of this month its first year of activity since its establishment in Montreal, UNESCO's efforts in the field of statistics and, notably in the culture domain, will be strengthened and it will be able to count on developing it work done so far in this area as well as widen its partnerships.

The principal objective of this Symposium is to address the issue of cultural statistics in the era of globalization. Let me, therefore, stress that it is more timely since the adoption of **UNESCO's Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity** by its General Conference in November 2001.

The *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*, which was the result of a unanimous consensus and which involved practically all of the States of the world in its elaboration – provides us with

a well-defined and unique standard-setting instrument to address the main challenges of this millennium. One of the functions recognized by all States, as being incumbent on UNESCO is indeed that of identifying universal and generally accepted principles in a number of areas. This Declaration does just that in regard to cultural diversity.

At a time when cultural diversity has become a key issue in so many national and international fora, the UIS is called upon to be a key player in the area of cultural statistics. But while in the past it seemed sufficient to gather information on items such as the number of books or newspapers published annually in any given country, we now have all recognized that the field is considerably more complex. What exactly are cultural statistics? Do we need just to gather data on museum activities, performance and movies? And from a production or a consumption perspective? How do we capture cultural diversity through statistical data? Again, what do we need to know and should we analyse this information? By addressing such issues, the Institute will be doing pioneering work towards the creation of a new framework that will help communities, as well as the international community as a whole, to hold better informed debates on questions that go to the heart of their very existence and identity.

The Declaration on Cultural Diversity enables us in particular to move forward in defining the principles, norms and practices that make for the protection and promotion of cultural diversity and to inform data collection and analysis. In this respect let me offer to the UIS the recent study, done by ALECSO, on cultural data gathered in some 8 or 9 countries of the Arab region. This item is on the Agenda of the meeting of Ministry of Culture in Amman (Jordan, 23-24 October 2002). Globalization in trade has undeniable consequences for cultural diversity, pluralism and intercultural dialogue. Cultural diversity also heightens the sense of identity as the source of creativity and living culture. Globalization can contribute powerfully to bringing people closer together. But in doing so it must not lead to world-wide cultural uniformity or the hegemony of one or a few cultures over all the others.

Even though the Organization is regarded as a pioneer in the field of preserving and promoting the diversity of the tangible cultural heritage through various international conventions and operational activities, cultural diversity cannot be maintained solely by the preservation of monuments and buildings of the past. It may be interesting to recall the importance of the work done by UNESCO in the normative field with the various conventions already adopted: 54.70.72-UNIDROIT-2001 (Underwater Cultural Heritage). It also requires the preservation and promotion of what is called the "intangible cultural heritage", which is the crucible of creativity and the driving force behind living cultures. **Let me say that this aspect of culture is certainly the domain in which cultural data is lacking mostly and the major work lies ahead**. For instance, preserving and revitalizing local languages and associated cultural practices help to enhance cultural diversity. The development of practical means of analyses, identification and collection of these oral and living cultural treasures, sometimes in imminent danger of being lost for ever, has to be addressed by statistical instruments, hence contributing to their preservation and transmission from generation to generation. It is an urgent need to which the Director-General of UNESCO attaches great importance.

The protection of cultural diversity also calls upon the need to acknowledge and sustain creativity, which is one of the major building blocks of freedom. Without creativity, cultural diversity would be like a museum instead of thriving on the nourishment of constantly renewed creations. Therefore, it is essential that creativity be rightfully reflected in data collection as well.

Mesdames et Messieurs,

Il est évident, dans le travail du Secteur de la culture de l'UNESCO, que l'analyse de phénomènes culturels qui apparaissent de plus en plus comme des questions fondamentales du développement, exige des données et des statistiques aussi précises et aussi fiables que celles que l'on trouve dans d'autres domaines du développement.

Lors de l'élaboration du premier Rapport mondial sur la culture, il a fallu renoncer à l'idée d'établir un indice composite unique pour classer les efforts de développement des pays dans le domaine de la culture. Nous nous sommes rendus compte qu'il était extrêmement difficile de définir exactement ce qu'il fallait mesurer : l'une après l'autre, des notions telles que celles de « développement culturel » ou « résultats culturels » ont été écartées.

Comme l'a souligné M. Lourdes Arizpe, ancien membre de la Commission mondiale de la culture et du développement et sous-directeur général pour la culture, il convient de définir des indicateurs en tenant compte des progrès réalisés ces dernières années dans la délimitation des principales orientations qui déterminent les relations entre culture et développement, à savoir : (i) le critère de **conservation** : il est urgent de contrecarrer les tendances à la destruction des sites, monuments ou cultures vivantes qui font partie du patrimoine de telle ou telle société ou de l'humanité tout entière. Un ensemble « d'indicateurs de conservation culturelle » sont donc nécessaires pour surveiller l'état des biens culturels et promouvoir des stratégies financières pour le long terme, et les gouvernements doivent être invités à fournir les données de base indispensables à cet effet; (ii) le critère de **créativité** qui puise dans les ressources culturelles et contribue à améliorer les perspectives économiques des peuples et des communautés et en assurer le développement durable; enfin, (iii) le critère d'**identité** : le principal élément de l'identité étant la capacité qu'ont les gens d'œuvrer en commun pour leur développement. L'identité aussi bien du point de vue de la gouvernance, que du point de vue de la vitalité culturelle à travers les interactions entre groupes.

D'autre part, il est essentiel d'inclure les aspects multiculturels de tous les pays pour faire contrepoids à l'inévitable déséquilibre en faveur des pays riches en raison de leurs indicateurs commerciaux de production et de consommation culturelles. Bien sûr, ces indicateurs ont leur importance, car ils reflètent une partie considérable et mesurable de la culture dans le monde. Mais il faut en élargir le champ afin d'y intégrer des caractéristiques multiculturelles communes à tous les pays.

Les statistiques culturelles disponibles rendent compte insuffisamment de nombreuses activités culturelles des pays pauvres ou des catégories pauvres de la population des riches, lorsqu'elles ne les excluent pas complètement. Contrairement aux statistiques des autres domaines sociaux tels que l'éducation, la population et la santé, les statistiques culturelles rendent insuffisamment compte des pays pauvres et des couches pauvres de la population. Au contraire, elles sont ouvertement restrictives, étant principalement axées sur la production et la consommation des biens culturels qui ont un prix sur le marché.

Cependant, il faut souligner qu'il est extrêmement difficile d'identifier des indicateurs culturels valables, car si la culture est inextricablement liée au développement, elle s'inscrit, aussi, dans le cadre de la contre la pauvreté et l'exclusion sociale, l'ensemble formant une complexité de facteurs. Ce qui conduirait à reconnaître que la définition d'indicateurs culturels ne se réduit pas au dénombrement des musées d'art; c'est une opération beaucoup plus nuancée et complexe.

Mais encore, les éléments dont nous avons besoin sont rarement quantifiés et disponibles sous forme comparable. Dans le meilleur des cas, on trouve quelques indicateurs bruts tels que le nombre de sites du patrimoine mondial d'un pays.

Partie 3 : Défis

L'UNESCO se doit de définir une stratégie pour encourager la collecte de données sur des indicateurs culturels valables. L'intérêt général que suscitent de plus en plus les aspects culturels du développement rend le climat propice à une telle démarche. Partout dans le monde, le souci d'identifier, de conserver et de faire vivre les traditions culturelles, crée un besoin de mesure et de documentation. Étant donné qu'aussi bien dans le secteur de la culture que dans celui du développement, il y en a qui doutent de la nécessité d'établir un lien entre ces deux domaines, c'est à nous qu'il appartient de développer une argumentation et à nous qu'incombe la charge de faire la preuve.

Le futur cadre conceptuel pour les statistiques culturelles devrait considérer la culture comme un *objectif de développement* où la vitalité culturelle et la diversité culturelle en seraient des éléments constitutifs. La culture dans le processus de développement, la liberté d'expression, la participation à la création culturelle, l'accès aux activités culturelles et l'identité culturelle sont des dimensions essentielles. Il conviendrait de s'employer à rechercher des moyens « novateurs » de quantifier d'autres dimensions.

En ce qui concerne la détermination d'indicateurs culturels, le débat actuel sur la définition de la culture (« la culture est partout », « la culture est spécifique ») ne permet pas d'établir des indicateurs culturels destinés à un large usage. La définition des domaines auxquels les indicateurs sont destinés devrait être opérationnelle. Les indicateurs culturels sont inscrits dans des produits faciles à identifier par tout un chacun : livres, films, cassettes, spectacles en direct, patrimoine, suivis des indicateurs relatifs à l'usage pratique que l'on fait de la culture (habitudes de consommation par rapport à l'offre et activités d'« amateur ».

Mais aussi, il faut rechercher une plus grande transparence sur les marchés de la culture et dans les institutions culturelles. **L'opacité des marchés de l'art et de la culture est un phénomène bien connu. Ce qui pose, par exemple, problème dans le cadre de la lutte que mène l'UNESCO contre le trafic illicite des biens culturels sur lesquelles nous disposons de faibles données sous tous points de vue**. Les rendements des investissements culturels sont, comme on sait, éloignés dans le temps, imprévisibles et dispersés. Par conséquent, atteindre l'objectif de développer un cadre conceptuel international de données statistiques sur la culture est un facteur essentiel pour lequel le dialogue international est indispensable. Mais pour qu'il puisse y avoir échange, il faut des statistiques de bonne qualité, des statistiques crédibles, susceptibles d'être comparées et confrontées au niveau international. C'est là que l'on peut vraiment apprécier le rôle fondamental de l'UNESCO, avec le concours de l'ISU, et d'autres organisations internationales intervenant dans le domaine de la culture.

Mesdames et Messieurs,

Partout dans le monde, l'on prend de plus en plus conscience du rôle fondamental que la culture joue dans notre vie et les pays sont de plus en plus nombreux à comprendre que la culture a un impact sur leur développement, leur identité, leurs valeurs et leur bien-être. En ce

sens, la Déclaration de l'UNESCO sur la diversité culturelle insiste sur l'importance de l'interaction entre diversité et développement durable et devrait nourrir les travaux de ce symposium. Le président de la République française, M. Jacques Chirac, rappelait récemment au sommet de Johannesburg que la « culture est le quatrième pilier du développement ».

Parallèlement aux efforts faits pour élargir les aspects utiles et mesurables de la culture dans le monde au cours des années à venir, il est impératif de s'assurer en particulier que les données puissent fournir effectivement des informations utiles qui vont aider les gouvernements et de nombreuses organisations culturelles dans le monde à prendre les décisions nécessaires. Il convient donc de définir les statistiques culturelles et les indicateurs dans le cadre des progrès faits ces dernières années et la tenue de ce symposium montre très clairement l'intérêt et la nécessité d'une collaboration internationale dans ce domaine. Opening openning.

Pour contribuer à élargir le champ des aspects mesurables et effectivement décrits de la culture dans le monde, l'UNESCO devrait continuer – en collaboration avec l'ISU ainsi que les instances et instituts nationaux et internationaux de statistique – à mettre en œuvre un programme de collecte axé sur la production de nouvelles données exactes concernant le lien entre culture et développement. Le but de l'UNESCO étant de renforcer sa capacité institutionnelle d'assistance et son excellence scientifique. Ceci permettra de mettre en place un système international d'informations statistiques sur la culture, pour comprendre, mesurer et évaluer les résultats de la politique au niveau national et international en les comparant à ceux obtenus en d'autres endroits et dans différentes régions du monde. Ce système devrait être intégré, exhaustif et capable de relier entre eux les divers secteurs et aspects de la vaste problématique de la culture et de les raccorder aux aspects du développement économique et social, notamment, dans la définition d'un cadre international commun qui parte de quelques dimensions et/ou composantes essentielles de la culture et du développement, sous forme à la fois quantitative et qualitative.

Dans sa récente adresse au sommet de la Francophonie qui s'est achevé hier à Beyrouth, le directeur général a souligné avec force que « pour nous permettre de réagir avec efficacité aux défis extraordinaires que représentent la durabilité, les techniques de gouvernance et les modalités du « vivre ensemble » à l'ère de la mondialisation, il nous faut une coopération mondiale qui consolidera la place de la **culture**, émanant des legs et des rêves de toute l'humanité, à savoir de la somme de ses compétences, de ses connaissances et de sa sagesse ».

Je souhaite le plein succès à vos travaux ambitieux, mais ô combien essentiels pour l'UNESCO!

Je vous remercie.

Conférenciers principaux — Keynotes papers

Diana Crane — University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, United States

"Cultural globalization from the perspective of the sociology of culture"

Résumé

Après avoir passé en revue les démarches qui ont actuellement cours en sociologie culturelle, la communication examine la nature de la mondialisation culturelle et ses effets sur les cultures nationales et locales. Quatre modèles sont abordés dans le but de mieux comprendre ce qu'est la mondialisation culturelle : (1) la thèse de l'impérialisme culturel, qui conçoit la mondialisation culturelle comme une sorte de domination culturelle des pays les plus faibles par les plus puissants et, dans une version plus récente, l'impérialisme des médias voulant que la mondialisation culturelle provienne de la domination des conglomérats médiatiques internationaux sur les canaux médiatiques globaux; (2) les flux culturels ou modèles de réseaux envisageant la mondialisation culturelle comme un phénomène traversant les réseaux et ne possédant pas de périphéries ou de centres bien délimités; (3) la théorie des récepteurs, qui étudie les réactions du public de régions et de pays différents à la mondialisation culturelle, et enfin (4) un modèle de stratégies urbaines et nationales orientées vers la mondialisation culturelle, y compris la conservation des cultures locales et nationales, la résistance à la culture mondiale, et la mondialisation des cultures locales et nationales. Chacun de ces quatre modèles peut expliquer des aspects particuliers de la mondialisation culturelle.

Abstract

After a review of current approaches in the sociology of culture, this paper examines the nature of cultural globalization and its effects on national and local cultures. I discuss four models for understanding cultural globalization: (1) the cultural imperialism thesis which views cultural globalization as a kind of cultural domination by powerful nations over weaker nations and, in a more recent version, the media imperialism thesis which argues that cultural globalization is the result of domination over global media channels by international media conglomerates; (2) the cultural flows or network model in which cultural globalization is conceptualized as occurring through networks that have no clearly defined centers or peripheries; (3) reception theory which examines the responses to cultural globalization of publics in different countries and regions, and (4) a model of national and urban strategies toward cultural globalization, including the preservation of national and local cultures, resistance to global culture, and the globalization of national and local cultures. Each of these four models is useful for explaining specific aspects of cultural globalization.

In my presentation today, I will begin with the formidable task of attempting to provide an overview of the sociology of culture and of the types of research sociologists of culture undertake. This discussion will be followed by an analysis of theoretical models related to the globalization of culture.

The sociology of culture is difficult to characterize because its subject matter is exceedingly diverse. It is an approach which is applied to a wide range of topics. Culture is defined very broadly to include, on the one hand, cultures that emerge through social interaction at both micro and macro levels and cultures that are deliberately created for ideological reasons, aesthetic interests, or commercial purposes. For example, small groups of people interacting in specific settings develop forms of culture which draw upon but are not determined by cultural institutions at the macro level. The latter consist of clusters of organizations that share cultural discourses, texts, values, and behaviors, such as the arts, science, and religion. Culture is no longer conceptualized only as sets of values, beliefs, and norms that are widely shared and that influence the public in an undifferentiated manner. Instead, sociologists of culture view culture at the micro level as a "tool kit" that people draw upon in different ways, depending on their social background and inclinations (Swidler 1986). At the macro level, culture is seen as the driving force underlying social structures, influencing the character of social institutions and structuring opportunities for social and civic life. In other words, culture is not only conceptualized as taking different forms depending on the nature of the social structure; culture and social structure are seen as being closely interrelated so that culture is as powerful as social structure.

One factor that distinguishes between orientations toward the sociology of culture is the level of specificity in their analyses. Many works in the sociology of culture could be said to have been "painted with a broad brush." Theoretical and empirical studies of this type are generally concerned with the macro level and attempt to interpret or explain characteristics of cultural institutions, such as religion, politics, law, the arts, and the media. For example, religion at the macro level has been conceptualized as a cultural system (Geertz 1973; Williams 2003) that "provides humans with a coherent world view that has sacred legitimacy." Geertz argued that humans are "suspended in webs of significance" that consist of networks of cultural objects and cultural systems that provide structures of meaning that can be interpreted through studies at the micro level.

Alternatively, other researchers in the sociology of culture "paint with a very fine brush". These studies are generally situated at the micro level and provide a meticulously detailed analysis of specific forms of culture and the ways in which people create, use, and respond to these forms of culture in different types of social settings. A study of the role of music in people's daily lives examined its role in the constitution of the self and self-identity. Here music was seen as a means for regulating the emotions and for discovering and maintaining personal identity (De Nora 1999).

What underlies both ends of this spectrum is an emphasis on the construction of theoretical models, broadly defined, that attempt to interpret or explain the interaction between culture and social structure, the characteristics and impacts of forms of culture that emerge in cultural organizations, the nature of spontaneous cultures that emerge in specific social contexts, and the ways in which different forms of culture engender different types of practices or activities that contribute to the construction of personal identity. The development of these models is influenced by studies not only from the sociology of culture, but also from cultural studies,

communication, literary theory, economics, history, and anthropology. Three distinct approaches can be identified: (1) an European tradition based on structuralist and poststructuralist theory which views culture as texts or discourses to be decoded; (2) a British tradition of cultural studies oriented toward identifying the role of culture in maintaining or contesting social inequalities based on race, class, and gender; and (3) an American tradition that emphasizes empirical studies of the role of culture in institutions, organizations, and social settings (Smith 1998).

The ways in which theoretical models are used in the literature on the sociology of culture vary within and across these traditions (Dowd 2002). Some authors are primarily concerned with the development of theoretical models per se. Other scholars attempt to delineate causal processes rigorously in order to test competing theories and to provide results that can be generalized to comparable situations. Still others prefer to produce interpretive studies that provide insights into how culture operates in specific situations but which are difficult to generalize to other settings.

In this presentation, I will illustrate the use of theoretical models in the sociology of culture using the phenomenon of cultural globalization. As opposed to economic, political, or technological globalization, cultural globalization refers to the transmission or diffusion across national borders of knowledge, ideology, arts, media, and styles of life. Here I will restrict my attention to various forms of media and the arts. I have identified four models that have been influential in the literature on these forms of culture: cultural imperialism (now generally discussed in terms of media imperialism), global networks, reception theory, and national cultural policy strategies (see Figure 1). The phenomenon of cultural globalization is sufficiently complex that no single theory can be expected to explain it adequately. Each of the four models focuses upon a different set of variables associated with cultural globalization and develops hypotheses about the processes through which these variables affect cultural globalization and the types of consequences that result.

It is important to realize that cultural globalization is no longer conceptualized as leading to a homogenized global culture corresponding to a McLuhnian global village. Instead, cultural globalization is recognized to be a complex and diverse phenomenon consisting of global cultures in the plural, originating from many different nations and regions.

Theoretical models of cultural globalization

The best known model of cultural globalization is cultural imperialism theory. This model focuses upon the roles of governments and of multinational and transnational corporations in the dissemination of different forms of global culture. It hypothesizes that global culture is disseminated from rich and powerful countries that are located at the center of the world cultural system to poorer and less developed countries on the periphery of the system.

Cultural imperialism theory emerged in the 1960s as part of a Marxist critique of advanced capitalist cultures, including their emphasis on consumerism and mass communications. The role of core countries as opposed to peripheral countries is derived from ideas from world-systems theory, which argues that the global economic system is dominated by a core of advanced countries while Third World countries remain at the periphery of the system with little control over their economic and political development (Tomlinson 1991: 37). Multinational or

transnational corporations are key actors in this system, producing goods, controlling markets, and disseminating products, using similar techniques. The theory presupposes a relatively homogenous 'mass' culture which is accepted passively and uncritically by 'mass' audiences.

The strong version of cultural imperialism theory refers to the imposition upon other countries of a particular nation's beliefs, values, knowledge, behavioral norms, and style of life (Salwen 1991). Cultural imperialism is defined as a kind of cultural domination by powerful nations over weaker nations. It is viewed as purposeful and intentional because it corresponds to the political interests of the United States and other powerful capitalist societies. The effects of this type of cultural domination, reflecting the attitudes and values of Western, particularly American, capitalist societies, are viewed as extremely pervasive and as leading to the homogenization of global culture, as suggested by the following comment by an Australian scholar (White 1983: 120-121): "the Americanization process becomes far more formidable when the fundamental concepts of a society's national identity are remodeled in the American image."

The concept of cultural imperialism is inherently vague and implies a negative evaluation of the behavior and intentions of advanced countries, particularly the United States, toward other advanced countries and toward poorer countries. Critics have argued that the term, 'imperialism', which can be seen as the imposition of power from rich to poor, from powerful to weak, implies a degree of political control by powerful countries that no longer exists. According to Tomlinson (1991: 175): "the idea of imperialism contains… the notion of a purposeful project: the intended spread of a social system from one center of power across the globe." He contrasts imperialism with the concept of 'globalization' which suggests "interconnection and interdependency of all global areas happening in a far less purposeful way."

In spite of its weaknesses, cultural imperialism, re-conceptualized as media imperialism, remains a useful perspective because it can be used to analyze the extent to which some national actors have more impact on global culture than others, and therefore are shaping and reshaping cultural values, identities, and perceptions. Since the scope and influence of global cultures are rapidly expanding, these are important issues.

In contrast to cultural imperialism theory in which the source of cultural influence is Western civilization while non-Western and less developed countries are viewed as being on the periphery – as the receivers of cultural influences – the cultural flows or network model offers an alternative conception of the transmission process, as a set of influences that are not necessarily originating in the same place or flowing in the same direction. Receivers may also be originators. In this model, cultural globalization corresponds to a network with no clearly defined center or periphery (see, for example, Appadurai 1990). Globalization as an aggregation of cultural flows or networks is a less coherent and unitary process than cultural imperialism and one in which cultural influences move in many different directions. The effect of these cultural flows, which Appadurai identifies as consisting of media, technology, ideologies, and ethnicities on recipient nations is likely to be cultural hybridization rather than homogenization.

A third model, reception theory, has been used to explain responses to cultural globalization by publics in different countries. This theory hypothesizes that audiences respond actively rather than passively to mass-mediated culture and that different national, ethnic, and racial groups interpret the same materials differently. This model does not view globally disseminated culture as a threat to national or local identities. Multiculturalism rather than cultural imperialism is

perceived as the dominant trend. Critics of reception theory argue that audience response has little impact on global media conglomerates or cultural policy. Media conglomerates treat audiences as undifferentiated consumers of their products rather than as citizens with distinct rights and preferences.

A fourth approach which I am proposing focuses on the strategies used by nations, global cities, and cultural organizations to cope with, counter, or facilitate cultural globalization. Specifically, nations, global cities, and cultural organizations engage in strategies for preserving and protecting cultures inherited from the past, strategies for rejuvenating traditional cultures, strategies for resisting cultural globalization, and strategies for altering or transforming local and national cultures for global consumption. From this perspective, cultural globalization is a process that involves competition and negotiation as organizations and countries attempt to preserve, position, or project their cultures in global space. Countries vary in their emphasis upon preservation as compared to production of culture for exportation. In this approach, cultural globalization is seen as a disorderly process, fraught with tension, competition, and conflict.

Each of the four models focuses upon a different set of variables associated with cultural globalization and develops hypotheses about the processes through which these variables affect cultural globalization and the types of consequences that result.

From cultural imperialism to global capitalism and media imperialism

Major forces leading to cultural globalization are economic and organizational factors. Cultural globalization requires an organizational infrastructure. One form of globalization occurs as a result of the activities of media and entertainment organizations based in advanced countries which produce film, television, and popular music and distribute them to countries all over the world. Dominance of a particular country in the global media marketplace is more a function of economic than cultural factors. American firms particularly have benefited from the size of their national market and the availability of funds for investment.

A small number of media conglomerates, based in a few Western countries, dominate the production and global distribution of film, television, popular music, and book publishing. McChesney (1999) has documented the existence of a global media market, that has developed as a result of new technologies and the deregulation of national media industries. This market is oligopolistic. Because of high production and distribution costs, the level of investment required to enter this market is very high. These vertically integrated firms make huge profits by selling the same product in different media. A film may be shown in movie theaters and on pay cable television and sold in the form of a CD-rom, a book, or as comics. A spin-off may be used for a television series. Merchandise based on the film generates additional profits. According to McChesney, firms without access to this type of "synergy" are incapable of competing in the global marketplace.

In spite of the fact that some of the global media conglomerates are European, American media products continue to dominate in global markets. Because of the huge audience for films in the United States, American firms producing and distributing films earn enormous profits in their own country. As a result, American producers can afford to make more expensive films than their competitors in other countries and this, in turn, increases profits. The more expensive a film is to produce, the more money it is likely to make. "Blockbusters" attract the largest international

audiences (Phillips 1982). These expensive films represent a type of homogenous, uniform culture permeated by Western capitalistic values. They are full of elaborate technical effects and concentrate on stunts, action, and violence rather than character and emotion. Action films are more easily understood in diverse, non-English speaking cultures than other types of films. Given the enormous cultural diversity among the potential audiences for globally marketed films, filmmakers attempt to find common denominators that are universal in a weak sense and will attract audiences in different countries.

The United States also predominates in the production and sale of television programs (Barker 1997: 50) for reasons that have more to do with economic factors than with cultural attitudes and values. Hoskins and Mirus (1990) argue that the success of American television programs in the international market is largely a result of the conditions under which they are produced. Again, the size and wealth of the country means that successful programs are extremely lucrative. Consequently, the high costs of television production (over $1 million per episode) can be recouped locally. Programs can be sold for export at substantially lower prices that indigenous producers are often unable to match. Many other countries are unable to invest at the American level in television programming because they cannot meet the costs of production through distribution in their own countries and they cannot afford costs of distributing and marketing programs in other countries. The cost of an imported television drama can be less than one-tenth of the cost of creating an original production (Curran 1998). Nevertheless, Mexico's Televisa is the largest single exporter of television programming in the world (Hallin 1998).

Changes in the availability of technology in developing countries have led to an increase in transnational dissemination of television programs and in expansion of world demand for programming (Straubhaar 1991: 47). International satellite delivery systems have been very important in disseminating television programs from advanced countries to less advanced countries (Sinclair 1996: 52-53). In Latin America, increases in the availability of VCRs, cable TV, and direct satellite reception have expanded audiences for U.S. and European television. In countries where the availability of media has formerly been severely limited or restricted, the arrival of foreign programming may greatly increase the range of cultural choices.

Global musical culture disseminated by media conglomerates generally concentrates upon artists from English speaking countries and excludes artists from other countries, particularly those who do not speak English (Negus 1996: 184-185). The international repertoires of major record companies have increasingly focused on a small number of international stars and excluded local artists. The American cable company, MTV, which specializes in music videos and which has aggressively marketed its products in Europe, Asia, and Latin America, includes primarily artists from the United States and the United Kingdom, particularly those being distributed by major music conglomerates, and pays little attention to artists from other countries (Banks 1996).

As these developments indicate, cultural imperialism with political motives has been replaced by media imperialism based on global capitalism, although some media industries fit this model more than others (see below). A small number of media conglomerates based in a few countries (the United States, Germany, France, and Great Britain) have continually extended their control over the television, film, music, and publishing industries and hence the global reach of their products. Kellner (1999: 246) identifies a new postindustrial form of "techno-capitalism… characterized by a decline in the power of the state and increased power of the

market." He states that mergers of major entertainment and information conglomerates have produced "the most extensive concentration and conglomeration of information and entertainment industries in history" (Kellner 1999: 243). However, this model does not explain all the dimensions of cultural globalization.

Cultural globalization as network flows

Two contradictory trends are operating in the phenomenon of cultural globalization. On the one hand, international media conglomerates are extending their influence and control over certain types of global culture. On the other hand, the increasing importance of regions as producers of and markets for their own media provides support for a network model of cultural globalization. Regions exhibit sub-networks of denser connections within the global network but are also linked less strongly to other areas. Nederveen Pieterse (1995: 50) states: "What globalization means in structural terms is the increase in available modes of organization: transnational, international, macro-regional, national, micro-regional, municipal, local."

The numbers of producers of media content and of countries producing such content are steadily increasing, contributing to the diversification of global culture. The impact of Western global cultures is being offset by the development of regional cultures within global cultures. Some scholars claim that world television is not so much global as regional (Sinclair et al. 1996), consisting of several distinct regions in which television programming circulates. Regional cultures represent shared communities of language and culture. Each major region, Asia, Middle East, and Latin America, is dominated by one or two countries that are centers of audiovisual production, such as, Mexico and Brazil in Latin America, Hong Kong and Taiwan in Chinese Asia, and India in Indian Asia and Indian Africa. A Francophone market links France to its former colonies and an Arab market links the Arab-speaking countries. The decreasing cost and increased flexibility of television production technology have led to an expansion of television production in these countries. A few developing countries (e.g. Brazil, Egypt, India, and Mexico) have become exporters of film and television programming (Sreberny-Mohammadi 1991: 121; Straubhaar 1997).

Each region has its own dynamic. Mexican television has benefited from the existence of a large Spanish speaking population in the United States, as a lucrative market for its programming. The most successful television genre in Latin America is the telenovela, which is produced in several countries, including Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, and Venezuela, and which attracts more viewers in the region than American soap operas. The major Brazilian television network exports telenovelas to over 100 countries.

Each region consists of audiences within the region and audiences outside the region, often consisting of migrants from the region who are living in other regions but continue to be an audience for culture disseminated from the region. The largest regional companies transmit their products both within and outside their own region. For example, Zee TV in India claims to be "the world's largest Asian television network, covering Asia, Europe, the United States, and Africa, catering to the 24 million-strong Indian diaspora who live outside the region but retain their linguistic and cultural links with the subcontinent" (Thussu 1998: 279).

Consequently, Straubhaar (1991: 55) argues that television industries in developing countries are moving away from simple dependency on the American industry and toward "a greater but still asymmetrical interdependency". Regional markets are developing as well as increasing

interdependence of the world television market, as seen by the fact that Latin American countries import television series from Asia as well as the United States. Television in European countries is becoming increasingly regional as well (McAnany and Wilkinson 1992: 732). Straubhaar (1991: 56) states: "Although the United States still dominates world media sales and flows, national and regional cultural industries are consolidating a relatively more interdependent position in the world television market".

The popular music industry also fits the network model of cultural globalization in some respects. The extent of American domination of the music industry has changed in terms of ownership in the past decade. The relatively low cost of making recordings (compared to television drama and film) and the ways in which new music is created (which frequently occurs outside the huge corporations that market it), make it possible for new music to develop in many different countries and at times to compete with the American product. Today only one of the top five record companies in the global market is owned by an American conglomerate. Laing (1997) identified three principal regional or linguistic-based production centers for popular music that are beginning to compete with Anglo-American music: Mandarin and Cantonese Chinese in Asia, Spanish-speaking regions in the Americas and Europe, and Continental Europe.

The extent to which cultural products emanating from a specific country or region dominate international markets varies by media industry and even by the nature of the product within a particular cultural industry. Some forms of media, such as Hollywood blockbuster films, are so widely disseminated that they appear to constitute a homogenous global culture. At the same time the availability of diverse cultural forms and styles is steadily increasing. To summarize, the network model views globalization as "a process that is increasing international dialogue, empowering minorities, and building progressive solidarity (Curran and Park, 2000: 10)." Further research is required to determine the relative importance that should be attributed to this model in comparison with the previous model.

Cultural globalization and reception theory

While the previous models focus on the creators and organizations that are disseminating global cultures, reception theory concentrates on the responses of audiences and publics. On the one hand, reception theory is concerned with the responses of audiences and publics to specific cultural products. On the other hand, it has implications for the long-term effects of cultural products on national and cultural identity. Theories of globalization have stressed two major consequences of globalization, homogenization of cultures and hybridization of cultures (Nederveen Pieterse 1995; Robertson 1995). The first concept suggests that all national cultures will absorb a homogenous global culture and will become increasingly similar while the second concept suggests that national cultures will assimilate aspects of many other cultures and become more diverse. Global cultures may render traditional identities less salient or produce hybridized identities as local cultures absorb and respond to these influences.

In contrast to theories of the mass audience and of ideological indoctrination by the media, reception theory provides an approach which views the audience as being capable of interpreting media texts in different ways. Members of the audience may or may not interpret texts in terms of dominant ideologies as the producers of the texts intended (Hall 1981). Variations in the ways in which texts are interpreted depend upon the context in which reception takes place

and the social characteristics of the receiver (class, gender, race, and age). For example, studies have found that gender roles affect responses to Western television programs (Salwen 1991). One of the most elaborate studies of cross-cultural differences in responses to television programming is Liebes and Katz (1990) analysis of the American television program, Dallas. They found that different aspects of the program were salient to different ethnic groups in Israel and in the United States.

A number of factors offset the dominant role of Western and specifically American products in global culture, such as the attitude of consumers toward globally disseminated television programming. Audiences generally prefer local programming, because they find it easier to identify with the style, values, attitudes, and behaviors expressed in local programs than in foreign programs (Biltereyst 1991, 1995; Chadha and Kavoori 2000). This is known as the "cultural discount". Consequently, national programming tends to be shown during prime-time hours and American imports in off-hours (Straubhaar 1991: 50).

One of the most difficult questions to study is how foreign programming affects national and cultural identity. Recent theories (Hall 1992) have stressed the problematic aspects of the concepts of national and cultural identity. The idea of homogenous national cultures that confer specific identities and values on all its citizens, to the exclusion of others, is no longer tenable; nations are becoming increasingly multicultural. One author states: "real concerns arise as to whether 'national' media cultures adequately represent ethnic, religious, political and other kinds of diversity (Sreberny-Mohammadi 1991: 129)".

Consequently, national identities are not necessarily unitary but may be perceived in different ways depending upon race and ethnicity. Cultural identities often transcend national boundaries. Transnational programming performs an important role in creating a sense of cultural identity that crosscuts nationality. For example, regional programming in the form of telenovelas has redefined national identity for viewers in some Latin American countries and created a new sense of cultural identification with other Spanish-speaking countries for Hispanic viewers in the United States (Lopez 1995). Ong explains the significance of regional programming in Asia as follows:

> "Ethnic Chinese, like other people, are inhabitants of a diversity of communities, and defined by a plurality of discourses that situate them in different subject positions… As Chinese cultural identity becomes destabilized, fragmented, and blurred outside of nationalist definitions, the mass media has become an extremely important realm for reworking subjectivity".
> (Ong 1997: 196).

A Japanese scholar (Iwabuchi, 2002) discusses the emergence of a new sense of regional identity among affluent young Asian consumers. They look for media products that represent "a common experience of modernity in the region that is based on an ongoing negotiation between the West and the non-West – experiences which American popular culture cannot represent".

To summarize, audience responses to global programming are highly differentiated, depending in part on levels of exposure to national, regional and global fare and in part on the social characteristics of specific publics. Availability of cultural fare, even if it is widely watched, does

not necessarily imply that its values and ideological content are accepted uncritically. On the other hand, provided that cultural imports are widely consumed, audience resistance has little significance for media conglomerates in charge of programming.

National, organizational and urban strategies toward cultural globalization

Cultural policy can be viewed as the stage where power struggles are waged on the national and international levels to set global policies and priorities for cultural globalization and to resist threats to the dissemination of national or regional media. Cultural policy is a political instrument that countries use in an attempt to control the types of channels and types of content that enter and leave their territory. A country's success in responding to the pressures of cultural globalization has major consequences for the future of the country's culture.

The outcomes of these power struggles have implications for the preservation of cultural heritage and cultural memory, the survival of public as opposed to private broadcasting, for the roles of members of global publics as consumers or as citizens, and for the existence of transnational public spheres as compared to free trade zones for media products.

The capacity of national governments to control the dissemination of culture within their borders has been greatly diminished by recent technological developments, such as satellite broadcasting, and international trade policies favoring deregulation and privatization that have increased market penetration by foreign firms (Richards and French 1996: 41). According to Street (1997: 78), "As more television is transmitted by satellite, the less significance attaches to national borders and the presumption of national control".

Nevertheless, there are strategies that are available to national governments, urban governments, and cultural organizations for preserving, protecting and enhancing their cultural resources. On the international level, three goals of cultural policy can be identified: (1) Protecting the country's culture from domination by the cultural achievements of other countries and from encroachments by the media industries of other countries; (2) Creating and maintaining international images of the country or of a region or city within the country; and (3) Developing and protecting international markets and venues for the country's international "exports". To what extent does the country project consistent or inconsistent cultural images? What aspects of the culture are chosen, either deliberately or by market forces, to represent the country's culture on the international scene? Cultural policy is not exclusively the domain of national governments. Regional and local governments pursue such policies in an attempt to obtain economic benefits and to provide satisfying environments for residents. The so-called global city performs a major role in increasing awareness of a country's culture in other countries (Zukin 1995; Trasforini, 2002; Kwok and Low, 2002). Cultural images of certain cities are widely disseminated in global culture, drawing both producers and consumers of culture to those cities which in turn leads to the reinforcement of local cultural policies.

In a sense, cultural policy provides a frame for a country's culture, indicating how the country's leaders perceive the culture and the value they place on different aspects of it. In the United States, a cultural policy that provides minimal resources for high culture signifies the ambivalence of lawmakers toward this type of culture, their anxiety about being viewed as supporting elitist institutions, and their distrust of culture creators who might challenge traditional views of what the country stands for. At the same time, lawmakers provide financial incentives for investing in high

culture to the rich and the powerful. The government's protection of media conglomerates reflects the importance of media culture in the country's economy and as a major component of its exports to other countries.

Strategies which countries, cultural organizations, and global cities use to preserve, protect and enhance their cultural resources include the following:

Preserving and protecting national and local cultures

In countries that are increasingly being exposed to global culture, traditional and classical cultures may be the object of concerted efforts for preservation and protection. In some countries, such as Japan, preservation and protection have been the major focus of their cultural policies and have constituted their major responses to cultural globalization (Tomooka, Kanno, and Kobayashi, 2002). Southeast-Asian countries view the arts as an expression of their social and national identities (Lindsay, 2002). Government support is a form of patronage in which, for example, performing artists are commissioned to perform because of their contribution to the maintenance of national identity and a strong commitment to protecting indigenous cultural heritage. Their governments exert considerable control over artistic content and performance.

The role of culture in urban regeneration has been widely discussed (Bianchini and Parkinson 1993). Regeneration of cultural resources involves the increasingly important role of certain cities as global cultural actors. For example, in response to economic, political, and cultural pressures engendered by various forms of globalization, certain forms of culture, both local and global, have been used to rejuvenate urban neighborhoods and local cultures. Lorente (2002) explains how depressed neighborhoods in cities that have suffered economically from economic globalization have been revived and transformed through strategic construction of museums in their midst.

Resisting global culture

Understanding national strategies toward cultural globalization requires an understanding of various aspects of resistance to global cultures. Using taxes, tariffs, and subsidies, many governments attempt to control channels for the dissemination of imported culture in order to preserve national cultural sovereignty and national cultural diversity. Both advanced and developing countries have resorted to strategies for resisting global media cultures. Television and film have been subject to import quotas.[1] Popular music is another area where some countries have resorted to protectionism and various forms of state assistance to musicians and music industries.[2]

1. Brazil, India, and Iran have placed limits on the amount of imported programming (Sreberny-Mohammadi 1991: 127; Chadha and Kavoori, 2000). France subsidizes its film industry and has a system of quotas for non-French films and television programs. Fifty percent of the content of cable channels must be European (Hedges 1995: 153). Other European countries have similar policies (Curran 1998). Australia has also had media content requirements and has subsidized its film industry (White 1983: 120). The European Commission recently took steps that will curb American film companies' control over distribution of films in Europe on the grounds that their system discriminates against European films (Andrews 1998). A few countries have taken even more stringent measures. Some developing countries where Islamic fundamentalists are in control have totally banned global media culture.
2. In 1986, the French government issued a requirement that public radio stations must devote more than half their musical programs to French popular music (Crane 1992: 154). The goal of the policy was to prevent French radio stations from becoming waste bins for American popular music that had failed in the United States. Grants were provided to jazz and rock musicians. The Canadian government has also developed policies for nurturing Canadian musicians and for curbing American country music channel with a Canadian equivalent (Banks 1996: 111). National television channels in developing countries such as Nigeria and Jamaica also have policies of supporting indigenous music (Banks 1996: 112). Governments of several countries, including France, Denmark, Sweden, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Australia, and Canada, have implemented policies for assisting musicians and bands in producing, distributing, and performing both nationally and internationally (Negus 1996: 185) in order to resist the emphasis placed on Anglo-American repertoires by the international music industry.

These forms of resistance lead to political conflicts with countries that are major exporters of commercial culture as well as with multinational organizations that are concerned with profit rather than the public interest (Beale, 2002). The American government has strenuously opposed regulations designed to limit access of American cultural products to foreign markets. It is unwilling to concede that other nations might be justified in attempting to protect their cultural identities and generally views such measures as nothing more than protectionism (Sinclair 1996: 51). Negotiations concerning international trade agreements often pit these two orientations toward policy against one another (French and Richards 1996; McAnany and Wilkinson 1996).

Globalizing national or local cultures

Understanding the process of cultural globalization requires an understanding of how national and local cultures are transformed in order to make them more attractive and meaningful to foreign visitors or foreign consumers. This type of activity takes several forms. The first three strategies transform cultural sites within a particular country in order to project new images of the country's culture to the outside world. The fourth and fifth types of strategies involve creating or recreating national cultural items for global export.

The first three strategies of national or local transformation are processes of *reframing*. For example, retooling is a type of activity is seen in urban neighborhoods and historical sites that have been "retooled" so as to provide more activities for tourists and more commercial outlets to serve them (Zukin 1995). Traditional arts and performances may be "reframed" to make them more interesting and understandable for tourists. Kwok and Low (2002) show how turning Singapore into a "global city for the arts" affected the preservation of cultural memory through historic sites and the identity of the city-state itself. In Singapore, historic sites and traditional neighborhoods have been simulated and replicated rather than conserved, replacing chaotic, disorderly areas with sanitized substitutes.

Another form that reframing takes is *disneyfication*, influenced by the Disney theme parks and Walt Disney's vision of a utopian city. For example, a city's historic sites will be categorized and publicized in terms of specific themes that lead the citizen or tourist to view them from a particular perspective. Kwok and Low examine the consequences of disneyfication for the types of cultural images that Singapore projects.

An alternative and less frequently used strategy for reframing local culture is *postmodern upscaling*. This strategy focuses on the arts and attempts to use them to attract elite international audiences to major events featuring artistic celebrities. Trasforini (2002) discusses the advantages and disadvantages of this strategy for an urban economy and for traditional arts groups that may be excluded from this process.

Two other strategies are used in preparing cultural products for global markets. *Negotiated modification* is an important phenomenon which is almost invisible outside the entertainment industry. Carefully selected national cultural products, such as television series, are globalized by editing or revising them to suit the tastes of consumers in other countries whose tastes do not conform to those of consumers in the country of origin (Bielby and Harrington, 2002). Details of these negotiated modifications are worked out at annual sales meetings where media companies present their wares for purchase on the international market. Co-productions in which companies from different countries jointly produce television series and films are an important

site in which cultural products are adapted or modified to suit the needs of consumers in different countries (Hubka, 2002). Considerable importance is placed on audio-visual exports by many countries, both developed and less developed. They are fostered both as a form of cultural diplomacy, and for intrinsic economic reasons (Cunningham, Jacka, and Sinclair 1998: 188).

Another approach to preparing cultural items for export is referred to as *global localization* or *glocalization*. Robertson (1995: 28) discusses the ways in which global genres are adapted for local audiences so that the global blends with the local. This process does not lead to global homogenization but to a situation where cultural forms, such as soap operas, that originated in the West and that diffuse globally are adapted to local conditions and primarily carry messages about local cultures (Straubhaar 1997: 288). Audiences often prefer local imitations of American popular culture rather than American popular culture itself.

In some cases, this process results in completely eliminating traces of the country of origin of the product, by attempting to frame the items as having originated in the countries to which they are being marketed (Iwabuchi, 2002; Robertson 1995). In this situation, cultural forms being marketed outside the country assimilate aspects of the local cultures in the receiving country in a process that challenges the much-discussed binary opposition between global and local. The Japanese, with their long experience of assimilating foreign influences, are particularly adept in this area. They create culturally neutral products for sale in other parts of Asia that include animated films in which physical, racial, and ethnic differences have been erased or softened. They also export popular music which listeners in other Asian countries think is a local product but which actually consists of cover versions of Japanese songs. What the Japanese attempt to create in these products is not an authentic traditional Asian identity but a kind of combination of Asian and Western culture. This strategy results in hybrid products that are a combination of the foreign and the indigenous. Japanese "glocalized" popular culture has been very successful in Asia.

As this discussion suggests, national governments, cultural organizations, and global cities have responded to the phenomenon of cultural globalization in various ways. Cultural globalization can be seen as a major threat to national identities or at the very least as contributing to a decline in people's identification with nation states. While national governments and cultural organizations are losing their power to completely control the dissemination of global cultures within their borders, they can and do resort to a number of strategies for preserving or reframing their cultures or for positioning their cultures in the global marketplace.

Conclusion

What can one conclude about the relevance of these four models for understanding the nature and effects of globally disseminated cultures? First, the cultural imperialism model has been reconceptualized as the media imperialism model in which the motivation for dissemination is economic rather than political. As such, it is evident that global media culture is dominated by and in the future will increasingly be dominated by media conglomerates with huge holdings in all forms of popular culture. While in the past, ownership of these conglomerates was largely American, recently some of these organizations have been bought by companies based in other major industrial countries. However, the content of the global culture transmitted by these organizations, whether American or non-American, remains heavily influenced by American

media industries (music, film, television). A more accurate term for this type of culture might be transnational culture rather than global culture since many less developed countries are not perceived as attractive markets.

The second model, the cultural flows or network model is useful for understanding the roles of regional cultures. They tend to be more multicultural and diverse than global cultures and, in some areas of the globe, tend to perform more important roles. They generally have more links to Third World national cultures. They are, however, heavily influenced by international media conglomerates that often invest in specific regions and perform important roles in creating regional cultures. The combination of transnational culture and regional culture is closer to the network model, as regions begin to send cultural products to other regions. In the future, the network model should be increasingly relevant to the study of cultural globalization as more regions and more countries produce more culture and send it to other countries. A truly global media culture that mingles cultural traditions and social values from many different countries has yet to emerge.

The third model, reception theory, examines the nature of the public's responses to global culture in different countries and in different settings within different countries. Broadly defined, these types of studies have implications for understanding the construction of national identities and the extent to which national cultures absorb a homogenous global culture or, alternatively, assimilate diverse influences from many other cultures.

Finally, the fourth model shows that the various strategies that are open to national governments, global cities, and cultural organizations for coping with and responding to influences from global and regional cultures need to be better understood. Although national governments are sometimes presented as being relatively powerless in the face of these influences, the relative weight and influence of global cultures in comparison with regional, local and national cultures is an issue that requires more empirical research. In some cases, the cultures of global cities are as visible to global publics as those of nations and perform important roles in disseminating national culture.

To conclude, each of these four models is useful for explaining specific aspects of the phenomenon of cultural globalization. Since cultural globalization is not static but an ongoing process whose dimensions are continually evolving and changing and whose consequences are difficult to predict, we can expect that these models will continue to evolve and hopefully that new models will emerge.

Figure 1
Models of cultural globalization

Model	Process of culture transmission	Principal actors, sites	Possible consequences
Cultural Imperialism Media Imperialism	Center-periphery	Global media conglomerates	Homogeniz. of culture
Cultural Flows/Networks	Two-ways flows	Regional and national conglomerates and corporations	Hyridization of culture
Reception Theory	Center-periphery; Multi-directional	Audiences, publics, cultural entrepreneurs, gatekeepers	Negociation, reistance
Culture Policy Stratefies e.g. preservation, resistance, reframing, globalization, etc	Framing of national cultures	Global cities, museums, heritage sites, cultural memory, media, ministries of culture and trade	Competition, negotiation

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Conférenciers principaux — Keynotes papers

J. Mark Schuster Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, United States

"Informing Cultural Policy – Data, Statistics, and Meaning"

Résumé

La communication fait état, du point de vue des politiques publiques, de la manière dont les données sur la culture sont converties en statistiques puis en éléments de signification. L'accent est mis sur la façon dont l'information doit être utilisée dans les décisions concernant les politiques culturelles.

Un exposé portant sur les tableaux de classement est d'abord présenté sous forme de métaphore pour la collecte, le calcul et la diffusion de statistiques transnationales sur la culture. Ensuite, il est question de la manière dont la double interrogation des définitions et des restrictions modèle le travail de cueillette et de présentation des données. Finalement, les éléments génériques de la recherche et de l'infrastructure de l'information en usage dans le monde entier font l'objet d'une présentation.

En conclusion, nous relevons quelques-uns des principaux résultats découlant d'un récent projet de recherche, *Informing Cultural Policy: The Research and Information Infrastructure*, qui renferme une étude sur la manière dont la recherche est structurée en matière de politiques culturelles dans certains pays d'Europe et d'Amérique du Nord.

Les répercussions possibles sur le travail de l'Institut de statistique de l'UNESCO, particulièrement en ce qui concerne les données sur la culture et les communications, sont considérées tout au long de la communication.

Abstract

This paper considers, from a public policy viewpoint, how cultural data are transformed into statistics and meaning. It is concerned primarily with how information is to be used in cultural policy decisions.

The paper begins with a discussion of league tables as a metaphor for the collection, calculation, and dissemination of cross-national cultural statistics. Next discusses how the twin questions of definitions and boundaries shape the work of data gathering and presentation. It then turns to a presentation of the generic components of the research and information infrastructure currently in use throughout the world.

The final section presents some of the most important results from a recent research project, *Informing Cultural Policy: The Research and Information Infrastructure*, which investigated the way in which cultural policy research is structured in a number of countries in Europe and North American.

Implications for the work of the UNESCO Statistics Institute, particularly with respect to data on culture and communications, are explored throughout.

Reading over the prospectus for this symposium, it is quite clear that we will have a lot of ground to cover in our two and a half days together. Thus, it is imperative that each of the speakers delineate clearly the portion of the field to which he or she will speak and to make clearly evident his or her own personal interests and biases.

In this spirit, allow me to make three opening disclosures:

Three Disclosures

1. My interests lie more in policy than in simple understanding.

My ultimate concern is what will be done with whatever cultural information the UNESCO Institute for Statistics will collect. I take for granted that the data to be collected will provide an imperfect, incomplete picture of the situation under consideration, and I want to make sure that we worry about the implications of those imperfections for policy making and decision making. It is one thing to collect data to say that one has collected data, it is quite another to collect data with the aim of affecting policy. I do not mean to suggest, of course, that we should lose sight of the question of how to generate data of the highest possible quality – that is, after all, one of the mandates of any statistical institute – but I do mean to suggest that any definition of "quality" with respect to data ought to pay attention to how those data are to be used and whether or not they fit that use.

2. I take seriously the difference between data and statistics.

It has become quite common to treat the words "data" and "statistics" as synonyms. We prefer the word "statistics," perhaps, when we wish to signal seriousness of purpose; but we prefer "data" when we don't wish to threaten the system that is being measured.

But statistics and data are not the same. Statistics are measures that are created by human beings; they are calculated from raw data by people who are wishing to detect patterns in those data. We calculate means, modes, standard deviations, chi-squared statistics, slopes of regression lines, correlation coefficients, and so on; we aggregate in a wide variety of ways, we eliminate outliers, we normalize calculations, we truncate time series. In short, we generate mathematical summaries that we think are appropriate to the questions with which we are grappling at a particular moment in time. And we have debates about which statistic will capture better the particular element of human behavior in which we are interested.

This is why it is not only silly but perhaps even dangerous to say that we will "let the data speak for themselves." We calculate statistics from data in order to say something about them.

I trust that the title "UNESCO Statistics Institute" has not been chosen only to signal seriousness of purpose but also to remind itself that it will be engaged in making decisions as to how best to summarize and present data via statistics, perhaps even decisions on how best to interpret those statistics, decisions that will have an effect on what one will claim to see in the numbers.

We would also do well to recall from the outset the difference between statistics and parameters. Statistics are mathematical summaries of the relationships we observe in the data we have actually been able to collect, often from systematically drawn samples. Parameters are mathematical summaries of the relationships that we would observe if we were able to collect complete and accurate

data about the behavior of entire populations. Statistics are estimates of parameters. In the end, we are interested in parameters, but statistics are the best we can do. The publications of official statistical agencies, however, more often than not leave the impression that they are reporting parameters. "This is the condition of the world as seen through numbers."

I make this point not simply to remind us of our first courses in statistics. Rather, I make this point to issue a challenge. Most statistical organizations, government or otherwise, do not invest nearly enough time in educating the consumers of their data about the quality of the statistics being presented. Here I have in mind two notions of quality – not only the error that comes from sampling responsibly and collecting data well (sampling error), but also the error that comes from sampling and collecting data poorly (non-sampling error).

At the national level there have been many compilations of the data – or, more properly, the statistics – that are currently available on the arts and culture.[1] These compilations have often been the precursor to a more concerted and coordinated effort to collect new and improved cultural statistics. But few if any of these compilations have taken seriously the question of communicating any information about the likely quality of the statistics they are reporting or of the data on which they are based.

3. I believe that the work of informing cultural policy does not end with the calculation of statistics.

Eugene Bardach, a well-know author in the field of public policy, draws an important distinction between "data," "information," and "evidence"[2]:

- "Data are facts – or some might say, representations of facts – about the world".

In this view, data might be qualitative or quantitative, but either way they purport to be raw facts. Statistics are mathematical manipulations of those data that begin to import meaning to them, transforming them into information.

- "Information is data that have meaning, in the sense that they can help you sort the world into different logical or empirical categories".

Once meaning is attributed to data, one can begin to construct a picture of what is happening in the world. Finally,

- "Evidence is information that affects the existing beliefs of important people (including yourself) about significant features of the problem you are studying and how it might be solved or mitigated".

Thus, evidence is information in the service of action.

Statistical institutes, even though their actions imbue meaning to data through the choices they make about which statistics to calculate and which ones not to calculate and about which way to present data and which way not to present them, prefer to see themselves as neutral agents, just collecting data and passing them along. Indeed, this may reflect the political necessity of self-protection. No government official wants to be seen as supporting an agency that might in the course of its work bring forward bad news. Thus, statistics institutes work very hard to give the impression that their hands are clean.

But if the ultimate objective of collecting data, calculating statistics, and disseminating results is to affect the world, to shape policy, to inform decisions, then one has to engage the process by which meaning is assigned to data. Is not meaning what we should be most interested in?

So, I open with a challenge. If the UNESCO Statistics Institute cannot help give data meaning through their work in culture and communications, it will not have accomplished much.

League Tables – A Case in Point

To make these points a bit more concrete, let me turn to a story, a story that turned out to have a Canadian twist.

As a doctoral student beginning to look at cultural policy for the first time some thirty years ago, my introduction to international comparative studies in the field of cultural policy was a simple league table embedded in a magazine article. That table, reproduced here as it originally appeared, claimed to compare government support for the arts in seven countries:

Support for the Arts, 1971

West Germany	$2.42
Austria	$2.00
Sweden	$2.00
Canada	$1.40
Israel	$1.34
Great Britain	$1.23
United States	$0.15

Source: Veronis, "Editorial: Washington Must Do More for the Arts," *Saturday Review – The Arts*, 22 April 1972.

Here we have data, presumably national expenditures on the arts, transformed into statistics – per capita expenditures – and presented in a table to facilitate comparison. But what does this table mean?

The author clearly wants his readers to ask: Why is the figure for the United States so low? But he also does not seem to want us to look too closely. Without much further research, it is easy to establish that the figure of 15¢ included only the 1971 budget of the National Endowment for the Arts. It neglected other federal agencies supporting the arts and culture, and certainly made no attempt to include government support at the other levels of government in what is clearly a federal system.

If the table is actually comparing central government expenditures, why are the figures for West Germany so high? The post-war constitution of West Germany expressly prohibited the German federal government from funding cultural activities. This, in turn, suggests that other levels of government are being included as well – at least in the German figures. But this can not be true for the American numbers.

Are there other reasons besides relative government commitment (or generosity) that could lead to these sorts of differences in the levels of per capita support? To play out just one such scenario: If each of these countries had a policy of funding exactly one national opera company, one national ballet company, one national orchestra, and one national museum, and if those cultural institutions cost more or less the same in one country as in another, then we would expect per capita expenditures on the arts to be higher in smaller countries *as a result of having exactly the same cultural policy but a smaller population across which to spread these costs.* Thus, differences do not necessarily signal difference.

Moreover, is not such a table likely to include only direct state aid while neglecting indirect aid (e.g., taxes foregone through various tax incentives)? And if this is the case, does this comparison not disadvantage those countries such as the United States that rely more heavily on indirect forms of state support than on direct forms?

Finally, why are *these* countries the *right* ones to compare? In what way does the author of this table see these particular countries as comparable?

Anyone with a modicum of training in, and a sensibility to, the nuances of cultural policy would have automatically raised these questions and, undoubtedly, many others besides. But these methodological quibbles are essentially beside the author's point. Is it at all surprising that the title of the article in which this table appeared was "Washington Must do More for the Arts".? Of course not. The author was more interested in making a political point than in fostering an understanding of cross-national difference in arts support. The advocacy intent is perfectly clear, even from the table itself.

In 1984-85, I was asked by the Policy Division of the National Endowment for the Arts to conduct a comparative study of the structure and level of funding for the arts and culture in eight countries in Western Europe and North America.[3] It was to be a "quick and dirty" study, responding to a time-limited request from an arts agency whose primary agenda, quite frankly, was not the accumulation of knowledge through research. Even though I was invited to conceive of the study in any way I deemed appropriate, there was one requirement – it had to include a league table. If I wanted the contract, I would have to include one. My compromise was an agreement that the table would be printed with a full complement of caveats appearing on the same page, so, at the very least, if that page were ever photocopied, the caveats would have some chance of traveling along with the table.

In the latter stages of my research I received a call from a Canadian government researcher. His minister had passed along an emergency request. He needed to know how Canada stacked up against others in arts funding, and he needed to know yesterday. This researcher pleaded with me to release my preliminary figures to him. His job would be so much easier if he could take advantage of work that had already been done. I relented, and we spent considerable time going over the numbers and my lengthy list of methodological caveats and footnotes. Within a day or two said minister was on national television citing new comparative research showing that per capita expenditures for culture in Canada were at a high level, on a par with Sweden, France, Germany, and the Netherlands. I no longer have perfect recall of these ensuing events, but I seem to remember that the Canadian figure had managed to increase, rather substantially, overnight.

In the wake of these events and as a partial apology to me, I was invited by the Canadian Department of Communications to give a seminar at the National Library on comparative studies of cultural expenditure. At that presentation, I put up an overhead of a completely fictitious "updated" per capita comparison. The audience was so caught up in copying down my fictitious numbers that my point, made verbally, was nearly lost. There is a power to numbers that we should not lose sight of. They seem crisp and precise, and they are hard to challenge when they appear by themselves without commentary.[4]

Through the 1970s and the 1980s, the league table became the *sine qua non* of much comparative research on arts funding. In the mid 1980's I counted sixteen different studies in English that had generated sixteen different such tables and was able to demonstrate that, depending on the methodologies and the biases of each of the studies, countries jumped all over the time series graphs on which I compared the results of these studies.[5] Their popularity continues unabated, though subsequent research has made it more and more difficult for researchers to remain ignorant of the issues raised above. Nonetheless, the literature is full of such tables; they are very hard to resist.

If the flaws of league tables are so apparent, why have I taken the trouble to rake them over the coals one more time? First, I wanted to illustrate my point about giving meaning through the transformation of data into information via statistics and the transformation of information into evidence. But I also wanted to turn our attention to the question of comparative research, which will surely be at the heart of any cultural statistics effort undertaken at the UNESCO Statistics Institute.

Cross-National Cultural Statistics

Where should the work of the UNESCO Statistics Institute begin and where should it end when it comes to cultural statistics? What is the role that this effort should play? These are complicated questions fraught with difficulty.

I imagine that the creation of a cultural statistics capability as part of the UNESCO Statistics Institute has two roles. One is to provide a level of comparability in cultural statistics across countries; the other is to gather information that will inform UNESCO's own programs and initiatives in the area of cultural policy. Logically, the first precedes the second.

The goal of comparability is an admirable one, worthy of pursuit, but there will be pitfalls along the way. Will it be possible to adopt a single framework within which cultural statistics are to be gathered that will be applicable and relevant to the many different national views as to what "culture" and "cultural policy" entail? The age-old problems of definition and boundary will become familiar once again.

Definitions

How expansive is the definition of culture to be? Will it begin narrowly with the arts and creativity and then perhaps be expanded to questions of heritage and patrimony or even to the profit-seeking media and cultural industries? Or will it begin more broadly? The Web site for this symposium cites two broad definitions: "a set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and affective features which characterize a society or social group [and which] include, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, basic human rights, value systems, traditions and beliefs" or "a set of values providing humans with grounds for being and acting". While it is easy to see why UNESCO, given its mission, would prefer to frame its actions within a broad definition of culture, it is much harder to see exactly how that ought to be operationalized. Indeed, this is one of the questions with which we will engage.

But definition and boundary are inextricably linked, particularly when they are viewed comparatively. For example, in some societies the question of religion and religious practices is fundamental to the conception of local culture and very much susceptible to public policy, but in

other societies religion is seen as a separate sphere outside the realm of state influence and cultural policy. Yet, to have comparability some decision will have to be made as to how to handle religion with respect to the boundary of culture.

Boundaries

Elsewhere, I have discussed three different generic approaches to the boundary question.[6] I call them "inclusive" boundaries, "floating" boundaries, and "anchored" boundaries.

Inclusive Boundaries

One possibility is to expand the boundaries of inquiry enough so that all possible variation can be included within them. This is likely to be UNESCO's first inclination as to boundaries – choosing boundaries so that all of its member countries will be able to fit their own definition of what constitutes culture comfortably inside. This would require a broad, anthropological definition, of the sort that is featured on the symposium Web site.

But there is some cautionary history here. UNESCO's long-abandoned project, the *International Statistical Survey of Public Financing of Cultural Activities*, is a case in point. Each country wanted to be able to incorporate its own view of cultural policy into the proposed common data set, and researchers wanted to take advantage of the opportunity to ensure that all possible data would be collected and would, therefore, be available to future researchers. The 1981 pilot survey asked respondent governments to fill out 649 different cells of financial information disaggregated by discipline and by function. Even so, a number of countries reported that the survey did not include categories of direct government expenditure that they considered "cultural," and no attempt was made to collect information about indirect government expenditure or expenditures by lower levels of government. In the complexity of this data collection effort were the seeds of its demise. Member countries were both unwilling and unable to fill out tables of this magnitude with good clean data. And note that this happened despite the fact that this effort was narrowly focused on public financing. It made no effort whatsoever to expand its comparative inquiry to questions of participation in various cultural practices or to a census of various types of cultural institutions and organizations.

An inclusive boundary has another problem associated with it. Enlarging the boundary of inquiry to this point almost guarantees that the analytic boundaries will not correspond with any of individual country's views as to what its appropriate boundaries are. Because an inclusive boundary is not grounded in any identifiable reality it can become the boundary of a statistical fairyland.

Floating Boundaries

A number of cross-national studies, realizing that the inclusive approach to boundary setting is too expensive and time-consuming – if not logistically and theoretically impossible – have used other approaches. Some have allowed the boundaries to float so that they can correspond to each country's definition of the limits of its own conceptions and interventions. Once again UNESCO provides a case in point. Its series of booklets, *Studies and Documents on Cultural Policies*, commissioned individual authors to describe the cultural policies of some sixty member countries in the 1970s and 80s. But, while each volume is interesting on its own terms (though now hopelessly outdated), valid comparisons are virtually impossible across the volumes.

Floating boundaries are by far the most common way that the collection of data for comparative studies has been organized, particularly studies with limited time and limited budgets. But floating boundaries may also be the result of a more formal political decision. UNESCO could decide, for example, to allow each country participating in a comparative study to exercise its own sovereignty over its own affairs by determining its own boundaries on the information it will provide. It is certainly the easiest way to collect data across countries, and it may be the only way that one can feasibly imagine getting any results at all.

Anchored Boundaries

A third choice is for the researcher to impose a boundary that is tailored to the research purpose at hand by providing a fixed frame through which to view selected aspects of a country's cultural policies. With an anchored boundary no attempt is made to be inclusive; rather, an informed research choice is made to view one's cases through a particular research lens that will bring certain aspects of those cases into high relief and push others back into low relief.

Such was the case with my own cross-national funding study. I chose to use the concept of "U.S. Equivalents" as my anchored boundary. Beginning with the relatively narrow realm of government arts funding in the United States as a reference point, I superimposed this definition, as much as was possible, on funding figures for the other countries in my study. In other words, I was asking, "How much were these countries spending on the things on which the United States was spending money?" Thus, my figures were an artifact of restricting the boundary of analysis in this way, including all three levels of government, and attempting to estimate the amount of indirect aid attributable to the support of arts and culture.

Choosing such a boundary, of course, has political implications. Per capita comparisons, are particularly sensitive to the setting of analytical boundaries. Choosing a narrower anchored boundary may improve the standing in the league tables of a country whose policy envelope is smaller, while a broader boundary may improve the standing of a country whose policy envelope is greater. Kurt Hentschel, has recognized a version of this dynamic in his discussion of support in the former Federal Republic of Germany:

"When seeking to delimit state intervention, one should adopt a somewhat broader definition of 'culture and art;' when the object is to pay for them one should take a much narrower one..."[7]

The choice of boundaries can have an important impact on what one sees. This is an important issue with which UNESCO will have to grapple, all the more so as its definition of "culture" expands and changes.

The Research and Information Infrastructure

Any foray that UNESCO's Statistics Institute might make into the field of cultural statistics will not happen in a vacuum. In any policy arena the crafting of appropriate and effective policy depends on the quality of the information infrastructure that is available to the participants in that arena. Such an information infrastructure does not arise of its own accord. Rather, it is designed, developed, and managed as a critical element in policy formulation and implementation. This is no less true in cultural policy than in other policy arenas, and, although there is considerable variation, a rather substantial national research and information infrastructure already exists in a number of countries and a nascent infrastructure is in evidence in many others. UNESCO will have to take account of this infrastructure in determining its appropriate role.

About two years ago, The Pew Charitable Trusts, a private American foundation, asked me to take a look at the research and information infrastructure in a number of countries where that infrastructure was rather well developed in order to inform the evolution of such an infrastructure in the United States. Last month the fruits of that research were published as *Informing Cultural Policy: The Research and information Infrastructure* (New Brunswick, NJ: Center for Urban Policy Research, 2002). In the remainder of this presentation I will summarize some of the main findings that emerged from that research.

Organizational Models

Who are the players? In order to map the research and information infrastructure I attempted to identify the generic organizational models currently in use.

Research Division of a Government Cultural Funding Agency

The central government agency charged with cultural policy might choose to run its own research and information function. The archetypal model here is the *Département des Études et de la Prospective* of the French Ministry of Culture and Communication. This office administers what is probably the most extensive national level information and research capability in cultural policy. It commissions research on a regular basis, administers ongoing work in the development of cultural indicators, maintains an extensive documentation service, and provides policy-based research on a one-off basis.

The Strategic Research and Analysis Directorate of Canadian Heritage; the Cultural Policy Directorate of the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science; the Planning and Research Section of the Public Affairs, Research and Communications Office of the Canada Council; and the Statistics and Social Policy Unit of the British Department for Culture, Media and Sport are other examples that are similar in intent and structure, if not in scope.

National or International Statistics Agency

In some countries, the national statistics agency has a specific mandate to collect, maintain, and disseminate government statistics on the cultural sector. This is true for Statistics Canada and is also now true at the provincial level in Québec with the creation of a cultural statistics observatory. The Social and Culture Planning Office in the Netherlands provides an interesting variation on this theme, and the National Centre for Culture and Recreation Statistics in the Australian Bureau of Statistics is another example of this type.

We now are witnessing a new interest among international statistics agencies in the cultural field. Eurostat has been exploring a foray into cultural statistics, and the current symposium is evidence of UNESCO's interest in bringing cultural statistics within its Statistics Institute.

Independent Nonprofit Research Institute

In some countries, the research function is delegated to an independent nonprofit institute. The Boekmanstichting in the Netherlands is perhaps the best-known example. This model offers the possibility of insulating research and information from the political pressures that might be brought to bear within a governmental agency.

Government-Designated University-Based Research Center

The model of creating government-funded research centers based in universities is used extensively in France by the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (a rough equivalent to the National Science Foundation in the United States). Another example is the Australian Key Centre for Cultural and Media Policy located at Griffith University in Brisbane. This center is part of the Australian Research Council's Research Centres Program, through which research centers are established in a particular policy field and a specific university with expertise in that area is designated to host the center.

This model has two particularly interesting properties: it, too, allows the research function to be insulated from day-to-day political concerns and machinations, perhaps fostering research of a more social-scientific nature than would occur in centers that are linked more closely to policy-making institutions; and it makes it possible for the cultural policy information infrastructure to be more closely linked to university training and teaching programs than would customarily happen under other models.

Private Consulting Firm

In some cases, the cultural policy information infrastructure has become primarily the province of a private, profit-making (or at least profit-seeking) consulting firm that specializes in the field. Many private consulting firms have conducted cultural policy related research on a one-off basis and have moved into and out of the field as projects have become available, but there are some that have made a longer term commitment to building up expertise in this field. International Intelligence on Culture (formerly the International Arts Bureau) in London, is a case in point. EUCLID International is a more recent example, but there are many other examples in the increasingly complex cultural policy research and information environment.

Two factors seem to be fueling this growth: (1) privatization as an element in cultural policy, which has led to increasing reliance on consulting services provided by the private sector, and (2) the widespread availability of new information technologies, which facilitates the low-cost communication of information. As a result, private entrepreneurs have made their presence felt in the cultural policy information infrastructure in two ways: (1) through responding to requests for proposal for research services (indeed, the increased presence of for-profit consulting firms, in and of itself, puts pressure on governmental agencies to open up their bidding processes to these firms), and (2) through the packaging and redistribution of information.

The *Zentrum für Kulturforschung* in Germany might also be placed in this category, but its structure and intent perhaps distinguish it from more traditional consulting firms. Although it is set up as a private company, it functions more as a research institute than as a consultancy, though it is funded primarily on the basis of contractual research relationships with the federal government, with joint federal/*Länder* bodies, and with various European and international agencies.

Cultural Observatories

When I began my research I was aware of several institutions that called themselves "cultural observatories," though I was not yet aware of the then proposed *Observatoire de la Culture et des Communications* du Québec. What I had not realized was how much the field of cultural

observatories had expanded. In a strictly taxonomic sense, these observatories do not constitute a pure type. Instead, they combine a variety of hybrids of the different models under a common rubric. Nevertheless, because of their recent popularity, it is worth considering cultural observatories as a separate phenomenon and in a bit more detail than the other models.

Generally speaking, cultural observatories have come into being to serve as mediators in the process of bringing policy-relevant data and information to the attention of the field. My research identified some twenty cultural observatories with the word "observatory" in their names.[8] If one were to add similarly functioning institutions that do not use that word, the list would increase substantially. Conversely, it may also be the case that organizations that use the word "observatory" are not actually functioning as an observatory in the sense that that term seems to imply in the cultural policy field. Nearly all of these observatories have come into existence in the last five to ten years.

The use of the word "observatory/*observatoire*" to describe a data gathering, monitoring, and information disseminating organization in any field appears to be a French innovation. Augustin Girard, former head of the *Département des Études et de la Prospective* of the French Ministry of Culture and Communication, describes the deliberate choice of the word "*observatoire*" as a "shy" choice. The intended message was quite clear: This new institution was not being created to rule or control; rather, it would observe, monitor, and provide information passively. In his words, "We cannot agree on a center, but we can have an observatory. It is a pleasant name. An observatory is a place of negotiation, of interactivity. It does not deliver judgments."

There is little doubt that the metaphor of an observatory is a powerful one, even if that metaphor does not actually suggest what the content and operation of such an entity should be. And one has to be careful not to conclude that the creation of a cultural policy observatory solves the problem of designing the cultural policy information infrastructure simply by virtue of its existence. An "observatory" can become an ill-defined grab bag into which all types of expectations can be stuffed. The senior observatory in the field, the *Observatoire des Politiques Culturelles* in Grenoble, pays rather little attention to data collection and monitoring, which one might have expected to be at the center of its *raison d'être*. Rather, it focuses on continuing education programs and other venues through which it can communicate research results to the field – a worthy goal, to be sure, but one that most would think ancillary to an observatory's main tasks.

UNESCO, itself, has been tempted to join in the institutional proliferation of observatories. In Stockholm in 1998 the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development adopted an Action Plan that included the recommendation that the Director-General of UNESCO "encourage the establishment of networks for research and information on cultural policies for development, including study of the establishment of an observatory of cultural policies." But at a meeting in Hannover, Germany,[9] the notion of creating an international observatory of cultural policies was dropped in favor of recognizing the prior existence of many such institutions by attempting to pull them together into an International Network of Observatories in Cultural Policies facilitated, if not supported, by UNESCO.[10]

Networks

Just as observatories have proliferated in the cultural policy field, so too have networks, but the driving forces in this instance are a bit different. Some networks have been created because of

the natural desire to share with and learn from one another; others have been created because of a specific desire to engage in comparative documentation and research. CIRCLE is the clearest example of the latter point; UNESCO's International Network of Observatories in Cultural Policies, if it were ever realized, might become another. But the formation of networks in the cultural field has also been driven by the new realities of transnational funding, particularly at the European level. Many of the funding programs of the European Union require multiple partners in multiple countries in order for a project to be funded, and this requirement has fueled the creation of networks in anticipation of the need for demonstrating the existence of such partnerships quickly. To some degree, the funding agencies see networks as a way to more efficiently manage demands on their limited resources; they can always insist that you operate through the network, letting the network do some of the sifting and sorting prior to the presentation of a request for funding.

From time to time cultural networks commission research relevant to the needs of their members and, thus, have become important, though occasional, components of the information and research infrastructure. Cultural policy research networks such as CIRCLE make this their primary business.

The proliferation of networks has become so strong that the field has recently witnessed a new phenomenon: the creation of networks of networks. To take but two examples, UNESCO has funded the Network of Networks for Research and Cooperation in Cultural Development, which operates out of Zagreb, Croatia, under the name Culturelink; and the Council of Europe has formed the Forum of European Cultural Networks *(Forum des Reseaux Culturels Europeens)*, which it convenes in Strasbourg on an occasional basis.

ERICArts, the European Research Institute for Comparative Cultural Policy and the Arts, originally established as an association to be a provider of comparative cultural policy research, is another type of network. It pulls together interdisciplinary teams of researchers from throughout Europe (and elsewhere) involving them in projects of common interest. The eventual goal of ERICArts is to create a permanent European-level cultural policy research institute, at which point it would function as a "managed consortium" with nonprofit or foundation status run by major cultural observatories and research bodies.

Program Models

Some of the most interesting research work in the field has been organized around research *programs* rather than research *institutions*. The most interesting and most visible of these has been the Council of Europe's Program for the Evaluation of National Cultural Policies. The Council has been offering its member states the opportunity to participate in this program for the last 17 years. Each state that participates commissions a study of its own national cultural policy, the so-called "National Report". The Council of Europe then commissions a panel of outside experts who evaluate and react to the National Report, eventually filing an "Examiners Report". The result has been a fascinating and valuable series of reports documenting and debating national cultural policies in Europe. Relevant to our current discussions are the attempts that have been made within this program to move toward the collection of truly comparable data.

Journals and Periodicals

While there are a number of academic journals that operate in the field of cultural policy – the *Journal of Cultural Economics*, the *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, the *International Journal of Arts Management*, the *Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society*, *Media International Australia (incorporating Cultural Policy)*, *Nordisk Kulturpolitisk Tidskrift* (the *Nordic Journal of Cultural Policy*), *Economia della Cultura* (the journal of the Italian Association for Cultural Economics), and *Boekmancahier*, among others – several journals have been developed to serve more specific data, information, and research dissemination needs. *Cultural Trends* published by the Policy Studies Institute, University of Westminster, London is the premier example.

While I have used the names of various organizations and institutions to illustrate the archetypal models above, as is often the case in public policy one does not observe pure types in the field. Rather, most of these examples combine elements from several models. Research divisions of ministries of culture commission research from private consulting firms, participate in research networks, and publish newsletters and, occasionally, journals of their own; nonprofit research institutes team up with university-based research centers to conduct research and conferences on behalf of public agencies.

What is important is the ecology: The Research Division of the French Ministry of Culture and Communication works in the context of the wide variety of social science research units supported by the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*; one cannot appreciate the work of the *Observatoire des Politiques Culturelles* of Grenoble without understanding its relationship to the *Centre de Recherche sur le Politique, l'Administration, la Ville et le Territoire*; the Australian Key Centre works in collaboration with the research office of the Australia Council; the Boekmanstichting works alongside the Dutch Social and Cultural Planning Office; and so on. Often the national ecology of the cultural policy information infrastructure involves four or five main organizations and many other smaller ones.

Given this complexity, it is inevitable that the information infrastructure has evolved differently in different places, not only with respect to the sharing of research responsibilities across public agencies but also with respect to the balance between public provision and private provision of the research infrastructure. The division of research labor differs from place to place depending on how the information infrastructure has evolved. So how ought this infrastructure evolve at the international level? That, too, is an important question for our deliberations.

Themes and Findings

In my book I document the research and information infrastructure in France, the Netherlands, England, and Canada with some attention to particularly interesting initiatives in a number of other countries. While it is impossible to summarize all of the results of that research in the current presentation, a brief discussion of eight of the most important findings will be useful to our discussions.

1. There has been a dramatic resurgence of investment in policy-relevant information and research in the field of cultural policy.

Government agencies in many countries are rebuilding their research capabilities after periods in which that research capability lay fallow; in other countries research capabilities are being built for the first time, often under the rubric of "cultural observatories"; and the rise of transnational governmental organizations (e.g., the Council of Europe, the European Union, and the reentry of UNESCO into the field of cultural policy through the window of "cultural development"[11]) has created a demand for comparative research and information sharing as a prerequisite for collaborative, cross-national projects.

The mantra of "value for money" and the call for "policy-relevant advice" have permeated cultural funding agencies, making them much more conscious of the effectiveness of the programs they oversee. The call has gone out for "hard data."[12] The reorientation of some of the major arts funding bodies toward strategic action rather than grant making has also contributed to this trend. And the creation of new cabinet-level umbrella agencies (Canadian Heritage in Canada and the Department for Media, Culture and Sport in the United Kingdom), while raising the profile of the field, may well impart a new importance to coordinated policy initiatives informed by applied comparative research. Here the clearest example is the International Comparative Research Group of the Strategic Research and Analysis Directorate of Canadian Heritage.

It is useful and informative to contrast the development of cultural policy research within ministries of culture to its development within arts councils, whose relationship to government is typically at arm's length. When a coherent research policy has evolved, most often it has been within ministries of culture, which are less reticent to be seen as exercising central control and monitoring over the field. Arm's length arts councils have traditionally been less subject to central government's expectations for explicit policy and planning, so it is perhaps not surprising that arts councils' commitments to research have fluctuated considerably over time. Recently, however, as central governments have applied increased pressure on arm's length arts councils in an attempt to assure that they are operating within the general direction of government policy, there has been a marked rise in the call for *evidence-based* policy and planning, a call that arts councils are finding difficult to resist.

Not surprisingly, this resurgence of research has once again brought to the forefront the debate between basic research and applied research. Much of the new investment in cultural policy research has been targeted at very applied projects with a direct relevance to (short-term) policy decision making. It is less clear that the new investment in research has benefited basic research, the one exception being in France where the parallel system of university-based research centers funded and staffed through the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* continues to conduct basic research.

What is the contribution that the UNESCO Statistics Institute will make to this resurgence?

2. While all countries pay attention to information gathering, analysis and interpretation, and dissemination, the division of labor with respect to these tasks varies widely.

Each country divides the research labor in its own signature way. The clearest division of labor is in evidence in the Netherlands: The Dutch Central Bureau for Statistics (Statistics Netherlands) provides the main source of data collection for the state; the Social and Cultural Planning Office uses these data and others to write a series of interpretative reports depicting various aspects of the cultural life of the country; the *Boekmanstichting* provides the library and documentation function while facilitating conferences and seminars and conducting some limited desk (secondary) research; and the Cultural Policy Directorate of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science supports these ongoing efforts financially and commissions research projects from time to time depending on the policy needs of the Ministry.

In France, the *Département des Études et de la Prospective* of the Ministry of Culture and Communication combines several of the elements under one roof: it provides substantial library and documentation services to the field; it commissions and oversees a wide variety of research projects; and it serves as the primary collector of statistical data through its function as the Ministerial Statistical Office of the national statistics office. Basic social science research in the arts and culture is separate, located primarily in university-based research centers.

In other countries, the division of labor in cultural policy research is still being worked out. How will the UNESCO Statistics Institute contribute to this division of labor?

3. Much of the cultural policy research that is being undertaken around the world today might be better thought of as the development of a statistical base of data rather than the conduct of policy-relevant research.

Many of the agencies that I interviewed see the development of basic statistics on the cultural sector as their highest priority. All of these seem to be operating with the conviction that if such numbers were available, they would prove useful. Yet, over the years, many of the research organizations in the cultural field, UNESCO included, have been criticized because they have appeared to be more interested in generating numbers than analysis. Hundreds if not thousands of statistical reports documenting one or another subsector of the cultural sphere have been published.

But let us not forget that this emphasis on numbers over analysis may, in part, be politically rational. Research divisions in arts funding agencies have had a hard time justifying their existence in the face of demands for more support directly to cultural programs, and they have protected themselves by retreating to the perceived safety of neutral statistical presentations, though, as more than a few anecdotes demonstrate, even "neutral" statistics can prove threatening.[13]

It would be a mistake to suggest that it is possible to separate completely statistics gathering from statistics interpretation. It is clear from the criticisms that one hears of even those statistics collected by the indisputably reputable national statistics agencies that interpretation begins at the data gathering stage when categorization schemes are designed and used to collect data. What one sees is shaped by the framework through one chooses to view the world.

How will the UNESCO Statistics Institute strike the balance between basic research and policy-relevant data?

4. It is not so much the shortage of data that should command one's attention; rather, it is the lack of use of those data that needs to be addressed.

In most countries, a considerable quantity of data on the arts and culture *is* being collected, often on a regular basis as part of the submission requirements of the grant-making process, though little of this mass of data is ever used in any organized fashion by the cultural funding agency that requires it. Collection and assumed availability substitute for research and inquiry. Alan Peacock has raised this issue in his own inimitable way in a recent critique of arts funding in Scotland:

> "… The major museums and galleries and the major companies supported by the Scottish Arts Council do produce accounting data as legally required, but this is not analysed, or at least for the public's benefit. Detailed examination of them reveals striking differences in the grants per attendance at arts events which require explanation. One can hardly blame Scottish Executive officials who are hard-pressed as it is to churn out a succession of policy documents, for not offering evidence of statistical literacy, if their masters have no wish to be confused by the facts."[14]

Moreover, the data collection that does exist is often uncoordinated, involving many different government agencies, service organizations, research centers, and industry groups. Terry Cheney, in his review of available data for the Publishing Policy Group of Canadian Heritage[15], found that each sector had its own constellation of data sources, a constellation that included Statistics Canada, the program office within Canadian Heritage that deals with the sector, and service organizations and associations operating within the sector. In other words, a considerable volume of data was already available, but the institutional capability for mining those data was limited. Cheney's first and most important conclusion was to pay attention to using the data sources that already exist – even though he also recognized that these sources are incomplete, inconsistent, and of varying quality.

As research organizations, cultural observatories, networks, and private profit-making entrepreneurs proliferate, the sheer volume of data that will be available will only increase – though much of it may simply be repackaged, distributed, and marketed via the new information technologies. Consequently, there will be a need for data mediators who can make informed judgments about the quality and applicability of data and who can analyze their meaning. Much of the impetus behind cultural observatories, indeed behind the culture and communication program of the UNESCO Statistics Institute, seems to be inspired by this need for data mediation.

Instances in which the available statistics have been fully explored, interpreted, and debated are rather rare. Here the model of the Dutch Social and Cultural Planning Office is instructive. The mandate given to this office by the Ministry is to mine and interpret the available data on the arts and culture according to several main themes of interest in the cultural sphere, themes that

change from year to year, and to publish regular reports. The authors of these reports are encouraged to give their own interpretation and spin to the data in order to provoke comment, reflection, and debate.

All of the countries that I considered rely on a basic repertoire of studies to develop the statistical base of information. Typically, the first studies are descriptive, documenting the supply of art and culture. How many arts and cultural organizations of what type are located where? How many heritage sites have been officially designated, and where are they located? How much money are local, regional, or national governments spending on each type of cultural organization? How many artists and cultural workers of various types are there? Where do they live? What are the economics of their lives? More recently, these studies have been expanded to include the demographics of the cultural industries.

But, increasingly, attention is turning toward studies of the demand for the arts and culture as another element in the basic statistical repertoire. Most countries now conduct participation studies of their adult population to gauge what percentage of various demographic groups attends or participates in various cultural activities. Many countries also conduct time-use surveys to ascertain the relative amounts of time that their population spends in various types of activities. Some conduct expenditure surveys.

For each of these studies the methodology has become sufficiently refined over time and sufficiently similar across countries that, for the first time, it has become possible to envision truly cross-national comparative studies. Indeed, the hope of many of the individuals involved in the Council of Europe's Program for the Evaluation of National Cultural Policies was that it would gradually result in the adoption of a standardized set of methodologies for gathering information that would then be able to be compared across countries. The data now exist; the work remains.

In the last several years, the issue of cross-European data comparability in the field of culture has been taken up by Eurostat, the statistical agency of the European Union. Several leadership groups on cultural statistics have been formed with representatives of the various interested countries in the European Union as members: a Task Force on Methodology, a Task Force on Employment, a Task Force on Cultural Spending and Cultural Funding, and a Task Force on Participation in Cultural Activities, and the initial report of the leadership groups has been published.[16]

And UNESCO is now taking up once again the cause of even greater comparability in cultural statistics across an even wider range of countries. What will its unique contribution be?

5. With the proliferation of data from a wide variety of sources, the issue of how to assure the quality of the data has become even more important.

Historically, the field of cultural policy research has been plagued with the widespread distribution of data collected and manipulated with the self-interest of the collecting agency in mind. This issue has only been exacerbated by the quick and easy sharing of information electronically. It is now quite common to find many different Web sites making reference to the same

data or information, but without attribution or explanation. As more and more sites are linked to other sites, it will become more and more difficult to verify the quality, the applicability, and the timeliness of the data. Thus, evaluation of and commentary upon existing data is another role that might be played by some form of intermediary institution or data mediator.

A second version of the problem of quality assurance arose during my interviews. Research positions in cultural policy research divisions are not systematically occupied by trained social scientists. Many people in these jobs recognize that they are not trained as researchers, yet they are being asked to contract for, supervise, summarize, and occasionally conduct research. This has been exacerbated with the spread of research budgets throughout the departments of ministries of culture and arts councils as the various sub-components of the ministerial system have realized the usefulness of data to their operations and the desirableness of having more direct control over the collection and dissemination of those data. (This has been an important byproduct of decentralization of cultural policy.)

What choices will the UNESCO Statistics Institute make in order to assure data quality?

6. With the shift toward the inclusion of the cultural industries within the realm of public sector cultural policy, the field is moving toward the bread and butter of the mainline governmental statistical agencies, whose relative expertise resides in counting firms and measuring trade, employment, and labor markets. Thus, their importance in cultural statistics is on the rise.

The field of cultural policy has shifted from areas that have traditionally been rather closely allied with the state and state intervention toward more of a relationship with, and dependence upon, industry. This shift is revealed in a change in vocabulary; government cultural agencies have begun to present themselves as responsible, for example, for "Creative Britain" or even to restructure themselves as "Creative New Zealand". One result of this shift is that the center of gravity in research is moving away from research offices with a general mandate to more specialized research groups and centers that are familiar with the terrain of various segments of the cultural industries. Some of these centers are clearly linked to the industries that they observe, raising issues of confidentiality and reliability and encouraging rivalry among competing centers of expertise.

The statistical methodologies for studying these entities are much more highly developed than the statistical methodologies for studying artistic and cultural activities in the nonprofit and governmental sectors. The difference in quality between these two sets of statistics may well provide the pressure finally needed to improve statistics gathering on the nonprofit and governmental sides.

Another way to frame this shift is to notice that in the years since many of the research organizations and institutions studied here were created, the boundaries of the field of cultural policy have expanded beyond the boundaries of the traditional ministries of culture and arts councils. Multiple governmental agencies have always been involved in cultural policy – the early work of the *Département des Études et de la Prospective* (DEP) demonstrated this clearly in France –

but that multiple involvement is now much more explicit. Culture is no longer the sole domain of national ministries and arts councils, and the research portfolio has changed to reflect this shift.

This poses a challenge to the UNESCO Statistics Institute or to any other cross-national data gathering agencies because it complicates the task. How will it respond?

7. Combining research and evaluation functions has often proven to be difficult if not impossible.

To combine the research function and the evaluation function into the same cultural policy research apparatus seems to be eminently logical. After all, they require many of the same methodological skills. But they do not involve the same political skills.

It has not been uncommon for research divisions within ministries of culture and arts councils to be asked to take on the evaluation function. Reasonable and responsible public policy implementation requires an informed look at which programs and projects are succeeding, which are failing, and why. But when research divisions have taken on this function, they have often found themselves in jeopardy. Ministers begin to wonder, why are we spending money so that someone within our agency can criticize us? Wouldn't it be better to spend that money on the arts? Why should we be spending money on research at all? It is not easy to find evaluation capabilities built into government cultural agencies today.

Will the UNESCO Statistics Institute see itself as facilitating evaluation at the macro-level? If so, how?

8. The boundary between advocacy and research is often hard to detect; it can also be hard to enforce.

Introducing the question of advocacy into a discussion of cultural policy research is every bit as problematic as introducing the question of evaluation. Yet, the use of research results for advocacy purposes is often on the minds of those who are calling for (or funding) research. To take but one example, the original design of the Center for Arts and Culture in Washington, D.C. envisioned an organization with two functions: research and advocacy. In no small part, this was a response by the foundations that funded it to the attacks that had been waged against public funding of the arts and culture in the United States. They felt that the arts needed help to fight back.

In my interviews, Pierre-Michel Menger, the director of a CNRS-supported research center in France and, therefore, somewhat of an outside observer, made an interesting point. He argued that at this point in time in France there is a strain of research that is intertwined with advocacy. He described this research as "defensive," intended to protect the state funding system that has evolved. He characterized the cultural field has having two parts, a growing private part (e.g. audiovisual, media, and the cultural industries in general) and the part that, in his words, has been "conserved for cultural policy". The argument that there should be more state involvement is essentially spent, in his view. Rather, the state now finds itself playing a more impartial role, albeit somewhat on the left, maintaining equilibrium between the various components of the newly expanded boundary of cultural policy.

In several cases, arts councils have embraced advocacy as they have restructured their arts support infrastructure, and they are quite happy to say so. Both the Canada Council and the Arts Council of England are cases in point. But some of my interviewees had a very different reaction, however. They did not understand the underlying premise of the question at all. Those who entered the field of cultural policy research as believers in cultural policy see *all* of what they do as advocacy. They believe that their work is in service to that field and do not understand why it would be desirable to articulate any boundary between research and advocacy.

To what extent will advocacy play a role in a renewed UNESCO capability with respect to cultural statistics, and to what extent will it act to conserve state-driven cultural policy?

In Conclusion

My goals for this paper have proven far too ambitious, and fear that I have given us grist for many weeks of conversation, rather than for two days. So, let me end a bit more simply.

In describing his career-long commitment to applied research to me, Augustin Girard pointed out that "coming from the field and going back to the field" was more interesting to him than "coming from concepts and going back to research". The trick, of course, was to figure out ways to value that commitment. The role that the cultural policy information infrastructure can play is critical, but that role has to go well beyond generating research results and creating information. It has to extend to the informed communication and use of that information.

There is no more important lesson than this one for the culture and communication office of the UNESCO Statistics Institute.

Notes

1. Two contrasting examples are offered in Westat, Inc. *A Sourcebook of Arts Statistics: 1997* (Washington, D.C.: Research Division, National Endowment for the Arts, April 1988); and Sara Selwood, ed., *The U.K. Cultural Sector: Profile and Policy Issues* (London: Policy Studies Institute, 2001). The first presents data from various sources for the arts and culture in the United States with no discussion of the attributes of any of the data sources; the second presents available data for the United Kingdom through the device of commissioned papers interpreting the data on each of the sectors.
2. Eugene Bardach, *A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis: The Eightfold Path to More Effective Problem Solving* (New York: Seven Bridges Press, 2000), p. 98. Note that my characterization of Bardach's point differs slightly from the original – he includes statistics in the category of data – but my intent is similar: to highlight the process whereby data are imbued with meaning and then used.
3. J. Mark Schuster, *Supporting the Arts: An International Comparative Study* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985).
4. This point is made quite dramatically in Max Singer, "The Vitality of Mythical Numbers," *Public Interest*, No. 23, Spring 1971; and Peter Reuter, "The (Continued) Vitality of Mythical Numbers," *Public Interest*, No. 75, Spring 1984.
5. J. Mark Schuster, "Making Compromises to Make Comparisons in Cross-National Arts Policy Research," *Journal of Cultural Economics*, Vol. 11, No. 2, December 1987.
6. For further discussion of this point see J. Mark Schuster, "Thoughts on the Art and Practice of Comparative Cultural Research," in Ineke van Hamersveld and Niki van der Wielen (eds.), *Cultural Research in Europe*, Boekmanstichting, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 1996; or J. Mark Schuster, "Making Compromises to Make Comparisons in Cross-National Arts Policy Research," *Journal of Cultural Economics*, Vol. 11, No. 2, December 1987.
7. Kurt Hentschel, "Financing the Arts in the Federal Republic of Germany from the Viewpoint of a *Land*," in Myerscough, *Funding the Arts in Europe*, p. 21.
8. A (partial) list would include the following: The *Observatoire des Politiques Culturelles* in Grenoble, France; the European Audiovisual Observatory in Strasbourg, France; the *Observatoire du Disque et de l'Industrie Musicale* in Paris, France; the *Collectif Observatoire Culturel* in St Etienne, France; the *Observatoire de l'Économie Culturelle de Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur* in Aix en Provence, France; the *Observatoire de l'Emploi Culturel* within the research division of the French Ministry of Culture and Communication in Paris, France; the *Osservatorio Europeo sul Turismo Culturale* at the *Centro Universitario Europeo per i Beni Culturali* in Ravello, Italy; the *Osservatorio Culturale del Piemonte* under the auspices of the Fitzcarraldo Foundation in Turin, Italy; the *Osservatorio Culturale e Reti Informative* in Milan, Italy; INTERARTS: The European Observatory for Cultural Research and International Cultural Co-operation in Barcelona, Spain; the *Observatório das Actividades Culturais* in Lisbon, Portugal; the Regional Observatory on Financing Culture in East-Central Europe in Budapest, Hungary (The "Budapest Observatory"); the *Observatorio Cultural* in the Faculty of Economic Sciences, University of Buenos Aires, Argentina; the *Observatório de Politicas Culturais* at the University of São Paulo, Brazil; the *Observatorio de Políticas Culturales Municipales* in Montevideo, Uruguay; the Canadian Cultural Observatory, in Hull, Canada, currently under development; *Observatoire de la Culture et des Communications* at the provincial level in Québec, Canada; a proposed *Observatoire du Développement Culturel* in Belgium; a proposed *Observatoire Culturel* in Corsica; and the African Observatory of Cultural Policies being developed under the auspices of UNESCO.
9. UNESCO, "Workshop: Towards an International Network of Observatories on Cultural Policies," Hanover, Germany, 19-20 September 2000.
10. This initiative now appears to be dormant as UNESCO has restructured and restaffed its Division of Cultural Policies, focusing its attention on other initiatives.
11. This new interest on the part of UNESCO has been described variously as "cultur*al* development," "culture *for* development," "culture *in* development," and "culture *and* development." The differences among these descriptions are not merely semantic. It remains to see which of these directions, if any, UNESCO will pursue and what the implications will be for its programmatic initiatives.
12. For one interesting example of this, see the discussion of "evidence" on the Web site of the Council for Museums, Archives, and Libraries in London: http://www.resource.gov.uk/information/evidence/00ev.asp.
13. Consider the following story: In 1989 Jack Lang returned for his second term as minister of culture. He was hoping that the results of *Pratiques Culturelles des Français 1988* would validate the success of the cultural policies he had implemented during his prior term as minister (1981-1986) and was not happy that it contained some bad news. While the participation rates in many domains had increased, some had decreased. He focused particularly on the reading statistics for respondents who indicated that they were "strong readers," reading at least 25 books in the previous year. The percentage of strong readers had declined from 22% in 1973 to 19% in 1981 to 17% in 1988. Lang saw this result, among others, as an indictment of his democratization policies, and, to make things worse, an indictment that was coming *from within his own ministry*. Lang's inclination was to kill the messenger that had been the bearer of the bad news, in this case the research division itself. Claude Seibel, the vice-chairman of the *Conseil des Études* and an individual with a considerable research reputation throughout the French government, fought successfully to save the office.
14. Professor Sir Alan Peacock, "Introduction: Calling the Tune," in Professor Sir Alan Peacock, et al., *Calling the Tune: A Critique of Arts Funding in Scotland* (Edinburgh: The Policy Institute, February 2001), p. 15.
15. Terry Cheney, "Summing Up…Better data in an e-culture age: DGCI Needs for Better Data – A Review and Recommendations," report prepared for Research, Analysis and Compliance; Publishing Policy and Programs; Canadian Heritage, February 2000.
16. For further discussion of cultural statistics in the European Union, see "Cultural Statistics in the European Union," *Circular: Research and Documentation on Cultural Policies*, No. 1, 1995, pp. 8-10; "European Cultural Statistics: In Search of a Common Language," *Circular: Research and Documentation on Cultural Policies*, No. 9, 1998, pp. 12-14; and *Cultural Statistics in the E.U.: Final report of the LEG*, Eurostat Working Papers, Population and social conditions 3/2000/E/N° 1 (Luxembourg: Eurostat, 2000).

Session 1

Produits culturels : définition, classification et échange international

Lundi, 21 octobre 2002

Products of Culture: their Contents, Classification and Exchange

Monday, October 21, 2002

Conférenciers

Lecturers

David Melo — Regional Center for Book Fostering in Latin America and the Caribbean, CERLALC, Bogotá, Colombia

Lluis Bonet — Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona, España

Luca Dal Pozzolo — Osservatorio Culturale del Piemonte – Fondazione Fitzcarraldo, Torino, Italia

Dick Stanley — Department of Canadian Heritage, Hull, Canada

Président de la session

Chair of the session

Benoît Laplante — INRS-Urbanisation, Culture et Société, Université du Québec à Montréal, Montréal, Canada

Résumé de la session

par Anne Bernard
Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec

De forts besoins en termes de définitions

Selon David Melo, il existe un réel consensus sur la nature des secteurs à étudier dans le secteur de la statistique culturelle en Amérique Latine, notamment sur l'importance à donner aux indicateurs économiques. Parallèlement à la volonté croissante de travailler en partenariat et de mettre les données recueillies à la disposition des chercheurs, on observe un fort besoin en termes de définitions des concepts associés aux indicateurs culturels.

Les problèmes majeurs soulevés par les intervenants sont liés aux difficultés de définition, à l'insuffisance de certaines données et de l'analyse, au manque de connaissance des sources d'information et à la difficulté de procéder à des analyses comparatives dans des contextes structurellement différents. Il demeure ainsi très difficile de définir le « produit culturel ».

Pour Luca Dal Pozzolo, le problème de définition auquel nous nous trouvons confronté en ce qui a trait aux indicateurs culturels doit également tenir compte de l'existence d'une compétition entre les territoires. La dimension politique est aussi au cœur du problème pour Lluis Bonet selon lequel deux questions principales se posent, soit l'identification des indicateurs les plus utiles pour l'élaboration de politiques culturelles et l'amélioration de la qualité, de la fiabilité et de l'accessibilité des statistiques culturelles.

Plus que des indicateurs, des significations

Poursuivant des objectifs d'évaluation de l'impact sur l'auditoire de la consommation d'un

Session Report

by Anne Bernard
Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec

Strong need for definition

According to David Melo, there is a consensus on the nature of the sectors to study in the field of cultural statistics in Latin America, notably with respect to the importance given to economic indicators. Associated with the increasing resolve to work in partnership and to put the gathered information at the disposal of researchers, one observes a strong need to define the concepts associated with cultural indicators.

The major problems raised by the participants are connected to definition issues, to the inadequacies of certain information in particular and of analysis in general, to the lack of knowledge of information sources and to the difficulty in proceeding with comparative analyses in structurally different contexts. As a result, it remains quite difficult to define the "cultural product".

For Luca Dal Pozzolo, the definition issue with which we are confronted concerning cultural indicators must also take into account the presence of competition between territories. The political aspect is also at the heart of the problem according to Lluis Bonet who believes that there are two main questions to address, in particular the identification of indicators most useful to the formulation of cultural policies and the improvement of the quality, reliability and accessibility of cultural statistics.

More than indicators, meanings

Through his work in assessing the impact of cultural product consumption on the public,

bien culturel, Dick Stanley affirme qu'il serait important de prendre en considération l'impact de cohésion sociale que cette consommation peut produire. Or, selon plusieurs intervenants, rien ne nous permet d'affirmer qu'il est possible d'élaborer des indicateurs sur les impacts positifs et négatifs de la consommation culturelle. Et selon plusieurs intervenants, ce n'est pas à la statistique d'aborder ce genre de terrain miné.

Dans la perspective d'évaluer les effets sociaux de la consommation culturelle, il est important de ne pas omettre qu'hors des réactions positives ou négatives que l'activité artistique induit, cette activité est essentielle en raison du fait qu'elle innove et expérimente.

Plusieurs participants s'entendent sur le fait qu'il faut certes construire des indicateurs, mais que les questions principales doivent porter sur la méthodologie à utiliser pour le faire afin de produire des significations. Car c'est en termes d'analyse et de signification qu'il faut concevoir des indicateurs culturels.

Innover dans la collecte de données et la construction de significations

Les enjeux de la collecte et de l'analyse selon Lluis Bonet sont l'extrême difficulté de poursuivre l'idéal de comparabilité objective des informations produites, la difficulté de travailler des indicateurs qualitatifs à l'échelle internationale, la prise en compte de sources d'information hétérogènes de même que la considération du fait qu'aucun agent ne détient à lui seul le monopole de l'observation légitime, chaque logique disposant d'atouts et de handicaps.

Des intervenants soulignent que dans les pays en développement, la collecte de l'information demeure un problème très important et qu'il n'y a souvent pas de consensus sur le type de données à collecter. Il faudrait prioriser les besoins, faire un consensus sur les indicateurs à

Dick Stanley maintains that it would be important to consider the possible social cohesion effect of such consumption. However, according to many participants, nothing allows us to affirm that it is possible to formulate indicators on the positive and negative impacts of cultural consumption. Furthermore, these participants believe that it is not up to the statistical field to take on such a knotty issue.

In anticipation of evaluating the social effects of cultural consumption, it is important not to forget that beyond the positive or negative reactions that the artistic activity produces, this activity remains crucial in that it innovates and experiments.

Many participants agree that we must admittedly build indicators but the main questions must focus on the methodology to use to produce them in order to achieve meaning. For it is through analysis and meaning that cultural indicators should be born.

Innovating in data collection and in building meaning

According to Lluis Bonet, collection and analysis challenges represent the ultimate difficulty in pursuing the ideal of the objective comparability of produced information. They also represent the difficulty in working with qualitative indicators on an international scale, in taking into account heterogeneous information sources as well as in realizing that no agent alone has the monopoly of legitimate observation, each concept having its own advantages and handicaps.

Some participants stress that in developing countries, data collection remains a very serious problem and that a consensus seldom is reached on the type of data to collect. It would be necessary to prioritize the needs, to reach a consensus on the indicators to build and to

construire et développer des façons créatives d'analyser. Innover dans le domaine de la statistique culturelle est une nécessité et constitue un défi d'importance.

Des intervenants précisent qu'en Afrique, les préoccupations liées à la culture sont directement liées au développement et que la culture devrait être appréhendée dans une perspective de vie et non de seule conservation du passé comme c'est le cas très souvent lorsque les inventaires effectifs se focalisent sur la conservation des éléments du passé, du patrimoine et des traditions. L'accent devrait également être mis sur le tourisme culturel.

En outre, sur tous les continents, se font sentir de véritables besoins en matière de politiques publiques. C'est pourquoi la recherche statistique culturelle doit être associée étroitement aux besoins de la sphère politique. Luca Dal Pozzolo a d'ailleurs souligné la grande nécessité de données subtiles, précises, articulées, pour décrire une petite histoire du territoire afin que l'opérateur puisse opérer. De fait, l'analyse régionale, qui est l'activité principale de l'Observatoire Culturel du Piémont, pose non seulement la difficulté de construire un cadre statistique des principaux indicateurs, mais également celle de produire un patrimoine de connaissances en mesure d'aider tous les agents dans les processus décisionnels.

Accepter la mobilité et la complexité

Selon Lluis Bonet, il est important d'avoir une pluralité des sources d'information, le défi étant avant tout d'accepter la complexité ainsi que de disposer de ressources statistiques et analytiques qui permettent d'interpréter l'homogénéité croissante des marchés culturels sans renoncer à l'expression des cultures. Le défi est d'être à la fois honnête, en identifiant notamment les limites des études réalisées au niveau académique, et ambitieux, en se donnant les moyens d'agir et de répondre à des défis d'importance.

develop creative ways of analysing. In the area of cultural statistics, innovation is a necessity and constitutes a serious challenge.

Some participants point out that, in Africa, cultural concerns are directly related to development and that culture should be approached from a perspective of living and not from the limited perspective of conserving the past. Often this is the case when ex post inventories focus on conserving elements from the past or that are grounded in heritage and tradition. We should place emphasis on cultural tourism as well.

Moreover, all continents are experiencing a genuine need for public policy. That is why cultural statistic research must be closely associated with the needs of the political arena. In fact, Luca Dal Pozzolo stresses that there is a great need for sophisticated, precise, articulated data to describe the small history of a territory in order for the operator to operate. For all practical purposes, regional analysis, which is the principal activity at the *Observatoire Culturel du Piémont*, makes it not only difficult to build a statistical framework of principal indicators, but also to produce a heritage of knowledge that could assist all agents in the decision-making process.

Accepting mobility and complexity

For Lluis Bonet it is important to have multiple sources of information; the challenge mainly being to accept the complexity and to dispose of statistical and analytical resources that enable to interpret the increasing homogeneous nature of cultural markets without relinquishing the expression of cultures. The challenge is to be honest, by identifying the limits of the studies conducted in the academic field and ambitious, by giving ourselves the means to act on and meet important challenges.

Pour Luca Dal Pozzolo, il faut que la culture utilise la complexité du réseau puisqu'elle est une composante du développement local durable. Il faut passer de la dimension exclusivement économique à l'impact plus global sur la société locale, en terme d'identité et de cohésion sociale, en tenant compte des dimensions aussi « affectives » des effets culturels.

Plusieurs intervenants s'entendent sur le fait que les données statistiques sont mobiles et que cela exige une grande rigueur et de l'innovation dans leur collecte et analyse. Les données évoluent et disparaissent parfois au moment même où les instruments sont en place pour les recueillir.

Face à la volatilité des données, le défi de l'analyse est très clair : il faut trouver les moyens d'interagir avec les instruments structurellement imparfaits, sectoriels et incomplets dont on dispose pour produire des significations qui correspondront souvent à une analyse du passé. Telle une photographie, l'analyse ne nous montre pas la vérité mais la partie la plus stable de cette réalité, soit la partie fixe ne comprenant pas la partie mouvante. La question est de savoir comment rendre compte de la partie dynamique et mouvante qui constitue très souvent la partie la plus intéressante de la réalité.

À cette difficulté s'ajoute celle de rendre compte de phénomènes mouvants puisque si l'analyse statistique rend compte de ce qui est observable, la rencontre avec l'art, quant à elle, est du domaine du subjectif. Les indicateurs étant des construits sociaux, la question à se poser est celle de savoir si la rencontre avec l'art peut être ramenée à des dimensions commensurables sans être complètement réduite ou diminuée.

For Luca Dal Pozzolo, culture must make good use of the complex nature of the network because it is a component of locally sustainable development. We must move from the economic dimension to a more comprehensive impact of culture on the local society, taking into consideration the effects on local identity, social cohesion and, in general, the "affective dimensions" of cultural effects.

Many participants agree that statistical data are mobile and that their collection and analysis require a great deal of rigour and innovation. At times, data can evolve or disappear at the exact moment the tools are being implemented to collect them.

In the face of data volatility, the analysis challenge is very clear: we must find a way to interact with the structurally imperfect, sectoral and undeveloped tools at our disposal to produce meanings that often will correspond to a past analysis. Much like a photograph, analysis does not show us the truth but the most stable part of reality, namely the static part that does not include the changeable part. The issue here is to find a way to account for the dynamic and changeable part that constitutes, more often than not, the most interesting part of reality.

To this difficulty, add that of accounting for changeable phenomena. For if statistical analysis accounts for everything that is observable, an encounter with art, in and of itself, belongs to the subjective. Since indicators are composed of social constructs, the question to ask is can an encounter with art be reduced to commensurable dimensions without completely being toned down or diminished.

Conférences — Papers

David Melo

Regional Center for Book Fostering in Latin America and the Caribbean, CERLALC, Bogotá, Colombia

"Economics and Culture: Two Case Studies in Colombia"

Résumé

Jusqu'à présent, en Amérique latine, les politiques culturelles semblaient surtout concerner des aspects spécifiques de la culture : les arts et le patrimoine, la créativité et la mémoire. Ce n'est que récemment que de nouveaux concepts comme les industries culturelles et d'autres perspectives économiques concernant la culture, ont été mis à l'ordre du jour des décideurs de ce secteur. Malgré tout, pendant plusieurs années, les intervenants de différents secteurs comme ceux de l'industrie du livre, du cinéma ou de la télévision se sont efforcés de faire partie des programmes gouvernementaux, mais ils n'y sont parvenus qu'occasionnellement, surtout en étant intégrés à des secteurs comme celui des communications ou des services, rarement au secteur culturel. L'une des questions importantes soulevées dans l'analyse des rapports entre la culture et l'économie est celle de la définition du secteur culturel, de ses produits et de ses services. En nous appuyant sur deux études de cas, nous décrirons comment cette question a pu être résolue en Amérique latine. Depuis 1994, le *Regional Centre for Book Fostering in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Centre régional pour la promotion du livre en Amérique latine et dans les Caraïbes) - CERLALC - étudie la situation de l'industrie du livre (production et commerce) dans douze des pays membres. Par ailleurs, depuis 1999, le Ministre de la Culture de la Colombie a développé une recherche visant à mesurer l'impact économique des industries culturelles. Bien qu'ayant obtenu des résultats significatifs, il leur reste à adapter leurs définitions du secteur culturel et à mettre au point des indicateurs appropriés concernant les impacts économiques et sociaux de la culture.

Abstract

Cultural policies in Latin America seem to have focused in specific aspects of culture: arts and heritage, creativity and memory. Only in recent years new concepts as cultural industries and other economic perspectives of culture have become part of the agenda of cultural policy makers. Nevertheless, for many years stakeholders of sectors as book publishing industry, filmmaking or television have been striving to be part of public agendas, and only in some cases they have managed to do so, mainly as part of sectors as communication or services, only in few cases as part of the cultural sector. When addressing the analysis of relations between culture and economy, one of the main issues is to define a cultural sector, its products or services. Based in two case studies, we will show how this issue has been solved in Latin America. The Regional Centre for Book Fostering in Latin America and the Caribbean – CERLALC – , has studied since 1994 the situation of the book publishing industry (production and trade) in 12 of its member countries. On the other hand, since 1999 the Ministry of Culture of Colombia has developed a research to calculate the economic impact of cultural industries. Though they have reached important results, they are still looking forward to adjust their definitions of the cultural sector and to develop appropriate indicators of both economic and social impacts of culture.

1. The first part of the story: statistics on book production and trade

Beginning at the end of the 1980s, The Regional Center for Book Fostering in Latin America and the Caribbean, or CERLALC from its initials in Spanish (Centro Regional Para el Fomento del Libro en América Latina y el Caribe), with sponsorship and technical support on the part of UNESCO, undertook the task of developing a methodology that could be adapted to the conditions of each country in the region and that is to be oriented towards producing reliable statistics in order to show the true picture of the publishing sector along with its evolution, tendencies and possibilities for development.

In this context and with the collaboration of the Grupo Interamericano de Editores, GIE (Inter American Publishers' Group), CERLALC held the Technical Meeting of Persons Responsible for the Production of Statistics on Books at the 1992 Sao Paolo Book Biennial. The principal objectives of the meeting were, first of all, to carry out a diagnosis of the situation with respect to the production of statistics on publishing in Latin America and, secondly, the building of a regional information system on book production with a statistical component whose methodology would facilitate the obtaining of reliable, current and comparable results. Among the most outstanding overall agreements to come out of the meeting are the following:

- To delegate general coordination for the project to CERLALC and to request that the Chambers of Books that make up the GIE assume responsibility for providing leadership in each country with the support of the relevant governmental sources of aid.

- To establish the general topics to be included in a survey that would determine the basic points, which at the very least would have to be obtained from primary sources.

A few months later in Buenos Aires, CERLALC and GIE, after studying the different methodological proposals geared towards obtaining and presenting representative data for the sector, decided that the most effective way of obtaining information was by means of carrying out direct surveys of publishing houses previously selected by means of a sample design. The methodological model developed by researchers Marta Oliveira y Elizabeth de Melo of the Fundación Joao Pinheiro de Bello Horizonte, which at that time was being applied by the Brazilian Book Chamber, was adopted as the model.

CERLALC contacted the researchers and directed them to come up with a proposal fitted to the needs of the two countries in which the research was to be done: Colombia and Argentina. The Cámara Brasilera del Libro (Brazilian Chamber of Books) has continued to carry out the study in that country and at the present time releases quarterly results. The Camara Colombiana del Libro (Colombian Chamber of Books) has been carrying out yearly studies since 1994. The Argentine Chamber began to participate in 1994 and produced three consecutive studies. The Chambers of Books of Chile, Cuba, Ecuador, Paraguay and Venezuela adopted the methodology in 1996 but have not periodically carried out the research. The Cámara Nacional de la Industria Editorial Mexicana (The National Chamber of the Mexican Publishing Industry), which produced its statistics using a different methodology until 1996, adopted CERLALC's methodology starting in 1998 and is presently producing its fourth consecutive study. The Peruvian Chamber of Books is completing its second study and the Costa Rican and Bolivian Chambers of Books are carrying out their first studies at this time.

The most recent Regional Meeting of Experts on Book Production and Trade Statistics was held in November of 2000 and included participation on the part of representatives of the Chambers of Books of 12 countries. Adjustments were made at this assembly to the methodology, and agreements aimed at facilitating comparison of figures produced in the studies carried out in each country were ratified.

The structure of CERLALC's methodology

The design of the research has been formulated based upon UNESCO's "book chain" concept as it appears in its document *"Políticas Nacionales del Libro"* (National Book Policies). (See the graphic redesigned by CERLALC).

Among the chain's different components, emphasis has been placed on the publishing houses, book importers and booksellers (wholesale distributors, bookstores and other retail channels). For the purposes of this research, each group is classified as an independent universe.

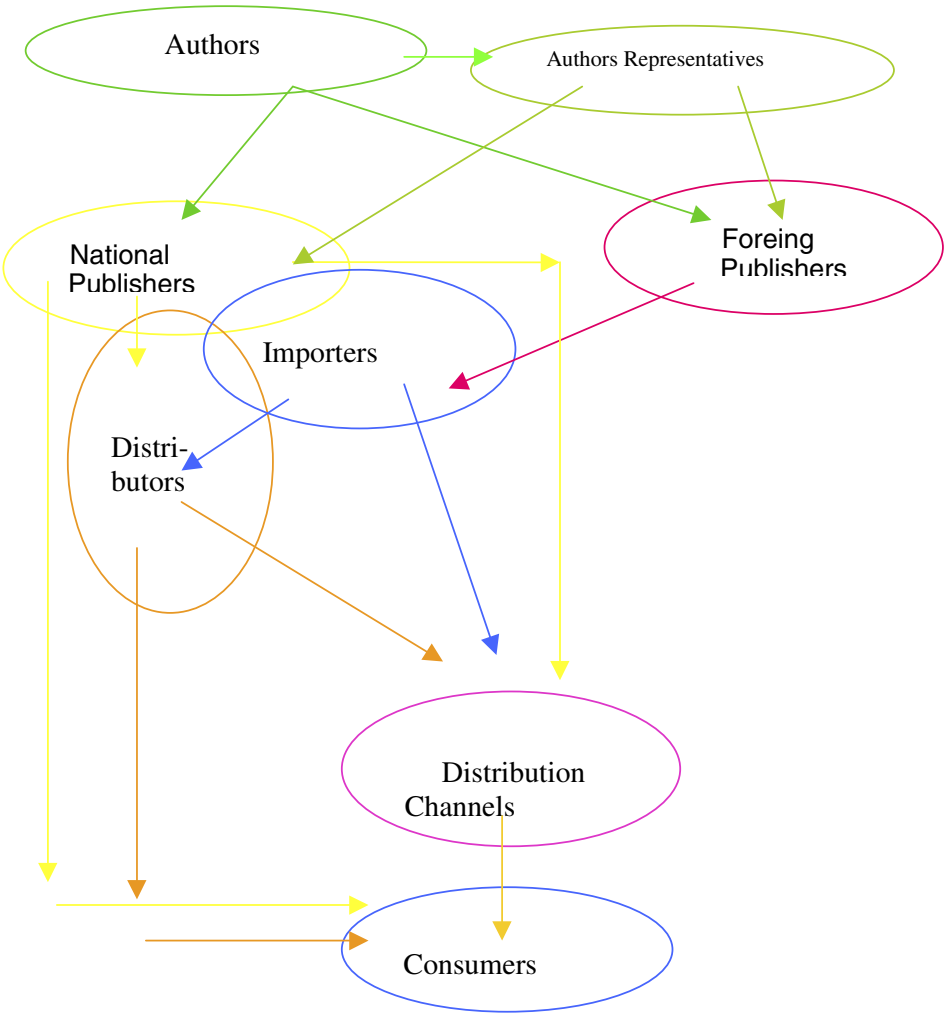
In accordance with their legal status, publishing firms are classified as industrial publishers, university publishers, authors' publishers and one-person publishers, governmental bodies, foundations, associations and institutes, international organisms, religious institutions and private non-publishing firms.

CERLALC and the GIE have concentrated their studies primarily on the industrial publishing houses because their statistics are the most representative of the book chains in most countries. Some countries have begun to study the import sector as an important part of ascertaining the domestic consumption of publishing products. Starting next year, the first pilot study on the situation in the Brazilian market channels will be carried out. As an accompaniment to the studies being carried out in order to analyse the supply side of publishing, CERLALC has participated in a number of pilot experiences aimed at the study of reading habits and book consumption.

CERLALC's methodology for producing statistics on book production and trade is based on coming up with information through the use of surveys applied to a representative stratified sample of firms in a previously identified universe.

In the case of the study of industrial publishing houses, the sample is defined as encompassing private firms that produce books for sale on a regular basis. Once all of the active industrial publishing houses have been identified, they are then stratified. To this end, two classification criteria having to do with production and market behaviour have been established: the publishing sub-sector to which they belong and the size of the firm.

Graph No.1
The Book Chain



The publishing sub-sectors included in this study are as follows:

- Didactic: firms that produce textbooks for primary and secondary education along with para-didactic and para-educational aids are exclusively found in this sub-sector. This does not include books used as guides for the diverse university academic programs.
- General interest: these are firms that produce books in the categories of literature, the arts, personal growth, sports and entertainment, the esoteric, health and well being, travel, cooking, nutrition and home economics as well as reference works.

- Religious: this refers to firms producing all kinds of religious materials for the diverse religions and sects.

- Scientific, technical and professional: firms which produce university texts (other than didactic texts) along with scientific and technical works on philosophy and psychology in addition to books on ecology, geography and history are grouped together here.

- Collections: these are firms that produce general collections, encyclopaedias and publications in series. They could in fact be included in the general interest sub-sector but, due to their specific commercial characteristics, we suggest that they be considered independently in that numerically they constitute a large part of the sample studied.

Classification of publishing firms by size is carried out in accordance with the value of book sales and is divided into the following four categories: micro business, small business, medium size firms and large firms.

This study seeks to gather homogeneous information in the countries where it is carried out so that the results may be compared. To this end, certain minimum contents have been established for the survey questionnaires (with certain established variables) even though each country is free to determine the characteristics and the degree of emphasis of the topics to be developed during the course of the research in accordance with the need for information of each of the members of the entities involved. The principal topics that must be included in the research are as follows.

Production

The first indicator obtained through the CERLALC studies is that of the number of titles and copies produced both in first editions and subsequent editions and reprints.

The title is the name that identifies a work, in this case referring to a printed publication made up of one or more volumes. The title is specifically the name of a particular work and many copies of a title can be printed.[1] We refer to each copy of each of the books that make up an edition or print run as a copy. We refer to each of the books that make up an edition or print run as a copy.[2]

The term first edition refers to the first appearance in the marketplace, as published by a particular firm, of a title that has been created from an original having unique characteristics and has been delivered by an author or editor to the printing process. A new edition is brought into being when the original work is re-edited, that is to say, when significant changes are made involving the cutting, modification and addition of text or illustrations. A reprint is the process whereby the original book is printed again and without modifications, which is to say that the same characteristics and specifications prevail.[3]

The second indicator obtained from the CERLALC studies is that for production by subject areas. This refers to the number of titles published and the total print run according to the ISBN table of contents.

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1. Roca Linn, Luis, 2 "*Glosario del Libro y la Edición*", (Glossary of Books and Publishing) CERLALC Magazine. *Serie profesional del Libro y la Edición No. 2.* (Professional Series on Books and Publishing N° 2) Page 74.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid p 65 and 68.

The table of contents serves as a guide for the classification of works that have been produced on different subjects. The currently used table for all countries in the region was developed by CERLALC and approved by the Second Latin American Meeting of National ISBN Agencies. It consists of 10 subject groupings that are identified by three digit numbers from 000 to 999, each of which encompasses sub topics and notes in which thousands of topics and other matters are included and inserted.

The areas have been numbered as follows: 000 General Subjects; 100 Philosophy and Psychology; 200 Religion; 300 Social Sciences; 400 Linguistics; 500 Pure Sciences; 600 Technology and Applied Sciences; 700 The Arts, Recreation and Sports; 800 Literature; 900 History and Geography.

For this study, a table has been drawn up based on the abovementioned nine subject groupings to which an additional group has been added, the 1000s, which refers specifically to titles produced as school textbooks. An analysis of production according to classification in the 11 sub-sectors established for the study is presented as part of the reported results.

The third indicator is the one for translations, which in turn refers to works originally produced in other languages and which are then translated into Spanish or Portuguese. There is also an indicator for works produced in languages other than Spanish or Portuguese. Lastly, information is given with respect to works and copies that have been co-published. Co-production refers to an association of two or more publishers having the aim of giving impulse to and producing the edition. Firms having different legal status (i.e. universities, governmental entities, industrial publishing houses, other private enterprises and NGOs) may be jointly involved in the project.

Sales

The sales indicator refers to the number of titles and copies sold in each publishing sub-sector as well as to the total net receipts both in the domestic and export markets. The methods utilized by the publishing houses for selling books are also analyzed. There are two basic types: by means of distributors and by means of direct sales to the different commercialization channels. The commercialization channels studied are as follows:

- Traditional and virtual bookstores.
- Magazine and newspaper stands, including kiosks.
- Large scale outlets: These include shopping malls, chain stores and supermarkets.
- Book fairs and other events.
- Government: sales made to national, regional or local governments.
- Schools.
- Libraries and research centers.
- Private firms: sales made to industrial or commercial firms whose activities are unrelated to the world of books.
- Sales made to Parent Teacher Associations or similar organizations.
- Sales outlets belonging to the publishing house itself.
- Direct marketing (direct sales on credit/ door to door sales).
- Direct mail/ book-of-the-month clubs.
- Internet.

Export business

An indicator for the number of works and copies produced nationally and then exported is constructed. This indicator further specifies the value of these exports for each of the receiving countries. Given the fact that there are firms engaging in exportation that are not in and of themselves publishing houses (such as distributors and the graphic sector), it is important to obtain secondary information from the ministries of foreign trade or economics, customs agencies and national institutes of statistics which will give an overall picture of the totals for exports.

Another indicator for the number of works and copies imported by publishing houses according to country of origin and monetary value is also constructed. As in the case of exports, it is of fundamental importance here to obtain secondary information in order to be able to determine the total number of books imported by foreign publishing houses and sold in the receiving country as well as to be able to show the tendencies and size of the book market, both with regard to domestic as well as external production.

Copyrights

When an author cedes the right to publish his work, a publishing contract based on the regulations currently in force with respect to intellectual property is signed. Taking this into account, the CERLALC studies have the aim of finding out which works give rise to the payment of royalties as well as the amounts paid in this respect both inside the country and abroad.

Employment

This refers to the number of employees of the publishing houses who are either under permanent contract or temporarily employed. Permanent employees are those who are on the monthly payroll. Temporary employees are those who are hired in order to undertake a specific or occasional task in the firm for a short period of time. Free lancers, who are called upon for carrying out a specific job and are employed by means of a contract for services rendered, must also be included under the heading of temporary employees. In cases in which the same person is thus called upon on more than one occasion, the person is counted only once in the statistics.

In accordance with the specific characteristics of the reality of each country, a survey questionnaire is designed along with the necessary instructions and subject appendixes in order to facilitate its being filled out. This questionnaire makes it possible to accumulate quantitative information on the most relevant variables for production and the book market. In order to obtain this information, the questionnaire is delivered to the person in each firm responsible for filling it out personally. Permanent contact with the participants in the survey is established so that, by means of frequent communication along with detailed follow up, reliable information on all of the firms may be obtained.

Once the questionnaires have been filled out, they are forwarded to CERLALC for classification and review and are then sent back to the technicians in their respective countries so that they in turn may continue with the process of consolidating the results. The questionnaires are returned without revealing the identities of the firms from which they came, thus guaranteeing that the information they contain will remain confidential. The results of the research are analyzed and validated by experts in this field. The figures thus obtained are then put into chart or graphic form after having omitted the identifying information of the participating firms.

At the end of the process, a document is drawn up containing the results of the research as well as the figures obtained for the proposed variables in the questionnaire. These variables are analyzed by sub groups in accordance with the pre-established guidelines for configuration and distribution of the universe group.

2. The second part of the story: indicators of the economic impact of the cultural industries in Colombia

The Convenio Andrés Bello and the Colombian Ministry of Culture financed a research group to evaluate the economic impact of the cultural sector in the country, since October 1999 until June 2001. The group made an exhaustive bibliographic revision and adopted for other sectors, the methodological processes developed by CERLALC for the publishing industry. Likewise, this design was completed by the proposals of research stated in two documents:

- The economic impact of the industries protected by copyright, prepared by a Colombian company called Pachón Asociados, by assignment of the General Direction of Copyright and CERLALC in 1989.

- Las industrias de la cultura y el ocio en España (The industries of culture and leisure in Spain), prepared by the researchers María Isabel García, Yolanda Fernández and José Luis Zofío for the "Fundación Autor" of the Sociedad General de Autores de España, SGAE in the year 2000.

If the research team had assumed an anthropological definition of the concept of culture, they would have had to study the economic impact of almost all the human productive activities, because in the end each activity makes part of our culture.

In the other extreme, the group could have assumed a much more restricted definition, understanding for culture what laypersons usually understand by such term, that is, a set of artistic activities to which a select group of persons intellectually or academically prepared usually affiliates (opera, classics of literature, painting or music.).

In search for a definition that allowed circumscribing the scope of the research set out by the Convenio Andrés Bello and the Ministry of Culture, they found a definition given by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). For them, and also for the Study of Economy & Culture, the possibilities of commercial tapping of the artistic creation are closely linked with copyright. UNESCO proposes the concept of "cultural industry", introduced since the fifties by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer of the Frankfurt School, mainly to describe "the mass technological culture as opposed to the alternative of the individual and authentic cultural production of pure arts."[4]

UNESCO definition, given in the late nineties, eliminates the differentiation between mass culture and elite culture suggested by Adorno and raises a notion of cultural industries associated with the concept of creation or creativity in a wide perspective. And in the intent to articulate abstract dimensions such as culture, art, creation or creativity with other very concrete dimensions such as industry, economy and market, it relates its definition of cultural industry with the copyright: cultural industries are those which reproduce and commercialize, at industrial scale, works

4. "Impacto de la Cultura en la Economía Chilena". (Impact of the Culture in the Chilean Economy) Ministry of Education of Chile. Convenio Andrés Bello.

protected by copyright, based on a physical support. In that way the three fields of culture, economy and law are related, relation difficult to conciliate for some people.

The legal framework on copyright is an appropriate background for regulating, from the judicial viewpoint, the commercialization of the cultural activity, which has grown in importance from the economic point of view, although for most of the people its value is or should be fundamentally intangible. This claim, traditionally made by artists or creators in order to receive social recognition on the validity of their work and on the importance to build sustainability conditions for carrying out their creative work, finds a judicial support in the copyright and financial viability in the cultural industries.

Obviously, we recognize that the governments have a key role to play in the application of promotion policies to creativity, but we suggest that it is not possible to delegate on them all the responsibility to protect and promote a cultural development process that reflects the plurality of the visions which co-exist in our societies so that, as recommended by the specialists in public policies in the matter, truly contributes to generate an intercultural dialogue, to stimulate citizen participation, strengthen the social tissue, build up a more democratic society, just to mention some of the cultural policy goals.

Study of Economy and Culture[5] is the name given to this joint analysis of the public sector objectives and investment private initiatives in the cultural sector. This research is intended to show, first, that the cultural sector is not only a set of activities begging for allowances and aids, though it is admitted that these cultural workers are those most needing government attention. And second, that to contribute to maintain a plural quality production, it is necessary to design public promotion policies also intended to the cultural industries, given its contribution to the economy and namely, to the promotion and dissemination of the most diverse expressions of the culture, understood in a wide perspective.

When assuming the study on the economic impact of the cultural industries, the research team faced a major obstacle, which undoubtedly has been to try establishing bridges between the world of economy and the world of culture. From the economists perspective all human activities have economic implications; from the perspective of the culture scholars, especially from the anthropological or other social sciences fields, all human activities are part of their cultural process; thus, it would be obvious that the relation between economy and culture were unquestionable.

Then, how come, most of the economists´ analysis do not include the industrial or commercial dimension of culture? And then, how come most active cultural promoters frequently consider despicable any commercialization of the cultural production, and even in the most radical cases appear to totally disagree on talking about cultural products or services and prefer to talk exclusively of the social processes that build the culture?

Perhaps the main clarification to be pointed out is that we do not consider that the Study of Economy and Culture should be solely limited to the analysis of the cultural sector in relation to markets, industries or trading. Regarding cultural activities, with no doubt, this is the topic less studied by economists and culture experts. What is our understanding of cultural business?

5. Study on Economy and Culture, is the name of the research team established by the Convenio Andrés Bello and the Colombian Ministry of Culture. Ramiro Osorio Fonseca, Fernando Vicario, Miguel Durán, María Cristina Serge, Claudia Antonia Arcila, Javier Andrés Machicado, Sylvia Amaya, Rafael Gutiérrez, Omar López have been team members, whose texts are included in this paper.

What does it mean culture industrialization? Is not most of the cultural production rather craftsmanlike? Can the activities of intellectual creation traded for mass consumption by the industries be considered as part of the culture of a country? (In Colombia, for example, soap operas, vallenato music, radio advertising, photographs or essays published by the press.) Which is the contribution of these activities to the national economy and what are the policies required for their development and qualification?

The Study of Economy and Culture has focused in these sorts of questions, but its scope has been much wider and has not discarded the basic role of the government in promoting culture. Jorge Orlando Melo[6] states that these kinds of studies are relatively recent. He considers William Baumol and William Bowen to be the precursors in this subject matter with their work on economy of the stage arts published in 1966.[7] J.O Melo explores diverse forms to study the relation between these two disciplines, especially approaching to a delimitation of the State function in this matter. Does the market allow an efficient allocation of resources to this area (culture), and meeting the social demand? Is it justified, by economic reasons, the State intervention to regulate, protect or subsidize cultural activities?"[8]

J.O. Melo suggests that the greatest challenge faced by these studies is to give an answer of what should be the manner to finance cultural activities and up to what extent should the State guarantee its support. "For some economists there are no adequate reasons to prevent that the consumer preferences, expressed in the market by purchasing shows or cultural events tickets or acquiring works of art or industrial products which incorporate them, such as books or records, determine what cultural items are produced." And he continues: "This position dramatically contradicts the usual perception, in our countries especially, about the State cultural responsibilities."

"From the purely economic viewpoint, there are acceptable arguments to justify the subsidy to the culture. In other terms, it may be reasonably sustained that the market operation does not produce always efficient results in the field of art or culture. These inefficiencies may be attributed essentially to the existence of positive externalities, as those derived from the social benefit produced by the individual enjoyment of cultural items, or those due to the preservation of the cultural heritage for future generations, or those related to the well-being theory and which are based in the existence of wide sectors of the population without the proper income. In addition to economic considerations, there are social and political arguments or ethical valuations of the cultural activity to justify the fact that the State levies taxes to the society so as to increase the cultural offer by subsidizing certain activities."

Let us accept that a cultural activity generates positive externalities at the moment in which society acquires a cultural product or service by means of an economic exchange. Martín Hopenhayn[9] suggests some of the forms which such positive benefits arising from cultural activity may take: "...culture is increasingly important in the dynamic of development. The new modes of utilization and production in the field of information and communications constitute a decisive factor in economic competitiveness, in employment, in the making up of consensus, in policymaking and in the exercise of citizenship."

6. "Economia, Cultura y Mecenazgo", paper written by Jorge Orlando Melo for the Seminar on Economy and Culture held in 1999 by the Convenio Andrés Bello and the Ministry of Culture. Available at the library: Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango website.
7. "Performing Arts: The Economic Dilemma", William Baumol and William Bowen. 1966.
8. Jorge Orlando Melo, op. cit.
9. In "El lugar de la fatalidad, el lugar de la esperanza: América Latina y la aldea global" ("The place of fate, the place of hope: Latin America and the global village"), paper presented at the Conference on Economics and Culture, Bogotá, May of 2000.

The workings of the market in terms of supply and demand for cultural goods and services do not allow us to measure the additional benefit they provide to society. From the point of view of economic theory, clear policies are proposed for recognizing this benefit, so as to arrive at a point of efficiency that takes into account the benefits of cultural production to society as well as to the individual. These policies usually take the form of taxes or subsidies provided by the State. To cite just one example, the costs for restoration of historic monuments are accorded highly favorable treatment with respect to taxes in the great majority of countries probably due to the perception that we all benefit from the preservation of our national patrimony.

When an activity whose production generates positive externalities, such as cultural activity, is left without state subsidies, the prices at which its products are bought and sold do not reflect the true social benefit supposedly created by its consumption but instead reflect only the private value, thus in many cases bringing about a market for the products in question which is too small. What economic theory proposes is that the State must subsidize the consumption of these goods or services by contributing an amount which takes into consideration the subjective difference between the additional externality supposedly inherent in the consumption of an additional unit of a product, in this case a cultural one, and the additional private benefit generated by this product on behalf of the producer. In other words, the subsidy must be equivalent to the additional social benefit that the consumption of a cultural work provides to society. This type of subsidy makes it possible to arrive at a larger market for cultural goods and services at lower prices. At that point, it is possible to speak of a socially efficient level of consumption and/or production; without subsidies there is no such efficiency at the social level, only at the private level.

There is no general consensus, however, when it comes time to classify all cultural goods and services as generators of positive externalities. What is the social benefit provided by the products of the cultural industries? Or rather, which of these products are suitable and effective at the social level more than at the economic level?

It is necessary to examine carefully and specifically what types of cultural products really generate these virtuous circles in the social and productive areas. It is possible that those cultural products that show a high degree of economic dynamism do not coincide with those that are considered to produce positive externalities. To this end, indicators for social impact of the cultural industries must be looked at. The abovementioned questions must also be taken into account at the moment in which guidelines are drawn up for formulating the relevant support policies for cultural activity. The policy should be aimed at subsidizing that which truly produces this type of externality while leaving that, which brings about economic benefits but does not generate any type of positive effect for the construction of society at the mercy of the laws of the construction of society.

As expressed by Jorge Orlando Melo[10]: "The cultural forms of repetition and of escape: pornography, horoscopes, popular dance music, television and the social pages of our magazines all have their own markets and tend to expand at a greater rate than the gross national product because they are the "gross" product, they do not need State support nor do we need to convince our finance ministers that they produce employment and must therefore be defended."

10. From *"Economía, cultura y mecenazgo"* (Economics, culture and patronage), paper presented at the Conference on Economics and Culture in Bogotá in May of 2000.

And further along: "…what is important from the political point of view is the criteria for choosing and promoting certain activities, in order to decide whether to subsidize certain products or events. It is not culture in its widest sense that we must promote by means of our political decisions: it is that culture which brings us nearer to a certain model of society, to a precise form of coexistence and to countries that we have imagined and dreamed of. (…) With regard to government funding, we must make choices guided by definitions of value and criteria of merit and quality and the problem is essentially qualitative. That decision, which must be made through democratic and representative procedures in which there should not be any taxation without representation and which must be based on adequate and sufficient information, continues to come in the impossible form that was set out in Latin America a century ago, in the sense that it constitutes the selection of what we wish to consider to be civilization."

Using the above as a starting point, we would have to ask ourselves: what is our objective in wanting to measure the impact of the cultural sector on the economy? It is not enough to demonstrate that the cultural sector as a whole is as profitable or even more profitable than any other productive sector. With this measurement, we would merely be paying attention to one partial aspect of cultural activity. It will be necessary to examine other types of indicators for this sector so as to be able determine which activities have the greatest social impact and which are the ones that are the most marginalized by market dynamics.

Financing, externalities, taxes, subsidies, regulation of the markets, inequalities in income among the population, prices of goods, costs of production and maintenance, social impacts, the relation between culture and social development: there is such a wide range of topics in cultural economics that we frankly find it difficult to explain why we have started with an evaluation of the economic impact of the sector as well as with a reflection on various topics related to economic policy aimed at stimulating cultural industries.

To begin by gathering figures on economic performance has had important implications. The principal message is that the cultural sector, in effect, generates significant resources for the economy, provides added value that is essential in a modern economy (creativity), which is quantifiable up to a certain point, and generates employment. While we are not forgetting the intangibles, it seems to us that in concentrating on what is immaterial we had disregarded tangibles that are also of considerable importance. We shall construct a reliable body of information using these results as well as others that we will have to create along the way, especially those related to the social impact of cultural industries and their contribution to the imaginary, their effects on the molding of tastes and thinking in our communities and their immense contribution to the educational process of our children and young people. We firmly believe that only reliable figures can convince our governments and our societies of the importance of designing and applying comprehensive cultural policies that pay attention to those sectors that demand aid and subsidies while at the same time recognizing the needs of the handicrafts sectors and the industrial sectors that are also engaged in building culture. (Even though in many cases they also transform culture in an undesirable manner. Whom are we going to trust with these kinds of value judgments when persons of such diverse tastes co-exist in our societies?).

Confronted with the Byzantine debate over the dangers of State intervention in the definition of content and in the orientation of ideologies through cultural policies, we nonetheless believe that culture should not be abandoned to the rules of the market and thus be exclusively limited

to products for mass consumption on the part of large television and radio audiences nor that it be determined solely by the criteria of high profitability in the publishing and music industries. In a spirit of respect for the plurality of content and ideological positions as well as for the basic principals of freedom of expression and in defense of cultural diversity, the State, private enterprise, non governmental organizations, social organizations and individuals are all faced with the challenge and the commitment of maintaining a pluralistic cultural production: the cultural industries have a great potential for making a contribution in this area.

With regard to the industries, there is a marked lack of mechanisms geared toward avoiding problems of sustainability and lack of profitability of the majority of cultural products. Usually, there is a concentration of production and spreading among just a few products that are generally of lower quality.

The principal challenge for the State, the organizations of the civil society or the workers of the cultural sector continues to be that of finding forms of communication and comprehension among the users of cultural products and services as well as encountering creative forms of sustainability and viability along with clear strategies for assigning governmental subsidies and support.

We would like to close this chapter, in which we have outlined concepts upon which the Study of Economics and Culture has been based, with the following idea. Economists, cultural experts and the general public tend to make radical divisions between mass culture and "true" culture. When the role of the State with regard to culture is under discussion, all voices chime in as one in defense of the libraries, museums, literary or musical classics, traditional expressions of local culture in danger of extinction and the protection of cultural heritage. The major portion of the content of the cultural products put out by what UNESCO has designated as "cultural" industries is regarded as being second rate culture or culture for the masses.

Those who have studied the communications media along with specialists in social science research have explained it in this way: these industries are the medium through which content flows into most of our communities and individuals. Amidst the processes of economic and political globalization, we have found ourselves heading towards a cultural penetration and superimposition even greater than that posed by the coexistence of diverse traditions and cultures within a given social space. Huge trans-national emporiums dominate the production and distribution of mass consumption goods.

The greatest percentage of what we call culture today is mass culture, which is to say, cultural production that is considered to be an element of the market and is subject to the laws of supply and demand as well as to the good will of the trade for its survival. At the same time, the sector that is not mass culture must make a constantly greater effort to survive the fluctuations of a business into which it still does not fit.

While the States neglect their budgets for the cultural sectors and society as a whole fails to accord a higher priority to these topics or to put pressure on the State to establish transparent, coherent and ambitious policies, the cultural industries advance toward processes of concentration and reduction of content while at the same time they are drowning in problems related to profitability and sustainability. Our objective is to obtain greater support for these industries on the part of the State and the society as a whole because the content that flows through the cultural industries is of fundamental importance for the construction of our cultures and, consequently, for the possibility of forming more democratic, participative, pluralistic and competitive societies.

The fact that the cultural industries have two facets – being a source of spiritual value while at the same time constituting economic power – demands a two fold approach: on the one hand maximum advantage must be taken of their abilities for contributing to economic development while at the same time their economic strengthening must spur cultural creativity.

In spite of the generalized tendency to regard the cultural sector as a net receiver of resources, the activities of the cultural industries constitute areas in which investment in culture generates profits. This fact explains the initial interest in developing a study for measuring the economic impact of the cultural sector in our context and which will give rise, through analysis of the resulting figures, to proposals for policies for providing support for cultural activity.

The activity of the cultural industries has two important implications that, however, are not unconnected to each other. The lines between the role of the cultural industries in the development of social processes, on the one hand, and as generators of economic product on the other, change dramatically over time and are redesigned with each advance in technology and communications.

The first implication, which deals with the social impact as a "hard" result of the cultural industries' products, is that these are immersed within all of our daily processes and that through them society is transformed, profound and lasting processes of knowledge and learning are generated and abilities and tools are transmitted over time. If this is the case, then the value of the cultural industries' products is far greater than just the profits that they generate as material goods. For a society, cultural consumption is therefore a set of processes for the appropriation and use of products whose symbolic value predominates over its values of use and exchange, as Néstor Canclini has observed[11]. Or, to look at it in another way, the appropriation of products in the context of cultural activity is social and not just private and generates economies of scale that are fundamental for the growth of the instruments of production due to its contribution, among other aspects, to the improvement of the quality of the workforce and, in the political area, to the transformation of social processes.

However it is equally possible to argue that cultural activity gives rise to a productive sector that in turn generates economic wealth that can be (and in fact is) privately appropriated and that contributes to overall economic growth just like the process of production of any other type of goods. Moreover, the figures for the cultural sector both in Colombia and other countries demonstrate that this type of industry is experiencing much more rapid growth than that of other manufacturing and service sectors, as can be observed in the figures found in the statistical appendix. We can thus observe that the cultural industries, just as we have delineated them, are protagonists in the productive dynamic and, as a result, in the determination of changing and intermittent consumption at the economic level.

The dual nature of the cultural industries is thus explained by their power as generators of Economic growth, as one measurement, but also by their involvement in the processes of learning and knowledge at the social level. Hopenhayn[12] describes it as follows: "there are powerful

11. In "El consumo cultural: una propuesta teórica" in *El consumo cultural en América Latina*, Santafé de Bogotá: Convenio Andrés Bello, 1999. p. 42. ("Cultural Consumption: a theoretical proposal" in Cultural Consumption in Latin America).

12. Hopenhayn, *op. cit.*

reasons for paying attention to the cultural industries and the way in which they operate. In the first place, in various ways they have the leading role in the joining of the cultural dynamic and the productive dynamic: In the first place, if we do not employ technical skills for the acquisition and utilization of information and knowledge, we do not have the option of being economically productive in the world of the future. At the same time, digitalization is today's common denominator in the reproduction in series of almost everything that comes from the cultural industries and that, at the same time characterizes all production influenced by The Third Industrial Revolution. And finally because both the cultural as well as the productive dynamics operate in inverse relation to the historic stock-flow relationship (while having a negative effect on the former and a positive effect on the latter) with a logic of accelerated obsolescence that imparts both with a feverish dynamism."

It is therefore not at all clear where the impact of the cultural industries as generators of social processes ends and where their role as economic agents begins. Due to the growing influence of the cultural industries in the technological and economic areas, there are no definitive criteria today that would permit us to distinguish between those products having social impact and those having economic impact. In many cases, the product of a cultural industry, such as in the case of technical books, participates in the formation of lasting and sustained knowledge whose social appropriation is very much greater than the undeniable economic benefit that its sale provides to the private agent.

The majority of ministries, institutions and departments of culture continue to focus their actions in the subsidized art sector and do not take into consideration the potential levels for commercialization of the culture that they manage. The cultural industries, for their part, are increasingly participating in market liberalization and in the processes of integration. The cultural industries have demonstrated a high level of medium and long-term growth that some experts have estimated to be 10%, thus consolidating their position in the world economy as a strategic area of production, exports and job creation.

The work and numerous achievements of the cultural industries confirm that "industry" and "culture" are terms that complement one another and that little by little have been creating a new source of power capable of competing fair and square in the midst of the unpredictable evolution of the market. The spaces constructed by the cultural industries will have to be subjected to a constant process of analysis and criticism with the aim of taking the fullest advantage of their abundant possibilities for defending the free and democratic nature of identities, thought and culture.

Methodology used in the study of economy and culture

Based on UNESCO definition of cultural industries, the following eleven sub-sectors were studied: publishers, phonographic, movies, video, television, radio, press, magazines, stage arts, visual arts and advertising. Evidently, the analysis of the relations between economy and culture may be extended to other activities that are not related to copyright. For later stages of the research we have considered important to study, for example, the expenditure in restoring architectural heritage; the economic impact of the popular traditional celebrations and cultural tourism; or the investment made in art and in culture educational academies.

Following the structure of indicators adopted by CERLALC for the publishing industry, in each one of the eleven sub-sectors of the Study of Economy and Culture we have intended to calculate these economic indicators: contribution to the GDP, production, sales, employment, copyright payment, exports, imports and piracy.

According to the methodology proposed by the authors of the book "La Industria de la Cultura y el Ocio en España" (The Industry of Culture and Leisure in Spain) published by Fundación Autor (2000), the GDP has been considered the aggregate of all the added values generated by all the copyright industries within the national territory, for a given period of time.

The added value can be understood, from a production point of view, as the difference between current sales and intermediate purchases (current sales minus intermediate purchases):

$$AV = GPV\text{-}IP = CS\text{-}IP$$

It can also be understood, from an income point of view, as the sum of payroll expenses and the gross surplus of exploitation:

$$AV = PE + GES$$

The measurement of the added value can include the indirect taxes minus subsidies (calculated in market prices):

$$AVm = AV + IT\text{-}SS$$

This estimate has been based on three types of activities, what allows a range of results that reflects the complexity of such a measurement; insofar the limits of these industrial activities are not fully defined, as stated above. Furthermore, this permits to differentiate between the contribution of the cultural industries more strictly abided by the definition of direct cultural activities (creation and production) and the contribution of activities more related to the distribution, dissemination or use of products and inputs:

Type 1

It corresponds to direct activities, strictly related to the production of cultural industries. That is, they are original creation and production activities of goods and services subject to copyright.

Table No. 1
Direct Activities 2001

Tax Code	ACTIVITY
2.211	Edition of books, brochures, scores and other publications
2.212	Edition of newspapers, magazines and periodical publications
2.213	Edition of recorded material
2.231	Art, design and composition
7.430	Advertising
9.211	Films and videotapes production & distribution
9.212	Films and videotapes screening
9.213	Radio and television activities
9.214	Theater and musical activities and other artistic activities
9.231	Libraries and archives activities
9.232	Museums activities and preservation of historic sites & buildings

Type 2

Includes activities related to production processes of cultural or indirect industries. These activities refer to the use and dissemination of cultural creations.

Table No. 2
Related Activities 2001

Tax Code	ACTIVITY
2.219	Other NCP edition activities
2.221	Printing activities
2.222	Print –related services activities
2.230	Recording reproduction
3.691	Manufacturing of jewelry and related items
5.132	Wholesale of paper, books, magazines and stationery
5.137	Wholesale trade of paper & cardboard: paper & cardboard products
5.238	Retail sale of records, cassettes, videos, instruments
5.275	Retail sale of books, magazines, office devices
5.276	Retail sale of photographic equipment
5.380	Export of paper, cardboard, books, magazines and office appliances
6.423	Data transmission services
6.424	Cable radio & television services
6.425	Sound and image transfer by payment
7.320	Research and development in social and human sciences
9.219	Artist managers and agents
9.220	News agency activities

Type 3

Includes the principal inputs required for the production of cultural products and services. These are the main products used in the activities of type one and two.

Table No. 3
Inputs 2001

Tax Code	ACTIVITY
2.101	Cellulose paste manufacturing: paper & cardboard
3.220	Manufacturing of radio & television transmitters & telephony, telegraphy sets
3.230	Manufacturing of radio & television receivers, recording, sound or image and related appliances
3.320	Optical instruments and photographic equipment manufacturing
3.692	Musical instrument manufacturing

These activities do not include the cultural tourism, the estate cultural activities and some craft activities.

Besides the indicator on the contribution to the Gross Domestic Product, an enquiry has been made with each one of the associations representing the 11 sectors studied, so as to evaluate the availability of information to create indicators of production, sales, foreign trade, employment and copyright payments. Some of these indicators have been established based on the information available in ASOMEDIOS (television, radio, magazines), ANDIARIOS (press), Fondo Mixto de Promoción Cinematográfica (films), Cámara Colombiana del Libro (Publishing house), Asociación de Productores Fonográficos ASINCOL (music pieces).

When all the information required is not available, harmonization processes, similar to the one developed by CERLALC with the publishing industry, have managed to collect data through surveys using formats that allow the periodical study of each sub-sector and finally to compare figures at international level. The statistical appendix shows some of the data processed so far.

3. The story should go on

The design of the second stage of the Study of Economy and Culture started between October 2001 and August 2002. The participation of any of the 10 country members of the Convenio Andrés Bello (CAB) is expected (Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Venezuela, Panama, Cuba, Spain and Paraguay).

The following lines of research have been proposed:

- Calculate or update the contribution of the cultural sector to the GDP; calculate the economic indicators in new sub-sectors; and update the information on economic indicators of the sub-sectors included in the first stage.
- To research into the economic aspect of cultural policies.
- Deepen the study of social indicators of the cultural sector impact.
- Develop technical assistance pilot projects to cultural small/ middle size business.
- Support economic impact studies of the cultural sector at a local level.

Every national team shall define priorities and the scope of the study in its country according to the availability of human, physical and financial resources. The CAB will co-finance some specific components, in proportion to the resources granted by each participant country. In their countries, national teams shall agree on the participation of public or private institutions, such as professional, academic or other associations, which may be interested in developing some of the components suggested and which are able to share information or human, technical or financial resources.

Calculation of economic indicators

In every country the main objective will be to agree with the economic authorities on incorporating the cultural sector into the national account system, which may imply the creation of a satellite account of the cultural GDP.

As far as the sub-sector indicators is concerned, the countries participating in the first stage prioritized the gathering of primary information in the new sub-sectors and the figures of subsectors included in the first stage are updated. The countries that did not take part in the first stage should define the sub-sectors deemed top priority. The central team and the national teams will jointly define the methodologies to calculate the economic indicators in each subsector. Some agreement processes to formulate methodological guidelines in the sectors associated to the cultural heritage have taken place during the year 2002 (immovable, movable and intangible heritage), cultural tourism, artistic education, visual and performing arts.

Analysis of cultural policy economic aspects

Based on the early diagnose developed in the first stage of the Study, the alternatives identified to research on economical policies for the cultural sector promotion, according to the specific interest of each country, are the following:

- Study of the impact of agreements of free circulation and competitiveness to promote foreign trade of cultural goods and services.
- Recommendations of tax policies on public shows, tax incentives to restore the immovable heritage, for the cultural industry or, in general, cultural sponsorship or patronage laws.
- Incorporation of promoting entities for collecting copyright or reach agreements against anti-piracy.
- Studies on cultural consumption and policies on audiences formation.
- Sources to fund the cultural sector.
- Social benefits for artists.
- Programs of technical, artistic and cultural training.
- Support to the setting up of networks or professional associations in the cultural sector.
- Incentive policies to improve the distribution and circulation of cultural products.

Measurement of social indicators

The first part of the research excluded the design of social indicators from the Study of Economy and Culture. Nevertheless, from the analysis of the economic indicators obtained so far, participant countries requested the CAB to support the study on the social impact of cultural industries, or in general of cultural policies.

Finding social indicators is a way to define the social, political or cultural repercussions of the various cultural sub-sectors in one society. Considering the participant countries interests, some of the general fields of social repercussion identified are: employment; cultural consumption; social and citizen participation; cultural identity and diversity; educational impact and integration.

Supporting program for the small and middle-size cultural business

In order to improve the administrative and technological capacity of cultural entities, arrangements will be made with the national bodies interested in implementing incubators or pilot projects of these kinds of business. A technical assistance project will be carried out in the craftsman sector, which will serve as a model for other sectors and it will include these elements:

- An arrangement with public and private national authorities to propose pilot projects and identify the sector needs in every country.
- Supply and demand analysis.
- Training workshops proposed in the model in cooperation with the entities involved.
- Follow up of the process in every country.
- Evaluation of achievements in pilot projects.
- Systematization of pilot projects so as to replicate them in other cultural business and in other countries members of the CAB.

Impact studies of the cultural sector at microeconomic level

The first stage of the Study of Economy and Culture was designed to obtain cultural sector economic indicators nationwide (macroeconomic level.) The CAB has deemed convenient that the national teams agree with local authorities (provincial, municipal) to implement some pilot exercises to analyze the economic impact of the sector at local level. These exercises will allow identifying cultural activities with important impact on local economies, which is difficult to measure nationwide. According to their particular features and needs, two types of studies will be intended:

- The economic impact of the cultural sector in capitals, middle-size cities or small municipalities.
- The economic impact of a cultural event particularly important in the context of local economies.

Epilogue: definition of public policies for cultural industries

The first remark to be mentioned about figures is that much uncertainty still exists on the levels of reliability of the indicators. In general, the organization of the cultural sector information systems is slender and sources available do no record separately these types of activities. Although some important progress has been made, namely in the publishing, phonographic and cinematographic sectors, still it is necessary to quantify the economic impact of cultural industries.

It is even more important to think about ways to analyze results so as to come up with policies sponsoring these activities. The following is a synthesis on some of the top priority topics when establishing strategies to promote the productive activity in the cultural sector. Even though

studies on cultural policies has moved forward in Colombia, still some economical matters should be given a more important place when defining sector action. For example, topics such as copyright observance, tax policies for cultural activities, current conditions in the country for circulating cultural products or support for the incorporation of cultural business.

Copyright

Reliable statistics on piracy or illegal reproduction are inexistent, practices that have a very negative impact on the publishing, phonographic or video industries. Not very well-grounded calculations refer to losses on account of piracy in Colombia for around US$8 millions in 1998 (about 3% of the legally established industry turnover). In the phonographic industry the piracy levels account for up to 60% of the legal production, which would result in US$65 million losses for the industry. It is said that this worrisome piracy level was one of the major causes to close down 30 out of the 33 video trading companies.

So many actions have to be taken to solve this issue. Colombia has been a leader in adapting and applying normative frameworks in copyright matters. The role of the Dirección Nacional del Derecho de Autor (Copyright National Direction) has been instrumental to come up with mechanisms such as the Agreement against Piracy. This is a joint strategy of the Colombian government (Ministries of Culture, Communications and Foreign Trade, and the Tax authorities), the inspecting bodies (the National Police Department, the Prosecutor General's office, and the Security Police Department) together with the producers associations, intended to combat piracy and ensure the compliance of the national legislation on copyright.

To do so, important tasks have been adopted such as the public awareness on the problems that rise when purchasing illegal products, the impact on employment and on the fair compensation to creators and producers. Also, the dissemination and enforcement of existing norms in this mater among the judicial and police bodies have lead to successful raids to suppress illegal materials production and distribution. There are still important challenges to face in copyright protection policies as those arising from the new technologies, compensation for using photocopied material and the strengthening of collective management of copyright, just to mention the most important ones.

Tax incentives

Taxes have been one of the most controversial topics in cultural policies. Cultural industries have searched a preferential taxation treatment with arguments such as the protection of the national identity or their contribution to educational processes. The most vulnerable cultural industries (especially film, publishing and the phonographic industries) are at high risk considering the increasing investment by multinationals. Therefore, they demand special treatment from the State to maintain or be granted with value added tax or income tax exemptions.

It is also important to revise taxes levied on public performances in Colombia (movies, theater, dance, music shows), which on top of the traditional commerce and trade taxes include specific national and municipal taxes preventing thus a further development of entertainment industries.

Foreign trade

As it is suggested in the Florence Agreement and in the Protocol to the Florence Agreement, held in Nairobi and promoted by UNESCO, the countries should reduce customs and related

barriers, which restrict the circulation of cultural goods and services from one country to another. Books, works of art, recorded materials, for example, should be free from the current restrictive customs duties or tariff controls in most of the Latin American countries.

Audiovisual material (cinema and television) should be given a preferential treatment in the international agreements on free trade, so as to compensate the national production share in respect to the share of poor-quality, canned, American programs. The quota system in movie screens and the regulation of time sections on television are mechanisms effective to promote movies and television domestic production. Analysis have been made to channel resources in order to fund the Colombian film industry through the Fondo Mixto de Cinematografía (Cinematography Fund), in the same way that Europe has protected their audiovisual industries.

In general, the current Colombian policies to promote exports have not been fully tapped by the cultural sector. Some of the policies to be disseminated among the cultural industries are: soft credit lines, tax deductions for exportable goods (export incentive certificate which is credit given to exporters to pay for taxes and duties called CERT), exemptions to import raw material so as to produce exportable goods (Plan Vallejo) and, information systems of international market with a higher potential.

Incorporation and strengthening of cultural business

In an heterogeneous country as Colombia where very different times and realities combine, it is important to underline the role of the cultural business to give a global shape to the culture and to develop each region. Thus, a policy to strengthen and develop cultural business shall be headed to reconcile the production of cultural goods and services with the domestic and international market economy. A great number of entities, especially the small and middle-size enterprises lack administrative and managerial background and for that reason their sustainability and soundness cannot be anticipated in the middle term.

Some initiatives intended to develop innovation/ creation systems in the cultural production field have been proposed, in other words, to generate vertical synergies (creation, production and dissemination) and horizontal synergies (among sectors). A key requisite for the development cultural industries is to integrate creation, production and trading processes together with the consumption of cultural goods and services. But, the authorities responsible for cultural policies have supported more the creation and production of cultural goods and services and very little attention has been given to the distribution and commercialization of the same products.

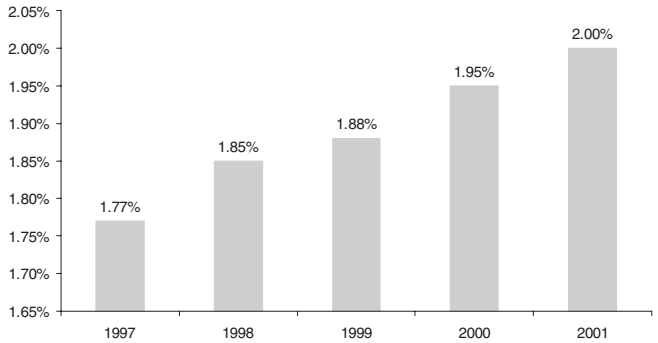
For a peripheral country whose regions are in a different degree of development, facilitating adaptation of the cultural sectors to technological changes as a competitiveness strategy is a condition for sustaining the cultural expressions of each region, through the local cultural business.

Other topics for analysis

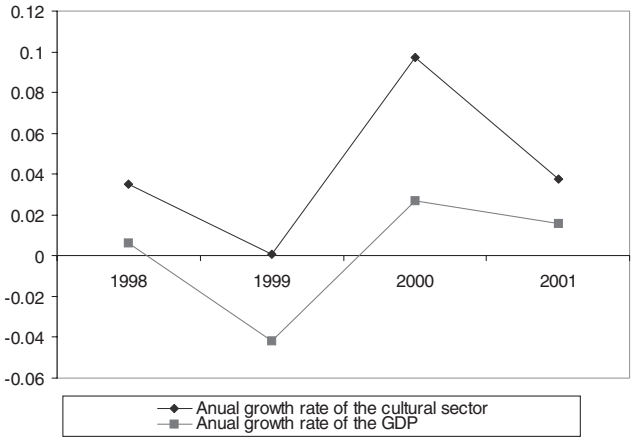
In addition to the topics just outlined, the analysis of policies to sponsor the cultural industry in Colombia could include: the national production quotas for cultural goods and services; the strengthening of associations of creators, representatives, producers and distributors; the promotion of artistic and technical training or audiences formation; policies to guarantee social benefits for cultural workers; research programs on cultural industries.

Contribution to the Gross Domestic Product of the Cultural Sector

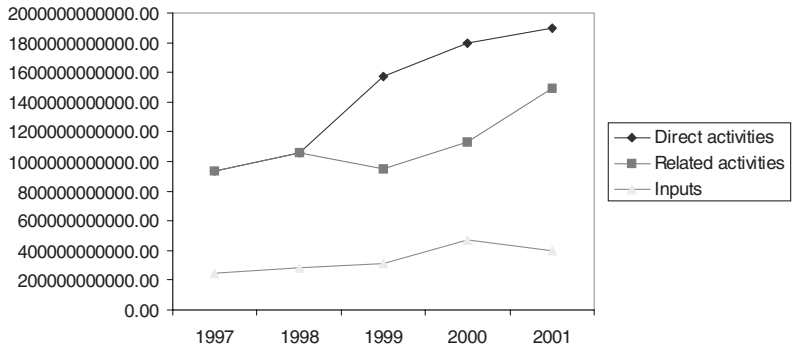
Contribution to the GDP in Colombia of the Cultural Sector



Annual Growth Rates in Colombia

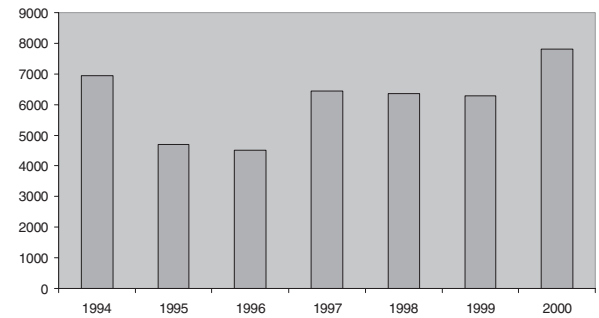


Evolution of the three types of activities that make part of the cultural sector

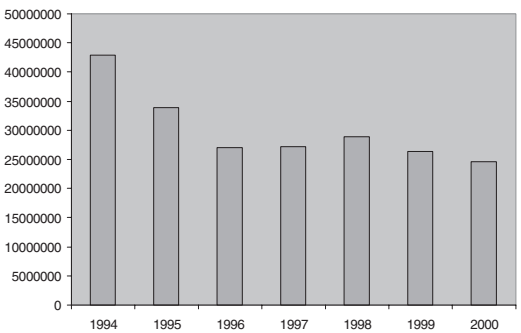


Publishing and Book Sector

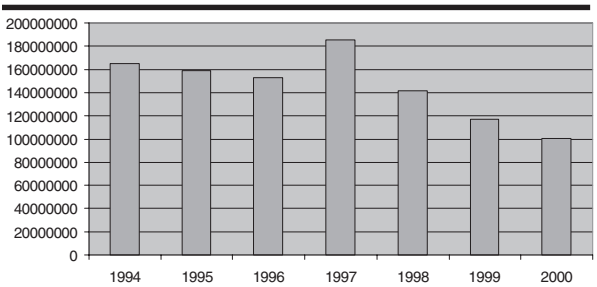
Number of the titles Published



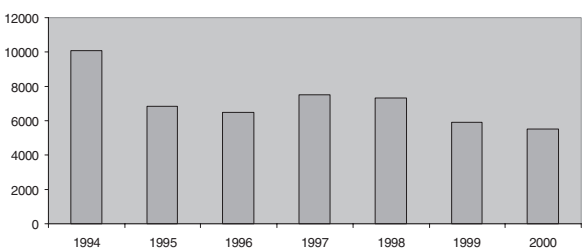
Number of copies Published



Billing of colombian publishing to colombian market (dollars)



Employment of Publishing Houses



Publishing Production

No. Empresas 1998	No. Empresas 1999	Tipo de empresa	Titulos 98	Titulos 99	Part. % 99	Valor 1998	Valor 1999	Var % 98/99	Part % 99
272	344	Editores autores y empresas unipersonale	359	434	7.6%	9302	8805	-5.3%	2.3%
118	114	Empresas editoriales	3018	2923	51.1%	358189	332972	-7.0%	88.1%
149	122	Empresas privadas no editoras	475	526	9.2%	17124	12755	-25.5%	3.4%
88	86	Empresas públicas	565	327	5.7%	5978	3259	-45.5%	0.9%
179	198	Fundaciones asociaciones intitutos otras	540	610	10.7%	8084	11229	38.9%	3.0%
13	10	Instituciones religiosas	117	89	1.6%	1903	1958	2.9%	0.5%
4	6	Organismos internacionales	36	10	0.2%	220	73	-66.8%	0.0%
63	79	Universidades privadas y públicas	615	801	14.0%	8782	6843	-22.1%	1.8%

Fuente: Cámara Colombiana del Libro "El mundo editorial colombiano en cifras 2000"

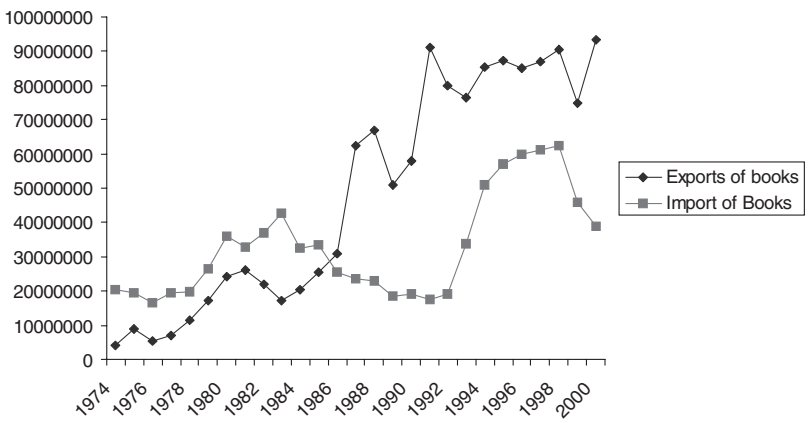
Cuadro No. 3.2.6

Billing of the Publishing Industrial Sector and Imports (en millones de pesos)

Subsector editorial	Ventas netas edición e impresión exclusiva en Colombia Ley 98/1993 (para el mercado nacional o externo)		Ventas netas edición e impresión en Colombia o en otros paises e importaciones				Ventas netas de lo importado (por distribuidoras o librerias)		Total ventas netas	
			Edición e impresión en Colombia		Importado					
	1998	1999	1998	1999	1998	1999	1998	1999	1998	1999
Didáctico	95,492	80,178	22,281	31,083	11,479	17,117	4,256	5,499	133,508	133,877
Interés general	48,018	41,273	32,017	37,135	22,357	22,713	24,414	23,443	126,806	124,564
Científico-técnico	47,035	39,361	17,528	17,237	20,799	18,394	8,316	9,083	93,678	84,075
Religioso	0	0	3,110	5,154	1,184	700	757	953	5,051	6,807
Subtotal	190,545	160,812	74,936	90,609	55,819	58,924	37,743	38,978	359,043	349,323
Venta directa PVP	16,443	14,513	0	0	0	0	0	0	57,048	50,430
Importado por librerías PVP	0	0	0	0	0	0	5,420	4,949	5,420	4,949
Total general	206,988	175,325	74,936	90,609	55,819	58,924	43,163	43,927	421,511	404,702

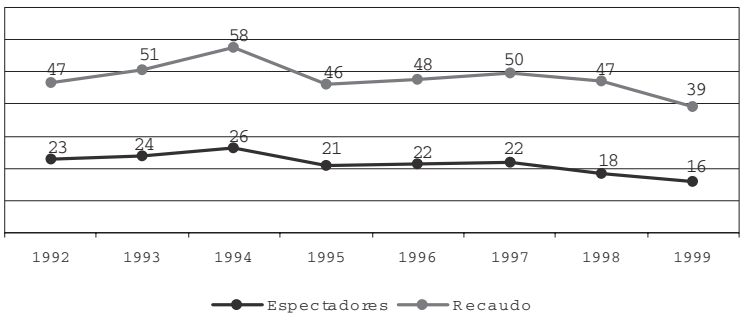
Fuente: Cámara Colombiana del Libro "El mundo editorial colombiano en cifras 2000"

Export business of Books



The Movie Sector

Millones de espectadores y millones de dólares por recaudo del Sector Cinematográfico en Colombia 1992-1999



Fuente: FEDESARROLLO, 2000

Pantallas, espectadores, recaudo y precio del cine en Colombia 1992 - 1999

Año	Pantallas	Espectadores*	Recaudo Bruto***	Precio Promedio****
1992	1085	22.9	46.9	2.05
1993	815	23.6	50.7	2.15
1994	550	26.4	57.6	2.18
1995	299	21.0	46.2	2.2
1996	280	21.5	47.9	2.23
1997	263	22.0	49.7	2.26
1998	258	18.3	47.0	2.57
1999	250	16**	39.0	2.44

* En millones

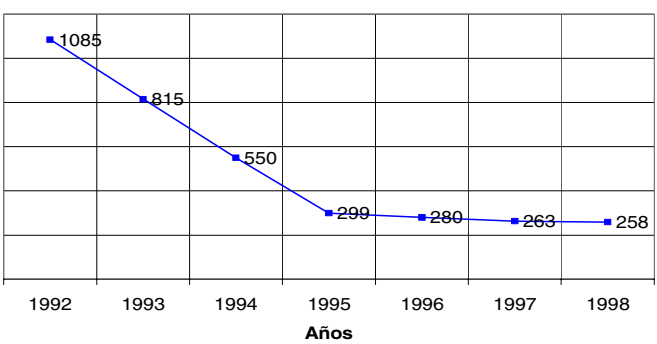
** Estimación de un exhibidor para 1999

*** Millones de US$

**** En US$

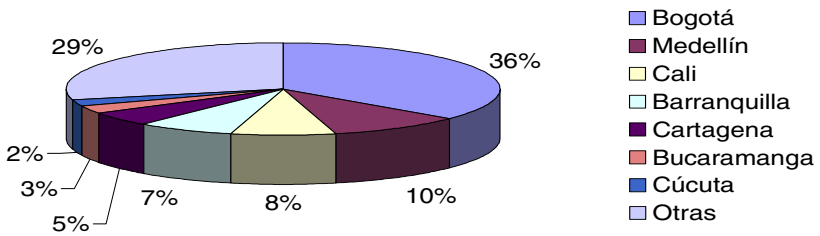
Fuente: Media Research & Consultancy (1998 para 1992 a 1997. Para 1998 y 1999 MPA Motion Picture Association

Número de pantallas de cine en Colombia 1992-1998



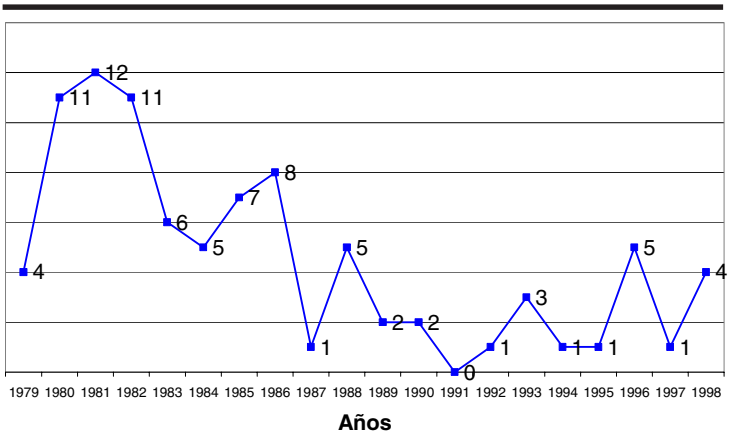
Fuente: FEDESARROLLO, 2000

Distribución de pantallas por municipio 1999



Fuente: FEDESARROLLO, 2000

Número de largometrajes producidos en Colombia 1979-1998



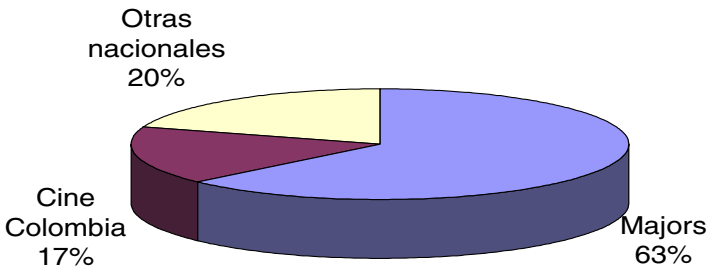
Fuente: FEDESARROLLO, 2000

Número de películas nacionales y extranjeras estrenadas en Colombia 1993 – 1998

Año	Total Películas	Películas Extranjeras	Películas Nacionales	Participación Películas Nacionales
1993	276	274	2	0.72%
1994	268	267	1	0.37%
1995	251	249	2	0.80%
1996	273	270	3	1.10%
1997	252	251	1	0.40%
1998	243	237	6	2.47%

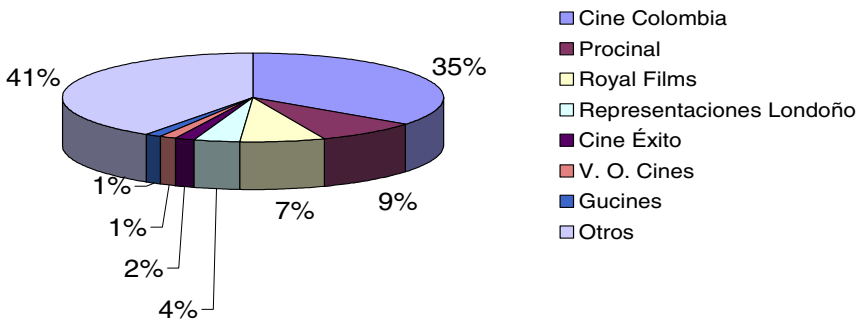
Fuente: Rito Alberto Torres Maya, 1999

Composición porcentual del número de películas distribuidas por *majors* y distribuidores nacionales en Colombia 1998



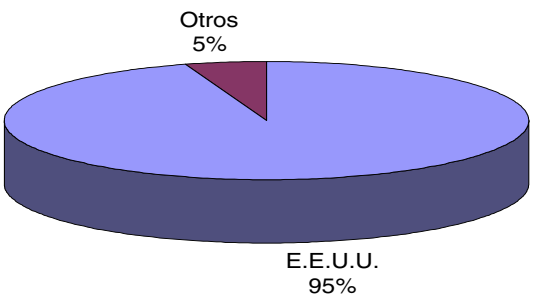
Fuente: FEDESARROLLO, 2000

Distribución de pantallas en Colombia por exhibidor 1999



Fuente: FEDESARROLLO, 2000

Recaudación Bruta en Taquilla por País de Origen 1997 (porcentaje sobre el total)



Fuente: FEDESARROLLO, 2000

Cuadro No. 3.3.5

Empleo de mano de obra en la industria cinematográfica en Colombia

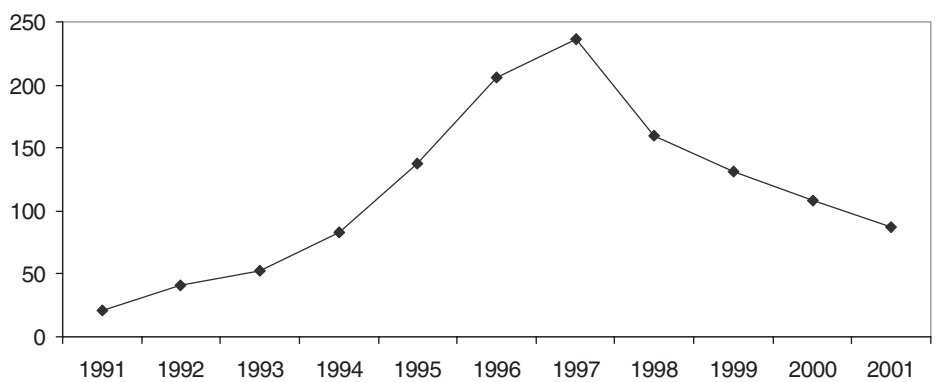
	1996	1997	1998
Exhibidores	2240	2104	2064
Distribuidores	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Productores	120	2353	405
Total	2360	4457	2469

Fuente: Impacto del sector cinematográfico sobre la economía colombiana, FEDESARROLLO

Phonographic Sector

Años	UNIDADES (Millones)						VALORES (Millones)
	Sencillos a/	Discos de Vinilo	Casetes	Discos Compactos	Total	Crecim. Porcentual	Ventas en US$ Millones
	(Unidades, US$ y porcentajes)						
1991	1.7	3.9	1.9	0.4	6.7		20.5
1992	1.3	4.8	2.4	0.9	8.5	26.9%	40.9
1993	1.2	4.5	2.8	1.6	9.3	9.4%	52.5
1994	0.6	3.1	3.1	4.2	10.6	14.0%	82.6
1995	0.6	2.5	3.3	8.8	14.8	39.6%	138.1
1996	0.4	2.2	4.3	12.1	18.8	27.0%	205.7
1997	0.3	1.6	4.8	14.7	21.2	12.8%	236.1
1998	0.2	0.8	2.8	12.5	16.2	-23.6%	159.4
1999	0.03	0.1	1.3	12.5	13.9	-14.2%	130.8
2000	0.01	0.1	1.1	12.7	13.8	-0.7%	107.8
2001	0.0	0.0	0.3	10.7	11.0	-20.3%	87.1

Sales in USD dollars (millions) **of legal music in Colombia**



CUADRO No.2.5

Origen promedio del repertorio en el mercado Colombiano, 1991-2000

Años	Repertorio Doméstico	Repertorio Internacional/ Regional	Repertorio Clásico
		(Porcentajes)	
1991	48%	45%	7%
1992	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
1993	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
1994	40%	55%	5%
1995	40%	55%	5%
1996	50%	48%	2%
1997	50%	48%	2%
1998	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
1999	31%	67%	2%
2000	31%	67%	2%
2001	41%	58%	1%

Fuente: 2001 The Recording Industry in Numbers, IFPI, p.124.

Exports and Imports of the Fonographic Sector

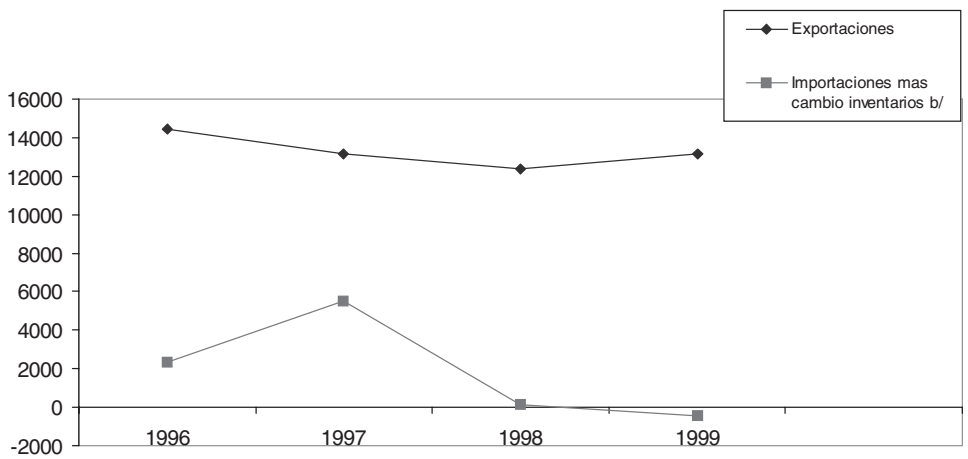
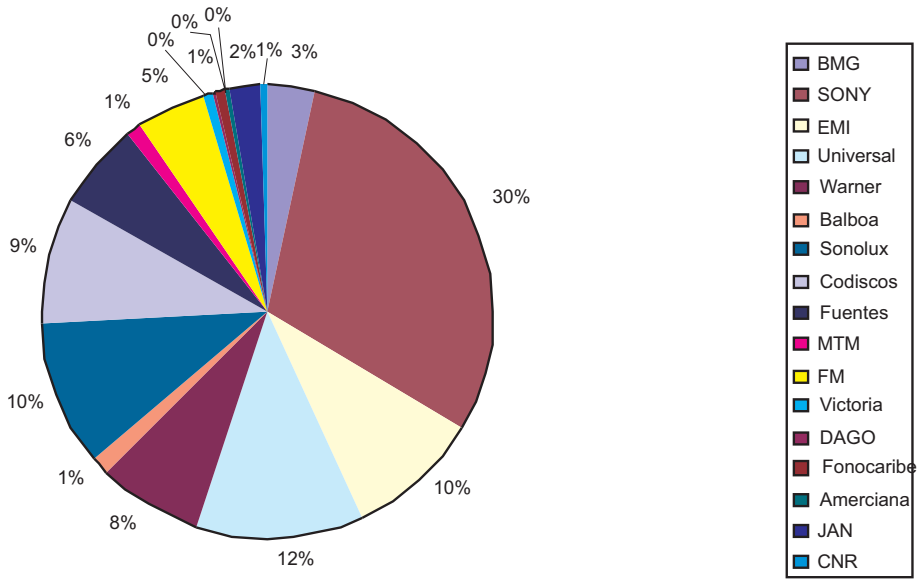


GRÁFICO No.2.2

Ventas por productores, 2000

Consumers



Distribución del valor agregado por agente

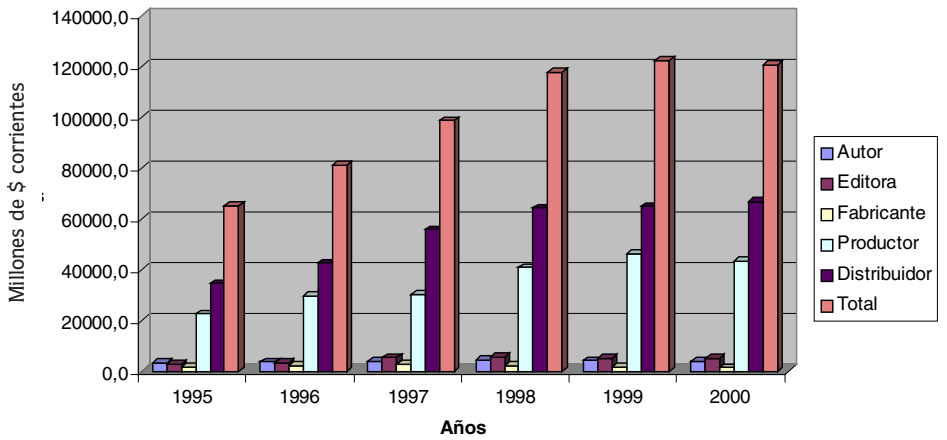
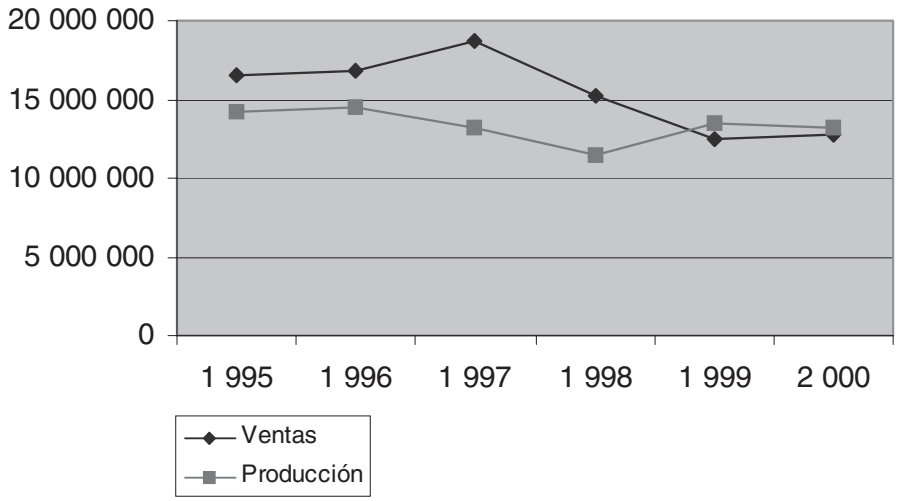
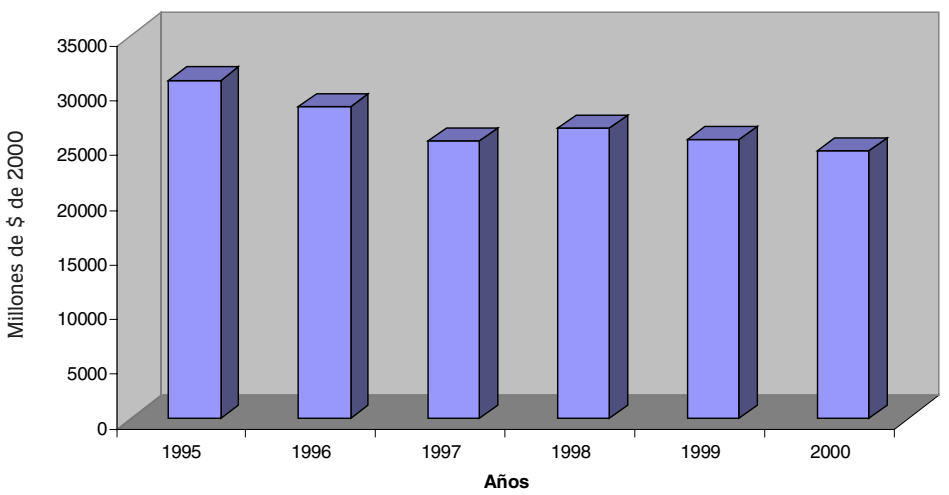


GRÁFICO No.2.3

Industria Fonográfica: Producción y Ventas, 1995-2000 (Unidades)



Derechos de autor en valores constantes 1995-2000 (Unidades)



Conférences — Papers

Lluis Bonet Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona, España

Emmanuel Négrier Universitat de Barcelona et CEPEL, Université de Montpellier, Montpellier, France

« L'observation culturelle face à la globalisation. Quelles sources d'information pour évaluer quels objectifs de politique culturelle? »

Résumé

L'évaluation de la production culturelle est le plus souvent faite à partir d'instruments de mesure quantitatifs, quand ils ne sont pas strictement financiers. Ce faisant, elle néglige trop souvent plusieurs dimensions qui permettent de faire un lien concret entre produits culturels et objectifs de politique culturelle. Or, le contexte de globalisation des échanges, mais aussi les dynamiques d'évolution des produits eux-mêmes conduisent à poser, au lieu de l'éviter, la question de ce qu'est un produit culturel dans le monde contemporain. Toute entreprise de comparaison des sources d'information doit, nécessairement, mettre en question les niveaux suivants :

- Qu'est-ce qu'un produit culturel? les réponses à cette question varient en fonction de dimensions idéologiques, territoriales, disciplinaires et économiques.
- Quelles sont les sources d'information disponibles, et comment prendre en compte leur hétérogénéité structurelle?
- Qui travaille ces données, avec quels objectifs, quelles méthodes, quelles ressources et quelles approches de la notion de produit culturel?
- Comment comparer des données et analyses élaborées dans des cadres structurellement différents?

En conclusion, nous ébauchons quelques recommandations pour améliorer la connaissance (statistique, analytique) au service de politiques culturelles dont les enjeux (développement économique, identité territoriale, diversité culturelle, innovation artistique, participation citoyenne et démocratie culturelle, etc.) sont croissants, dans un contexte de globalisation.

Abstract

The evaluation of cultural production is most often done with instruments of quantitative, when not strictly financial, measurement. This being the case, they too often neglect several dimensions that make it possible to establish a meaningful link between cultural products and cultural policy objectives. The context of trade globalization as well as the dynamics of the evolution of products themselves leads to posing, rather than avoiding, the question of what a cultural product is in the contemporary world. Any attempt to compare information sources must necessarily consider the following:

- what is a cultural product? Answers to this question vary in terms of ideological, territorial, disciplinary and economic dimensions;
- what sources of information are available, and how can their structural heterogeneity be taken into account?
- who works with these data, with what objectives, methods, resources and approaches to the notion of cultural product?
- how can data and analyses developed in structurally different frameworks be compared?

In conclusion, we make some recommendations to improve knowledge (statistical, analytical) in the service of cultural policies whose challenges (economic development, territorial identity, cultural diversity, artistic innovation, citizen participation, cultural democracy and so forth) continue to grow in a context of globalization.

Introduction

La présente communication s'appuie sur les réflexions auxquelles nous ont conduits l'observation de pratiques d'évaluation et de diagnostic quantitatif des politiques culturelles. On sait que, depuis de nombreuses années, tant dans les contextes nationaux qu'aux échelles continentale et intercontinentale, la question de la comparaison est posée. Elle concerne à la fois la comparaison des données sur la production et les pratiques culturelles, et l'évaluation des politiques culturelles. Aux côtés des dispositifs nationaux, les travaux du Conseil de l'Europe, de l'Union Européenne, de l'UNESCO et de quelques organisations intergouvernementales en témoignent. L'identification d'indicateurs pertinents est un problème récurrent pour la recherche, comme elle l'est pour des organismes internationaux soucieux de repérage, d'instruments d'information à même de soutenir une amélioration des modes d'action publique[1]. En regard des difficultés ressenties par les observateurs, la tentation d'abandonner toute ambition comparatiste nous semble pourtant, plus que jamais sans doute, relever d'un déficit d'intelligence des phénomènes contemporains. En effet, même si l'égalité entre les différents sujets de la scène internationale est posée comme un principe, on sait que cette égalité recouvre des différences durablement substantielles entre les conditions concrètes d'exercice de cette règle formelle. Il en va en économie, en développement social, comme en matière de culture, avec cette spécificité que la notion de culture est elle-même la source de polysémies délicates à interpréter. Si les différences ne doivent pas être un obstacle à la comparaison, c'est, d'une part, parce qu'elles les justifient : la comparaison s'appuie précisément sur la nécessité d'évaluer les différences; c'est d'autre part parce que le contexte de globalisation impose de décentrer en permanence le regard des réalités habituelles vers les phénomènes d'échange (de type commercial ou non), de pluralité culturelles, et d'interculturalité.

Cette communication a donc d'abord pour but d'identifier l'ensemble des préalables dont la prise en compte est nécessaire avant même de travailler sur des données quantitatives ou qualitatives. Elle a ensuite pour objet d'analyser la nature des sources sur lesquelles reposent, au quotidien, le travail des observateurs, ainsi que d'expliciter l'activité de ces derniers. Elle a enfin pour ambition de mettre en relation les objectifs statistiques et de recherche et les objectifs de politique culturelle en tant que tels, dans un contexte de globalisation et de différenciation culturelles. Cependant, si les conclusions auxquelles nous aboutissons peuvent être utiles à l'échelle mondiale sur laquelle repose la vocation de l'UNESCO, nos réflexions sont d'abord fondées sur l'expérience des pays occidentaux; c'est-à-dire sur des contextes régionaux marqués par différenciation particulière entre le social et le politique, d'une part, et entre le social, le culturel et l'artistique d'autre part. Nous reviendrons, en première partie, sur l'ensemble des préalables (épistémologiques, conceptuels, méthodologiques) qu'il nous paraissait nécessaire de poser d'emblée.

Notre propos n'est donc pas de proposer une nouvelle comptabilisation des données culturelles, tâche au demeurant impossible dans le cadre d'une telle communication. Elle est d'interroger leur origine, leur traitement et l'évolution possible de leur utilisation dans le cadre contemporain, au service d'une meilleure connaissance des politiques culturelles dont les enjeux (développement économique, identité territoriale, diversité culturelle, innovation artistique, participation citoyenne et démocratie culturelle, etc.) sont croissants, dans un contexte de globalisation.

1. Pour leur intérêt méthodologique et leur recherche d'indicateurs, nous distinguerons, parmi les évaluations comparatives, les exercices d'analyse des politiques culturelles nationales initiées, à partir de la moitié des années 1980, par le Conseil de l'Europe et suivies plus récemment par l'UNESCO.

Quelques préalables théoriques et pratiques

Il s'agit moins ici de sacrifier au rituel académique des distinctions savantes que de définir le cadre à partir duquel se développent nos réflexions. Il en est ainsi du terme de culture et de production culturelle, d'une part, et d'une notion qui nous semble pertinente : celle de production culturelle *domestique*.

Sur la notion de culture, deux éclaircissements sont nécessaires. Le premier consiste à assumer la polysémie du terme. Celle-ci existe, on le sait, d'un point de vue philosophique. C'est la distinction classique entre la culture considérée d'un point de vue anthropologique et celle considérée sous l'angle de certaines des activités humaines qui font appel à une création et à un domaine spécifiques. La différence est suffisamment bien connue pour que nous puissions faire l'économie de développements à ce sujet. Cependant, dans une perspective comparée, il est nécessaire d'indiquer que la frontière qui sépare les deux univers de compréhension de la culture n'est pas figée. Au contraire, le propre de la dynamique de développement culturel est précisément qu'elle fait en permanence de cette frontière un enjeu politique, artistique, social et économique. On le voit bien, à titre d'exemple, au travers des questions comme; « Le Livre est-il une marchandise comme une autre? » ou bien : « Est-ce que le socioculturel est réellement du culturel? », ou encore : « l'artisanat d'art est-il de l'art, ou de l'artisanat? », ou enfin; « faut-il considérer, comme c'est le cas actuellement, que la plupart des pratiques artistiques des Pays non développés font partie du label *culture ethnique*, *musiques du monde*…, ou bien doit-on les considérer comme de l'art contemporain, de la *pop*…? ». Laisser ouverte, dans l'analyse, la « porte-fenêtre » qui sépare le culturel du non-culturel est une exigence d'autant plus grande que l'on réfléchit à l'échelle internationale, où les valeurs de distinction et d'interprétation sociales changent[2]. Prendre en considération que chaque pays ou chaque discipline a sa propre idée de la ligne de démarcation du culturel et du non-culturel est d'autant plus important que, pour le dire autrement, la différence entre les deux n'est pas statique. Elle varie non seulement au gré des contextes géopolitiques, économiques ou académiques, mais aussi en fonction de la période que nous considérons. Qui aurait parié il y a cent ans que l'art culinaire serait considéré comme un domaine culturel par les pouvoirs publics, c'est-à-dire susceptible de faire l'objet d'un financement en tant que pratique artistique légitime?

Les implications de ces réflexions sont tout sauf exclusivement théoriques; savoir qu'un pays, pour comptabiliser son niveau de dépense culturelle par habitant, va prendre en considération le financement des fêtes de village tandis qu'un autre ne les prendra en compte qu'à la condition que ces fêtes manifestent la présence d'un artiste professionnellement reconnu pose, au contraire, un problème tout à fait concret de statistiques comparées. Le problème peut également provenir de la structure formelle, ou de la culture politique de chaque pays. Comparer le poids des dépenses culturelles en rapport avec le budget de l'État dépend ainsi de la répartition des compétences entre niveaux de gouvernement ou des mécanismes par lesquels les aides publiques sont allouées. Ceci explique les grandes difficultés d'une comparaison de la dépense culturelle entre la France (avec une structure fiscale et budgétaire centralisée) et les États-Unis, où la principale contribution de l'État se traduit par les bénéfices fiscaux accordés aux donations privées[3].

2. Comme l'illustre très bien Néstor García Canclini en « Culturas Híbridas. Estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad » , et dans sa présentation de la traduction mexicaine de « La Distinction » de Pierre Bourdieu. On renverra également aux conclusions de l'ouvrage d'Olivier Donnat « Les Français face à la culture. De l'exclusion à l'éclectisme », la Découverte, Paris 1994.

3. En ce sens, il faut lire la bonne illustration qu'en donnent les notes méthodologiques de NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS (2000), *International Data on Government Spending on the Arts*, Research Division, Note 74 (January).

Cela nous amène à un second éclaircissement, qui concerne cette fois le domaine culturel reconnu comme tel. Ce qui est vrai de la frontière anthropologico-culturelle l'est aussi des secteurs qui composent le domaine culturel. La reconnaissance d'un domaine fonde certes, dans un premier temps, un espace commun, une configuration au sein de laquelle se jouent des réglementations, des professions, des disciplines et des enjeux bien identifiés. Cela conduit, par exemple pour le secteur musical, à différencier des fonctions (recherche, diffusion, création, conservation, etc.). Mais les frontières « internes » au champ culturel sont pareillement mouvantes, dynamiques. Elles sont l'objet de querelles de spécialistes (par exemple, où commence l'art contemporain, où s'arrête l'art moderne?), de batailles idéologiques (qu'est-ce que la culture « traditionnelle »?) et de déplacements liés aux évolutions sociales contemporaines. Ainsi, le multimédia est par excellence un enjeu de classement. S'agit-il, à l'intérieur du champ de la culture, d'une simple fonction de diffusion, ou d'un instrument de création? Y est-il question de lecture, d'art visuel? Plus largement, a-t-on affaire à un objet plutôt culturel, plutôt industriel, plutôt éducatif? Selon quels dosages le considérer comme culturel? Le problème d'identification de ces objets hybrides est permanent, et la réponse qui est donnée par les statistiques nationales et internationales demeure extrêmement périlleuse, tant les références de classement peuvent être différents d'un pays à l'autre ou d'une décennie à l'autre. Il nous faut donc considérer ces difficultés comme structurelles, inhérentes au domaine étudié.

Notre second préalable, au sujet de la notion de « production culturelle domestique » appelle quelques précisions. Dès lors que nous nous situons à une échelle internationale d'observation, il y a deux manières de prendre en compte la production culturelle. La première, qui est généralement un souci gouvernemental, consiste à tenter de repérer la réalité, l'intensité d'une culture rapportée à un collectif culturel singulier, relativement homogène. On parlera ainsi de la culture française, de la francophonie, des industries culturelles américaines, européennes, du cinéma asiatique, de la culture catalane, etc. Cet objectif de repérage va de pair avec des objectifs politiques plus larges, certes très respectables, mais qui posent de redoutables problèmes; un spectacle de danse béninois donné dans le cadre du festival de danse de Montpellier est certes la manifestation des capacités d'exportation de la culture béninoise[4], mais il témoigne de l'offre culturelle présente sur le territoire montpelliérain. En ce sens, il n'est pas uniquement une importation. Il devient, par un processus d'adaptation et d'appropriation, une production culturelle montpelliéraine.

Le premier critère – la culture *de* – nous conduit à une vision pré-conditionnée d'une production culturelle nationale, ce qui va à l'encontre de la multiplicité de l'offre culturelle présente sur un territoire. Le second critère – la culture *en* – que nous appelons « production culturelle domestique[5] », rend parfaitement compte de cette pluralité des pratiques, des offres et de la consommation culturelle dans le monde contemporain. C'est la raison pour laquelle nous plaidons fortement pour retenir cette notion de production culturelle domestique. Parler de la production culturelle en Écosse, c'est moins considérer ce qu'il y a de génétiquement écossais dans le produit artistique que ce que l'Écosse manifeste d'ouverture, d'importation, de vécu ou de pluralité d'inspiration culturelle. Cette co-présence, sur le territoire et quel qu'en soit le niveau (continental, national, régional ou local), d'une pluralité, plus ou moins cohérente, d'identités culturelles est et sera de plus en plus la marque de la Culture dans un contexte de globalisation

4. Quoiqu'il y aurait beaucoup à dire sur les transformations auxquelles conduit le « formatage » des pratiques chorégraphiques en vue d'une mise en spectacle sur une scène européenne…

5. Le concept de production domestique est largement utilisé dans l'analyse macro-économique.

et de différenciation[6]. Ce choix, enfin, est susceptible de conduire à des indicateurs cohérents de dynamique culturelle qui se tiennent à distance de considérations ethnicistes, nationalistes ou particularistes.

Notre dernier préalable est celui lié à la diversité intrinsèque de la réalité culturelle qu'il est question d'analyser. Une chose est le concept de produit culturel qui, pour étendu qu'on prétende le définir, n'englobe jamais l'ensemble des préoccupations, réalités et problèmes culturels sur lesquels une politique gouvernementale doit influer. Des défis comme la liberté d'expression ou la tolérance culturelle, des valeurs comme la participation citoyenne ou l'accès à la diversité culturelle, et des fondamentaux comme la créativité artistique ou le sentiment d'identité culturelle font partie de l'agenda analytique d'une politique culturelle. Cependant, les indicateurs existants, comme l'indique la présentation des statistiques dans le premier Rapport mondial sur la culture[7] se limitent aux données et à la documentation disponible, centrée presque exclusivement sur une vision quantitative de la production et de la consommation culturelle. Par ailleurs, cette vision réductrice doit assumer l'extrême hétérogénéité interne du champ d'étude. La production culturelle renvoie à une large typologie de logiques économiques et sociales, où la dimension économique et la transcendance identitaire et sociale peuvent être très diverses. La production, la distribution et la consommation d'un service diffèrent d'un bien à l'autre, tout comme les secteurs les plus industrialisés, où la reproduction en série est possible, se développent selon une forme distincte de celle des activités artisanales, où le recours à la valeur travail est intensive. Loin d'être une banalité, cette question comporte de grandes conséquences sur l'impact du processus de globalisation des marchés culturels. Ainsi le degré de piraterie, le volume des importations de l'étranger ou l'oligopolisation de la distribution sont bien plus élevés dans les secteurs les plus industriels que dans la production artisanale ou dans la prestation de services.

D'un autre côté, il est logique qu'il existe plus d'informations pour les secteurs les plus consolidés et industriels (le livre, le cinéma), ou pour ceux qui disposent d'une présence plus traditionnelle de l'administration publique (bibliothèques, archives, musées) que pour les plus récents ou artisanaux (multimédia, vidéo et, d'une certaine manière, les arts plastiques et scéniques également). Par ailleurs, l'information est également plus disponible dans les dimensions « mercantiles » de la pratique culturelle que dans ses aspects « extra-mercantiles », avec pour conséquence que les sociétés les moins pénétrées des logiques marchandes disparaissent quasiment des données comparées de production et de consommation culturelles.

Ces préalables doivent être, bien sûr, reçus comme des éléments de discussion. Mais on voudrait indiquer ici que les questions qui viennent d'être posées, bien connues des univers académiques, sont trop souvent négligées dans les univers de la statistique. Pourtant, nous espérons avoir convaincu que loin de n'être que des précautions épistémologiques, ces préalables engagent des choix de méthode, d'observation et de quantification des productions et politiques culturelles. Il nous faut désormais considérer la question des sources d'information.

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6. Les pays qui sont les plus actifs dans le financement d'échanges culturels internationaux ont commencé, depuis quelques années, à sortir d'un modèle « standardisé » de leur culture nationale, pour offrir à l'extérieur une image professionnelle de leur propre pluralité culturelle. Parmi ces initiatives, on peut mentionner le travail de l'AFAA (Association Française d'Action Artistique) en France, au travers de son partenariat avec les collectivités territoriales françaises. Ces initiatives ne sont d'ailleurs pas toujours bien accueillies par les milieux expatriés, qui ne « se reconnaissent » plus dans cette image nouvelle, mais parfaitement actuelle, de « leur » culture. Cf.Alliès-Négrier-Roche 1994, Négrier 2001).

7. UNESCO (1999).

Les sources

Notre réflexion s'appuie sur l'analyse de l'origine des données, de leur traitement, ainsi que, dans une moindre mesure, du problème de la logique et des intérêts qui se trouvent derrière chacun des acteurs engagés dans ce travail de recueil, d'analyse et de diffusion des données. Évidemment, il existe toute une partie subjective, ne serait-ce que celle qui touche à l'existence même et au type d'élaboration des données primaires, qu'il est important de prendre en compte. Il faut savoir également que les champs d'activités que nous analysons correspondent à des domaines divers dans lesquels nous pouvons noter la présence du secteur public, des entreprises, des professionnels, des amateurs et des consommateurs. Chacun de ces acteurs, surtout les entreprises mais aussi les syndicats et gouvernements ont un intérêt précis, distinct pour chacun d'entre eux. Il importe aussi de tenir compte du coût très élevé de recueil des données, une activité pour laquelle ces acteurs ne se mobilisent qu'en fonction d'un impératif légal, d'intérêts stratégiques (avec une logique de diffusion restreinte qui rend alors très difficile le recueil) ou pour tenter d'influencer l'opinion publique. Dans ce dernier cas, ils donnent une vision prédéterminée de leur propre point de vue afin de tenter de d'orienter à leur avantage les perceptions que nous avons tous de la situation.

D'un autre côté, une bonne partie des activités les moins « mercantilisées », fruits de petites initiatives locales, du mouvement associatif ou des pratiques amateurs, sont habituées à bénéficier d'une moindre visibilité statistique que les activités de marché. Plus un secteur est consolidé et industrialisé, ou plus sa dépendance est grande à l'égard de l'intervention publique, plus nous détenons d'informations sur lui.

Ainsi donc, il n'est pas surprenant que nous disposions de beaucoup plus de données sur la production cinématographique (un secteur très consolidé et bénéficiant de larges aides publiques) que sur la vidéo; sur les musées que sur le marché de l'art; sur les estimations de piraterie que sur les chiffres d'affaire des entreprises, etc.

Enfin, si l'on compare le développement et la disponibilité des statistiques culturelles avec d'autres secteurs d'activité économique, la situation est clairement défavorable aux premières. Le bas niveau traditionnel de développement de la production et du marché culturels, sa relative faiblesse en chiffre d'affaire consolidé, ou l'inexistence d'un secteur d'activité économique autonome – liée à l'hétérogénéité productive que nous avons déjà signalée – n'ont pas favorisé la constitution de données culturelles spécifiques de la part des instituts officiels de statistiques, ce qui est encore plus vrai pour les pays les moins développés.

Qui analyse?

Nous pouvons probablement différencier quatre types de producteurs de données et d'analyses :

- Les unités de recherche gouvernementales et spécialisées en culture, dépendant normalement des Ministères de la Culture.
- Les services de statistique, tels qu'un Institut National des Statistiques, des services touchant à l'économie, ou autres structures d'informations générales.

- Les unités de recherche privées des entreprises, des syndicats ou d'autres institutions, et les consultants qui travaillent sous leurs auspices.
- Les unités indépendantes telles que les Universités ou les chercheurs autonomes.

Chacun de ces quatre niveaux possède ses propres objectifs, ses propres ressources, sachant qu'une relation existe entre objectifs et ressources. Certaines approches sont différentes en fonction des objectifs, mais aussi des méthodologies.

Un premier enjeu lié à d'obtention des données réside dans les objectifs, variables, qui sont poursuivis. Il s'agit de savoir quel est le type de données que l'on doit ou que l'on peut traiter. Quelles sont les ressources humaines, techniques et budgétaires disponibles pour une telle activité? Quelle approche veut-on privilégier? Par exemple, on peut opter pour une approche sectorielle ou, au contraire, horizontale. Quelles sont les méthodologies les plus utilisées? Choisit-on de privilégier uniquement une méthodologie quantitative ou s'oriente-t-on vers des approches qualitatives (par entretiens, études de terrain approfondies…)? Peut-on et veut-on comparer les données de façon longitudinale, en tenant compte de l'évolution dans le temps, ou bien les comparer dans l'espace, en croisant d'autres réalités territoriales, par exemple? Quelle sont les limites de telles comparaisons? Se pose également la question de l'interdisciplinarité, de la pluralité des regards scientifiques ou experts. Toutes ces questions sont vives dès le premier niveau d'obtention des données.

Ensuite, le deuxième niveau est celui du traitement des données. Comme dans l'étape précédente, on peut être sélectif ou ouvert, se limiter à une variable clef ou étendre la recherche à la comparabilité et au souci de cohérence analytique.

Le troisième niveau concerne l'interprétation analytique. La démarche peut se contenter d'être très descriptive, ou bien au contraire proposer une vision clinique de la réalité, ou encore approfondir pour s'approcher d'un modèle d'évaluation prescriptive.

Finalement, la dernière étape consiste dans la diffusion de cette information et de l'analyse qui résulte des traitements. Que voulons-nous diffuser : des cas exemplaires ou bien l'ensemble des résultats obtenus par la recherche? Même si Internet diminue fortement les coûts de diffusion, en rendant ainsi l'accès à l'information plus démocratique, les formes de mise à disposition conditionnent le partage des analyses. D'un autre côté, il faut mentionner les difficultés d'obtention d'informations pour certaines industries culturelles pour lesquelles l'élaboration des données n'a aucunement pour but de déboucher sur un partage des résultats et analyses. Dans ce cas, il est important de tenir compte de ce type de position qui s'étend à l'ensemble du processus de recueil, de traitement, d'interprétation, d'analyse et de diffusion de données. L'échange de points de vue peut éventuellement permettre de résoudre certaines difficultés d'accès, ou donner lieu à des formes de collaboration qui pourraient contribuer à rendre l'information plus transparente.

Voici un tableau qui tente de synthétiser la situation :

Tableau 1
Producteurs, Stades et Enjeux des données culturelles (Tendances dominantes)

Producteurs	Stades *Enjeux*	Collecte des données	Traitement des données	Analyse des données	Diffusion de l'information
Centre d'étude gouvernemental spécialisé	*Objectifs* *Ressources* *Approche* *Méthodologie*	Ciblés Limitées Restreinte Sélective	Ciblés Adaptées Ouverte Descriptive	Étendus Adaptées Ouverte Analytique Prescriptive	Étendus Fortes Ouverte Descriptive/
Service statistique généraliste	*Objectifs* *Ressources* *Approche* *Méthodologie*	Étendus (représen-tativité) Adaptées Élargie Descriptive (sources primaires)	Étendus (Cohérence/ comparabilité) Fortes Restreinte Descriptive	Ciblés Limitées Restreinte Analytique	Ciblés Adaptées Elargie Descriptive
Consultants, unités de recherche privée (entreprises, syndicats…)	*Objectifs* *Ressources* *Approche* *Méthodologie*	Ciblés Limitées Restreinte Sélective	Ciblés Adaptées Restreinte Descriptive	Ciblés Adaptées Restreinte Prescriptive	Étendus Adaptées Restreinte Prescriptive
Unités de recherche indépendantes (Universités, centre de recherche…)	*Objectifs* *Ressources* *Approche* *Méthodologie*	Étendus Limitées Restreinte Sélective (sources secondaires)	Ciblés Adaptées Élargie Analytique	Étendus Fortes Ouverte Analytique	Étendus Limitées Ouverte Analytique

Une simple observation de cette présentation des différents stades d'analyse permet déjà de constater la grande interdépendance qui existe entre les divers enjeux. Les objectifs conditionnent d'emblée les ressources disponibles pour le recueil, l'analyse et la diffusion des recherches, et très souvent aussi les approches et méthodologies. D'autre part, le volume des ressources constitue une limite pour l'étendue du travail à réaliser. Toute l'analyse, mais notamment le recueil des données, dépend de ces ressources. Ceci implique donc, le plus souvent, une activité limitée, compte tenu de l'acquis (lacunaire) et du coût exorbitant de la création de sources primaires. Chacun des stades de l'observation représente donc, pour les acteurs en présence, des enjeux de nature variable. Les objectifs peuvent être ciblés ou étendus, non seulement en fonction des ressources mais aussi des intérêts qui fondent une telle activité.

Pour ce qui concerne les approches, on peut partir de prémices très sectorisées (restreinte), ou liées à une logique *ad hoc*, propre à chaque étude, ou bien au contraire se fonder sur des perspectives élargies, voire totalement ouvertes, comme le sont les démarches autonomes ou encore horizontales (celles qui prennent en considération l'intégralité d'un territoire par

exemple). Enfin, dans ce dernier cas (une approche territoriale ou horizontale), il faut prendre en considération la nature propre des outils mobilisables, très différents de ceux généralement utiles à l'analyse verticale ou sectorielle. Finalement, les méthodologies développées par chaque producteur peuvent être plus ou moins sélectives, développer un point de vue analytique, ou s'engager dans une logique prescriptive (aide à la décision, stratégie d'influence) ou, au contraire, se limiter à une méthode descriptive. La préoccupation académique ou la finalité utilitariste conditionnent, naturellement, l'usage de tel ou tel type de méthode.

Objectifs de recherche et objectifs de politique culturelle face à la comparabilité et à l'échange international

Tenons pour acquis les éléments qui précèdent, que l'on peut synthétiser autour de trois enseignements :

- L'activité d'observation quantitative des données culturelles est structurellement incapable de parvenir à l'idéal de comparabilité objective des informations produites, car celles-ci dépendent toujours de sources hétérogènes, ambivalentes et incomplètes. D'un autre côté, il reste très difficile de travailler des indicateurs qualitatifs à l'échelle internationale. La comparaison, qui demeure un objectif de l'observation internationale, doit donc prendre le parti, modeste, d'un regard partiel, et avoir le souci permanent de choisir l'indicateur le moins insatisfaisant.

- Les sources, hétérogènes, vont de pair avec une pluralité d'agents intéressés à la production et à la diffusion de ces données, au travers de stades qui manifestent des différences d'approche, de méthode, d'objectifs. Les agents, ou plutôt les logiques institutionnelles qui président à cette observation, ne considèrent que rarement prioritaire la mise en convergence de leurs activités. En tout état de cause, cette coordination demeure occasionnelle, partielle, motivée par des initiatives plus individuelles que collectives.

- Aucun de ces agents ne détient, à lui seul, le monopole de l'observation légitime. Chaque logique dispose d'atouts certains et de réels handicaps pour mettre en forme une évaluation exacte et informée du contenu, de l'impact social et économique et du rayonnement territorial des politiques et productions culturelles.

Cet état des lieux, qui reste ici impressionniste, est certes ennuyeux pour un esprit cartésien épris de rationalité et de modèles prêts à être reproduits. Mais cette réalité doit surtout être confrontée à l'utilité, sociale et politique, de cette observation vis-à-vis des objectifs de politique culturelle. Il est donc nécessaire de croiser deux types d'objectifs (d'observation et de politique publique) nécessairement distincts mais, nous allons le voir, interdépendants.

Quelle est la nature de la notion d'objectif de politique culturelle? Essentiellement cumulative, structurellement universelle. Les normes qui ont conduit à rendre légitime l'intervention publique sont de deux sortes. Les premières sont intrinsèques; l'art pour l'art, la culture pour la culture. On ne peut concevoir système plus universel et auto-référentiel de justification. Il s'est accompagné d'une autre norme d'action qui fut celle de la démocratisation culturelle. L'accès à l'art et à la culture, l'usage de la notion de développement culturel ont été, et demeurent des objectifs centraux de toute politique culturelle. L'invention de nouvelles normes a été, en partie seulement, motivée par l'échec des précédentes à parvenir en pratique à un niveau satisfaisant. Ces nouvelles normes, que nous appelons extrinsèques, se sont accumulées à côté des

précédentes, qui demeurent valables quelque soit leur succès pratique. Culture et développement économique – lien redoutablement difficile à évaluer – culture et renforcement des liens sociaux, citoyenneté, lutte contre l'exclusion; culture et préservation ou revitalisation d'une identité collective… On le voit au travers de cette série historique (voir tableau 2), aucun des objectifs dont nous parlons n'a disparu de l'agenda collectif. C'est là une difficulté structurelle des politiques culturelles, que n'affrontent pas nécessairement les politiques agricoles, environnementales ou industrielles, qui fonctionnent plus volontiers par *substitution* d'objectifs.

Tableau 2
Évolution cumulative des politiques culturelles dans les démocraties occidentales

Période	Logique dominante	Secteurs d'intervention	Finalités*	Exemples d'indicateurs
Du XIXe siècle à1945	Patrimoniale, élitiste et nationaliste	Patrimoine archéologique, bibliothèques et archives, beaux-arts	Conservation, *Construction identitaire nationale, Instruction publique*, Formation artistique d'élite	Monuments protégés Diffusion nationale de livres scolaires Niveau éducatif Nombre d'écoles d'art
1945 à 1960	Artistique	Beaux-arts et arts contemporains	Diffusion de la haute culture Créativité, qualité et liberté d'expression	Nombre d'institutions et de festivals de qualité Propositions artistiques de rupture
1960 à 1980	Socioculturel	Culture traditionnelle Équipements polyvalents Culture de masse, populaire Moyens de communication	Démocratisation culturelle Intégration et cohésion sociale Participation et démocratie culturelle	Décentralisation sociale et territoriale de l'offre Participation inter-classiste Pratiques amateurs
1980-2000	Développement économique et culturel	Audiovisuel Patrimoine naturel et intangible Nouvelles Technologies de Communication - Multimédia	Production et diffusion culturelle domestique *Plein emploi, compétitivité et croissance* Diversité culturelle multiculturalisme Coopération culturelle	Part de la production nationale Capacité d'exportation Offre de formation aux pratiques multi-culturelles Échanges internationaux équilibrés

* En italique, les finalités « extrinsèques » des politiques culturelles.

Dans ce contexte, les chercheurs et consultants sont en permanence interpellés pour produire des données nouvelles, directement en rapport avec la priorité du moment, tandis que les appareils statistiques demeurent arc-boutés sur leurs séries longitudinales, soucieux qu'ils sont de préserver un outil technique, efficient. Les deux positions (l'inscription dans les hiérarchies de politique publique et la distance fondée sur l'intégrité d'un mode de calcul) ont chacune ses mérites et ses défauts.

Apporter une réponse adaptée à une question posée par l'autorité publique, quel qu'en soit le niveau, manifeste un certain idéal par lequel la recherche et l'observation accomplissent une mission d'intérêt général. Mais elle court le risque de se fondre dans la particularité d'une demande orientée, spécifique et qui a peu de chance d'être cohérente avec celle que formulerait, dans un même contexte, une autre institution. Si l'évolution des objectifs de politique publique sont à peu près convergents, leur traduction en termes de demande d'information demeure distincte d'un pays, d'une région ou d'un continent à l'autre. On ne peut donc se satisfaire d'une telle posture, qui renforcerait, au lieu de les atténuer, le poids des particularismes, et rendrait la comparaison presque impossible.

L'autre position, qui consiste à camper sur des acquis analytiques et sur des grilles établies, se heurte à une autre réalité structurelle des objectifs et productions culturelles; leur caractère dynamique et évolutif. Nous avons mentionné l'essor du multimédia, qui rend le classement sectoriel des pratiques et politiques de plus en plus décalé par rapport à la réalité. Quant aux objectifs « extrinsèques », ils posent, on le sait, des difficultés statistiques fréquentes, liées notamment à l'absence d'indicateur fiable. À partir de quels indicateurs mesurer l'atteinte, par la culture, d'un objectif de lutte contre l'exclusion ou de renforcement de la citoyenneté? On pourrait également mentionner les décalages qui existent entre la production de statistiques sur la distribution des équipements culturels et les conditions sociales de leur usage. Il n'est pas indifférent, par exemple, que l'usage de la radio soit devenu essentiellement individuel dans le monde développé et qu'il demeure une pratique collective dans maints pays d'Afrique. Que vaut, en termes de diffusion des produits culturels, une statistique qui indique, brutalement, un différentiel fondé uniquement sur le nombre de postes par habitants, tout en admettant bien entendu que ce chiffre reste un indicateur de l'inégalité entre les nations? En Europe elle-même, la différence entre les taux de lecture scandinave et méditerranéens, est souvent expliquée par un différentiel de développement des réseaux de lecture publique, ou bien par un différence dans les dynamiques d'activités artistiques (à l'intérieur *versus* dans la rue). Mais, d'une part, ces différences statistiquement mesurables vont de pair avec d'autres dimensions tout aussi pertinentes comme le climat, les cultures religieuses, etc. D'autre part, il est le plus souvent difficile de tirer des leçons univoques en termes de politique publique, car cela conduirait à poser une question elle-même très périlleuse; celle de la hiérarchie ou de la non-hiérarchie entre différents types d'activité culturelle; toutes les pratiques (ici lecture ou participation au théâtre de rue) se valent-elles?

Plusieurs foyers de rigidité menacent en permanence la pertinence des séries statistiques, dont la portée est donc nécessairement limitée.

Ces derniers exemples sur l'interprétation des différences intra-européennes et intercontinentales d'équipement culturel mettent en lumière tout l'intérêt, mais aussi tous les risques que comporte la comparaison des productions culturelles domestiques. L'intérêt réside dans l'appui que peut manifester la comparaison dans l'identification des priorités, d'une part, et dans la diffusion de recettes sinon duplicables, du moins adaptables, transférables. Le second intérêt, lié au premier, est bien sûr de contribuer au débat sur les objectifs de politique, débats qui sont sans doute, en matière culturelle, plus intenses et récurrents que dans d'autres domaines d'activité.

Les risques qu'encourt le développement de la comparaison ne sont pas moins importants. D'une part, compte tenu des défauts structurels des données culturelles (hétérogénéité des sources et modes de production, caractère incomplet et contextuel des informations disponibles), le parti de la comparaison doit demeurer modeste. L'idée que la mise en œuvre d'une batterie d'indicateurs (aussi fine soit-elle) puisse contribuer à produire un certain standard de politique culturelle nous paraît ainsi déplacée, démesurément ambitieuse sur le plan quantitatif. Elle est même, sur le plan qualitatif, dangereuse. Derrière la réalisation de « modèles » de politiques culturelles se profilent en effet tous les « démons » de la standardisation. On sait que si celle-ci est une tendance propre à certains secteurs industriels, elle demeure pratiquement impossible en ce qui concerne les politiques publiques. La meilleure preuve est sans doute administrée par l'Union Européenne elle-même. L'aspiration de certains pays membres, et notamment la France, à exporter leur modèle à l'échelle de l'Union rencontre de multiples obstacles. Par contre, cela n'empêche nullement les échanges, les imitations, le partage de socles communs de principes d'action publique. Mais en ce domaine, plutôt que de parler de standardisation faut-il parler de tendances convergentes, partielles et relatives. Ce qui est vrai des contraintes à la standardisation au sein d'un bloc continental « relativement » homogène l'est encore davantage à l'échelle intercontinentale.

Conclusion : quelques recommandations

Les préconisations qui peuvent être formulées doivent tenir compte de l'état des lieux, des forces en présence et des précautions de méthode que nous nous sommes efforcés de clarifier dans ce papier. Trois séries de propositions peuvent être avancées, en guise de conclusion.

La première a trait à la sauvegarde de la pluralité des sources et, derrière elles, des contextes dans lesquels se déploient les politiques culturelles. Il ne s'agit pas seulement d'une question de principe pluraliste, mais aussi d'une question très pratique; toute observation statistique qui ne prendrait pas en compte cette réalité polymorphe et polysémique de la production culturelle domestique est condamnée à demeurer très générale, simplificatrice et mystificatrice. En lien avec ce premier principe, on suggèrera que l'une des priorités est sans doute ici l'appui aux dispositifs (nationaux ou régionaux) qui, sur le plan technique, sur le plan de la pluralité des agents, sont les moins avancés. On pourrait objecter que ceci représente un coût nettement plus élevé que la production de statistiques standardisées. C'est avoir une vision étroite et à court terme de la rentabilité des outils d'analyse. Payer le prix de la pluralité est une exigence liée à la nature elle-même plurielle des formes de globalisation culturelle et, croyons-nous, plus efficient, collectivement, à moyen terme.

La seconde préconisation concerne la dimension des agents eux-mêmes. C'est une question délicate. En effet, l'hétérogénéité des statuts et méthodes ne se rapporte pas uniquement, on l'a vu, à des divergences formelles, mais aussi à des intérêts distincts, même quand ils sont, occasionnellement, portés par une même personne, comme dans le cas d'un chercheur universitaire qui entreprend, parallèlement, une activité de consultant. Mais on doit plaider ici pour le renforcement des groupes de travail mixtes, ceux qui sont les plus fragiles puisque plus éloignés de la satisfaction d'intérêts professionnels immédiats. Il ne s'agit pas seulement ici de poursuivre un objectif d'accumulation de données détenues par plusieurs types d'agents. Au demeurant, cet objectif serait sans doute trop ambitieux, notamment pour ce qui concerne les agents de production de données liés à des logiques industrielles privées. Mais il s'agit de constituer un réseau mixte d'information susceptible d'alimenter en permanence le débat sur les objectifs de politique culturelle. La confrontation régulière des analyses gouvernementales, sectorielles, universitaires constitue sans doute un objectif de l'observation comparative qui peut, par effet en retour, avoir un impact sur notre manière de penser et d'agir non seulement dans un cadre pluraliste et dynamique à l'échelle internationale, mais aussi au sein de chacun des contextes de travail.

A ce sujet, la troisième recommandation vise le développement d'approches horizontales dans la production des données culturelles. Les études par secteur d'activité sont disponibles grâce au travail régulier des appareils, publics pour la plupart, de statistique. Elles sont précieuses pour au moins deux raisons; leur reproduction dans le temps permet de saisir des logiques d'évolution, à partir de protocoles identiques ou presque; les logiques sectorielles demeurent au centre de bien des productions culturelles domestiques, et leur comparaison est facilitée par la disponibilité de statistiques. Mais le maintien de ces protocoles de recherche statistique doit s'accompagner du développement d'autres types d'études qui sont, encore aujourd'hui, trop peu mises en œuvre, et encore moins comparées.

Il s'agit d'abord des *horizontalités intersectorielles,* qui résultent soit d'une évolution technologique (le multimédia) qui brouille les frontières entre secteurs, soit de dynamiques culturelles qui combinent plusieurs fonctions (formation-création) ou domaines (lecture publique/animation culturelle).

Il s'agit ensuite des *horizontalités territoriales.* Le mouvement de globalisation s'accompagne de l'émergence de nouveaux pôles de définition et de mise en œuvre des politiques culturelles, qui ne sont plus directement dépendants de la forme historique de l'État-nation. C'est même l'une des tendances dynamiques les plus contemporaines, qui concernent à la fois les États de traditions centraliste, fédéraliste ou crypto-fédéraliste, ou ceux qui s'appuient sur le gouvernement local. D'ailleurs, les nouveaux pays d'Europe Centrale et Orientale, dans la phase de transition démocratique puis dans celle d'une association au destin de l'Union Européenne, ont presque tous traité simultanément la mise en œuvre d'un État de droit et celle d'une décentralisation politico-administrative. Cependant, en matière de culture notamment, cette dynamique territoriale ne s'appuie que sur des instruments rudimentaires, généralement produits à l'échelle nationale. Dans les pays fondateurs de l'Union européenne, un diversité préoccupante existe entre les entités territoriales, sub-étatiques, qui disposent d'appareils très développés (La Catalogne, la Lorraine, la Communauté française de Belgique, le Piémont par exemple) et celles où aucune démarche véritable n'existe. Ce déficit de connaissance est d'autant plus gênant qu'il concerne

des foyers sans doute déterminants pour le maintien de l'impératif culturel dans l'action publique, associant pluralité des cultures, développement des échanges artistiques et participation citoyenne dans un cadre local et globalisé.

On ne peut conclure tout à fait sans mentionner le défi que représente, pour tous ceux qui défendent une réelle diversité culturelle, le fait de disposer de ressources statistiques et analytiques qui aident à interpréter les véritables dimensions de l'homogénéité croissante des marchés culturels. Ceci implique de disposer non seulement de données objectives sur les pratiques de consommation culturelle et sur le volume de production et de chiffre d'affaire des entreprises, mais aussi d'améliorer la connaissance de leurs stratégies de marketing et de programmation. La compétitivité d'un marché n'est pas la garantie automatique d'une offre plurielle, respectueuse des aspirations des minorités culturelles qui, pour ne pas disposer d'un grand pouvoir d'achat, n'en possède pas moins un patrimoine vivant susceptible de disparaître. Un regard sur l'évolution négative du solde des échanges audiovisuels entre Union Européenne et États-Unis[8] est certes mal vécu dans les bureaux bruxellois, parisiens, romains, madrilènes ou berlinois. Mais le malaise est bien plus grand encore quand le regard provient de Bogota, de Lima ou de Montevideo, ou depuis une optique catalane, québécoise ou suédoise, pays riches mais marchés trop étroits. Bien des activités économiques disparaissent à cause du défaut de compétitivité de beaucoup de pays. Mais peut-on renoncer à s'exprimer par la culture? C'est pour cela qu'il est nécessaire de repenser les hypothèses d'étude, pour tenter de répondre à des questions aussi gênantes mais aussi cruciales que celle-ci.

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Conférences — Papers

Luca Dal Pozzolo Osservatorio Culturale del Piemonte – Fondazione Fitzcarraldo, Torino, Italia

« Réseaux, systèmes, milieux : les défis de l'analyse et de l'évaluation »

Résumé

L'analyse régionale, ce qui est l'activité principale de l'Observatoire Culturel du Piémont, pose aux chercheurs un ensemble de problèmes méthodologiques de grand intérêt. Il ne s'agit pas seulement de construire un cadre statistique des principaux indicateurs, il s'agit plutôt de produire un patrimoine de connaissances, une structure cognitive, en mesure d'aider les professionnels du secteur culturel, les fonctionnaires et les politiciens, dans un processus décisionnel qui se base aussi sur des éléments de détail.

Le défi consiste à reconnaître les tendances et les dynamiques à leur naissance, c'est-à-dire quand leur impact quantitatif est encore imperceptible; le défi est de reconnaître les phénomènes à l'état embryonnaire, de déterminer les façons les plus efficaces pour aider les milieux culturels à se développer, les réseaux culturels à « grandir ». Le défi se trouve dans l'évolution même des moyens de production et de distribution qui créent autour du cœur de la production culturelle une économie qui bouge vite, qui est « adrénalinique », et donc difficilement analysable à travers les moyens et méthodes traditionnels de recherche.

Abstract

Regional analysis is the core activity of the Cultural Observatory of Piedmont. Researchers therefore have to deal with a set of methodological issues of major interest. The task of the Observatory is not only to deliver a statistical framework of main indicators, but also to provide a knowledge tool kit to support cultural industry professionals, public servants and politicians in a decision-making process that often requires a strong understanding of details.

In this context the challenge lies in recognizing rising trends and dynamics when their quantitative impact is not yet clear. Furthermore, the challenge is that of identifying emerging phenomena and of understanding how it is possible to support the development and growth of cultural environments and networks. Finally, the challenge lies in the evolution of production and distribution means which have placed cultural production in the middle of a fast-paced dynamic economy not easily analysed using traditional research tools.

1. Introduction

Les notes qui suivent constituent une réflexion fondée sur les modalités de fonctionnement de l'Observatoire Culturel du Piémont (*Osservatorio Culturale del Piemonte*, indiqué ci-dessous comme OCP). Elles sont donc en relation étroite avec la demande de connaissances, d'outils, les urgences que les différents usagers manifestent à l'égard de l'Observatoire. Il s'agit par conséquent plus d'une réflexion sur une expérience qui a maintenant près de cinq ans d'âge, sur les questions qu'elle pose et sur ses contradictions, que de la discussion sur le cadre théorique auquel elle se réfère.

Par ailleurs, la demande de connaissances qui s'adresse à cet observatoire régional[1] comporte une requête bien concrète – parfois même explicite – de « solution à des problèmes » : non seulement donc un tableau général, mais des interprétations pertinentes, pouvant être utilisées à brève échéance, des indications d'outils permettant d'affronter un problème. Ce qui ne veut pas dire, pour ce qui est des administrations publiques, demander à l'Observatoire de trouver et de proposer des politiques culturelles – sa responsabilité technique deviendrait alors politique – , mais d'intervenir pour soutenir les politiques en vigueur, en créant des outils techniques, en étudiant l'impact des mesures prises. Quant aux privés qui opèrent dans le secteur de la culture, ils demandent des données, des informations pouvant être directement utilisées pour prendre des décisions, comme support à leur activité.

La limite entre une « observation détachée » et une « participation opérationnelle » est continuellement sollicitée, redéfinie, ajustée; ce qui comporte évidemment des conséquences non marginales aussi bien sur le plan méthodologique, épistémologique, pour ce qui est de l'activité scientifique, que sur le plan politique, autrement dit de la construction et de la gestion du consensus/opposition. Ces notes affronteront d'abord le sujet sur le versant scientifique, pour se pencher ensuite sur les questions liées à la gestion des politiques publiques.

Ce texte a pour but de reconnaître les difficultés, les défis que l'activité de recherche de l'Observatoire est amené à relever. On ne proposera pas un outillage et des méthodes qui s'adaptent à la complexité des problèmes, mais uniquement quelques réflexions qui pourraient se révéler utiles à l'avenir. Il ne s'agit pas là d'un simple artifice d'exposition; ce texte reflète simplement l'état des choses, de l'élaboration au point où elle en est, la tentative actuelle de résoudre les problèmes, sur le plan de la méthode et concrètement. Un ensemble cohérent d'outils et de méthodes qui permette de répondre correctement à ces questions apparaît aujourd'hui comme un objectif à atteindre, mais non dans l'immédiat.

2. Caractéristiques et conditions de la demande de connaissances au niveau régional

Les propositions de recherche, les demandes de données, d'informations et d'outils s'adressant à l'OCP peuvent être classées en trois catégories, ou mieux répondent à trois conditions auxquelles les résultats de la recherche et l'activité de l'OCP doivent se conformer : en général, vu qu'elles sont très liées entre elles, ces conditions doivent être remplies dans chaque résultat, dans chaque analyse de l'OCP; selon les cas toutefois, il peut arriver que l'une des conditions

1. Situé au pied des Alpes, à l'extrémité nord-ouest de la péninsule, le Piémont est l'une des 20 régions italiennes. Il couvre 25 398 km^2 sur une surface totale de 301 302 km^2 et possède une population de 4,5 millions d'habitants sur un total national d'environ 57 millions. Turin, la capitale régionale, est aussi l'un des pôles économiques et industriels du pays.

domine sur les deux autres; les situations différentes, le poids qu'occupe chaque condition, déterminent alors une géométrie variable, même si les conditions sont presque toujours présentes toutes les trois. On pourra les formuler ainsi :

Dimension territoriale

Cerner la dimension territoriale des phénomènes pris en considération représente une constante de la demande. La description d'un secteur (qu'il s'agisse de l'ordre de grandeur d'une certaine production ou de l'impact d'une politique culturelle) doit s'articuler sur une géographie détaillée des territoires internes à la région afin de permettre la confrontation entre territoires et systèmes de gouvernement semblables.

Intégration entre culture et développement local durable

La demande s'exprime généralement ainsi : « De quelle façon des investissements et une certaine politique culturelle peuvent-ils contribuer au développement local d'un territoire, à quelles conditions peuvent-ils susciter des effets bénéfiques sur les entreprises locales, être à l'origine de valeurs et de projets partagés? » La culture apparaît ici comme une « enzyme » capable de catalyser les ressources locales, comme une composante stratégique pour exprimer une identité territoriale.

Recherche finalisée à la mise en œuvre concrète

C'est là une requête spécifique aussi bien des administrations publiques que des agents opérant dans le domaine culturel : l'Observatoire n'est pas un centre d'études sur l'économie de la culture, ce n'est pas non plus un institut de statisques, mais un outil destiné à produire des connaissances pour orienter les décisions et donner des interprétations pouvant être facilement utilisées, sans élaboration et médiation ultérieures.

Tout en tenant compte de l'interaction forte qui existe entre ces « conditions », il sera utile de traiter séparément les implications de chacune d'entre elles sur la recherche, du ramassage à l'élaboration, au traitement des données.

L'attention constante à la dimension territoriale place au premier plan la possibilité de comparer les données. Pour certaines variables, généralement disponibles au niveau national sous forme plutôt générique, la comparaison région – nation est utile pour cerner un ordre de grandeur; dans bien des cas toutefois, sa portée est modeste : sur des sujets spécifiques, la comparaison région – nation montre souvent des déséquilibres ou des convergences bien connus; par ailleurs, la différence entre données régionales et données nationales n'indique pas forcément un besoin de rééquilibre; de même, la convergence entre le niveau national et le niveau régional n'est pas nécessairement le signe d'une situation satisfaisante.

Dans d'autres cas et dans des secteurs spécifiques de la production et de la consommation, la donnée décomposée au niveau régional ou interne au territoire de la région, bien qu'intéressante dans son contexte, concerne une grandeur plutôt limitée, de petits nombres jouant un rôle statistique modeste si on les considère à une échelle supérieure et donc pouvant difficilement être comparés aux données nationales.

La confrontation avec d'autres régions ou avec d'autres territoires de la même région est, elle, beaucoup plus intéressante. La confrontation entre différents territoires est alors d'autant plus productive qu'il existe la possibilité de comparer non seulement au sein d'un certain secteur culturel, mais aussi de tenir compte des principales variables socioéconomiques. Il n'est pas très significatif de confronter des zones rurales à faible densité avec des zones urbaines très peuplées, si ce n'est pour souligner les divergences; il est par contre intéressant de comparer entre eux différents territoires ruraux ou différents territoires urbains, où les éléments qui concourent à former la diversité sont connus et peuvent être quantifiés.

Tout ceci souligne la nécessité d'un réseau d'institutions capables d'échanger des informations structurées, aussi bien pour ce qui est de la culture que pour les principaux aspects socioéconomiques de la région et de son territoire. Malheureusement, en Italie, il n'est pas facile de trouver, de façon constante, structurée et non épisodique, des statistiques concernant les régions et leurs territoires internes; ceci est dû aussi à l'absence d'observatoires culturels régionaux ayant pour mission la construction d'un panorama statistique régional.

Au niveau européen, la confrontation avec certains territoires et certaines régions est possible; elle est toutefois rendue difficile par les différentes traditions statistiques et par les sources différentes.

Quoi qu'il en soit, la constitution d'un réseau d'institutions qui s'engagent à confronter les données régionales et internes aux régions est fondamentale pour l'existence même des observatoires régionaux, pour éviter d'affiner et de détailler toujours plus des informations et des méthodes d'analyse, chacun sur son propre territoire, sans pouvoir les comparer à d'autres niveaux d'analyse et à d'autres territoires. Une spécification et une articulation accrue des données ainsi que l'impossibilité de comparer risqueraient de vider ces organismes de leur sens : les informations ne pouvant être communiquées, elles deviendraient toujours plus difficiles à interpréter.

Ces questions sont très liées à ce que nous avons énoncé dans le deuxième point, autrement dit considérer les activités culturelles comme une composante essentielle d'un développement local durable. Analyser la production et la consommation culturelles ne suffit alors plus et il faut brosser un panorama global de la société locale à l'étude, de son territoire. Il faut dans ce cas identifier les possibilités de développement souhaitable et déterminer le rôle que la production et la consommation de culture peuvent y jouer pour contribuer à un processus de développement durable. L'interprétation nécessaire ici va bien au-delà du domaine de la culture; elle va même jusqu'à relativiser les données culturelles en les liant à des stratégies de développement plus générales.

Il ne s'agit pas simplement d'élargir l'horizon où situer les données ayant trait à la culture, mais de choisir un nouveau modèle qui modifiera en profondeur le sens même des données, en fonction des contextes et des situations. Un exemple : une exposition artistique durant trois ou quatre mois et totalisant dix mille visiteurs ne constitue pas en soi un événement mémorable; si elle est organisée dans la capitale régionale par un musée prestigieux qui y a engagé les fonds adaptés, on peut même la considérer comme un four pour ce qui est de l'affluence; par contre, si les conditions suivantes se vérifiaient :

a) l'exposition se déroule en zone rurale, dans plusieurs endroits différents reliés par un itinéraire où les visiteurs pourront admirer villages et paysages différents,

b) une partie consistante du public local apprécie cette initiative car c'est une occasion importante de consommer de la culture dans un territoire traditionnellement pauvre en activités culturelles,

c) les visiteurs provenant de centres urbains même lointains sont nombreux; grâce à cette exposition, ils « découvrent » un territoire peu connu mais de grande valeur pour ses paysages et son patrimoine culturels,

alors cette initiative aurait une tout autre importance et les dix mille visiteurs, vu leurs caractéristiques et leur provenance, deviendraient un élément du succès : l'exposition jouerait en effet un rôle précieux pour promouvoir un tourisme « doux », à base de culture, de paysage, de nature, de bonne chère et de bon vin, en vue d'une intégration possible des ressources agricoles, et satisferait par ailleurs une demande locale auparavant négligée. Si, au niveau territorial, on déploie une stratégie de développement de ce genre, l'exposition avec ses dix mille visiteurs devient un succès et un investissement utile visant à promouvoir des conditions de développement pour ce territoire, pour cette zone bien précise.

Par contre, à un niveau plus élevé, celui de l'ensemble de la région par exemple, les dix mille visiteurs sont quasiment insignifiants sur la totalité des visiteurs de musées et expositions, s'il s'agit d'évaluer le pourcentage de variation sur l'année précédente. Selon le contexte d'interprétation où l'on place une donnée numérique, celle-ci indiquera un succès, un échec, un phénomène peu significatif, voire négligeable. Comme nous l'avons souligné plus haut, cela ne dépend pas de la relativisation par rapport à l'échelle choisie: le phénomène est d'autant plus important que l'analyse a lieu à petite échelle – l'exposition est très importante pour le village où elle se déroule, assez importante pour le territoire provincial, peu significative si l'on considère l'ensemble de la région –; tout dépendra par contre des critères adoptés pour l'interprétation. S'il s'agit de montrer l'apport de l'exposition à une stratégie de développement territorial, sur un certain territoire elle pourra avoir une importance cruciale, alors qu'elle ne sera pas particulièrement révélatrice sur un autre, en fonction aussi bien des différences entre les territoires que des stratégies de développement respectives. Si toutefois l'attention se déplace sur les indicateurs généraux de consommation et d'affluence dans les musées et les expositions, sur les comportements du public à un niveau plus général, alors c'est la prise en considération d'une exposition en particulier qui perdra tout son sens.

Les rapports entre la culture et le développement territorial pose la question du milieu local, à l'intérieur duquel les composantes culturelles jouent un rôle qui n'est pas de second plan car elles servent à promouvoir des valeurs et des possibilités de développement que la population partage. La donnée chiffrée prend un sens par rapport à ce milieu, aux perspectives de développement, aux configurations possibles; elle a un rôle à jouer dans un réseau de phénomènes orientés, ou orientables, à une dynamique du développement.

En ce qui concerne la troisième condition, autrement dit une recherche et des données statistiques qui soient finalisées à la mise en œuvre concrète, les chercheurs doivent affronter une double question, symétrique et spéculaire en quelque sorte : d'une part, la donnée doit être extrêmement précise, raffinée, détaillée, tenir compte de phénomènes et de conditions même minimes capables de l'influencer; d'autre part, à partir de données fragmentaires, de variations à peine perceptibles, de symptômes légers, on leur demande une interprétation forte, capable

de distinguer les tendances, dans des configurations qui ne soient ni ambiguës ni nuancées; de prendre position, en définitive, de formuler des observations à caractère fortement prédictif.

Un exemple servira à éclaircir le premier aspect : l'OCP relève et élabore les données concernant l'affluence dans les principaux musées, les expositions et les principaux monuments où un billet d'entrée est prévu. Les données sont très décomposées : les entrées sont comptées quotidiennement et s'articulent en matinées/après-midi; de plus, on tient compte des entrées spéciales, à savoir tarifs réduits pour les différentes classes d'âge, abonnements et gratuités en tous genres, et ainsi de suite jusqu'à obtenir un tableau comprenant près d'une centaine de billets différents.

Ces chiffres sont particulièrement intéressants pour les institutions qui organisent des manifestations spéciales dans les musées et des expositions temporaires afin de contrôler en cours de route l'évolution de l'affluence, en rapport avec les autres manifestations de la région. L'analyse des pourcentages permet aux organisateurs de trouver la cause d'éventuelles divergences par rapport à leur attente, par exemple le manque d'efficacité d'une campagne de presse, et de réagir chemin faisant.

Afin que cela soit possible, il faut toutefois que les données soient communiquées à de brefs intervalles, hebdomadaires par exemple; ce qui comporte toute une série de difficultés concernant les statistiques « en ligne », un sujet que nous ne pouvons affronter ici. Mais surtout, les chiffres devront être accompagnés d'une multitude de remarques : il faudra par exemple dresser la liste de toutes les manifestations particulières qui ont vu la participation de différentes institutions : soirées de gala, ouvertures exceptionnelles en soirée, vernissages gratuits sur invitation, fermeture ou ouverture de salles, spectacles, soit l'ensemble des phénomènes susceptibles d'influencer tant soit peu l'affluence du public. Sans ces détails, une confrontation à brève échéance entre expositions ou musées devient difficile à interpréter; les organisateurs peinent à comprendre les oscillations journalières. C'est ainsi que parfois il a été demandé d'indiquer les conditions météo, qui peuvent favoriser l'exode du week-end plutôt que la visite dans des musées.

Il existe donc une sorte de paradoxe : afin que les données sur un musée en particulier puissent être immédiatement utilisables, elles doivent être détaillées et agrémentées de tant d'informations qu'il résulte impossible de les comparer à celles d'un autre musée. Les données d'un musée reflètent toute une série d'événements, forment une petite histoire intéressante aux yeux des organisateurs, car c'est sur cette série d'événements qu'il interviendra pour modifier les données en sa faveur.

Par contre, lorsque le chercheur de l'Observatoire doit interpréter les tendances du public dans la région ou dans une ville, il doit « épurer » les données en leur enlevant tous les « ajouts descriptifs », il doit oublier toutes les remarques, les explications, les justifications et revenir à un chiffre « dépouillé », simple et pouvant être comparé dans le temps, dans d'autres villes ou d'autres régions. Il y a à ceci au moins une raison : le résultat global n'est pas le fruit d'une somme de micro-événements, d'éléments particuliers, accidentels et liés à la conjoncture; les tendances de fond se déploient sur une échéance relativement longue, elles se stabilisent après avoir « couvé » pendant un certain temps; on ne peut les reconnaître qu'au-delà d'un certain seuil de variations. Souvent, l'attention envers le micro-événement, la fibrillation temporaire empêchent de reconnaître la portée véritable, à long terme, d'un événement historique ou d'une pratique culturelle.

C'est sur cette contradiction que repose le deuxième aspect cité auparavant, à savoir la demande d'une interprétation forte, d'un tableau sans ambiguïté, même lorsque la situation est confuse, les données « faibles », autrement dit n'indiquant pas de façon univoque des phénomènes importants. C'est une demande qui provient avant tout du monde politique et de l'administration publique, afin de pouvoir exercer un contrôle ponctuel sur les effets d'une politique culturelle à partir d'une série de données soulignant un certain impact, ou bien de cerner des phénomènes à partir desquels élaborer une politique ou agir.

Toutefois, le moment le plus favorable pour agir, pour imaginer une action de soutien, est lorsque le phénomène est à l'état naissant, au début de sa trajectoire; c'est à ce moment-là que disposer de ressources, d'aide, de soutien, peut se révéler crucial pour mettre en route un processus de développement. Malheureusement, dans les recherches et les statistiques, les tendances et les phénomènes à l'état naissant se perçoivent peu et laissent une trace incertaine de signes et de symptômes. Au contraire, lorsqu'une tendance apparaît clairement dans les statistiques, c'est parce qu'elle s'est désormais consolidée, immobilisée, ce qui rend toute action d'orientation difficile.

C'est ainsi qu'on demande à l'analyse, à l'élaboration des données de « parier » sur le sens de petites différences, de symptômes contradictoires, pour en arriver à des interprétations capables d'orienter avec précision l'action concrète. On pourrait résumer cela par un slogan : « une interprétation forte sur des données faibles ».

Attention! Il ne s'agit pas là de la requête illégitime de forcer les éléments pour en arriver à une version de facilité en « arrangeant » les statistiques – un risque qui existe et dont nous parlerons plus loin –, mais de favoriser l'interprétation plutôt que la description. On demande au chercheur de prendre position, d'assumer ses responsabilités quant à l'interprétation, de donner un sens même dans des conditions relativement opaques; il s'agit d'orienter la connaissance vers l'action – même lorsque les données sont faibles ou incomplètes –, d'explorer plutôt que de créer un système et, évidemment, de se sentir responsable de ce processus.

3. Les risques de l'interprétation forte

Toutes les conditions rapidement décrites ci-dessus tendent à sortir le chercheur de son rôle d'analyste « au-dessus de la mêlée », celui qui raconterait les phénomènes d'un point de vue externe, pour le plonger dans l'arène du quotidien, sur le terrain complexe et contradictoire où œuvrent les secteurs public et privé. Les limites d'un domaine ou d'une discipline sont dépassées par l'exigence d'intégrer les statistiques de la culture à l'économie du territoire; le niveau d'approfondissement et de détail des données tend à se structurer au cas par cas sur les besoins de la contingence opérationnelle; enfin, on fait appel à une capacité d'interprétation forte, rapide et efficace, qui devienne un outil pointu en vue de l'action.

Bien que l'ensemble de ces requêtes soient parfaitement compréhensibles dans un observatoire régional de la culture et constituent en quelque sorte sa raison d'être, il y en a suffisamment pour se sentir parfois désorientés, livrés aux aléas des contradictions. Il est vrai que l'Observatoire Culturel du Piémont n'est pas né comme centre d'études sur l'économie de la culture; il ne s'agit d'une institution académique, mais d'un service qui se veut utile à ceux qui agissent dans le monde de la culture. Malgré tout, la difficulté à maintenir le cap, à éviter les bas-fonds d'une analyse correcte sur le plan scientifique mais stérile quant à sa capacité d'orienter l'action, à

éviter aussi les écueils d'une interprétation improvisée et arbitraire, est bien réelle, aussi bien dans la pratique que pour ce qui est de l'outillage scientifique et conceptuel.

Le besoin d'une interprétation forte constitue un premier risque, très présent dans le monde de la culture. Comme chacun sait, la principale caractéristique de nombreuses activités culturelles est leur « légèreté » en termes économiques, ce qui signifie aussi en termes pouvant être quantifiés et mesurés; heureusement, les effets ayant une portée, un impact, plus vaste sont d'ordre culturel, immatériel et se manifestent en cycle de longue durée. Cela veut aussi dire légèreté des données et des indicateurs à utiliser, au point qu'il faut généralement créer un outillage d'analyse sur mesure. Vouloir utiliser le modèle « input – output » ou les analyses d'impact économique tels qu'on les emploie dans l'industrie équivaudrait à penser que l'on puisse filtrer un liquide avec une grille en fer forgé plutôt qu'avec un tissu à la trame serrée.

C'est bien cette légèreté « structurelle » du secteur – hormis quelques filières spécifiques de production industrielle – qui constitue la difficulté caractéristique de l'interprétation. On ajoutera à cela le défi conceptuel que représente l'accélération de l'innovation dans le domaine des techniques de l'information et de la communication qui a révolutionné les systèmes de distribution et même les produits culturels; il est ainsi de plus en plus difficile d'établir les frontières de la culture. Les services on line et off line dilatent le monde de l'édition, le MP3 et les algorithmes de compression permettent la distribution de produits multimédias avec des implications et un impact remarquables; toute une Net-économie, solidement reliée aux secteurs de la culture et des télécommunications, se développe en élargissant ultérieurement les frontières incertaines du secteur.

C'est ainsi que, de notre point de vue d'observatoire régional, nous assistons à une situation bizarre où les productions traditionnelles de la culture (édition, musique, théâtre, spectacles live, musées) tendent à la stabilité, voire à la stagnation, alors que tout autour, aussi bien dans l'usage de technologies nouvelles que dans la distribution musicale en ligne, dans les services culturels offerts par internet, ce n'est qu'un intense fourmillement d'activité; une foule de nouveaux opérateurs s'engagent dans l'innovation et inventent de nouveaux produits contenant souvent une forte composante culturelle. Mais c'est justement cette activité intense, en marge du secteur culturel tel qu'on l'entend traditionnellement et dans les interstices entre les différents domaines de la culture, que l'outillage usuel de l'analyse, à savoir les recensements, les monitorages, peinent à capturer. Une grande partie des entreprises de cette Net-économie naissent, disparaissent, se transforment en quelques mois; elles vivent d'une économie très rapide, de « pile électrique », évoluent et font évoluer leurs produits à des rythmes qui rendent l'analyse maladroite, pachydermique. Il apparaît hors de portée de parvenir à cerner avec précision les limites de la production culturelle dans cette zone de frontière, à dresser une liste des opérateurs et des entreprises, de les recenser et d'en suivre l'activité. La situation évolue si rapidement qu'elle met constamment hors jeu une recherche qui se veut systématique et exhaustive. Par ailleurs, un tableau apparaît déjà vieilli dès son élaboration. Il ne reste alors qu'à essayer de comprendre, d'analyser « de l'intérieur », au moyen de l'étude des cas, ou mieux de l'interaction avec ce monde, en testant par exemple ce que les technologies nouvelles peuvent apporter à un observatoire, en acceptant d'être interactifs avec le changement. Quoi qu'il en soit, il apparaît comme nécessaire d'accepter la partialité, la fragmentation, l'équilibre instable de la connaissance, l'incertitude due à une situation que l'analyste ne peut certes dominer.

Il est évident que, dans ces conditions, une interprétation lucide et pertinente, pouvant être clairement utilisée pour orienter stratégiquement l'action quotidienne des opérateurs et des institutions, est un objectif qui n'a rien de facile à atteindre.

En voulant interpréter une situation complexe qui évolue continuellement, qui est souvent caractérisée par des phénomènes contradictoires et peu « orientés », on court le risque d'y mettre une bonne part de subjectivité, de se fier à des sensations et à des impressions qui n'ont pas grand-chose à voir avec les données, de « relâcher » les liens entre le ramassage des informations, leur traitement et une interprétation pertinente. A l'extrême, on court le risque d'utiliser ses propres intuitions et interprétations comme un aimant sur lequel faire converger toutes les données – selon un proverbe cher aux statisticiens « torturez les données, elles finiront par confesser… » – et encore, tout aussi paradoxalement, on court le risque de se transformer en experts bons pour les shows télévisés, fournisseurs d'intéressantes interprétations quel que soit le domaine concerné, capables d'influencer brillamment l'opinion, de produire des métaphores suggestives sans grande pertinence avec les données concrètes.

Il n'existe toutefois pas qu'un risque implicite au chercheur, lié au contrôle de sa subjectivité et de son narcissisme; il y a aussi le risque d'adopter les interprétations suggérées par « l'extérieur », autrement dit d'adapter l'interprétation aux désirs de l'opérateur ou de l'institution qui l'a demandée, de produire une version épurée de tout élément contradictoire afin de confirmer, soutenir, appuyer une politique en vigueur ou d'influencer une décision à prendre. Là encore, si l'on pousse à l'extrême, l'observatoire régional perd toute crédibilité s'il se transforme en un organisme qui confond le rôle d'un centre d'études avec celui du bureau de presse d'une institution. On se gardera toutefois des simplifications : il n'est pas particulièrement fréquent que ce risque se manifeste par une pression directe et explicite pour appuyer ou confirmer une version établie au préalable et donc avec un usage évident du pouvoir; il est possible que ce risque s'exprime de façon plus subtile et plus difficile à reconnaître. Ce peut être, par exemple, l'ensemble des questions posées par l'institution qui oriente l'interprétation, excluant d'autres directions de recherche, ou encore le vœu de trouver une confirmation pour certaines actions, vœu que partagent opérateurs et chercheurs; il peut s'agir aussi d'une sorte de volonté de survie de la part des chercheurs qui ne veulent pas faire la guerre avec ceux qui les financent.

C'est là une question sur laquelle l'Observatoire s'est penché dès sa création. C'est justement pour garantir concrètement l'indépendance et l'autonomie de l'OCP que celui-ci a été structuré à partir d'un protocole d'accord entre les différentes administrations publiques (Région Piémont, Ville de Turin, Provinces), des fondations d'origine bancaire (*SanPaolo* et *Cassa di Risparmio di Torino*) qui jouent un rôle particulièrement important quant au financement des activités culturelles, les associations professionnelles du spectacle, des instituts de recherche publics tels que l'IRES (Institut de Recherche Economique et Sociale du Piémont) ou privés comme la fondation Fitzcarraldo, active dans le domaine de la recherche, de la formation et de la documentation dans le secteur culturel et qui constitue la structure opérationnelle de l'Observatoire. Tous les partenaires mettent à disposition les moyens financiers nécessaires pour l'activité annuelle de l'Observatoire et, par l'intermédiaire d'une commission d'orientation, établissent les grandes lignes des recherches à mener et les sujets à approfondir dans le cadre des statistiques culturelles régionales.

La diversité des partenaires au sein de la commission d'orientation – publics et privés, avec des missions différentes dans plusieurs domaines culturels – favorise la coopération et la concertation entre des pratiques et des points de vue différenciés et garantit un intérêt véritable à disposer d'outils de recherche et d'interprétation impartiaux, représentant une base de connaissance fiable à partir de laquelle toutes les négociations sont possibles. Cette pluralité d'intérêts, qui caractérise explicitement l'Observatoire, s'est révélée particulièrement utile pour parvenir à une indépendance réelle, négociée entre différents équilibres.

Il ne s'agit pas de prétendre ici que le problème de l'indépendance et de l'autonomie de la recherche et de l'analyse ait été résolu une fois pour toute; il est au contraire affronté au quotidien sous forme d'une renégociation constante de l'équilibre entre les différentes composantes. Les intérêts divergents entre les partenaires de l'OCP se révèlent une richesse bien concrète et favorisent la discussion.

On a essayé de trouver une solution à travers la structure même de l'observatoire, en essayant d'instituer dans la pratique les conditions pour une autonomie et une indépendance réelles, en faisant en sorte que la recherche ne doive pas se soumettre à une question unique, à un point de vue unique, mais tiennent compte d'une multitude de questions et de points de vue, afin d' arriver à un équilibre et réussir à discuter, convaincre, communiquer.

Quant à la difficulté d'interpréter des tableaux complexes pour parvenir à y reconnaître une tendance à partir de symptômes et de signes faibles et opaques, la question n'a pas encore été résolue. Ce n'est qu'à travers la recherche et l'outillage scientifique que l'on pourra éviter de déformer une réalité peu déchiffrable par une interprétation forte et liée à des intuitions personnelles du chercheur.

4. Au-delà de l'analyse sectorielle : réseaux, systèmes, milieux

Les conditions, les questions et les risques dont on a parlé dans les paragraphes précédents conduisent la recherche au-delà des limites du relevé des dimensions numériques d'un secteur; ils imposent un déplacement de la perspective, l'utilisation d'un outillage pluridisciplinaire et la capacité de lire des systèmes complexes où les éléments de la production et de la consommation culturelles ne constituent qu'une partie de l'ensemble à l'étude, et il ne s'agit presque jamais de la partie principale.

Pour décrire ce déplacement, on le comparera à la photographie : l'analyse atteint son but lorsqu'elle prend une bonne photo. Cela signifie bien cadrer le sujet et ne pas le découper arbitrairement, l'insérer dans un contexte qui permette d'en comprendre les dimensions tout en distinguant clairement le sujet principal du fond; les contours du sujet et les détails devront être précis et l'image ne devra pas être floue.

D'après ce qui a été dit dans les paragraphes précédents, il est évident que c'est l'objectif choisi pour cette photo qui est en cause et inadapté dans la plupart des cas.

Nous avons vu en effet que les opérateurs du monde de la culture recherchent un approfondissement qui ressemble fort à une image au microscope : le grain doit être fin, le détail précis, au risque de perdre la vue d'ensemble ou plutôt de renvoyer cette dernière à un niveau d'analyse totalement différent, qui exclut quasiment toute comparaison. Un tailleur d'Armani ou de Saint-Laurent n'est pas un ensemble de fibres textiles; la structure du tissu ne permet de savoir quelle sera la forme du vêtement dans le projet du styliste.

Par contre, qui a pour mission de planifier la culture au niveau du territoire et a donc besoin d'une confrontation entre les différentes activités culturelles ne considère la photo que comme un indice, une vision partielle et subjective, un point de vue parmi tant d'autres. Il nécessite une vision plus structurée, un tableau synoptique d'où résulte la place qu'occupent les phénomènes dans les différentes parties du territoire, une sorte de carte thématique.

Si l'on souhaite que l'analyse constitue la base pour articuler une politique d'intervention ou pour en évaluer les modalités de fonctionnement et l'impact en cours de route, il faudra alors en donner une interprétation raffinée et puissante, d'autant plus nécessaire que les phénomènes pris en considération ont des contours vagues, difficiles à saisir.

La photo ressemblerait dans ce cas à un tableau informel; ce qu'il faudrait, c'est une échographie, un sonar qui reconstitue un milieu invisible autrement. L'œil humain ne suffit pas ici : les objets ne se voient pas mais on peut les reconstruire en reliant systématiquement les points détectés. Le rapport entre les différents points devient alors le véritable objet de la recherche; c'est la mise en forme d'un système dont on parvient à distinguer au moins les grandes lignes. C'est l'exact contraire de l'image au microscope : des points reliés pour mettre en évidence une forme, un *Gestalt*.

L'utilisation de modèles et d'outils provenant d'autres disciplines pour analyser des systèmes complexes ne dépend pas uniquement de la « nébulosité » du terrain à explorer, lequel a besoin d'instruments raffinés et sensibles pour remplacer le regard de l'homme. Une analyse finalisée au choix ou au monitorage d'une politique culturelle ne demande pas seulement une « carte » du milieu, mais aussi un modèle des effets possibles, une projection du système lorsque la politique en question aura été mise en œuvre; autrement dit : « Que se passera-t-il si je pousse cette action? Comment se modifiera l'ensemble? Et si je proposais cette autre action? » Les éléments prédictifs ne sont pas la conséquence directe d'une analyse soignée; ils demandent aussi la construction d'un modèle dynamique, d'une simulation qui permette d'expérimenter virtuellement et avec une certaine approximation les effets d'une action concrète.

Là encore, un exemple sera plus clair.

L'OCP recense actuellement les musées et le patrimoine culturel assimilable, un peu plus de 600 édifices et institutions sur l'ensemble de la région Piémont. Ce recensement a une valeur expérimentale étant donné qu'il est étroitement lié à un acte d'orientation sur les standards de qualité des musées, promulgué par le ministère italien du Patrimoine et des Activités culturelles[2]. Les Régions devront faire appliquer cet acte d'orientation, au moyen d'une loi valable sur l'ensemble du territoire régional. Les standards de qualité concernent les différents aspects des musées et du patrimoine, aussi bien l'identité juridique que la sécurité à l'intérieur de l'édifice, les problèmes de conservation, de classement, de gestion des collections, le personnel, les moyens financiers, le rapport avec le public.

La requête de la Région ne concerne pas, dans ce cas, uniquement une analyse de l'état des lieux – indispensable mais non suffisante –, mais elle vise avant tout à construire une base de données qui permette d'établir, dans les différents domaines concernés par les standards, le niveau concret que chaque musée est capable d'atteindre en un délai déterminé, les moyens

2. Ce recensement est coordonné et effectué par l'OCP. Il utilise une commission scientifique à laquelle participent l'*Istat* (Institut italien de statistiques) et des experts qui ont pris part à la rédaction de l'acte d'orientation pour le territoire national.

financiers nécessaires à l'obtention du seuil minimum, la limite à atteindre, tout seuil confondu, par la plupart des musées à des coûts acceptables, sans courir le risque de devoir constater que la plupart de ces musées sont inadaptés.

Ainsi la question « Que se passera-t-il si… » suppose que l'on arrive à une réponse complexe à partir d'une multitude de variables : la construction de modèles de simulation n'est donc pas un accessoire de l'analyse, c'est en fait le fondement même d'une enquête vaste et onéreuse. Ce n'est pas un hasard que le recensement soit effectué par du personnel qualifié et formé à cet effet et, qu'outre une enquête détaillée sur plus de 600 édifices et institutions, il prévoit toute une série d'approfondissements menés par des experts sur des sujets particuliers (rapports avec le public, sécurité, personnel, etc.) pour aboutir à une description des liens entre les différents thèmes, indispensables pour comprendre les effets dynamiques des actions envisageables.

Il s'agit donc non seulement de reconnaître un milieu complexe, mais aussi de préparer des simulations afin d'orienter les politiques culturelles vers un impact réaliste et durable.

Telles sont les raisons pour lesquelles les liens entre les données prennent une importance capitale : l'analyse devient analyse d'un système, recherche d'un réseau d'interaction entre les différents éléments, description efficace et réaliste de son fonctionnement.

En considérant le problème sous un autre point de vue, il apparaît qu'une enquête qui met en évidence des systèmes complexes et des réseaux de relations n'est en fait que l'autre face de la médaille d'une façon d'agir et de penser les politiques culturelles en rapport avec les stratégies possibles du développement territorial et la limitation des dépenses.

La nécessité de contrôler avec attention les fonds à investir – généralement faibles par rapport à la demande – oblige à distinguer de façon précise les points sur lesquels l'action aura des effets et un impact optimaux, autrement dit les situations où les investissements deviendront le moteur d'un développement capable de se propager rapidement dans le milieu concerné. De façon imagée, on demande aux chercheurs de fournir les connaissances qui permettront d'utiliser les investissements comme les aiguilles de la médecine chinoise, autrement dit d'obtenir des effets complexes, de récupérer un équilibre à partir d'actions ponctuelles – une acuponcture d'investissements – capables de mettre en route l'interaction, de susciter des dynamiques positives.

Par ailleurs, on sait a priori que les actions qu'il faudra soutenir et financer concernent des réseaux territoriaux, des systèmes culturels dans leur ensemble : la fragmentation des opérateurs et des ressources culturelles, qui sont généralement distribués sur de vastes territoires régionaux, conseille d'adopter des services et des infrastructures en commun ou d'envisager, comme dans le cas des musées et du patrimoine, l'organisation d'itinéraires, de parcours, de réseaux d'institutions, pouvant être gérés par des agences territoriales ou en renforçant les relations et la collaboration.

Il est évident que dans ces conditions, la recherche n'a pas exclusivement pour but de dresser la liste des opérateurs, de préciser leur importance en termes économiques; elle devra plutôt distinguer les réseaux naissants, indiquer ceux qu'il serait important de développer en vue d'une gestion meilleure et de la croissance des activités culturelles. Il est tout aussi évident que l'attention doit se déplacer sur l'interaction complexe que les activités culturelles exercent sur toutes les autres activités locales, en commençant par le tourisme.

Si l'analyse n'est plus d'ordre purement économique, mais vise à mettre en évidence des réseaux de relations à l'intérieur et en dehors du secteur culturel, à construire des systèmes complexes où se situent les activités culturelles, il s'agit aussi de trouver l'outillage pour affronter les risques dont il a été question dans les paragraphes précédents, à savoir une interprétation forte, difficile à démontrer et très liée à la subjectivité du chercheur. Le nombre des variables dont il faut tenir compte augmente énormément, la géographie territoriale des phénomènes économiques et sociaux fait irruption et, malgré tout, l'objet de la recherche se précise, l'analyse permet de confirmer ou de démentir des hypothèses quant aux relations entre les différentes composantes. Il est possible que des hypothèses ne provenant pas nécessairement du secteur culturel soient confirmées ou démenties. Autrement dit, le problème est moins d'avoir affaire à un secteur « faible » numériquement (ressources économiques, emploi, ressources publiques disponibles), à des grandeurs qui décrivent mal la quantité, puisque l'attention se déplace sur les rapports qui se créent entre les variables, à l'intérieur mais plus encore à l'extérieur du secteur culturel; ceux-ci devenant la composante stratégique de l'économie territoriale et du développement local.

Là encore, le modèle se déplace progressivement. À partir des années 80, les enquêtes sur l'impact économique de la culture ont clairement démontré que celle-ci a une influence – directe ou indirecte – non négligeable sur l'économie et sur l'emploi. Il apparaît pourtant tout aussi clairement que l'importance limitée du secteur culturel, par rapport aux autres secteurs de la production ou pour revendiquer son poids économique, ne le met pas à l'abri de la limitation de crédits que l'on destine à d'autres interventions prioritaires. D'autre part, en pleine époque post-industrielle, des politiques de développement territorial fondées sur des secteurs différents ont eu, elles aussi, des difficultés à démarrer et, surtout, à engendrer des processus de développement capables de s'autofinancer. Par contre, ce sont justement les enquêtes sur l'impact économique de la culture qui ont montré qu'il était relativement facile de créer des emplois dans le secteur culturel et que sa légéreté économique était somme toute un avantage pour une politique d'investissements en vue de l'emploi. Cela a produit un phénomène curieux dans les dernières années, dans plusieurs régions d'Europe. D'une part, le choix de limiter la dépense publique réduisait les budgets destinés au secteur culturel; d'autre part, une série de projets pour la revitalisation urbaine, la réhabilitation de quartiers dégradés, le développement territorial, se fondaient sur la culture, conçue comme moteur d'un nouveau développement. Une partie des fonds structurels, que l'Union Européenne destine au rééquilibre économique des zones où la production décline ou qui sont marquées par de profonds déséquilibres, ont servi à financer des centres multimédias, des écoles de formation professionnelle pour les professions culturelles, des centres pour la créativité artistique, des musées, des centres d'exposition. C'est ainsi qu'il existe dans certains cas une sorte de schizophrénie si, au sein d'un même territoire, le « secteur culturel » dispose de moins de fonds publics, alors que toute une série d'activités culturelles sont favorisées par les investissements destinés à la réhabilitation urbaine et au développement local. La culture – en tant que composante essentielle et stratégique du développement local – apparaît aujourd'hui comme l'une des voies les plus intéressantes pour éviter la réduction progressive des fonds destinés au secteur culturel pur et simple.

Et pourtant ce rôle stratégique des activités culturelles dans le développement territorial doit être démontré, expérimenté, stimulé en fonction de cas concrets et d'une estimation des différentes expériences. On a déjà pu constater des cas décevants où de grands investissements n'ont pas permis de faire partir le développement. La légèreté et le caractère immatériel des

productions culturelles se révèlent des facteurs aussi positifs qu'aléatoires : positifs du moment qu'un emploi dans le secteur culturel ne demande généralement pas d'investissements trop lourds, il ne pollue pas, ne produit pas d'effets négatifs sur l'environnement, il peut être facilement localisé dans des endroits différents; aléatoire car il ne produit pas toujours une valeur ajoutée importante ou ne parvient pas à donner lieu à une économie puissante capable de s'alimenter par ses propres moyens, au contraire il a parfois besoin d'un ultérieur soutien économique pour pouvoir continuer.

Surestimer l'impact économique direct des productions culturelles peut se transformer, si la tendance se généralise, en un aspect contre-indiqué et se retourner comme un boomerang sur l'ensemble du secteur culturel : une perte de ressources qui risque de susciter la méfiance à l'égard du rôle que pourrait jouer la culture sur un certain territoire.

Malgré tout, il existe des expériences de développement local où la culture a joué un rôle non secondaire.

Des investissements bien focalisés sur le patrimoine culturel, architectural et muséal, sur le spectacle, ont un certain impact économique, mais ce n'est pas là leur seul effet. Ces investissements contribuent parfois à renforcer le sentiment d'appartenir à un territoire, à une société locale, à un paysage culturel, ils contribuent à construire une identité locale, une vision partagée, une sorte d'orgueil qui naît du fait d'appartenir à un système local.

Et c'est probablement là leur impact plus profond, que les méthodes utilisées pour mesurer l'impact économique ne relève pas : construire un milieu au sein duquel les agglutinants sont essentiellement d'ordre culturel. C'est justement l'existence d'un milieu positif qui se révèle, dans certains cas, être l'une des principales conditions pour mettre en route le développement local. Tout ceci n'a rien d'étonnant : les dynamiques de développement local procèdent « bottom-up » et se fondent sur la participation des agents locaux dans les différents milieux sociaux, sur une vision partagée d'une évolution possible et souhaitable. L'existence d'un milieu positif, vivace sur le plan culturel, stimulant, est indiqué dans certaines études comme l'une des conditions pouvant favoriser un développement local très pointu. Les cas sont nombreux désormais où les géographes et les sociologues urbains démontrent le lien étroit qui existe entre les stratégies de développement territorial économique et les milieux culturels où ces stratégies ont « fermenté ». Les analyses de l'innovation sur le territoire ont fait école en démontrant l'interaction complexe qui existe entre le monde de la culture, de l'instruction, de l'industrie, de l'économie, et qui contribue à créer les dynamiques du succès.

Comprendre aujourd'hui combien la culture peut contribuer à un développement local durable, non seulement sur le plan économique, mais aussi en se faisant promoteur de sentiments d'identité et d'appartenance, de visions partagées, en concourant à forger et à entretenir un milieu, un climat, stimulant, apparaît comme l'un des défis les plus intéressants à relever pour la recherche et l'analyse. Passer de l'impact économique à l'impact « émotif » de la culture sur une société locale est aussi fascinant qu'ardu et astreignant. Il s'agit d'utiliser un outillage pour l'analyse des milieux culturels et territoriaux dont les instruments pour mesurer les quantités ne représentent qu'une partie – indispensable, certes.

Tel est le défi que les politiques culturelles de développement local lancent et tel est le défi qui pourrait avoir des effets positifs sur l'évolution des modèles de la recherche sociale et aussi sur celle de l'outillage nécessaire à l'analyse.

Conférences Papers

Dick Stanley Department of Canadian Heritage, Hull, Canada

"Beyond Economics: Developing Indicators of the Social Effects of Culture"

Résumé

Au cours de la présente communication, nous verrons quelles sont les méthodes possibles d'élaboration des indicateurs des effets et des avantages sociaux de la culture. Les ministères responsables de la culture au Canada sont de plus en plus intéressés à trouver des façons d'évaluer les avantages sociaux de la culture. Ils ont demandé au ministère du Patrimoine canadien de diriger un programme pour examiner ces questions. Dans la première partie de la communication, nous explorons une méthode de présentation normalisée des indicateurs : une grille à deux dimensions qui donne la liste des disciplines culturelles (par exemple : livres, films, radiodiffusion, arts de la scène) sur un axe, et la chaîne de valeur (par exemple : création, production, distribution et consommation) sur l'autre. La transformation de la grille en modèle qui donne le tracé des flux de l'information entre les éléments de la grille, révèle les sources des effets sociaux. La communication émet ensuite l'hypothèse selon laquelle la consommation de biens et services culturels est différente de la consommation de biens ordinaires puisque la consommation de biens culturels produit deux effets supplémentaires chez le consommateur : elle suscite la réflexion et elle renforce la cohésion sociale. Le résultat ultime de la consommation et de la participation culturelles est donc l'évolution des valeurs, la révélation d'une identité et le développement de la conscience communautaire. Si ces hypothèses sont confirmées par la recherche, elles serviront de base de référence à l'élaboration d'indicateurs des effets sociaux.

Abstract

The purpose of the paper is to examine how we might begin to develop indicators for the social effects or benefits of culture. Ministries responsible for culture in Canada are increasingly interested in finding ways to measure the social effects of culture, and have asked the Department of Canadian Heritage to lead a program to explore how this might be done. The paper begins by examining a standard way of organizing indicators: a grid listing cultural disciplines (e.g., books, film, broadcasting, performing arts, etc) cross referenced to the value chain (creation, production, distribution and consumption). This grid is expanded into a model which traces the flows of information between elements of the grid, to reveal the sources of social impact. The paper then advances the hypothesis that cultural consumption and participation differs from consumption of ordinary goods because cultural consumption has two external effects: it makes the consumer think and it reinforces social cohesion. The ultimate result of cultural consumption and participation therefore is value change, identity formation, and community building. If these hypotheses are supported future research, they provide the grounds for development of indicators of social effects.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to describe the set of cultural indicators being studied by the Canadian Federal and Provincial Government cultural authorities, and to explore how these indicators can be expanded to include indicators of social impact.

The first part of the paper discusses the definition of culture being used. The second presents a model of the flow of creative content through society from creation to consumption, with feedback. The model serves as a checklist for ensuring that the indicators chosen are comprehensive and efficient. The model taken as a whole also suggests that there is something beyond simple measures of volume, rate, and size, namely the impact or effect that this flow has on society itself. The third section takes up the issue of what precisely is to be measured: volume of products, financial performance, employment, consumption, economic impact, social impact. This leads directly to the question of what is understood by social impact, which is taken up in the fourth section. Section five discusses several specific secondary issues such as cultural tourism and new media, and section 6 concludes with an overview of the current status of indicator development. An appendix lists the proposed indicators in detail.

1. Definition of Culture

The first step in modelling the cultural sector is to define what culture is. Scholars define culture in a wide variety of different ways. In fact, two American scholars once published a list of 160 different definitions of culture[1]. The various definitions resolve themselves however into two main perspectives. One defines culture broadly as the set of symbolic resources people use to make sense of the world around them and to enable them to interact with each other. Culture in this perspective includes the ideas, values, and systems of belief people hold, the norms and social rules they live by, the languages and protocols they use to relate to each other, as well as their patterns of behaviour and even the material products they create. The other perspective defines culture as the activity of aesthetic creation and expression and its products, in other words, the creative and performing arts. Closer consideration reveals however that these are just two perspectives on the same body of knowledge. If culture is thought of as a stock of knowledge individuals use to interpret the world around them (the first perspective), then the second perspective, aesthetic creation and expression, is the source of that stock of knowledge, the process by which all the knowledge was originally created and from which flows new knowledge and new ways of interpreting the world.

Culture as aesthetic creation and expression can therefore be thought of as the Research and Development laboratory where new symbolic resources are created and tested to see if they work, and then released to the world as cultural products to see if they will be absorbed into the existing stock of ideas and perceptions. The reason the cultural sector understood as aesthetic activities attracts policy interest, therefore, is that a society must continuously refresh and update its stock of symbolic resources (i.e., ensure cultural diversity) if it is to cope with rapidly changing world circumstances and phenomena.

The cultural sector that this paper talks about therefore is the sector of society which is concerned with activities that use creative and aesthetic expression to make cultural products that society can experience and use.

1. Kroeber, A.L., & Kluckhohn, C. (1952). Culture: A critical review of concepts and definitions. Harvard University Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology Papers 47.

2. A Model of the Cultural Sector

Schematically, the cultural sector can be represented as a flow of information through several nodes, from initial creation to final experience (consumption) and its effect or benefit in society. Figure 1 illustrates this schematic.

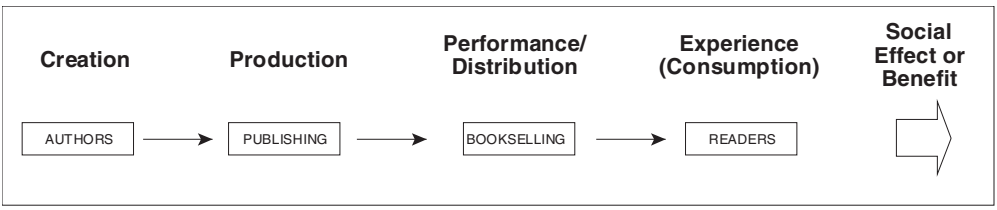
To understand the cultural sector therefore, it would first be necessary to model this basic flow for each part of the cultural sector (e.g., book publishing, film making, painting, dance, music, etc) and demonstrate the connections between them. Fortunately, in the late 1990's, the Department of Canadian Heritage, Industry Canada, Department of Foreign Affairs, and Statistics Canada developed a statistical framework for the cultural sector and its main elements, to serve as the basis for an number of statistical analyses, including analysis Cultural Trade and Investment, the Economic Impact of the Cultural Sector, and the Cultural Labour Force.[2].

The framework defines the cultural sector as including:

- Books and magazines
- Film
- Broadcasting
- Sound Recording and Music Publishing
- New media
- Performing Arts
- Visual Arts
- Crafts
- Architecture
- Photography
- Design
- Advertising
- Festivals
- Cultural Education
- Heritage and Preservation
- Libraries

It also defines the cultural sector functionally as including creation, production, preservation, manufacturing, wholesale retail, and consumption, which is the same as the cultural flow described in Figure 1, but using economic terminology.

Figure 1
The basic flow of cultural information in the creative process



If this whole framework is drawn as a flow in the same way as Figure 1 was, it appears as Figure 2.

Figure 2 provides an overall picture or model of the cultural sector and the flows of ideas through it. It is these flows that we wish to measure. The model traces the flow in each discipline from the roots of creation in arts education and heritage preservation, through the creative functions (authors, composers, etc) to the process of turning of created ideas into culturally consumable products and services (publishing, sound recording, film making, etc), to dissemination (book stores, broadcasting, art galleries) onward to consumption and experience

2. Statistics Canada, A Canadian Framework for Cultural Statistics, Mimeo, Cultural Statistics Program, April 2002.

(readers, viewers, visitors) and finally to the social effects or human benefits which the cultural flow if ideas creates. The model also illustrates the feedback loop whereby future creation is inspired by the effects past information flows have had, through personal experience and its effects on heritage and tradition.

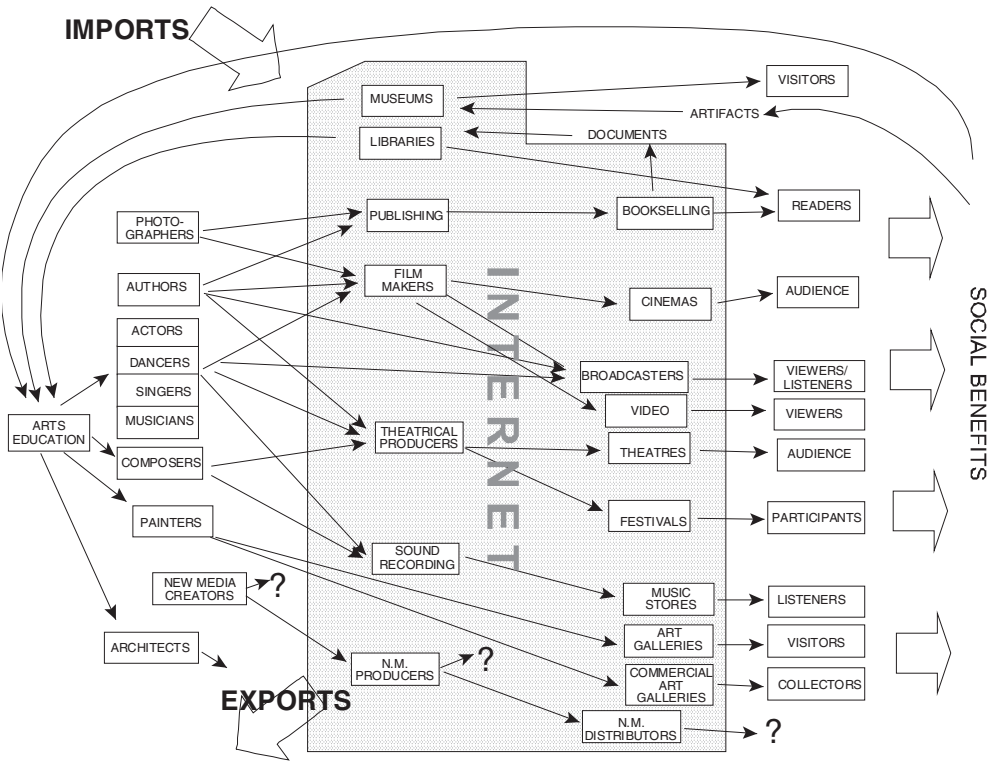


Figure 2: A model of the cultural sector. The name of each node is shortened for graphical convenience, but should be understood to stand for the larger number of related activities. For example, "AUTHORS" should be understood to include playwrights, poets, etc, and museums to include zoos, planetaria, etc.

3. What Do We Want to Measure?

Statistics Canada has a long tradition of collecting statistics on the main cultural activities in Canada. These statistics have been the mainstay of the cultural sector since the collections began in the early 1980's. These statistics measure mainly the physical product of the cultural sector (number of book titles published, volume of books sold, number of films) and the economic dimensions of this flow (revenue, costs, employment). In addition, certain characteristics of the flow are captured (language of the product, nation of ownership of the enterprise, or of origin of the work).

There are a number of other sources of quantified information about the cultural sector in Statistics Canada and in administrative and other collections elsewhere (e.g., consumption and participation data in the household expenditure surveys and General Social Surveys, attendance and participation data in provincial ministries responsible for culture).

These statistics are ones that have withstood the test of time and proven to be useful, which argues that they should constitute basis for the indicators that populate the model. In fact, they are actually largely the indicators of the rate, volume and characteristics of the flow of information through the model, which is exactly the terms which are typically used to describe flows.

Flow measures such as these provide a basic picture of the sector, but do not allow us to interpret the significance of it. To understand the significance, it is necessary to synthesize this basic flow data into a series of trends, comparisons and ratios. Trends show growth and decline. Comparisons (e.g., largest employer) indicate significance of individual flows. Ratios (e.g., profitability, market share) reveal the inter-relationships of the parts. This implies that we need a second level of indicators, which we might term synthetic indicators, since they are synthesized from the base indicators, and do not require new data.

In order to talk about the sector as a whole, it is necessary to have macro indicators (e.g., proportion of GDP accounted for by the sector, total employment in the cultural sector), which are essentially aggregates of the basic flow measures.

Finally, we will want to measure the effects or benefits of these flows on society, which will be a challenging task for the future.

It must be kept in mind that we are seeking this data not only at the national level, but also at the provincial and, where possible, the major municipality level as well.

Appendix A provides a list of what a «complete» set of indicators might look like. This appendix provides a starting point for discussion of what are the essential indicators we need for the model.

Note that synthetic indicators are not included in the appendix. If enough basic data is supplied, individual users can be left to calculate their own synthetic indicators as needed.

4. Social Benefits: an Area for Special Attention

Social benefits are not well understood and so are represented only embryonically in the model. Before indicators can be developed, our understanding will have to be developed. It is critical to include measures of social benefit, however, because it is social benefits that differentiate cultural goods and services from other goods and services.

To help understand what is involved in developing these indicators, and so help plan the necessary research, it is useful to consider what those benefits might be. This section advances some theoretical considerations as a starting point for thinking.

Consider a shoe as an example of a private consumption good. The benefit it provides is comfort and safety to the user as well as enhanced capacity, since he or she can now walk faster and farther, for longer, and over a wider variety of surfaces. Shoes can even confer a status or prestige through their stylishness. A key characteristic of private goods such as a shoe however is that people other than the purchaser are largely excluded from any benefit.

How does a cultural good differ? Let us take the performance of a play as an example. A play provides the auditor with pleasure, diversion, and relaxation, the equivalent of the private benefits of the shoe. Others can also be excluded from these benefits, since usually a ticket must be purchased for a play and only ticket holders are admitted. However, there are two other effects which a play has.

First, a play changes the way you think about things[3]. This process of has been described variously as catharsis or epiphany, or the moment when the light dawns. While this may appear as a private benefit (or not a benefit at all), what you think differently about is your basic understanding of the world and how to act within it. In other words, the consumption of a cultural good changes your relationship to the world and people around you. It changes your values and identity. This can have quite a significant effect on the world and the people around you, since it is through your identity and values that you determine how to relate to others. The change in your way of thinking, therefore, is a public good which is produced by the private (and indeed shared) experience of the cultural good.

Of course, the change caused by a single cultural experience is not large. The cumulative effect through a lifetime is.

Propagandists have long recognized the power of art to influence minds, and have tried to harness it to particular causes. However, culture changes minds in unpredictable ways, so propagandists rarely dare to leave art to its own devices. That is why propaganda rarely makes good art and why totalitarian dictators imposed strict controls on artists. Hitler and Stalin required all art to be censored, the Taliban banned music and blew up sculpture, and Plato wanted to forbid poetry.

If the effect of art on thought is unpredictable, can it not do just as much harm as good? This is not an easy question to answer, but while oratory, close-order drill, mass rallies and broadcast propaganda, all of which can make you change the way you think and behave, and lead you at times to obey immoral orders and commit unspeakable crimes, no one was ever driven to committing evil by listening to a performance of a Bach oratorio or a Mozart symphony. What protects us from the potential harm is the diversity of cultural experience. A single cultural message, even delivered by an artist not in the service of a propaganda ministry, may be obnoxious, harmful or even immoral, but if there is a marketplace of ideas, a cultural diversity, that idea will be challenged by many others. (the famous dialogue between Sartre and Camus is a good, though not typical, example).

The second thing a play does is create social bonds. The fact of simultaneously coming to a similar understanding at the climax of the play, and the realization that you have just had a collective experience, can recognizably reinforce social cohesion[4]. The outbreak of spontaneous applause at a climactic point in the action or of a standing ovation are physical manifestations of this bonding effect. This effect is most noticeable in sports, of course. Witness the effect on Canada of Paul Henderson's winning goal over the Soviet Union in 1972. The group bonding effect of a rock concert appears to be a similar phenomenon. While such bonding effects seem much more intense, and may even be more enduring, they seem also to be there in more tranquil cultural expreiences as well.

3. See Throsby, D. (2001) *Economics and Culture*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK for a scholarly discussion of the value of cultural goods and experiences.

4. McNeill, W. (1995). *Keeping Together in Time* Harvard. See also Throsby, *op cit*.

The fact that culture contributes to the creation of values and social cohesion, and may indeed be the main source of evolution in values in society, makes the cultural sector of policy interest beyond its mere economic contribution or the creation of material benefits (entertainment and relaxation).

5. Some Particular Issues

5.1 Where Does Economic Impact Fit In

Economic impact of the cultural sector is an indicator of enduring interest. However, it is increasingly a discredited measure, owing to its frequent misuse. Economic impact simply means the value added by an economic activity. As such, it is found in the macro indicators mentioned in the previous section, specifically the proportion of Canada's GDP accounted for by the sector.

Economic impact of an expensive public project is often used by advocates of the project as a measure of the benefits it will create, whereas, the reality is that if the public money were not spent there, it would be used on a project elsewhere which will create as much impact. Using the term "economic impact" for the GDP accounted for by the cultural sector is an attempt to imply that the value added would not have been created in the economy if the sector were not there. In fact, the resources available to the cultural sector would have flowed to some other sector and created equivalent value added there, leaving Canada's GDP much the way it was. Using the GDP accounted for by the sector as a measure of the benefit created by the sector is therefore incorrect. It also distracts attention from the true benefits.

5.2 Tourism

A rich and unique culture is one of the main attractions for foreign tourists to a country. Tourism as an economic activity, however, can only be partially expressed in the model, because it is not a cultural activity per se. All tourism does in the model is increase the consumption of cultural goods. This increase is included in the value of the various monetary indicators. Only when we try to disaggregate exports by asking producers how much of their production is shipped outside the country (i.e., how much demand is generated by foreigners) does cultural tourism become an issue. All the other goods it increases the consumption of (transportation, accommodation, food, etc) are outside the model. If we want indicators of the benefits of cultural tourism they will have to be measured by other means and included in a separate module.

5.3 Equipment

Just as cultural tourists have to make expenditures on non-cultural goods in order to experience cultural ones, and therefore we ascribe their purchases to culture, so to do domestic cultural consumers have to make purchases of non-cultural goods (television sets, paint boxes, trombones) to experience cultural ones. These purchases can also be ascribed (at least in principle) to a demand for culture. However, as in the case of tourism, this must also be analysed outside the model and included in a separate module.

5.4 Education

If the purpose of creative cultural activity is to produce a flow of new symbolic resources into the society, the educational system is an important component of the effect and feedback mechanisms of the model. The educational system is both a place where symbolic resources delivered

by the cultural system are appropriated by members of society, and where new creators are first introduced to their creative heritage. Educational system therefore has a parallel role to museums and other heritage conservation institutions which are a key part of the cultural flows. However, the educational system is as vast as the cultural system in terms of information flows, and is the subject of study and policy development elsewhere, and so must be omitted from the model and the suite.

5.5 Geographic location

The geographic dimension of culture is taken care of in the provincial perspective.

5.6 New Media

New media is three different things:

a) new ways to produce old goods and services by current organizations (e.g., books on CD by current publishers). These are not differentiated in the model from old media, any more than paperback books are differentiated from hard bound ones. There is no a priori reason however why new media should not be differentiated, just as other characteristics such as language is;

b) new products produced in a new way (e.g., video game software produced by new style companies). This is modelled as New Media Creators, Producers and Distributors, and new information may have to be gathered about them;

c) the Internet, which is providing new opportunities for organizing the creation and delivery of cultural products to consumers (e.g., MP3). This is modelled as a grey area covering the production and distribution areas of the model to indicate the potential alternative delivery system which is emerging.

New media will be incorporated into the Suite of Cultural Indicators as it becomes statistically feasible to do so.

6. Current Status

Statistics Canada already collects many of the required statistics, thanks to their cultural survey program. Therefore, the core of the model can be populated with data series by selecting and arranging existing statistics to fit the model (data packaging).

Other required statistics exist in disbursed surveys (surveys of other industries, the GSS time use survey and cultural supplement, the Household Expenditure survey and various administrative data collections). Some exploration of data sources and data mining will be required to mine those sources to fill in the picture (data assembling).

Finally, some original conceptual and theoretical research and new data collection will be required to complete the quantification of the «fringes» of the model (such as data on visual artists) and to begin to explore the little understood area of social benefits (data development).

To provide some idea of the magnitude of these tasks, Figure 3 illustrates the proportions of the model that can be completed by each of the three data approaches: packaging, assembling and development.

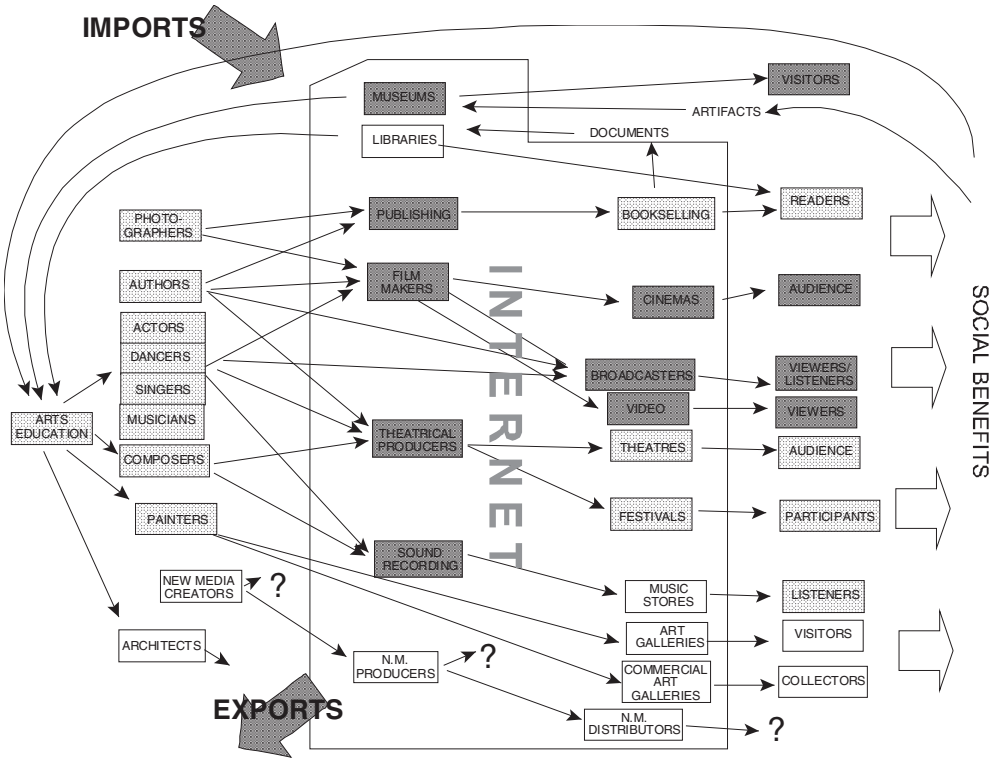


Figure 3: The model of the cultural sector indicating for which nodes information is at hand (dark shading), probably available but needing mining and assembly (light shading) and requiring significant research before being available (no shading).

As can be seen from the Figure, roughly 1/3 of the model can be quantified now, another third completed with existing data but with some effort required to identify sources and assemble it, and the final third will require considerable intellectual effort to understand.

APPENDIX A

Node	**Basic Data** (over time and by province where applicable)	**Classification** (Characteristics) **Data**
Creators		
Photographers	- number who work in this profession - average earnings (and distribution)	- full / part time
Authors, Playwrights, Poets, other Writers	- number who work in this profession - average earnings (and distribution)	- language
Performing Artists: actors, dancers, musicians, singers	- number who work in each of these professions - average earnings (and distribution)	- full / part time
Composers	- number who work in this profession - average earnings (and distribution)	- full / part time
Painters, Sculptors, Craftspeople	- number who work in this profession - average earnings (and distribution)	- full / part time
Architects	- number who work in this profession	
New Media Creators	- number who work in this profession - average earnings (and distribution)	
Producers		
Book, Periodical Publishing	- number of firms (and distribution by size) - number of titles (periodicals) produced - number of copies sold-size of workforce - total sales	- nationality of ownership - language of product - export or domestic market
Film making: production, post-production, labs	- number of firms (and distribution by size) - number of films produced - number of copies distributed - size of workforce - total revenue	- nationality of ownership - language of product - type of film - export or domestic market
Theatrical Producers, Impresarios, Festivals, etc	- number of theatres (and distribution by size) - number of productions - number of performances - attendance - size of workforce-total revenue - total sales	- nationality of ownership - language of product - type of production
Sound Recording and Music Publishing	- number of firms (and distribution by size) - number of recordings produced - number of copies distributed - size of workforce - total sales	- nationality of ownership - language of product - export or domestic market

Node	**Basic Data** (over time and by province where applicable)	**Classification** (Characteristics) **Data**
Producers *(Cont'd...)*		
New Media Producers	- number of firms (and distribution by size) - number of titles produced - number of copies sold - size of workforce - total sales	- nationality of ownership - language of product - export or domestic market
Broadcasters (TV, Radio)	- number of firms (and distribution by size) - number of hours of programming - number of productions - audience reached - size of workforce - total revenue	- nationality of ownership - language of production
Disseminators		
Booksellers	- number of firms (and distribution by size) - number of titles sold - number of copies sold - size of workforce - total sales	- nationality of ownership - language - type of product - import or domestic
Libraries (Can also be considered Conservators)	- number of libraries (and distribution by size)-size of collection - number of item circulated - size of workforce	- type of collection - type of institution (e.g., public, university, etc) - language
Cinemas	- number of theatres (and distribution by size) - number of screen hours - attendance	- language - domestic or foreign content - nationality of ownership
Theatres	- number of theatres (and distribution by size) - number of productions - attendance	- type of theatre (discipline) - language - domestic or foreign content - nationality of ownership
Festivals	- number of festivals(and distribution by size) - duration (number of days) - attendance	- language - type
Music Stores	- number of firms (and distribution by size) - number of titles sold - number of copies sold - size of workforce - total sales	- type of product - import or domestic product

Node	**Basic Data** (over time and by province where applicable)	**Classification** (Characteristics) **Data**
Disseminators *(Cont'd...)*		
Video Stores	- number of firms (and distribution by size) - number of videos rented - size of workforce - total sales	- import or domestic product
Commercial Art Galleries	- number of galleries - number of artists - number of items stocked - number sold - size of workforce - total sales	- import or domestic product
New media Distributors	- number of firms (and distribution by size) - number of items sold - size of workforce - total sales	- nationality of ownership - language - type of product - import or domestic product
Conservers (including Institutional distributors) **and Educators**		
Museums (and other institutions of conservation)	- number (and distribution by size) - size of collection - attendance - size of workforce - annual costs - annual revenues	type of collection (paid and volunteer) government and other
Art Galleries	- number (and distribution by size) - size of collection - attendance - size of workforce - annual costs - annual revenues	type of collection (paid and volunteer) government and other
Zoos, Planitaria, Aquaria, Botanical Gardens	- number (and distribution by size) - size of collection - attendance - size of workforce - annual costs - annual revenues	type of collection (paid and volunteer) government and other
Music Conservatories	- number (and distribution by size) - number of students - number of graduates - size of workforce - annual costs - annual revenues	type of courses government and other

Node	**Basic Data** (over time and by province where applicable)	**Classification** (Characteristics) **Data**
Conservers (including Institutional distributors) **and Educators** *(Cont'd...)*		
Art Schools	- number (and distribution by size) - number of students - number of graduates - size of workforce - annual costs - annual revenues	type of courses government and other
Performing Arts Schools	- number (and distribution by size) - number of students - number of graduates - size of workforce - annual costs - annual revenues	type of courses government and other
Consumers		
Museum Visitors	- number of users (incidence) - number of hours - number of times (frequency)	type of participation
Book and Periodical Readers (incl Library users)	- number of users (incidence) - number of books - number of times (frequency)	language
Cinema Audiences	- number of users (incidence) - number of times (frequency)	language country of production of film
Video consumers	- number of users (incidence) - number of times (frequency)	language country of production of film
Broadcasting viewers, listeners	- number of users (incidence) - number of hours	by type of media by type of program
Theatre (live performance) audiences	- number of users (incidence) - number of times (frequency)	by type (discipline)
Festival participants	- number of users (incidence) - number of times (frequency)	
Music (disk) Listeners	- number of users (incidence) - number of hours	
Gallery Visitors	- number of users (incidence) - number of hours - number of times (frequency)	
Art gallery Customers (collectors)	- number of collectors - volume of sales	

Node	**Basic Data** (over time and by province where applicable)	**Classification** (Characteristics) **Data**
Macro Indicators		
	GDP contribution of the sector	
	Total employment in the sector	by industrial and occupational codes
	Total spending in the sector from domestic and external sources	
	International trade flows	by node
	Interprovincial flow of cultural goods and services	
	Government spending on culture	by node
Base Comparison Data		
	GDP	Canada / Province
	Labour force	Canada / Province
	Population	Canada / Province
	Total consumption	Canada / Province
	Government budgets	Canada / Province
	Consumer Price Index	Canada / Province

Session 2

Producteurs du domaine de la culture : firmes, artistes et autres travailleurs culturels

Lundi, 21 octobre 2002

Producers of Culture: Firms, Artists and other Cultural Workers

Monday, October 21, 2002

Conférenciers

Pierre-Michel Menger	Centre de Sociologie du Travail et des Arts, Paris, France
David Throsby	Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia
Claude Martin	Université de Montréal, Montréal, Canada
Araceli De Leon	International Finance Corporation, Washington, United States

Lecturers

Président de la session

François Colbert	École des Hautes Études Commerciales, HEC – Chaire de gestion des Arts, Montréal, Canada

Chair of the session

Résumé de la session

par Christine Routhier
Observatoire de la culture et
des communications du Québec

Session Report

by Christine Routhier
Observatoire de la culture et
des communications du Québec

Producteurs du domaine de la culture : firmes, artistes et autres travailleurs culturels

Compte rendu de la discussion en séance plénière

La discussion porte d'abord sur les définitions permettant de circonscrire la population des artistes et sur les moyens d'obtenir des données sur ce groupe particulier qui ne peut être étudié à l'aide des recensements généraux de population.

Il est fait mention de la difficulté qu'éprouvent des organismes comme le Conseil des arts du Canada lorsqu'il s'agit de déterminer quelles occupations seront considérées comme artistiques; qui sera considéré comme « artiste ». Par ailleurs, ces organismes ont besoin de pouvoir comparer la population des artistes aux autres groupes de travailleurs. Dans cette perspective, il n'est pas suffisant de réaliser, comme le suggérait David Throsby dans son exposé, des enquêtes statistiques ciblant spécifiquement les artistes. Il faudrait en fait que ces enquêtes spécifiques soient conduites par les mêmes instituts statistiques que ceux qui réalisent les recensements généraux et donc en appliquant des concepts et des catégories standard.

La définition d'« artiste » que l'on adoptera en vue de produire des statistiques; les critères que l'on retiendra pour déterminer qui est un artiste et qui ne l'est pas; tout cela a des implications politiques importantes. Car dans plusieurs pays, le statut d'artiste donne droit à des privilèges. C'est le cas notamment en

Producers of Culture: Firms, Artists and other Cultural Workers

Report on the discussions held during the plenary session

The first discussions deal with the definitions that allow circumscribing the artist population and with the means of collecting information on this particular group of people who cannot be studied using general censuses.

Someone mentions that some organisations such as the Canada Council for the Arts are experiencing problems when trying to determine which occupations are to be recognised as artistic and who is to be recognised as an "artist". Furthermore, these organisations need to be able to compare the artist population to other groups of workers. From this perspective, it is not relevant to conduct statistical surveys that target artists specifically as David Throsby suggests in his lecture. These specific surveys would need to be conducted by the same statistical institutes that conduct general censuses, thus by applying standard concepts and categories.

The definition of "artist" that will be accepted with a view to producing statistics; the criteria that will be approved to determine who is an artist and who is not; all of this will have significant political implications. For in many countries, the status of artist entitles one to privileges. France is a country where particular rules apply to artists regarding unemployment insurance benefits.

France où des règles particulières s'appliquent aux artistes en ce qui concerne les prestations de chômage.

Plusieurs remarques portent ensuite sur les difficultés liées à l'élaboration d'un système de classification des producteurs culturels. Ces remarques font suite à l'exposé de Claude Martin qui mentionnait que la classification qu'il avait élaborée pour le compte de l'Observatoire de la culture et des communications du Québec avait été modifiée ultérieurement, à la demande des intervenants des milieux culturels, et que ceci avait eu pour effet d'introduire des distorsions conceptuelles.

À ce sujet, un participant fait remarquer que tout appareil statistique est destiné à évoluer sans cesse; à ne jamais atteindre une forme définitive. Cela vient du fait que l'appareil statistique est une construction collective et que la forme qu'il adoptera est immanquablement le fruit d'une négociation entre divers pôles d'intérêts. Des choix sont faits donc, mais les appareils statistiques sont constamment modifiés, voire reconstruits, par les acteurs qui se succèdent « à la barre ». On mentionnera que c'est d'ailleurs le cas du cadre européen de la culture qui a subi des « réarrangements » par rapport au cadre proposé à l'origine.

On note que les nomenclatures et classifications ne sont pas le seul fait des producteurs de statistiques et des intervenants des milieux culturels : les juristes participent aussi à la fabrication des nomenclatures, celles-ci étant partie prenante des enjeux liés à la propriété intellectuelle dans le contexte de la dématérialisation des contenus et du commerce international des produits culturels.

Par ailleurs, bien que les classifications adoptées en vue de produire des statistiques culturelles soient différentes selon les pays, la structure de ces classifications est à peu près

There are many comments on the difficulties linked to the formulation of a classification system for culture producers. These comments were made following the lecture of Claude Martin who mentioned that the classification system that he had devised for the *Observatoire de la culture et des communications du Québec* was modified at a later date upon the request of members from the cultural community and resulted in the introduction of conceptual distortions.

On this subject, a participant points out that any statistical device is destined to evolve continuously, never reaching a definite form. The fact is that the statistical device is a collective work and the form that it will take is necessarily the fruit of negotiations between various interest groups. Thus, choices are made but the statistical devices are constantly modified, indeed rebuilt, by the players that succeed one another "at the helm". The case of the European framework for culture is brought up. It went through many "readjustments" with respect to the original framework proposed.

It is noted that nomenclatures and classifications are not the singular act of statistic producers and cultural community members: jurists also participate in the formulation of nomenclatures. Nomenclatures are an important part of the issues connected to intellectual property within the context of the international trade and the content dematerialization of cultural products.

Moreover, while the classifications adopted in view of producing cultural statistics are different from one country to another, the structure of these classifications is usually the same and certain elements are present systematically. Therefore, we can identify what can be referred to as the "inner core" of culture.

toujours la même et certains éléments y sont systématiquement présents. On est donc en mesure de discerner ce qu'on pourrait appeler un « noyau dur » de la culture.

Une partie de la discussion est consacrée au cas des pays en voie de développement. Des participants soulignent que la question de la délimitation de ce qui entre ou non dans le domaine des producteurs culturels est plutôt secondaire pour les pays en voie de développement parce que dans nombre de ces pays, l'idée même que la culture est importante et qu'elle doit faire l'objet de mesures statistiques n'est pas acquise.

Il est question du fait que les pays en voie de développement doivent utiliser des moyens particuliers pour collecter des données sur certains types de producteurs culturels. Par exemple, il existe en Indonésie des troupes itinérantes qui circulent dans les villages et dont l'activité peut à première vue sembler désorganisée et difficile à mesurer statistiquement. Mais il y a peut-être des solutions originales et faciles qui s'offrent au chercheur, comme de sonder les chefs de villages.

On évoque aussi la menace qui plane sur la diversité culturelle. Ainsi, les genres artistiques pratiqués dans les pays en voie de développement risquent d'être déterminés par les marchés étrangers. En Afrique, par exemple, le choix des produits qui sont mis en marché par les artisans locaux dans des foires internationales est parfois dicté par la demande d'acheteurs venus du Nord. Il y a donc « dilution » par rapport aux intentions originales des artisans. Selon une participante, pour préserver leur culture, les pays en voie de développement devraient élaborer des politiques qui prennent en compte les intérêts des consommateurs locaux et pas seulement ceux des acheteurs étrangers.

Au sujet de l'utilité des statistiques sur les producteurs culturels, un participant fait remarquer que ces données ne servent pas

Part of the discussion focuses on the position of developing countries. Some participants stress that the question of delimiting what does and does not enter into the scope of culture producers is rather inconsequent to developing countries. For many of them, the very idea that culture is important and must be the subject of statistical measures is not part of their reality.

In fact, these developing countries must use particular means to collect data on certain types of culture producers. For example, in Indonesia, there are travelling theatre groups that move from one village to another whose activities, at first glance, may seem disorganized and difficult to measure statistically speaking. However, there may be an easy and original solution for researchers, such as sounding out the village headmen.

The threat surrounding cultural diversity is raised as well. On that account, the artistic genres practiced in developing countries risk to be determined by foreign markets. For example, in Africa, the selection of products marketed by local artisans in international fairs is dictated often by the demand of buyers from the North. Therefore, the original intentions of the artisans are "diluted". According to one participant, to preserve their culture, developing countries should formulate policies that take into account the interests of local consumers, not only those of foreign buyers.

On the subject of the usefulness of statistics on culture producers, a participant points out that these data not only serve the policy-making state but the industries as well. The contribution of these statistics is significant since it allows establishing a link between the culture industries and other sectors of the economy.

Finally, panel members raise the issue of the social effects of culture products and producers. It is difficult to speak of "social impact" because society and culture are interrelated:

seulement à l'État décideur mais aussi aux industries elles-mêmes. L'apport de ces statistiques est grand puisqu'elles permettent de mettre en rapport les industries de la culture avec les autres secteurs de l'économie.

En conclusion, les panellistes évoquent la question des impacts sociaux des produits et producteurs culturels. Il est malaisé de parler d'« impacts sociaux » car la société et la culture sont interdépendantes : elles sont engagées dans une dynamique où elles s'influencent l'une l'autre. Par contre, il est vrai qu'il faut de l'information sur les effets des industries de la culture dans les sociétés, particulièrement dans les pays en voie de développement. On sait par exemple que de grandes entreprises de dessins animés installent des studios en Afrique parce qu'elles y trouvent des ressources artistiques. Or il importe de connaître les impacts d'une telle pratique.

Au sujet des nomenclatures et des classifications, on note qu'elles ne sont jamais signifiantes en elles-mêmes. Elles ne deviennent utiles et signifiantes que lorsqu'elles sont implantées et que l'on constate qu'elle sont viables. Par ailleurs, la production de statistiques culturelles est une activité qui n'est jamais exempte d'implications politiques; elle n'est jamais entièrement neutre. La discussion se clôt sur l'idée qu'il n'est pas opportun que les systèmes de classification des différents pays soient entièrement harmonisés car chaque pays a ses besoins respectifs et il est impossible d'obtenir un outil uniforme qui convienne à tous. (« There is no one size fits all »).

they are involved in a dynamic where they influence one another. On the other hand, it is true that we need information on the effects of culture industries throughout society, particularly in developing countries. For example, it is common knowledge that large animation companies set up studios in Africa because they can find artistic resources there. Thus, it is important to know the impacts of such practices.

As for nomenclatures and classifications, it is reported that they are never significant in themselves. They only become useful and significant once they are implemented and recognized as being viable. Moreover, the production of culture statistics is an activity that is never exempt from political implications; it is never entirely neutral. The discussion concludes on the idea that it is not relevant for the classification systems of different countries to be completely harmonized because each country has its respective needs and it is impossible to find a uniform tool that everyone will accept. ("There is no one size fits all".)

Conférences — Papers

Pierre-Michel Menger Centre de Sociologie du Travail et des Arts, Paris, France

"Are there too many artists? The "excess supply" issue: a measurement puzzle, an increasingly flexibility-driven functional requirement and an unavoidable mismatch effect in creative activities"

🕮 Résumé

À partir du bilan des recherches menées depuis une dizaine d'années par l'auteur et par les chercheurs du Centre de Sociologie du Travail et des Arts en France sur les professions et les marchés du travail dans les arts, une évaluation des forces et des limites des différents outils de connaissance statistique sera proposée. Les défis posés par les recherches sur les mondes artistiques sont théoriques et méthodologiques. L'analyse théorique conduit à évaluer les critères d'identification des artistes et la variabilité des relations entre emploi, carrière professionnelle et engagement subjectif. L'inventaire méthodologique des outils de recensement et d'enquête et des sources d'information sur l'activité et la carrière des artistes conduit à mesurer, d'une part, l'écart entre l'approche par les professions et l'approche par les marchés du travail et à rappeler, d'autre part, la diversité des professions artistiques et des problèmes spécifiques qui font l'originalité de chacune d'entre elles.

🕮 Abstract

Based on the current state of the research conducted these last ten years or so by the author and the research scientists of the Centre de Sociologie du Travail et des Arts, in France, concerning artistic professions and job markets, an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the various tools of statistical knowledge will be proposed. The challenges facing the research on the art worlds are both theoretical and methodological. Theoretical analysis leads to an assessment of artist identification criteria and of the variability of relationships between employment, professional career and subjective commitment. The methodological inventory of the census and survey tools and of the sources of information on the artists' activities and careers brings us, on the one hand, to assess the gap between the professions approach and the job market approach, and on the other hand, to recall the diversity of artistic professions and the specific problems that make for their originality.

Evidence of sustained growth in artistic employment over the last 20 years is amply documented by several surveys and Census sources, and trends are quite similar in most advanced countries: in the USA, over the period 1970-1990 the number of artists grew at a rate of 127 per cent, much more rapidly than the civilian labor force and the rate of increase has continued to be high. The total number of women artists increased faster, and all artistic occupations, with the exception of musicians, have seen a steady shift towards a higher proportion of women. By contrast, ethnic composition of the artistic workforce remains considerably disequilibrated, the non-classical music sphere being this time one of the relatively few exceptions.

The pattern of change, of course, varies across the different artistic occupations, but the trend is almost everwhere the same. The overall picture of artistic labor markets and of their growth is however a quite paradoxical one: employment but also underemployment and unemployment have been increasing steadily and simultaneously over the period. Obviously, fluctuations in supply and demand of artistic labor do not provide a satisfying explanation of what appears to be a highly unbalanced growth. Several historical studies on artistic professions have repeatedly insisted on an 'oversupply of artists' phenomenon, which they have associated to changes in the organizational apparatus of the artworlds or to technological innovations or, more radically, to the emergence and expansion of a free market organization for the arts. But in each case, ad hoc arguments may overshadow structural disequilibria: the present development of labor markets for the arts, by highlighting an apparently irresistible trend towards flexibility, helps to understand the underlying processes of such a course of development, namely the built-in pervasive uncertainty of artistic undertakings and careers and the ways for individuals, as well as for organizations, to handle uncertain prospects, and to manage the correlated individual and business risks.

One may speculate as to why artistic employment growth has been so rapid. As for demand factors, increases in real disposable per capita income have shifted demand curves for the arts and resulted in an increasing fraction of national income and employment being devoted to the arts. In Europe in particular, the steady growth of federal and local government subsidies, mainly in the 1970's and the 1980's, has accounted for much of the employment gain, perhaps more than for the overall change in consumer demand for artistic products and performances, due to the large expansion of the non profit sector of services for artistic training and for conservation and display of cultural heritage. Public spending under non-arts headings (e.g. local economic development, urban regeneration) as well as support for the cultural industries have also stimulated opportunities for cultural employment.

Here, it should be noted that the definition of art and culture has obviously been broadened as cultural policies have developed. The anthropological definition of culture has become more and more legitimate as public support has taken into consideration the local community level and its whole apparatus (amateur activities, associations, so called socio-cultural activities) by setting up links between art, culture, leisure, schooling and social work. At the same time, one may note an opposing trend in cultural policies: the development of a discourse about culture as a real economic sector. A new form of "cultural accountancy" has in fact emerged that seeks to quantify the economic output of public spending on culture: of course, the wider the definition of culture, the more culture can claim to play an economic role, and the stronger the economic rationale of public support may appear to be, at least at first sight.

In terms of the increased demand for selective occupations, several industrial sectors which draw heavily on the skills of artists and other creative occupations underwent rapid expansion during the 1980s. The most striking change within the cultural industries was the rapid growth of the audiovisual and broadcasting sector, and along with it, that of the advertising industry as well as that of the new media industries (video, corporate video) and of the computer game industry. No less striking is that employment in these growing sectors is mainly on a short-term contract or freelance basis, which magnifies the shift towards numerical flexibility observed elsewhere in the economy (Smith, 1997). One should mention also the expansion of the crafts and of the design sector, which increasingly contribute to the rise in the numbers of artists in the Census data (Feist, 1998).

These changes not only rely on demand factors but also raise definitional issues concerning what the artistic occupations are, where the boundaries of the artistic sector lie, and whether one should rather adopt a more expansive approach, both in terms of cultural occupations so as to include arts-related occupations and in terms of the cultural sector. Recent research on British Census data (O'Brien, Feist, 1995) builds on an occupational as well as on a sectoral breakdown; the redefined categorizations cross both classifications. As a result, cultural work appears to spread across a number of professional occupations and industrial activities. Thus, in Great Britain, among the individuals involved in the cultural sector, 25 per cent work in the cultural industries with cultural occupations, 40 per cent have cultural occupations outside the cultural industries and 35 per cent work in the cultural industries without cultural occupations.

More generally, the set of methodological decisions and disputes that goes with any study of artistic labor markets is by no means negligible, since they reflect conflicting and evolving views of art and artistic occupations and may considerably bear on the scientific understanding of them.

The list of the limitations and discrepancies of Census data as well as of Non-Census data opens almost every research report on artistic occupations: to mention only a few major issues, such a list may identify as problems the definition of who is a professional artist and how his occupation is determined; the delimitation of each specific artistic field, and the inclusion or exclusion of peripheral specialties within a field in a way that may be inconsistent over time or vary from one survey to the other; the variations in job classifications and the periodic addition of new occupations to the artists' subset in the Census classification; the lack of any serious treatment of multiple job holding which is pervasive in the arts, whatever the combination of jobs and occupations inside or outside the sphere of arts may be.

Regarding the tricky issue of the comparative strengths and limitations of survey *vs* Census data, one need only mention the primary source of most variations: the definition of the artist. The Census uses a parsimonious classification rule, which narrowly interprets the "chief job activity or business last week" in terms of the kind of industry or employer concerned, the occupational content and the type of organizational sector. Surveys, by contrast, generally use one or several criteria, drawn from a list of at least eight (Frey and Pommerehne, 1989), and are susceptible to categorizing various activities as art in accordance with the particular interests of the researcher (Becker, 1982). The most controversial of these criteria is, of course, that of subjective self-definition as an artist: although it seems to work in all ways except as a market

test, it encapsulates a temporal dimension of occupational commitment, since artists may at times or repeteadly cycle between several jobs or experience occupational and sectoral mobility and yet continue to think of themselves as artists.

As stated by Adler (quoted in Jeffri and Greenblatt, 1996), "a study of artists in a society in which occupational membership is (fortunately) not defined or restricted by a guild, an academy or a state system of licensing can neither comfortably ignore problems of occupational definition nor resolve them". Indeed, although some of the most remarkable studies by sociologists, economists or art historians on art labor markets and careers have been historical ones, (White & White 1965, Montias 1982, Warnke 1989, Ehrlich 1985), the definition of the artist as well as the orderly course of an artistic career appear today to be dependent variables in the process of how highly competitive and contestable labor and product markets, interacting or not with state and public intervention, operate and evolve.

The terms of such theoretical and methodological issues are by no means new in sociology since labels, taxonomies and classification systems are core issues in interactionist and constructivist theories. One should note that sociologists deal with such matters more cautiously than do economists: while the former run the risk of questioning endlessly the significance of any quantitative measurement, the latter run that of taking for granted that Census data (almost the only source they use) will lead to strong results by virtue of sophisticated econometric computation, once they have acknowledged the obvious limitations from which the data suffer.

The 'excess supply of artists' phenomenon: historical evidences and explanations

The excess supply of artists has been underscored nearly as often as sociologists, economists or historians have dealt with artistic labor markets. One could harly find a piece of research where an excess supply of artists is not documented. Disequilibrium seems to be a sort of permanent critical situation: in the first half of the nineteenth century, the glut of novelists and poets in Paris, as analyzed by the late Cesar Graña (1964), led to Parisian bohemianism and accounted for the success of the "art for art's sake" ideology, which acted as a compensating device for the subordination of the artist to the impersonal market forces. In several other European countries, literary proletariats were similarly spawned by the mid-century publishing boom.

The Impressionists' revolution provides another example. It took place in a Parisian artworld whose institutional apparatus – the Academic system – was collapsing, as the pressure from the greatly expanded number of professional painters on a framework conceived to handle a few hundred men increased and as the functional gaps in the system widened. White and White (1965) have shown how control was lost over the flow of recruits through art schools, the flow of paintings produced, and the careers of the painters: a free market took over to launch innovative artists and movements, on a more flexible and also much riskier basis of open competition involving dealers, critics, painters and buyers. Supply was no more to be regulated, so that oversupply was known to become a permanent feature of that market.

In Berlin and Münich, at the turn of the century, the art market, as depicted by Lenman (1989), was similarly overcrowded with painters competing for recognition and success: periodic panics about the glut and the high rate of unemployment didn't deter students from entering art schools in growing numbers. In his minute study of the music profession in Britain, Ehrlich (1985) reports substantial evidence of a glut at the turn of the nineteenth century, at the end of

a 60-year period during which musicians had become one of the fastest growing professional groups; he shows how musicians, aside from lamenting over the damnable flood, tried to react to the pressures of relentless competition and its consequences (very low fees and depressed incomes, underdealing practices,…) by establishing professional associations and trade unions, despite increasing segmentation among the workforce.

In each of these cases, a similar array of factors are invoked: a rising level of demand (enhanced by factors such as urbanization, increasing educational level, growing incomes, more leisure time, public support), changes in the commercialization of art, which bring market principles of organization and bargaining into harmony with the stream of artistic innovations, and technological innovations affecting the transmission and the distribution of art.

Innovations in artistic production, as a result of the interaction between new techniques, aesthetic shifts and market transformations, have often been studied in respect to their impact on labor supply. Some of these innovations tend to lower or to modify the usual skill requirements, and/or the quantity of input factors in the production process, resulting in an increase of the artists productivity, a growing competition among them and a declining control over entry and professional practice through the traditional devices of the professionalization system – among numerous possible examples, we may cite the new methods of production of paintings in seventeenth-century Holland (Montias, 1996), the deskilling process at stake in many avant-garde innovations in visual arts (Crane, 1987; Moulin, 1992), and the pop music revolution (Peacock & Weir, 1975) or the success of dance music (Hesmondhalgh, 1996), which can be partly explained as the result of the widespread availability of production technology, of the transformation of the record industry, of shifts in authorship and of the segmentation of market demand.

Technical innovations, like motion pictures, radio, television, records and other recent changes, increase the extent of scale economies in artistic and entertainment activities (Rosen, 1981): as the market supply of works and services grows, the scope of each performer's audience gets larger, and more numerous artists are induced to enter the labor market, though some occupational trades and niches of specialization may disappear. Even if there is a resultant greater concentration of the distribution of rewards among the most talented, who can operate on an international scale, the lure of enormous rewards and large social recognition may favor an occupational gambling behavior, as success seems like a lottery game in a more speculative market of talents.

The delayed reaction of training systems to sudden shits may play a major role in favouring temporary oversupply. Unlike short-term fluctuations that may be provoked by fads and fashions, long-run shifts causing an increase in private and/or public demand for the arts trigger an expansion in training facilities, and more artists appear. But, as Ehrlich (1985) shows in the case of musicians, inflexibilities may dramatically hinder the equilibration process if demand turns down, as in the case of the briefly flourishing demand for musicians in cinemas which collapsed with the coming of talkies. Existing practitioners are trapped in a disintegrating market while new aspirants continue to flood in.

Today, excess supply of artists has still, and more than ever, its scenery and its seasonal congestion peaks: whereas the dramatic example of the 19th Century annual or biennial Salon exhibition in Paris had been for a long time the true symbol of a congestion phenomenon in the arts,

with exhibition halls full of paintings from the bottom to the ceiling (as satirically drawn and painted by Daumier), we can think today of the bookstores overwhelmed by crowd of debutant writers' novels, especially at the start of the literary calendar – how often do critics lament over the crazy publishing policy that releases hundreds of such novels over a very short span of time, during the literary prizes peak period in Paris. Or take the example of the simultaneous release of many big-budget movies on the same weekends, quoted by Camerer and Lovallo (1989) in their study on overconfidence and excess entry. One may also mention the ever more numerous classical musical contests with queues of contestants trying to win a prize and to attract critical and public attention. Yet, in this case, filtering procedures are less than vague, and one might expect that Camerer and Lovallo's remark (1999, p. 315), according to which, "when the criterion for success is more vague, people or firms should be more likely to overcompete, since ambiguity permits excess optimism" should'nt apply.

Excess supply of artists raises scientific disputes among economists: Frank and Cook (1995) call into question the way the winner-take-all markets operate, with their damaging features: the winner-take-all payoff structure generates a spiral of individual and social occupational waste, since it leads both to increasing (monetary and non-monetary) reward inequalities and to overcrowdings in the markets and occupations prone to an overestimation of one's chance to succeed. As a result, when excess numbers of contestants are induced to invest in performance enhancement in order to rise their individual odds of winning, these investments will be mutually offsetting and socially inefficient; end consumers may get more valuable products but the social cost are excessive. By contrast, Cowen (2000) argues that, as shown by Rosen (1981), firstly the superstars effect is welfare-improving (consumers get better performances) even if it leads to raising income inequality, but secondly, that the superstar phenomenon should not be overstressed. Indeed, fame is a positive-sum game, not a negative nor a zero-sum one. Instead of an unambiguously increasing concentration of rewards, Cowen states that countervailing forces operate, such as a convergence of quality that limits the ability of the very best stars to dominate the market for long, or more radically the elastic supply of fame, so that when demand for fame increases, the numbers of prizes, rewards and whatever fame generating distinctions is rising too.

Contingent work and the metrics of supply and demand analysis of the labor market

Casual work and self-employment are today the prevailing work arrangements in the arts. Although long-term contracts exist in large and permanent organizations like symphony orchestras, operas houses or architecture firms, most artists work casually under short-term conditions and craft workers in the cultural sector are increasingly hired on that basis. Proportions vary with national contexts and occupations but trends are similar. The steady increase in the number of artists across all art sectors during the 1970's, 1980's and 1990's appears to be driven by two forces: the rise of contigent work and the rapid increase of independent, self-managed work, with increasing numbers of artists now to be found in the sectors where self-employed practitioners work, such as creative writing, visual arts and the crafts. This overall trend is reported in recent American (Alper et al, 1996), British (O'Brien & Feist, 1995), Australian (Throsby & Thompson, 1994) or French surveys (Observatoire de l'emploi culturel, 1998a & 1998b).

How does freelancing and contingent work affect the way we analyze the artistic labor force?

Let us point to discrepancies between the supply and the demand approach of artistic labor markets and to their consequences for the "excess supply" issue.

From the labor supply standpoint, one should say: one individual equals one career, however successful that career might be. Of course, that may be true when employment relationship stands on a long-term basis and when careers are well patterned.

But, if short-term hirings and self-employement prevail, there is a gap between the vocational commitment and the way it transforms into work and it results in a career. Self-employment, freelancing and contingent work, which are the prevailing work arrangements in the arts bring into the picture discontinuity, repeated alternation between work, compensated unemployment, non compensated unemployment, searching and networking activities, cycling between mutliple jobs inside the arts sphere or across several sectors related or unrelated to the arts.

Therefore, statistics on numbers of artists, such as those from Census surveys or from professional guilds or unions sources, have to be considered cautiously as indicators of the artistic labor supply and, accordingly, of the actual level of unemployment.

From the labor demand standpoint, things seem simpler: the focus is on contracts, hirings or on works sold on the market.

Thus, in contrast to the aggregate view of art as an occupational world, the labor market here is investigated at its most disaggregated level, that of the series of hirings, of work opportunities and of bargaining relationships. These represent an individual artist's working life in a given period; when considered longitudinally, they display a career trajectory.

Disaggregated data lead to statistics on the amount of labor demand expressed in terms of quantities and prices of work.

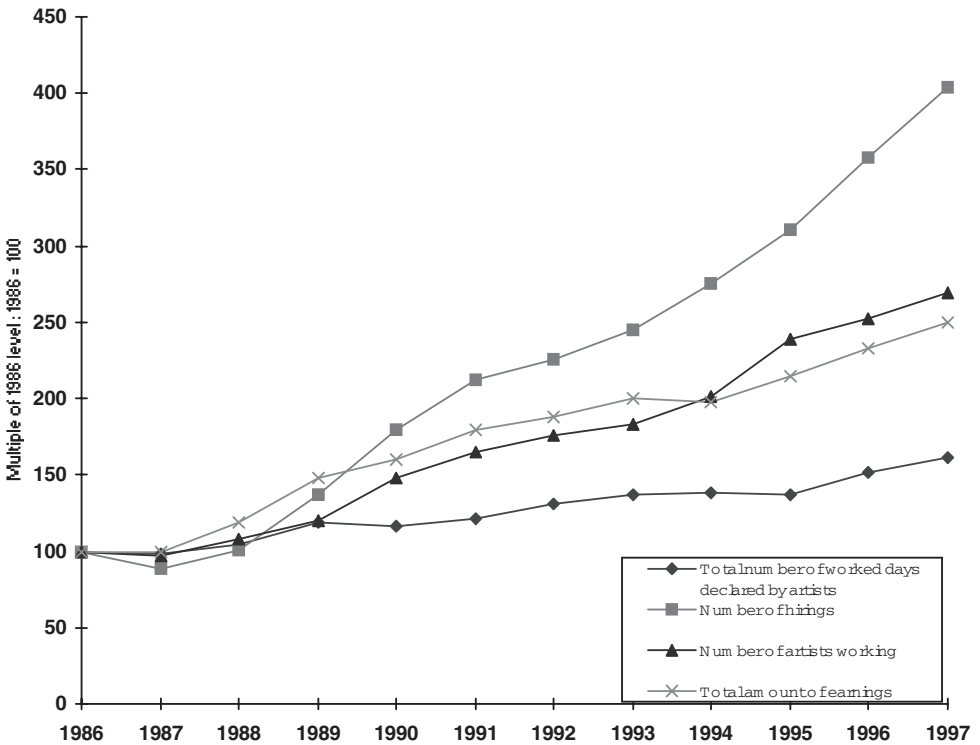
If one brings supply and demand together, the main issue is: what is the impact of the fact that labour demand is expressed mainly in terms of contingent work? Numerous studies have shown that an increase in the number of artists as reported in the Census data may be far from corresponding to a similar increase in the level of activity, since the former trend may have different and contradictory meanings. If there is more work but an ever more rapidly growing number of individuals, a fiercer competition takes place that implies higher inequalities in the access to employment, more variability in the level and schedule of activity and, on the whole, work rationing for those who share the labor pie and cycle more often from work to unemployment or from arts work to arts-related or nonarts work.

In their extensive study on the vertical disintegration and flexible specialization trend in the Hollywood film industry and on its effects on the labor market, Christopherson and Storper (1989) show that through subcontracting, financing and distribution of independent producers, utilization of less costly production methods and expansion of auxillary markets, the demand for short-term contract workers increased. They go on to explain how changes in labor supply occurred as well. Using pension data sources, they demonstrate that the aggregate quantity of work available (*i.e.* the total hours of work), even if increasing, increases far less rapidly than the pool of individuals employed intermittently, generating a growing competition and resulting in a decreasing average participation in production.

Recent research on the French performing arts labor market leads to similar results (Menger, 2001). The data reported in the graphics 1 to 3 are from the Caisse des Congés Spectacles, a fund that collects employment records from the artists and other technical and administrative personnel employed as intermittent workers in the performing arts in France – nearly 90% of the labor force in that sector. Records come from each individual hiring, with mention of the working time and the amount of fees. These records are registered in order to provide the personnel with monetary compensation for the legal vacation time they are entitled to claim, according to the legal rules governing contingent employment.

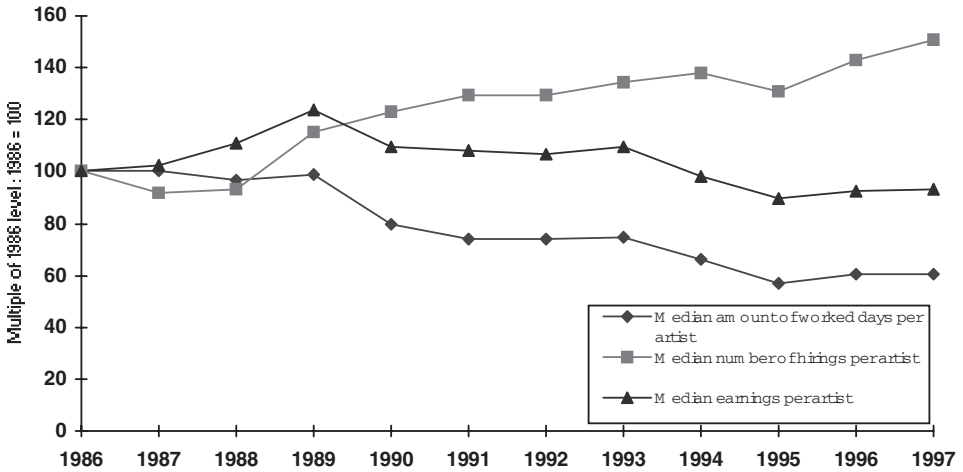
Graphic 1

Trends in the French Performing Arts Labor Market: 1986-1997
Disaggregated Data



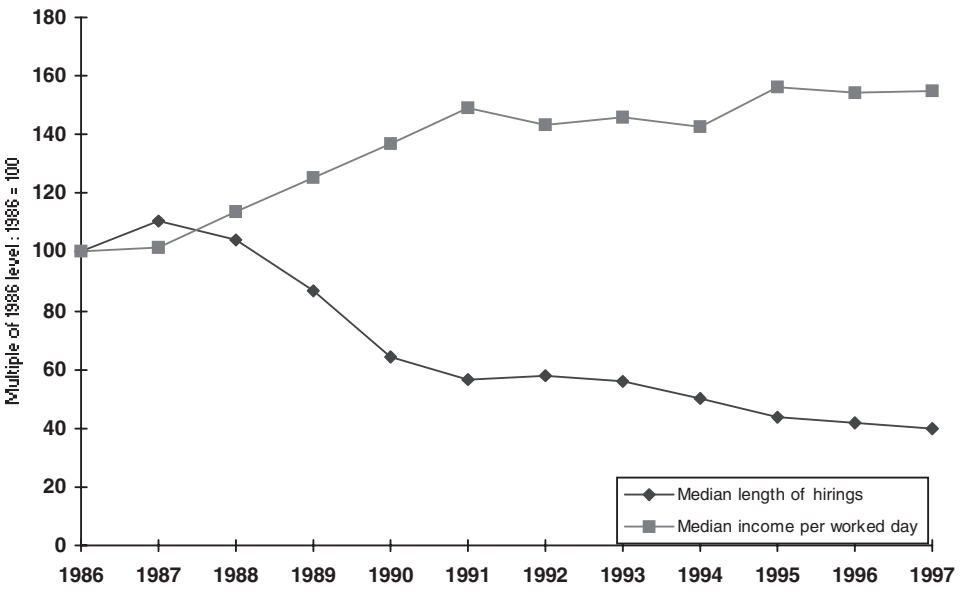
Graphic 2

Trends in the French Performing Arts Labor Market: 1986-1997
Median Values (1)



Graphic 3

Trends in the French Performing Arts Labor Market: 1986-1997
Median Values (2)



As shown in graphic 1, the French labor market for the performing arts has constantly expanded over the period 1986-1997. However, the trend of the supply of work (the number of artists working) and the demand side trend (the number of hirings, the number of worked days declared and the total amount of earnings) evolved at rates of increase that differ significantly. As a result, displayed in graphic 2, the median amount of working time and earnings per artist (unadjusted for inflation) decreased over the period, although the number of hirings increased: individual intermittent work was increasingly fragmented in shorter hirings, and competition turned out to become fiercer among the growing numbers of artists sharing the less rapidly growing "work pie". The last graphic illustrates the way people are partly compensated for the increasing risk that goes along with the shortening of individual hirings; on the whole, however, the decrease of median earnings over the period indicates that employers do not insure the artists they choose to hire under such a working scheme against the consequences of the unbalanced growth of that labor market: employers and consumers may benefit from the increasing variety of talents supplying their work, at the expense of the increasing level of unemployment or underemployment, or at least at the expense of increasing variability in the individual working situations, both across the workforce and during the career of each artist.

The overall result is that of an increasingly wider gap between the trends depicting the evolution of each side of the market.

Excess supply and monopolistic competition

The artistic labor markets seem to correspond to the spot market model of textbook economics. Ironically enough, the arts appear to have been forerunners in experiencing the trend toward increasingly flexible labor markets; I should even say, toward hyperflexible markets: freelancing means indeed that one may be hired for only two or three hours, without any costly dismissal procedures.

But it is in fact a rather paradoxical competitive market: on one side, employment is more and more contingent, as we used to see for secondary labor markets, but on the other side individuals are highly skilled and nonsubstituability is a core value, as in the so-called primary labor market. At the same time, segmentation of the workforce may be so strong that in fact the seemingly old-fashioned distinction between primary and secondary markets remains somewhat relevant.

Things might be better conceived in terms of a monopolistic competition with some of its essential features: high differentiation of products (goods and labor services, that is works and performances), a large variety of consumer preferences and excess capacity of production, which is a common trait of imperfect monopolistic competition (Lancaster, 1979). The application of a monopolistic competition model to the market of art works, which are durable and highly differentiated goods, is fairly known. But one might speculate about extending the model to the market of inputs in itself, that is to the labor market.

In theory, the supply of artistic talent is infinitely differentiated: An artist's reputation provides her with a temporary monopolistic position on the market, as long as her skills and talents are in demand. However, the evaluation and employment of talent obey in practice to much cruder schemes of hierarchization like the 'A-list *vs* B-list' distinction (Caves, 2000). So a strong objection could be raised here: may we apply the same analytic tools to the different strata of a

population of artists since the level of reputation, the amount of work and the occupational success vary considerably among them? Shall we consider as monopolistic suppliers of their own work artists who face a rather inelastic demand curve, due to their (temporary or strongly established) fame, as well as artists who are induced to act as monopolistic suppliers (i.e. to trade their human capital and work as freelancers) although their market value and market power are very poor? In the latter case, artists, either young aspiring ones, or moderately or poorly successful experienced ones, face the risk attached to a self-employed or quasi self-employed position without benefitting from the rent attached to its seemingly monopolistic supply.

In fact, as the contingent working system expands, at any given time the number of job candidates more and more exceeds the supply of full-time jobs. New forms of employment instability and new forms of labor market segmentation appear, since the quantity of work allocated varies considerably across the workforce. As job allocation takes place on an individual basis and involves on-the-job accumulation of skills and reputation, experienced and network-building artists and workers are frequently hired: accumulation of hiring records acts as a reputation signal in a self-reinforcing process: hiring calls for more hiring. By contrast, younger or less skilled individuals, loosely connected with the most active entrepreneurs, form a peripheral population facing discontinuous employment and longer spells without work. Thus differences in annual earnings of workers may reflect differences in hours worked more than in wage rates (Christopherson & Storper, 1989; Debeauvais *et al*, 1997).

In addition, one should note that the population of employers and small organizations in the cultural sector is surprisingly numerous. In the record and motion picture industry, although oligopolistic market control by major companies remains a striking feature, mainly through the control of distribution and finance (Aksoy & Robins, 1992 and Storper's reply, 1993), a vertical disintegration scheme at the production level can hardly be overstressed, resulting in an increasing number of independent film producers (Christopherson & Storper, 1989), record companies (Burke, 1997), and publishing houses (Boin & Bouvaist, 1989). In the performing arts, the expansion of the non-profit sector and the increase in public support have favored the multiplication of dance companies (Sussmann, 1984) and theater groups (Menger, 1997). Even if demographic trends concerning the rise and fall of organizations differ across the various arts scenes (for an extreme example, see the case of dance music, Hesmondhalgh, 1998), on the whole, the expansion of the craft-administered production sector, with its growing product differentiation, acts as an inflationary labor supply factor since it draws on an increasing number of aspiring young artists: lower costs pose fewer barriers to entry, but a substantial share of the risks are transferred to the artists who face a fiercer competition and more uncertain career prospects.

Thus contingent employment magnifies numerical flexibility for those who are handled as substitutable workers in the lower segments of each category of occupational role, although they felt attracted to an artistic occupation by claiming to be endowed with a unique set of skills, talents and abilities.

Consider now the creative artists, whose compositions, paintings, manuscripts, screenplays are put up for sale by gallerists, publishers, talent agencies and so on. Because most of them are self-employed, it would seem meaningless to simply equate fewer working hours with unemployment spells or underemployment levels. Their income, which reflects whether their works

and services are in demand, that is whether they are sold and at what price, does not derive from a quantity of working time at a given wage rate (Frey & Pommerehne, 1989). Creative artists decide whether or not to continue to work in their chosen field according to their income and to the stream of their expected earnings. If their income is low, because of low demand for their work, a simple increase in production, through more work, may have no effect, and an excess supply of the works for sale at lower prices may not easily trigger an equilibration process, since the price acts as a signal of quality and a decrease in the pricing of a contemporary artist will promptly be interpreted negatively. Oversupply of the works they produce cannot be defined at any given price: that's why so many creative artists, since they can make their own work opportunities, may, despite working hard and being fully committed, yet suffer from low or very low income levels, and develop a sense of null or even negative correlation between effort and earnings, as reported in many studies (*e.g.* Jeffri, 1991; Moulin, 1992).

However, the monopolistic competition approach gains much more explanatory power if a familiar trait of artistic life is brought into the picture, that of multiple-job holding, and, more generally, that of the diversification of activities and resources along an insurable risk-taking behavior scheme.

What kind of worker is the artist? A professional? An entrepreneur? A skilled contingent worker? A microfirm?

Several studies, mainly in a socio-historical perspective, have equated the great artist with a kind of innovative entrepreneur designing not only stylistic innovations but also new organizational ways of working and distributing his or her work; see for instance Alpers'study on Rembrandt (1988), or Elias'one on Mozart (1993), or Fitzgerald on Picasso (1995). Basically, current individual work trajectories combine more and more traits from professional as well as from entrepreneurial careers. Artistic careers exhibit low loyalty to organizations, and, like professional careers, they rely on reputation certified by the community of peers and by the inner circles of experts and middle men in the art worlds.

One striking dimension of the segmentation of the labor force has to do with the entrepreneurial skills a number of artists acquire on the job. For, although brokerage has emerged as a major device for mediating labor allocation and matching processes in a highly fragmented and segmented labor market (DiMaggio, 1977; Bielby, Bielby, 1999), artists may be induced to exercise supervisory or managerial skills and, in so doing, to blur the line between management and labor (Christopherson, 1996). In that respect, the artist's earnings, like those of any self-employed worker, depend not only on her skill, talent and effort, but also on how well she performs the managerial and entrepreneurial functions (Aronson, 1991).

And organizational or aesthetic innovations may induce role combinations and hybridizations that shift or extend the entrepreneurial control over new market resources – see Moulin, 1992, on the case of the entrepreneurial artists who work as performers and producers of services in the contemporary visual art markets; Christopherson, 1996, on the emergence of entrepreneurial filmmakers whose managerial skills blur the lines between management and labor; Hesmondhalgh, 1996, on the entrepreneurial strategies of sound mixers and DJ's in the dance music record sector. Artists set up more often than not companies or fringe firms.

More generally, the artist may be viewed as a microfirm when attention is given to the supply of the numerous bits of work and efforts out of which the artist makes a living: the way she acts to supply work in several related markets and to perform various occupational roles within his artworld points to the differentiation of the working profiles that underly the competition among artists not only for success in the vocational labor market but also for securing and maintaining a position in the art world taken as a whole.

Both sociological and economic studies of artistic occupations show how artists can be induced to face the constraints of a rationed labor market and how they learn to manage risky careers by resorting to the insurance devices that are at hand. Pioneering empirical research (Baumol & Bowen, 1966) has found that artists may improve their economic situation in three main ways, which are not incompatible and may be combined: artists can be supported by private sources (working spouse, family or friends) or by public sources (subsidies, grants and commissions from the state, sponsorship from foundations or corporations, and other transfer income from social and unemployment insurance); they can work in cooperative-like associations by pooling and sharing their income and by designing a sort of mutual insurance scheme; and finally, they can hold multiple jobs.

Most studies, both in sociology and in economics, have focused on this last means, since apart from being widespread and becoming more so, it brings into light a puzzling feature of the artistic labor market: that of the diversification of risk through one's own human capital and labor, which seems a much more unusual phenomenon than the risk management through financial assets and income from various sources. In fact, it brings artists close to entrepreneurs since, like property owners who can spread their risk by putting bits of their property into a large number of concerns, multiple job holders put bits of their efforts into different jobs (Drèze, 1987).

Multiple job holding shows a general upward trend, and artistic workers rank among the highest in the percentage of all workers who have secondary jobs; in addition, artistic occupations rank at the top in the percentage of all jobs held as secondary jobs. If one adds the numbers of primary and secondary job holders in a given occupation, so as to estimate the total number of practitioners in that occupation, almost every artistic occupation appears among the 25 occupations employing the largest proportions of their workers through a secondary job (Amirault, 1997). Wassal and Alper (1992) review a number of surveys which document the extent of multiple job holding among artists, including their own 1981 survey of 3000 New England artists, which found that only 24 per cent of artists did not hold a nonartistic job.

As shown by Throsby (1992, 1994, 1996) in his studies on artists' income and labor supply, not only must economic studies recognize the arts/non arts earnings distinction as providing a more complete picture of artists' income sources, but that simple dichotomy in itself does not go far enough. In order to capture the full range of relationships between labour supply and earnings experienced by artists, a three-way division of working time and earnings is essential (Throsby, 1996, Menger, 1997): that between 1) the creative activity itself, which corresponds to the primary creative labor and the tasks associated to the preparation of the artistic product (thinking, dreaming, searching for materials, rehearsing, practising), 2) arts-related work, which includes the various activities within the particular art world that do not contribute directly to producing the artistic product, but still rely on the skills and qualifications possessed by the

professional artist; common examples of such work would be teaching activities and management tasks in artistic organizations; 3) non-arts work, which may differ considerably both among individuals, among the arts and over the individual life-cycle in an artistic career. For example, recent US Census and survey data report that while a majority of authors (as primary occupation) hold secondary jobs in other professional occupations and especially in educational fields, actors' and singers' secondary jobs are mainly in sales, clerical or service jobs – jobs with a history of low pay and poor benefits (Alper et al, 1996).

The range of various resources and jobs may be compared to a portfolio of financial assets (Faulkner, 1983, Menger, 1989). As to the management of artistic work in itself, that way of handling uncertainty corresponds to the case of the freelancer, who may insure himself against downswings on the employers'side as well as strenghten his position by building a career portfolio that relies on a mix of tightly and loosely coupled work associations. With sectoral diversification of hirings, artists may also be financially better off and have greater career continuity on a highly fragmented labor market.

Holding other jobs outside one's vocational field of activity corresponds to a better known scheme of occupational risk diversification, though the hackneyed examples of artists forced to hold jobs totally unrelated to their art are partially misleading. In facing the constraints of job rationing in their artistic field or those of an unsuccessful position in the art market, artists manage the risks of their main commitment to their art through job diversification, but the composition of their portfolio also evolves as their personal position in the artwold at different stages of their career solidifies or gets weaker. Instead of thinking statically in the terms of the old dilemma – freedom or alienation – the portfolio model of occupational risk management offers new insights for the dynamic study of how an artist copes with uncertainty throughout his career[1].

Finally, artists may share the occupational risk by pooling their resources together as in the case of groups of visual artists who, at least for a while, provide their members with mutual support (Simpson, 1981, Crane, 1987), or of the main symphony orchestras in London which operate on a self-managed organizational basis, with musicians being shareholders of their own company and cumulating that position with freelance hirings elsewhere (Peacock, 1970). Most of the small organizations in the live performing arts (dance companies, chamber orchestras, baroque and contemporary music ensembles…) work on this co-operative basis, which recurrently brings together workers who act themselves already like microfirms.

By bringing the several components of this 'management of individual risk' scheme into the picture, we see that the excess supply issue has an analytical weakness, if the notion of oversupply refers to a disequilibrium in only one of the labor markets supplied by the artists, that of their principal vocational work. As stated above, when multiple job holders cycle between rationed and less- or un-constrained job markets, or when individual, cooperative and collective devices of compensation for and insurance against risk are at hand, notions of underemployment or oversupply may be hard to apply, provided that work under such a steady "management of risk" scheme is more attractive than occupational alternatives outside the arts sphere.

1. An interesting way to test the assumption that, against the standard economic view, workers may derive satisfaction from the process of work itself and not just from the income it earns, is to study whether artists turn down better-paid jobs in order to pursue their vocational work. In estimating labor supply functions for Australian artists with arts and nonarts wage rates as explanatory variables, Throsby (1992) shows that artists supply the nonarts labor market only up to the point where an adequate return was received to support their primary artistic work.

Thus the question "are there too many artists?" comes close to the following one, which has been already raised above, and which is customary in dealing with monopolistic competition: are there too many small firms and businesses?

Excess supply, individual and social costs and remedies

The oversupply issue may be split into three more precise questions: how constrained and rationed is the vocational job market? And how does the market of arts-related jobs work? How insurable is a risky occupational prospect that is socially so highly valued?

Regarding the first issue, it appears that under a highly flexible working scheme, the competitive nature of the artistic labor markets is enhanced: accordingly, the variability of individual situations is increasing. Indeed, estimating one's chances of success may be increasingly difficult since long-term career prospects disappear behind a daily strain of getting credits; and variance in reputations is accordingly higher too. Thus the explanation of oversupply by the 'risk-taking behavior' scheme seems to be especially appealing: where information about the quality of the individual occupational match is delivered only through on-the-job experiences which are more and more fragmented, aspirants are not screened at the entry. Oversupply consequently stems from the sorting mechanism on which the competitive labor market relies: the resulting segmentation of the artistic work force means that, at each point in time, there seem to be shortages of talented workers and an excess supply of less talented ones (Towse, 1996). Are there devices that may alleviate this competitive pressure?

There is a whole apparatus of collective agreements and social institutions that substitute for the missing role of the normally unique employer, so that creative industries, surprisingly enough, are heavily unionized. This apparatus evolves. One could hardly find today barriers to entry which limit access to artistic jobs as under labour institutions regulating access to jobs like the roster system, or like any powerful licensing system to deter untrained candidates from jobbing. Compensation devices are the most common feature: compensation for uncertain labor prospects exists, for example, in the performing arts since intermittent artists and workers earn much higher hourly wages than those employed on a long-term basis.

The three-tier compensation scheme[2] depicted by Paul and Kleingartner (1994) shows how collective bargaining contracts and regulatory mechanisms have evolved due to techological innovations and new market opportunities and how unions may adapt to keep their viability in a context of increasingly flexible production. Instead of protecting jobs from increasing contingency, unions may bargain for the payment schemes to adjust to the new opportunities offered by an enlarged and more diversified distribution of artworks and entertainment products. In France, unlike in most countries where the Unemployment Insurance is beyond the reach of the freelancers, intermittent work is equated with a wage-earning position, in the performing arts, and so allows workers who are eligible (*i.e.* those who meet the criterion of an certain amount of work over a given period) to get compensated for the unemployed periods of time (Menger,

2. According to Paul and Kleingartner, "All the MPTV basic agreements contain provisions that cover all workers on an egalitarian basis. Minimum pay rates, grievance procedures, work rules, seniority protection, health coverage, and retirement benefits are examples of such provisions. In this regard, MPTV basic agreements resemble union contracts in most other industrial sectors. They go beyond those provisions, however, to provide a framework for individual bargaining by higher echelons of union members. That framework is contained within a three-tier compensation scheme the elements of which are conceptually distinct but intertwined in practice: 1) a basic minimum pay rate; 2) a framework for workers to negotiate individual personal services contracts; and 3) an industrywide system of supplemental payments, that is, residuals." A. Paul, A. Kleingartner, 1994, pp. 667.

Gurgand, 1996). Indeed, the relationships between professional work and organizational versus spot market labor contract settings diversify more than ever, and so does the whole range of models of individual *vs* collective bargaining over one's employment terms.

These compensating schemes operate at the industry level: the reward premium they provide is the price that employers must pay in order to draw on a reserve army of underemployed individuals whose availability has to be secured: a loss of flexibility in employment decisions would be more costly for firms. Yet, individual differences in working probabilities are not subject to compensation. Thus, since private employers leave aside most of the elements which constitute an artist's career, the social and human costs of the structural excess supply of workers fall to the individuals with their own scope of occupational risk management techniques as well as to public cultural policies and to non-profit organization support.

As to the second issue – that of arts-related work opportunities – the "diversification of risk" approach, in focusing on the combination of insecure and secure sources of income, fails to deal with the characteristics of the different kinds of work that may be associated with the creative one. It is assumed that a secondary job doesn't provide the artist with anything else except income. Indeed another, complementary dimension of multiple job holding is overshadowed, which concerns above all the relationship between creative work and related artistic work, and which is described in the "role versatility" scheme (Nash, 1970[1955]). In certain art worlds, like that of "serious" music, high technical skill requirements act as a selective barrier to entry as well as an integrating device among the professionals employed in the various occupational roles (composer, performer, conductor, publisher and so forth) whose differentiation has increased with the professionalization process. Through role versatility, the composer may reduce the financial risk in his creative activity but also extend his control over the distribution process of his music, facilitate his interaction and communication with the other roles, and increase his prestige among his peers. Roles simultaneously or successively played are thought of in terms of positions in various spheres, as in Baker and Faulkner's study (1991) which examines the shifting combinatorial patterns in Hollywood filmmaking and sees roles as resources to enact positions in evolving organizational settings.

Wherever practice needs a specific training, the center of the artistic role constellation is traditionally the teaching role, the most frequent 'pool' profession (Abbott, 1988) or 'host occupation' (Freidson, 1986) for creative artists. This teaching position in the arts has been compared by Baumol as well as by Freidson to the role of teaching in academic life, which hosts and supports research activities; this might explain why creative artists so often consider themselves researchers. The paradox of artists whose educational profile as a group is close to that of managerial and professional occupational categories but has far less impact on their earnings can also be solved. Throsby (1996) shows that relationships between arts income and art training may be strong for arts-related activities such as teaching whereas income from primary creative practice is more influenced by on-the-job experience.

Here one should note that side labor markets like that of teaching may have inflationary effects when they absorb artists unable to make a living in their vocational field. As shown in several studies (*e.g.* Ehrlich, 1985, Menger 1997), the training system may play an unintended role in the self-congesting spiral of oversupply, since teaching positions and kindred activities in non profit art organizations shelter artists from occupational risks.

In any case, art worlds, like sport worlds, would not be able to attract enormous numbers of aspiring professionals nor to sort them out so bluntly if they did not supply a whole range of occupational roles apart from the most enviable and most rewarding ones, and if the economic viability of the vocational as well as of the related labor markets did not rely on a sophisticated mix of funding sources and compensation devices. In that respect, the excess supply persists and evolves insofar as the nexus of ties between several intricated labor markets evolves in itself. So art worlds not only stand the oversupply of artists, but nurture on it, insofar as artists may set up portfolios of resources and of work experiences whose existence and viability go well beyond the frontiers of the artistic worlds in themselves.

Thirdly, one may ask which occupational risks are manageable and insurable, and which are not. Which individually, through different schemes of diversification of work and income sources? Which collectively, on a professionnal community basis? And which socially, through cultural policy support? Answers may vary greatly among the different art worlds, depending on their whole institutional apparatus.

A common feature of the political and public, lay or academic, debate about the arts is that of the social costs and benefits of artistic excess supply. Consider how uncertainty, which is the core of artistic creativity as well as of labor market organization, plays a highly ambivalent role. On the one hand, uncertainty means that art is a highly desirable and admired affair but also a highly risky business. On the other hand, uncertainty, as it surrounds any decision to support new artistic creation, also provides a true rationale for the public support of artists: since an ever increasing number of pieces of art and culture are consecrated and offered for public admiration in museums, concert programs, books, and audiovisual or computerized archives, they act as permanent reminders. One cannot forget that this selection has emerged from an even greater stock of works whose significance and value needed time to be correctly appraised and sorted out. This legitimates a transfer of the title and merit of past artists and creators onto their contemporary heirs, be these known or unknown at this time, and this enhances a betting behavior on short-term or long-term success and on immediate or deferred fame.

According to DiMaggio (1986), uncertainty is at the core of the evaluation of any work and this uncertainty principle bears on collective choices, both from an intra- and intergenerational equity point of view. Uncertainty, as it vanishes over time, turns into an extremely skewed distribution of fame and success, in the long term.

Thus it can be claimed that it is in the interests of society at large to nurture an oversupply of artists so as to have the best possible choice of talented artists. Indeed, as pointed out by Nisbett and Ross (1979), people sometimes may require overly optimistic subjective probabilities to goad them into effective action. The social benefits of individually erroneous subjective probabilities may be great even when the individual pays a high price for the error.

Cultural policies as regarding patterns of public support for artistic labor markets may be at odds with the way firms and entrepreneurs take advantage of the attractiveness of artistic occupations and of individual erroneous expectations. On the one hand, public policies may be burdened with a significant part of the costs of providing artists with direct support or with work opportunities in the arts-related occupations. On the other hand, market organizations sort out talents without any relativistic scruple, in contrast to public support policies: support

may encourage aspirants artists to enter the market and alleviate the filtering process up to a 'social policy' egalitarian scheme, that suffers from contradictions on both extremes of the talent distribution – artists sorted out by the market or by the 'invisible college' filtering process complain about the damaging effets of a paralyzing oversupply; unsuccessful artists militate for extending a support policy whose efficiency is hardly sensible enough.

Conclusion: talents, misallocations, optimal matchings, uncertain prospects

Self-employment and contingent work may magnify the oversupply of artists, by blurring the frontier between functional flexibility and numerical flexibility. But they obviously do not explain why oversupply has been for such a long time a structural trait of artistic worlds.

Things would be simple if artists could form quite correct expectations about their chances of success, or at least, of decent living within the occupational sphere they choose to enter. Competition would seem to be less wasteful, failures and occupation switchings less frequent if not marginal, misallocation of talents due to excessive lure of stardom or of self-achievement promises would'nt hamper the development of other occupational worlds that might be short of such diverted abilities, training systems would'nt favor wasted investments, and competition might gain in fairness, since artists would have enough time to prove themselves. Such an argument has a strong and a weak version: the strong version is that of on optimal allocation of talents according to an 'optimal division of labor' scheme. Such a world can be found in functionalist models of society, originating in Durkheim's work but also in some economic models of welfare analysis of work, such as Lancaster's optimal division of labor model (Lancaster, 1979), where people should be optimally matched to the occupation where their abilities and skills are better employed: required is of course the optimization of the educational and training system that detects abilities and provides individuals with the best-fitting skills and the use of optimal reward schemes that deter people from choosing what happens to be their first-best occupational fate[3].

This view could hardly apply to art. In its sheer essence, art has been celebrated and valued as the symbol of creative, innovative and non-routine work. Creative and non-routine work provides psychic and social gratification proportional to the degree of uncertainty of success. The more the work is non-routine, the less one can be certain about the immediate or long-term chances of individual achievement. It should, however, not be overlooked that artistic work also entails routine aspects, both in relative terms - the various artistic occupations and the various individual achievements in each of them may also, of course, be ranked according to how routine or non-routine the work is – and in absolute terms – no artist could every time reconstruct afresh his own frame of activity and no collective work could be achieved if conventions didn't exist as stabilizing forces (Becker, 1982). The fact remains that the non-routine dimension of artistic creative work is the most demanding, the most rewarding and the most acclaimed one, and that which gives it such a great social value.

3. The two lancasterian propositions in his welfare economics of work are:
   - the optimal match proposition:
     "Among all the allocations of persons to jobs which satisfy the requirement that every person holding a job has the skills needed to perform it, there is an optimal allocation."
   - the optimal division of labor proposition:
     "If the number and specification of jobs can be varied, there is an output-maximizing division of labor which gives the greatest output from the skills available in the population and an optimal division of labor which gives the greatest overall welfare from work and consumption. The output-maximizing and optimal divisions of labor need not be the same." K. Lancaster, 1979, pp. 326-327.

What does non-routine imply? That performance in non-routine activities hardly depends on skills that could be easily objectified, transmitted and certified in the training system. Indeed, the impact of schooling on earnings is typically smaller for artists than it is either for all workers or for managers, professionals and technical workers (Filer, 1986, 1990). Insofar as non-routine activity refers to a wide range of changing and challenging work situations, it therefore implies that abilities may be revealed and skills acquired only progressively, in the course of action, through a process of learning-by-doing which is highly informative and which cannot be perfectly anticipated *ab initio*. Even if one were to assume that innate abilities command success much more than formal training, talent could express itself only by coping with work situations that reveal the multiple characteristics of what artistic achievement really is.

So a weaker form of the "optimal division of labor" argument is the optimal trial-and-error process. If talent can be detected more rapidly, then quit rates in artistic professions will be much higher and turnover rates will help forming more realistic expectations about one's chances. And if artists behave rationally, expected risky occupational outcomes should be experienced in a way quite similar to that predicted by the theory of option pricing in finance: an optimal sequential decision scheme orders occupational alternatives with respect to risk: it is rational to choose the job with the greater risk first and to switch to a less risky alternative if the outcome turns out to be unfavorable.

In a more realistic dynamic occupational choice model, informational considerations are brought in, as in the job matching approach of occupational choice (Miller, 1984) that seems to fit rather well with the results of surveys on the careers of freelancers (Menger, 1997). A job applicant only learns gradually how well he is suited for a particular artistic occupation, and to what extent he can expect to meet success in it. It is a costly and rewarding trial and error process: one becomes more and more informed about the various facets of the occupation and about one's own abilities through doing the job. Workers accumulate skills through experience and learning-by-doing. As non-routine work implies a steady human capital investment, it takes place in a matching process where jobs are "tied packages of work and learning" (Rosen, 1986) and are ranked along their varying learning potentials, as shown in Faulkner's (1983) research on freelance composers in Hollywood. The attractiveness of artistic jobs can therefore partly derive from their high learning potential, at least as long as the work is non-routine enough.

Many artistic occupations provide this kind of information only through a learning-by-doing process, either because formal training is not strictly required to enter the professional community and to succeed (in some artistic occupations like that of writer, formal training seldom exists), or because formal training doesn't act as an efficient means for selecting talents and screening abilities. This is probably why so many artists think of themselves as self-taught, even in occupations where formal training plays a true role. For example, most actors, while rather satisfied with the technical aspects of their training, are nonetheless critical of the lack of preparation: more information about one's abilities and chances of successful professionalization is mainly acquired in the course of practicing (Jackson et al, 1994; Menger, 1997). Yet the learning and information acquisition process is costly: jobs where one can benefit more from learning by doing are on average less well-paid initially than jobs where applicants can be selected on the basis of university degrees or through other immediate skill certifications.

However, the applications of this job matching model to artistic occupations raises two issues. Firstly, it may be asked how much information one needs before being able to assess the quality of one's job match, considering that occupational practice acquires so many different and changing forms, takes place in so many environments, and in relation with many diverse employers and patrons. In addition, this high variability in practice probably influences the artist's behavior regarding risk-taking. In some respects, each work experience in the performing arts, such as theater or movie production, is unique and new, each team of artists and technicians is different: one can get the feeling that there is no end to the learning process and to the assessment of one's talent and that no situation is really crucial when one has to decide how far to go ahead in such a career. This could explain why many artists maintain for so long the hope that they will eventually become famous, even after death. Romantic writers and poets invented a well-known psychological and ideological device for fighting against short-term disenchantment: the "loser is eventually the winner" game (Sartre, 1971, Bénichou, 1985), which designs the consolatory counterpart of the world depicted by Frank and Cook – a 'loser-take-all' society standing beside the winner-take-all society. Hence the rather puzzling challenge faced by the statistical measurement and account of careers and achievements in the arts.

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David Throsby Macquarie University,
Sydney, Australia

"The Cultural Workforce: Issues of Definition and Measurement"

Résumé

La communication traite des principes à la base du cadre conceptuel pour la collecte de statistiques relatives à l'emploi dans les industries des arts et la culture. Dans un premier temps, nous considérons les problèmes liés à la classification des professions, dans une structure donnée, pour l'ensemble des industries. Nous examinerons plus attentivement les problèmes que soulève la classification des artistes. Ces problèmes concernent surtout le cumul des emplois et l'exercice des professions apparentées que l'on observe fréquemment dans le monde du travail des artistes. Nous examinerons ensuite les types de données qui pourraient être utiles aux décideurs comme aux chercheurs et qui concernent les marchés de l'emploi dans les industries culturelles et artistiques. Nous présenterons des exemples tirés de services de statistiques de plusieurs pays.

Abstract

This paper considers the principles that might guide the construction of a framework for gathering labour statistics for the arts and cultural industries. Questions of occupational classification within a given structure for the cultural industries are considered first. Particular attention is paid to problems of classifying artists; these problems relate especially to the multiple job-holding patterns and cross-art-form modes of practice that are characteristic of artists as workers. The paper goes on to consider the possible types of data that policy-makers and researchers might require concerning labour markets in the arts and cultural industries. Illustrations are drawn with respect to existing statistical services in several countries.

1. Introduction

For most industries, obtaining data for analysis of employment, labour market conditions, incomes of workers, etc is a reasonably straightforward matter. Occupational categories and industrial groupings are generally easily recognisable and unambiguously defined. Not so the cultural industries. Not only is the specification of occupational characteristics difficult for many cultural workers, the delineation of exactly what is embraced by the term "cultural industries" is by no means clear-cut.

This paper considers the principles that might guide the construction of a framework for gathering labour statistics for the arts and cultural industries. The first section of the paper looks at the broad purposes for which such data are required. We then go on to consider the classification of workers by occupation and by industry of employment in the cultural sector; we argue in support of a two-way classification as being generally the most illuminating approach to representing employment data for the sector. Finally the paper examines the particular problems of classifying and enumerating artists; these problems relate especially to the multiple job-holding patterns and cross-art-form modes of practice that are characteristic of artists as workers. Difficulties of identifying professional artists are of particular concern here, since for most analytical investigations it is important to be able to distinguish between serious art workers and those engaged in artistic pursuits for leisure or hobby purposes. The paper illustrates the argument with examples drawn from Australia and New Zealand.

2. Data requirements

Why do we need these sorts of labour statistics for the arts and cultural industries? Four broad categories of purpose can be identified. First, there is the problem of **enumeration**, i.e. simply counting the numbers of different types of workers. Employment and labour force statistics are constantly in use to measure the relative sizes of industries and occupational groups in the economy and the trends in these sizes over time. Accurate statistical compilations concerning the use of labour in the cultural sector are essential in assessing the importance of the sector in relation to others in the economy.

Second, we require data for **research**, i.e. looking beneath the surface at the details concealed in aggregate figures, and testing hypothises about what determines what. Labour market researchers typically require at least the standard demographics relating to the occupational groups with which they are concerned – age distributions, gender, education, birthplace etc Similarly industrial researchers need well-defined employment data in order to look at output, productivity changes, industry performance and so on.

Third, the arts in particular are always seeking good data for purposes of **advocacy**. When the cause to be promoted is improvement in the conditions of creative artists, reliable statistics on income, time allocation, multiple job-holding etc play a vital role in underpinning and substantiating the advocacy effort.

Finally, all the above purposes come together in the realm of **policy**. In recent years the field of cultural policy has grown and consolidated as an area both of academic interest and of practical application. Good labour market statistics are a critical element in informing the analyses and decision-making processes of researchers, administrators, bureaucrats and politicians concerned to understand the arts and cultural industries and to advance their welfare in the contemporary economic environment.

3. Principles

Employment in the cultural sector can be stratified in terms of occupational classifications, i.e. different job descriptions, or in terms of an industry breakdown, i.e. numbers of employees engaged in producing given cultural goods or services. We consider each of these systems in turn, and then discuss a combined approach.

(i) Occupational classifications

Discussion of "cultural workers" or "workers in the cultural sector" presupposes a definition of "culture". It is well known that any definition of "culture" or "cultural" will vary depending on the discipline from which it is derived. Even within the relevant disciplines, which include sociology, anthropology, art theory and political economy, there may be disagreement as to exactly what is embraced by these terms. For present purposes it is convenient to sidestep these problems and focus on the idea of "creative workers". Although such a move could be seen simply as substituting one definitional puzzle for another, there is perhaps sufficient agreement, on intuitive if not on rigorous grounds, as to what creativity is to warrant such an approach. Indeed the term creative worker has been given new impetus by Richard Florida, whose recent book proposes creativity as a means of distinguishing a new economic and social stratum of workers, the so-called *creative class*[1].

Nevertheless an occupational classification based on creativity would by no means restrict coverage only to culture. Scientists, researchers, computer programmers, bridge design engineers and many others are involved in work requiring creative thinking, yet they are not obviously connected with culture except in some all-embracing and therefore meaningless sense. Thus to use the term creative workers in a cultural sense requires a further specification of the "cultural" nature of the goods or services such workers supply or contribute towards supplying.

As a step in this direction, we might classify creative workers producing cultural goods and services into three groups: those engaged in producing primary creative output; those engaged in interpretive activity; and those supplying creative services to support arts and cultural production. Those in the first group could be stratified according to the nature of the object or service produced: text, sound, fixed image, moving image, three-dimensional objects, etc allowing the identification, respectively, of writers (for all media); musicians; visual artists; film, television and video makers; sculptors and craftspeople; and so on. Those in the second group could also be classified according to the end-product, i.e. as performers interpreting works of drama, dance, music etc in a wide variety of media from live performance to digital transmission via the internet. The third group, comprising those supplying creative services in support of arts and cultural production, would include workers such as book editors, lighting designers, music producers and so on, in all of whose work some creative input is required.

But the above scheme is hardly comprehensive, insofar as some creative occupations may still find difficulty of inclusion – graphic designers, architects, journalists, web designers, directors of television commercials, and advertising copywriters, for example. One possibility here is to distinguish between the application of creativity for what might be called "imaginative" as distinct from "utilitarian" purposes. Most of the occupations mentioned earlier in this paragraph could be seen as involved in making words, images, sound etc with primarily utilitarian intent.

1. See Florida (2002).

Thus a more precise occupational description could be obtained based on a distinction that is essentially one between artists and others. Even so, a number of odd cases will remain that would be difficult to classify on the above criteria.

Most efforts in defining occupational categories in all areas of the labour market for purposes of statistical definition rely on job descriptions identifying the skill levels required for entry to given occupations, and the tasks a given type of worker is expected to undertake. The application of such criteria in the arts is fraught with problems. For example, in the Australian Standard Classification of Occupations used by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), visual arts and crafts professionals are defined as occupations which "create visual forms using painting, drawing, electronic and other media or create three-dimensional forms by carving, modelling or constructing to communicate impressions or ideas".[2] The entry requirement for this group is specified as a post-secondary degree or at least 5 years' experience, and the tasks undertaken include conceiving and developing ideas, selecting media, and executing the desired object(s). Although such criteria as these may make sense in general terms, their application is often awkward; as a result they have never been able to be used to develop competency standards as a basis for labour contracts in the arts in the manner in which these sorts of criteria have been used in other occupational areas.

Despite these problems, classification systems for creative workers do exist in many countries. In the Australian context, the principal statistical grouping is headed "Artists and related professionals", and includes categories as follows:

- Visual arts and crafts professionals
- Photographers
- Designers and illustrators
- Journalists and related professionals
- Authors and related professionals
- Film, television, radio and stage directors
- Musicians and related professionals
- Actors, dancers and related professionals
- Media presenters

In addition, the framework for cultural statistics developed in Australia provides for the co-option into "cultural occupation" of workers whose occupational classification lies outside the "Artists and related professionals" group. These additional occupations include, amongst others:

- Architects
- Librarians
- Music teachers
- Museum curators
- Interior decorators
- Motion picture projectionists
- Piano tuners
- Ticket collectors/ushers

A full listing is provided in Appendix Table 1. It is apparent that some of these other cultural occupations involve little or no creativity.

2. See ABS (1997).

(ii) Industrial classifications

A system of classifying workers according to the industry in which they are employed would identify a cultural worker as one working in a designated cultural industry. Delineating the coverage of the term "cultural industries" is not clear-cut, because of the problems of defining "cultural" that we mentioned above. Again attention can be focussed on describing the characteristics of cultural goods or services as a basis for recognising cultural industries. These characteristics include: the implication of some element of creativity in their production; their property of conveying symbolic meaning or messages; and their embodiment of some form of intellectual property. Armed with this definition, various classification systems for the cultural industries can be proposed. One plausible model is based on the diffusion of ideas from a creative centre. In this scheme the cultural industries are seen as a series of concentric circles[3]. At the core lie the creative arts, where "pure" creative ideas originate. The next circle or layer comprises industries such as broadcasting, media, publishing, film etc where creative ideas are utilised and reproduced. Finally a more remote circle includes industries such as fashion and advertising, where creative ideas are utilised but where the principal industrial focus is elsewhere. It might be noted that these circles or layers can also be mapped using Richard Caves' concept of "creative" and "humdrum" inputs; as one moves outwards through the circles, the proportion of creative to humdrum inputs diminishes.[4]

Whatever model is used, the categorisation of workers by industry brings together both creative and non-creative occupations. Not only do large numbers of non-creative workers contribute to the output of cultural industries (e.g. accountants, front-of-house staff and others working in a theatre company), but also many creative workers are employed outside the cultural industries (e.g. musicians working in the hotel industry, archivists working in banks, etc). Thus a designation of a cultural worker as one employed in a cultural industry does not coincide with the sorts of occupation-based definitions of cultural workers discussed above.

Nevertheless, understanding industry-by-industry employment is important, and different countries do indeed embrace the concept of the cultural industries in their statistical frameworks, though with varying degrees of rigour. Australia and New Zealand can be used as an illustration. These countries share a standard industrial classification system (ANZSIC) which identifies a division devoted to Cultural and Recreational Services.[5] The subgroups include film, radio and television; libraries, museums and the arts (including parks and gardens); and sport and recreation. A full listing is given in Appendix Table 2. The industries are defined in terms of production units producing a designated good or service. Thus within the Arts group, for example, there are subgroups for Music and Theatre Productions ("units engaged in providing live theatrical or musical presentations …") and for Creative Arts ("units mainly engaged in musical composition, the literary arts and visual arts … i.e. artists working on own account"). Some other cultural industries, such as publishing and music recording, fall into other divisions, (e.g. manufacturing).

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3. See Throsby (2001a), Ch. 7.
4. See Caves (2000). An alternative model of the cultural industries, where it is importance for the production and circulation of texts rather than for the generation of ideas that is seen as the classificatory principle, is contained in Hesmondhalgh (2002); this model puts industries such as advertising and popular music at the core, and consigns the creative arts to "peripheral" status.
5. The ANZSIC was released in 1993 and is currently being revised with a view to adoption of a new and updated system in 2006. The top-level structure of the North American Industrial Classification System of 2002 is being used as a starting point for this revision. Australia and New Zealand are also contributing to the review of the International Standard Industrial Classification due for release in 2007.

(iii) Cross-classification

It is apparent that the most fruitful way of capturing the complex interactions between occupational and industrial definitions in categorising the cultural workforce will be to cross-classify workers by each of these criteria. A broad overview can be provided via a two-by-two table (cultural/non-cultural occupations by cultural/non-cultural industries). Such an overview is given for Australia and New Zealand for 1996 in Table 1. The table indicates that whilst the proportion of employment in the cultural industries that is made up by cultural occupations is almost the same in both countries (around 37-38 per cent), the proportion of all cultural occupations that are located in the cultural industries differs significantly (37 per cent in Australia, 58 per cent in New Zealand). Note, however, that minor differences in classifications could partly explain these results. It can also be seen from the table that the cultural industries account for about 4 per cent of total employment in the New Zealand economy but only about half that proportion in Australia.

Table 1
Employment in cultural occupations and cultural industries: Australia and New Zealand: 1996 ('000)

	Cultural industries	Non-cultural industries	Total employment
AUSTRALIA			
Cultural occupations	58.1	98.6	156.7
Non-cultural occupations	98.4	7,381.2	7,479.6
Total employment	156.5	7,479.8	7,636.6
NEW ZEALAND			
Cultural occupations	26.4	19.1	45.5
Non-cultural occupations	42.7	1,542.6	1,585.3
Total employment	69.1	1,561.7	1,630.8

Sources: **Australia**: calculated from data in Appendix Table 3.
New Zealand: calculated from data in Statistics New Zealand and Ministry of Cultural Affairs, *Employment in the Cultural Sector* (Wellington, 1998).

A more detailed cross-classification by occupation/industry is possible by specifying the particular industries and occupations that lie within the cultural sector. Such a breakdown enables analysis of the distribution of different cultural occupations across the various cultural industries, and the distribution of cultural occupations within a given cultural industry. Tables 2 and 3 illustrate these more detailed cross-tabulations for Australia for 1996; these tables are derived from the raw data contained in Appendix Table 3. We see that the proportion of each cultural occupation's employment that lies within the cultural industries as defined ranges from only 25 per cent for visual artists and designers[6] to 84 per cent for directors. Alternatively, from Table 3 it is apparent that the proportion of total employment in each of the cultural industries that is accounted for by cultural occupations varies from 27 per cent in publishing (where large amounts of "humdrum" input are required) to 80 per cent in the creative arts.

6. This result is due to the preponderance of designers (e.g. graphic designers) who work outside the cultural industries.

4. Problems of defining artists

A number of difficulties arise in gathering statistical information about numbers of artists. The first problem is one of identification. It is well known that artists frequently hold more than one job; in many cases the reason for multiple job-holding is economic – the artist's creative work is insufficiently remunerative and the individual is obliged to seek paid employment elsewhere in order to survive. Indeed significant numbers of committed artists may derive most of their working time, and earn the major part of their income, from activities outside the arts altogether. Thus census data relying on identifying a person's occupational category by, for example, the "main job" held during the week of the census will miss some genuine creative practitioners.

The second problem is that of classification within a particular artistic practice. Occupational groupings may not be fine enough to provide sufficient detail of the mode of practice of some artists; for example, if craftspeople are classified only as "Potters and ceramics workers" or "Others", a wide range of craft practice, from woodworking to glass to jewellery-making and so on will be missed. Furthermore, some artists cannot definitively classify themselves because their work covers a variety of different modes of practice. In surveys of artists which we have carried out in Australia[7], we have attempted to deal with this problem by asking artists to identify their "Principal Artistic Occupation" (PAO), meaning the activity they engage in most in terms of time (writer, visual artist, craftsperson, actor, dancer, musician, composer, etc). This approach deals with artists whose multiple practice is within a single artform (for example, someone who is a novelist, a poet and also a playwright is still captured by the category "writer"), though it does ask others who cross over between modes (e.g. visual arts/crafts) to opt for one or the other. We have found this system works for the great majority of artists, though there will always be some genuinely "multi-media" artists who defy categorisation into a single artform.

Table 2
Distribution of cultural occupations across cultural industries: Australia: 1996 (per cent)

Industry	Occupation						
	Visual artist, designer	Writer	Director	Musician	Actor, dancer	Library, museum worker	All cult. occupns.
Publishing	5	46	-	-	-	1	7
Film & video	2	1	35	-	5	-	5
Radio & TV	1	11	37	1	5	-	6
Music & theatre	-	-	4	49	32	-	4
Creative arts	6	11	-	3	2	-	4
Libs. & museums	1	-	-	-	-	29	5
Other cult. inds.	11	2	8	5	10	1	6
Total cult. inds.	25	72	84	58	54	31	37
Non-cult. inds.	75	28	16	42	46	69	63
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: Calculated from data in Appendix Table 3.

7. See, for example, Throsby and Thompson (1994).

Table 3
Distribution of cultural occupations within cultural industries: Australia: 1996 (per cent)

Occupation	Industry						
	Publish-ing	Film & video	Radio & TV	Music & theatre	Creative arts	Libraries & museums	All cult. inds.
Vis. artists, designers	5	4	1	1	34	1	6
Writers	19	1	10	-	27	-	8
Directors	-	12	9	2	-	-	3
Musicians	-	-	-	40	3	-	3
Actors, dancers	-	1	1	14	1	-	1
Lib./mus. workers	-	-	-	-	-	38	5
Other cult. occupns.	2	33	26	12	15	4	11
Total cult. occupns.	27	52	47	69	80	43	37
Non-cult. occupns.	73	48	53	31	20	57	63
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: Calculated from data in Appendix Table 3.

The third problem is that of distinguishing between professionals and amateurs. A concentration on professionalism may be important for a number of reasons: it may be *economically* important because it is the professional artist rather than the hobbyist who contributes to economic output; it may be *artistically* important because standards of professionalism define and are defined by criteria of excellence in creative work; it may be *socially* important because of the need for artists to be respected as professional workers within the community rather than as self-indulgent pleasure-seekers.

It has been well established that no single criterion is a sufficient condition for definition of professional status for a practicing artist[8]. Rather a set of criteria, some but not necessarily all of which may apply in particular cases, may be put forward, including: evidence of peer acceptance; appropriate educational qualifications or equivalent experience; time spent at creative work; income earned from creative work; and/or membership of a credentialling body such as a union or professional association.

It is apparent that the incorporation of criteria such as these into standard statistical collection procedures as a means of catching professional artists is most unlikely to be feasible. Hence any exercise aimed at enumerating professional artists is likely to have to resort to specially-tailored methods. To date, researchers interested in studying professional artists have often had to rely on constructing their own population lists of artists from which to sample, because access through official statistical channels has not been possible. In these cases, the compilation of such lists has been based on an assumption that most professional artists will be found on some list somewhere (e.g. membership lists of organisations), and that those omitted will not be systematically different on average from those included, with regard to their main characteristics.

8. See further in Jeffri and Throsby (1994); Anderson (2001).

However, setting up these sorts of procedures for identifying professional artists may be problematical for some researchers. In our own work in Australia, for example, we have found in our current artists' survey that compiling population lists of professional artists has become more difficult than previously, for two reasons: (a) fewer artists are joining or remaining members of organisations (particularly in the performing arts under conditions of deregulation of unions); and (b) some organisations have become sensitized to privacy laws and are reluctant to make their membership lists available even under conditions of strict confidentiality.

Thus, alternative special-purpose approaches through official (mandatory) census or labour market survey channels are much to be preferred, provided that such approaches are sensitive to the nuances of definition of professionalism as discussed above.

It is some comfort to those compiling independent estimates of the numbers of professional artists if their results can be rationalised against whatever official data do exist. For example, an estimate of the number of practising professionals might be compared with census data, and differences accounted for in a systematic way. In such a case it would be expected that census figures on persons nominating their main job as artist would *understate* the true number of professionals because many part-timers would be missed, as explained above. This effect would be expected to more than outweigh the opposite tendency of census figures to *overstate* professional numbers because some might be included who would not qualify as professionals against required criteria.

Table 4
Reconciling census data on artists with independent estimates of numbers of professionals:
Australia: 2001 ('000)

	Number whose main job is artist in 2001 census	Estimated no. of practising professionals	No. of practising professionals working >50% of their time at:	
			Creative work	Arts related work
Writers	4.0	7.3	3.1	5.6
Visual artists	5.0	9.3	3.9	8.3
Craftspeople	1.5[a]	4.3	2.1	3.9
Actors/directors	4.2	6.5	2.3	4.2
Dancers	1.4	1.5	0.6	1.2
Musicians	8.4	12.5	5.1	10.1

Note: [a] includes only potters and ceramicists.
Sources: Census data derived from figures supplied by ABS; other data from unpublished survey figures (preliminary).

To illustrate such a reconciliation process, Table 4 shows estimates for Australia of persons whose main job was artist in the week of the 2001 census, compared with the number of practicing professional artists estimated from population lists compiled for the purposes of a nationwide artists' survey being carried out at Macquarie University. In all cases the estimated number of professionals, which includes part-timers, exceeds the census figure. However, it might be assumed that those professionals who spent more than 50 per cent of their time at

arts work in the year in question would also have been picked up in the census; if so, the two estimates might be reconciled. To investigate this question, we can make use of a distinction in the survey data between "creative work" (pursuing the immediate creative practice) and "all arts-related work" (including other work in the arts such as teaching). These two figures could be thought of as enabling the establishment of lower and upper bounds respectively on the numbers that might also appear in the census. The last two columns in Table 4 indicate this range for each of the occupations, and it is seen that indeed the census estimate falls within the range in all cases except for craftspeople. The explanation of the latter case is that the census figure used relates only to potters and ceramicists; if other modes of practice were included, the census figure would more than double and would then lie within the required range.[9]

5. Conclusions

In this paper we have looked at some of the problems of defining cultural workers and measuring their numbers. We have seen that cultural occupations present particular difficulties of classification and cultural industries likewise are subject to ambiguities and fuzziness of definition. Many statistical agencies around the world have made a lot of progress in recent years in developing particular expertise in the field of cultural data collection. As a result researchers and policy-makers in many countries have access to a range of data on the cultural sector not hitherto available. Amongst the array of statistics being collected, employment and labour market data are especially important. This paper has discussed some of the problems that affect data gathering in this area. One avenue towards overcoming these problems is international interchange of ideas, methods and experience. The present symposium is a welcome step towards this goal.

9. A more detailed analysis of some of the issues discussed in this section can be found in Throsby (2001b).

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Appendix Table 1

Australian Standard Classification of Occupations: List of Cultural Occupations

1. Minor Group 253: Artists and Related Professionals
   - Visual arts and crafts professionals
     - Painter
     - Sculptor
     - Potter or ceramic artist
   - Photographers
   - Designers and illustrators
     - Fashion designer
     - Graphic designer
     - Industrial designer
     - Industrial designer
     - Interior designer
     - Illustrator
   - Journalists and related professionals
     - Editor
     - Print journalist
     - Television journalist
     - Radio journalist
     - Copywriter
     - Technical writer
   - Authors and related professionals
     - Author
     - Book editor
     - Script editor
   - Film, television, radio and stage directors
     - Art director (film, television or stage)
     - Director (film, television or stage)
     - Director of photography
     - Film and video editor
     - Stage manager
     - Program director (radio or television)
     - Technical director
   - Musicians and related professionals
     - Music director
     - Singer
     - Instrumental musician
     - Composer

Actors, dancers and related professionals
- Actor
- Dancer or choreographer

- Media presenters
  - Radio presenter
  - Television presenter

Appendix Table 1
Australian Standard Classification of Occupations: List of Cultural Occupations *(cont'd)*

2. Other Cultural Occupations
Environment/parks/land care manager
Park ranger
Architect
Architectural associate
Librarian
Library technician
Library assistant
Archivist
Museum/gallery curator
Conservator
Museum/art gallery technician
Museum/gallery attendant
Private art teacher
Private music, dance or drama teacher
Theatre/cinema manager
Interior decorator
Sound technician
Camera operator
Television equipment operator
Broadcast transmitter operator
Motion picture projectionist
Light technician
Production assistant
Make-up artist
Piano tuner
Photographer's assistant
Ticket collector/usher

Source: ABS (1997), Cat. No. 1220.0.

Appendix Table 2

Australian and New Zealand Standard Industry Classification: List of Cultural Industries

1. Division P: Cultural and Recreational Services
   - Film and video
     - Film and video production
     - Film and video distribution
     - Motion picture exhibition
   - Radio and television
     - Radio services
     - Television services
   - Libraries
   - Museums
   - Parks and gardens
     - Zoological and botanical gardens
     - Recreational parks and gardens
   - Arts
     - Music and theatre productions
     - Creative arts
   - Services to the arts
     - Sound recording studios
     - Performing arts venues
   - [This Division also includes Sport, Gambling services, and Other recreational services]
2. Other Cultural Industries
   - Newspaper printing or publishing
   - Other periodical publishing
   - Book and other publishing
   - Book and magazine wholesaling
   - Recorded media manufacturing and publishing
   - Recorded music retailing
   - Video hire outlets.

Source: ABS (1993), Cat. No. 1292.0.

Appendix Table 3

Numbers of cultural workers, by occupational category and industry: Australia: 1996 ('000)

Occupation	Industry										
	Publish-ing	Film & video	Radio & TV	Music & theatre	Creative arts	Libraries	Museums & gals.	Other cult. inds.	Total cult. inds.	Non-cult. inds.	Total
Vis. artists, designers[a]	2.1	0.6	0.2	0.1	2.5	-	0.2	4.2	9.9	29.8	39.7
Writers	8.0	0.2	2.0	-	2.0	-	-	0.4	12.6	4.9	17.5
Directors	-	1.7	1.8	0.2	-	-	-	0.4	4.1	0.8	4.9
Musicians	-	-	0.1	3.7	0.2	-	-	0.4	4.4	3.2	7.6
Actors, dancers	-	0.2	0.2	1.3	0.1	-	-	0.4	2.2	1.9	4.1
Library workers	0.2	-	0.1	-	-	6.0	0.1	0.3	6.7	17.0	23.7
Museum workers	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.1	-	1.1	0.7	1.8
Other cult. occupns.	0.8	4.8	5.4	1.1	1.1	0.5	0.3	3.2	17.1	40.3	57.4
Total cult. occupns.	11.1	7.5	9.8	6.4	5.9	6.5	1.7	9.3	58.1	98.6	156.7
Non-cult. occupns.	30.4	7.0	11.2	2.9	1.4	7.2	3.7	34.6	98.4	7,381.2	7,479.6
Total	**41.5**	**14.5**	**21.0**	**9.3**	**7.3**	**13.7**	**5.3**	**43.9**	**156.5**	**7,479.8**	**7,636.3**

Note: [a]includes craftspeople.

Source: Calculated from data in ABS (1996), Cat. No. 6273.0.

Claude Martin Université de Montréal,
Montréal, Canada

« Frontières et structure des domaines de la culture et des communications »

Résumé

L'établissement de statistiques pour les domaines de la culture et des communications se heurte à la nécessité d'en définir les frontières et, à l'intérieur de ces frontières, de proposer une structure pour les activités qu'on y retrouve. Par frontières, nous voulons dire les activités à inclure ou à exclure dans un domaine pour les fins, par exemple, d'un programme de statistiques sociales. Par structure, nous voulons dire les divisions du domaine et, possiblement, les articulations entre ces divisions. En partant de modèles d'organismes statistiques et de propositions de chercheurs sur cette question, ainsi que du travail que nous avons réalisé pour l'Observatoire de la culture et des communications du Québec, nous voulons illustrer certains des problèmes à résoudre. Nous présenterons ensuite notre solution qui consiste à définir le secteur par son caractère fondamentalement communicationnel. Nous devons cependant constater que les milieux de la culture et des communications hésitent à adopter intégralement cette solution.

Abstract

Establishing statistics for the culture and communications domains calls for defining the boundaries of these domains and proposing a structure for activities that fall within them. By boundaries, I mean the activities to be included in or excluded from a domain for the purposes, for example, of a social statistics program. By structure, I mean the divisions of the domain and possibly the interfaces between these divisions. Starting with models from statistical bodies and researchers' proposals as well as work I have done for the Government of Quebec's Observatoire de la culture et des communications, I will illustrate some of the problems to be solved. I will then present my solution, which consists of defining the sector in terms of its basic communicational character. It should be pointed out, however, that culture and communications circles hesitate to adopt this solution in its entirety.

Le mandat de l'Observatoire

Nous parlons ici de « culture » et de « communications », car notre récent travail a justement consisté à contribuer au cadre conceptuel de l'Observatoire de la culture et des communications du Québec[1] et à la mise en place du Système de classification des établissements de la culture et des communications (SCÉCCQ) de l'Observatoire. Au départ, le mandat de l'Observatoire recouvre ces deux domaines, sans doute à l'image du ministère québécois de la Culture et des Communications, lui-même issu de la fusion des anciens ministères québécois des Affaires culturelles, d'une part, et des Communications, d'autre part.

Les origines de ce ministère ne suffisent pas pour lever toutes les ambiguïtés liées aux termes de « culture » et de « communications ». Tout ce qui est humain est culturel, selon la définition anthropologique ou sociologique de la culture[2]. Mais tout n'est pas culturel, selon la définition de la culture comme résultat de la formation des personnes (une personne « cultivée ») ou du travail de l'esprit ou des artistes. Cette définition a précédé, historiquement, celle des anthropologues. La définition de la culture comme résultat du travail de l'esprit est à la base de la délimitation du domaine culturel généralement adoptée par les organismes statistiques, mais ceci ne solutionne pas tous les problèmes. Le terme de communication, au singulier ou au pluriel, est aussi polysémique. Selon les lieux, il peut recouvrir l'ensemble des médias dit « de masse », tous les médias, le domaine des télécommunications, les industries de la publicité et des relations publiques, etc. Au singulier, la communication désigne des processus moléculaires, biologiques, animaux, humains. La communication peut aussi être interpersonnelle, sociale, etc. Pour les usages des statistiques sociales, il faut distinguer les industries des télécommunications et les industries ou activités où le message produit importe d'abord, comme dans les médias de masse. Pour l'Observatoire, il est clair que le mandat recouvre tout ce qui a trait à la production artistique, incluant ses expressions dans les médias de masse, et tout ce qui a trait aux médias de masse en général. Mais le domaine des réseaux de télécommunication (téléphonie et autres formes de transmission) est exclu, même s'il présente un intérêt évident pour la culture et les communications.

Problèmes

Les cadres conceptuels des statistiques de la culture (et des communications) que nous avons analysés[3] comportent ou visent à produire une liste des activités à inclure dans un programme de statistiques. Pour y arriver, on peut définir le domaine ou éviter toute définition[4] mais, définition ou

1. Bien que la présente communication soit une réflexion en partie critique sur ce travail, nous nous permettrons de reprendre ici, sans indications de citation, quelques passages du texte que nous avons produit à cette occasion. Ce texte visait justement à définir les frontières et les structures du domaine de la culture et des communications. On peut trouver ce texte sur le site Web de l'Observatoire, ainsi que le SCÉCCQ.

2. « (N)ous pourrions définir la culture comme étant un ensemble lié de manières de penser, de sentir et d'agir plus ou moins formalisées qui, étant apprises et partagées par une pluralité de personnes, servent, d'une manière à la fois objective et symbolique, à constituer ces personnes en une collectivité particulière et distincte. » Guy Rocher, *Introduction à la sociologie générale*, t. 1, *L'action sociale*, Montréal, Hurtubise HMH, 1969, p. 88.

3. Durand, Michel, *The Canadian Framework for Culture Statistics*, reprographié, Ottawa, Statistique Canada, 1999, 48 p. Eurostat, *Les statistiques culturelles dans l'UE*, Luxembourg, Commission européenne, 2000, 200 p. Institut de la statistique du Québec, *Cadre conceptuel de la statistique culturelle*, 10/10/2000. McKellar, Iain, *The Development of Culture and Recreation Statistics. A Report to the Australian Bureau of Statistics*, reprographié, 1995, 69 p. Ministère de la culture (France), *Définir et structurer les activités du champ de la culture*, reprographié, Département des études et de la prospective, 1995, pagination discontinue. UNESCO, *Rapport de la troisième réunion commune sur les statistiques culturelles*, Genève, 1986, reprographié, pagination discontinue.

4. À titre d'exemple : « Le processus d'introduction/exclusion de certains domaines dans le champ commun (…), n'a été que partiellement théorique. (…) Les modifications apportées au cadre Unesco sont donc premièrement le résultat d'un choix pragmatique (…) » Eurostat, *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

pas, on arrive à une liste. Enfin, on trouve souvent une représentation matricielle des composantes du domaine, mettant en rapport des « fonctions » et des sous-ensembles du domaine tels des industries, ce que nous assimilons à la structure du domaine.

Lorsque vient le temps de définir le domaine, plusieurs termes se retrouvent potentiellement en concurrence : culture et communication(s), eux-mêmes polysémiques, comme nous venons de le voir, mais on parle aussi des domaines des arts, du savoir, de la connaissance, de l'information, du loisir ou du divertissement, des industries culturelles, des industries de la langue, etc. Chacun de ces termes peut donner lieu à plusieurs définitions. Ainsi, celui d'industries culturelles, avec lequel nous sommes plus familier, peut inclure ou exclure la presse écrite, selon les auteurs. De plus, la charge conceptuelle du terme « industrie culturelle » peut varier selon les auteurs. Pour certains, il ne s'agit que d'une branche de la division du travail alors que pour d'autres, il s'agit d'un concept philosophique qui implique un rapport particulier à l'Art.

Heureusement, il y a relativement peu de divergences entre les textes que nous avons analysés. Le domaine culturel (ou de la culture et des communications) comprend les activités artistiques, les mass médias et les activités reliées étroitement aux deux premières. Ceci laisse cependant certains problèmes à résoudre.

Le premier concerne la distinction entre les établissements culturels et les professions culturelles. Le tableau suivant illustre le problème.

Tableau 1
Population active selon le type et le domaine (Canada, 1991)

Type de profession	Domaine	
	Industries culturelles	Autres industries
Professions culturelles	119 225	228 940
Autres emplois	322 130	

Source : *Annuaire du Canada*, Statistique Canada, 1997, Tableau 8.1 (qui utilise l'expression « industrie culturelle » au singulier).

On voit que pour chaque travailleur culturel dans les industries culturelles, environ deux se retrouvent hors des industries culturelles. D'autre part, pour chaque travailleur culturel dans les industries culturelles, on trouve trois travailleurs « non culturel ». Faut-il alors inclure dans le domaine culturel toutes les industries qui emploient des travailleurs culturels? Exemple : l'industrie de l'automobile qui emploie des *designers*. Visiblement, dans le cas de l'automobile, on laissera l'activité hors du domaine culturel, même si une automobile comporte une dimension culturelle au sens anthropologique. Mais, de façon générale, on accepte le *design* et l'architecture dans le domaine culturel, alors qu'ils servent souvent à donner une forme à un produit dont l'utilité principale n'est généralement pas artistique.

D'autre part, dans notre travail pour l'Observatoire québécois, nous n'avons pas eu à discuter des activités journalistiques, car le mandat inclut clairement les « communications », donc les journalistes. Mais les agences dont le mandat ne portent que sur la « culture » ont ici un problème. Au Canada, les journalistes ne font pas partie de la liste des professions artistiques ou

même de celle des professions du secteur culturel[5]. Pourtant, l'histoire du journalisme montre qu'il peut s'agir d'une variante du métier d'écrivain.

Le cas du sport illustre aussi la difficulté à bien définir le domaine culturel. Le sport est une activité culturelle selon les uns et n'en est pas selon d'autres. Au Canada, le sport relève de Patrimoine canadien (le ministère canadien de la culture), mais il est exclu du domaine culturel dans les documents de Statistique Canada. Dans les documents que nous avons consultés, l'Unesco l'inclut, mais Eurostat l'exclut!

Si on regarde les matrices de définition du domaine culturel[6], on constate certaines convergences et certaines divergences. On retrouve toujours l'idée que le domaine culturel donne lieu à des « fonctions » ou à un cycle de conception et de « mise en société » ou de mise en marché, selon les cas. Mais les fonctions varient assez fortement selon les documents. La création peut être une fonction indépendante (Eurostat) ou réunie avec la production pour ne faire qu'une fonction (Unesco). La conservation peut apparaître à la fois comme fonction et comme « branche » (chez Statistique Canada). Les gouvernements peuvent apparaître comme une fonction… des diverses industries (encore chez Statistique Canada, mais il s'agit sans doute ici d'un problème de présentation et non d'ordre conceptuel).

Un modèle communicationnel

Nous croyons qu'une définition relativement restrictive des activités du domaine de la culture et des communications pourrait aider à résoudre les problèmes précédents. Selon nous, le domaine culturel, ou celui de la culture et des communications, peut se définir rigoureusement par son contenu communicationnel ou, autrement dit, par le fait de produire des biens symboliques, selon l'expression rendue célèbre par Pierre Bourdieu. La communication d'une pensée définit le domaine (incluant la communication d'une émotion ou d'une esthétique). Le domaine de la culture et des communications se définit aussi par la particularité du travail qui s'y effectue. Cette caractéristique a été mise de l'avant par les théoriciens des industries culturelles[7]. Le domaine a recours à des travailleurs culturels[8] et se fonde sur le travail de création lui-même définit par une relative autonomie et par la présence de marques personnelles du travail des créateurs dans les œuvres.

Ceci nous permet de proposer des solutions à certains problèmes. D'abord, si la communication devient secondaire dans l'activité, on quitte le cœur du domaine culturel, mais pas totalement son aire. Un match sportif consiste d'abord dans une performance. Il n'appartient pas au domaine culturel. Mais si la télévision s'en empare, cette émission fait partie du domaine. Mon intuition me porterait à exclure le *design* du domaine de la culture et des communications, car il s'agit d'un travail culturel « instrumentalisé » pour la production d'un autre bien. On peut cependant m'objecter qu'il y a des expositions de *design* (entre autres, d'automobiles) dans les musées et que l'architecture est un des beaux-arts. Mais quel est le produit? Une communication ou un édifice? Il en demeure cependant que du travail culturel est ici mis à contribution et

5. Voir Canadian Council for the Arts, *Art Sector Profile #2. Artists in the Labour Force*, reprographié, 1999, 13 p. et Statistique Canada, *La culture canadienne en perspective : Aperçu statistique* (sic), #87-211-XPB, 2000, 124 p.

6. Unesco, *Op. cit.*, Durand, *Op. cit.*, Eurostat, *Op. cit.*

7. Miège, Bernard, Armel Huet, Jacques Ion, Alain Lefebvre, et René Perron, *Capitalisme et industries culturelles*, Grenoble, Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 1978, 198 p. (notre ordre des auteurs, différent de celui du livre).

8. Le travail culturel prend au moins deux formes : une variante à dominance créatrice à l'origine même des œuvres (l'écrivain, le peintre, etc.) et une variante à dominance « reproductive » contribuant à la « mise en société » de l'œuvre (un cameraman, par exemple). De plus, le domaine fait appel à du travail non culturel (un comptable).

que les activités à forte composante de travail culturel ne sont pas totalement étrangères au domaine culturel.

Le cas de la publicité se trouve aussi un peu éclairé. Il s'agit bien d'une communication, mais les auteurs des publicités sont rarement identifiés, ce qui implique une relative absence du statut de créateur. Les publicités ne circulent pas dans le public pour elles-mêmes, sauf exception. Elles ne sont pas achetées, mais l'annonceur paye pour les placer dans un média. Il s'agit ici d'une communication, mais d'une communication qui est un instrument pour une autre communication, celle de l'annonceur. Elle n'exprime plus un auteur, mais un annonceur. Cependant, encore ici, du travail créatif est en cause. De plus, les médias tirent une part importante de leurs revenus de la publicité, ce qui indique qu'on ne peut ignorer le phénomène publicitaire.

En partant du schéma général de la communication, nous pouvons proposer une première structure du système et le développer en fonctions. Celui-ci peut se résumer de la façon suivante[9]:

Nous allons le transformer de la façon suivante :

Autrement dit, nous avons

- le système d'émission, où on retrouve les travailleurs et les organisations (établissements et entreprises) concernés par la création, la production et la diffusion/distribution des produits;
- le champ des produits (livres, films, expositions…);
- les publics dont on observe depuis bon nombre d'années les comportements culturels.

Ainsi, chaque sous-domaine (par exemple le livre) donne lieu à un système d'émission, à des produits et à des publics et la somme des sous-domaines constitue l'ensemble du domaine de la production des biens symboliques.

Le système d'émission ne comporte que trois fonctions :

La création se définit comme la conception d'œuvres originales ouvrant généralement à des droits d'auteur[10]. Un exemple typique serait la rédaction d'un manuscrit.

La production se définit comme « la mise en œuvre du processus qui permet de passer de l'œuvre originale à l'œuvre disponible pour le public »[11]. Exemples typiques : l'édition d'un livre, incluant son impression ou l'enregistrement et la reproduction sur disque d'une œuvre musicale. La production comporte aussi une composante créative, mais elle se réalise à partir d'une œuvre

9. Nous n'ignorons pas les critiques faites à ce modèle, entre autres, la nécessité d'y introduire des boucles de rétroactions. Mais pour un système de statistiques, celles-ci ne sont pas essentielles.
10. Définition inspirée de Eurostat, *Op. cit.*, p. 25.
11. Ibid.

originale. Elle peut aussi donner lieu à des droits d'auteur. Certains produits ou services ne donnent pas lieu à une étape de production. C'est le cas d'un artiste visuel qui produit une toile qui sera ensuite vendue sous cette forme. Fait à noter, certaines productions ne seront pas vendues au public, mais financées par un tiers, tels les annonceurs ou les gouvernements.

La diffusion ou la distribution se définissent comme l'offre, généralement publique, des œuvres produites dans l'étape précédente. Dans le cas de produits matériels (livres, disques, etc.), elle se réalise par le moyen d'entrepôts et de véhicules de transport; on parle alors de distribution et on distingue normalement le commerce de gros du commerce de détail. Elle peut se réaliser par des moyens électroniques ou immatériels (ondes, câblodistribution, Internet); on parle alors de diffusion. Le terme diffusion s'applique aussi aux salles qui accueillent des spectacles en tournée et aux événements rassemblant certains artistes ou producteurs (les « salons », par exemple). La diffusion/distribution peut inclure une dimension de promotion. Cette fonction peut être intégrée physiquement ou commercialement dans celle de la production (la bibliothèque dont la « production » implique une diffusion d'œuvres, l'antenne d'une station de radio) ou dans celle de la création (un artiste visuel qui vend une toile dans son atelier).

Certains cadres conceptuels ajoutent des fonctions comme la conservation en musée et la consommation. Nous proposons plutôt de considérer les musées comme une branche ou un domaine. Dans le cas des bibliothèques et des musées, la fonction de création se réalise par la conception et la gestion stratégique des services offerts (collections, expositions).

La structure générale prendra donc une forme qui se reproduit pour chacun des sous-domaines tels les arts visuels, les arts de la scène, les musées, etc. (voir le SCÉCCQ). Notons que certains sous-domaines ne comportent généralement pas, du point de vue des statistiques de la culture et des communications, de données sur leur diffusion/distribution, leurs produits et leurs publics : l'architecture et le *design* ainsi que la publicité et les relations publiques.

Sous-domaines	Système d'émission			Produits	Publics
	Création	Production	Diffusion/ distribution		

Il reste ici à tenir compte des activités de l'État ainsi que de certaines organisations fort importantes, mais qui ne produisent pas des biens symboliques, du moins dans leurs activités principales. Il s'agit ici du système de formation des professions culturelles, des associations du domaine ainsi que des organisations de gestion de droit. Cet ensemble relève de la régulation du système de la culture et des communications. On ne peut en rendre compte selon le modèle qui précède, bien que chacune de ces instances exerce une activité communicationnelle importante, mais secondaire. Nous proposons donc d'en faire une instance relativement autonome.

Sous-domaines	Système d'émission			Produits	Publics
	Création	Production	Diffusion/ distribution		
Régulation					

Si nous développons le niveau des sous-domaines et celui de la régulation et ajoutons quelques indications sur les unités déclarantes et les types de statistiques pertinentes, nous obtenons le Tableau 2 qui représente le modèle général, les principales frontières et la structure du système.

Tableau 2
Un modèle communicationnel de la statistique de la culture et des communications

Domaines de production des biens symboliques*	Système d'émission				Produits	Publics
	Unités déclarantes	Fonctions				
		Création	Production	Diffusion/ distribution		
Arts visuels, métiers d'art…					Ventes	Préférences
Arts de la scène						
Patrimoine, musées, archives	Travailleurs				Genres	Portées
Livre						
Périodique						
Bibliothèques					Prix de vente	Durées
Enregistrement sonore						
Cinéma et audiovisuel	Établissements				Importations	Dépenses
Radio et télévision						
Multimédias, nouveaux médias					Exportations	Équipements
Activités multisectorielles						Possessions
Architecture et design	Entreprises					
Publicité et relations publiques						

Domaines de la régulation	Activités	
Administration fédérale	Travailleurs	Emplois
Administration provinciale		
Administration locales	Établissements	Flux financiers
Écoles (cult. et communic.)**		
Gestion de droits	Organisations	Indicateurs de performance
Associations		
Espace (régions, localités)		
Temps		

Pas de collecte de statistiques, sauf pour quelques organismes de diffusion.

* Voir le *Système de classification des établissements de la culture et des communications* de l'Observatoire pour la liste des domaines, secteurs et sous-secteurs.

** Le *Système* de l'Observatoire fait de la formation une fonction associée au système d'émission de chaque domaine.

Réactions

Ce modèle a effectivement servi à élaborer le Système de classification des établissements de la culture et des communications de l'Observatoire. Cependant, le fonctionnement de l'Observatoire prévoit la consultation formelle de représentants des milieux concernés lors de l'élaboration de programmes de statistiques. De façon générale, le modèle {Émission [Création – Production – (Diffusion + distribution)] – Produits – Publics} a été bien reçu, en particulier par les représentants des milieux médiatiques. Le déploiement du modèle en sous-domaines détaillé a cependant suscité un intérêt critique croissant, alors que les acteurs des milieux concernés ont commencé à réaliser la portée du modèle.

Les premières oppositions se sont manifestées au sujet de l'abolition de la fonction de conservation au profit de son établissement comme un sous-domaine ou une branche, ce qui implique une fonction de création dans les bibliothèques et les musées. Certains ont insisté pour placer les bibliothèques dans la fonction de diffusion de l'industrie du livre, même si les bibliothèques offrent de plus en plus des supports différents du livre. Finalement, la structure proposée a été adoptée, avec les bibliothèques et les musées comme branches.

Une forte opposition s'est manifestée quant au statut du *design* et particulièrement de l'architecture, et ce, malgré l'absence volontaire des architectes pendant le processus de consultation. Les premières versions de notre modèle soulignaient la particularité de l'architecture, une communication généralement secondaire dans le produit, ce qui implique un statut en périphérie du domaine. Dans le tableau 2, on voit que nous ne soulignons que légèrement ce phénomène. Quant au SCÉCCQ, il ne montre pas de trace claire de notre proposition.

Les milieux consultés ont insisté pour placer la formation comme une fonction du système d'émission, estimant que les liens entre les professionnels et les écoles étaient déterminants. Nous avons objecté que ces écoles ne produisent pas des produits, des œuvres ou des messages, mais des diplômés, ce qui les place dans une instance de régulation et non de production. Il en fut décidé autrement.

Une dernière brèche dans notre modèle a consisté à placer les interprètes (incluant les acteurs ou comédiens) dans la fonction de création. Nous n'avions pas nié la dimension créative de l'interprétation, mais estimions logique de réserver la création à la première conception des œuvres. Il semble cependant que l'existence des droits de reproduction des performances des interprètes ait emporté le jugement.

* * *

Ces diverses modifications au schéma original n'interdisent pas à un analyste de revenir au schéma original, simplement en déplaçant les données dans l'espace de la matrice. Elles ne mettent pas en cause la fonctionnalité du SCÉCCQ. Elles résultent du réel pouvoir des milieux consultés par l'Observatoire et il faut les accueillir avec sérénité. Il faut d'ailleurs se réjouir de l'intérêt des milieux pour les statistiques sociales!

Ces modifications illustrent aussi un principe bien connu en sciences sociales. Définir et classer ne sont pas que des actes « scientifiques ». Ce sont aussi des actes de communication et de politique. Il s'agit d'une communication qui intervient dans les rapports multiples entre les acteurs des champs de la culture et des communications. Par exemple, accepter de placer les interprètes dans la fonction de production impliquait, pour certains, un risque de dévalorisation. La joute devient finalement politique. Produire des statistiques contribue aussi à la régulation du système. La décision d'établir un programme de statistiques de la culture et des communications constitue un acte politique. L'intérêt des milieux concernés devient un indicateur intéressant de leurs rapports à l'État et à la société.

Conférences — Papers

Araceli De Leon International Finance Corporation, Washington, United States

"The Copyright Industries: Opportunities for Development Work in South Africa, India, China, Venezuela and Colombia"

Résumé

Les industries du droit d'auteur constituent des secteurs économiques importants qui peuvent se révéler des sources majeures d'emploi, d'éducation et d'investissement dans les pays en développement, pourvu que l'on y adopte des politiques appropriées. Lorsque la production de nombreuses entreprises de création est élaborée sous forme de fichiers numériques pour être ensuite distribuée dans l'ensemble des économies en réseaux, son impact économique et culturel peut être décuplé. Les décideurs du secteur économique doivent détenir l'information nécessaire qui leur permette de mesurer l'importance de ces industries, ainsi que leurs effets escomptés sur la production culturelle.

Abstract

The Copyright Industries are significant economic sectors and can be important sources of work, education and investment in developing countries provided the right policies are adopted. When the output of many of these industries is elaborated to be distributed as digital files over the networked economies, the cultural and economic impact of cultural production can be magnified many times over. Economic policy makers need to have information in hand that allows them to quantify the importance of these industries as well as the potential effects that alternative policies would have on cultural production.

"Peoples' cultural identity" is a flowing quantity, different for every generation and individual. While most of us seek answers to life' riddles in trusted time-tested traditions rarely do these provide the tools we seek. Cultural identities are constantly evolving to accommodate reinterpretation of their messages with ingenuity and creativity by the young. Cultural identity is a constantly evolving vector of beliefs, expressions and ideas to which nobody and anybody can claim ownership. Artistic content captures the evolution of cultural identity as literary productions, dances, sculpture, plays, novels, magazines, music compositions, films, television and radio programming. Digital technologies liberate these expressions from the confines of real time and geography but themselves do not alter the underlying cultural messages imbedded in art products.

Overview: Cultural, Creative and Copyright Industries (CCCI) and their role in economic development

There are investment and economic development opportunities in the copyright industries of audio-visual, music, publishing, software design and games in developing countries. In most places, these industries are found to be the creative work of technically savvy small enterprises. Often managed by young entrepreneurial people, these companies are seedbeds of innovation and creativity. Music publishers, studio managers, casting, costume designers, Web-designers, digital editors, post-production technicians operate side by side with stage carpenters, costume rentals, dry-cleaners, optical equipment rentals, camera leases, and so on. They can grow faster and become good attractive financial ventures when they can access a telecommunications platform for distribution and marketing to multiple and distant clients. At that stage, the CCCI become part of a supply chain that connects artists and local cultural entrepreneurs with a broader universe of their peers. Effective copyright enforcement is essential in this new media digital world to ensure the commercial sustainability of businesses, authors and art creators. In fact, a complete legal and regulatory infrastructure for the telecommunications industry, for the broadcasting industry and for the protection of artistic properties is a necessary condition for the prosperity of these new industries.

a) Importance of the CCCI

In India, South Africa, Colombia, Venezuela and China, the CCCI have a small but significant role in the economy as measured by contributions to each of these countries' GDP. These contributions range from 2% to 3%. These numbers are still below the equivalent for some countries in OECD such as the UK and US where the estimates run closer to 5% and 6%. Apart from possible measurement gaps, the differences between the two groups mean that there are still unexploited opportunities for growth and investment in developing countries through the CCCI. The opportunities in each case are found to depend on the support for reforms in the education and telecommunications sectors, on the establishment of local IPR protection systems and on the liberalization of the broadcasting industries. The modernization of education systems is to include computer skills in the curricula of public schools is important. Also important is the availability of more specialized training facilities the education systems, the access to telecommunications platforms and Internet connectivity and particularly the literacy rates. The table below gives an overview of the main macro-economic indicators for each of the countries studied. The actual shares of the CCCI in the total are estimated from industry specific accounts and are presented further down.

Macro Economic, Social and Consumer Spending Indicators	India	Venezuela	South Africa	Colombia	China
Total GDP (US$ bill) 1999	451	120	130	85.3	4,500
Population (thousands)	1,090,000	23,000	43,586	42,300	1,273,111
Number unemployed (mill)	42.00	1.50	2.23		70.0
Labor force in services % of total		64.0	45.0	49	26.0
Literacy Rates (%)	54.0	97.0	80.0	92.0	81.0
Gross Primary School Enrollment	100.0	91.0	135.0	113.0	123.0
Exports (US$ Mill) 1999	57,466	32,400	35,766	16,200	232 ,000
Services % of GDP	47.0	58.0	66.0	55.7	35.0
Telecomm % of GDP					
Pub Exp/Education as % GNP	3.3	5.2	6.8	5.8	2.3
Branding awareness					
Consumer spending/entertainment	5	3	4	3	5

(1=weak and 5= strong)

Sources: OECD, World Bank, US Dept of Commerce.

b) The statistical aspects and industry definitions

There is not a universally shared concept of what should be included as Creative Cultural and Copyright Industries (CCCI). This paper uses the term Creative, Cultural and Copyright Industries to represent activities that seek the creation of artistic work over which authors could claim copyrights. According to UNESCO, "cultural industries consist of books, magazines, music records, film and videos, multimedia products, and other industries that are being created". In this work, the CCCI selection for each country will also depend on the statistical coverage and publications available for scrutiny. For most countries, the CCCI includes audiovisual sectors (radio, film, television) including publishing associated with each and in some cases like in South Africa, print publishing and music industries as well. Other creative industries such as performing arts and graphic design are not included because they are harder to extract from aggregates. Three very important categories, music, software for interactive games and advertising are not included or appropriately represented. In the case of the interactive games industry, there are no figures available from national statistics. In the case of advertising, the problems are of possible double counting and lack of comparability of figures across countries. Extensive additional surveying would be required to cover these two categories appropriately. It is however clear that these two industries are of enormous potential, especially in China and India and should be considered full members of the Creative Industries Group. Music is a very important sector in the CCCI group, easily one of the main sectors if the statistics on the industry were available, but there was no sufficient information on the sector to do it justice in places like Colombia and Venezuela. In some countries such as India, the music sector is closely linked to the cinema industry and there might be some double counting if it were to be quantified separately.

c) Lack of statistical information on the industries is critical to their understanding

One of the findings of this research is how little formal statistical information, there is available on the Creative Industries in general. Few governments have advanced organized efforts to measure their economic and social impact. However because these industries are growing

above the average rate for the economy, there has been a mushrooming of private surveying services, many web based, who will sell different forms of data on the CCCI for a fee. Information about content for children television, for animation, for documentary productions, etc are all available for a fee from different sources: trade associations, management consultants, web surveying services. This information is pricey and difficult to compare from country to country. It is clear that some agreed protocols and standardization of measurements are needed. A similar problem exists with regards to the measurement of broadband connectivity. The degree of deployment of broadband is key to the growth of the CCCI, especially those with greater value added through broadcasting in television, radio, video and soon the new cellular telephones. This work does not have an accurate count on the actual penetration of broadband networks in developing countries. Most of the information on bandwidth and internet connectivity is derived from ISP carriers. Country specific estimates of bandwidth coverage discussed in this paper where based on Pyramid's research reports and on trade periodicals published in individual countries.

d) The CCCI in the national accounts

CCCIs are not disaggregated but are buried in the "services" and "other" categories of the national accounts. Music publishing, documentary film-making and other such activities appear as "leisure and recreation" in some cases or simply as "services". Efforts are underway in some countries to extract more precise information about these industries. The Culture Ministries of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Argentina and Venezuela are presently working on developing a new separate category and provide guidelines to statistical offices for future periodic compilations. In the OECD, Canada, New Zealand and Great Britain and more recently Sweden have put together specialized statistical databases to measure the Creative Industries. The experiences with these initiatives are worth disseminating to the rest of the world. Initiatives to establish "Cultural Observatories" have been a useful means to gather momentum for the collection of statistics. Canada and France have Cultural Observatories in place and Sweden and Italy are moving in this direction too. The statistics on cultural industries available at the UNIDO only go as far as 1995 for most countries and only cover a limited number of indicators such as television radio and PC ownership. In general, information on the television, cable, radio and film industries is more readily available than on book publishing, newspapers, multimedia.

e) Important gaps in measurement: The input/output relations within the industry

One of the most important dimensions to look for when calibrating the economic importance of the CCCI is how much their output contributes to other industries' value. In India for example, it is suspected that a very important fraction of pop music recorded is intended for the movie industry. But perhaps one of the largest consumers of artistic and multimedia products is commercial advertising, an industry that is often disregarded by professionals in economic development.

i) **Advertising and its role in the CCCI**: The advertising industry is the economic backbone for many small companies dealing in cultural and creative material. Advertising is becoming important in the developing world because their economies are increasingly diversified. As economies undergo economic liberalization and are exposed to freer trade, a greater choice in consumption is requiring that consumers differentiate and recognize

quality and consistency through branding. The main client for creative output, advertising has played an important role in nurturing these skills and putting them to a commercial use. As with many intermediate products in the CCCI, there are not many indicators from which one can infer the relative importance of the advertising industry to artistic multimedia production. A proper study of the Creative Industries and the economic and financial models most likely to succeed requires an understanding of their dependence on advertising revenues. Companies dealing with the production of content for media channels in particular, operate very closely with the advertising industry. Often, artists and production directors only have access to larger budgets when they work for advertising companies. It is in the execution of advertising commissions that, despite the emphasis on budgetary disciplines and strict deadlines, artistic producers can explore new technologies and equipment and expand their understanding of new technological possibilities. In the research that accompanied this paper, we have observed that the communications media and the advertising industries provide bread and butter revenues that allow many multimedia and creative small companies to stay afloat in periods of survive and grow.

ii) **Sources for this paper**: Information for research on this paper has come from various sources. Figures for Venezuela and Colombia were taken from a study by the Ministry of Culture and Information financed through a special program, the Convenio Andres Bello, part of the Andean Pact. This work remains unfinished for lack of funding but some preliminary estimates of the magnitude of these sectors was available and is used here. The figures for South Africa come from a study commissioned by the Ministry of Culture, Information and Technology in 1998 and partially financed by the British Council. It is complemented by more recent independently obtained data on the television and movie industries. In all cases, there was less information on other parts of the creative industries such as newspaper publishing and music. This is a serious drawback of the paper because music in particular is a fairly important part of the Creative Industries in developing economies. The World Bank has produced a study of the music industry in several African countries but despite several requests to obtain it, it was never made available to this research. The main source of figures for India is a study on the Entertainment Industries by Arthur Andersen for the FCCI (Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry) in March of 2000 as well as various other materials from various equity analysis firms. The remainder of the information comes from a variety of sources quoted at the back and from visits to companies in East Asia in the last quarter of 2000 and other research work completed in 2001. The visits to East Asia were made with the IFC's Equity Funds Department to appraise conditions for an equity fund for content. Thus companies visited in those trips were chosen by their likelihood to become partners in an equity fund and may not be the most representative of their type in a given country. The only case where information was drawn from a random survey across various streams of creative industries was in the Australia case study. About 120 small companies were interviewed in Sydney. The questionnaire is attached in the Annex. Australia was introduced almost as a control group and serves to make some comparisons between a developed economy with significantly government resources supporting the arts and multimedia industries, with access to finance and business connections with global centers. The Australian creative and copyright industries are not as varied and specialized as their peers in the US or the UK. The Australian however provides a useful base for comparisons with other less developed economies.

iii) **Findings**: Apart from the lack of appropriate data discussed above, this report has found that the Creative Industries have real potential to create jobs, especially quality jobs where knowledge, creativity and innovation are the main ingredients. These industries should be of interest to officials concerned with economic development because they are essentially populated by small companies most of which are manned by young people. The linkages between the Creative Industries and poverty alleviation are not as clear, particularly with the very poorest segments. Primary content such as compositions in music, painting, literature, etc are generally not produced by individuals in the poorest strata. But these individuals are in low income brackets and many would benefit from better established systems for revenue and royalty collections. Further along in the supply chain of creative production, small service companies, themselves great employers, are usually found clustering around sound and video studios, especially when these are involved with television and theatrical distribution. The Creative Industries are definitely important as manifestations of local culture and local audiences will almost uniformly prefer good quality local content to imported material. The quandary is to have local production capacity to reach those high quality levels. In small markets, this is seen to happen only if local production is geared for export. The larger scales needed to produce for international markets are a requisite for equally good local content. Programming for entertainment and education is a traded good. Another conclusion of the paper is that the market for creative companies can grow with broadband penetration as more Internet applications and entertainment possibilities are developed for hand held devices, cellular telephones and television. The economic model for these streams of business is dependent on well established e-commerce legal protocols, especially those that prevent piracy, and on the extended penetration of broadband connections. Piracy rates are very high in some countries and have virtually stifled the video industry out of existence in most of the countries concerned. Likewise, connection rates are still high in most developing countries compared to OECD markets. Despite of this, growth could be very high in broadband applications and is a market that should be closely watched and supported. There is some evidence indicating that countries with the most equal income distributions have the better conditions in terms of Internet connectivity, literacy rates and larger addressable markets in general. Complex telecommunications and broadcasting investments are not likely to affect the life of the poorest segments of the population directly. They are however likely to create demand for artistic and creative content that can be produced by the less literate and poorer population segments.

Session 3.1

Questions de politiques culturelles : thèmes particuliers

Mardi, 22 octobre 2002

Cultural Policy Issues: Specialized Themes

Tuesday, October 22, 2002

Conférenciers

Julio Carranza Valdés	UNESCO Regional Office, La Habana, Cuba
Andrés Roemer **Alfonso Castellanos**	Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, Conaculta, Mexico, Mexico
Danielle Cliche	European Research Institution for Comparative Cultural Policy and the Arts, ERICarts, Bonn, Germany

Lecturers

Président de la session

Terry Cheney	T.J. Cheney Research Inc., Ottawa, Canada

Chair of the session

Résumé de la session

par Lydia Deloumeaux et Patrick Lucas
Institut de statistique de l'UNESCO

1. *« Les indicateurs culturels : un nouveau concept de développement »*

M. Julio Carranza, Bureau régional de l'UNESCO, Cuba

M. Carranza souligne la nécessité d'une meilleure compréhension du développement culturel et d'indicateurs qui reflètent les aspects tant quantitatifs que qualitatifs de la culture. Il fait référence au protocole de l'UNESCO et à la nécessité de définir de nouvelles notions pour le développement. La diversité culturelle et le lien évident entre la culture et le développement doivent figurer parmi ces notions. Par conséquent, la politique culturelle doit adopter une approche plus large et plus spécifique. Cette nouvelle définition du développement de la culture serait fondée sur une société complexe qui englobe non seulement le bien-être physique, mais aussi les aspirations et les valeurs spirituelles des êtres humains. M. Carranza signale que les indicateurs établis sur cette base pourraient être utilisés à des fins d'évaluation. Il fait référence à d'autres projets administrés par le PNUD, tel que l'indice du développement humain, à titre d'exemple de travaux réalisés dans le domaine.

Comme l'indique M. Carranza, le Bureau de l'UNESCO à La Havane a entrepris d'examiner la question de la mesure des différentes dimensions de la culture. Son examen porte sur les méthodologies où l'accent est mis sur les indicateurs qui reflètent le processus et les ressources du développement. Par ailleurs, une attention spéciale sera accordée à la notion des sociétés dépourvues de systèmes

Session Report

by Lydia Deloumeaux and Patrick Lucas
UNESCO Institute for Statistics

1. *"Cultural indicators: A new concept of development"*

Mr. Julio Carranza, UNESCO regional Office, Cuba

Mr. Carranza pointed out the need for a greater understanding of cultural development and indicators that captured both quantitative as well as qualitative aspects of this process. He referred to the UNESCO protocol and the need in defining new notions of development. This includes cultural diversity and the evident link between culture and development. Hence cultural policy must be broader and more sensitive in its approach. This new notion of culture development is not only based on a complex society that encompasses material well-being but as well as spiritual aspirations and values of human beings. Mr. Carranza mentioned that development of such indicators could be used for evaluation purposes. He referred to other projects administrated by UNDP such as the human development index as an example of related work in the area.

He explained that UNESCO's Havana office have attempted to tackle the issue of measuring the diverse dimensions of culture. They work on methodologies that are focused on indicators that look at development as a process and resources for development. Furthermore, the notion of societies that have inadequate education systems must be examined as well as participation in cultural creation, global ethics, and respect of cultural identity.

d'éducation adéquats, à la participation dans le domaine de la création culturelle, à l'éthique mondiale et au respect de l'identité culturelle.

M. Carranza précise que la majorité des indicateurs portent essentiellement sur la création et ne permettent pas de mesurer ou d'évaluer adéquatement l'équité sociale sur le plan de la participation aux activités créatrices. Il souligne le besoin de considérer les nombreuses dimensions de la culture, comme la participation et l'accès à la technologique culturelle. Cette tâche, dit-il, favorisera une meilleure compréhension de l'Amérique Latine et des Caraïbes et contribuera par conséquent au développement de la population de la région. Il propose donc que le Bureau de l'UNESCO retienne ces dimensions pour l'établissement d'indicateurs de développement de la culture.

2. *« Les systèmes d'information culturelle et les indicateurs culturels comme outils de formulation, d'information et d'évaluation des politiques culturelles : la situation au Mexique »*

Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, CONACULTA, Mexique

M. Andrés Roemer

M. Roemer souligne l'importance de définir le but des politiques culturelles. Il fait remarquer que des coûts d'option collectifs sont généralement associés à la collecte de données. La détermination de ces coûts et la garantie de qualité demandent à être examinées et évaluées l'une par rapport à l'autre. M. Roemer relève quelques exemples de sujets et d'enquêtes qui devront faire l'objet d'une attention particulière, à savoir : Quelles statistiques sont nécessaires? Combien de Mexicains auront accès aux biens et aux services culturels? Quels indicateurs devraient

He explained that the majority of indicators focused on creation but did not allow adequate measurement or assessment of social equity in the participation of creative activities. He stressed the need to capture the many dimensions of culture like participation and access to cultural technology. He underlined that this work will enable a better understanding of Latin America and the Carribean in order to contribute to the development of the region's population. He proposed such an approach of culture development indicators to be adopted by UNESCO's office.

2. *"Cultural information systems and cultural indicators as tools for the formulation, reporting and assessment of cultural policies: the experience of Mexico"*

Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, CONACULTA, Mexico

Mr. Andrés Roemer

Mr. Roemer emphasized the importance of defining a purpose for the cultural statistics. He highlighted the fact that there is an opportunity cost associated with data collection. Both assessment of these costs and the guarantee of quality must be examined and weighed against one another respectively. Mr. Roemer mentioned several examples and queries that needed to be addressed in the future: what statistics are needed? How many Mexicans will have access to cultural good and services? Which indicators should determine

déterminer l'éducation culturelle dans les écoles? Quelle est l'incidence de lire beaucoup (plusieurs livres)?

Au moment de nous poser la question « Que devrions-nous mesurer? », il importe, comme le souligne M. Roemer, de prendre en considération les besoins des ministères de la Culture et ceux du grand public.

M. Alfonso Castellanos

M. Castellanos décrit la profonde réorganisation des statistiques culturelles entreprise par l'Institut CONACULTA. Il souligne l'absence de fiabilité dans les chiffres collectés antérieurement et les difficultés éprouvées sur le plan de la mesure (par exemple, pour déterminer la proportion de visiteurs mexicains au musée). Il signale que le grand public désire une information exhaustive dans le domaine de la culture.

Pour traiter l'information, CONACULTA a eu recours à un système de cartographie qui affiche l'état des ressources culturelles du pays. Il projette maintenant de concevoir un outil lui permettant d'évaluer l'impact des politiques, des programmes et des projets et le rendement des institutions culturelles. Par ailleurs, l'Institut compte mener de nouveaux sondages, prendre connaissance de la situation dans d'autres pays, notamment au Canada et en Europe, partager avec eux leurs expériences nationales, et intégrer des recommandations internationales.

education of culture in schools? What are the implications of reading many books?

In asking ourselves, "what should we measure?", Mr. Roemer highlighted the importance of including the needs of both the ministries of culture as well as the general public.

Mr. Alfonso Castellanos

Mr. Castellanos described the deep re-organization of cultural statistics that has been taking place in CONACULTA. He underlined the lack of reliability in figures that had been previously collected and the difficulties in measurement (i.e.: defining proportion of Mexican visitors to Museum). He reported that the general public is requesting comprehensive information in the area of culture.

The institute has attempted to manage information by using a mapping system, which displays the state of cultural resources in the country. They will try to develop a tool for evaluating the impact of policies, programs and projects and the performance of cultural institutions. They will launch new surveys and try to capture and share other national experiences from such places as Canada or Europe, as well as to incorporate international recommendations.

3. *« Les politiques culturelles en Europe. Compendium de données de base et de tendances »*

Danielle Cliche, Institut européen de recherche comparative sur la culture (ERICarts), Allemagne

Mme Cliche met l'accent sur le vaste système d'information issu d'une initiative du Conseil de l'Europe et d'ERICarts en 1998. Il s'agit d'un système d'information intégré à la toile mondiale qui fournit des données de base concernant les politiques culturelles en Europe (de l'Azerbaïdjan au Royaume-Uni). ERICarts et le Conseil de l'Europe ont établi un partenariat auquel participe un groupe d'experts européens qui ont pour tâche de surveiller les politiques culturelles de leurs pays respectifs. Ce projet transnational est le résultat d'un processus interactif de constantes discussions suivies entre les auteurs, les initiateurs/éditeurs et les gouvernements nationaux. Un guide, sous forme de compendium, établit le rôle respectif de chaque intervenant. L'un des buts visés par le projet était de rendre l'information et les données plus accessibles et plus conviviales en les présentant dans un style journalistique. Toutefois, comme le contexte des politiques culturelles en Europe continuait d'évoluer, le cadre du Compendium devait lui aussi être adapté selon cette évolution, afin qu'il soit suffisamment ouvert, pragmatique et flexible pour absorber de nouveaux indicateurs sans compromettre le système. Il rend compte de l'ensemble des diverses politiques culturelles avec une transparence qui permet de faire des liens avec d'autres projets transnationaux menés, par exemple, par ERICarts, le Conseil de l'Europe et EUROSTAT. Au départ, les initiateurs du projet n'ont pas cherché à adopter une définition stricte de la culture (ou de la politique culturelle), ni à suivre une approche par secteur, ni vraiment cherché à faire de comparaisons. L'harmonisation ex-post des résultats a été entreprise et

3. *"Cultural policies in Europe: a compendium of basic facts and trends"*

Danielle Cliche, European Research Institute for Comparative Cultural Policy and the Arts (ERICarts), Germany

Ms. Cliche outlined the extensive information system that was first developed by the Council of Europe and ERICarts in 1998. It is a web-based information system that provides basic facts and data on cultural policies in Europe (from Azerbaijan to the UK). ERICarts and the Council of Europe formed a partnership that included a community of experts in Europe, which monitors cultural policies in their respective countries. This transnational project is an interactive process with consistent discussions between the authors, the originators/editors and national governments. A Compendium Guide identifies the respective role of each actor. One of the goals of the project was to make information and data more accessible and user-friendly in a journalistic style. However, as the cultural policy landscape in Europe continued to change, the Compendium framework had to also be developed in a manner to accomodate such change, to be open and pragmatic and flexible enough to accommodate new indicators without breaking the system. It simultaneously captures the diversity of cultural policies with a transparency that permits the connection to other transnational exercises being carried out by, for example, ERICarts, the Council of Europe and EUROSTAT. The originators of the project did not try to adopt a clear-cut definition of culture (or cultural policy) or pursue a sector specific approach nor was there an explicit attempt to make comparisons in the beginning. An ex-post harmonization of results was undertaken which has led to "comparable observations". The structure of each of the Compendium country profiles is made up of nine chapters and 49 sub-chapters and

a permis d'effectuer des « observations comparables ». La structure de chacun des profils nationaux du Compendium se divise en neuf chapitres et 49 sections et fournit une information à la fois qualitative et quantitative. Le Conseil de l'Europe évalue actuellement cette approche systématique ainsi que son impact global en posant des questions comme : « Quelle en a été l'incidence sur l'établissement de politiques ou sur le travail du Conseil de l'Europe et dans quelle mesure la recherche en Europe a-t-elle profité de l'exercice? »

4. Séance plénière

Le président, M. Cheney, souligne que les communications ont porté sur deux thèmes distincts jusqu'à maintenant. Le premier est l'abondance de données et l'autre, l'insuffisance de données dans les pays en voie de développement.

Ann Belinda Preis remercie M. Carranza pour sa description des travaux réalisés par l'UNESCO sur les politiques culturelles. Elle souligne qu'il est important de chercher à rapprocher des thèmes permettant de lier des éléments comme la complexité des données et l'absence de données dans des contextes sociaux et politiques différents. Les nombreux tableaux laissés en blanc dans le Rapport mondial sur la culture sont particulièrement éloquents à cet égard. Le défi, dit-elle, serait de remplir ces espaces vides. L'une des conclusions tirées du rapport montre que les statistiques culturelles sous-déclarent ou excluent les pays pauvres et ce, parce que les statistiques disponibles portent principalement sur la production et la consommation de biens culturels auxquels on peut attribuer une valeur marchande. De nombreux problèmes de mesure et de reddition de comptes dans la production de statistiques persistent. Il faudra en tenir compte dans l'établissement de politiques ou de projets futurs dans ce domaine.

entails both a qualitative and quantitative information. The Council of Europe is currently assessing this systematic approach and its impact overall by asking questions such as: "How has policy-making or the work of the Council of Europe been affected and how has research in Europe benefited from the exercise?"

4. Plenary discussion

Mr. Cheney, the chairperson referred to the fact that two distinct themes emerged from the previous discussions so far. The first is the idea that there is an abundance of data and the second is the lack of data for developing countries.

Ann Belinda Preis thanked Mr. Carranza for having well described the work of UNESCO on cultural policies. She emphasized that it is important to try to bring closer themes together to link such things as the sophistication of data and the lack of data into other social or political contexts. This had been evident by the many blank tables in the World Culture Report. The challenges, she explained, would be to fill these blanks. One conclusion of the report is that cultural statistics underreport or exclude poor countries because the available statistics focus primarily on the production and consumption of cultural goods that can be priced in the market. Many problems of measurement and accountability in production of statistics persist. It is necessary to take this into account in order to establish any policy or future work in the area.

Mr. Bonet emphasized the problem met by ERICarts/Council of Europe of reconciling governmental concerns based on national-policy with the methodology of researchers,

M. Bonet met en évidence le problème auquel se sont heurtés ERICarts et le Conseil de l'Europe pour concilier les préoccupations des gouvernements en matière de politique nationale, avec la méthodologie employée par les chercheurs qui cherchent à comparer des pays différents. Il fait remarquer que le problème consiste à déterminer un modèle théorique uniforme. Il s'interroge ensuite sur l'idée d'une équipe de chercheurs oeuvrant harmonieusement dans un environnement qui englobe autant de décideurs politiques avec les contradictions qui y sont associées. Il se demande ensuite comment les chercheurs peuvent concilier ces contradictions.

M. Schuster fait remarquer que même si au départ l'intention du Conseil de l'Europe et d'ERICarts n'était peut-être pas de comparer des données d'un pays à un autre, l'outil qui a néanmoins été créé sur Internet permet d'établir cette comparaison à un niveau de regroupement. Il explique que l'expérience montre qu'il serait utile de commencer un projet modestement en considérant les profils nationaux, pour ensuite modifier le système à des fins de comparabilité.

Mme Cliche réplique que le but de l'établissement des profils nationaux n'est pas de classer les pays, mais de fournir un contexte et de favoriser la compréhension.

Mme Kathrin Merkle, de l'unité de recherche et développement des politiques culturelles au Conseil de l'Europe, et qui est à l'origine du projet, fait remarquer que le Compendium satisfait plusieurs exigences. Le modèle renferme une multitude de fenêtres qui permettent l'accès à autant de plateformes relevant d'instituts de recherche indépendants et d'organismes publics. Les éditeurs ont cherché, et réussi, à résoudre certaines des contradictions inhérentes (et presque nécessaires) soulevées par M. Lluis Bonet. Même s'il est ardu de tracer le profil individuel d'un pays, comme

which try to compare different countries. He noted that the problem was to determine what would be the uniform approach. He questioned the idea of a team of researchers working harmoniously in an environment that encompasses so many political actors with associated contradictions. He then asked how researchers can reconcile these contradictions.

Mr. Schuster pointed to the fact that although the original intention of the Council of Europe/ ERICarts may not have been to compare data across countries, the tool that has nevertheless been developed on the Internet, has enabled such comparison at an aggregated level. He explained that this experience suggests that it would be useful to start a project modestly by looking at national profiles then amending the system later on for comparability. Ms. Cliche answered that the goal was not to rank countries but to generate context and understanding by profiling countries.

Kathrin Merkle, from the Cultural Policies Research and Development Unit at the Council of Europe, and at the origin of this project, remarked that the Compendium fulfills many requirements. The model contains a plurality of windows that allows access to multiple platforms from independent research and public bodies. The editors have attempted to and have successfully resolved some of the inherent (and almost necessary) contradictions mentioned by Lluis Bonet. Even if it is difficult to build a single country profile as in the case of Germany where the federal structure stifles suchuniformity, thanks to patience and a huge amount of data, some comparisons could be made and users are also able to make their ownobservations.

Ms. Cliche explained that the Compendium acts as a tool for some countries in helping them to (re)build a framework for cultural policy (a kind of check list). She further

dans le cas de l'Allemagne où la structure fédérale ne permet pas l'uniformité, grâce à la patience et à une énorme quantité de données, il est possible d'établir certaines comparaisons et les utilisateurs sont eux aussi en mesure de faire leurs propres observations.

Comme l'explique Mme Cliche, le Compendium peut aider certains pays à (re)définir un cadre de travail relatif aux politiques culturelles (une sorte de liste de vérification). Elle fait également remarquer que ces mécanismes permettent aux chercheurs d'épauler les représentants des gouvernements responsables de l'élaboration de politiques efficaces. Elle souligne l'étroite collaboration entre les chercheurs qui dressent les profils et les responsables des politiques qui fournissent une part importante de l'information et des données requises.

M. Roemer signale que cet outil serait utile également pour l'Amérique Latine. À cet effet, la structure de base, soit le Compendium d'ERICarts et du Conseil de l'Europe, pourrait être présenté lors de la rencontre de la Colombie, du Chili, du Mexique et du Venezuela qui aura lieu en novembre 2002 et à laquelle l'UNESCO pourrait collaborer éventuellement.

M. Skaliotis considère, pour sa part, qu'avec le traitement réservé à la question de la comparabilité, le Compendium est sur la bonne voie. Il souligne l'importance d'examiner plusieurs sources afin de maintenir la cohérence dans la détermination de la comparabilité internationale.

M. Bouchenaki fait remarquer que seulement deux méthodes de collecte de données s'offrent aux institutions internationales. La première méthode a été utilisée par l'UNESCO dans les années 70. Elle consistait à collecter des statistiques purement nationales pour publier un ensemble de manuels propres à chacun des pays sur les politiques culturelles.

pointed out that such mechanisms allowed for researchers to be put together with government officials responsible for effective policy-making. She underlined the close workink relationship between the researchers preparing the profiles and the policy makers providing a substantial part of the information and data required.

Mr. Roemer explained that such a tool would be useful for Latin America as well. He stated that the framework (Council of Europe/ERICarts Compendium) could be presented during their meeting in November 2002 with Columbia, Chile, Mexico and Venezuela with the possible collaboration from UNESCO.

In addressing the issue of comparability, Mr. Michael Skaliotis explained that the Compendium is going in the right direction. He underlined the importance of looking at multiple sources to maintain consistency in the facilitation of international comparability.

Mr. Bouchenaki remarked that only two ways to collect data existed for international institutions. The first methodology was used in the 70's. The approach used at UNESCO was to collect purely national statistics in order to publish a set of national books on cultural policy. But this system was not satisfactory because these statistics were created in order to follow national governmental policies. He noted that the methodology used by Council of Europe/ERICarts is the only way to begin collecting statistics on individual countries. He mentioned that some previous discussions were about difficulties for some countries to collect data. In particular, globalization phenomena oblige us to take into account what other countries are doing. Obviously, the situation differs from one region to another. He stressed the importance in obtaining data of the highest quality for one research purposes

Cependant, cette méthode ne s'est pas avérée satisfaisante, car les statistiques ainsi obtenues servaient à l'application des politiques gouvernementales nationales. La méthode utilisée par ERICArts et le Conseil de l'Europe est, selon M. Bouchenaki, la seule façon d'amorcer la collecte de statistiques sur des pays distincts. Il mentionne que des discussions préalables ont porté sur les difficultés éprouvées par les pays dans la collecte de données. Le phénomène de la mondialisation nous oblige surtout à tenir compte des actions réalisées par d'autres pays. De toute évidence, la situation varie en fonction des régions. Il souligne, par ailleurs, l'importance d'obtenir des données de la plus haute qualité pour effectuer une recherche et, par conséquent, de fournir aux politiciens les arguments leur permettant de définir des politiques culturelles et de proposer des investissements dans la culture.

M. Pronovost souligne, pour sa part, la nécessité d'adopter une attitude pragmatique en partant de ce qui existe déjà, et de rechercher une synergie entre les actions des politiciens et les sujets d'analyse des chercheurs.

Mme Alonso-Cano précise que le CERCLAC essaie de bâtir pour l'Amérique Latine un système comparable au projet d'ERICarts et du Conseil de l'Europe, sans être aussi détaillé. M. Castellanos convient qu'il s'agit d'un exercice pouvant s'avérer bénéfique pour les pays d'Amérique Latine.

and therefore giving politicians the arguments that allow them to define cultural policy and investments.

Mr. Pronovost underlined the necessity to be pragmatic and start with what already existed and to have a synergy between what politicians are doing with what researchers are involved in.

Ms. Alonso-Cano explained that CERCLAC tries to compile a similar system to the Council of Europe/ERICarts project for Latin America but with less detail. Mr. Castellanos agreed that such an exercise can be beneficial for Latin American countries.

Julio Carranza Valdés UNESCO Regional Office,
La Habana, Cuba

"Cultural Development Indicators: Towards a new dimension of human well-being"

Résumé

Le concept de développement culturel nous amène à parler du caractère essentiel des indicateurs de développement culturel, non seulement parce qu'ils sont devenus incontournables pour l'évaluation des dimensions non-traditionnelles du développement, mais surtout parce que l'on a enfin compris que les indicateurs de développement ne doivent pas simplement servir à véhiculer une information descriptive; ils doivent surtout servir d'outils d'évaluation. Autrement dit, il faut les concevoir comme des éléments utiles au dialogue politique sur le développement.

Abstract

The concept of cultural development leads us to the need of establishing indicators on cultural development, no only because it has become an imperative in the measurement of non-conventional dimensions of development, but particularly due to the growing understanding that development indicators should not only be limited as carriers of discriptive information, but should be mainly based with the purpose of evaluating, in other words, it is necessary to design them as an instrument for the political dialogue on development.

The Regional Office for Culture in Latin America and the Caribbean of UNESCO has stated the need to stimulate reflection on the new notion of development, as contained in UNESCO's report *"Our Creative Diversity"*. In this report, development is defined as the "opportunity of being able to choose a way of collective life valued as full, satisfactory, and seen as the blossoming of human existence in all its forms and as a whole".[1]

In keeping with this idea, we must establish a system of cultural indicators to measure development. In this sense it is necessary to present and debate the concepts explaining the notion of development.

Relation between Culture and Development

All the authors do not have the same understanding of these concepts. At the same time these concepts have been the subject of a historical evolution, specially the realities that they try to identify. In the definition of a concept there are many influential factors. These range from the knowledge that one has of the reality that one wishes to represent, to the interests through which the idea is perceived.

One of the most known historical definitions on economic development was the one that represented it as the succession of different stages, that in an unavoidable way every country or region should take.[2] From this point of view, the difference between developed and underdeveloped countries consisted in the fact that the first ones had already gone through a historical cycle, which the others would go through after. To this idea they added that development corresponded to a certain defined model by the values of "Western" societies. Finally, the idea that the instruments of economic policies used to spark the growth of production were enough so that any country could reach economic development.

In recent historical experience, an essentially economical concept has prevailed: the main criterion that determines social and economic processes is profitability and competitiveness when tested in the market, where the proportions, rate and conditions of economic development are progressively determined. Economic growth has been assumed as an expression and objective of development, and regularly, the maximization of short-term profitability, as a criterion for the implementation of any "development" action. According to this, economics disregards two of its main dimensions: the social dimension and the environmental dimension, and to express it in a more synthetic way, its cultural dimension.

From the cultural perspective, this is a deterministic conception: starting from an initial cultural situation, all cultures must pass through a series of necessary historical stages, until arriving at the last one, that of modern culture: industrial, technological, rational, productive-orientated, profitable and efficient.

The social and cultural results of the historical processes in which this liberal economicist conception has predominated have been very negative: establishment of a consumerist culture, demographic concentrations in big cities, accentuation of social inequalities, marginalization of broad sectors of the population, deepening of economic differences between rich and poor countries, destruction of nature and the environment, etc.[3]

1. UNESCO, Our Creative Diversity. Paris: UNESCO.1995.
2. See Walt Whitman Rostow, The Stages of Economic Growth, N. York C. University Press, 1962.
3. See book Cultural Dimension of Development, towards a practical approach. Cultura y Desarrolllo, Edic. UNESCO, 1995.

These problems are not confined to the underdeveloped world. Recent critical expressions of the international economy, rooted in the primacy of "profitability at all cost" that characterizes global markets, particularly those of speculative character and the social problems of crime, drug addiction, racism and inequality that are growing in many countries of the developed world demonstrate that there too these processes have negative consequences.

Finally, today's tremendous ecological problems, the result of the kind of relationship imposed between human beings and nature, demonstrate that these threats affect us all.

The "modernizing" discourse is false, in that it assumes that only with the reproduction of a certain technological, social and economic model it is possible to bring advancement in the scale of development. The definite proof is that the majority of the World that has followed this model has not resolved the problem of development.

The length of this document does not permit me to offer statistics on the difficult economic, social, cultural and ecological situation of the planet, which in any event is well known.

Culture and Development: the conceptual issue

The treatment of the conceptual relation between culture and development also has its history, which is necessary to mention very briefly. As we have affirmed, the original definition of development as an economic process, assumed that an increase in production would lead an economy through a series of necessary stages. The cultural question was totally marginalized from this scheme.

There is an important advance when culture is recognized as a factor involved in development processes. But in this case, culture is essentially seen as an instrument that could favor or retard economic growth, and thus the dominant notion of development. As, for instance, in Max Weber's interesting studies of the role of Protestantism in the economic growth of countries with that cultural tradition. From this studies the criteria of using the culture of a people when it is estimated that it favors the economic process of a country derives, as well as the contrary, to ignore or repress it when it is understood that it halts it. As one can see, this case is the instrumentalist assumption of culture in its relation with development, or as an instrument in function of an objective different to it.

One of the current theoretical trends, that tries to expose the nature of the contemporary reality and its perspectives, is exemplified by the work of professor Samuel Huntington. Culture is explained basically as resources of power and as one of the main sources of international conflicts that are to come. An interpretation of this nature, assumed in an absolute way, can lead to excluding political, social, racist and belligerent behaviors.

In 1982, a World Conference on Cultural Policies was held to mark the moment when the idea started gaining strength that culture should be an integral part, an instrument and at the same time, an essential objective for an adequate conception of development, placing material and spiritual well being of all human being as its "raison d'être". During the closing remarks of that conference, the then Director General of UNESCO, Amadou-Mahtar M Bow, said: "If each society has its particular dispositions and specific aspirations tied to its culture and history, in order for these to flourish the cultural wisdom inherited from the past must be brought to life. If nowadays things frequently escape human control, perhaps it is because we have let economic laws get away from cultural goals. Finally, if today's international relations seem so far from the

demands of individuals and the collectivity, perhaps it is because the specifications on which these relations have been constituted – cultural homogenization and economic inequality – are no longer appropriate to the demands of multiple foci of cultural affirmation and of independent decision centers".[4]

Although these ideas were shared by the 126 participating states and international organizations present and incorporated into the views of development of the United Nations Development Program and of notable academics and politicians, international reality has gone in a very different direction. More than 20 years have passed by, and economic and cultural processes have consolidated in the World, which have not corresponded with the principles presented there.

The ten year period from 1988 to 1997, was declared by the United Nations as the "World Decade of Cultural Development". During this period various actions were taken by the UN itself and by its member states. International concern increased on this problem. However, the lack of a precise understanding of the scope and contents of a cultural conception of economic development was evident. With the purpose of advancing in that direction, UNESCO, with the support of the UN General Assembly, established in 1992 a World Commission of Culture and Development, headed by Javier Pérez de Cuéllar.

In 1995, UNESCO published the Commission's report, where in a more extensive and reflected way it addressed again the indivisible relation between culture and development. At the same time it presents a very critical analysis of the current situation. This report constitutes a very valuable instrument for the advancement of the understanding of this problem, even if its purpose is not solving the entire problem, but of re-addressing the strategic importance of the issue by giving clues for its follow-up. In one of its ideas it states: "it is worthless to talk about culture and development as if they were two separate things, when in fact development and economy are elements, or aspects of the culture of a people. Culture is not thus, an instrument of material progress: it is the purpose and objective of development, understood in the sense of utter fulfillment of the human existence in all its forms and in all its plenitude".[5]

Culture should be assumed not as a complementary component or ornamental aspect of development, but as the essential texture of society and thus, as its major internal strength.

The second strong statement of this Report is the need to defend and promote cultural diversity based on the respect of all cultures whose values are tolerant of those of others. Obviously this position questions in a direct way the trend prevailing today, the imposition of a dominant culture on a World level.

In the preservation of cultural diversity the respect to the right of each people is implicit. However, there is also an universal interest, as it is the interrelation and sum of different cultures where the real treasure lies, that is the accumulation of knowledge that mankind has generated for centuries, the different ways of conceiving, assuming and doing things.

It is necessary to understand that when we present development from a cultural concept, we are not excluding the importance of technical and economic considerations over the macroeconomic balances, the sectorial proportions, the regulation of markets, the models of accumulation, the industrial policies, etc. What is stated is that they should be done using a cultural

4. World conference on Cultural Policies. Final Report. Mexico D.F., 26 July-6 August 1982. Edit. UNESCO.
5. Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development "Our Cultural Diversity". S.M. Editions UNESCO,1997.

concept. This means, starting from the realities, values and aspirations of the large majorities of the populations where the development processes should take place and stating a paradigm in correspondence with these realities.

The statement is as essential as it is complex and runs the risk of being superficially understood. The culture of a people is not static, it constantly evolves under the influence of different internal and external elements. Yet, at the same time it is based on constitutive factors with a permanent presence that define what it is and distinguishes it from other cultures. That synthesis expresses the beliefs, aspirations, the knowledge and the ways of doing things of a certain people. "Economic progress", to be truly progressive, should correspond and underline that specific reality and not state it as a conflict. However, it is necessary to understand that backwardness, misery and underdevelopment are not cultural values. The issue for an underdeveloped country is to overcome the challenge of civilization, and in doing so, to preserve and develop its own culture.

The problem in the context of Globalization

The most general concept by which the contemporary international reality has been defined is "globalization". However, this concept defines an extraordinary diverse and complex reality that demands more precise approximations in order to understand and transform them.[6]

Globalization, the concept by which the current stage of globalization of capital has been defined, is a double process: on one hand, the objective advance of technology enables an international integration, qualitatively different from those produced by other past historical processes. On the other hand, it is a policy that puts that objective process in the hands of great transnational interests, which are the dominant factor in today's world. The implications of this phenomenon have an impact on every society, but in different ways. Paradoxically, globalization has also been a disintegrative and exclusive process.

On one hand, three great hegemonic centers emerge; on the other, countries or regions less developed that integrate in a subordinated way and, finally, a sector of the relatively important world that is put aside by the new global dynamics.

The mechanism allowing this stratified and excluding articulation is the universalization of the market and a common economic model promoted and supported by different international bodies, where there is an insufficient knowledge of the disadvantages with which the developing world faces this new international order.

The nature of the present globalization does not correspond with a cultural concept of development, as it does not place the interests of the majority of mankind as an essential objective of the economic process. It has deepened the social inequalities and inequalities among countries, eroding the environment, harming cultural diversity and favoring the imposition of a dominant culture.

As a Brazilian professor says: "globalization is a process through which a given local condition or entity imposes its influence throughout the world and, by doing so, develops the capacity to designate as 'local' any rival condition or entity".[7]

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6. See Julio Carranza Valdés "Globalización, economía e identidad cultural" in book "La identidad cultural en el umbral del milenio". Edit. ICAIC, Cuba, 1996.

7. See Boaventura de Souza Santos "Una concepción multicultural de los derechos humanos"in Rev. Utopias, Madrid, Vol 3. 1998.

The impact of this world order on culture and cultural identity may be summarized as follows:

1. It imposes strong resource constraints on cultural production and conservation, especially in underdeveloped countries.
2. It produces polarization and social inequality in cultural consumption.
3. It produces a strong mercantilization, in the most liberal (free-market) sense, of cultural production.
4. It establishes a monopoly of mass communications that imposes the cultural and consumption values of the First World.
5. It imposes the monopolization of advanced technologies.
6. it causes the migration of intellectual and artistic talent from the periphery to the center of the system.

Myths and simplifications that a cultural conception of development must overcome

The current paradigm imposes myths that must be overcome. One of these is that of technology, which undoubtedly constitutes an essential factor in the advancement of human civilization, especially now that it has become a direct productive force. However, not all technology necessarily implies progress.[8] There is no shortage of examples: the clearest of all is military technology that degrades the environment, eliminates jobs without compensation, forces rural-urban migration that leads to overcrowding and marginality, or facilitates irresponsible genetic manipulation. It is culture that puts technology at the service of human beings. In the words of the World Commission on Culture and Development, "We cannot forget the demands of the economic, but we must transcend them" – to which we might add, we must transcend the demands of the economy without forgetting them.

Another myth that must be overcome is that of a democracy reduced to a technical process and stripped of its true content, which is the sum of a range of historically determined ethical and cultural values. Then there is the myth of the regulating capacity of the free market. In reality, the problem is not the market, which has an objective role in any economic system; the problem is liberalism, which considers the market the only regulator of all social relations. Yet another flawed approach to the theme of the relationship between culture and development is that which limits the role of the explicitly cultural sector (crafts, fine arts, community culture, artistic training, cultural heritage, cultural tourism, etc) in the processes and strategies of development. The cultural dimension cannot be excluded or underestimated and must be considered part of the fundamental framing of strategies for development conceived as cultural in its broadest and most essential sense. This involves not just cultural policy but also – and more basically- economic policy and institutional policy, understood as an area not just of governmental action but of the action of society as a whole.

From the standpoint of a cultural conception of development, the notion of cultural policy must be broadened in that any development policy must be profoundly sensitive to, and inspired by culture. As the report of the World Commission puts it "Development in the twenty-first century will be cultural or nothing at all".[9] To understand the scope of this statement, it is necessary to

8. See book of Neil Postman "Technopolis", edit Galaxia Gutember, Barcelona, 1994.
9. Op. cit., p. 155.

reconsider the traditional content of the concepts of development and culture and to take them as inseparable parts of a single process. Development is not simply the more-or-less harmonious growth of the various sectors of the economy, measured by cold statistics and profit criteria. It is a more complex and encompassing process in support of the interests and aspirations (both material and spiritual) of a people that must coherently incorporate different sociocultural logics and historical experiences to produce a society that is cultured, just, politically democratic, ecologically sustainable, and characterized by solidarity. Culture is not only literature and fine arts but the total sum of the values, knowledge, experiences, beliefs, attitudes, and aspirations of a people in a particular era, seen as increasingly interrelated.

Culture and Development: the issue of indicators

In this new concept culture is not only the "social base" and the most general context of development, it is rather the main purpose of development. Culture is conceived not just as the material result of artistic creation but it is further defined as a way of life based on values and norms. Thus, more than the simple growth of material production and consumption, development is considered the expansion of options to adopt culturally defined ways of life.

This renewed stand of development leads us to the need of establishing cultural development indicators, not only because the measurement of non-conventional dimensions has become an imperative, but particularly due to the growing understanding that development indicators should not be limited only as descriptive information, they should be built mainly with an evaluation purpose, or expressed in a different way, they need to be designed as an instrument for political dialogue related to development.

Based on this, the necessary debate in the region (Latin American and the Caribbean) on the issue of the cultural development indicators is framed in a process of discussion and of conceptual renewal, which is quite complex in its theoretical concept as well as broad due to its international scope. The consideration of the issue will be part of the general reflection, stimulated by the Report of UNESCO Our Creative Diversity (1995) and by the Declaration of the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development (Stockholm, 1998).

Since the conceptual renewal introduced in 1995 by *Our Creative Diversity* there has been a rapid advance whit regards to the issue of cultural development indicators. The works contained in different publications of World Culture Report, periodically published by UNESCO, has been particularly important and been the result of the materialization of one of the main suggestions in *Our Creative Diversity*. Also very relevant for their pioneering work on the issue was the UNESCO/UNRISD workshop, held in Royaumont in 1996. During the last few years, a stable group of experts from different countries has been established raising important conceptual and methodological issues related to the design of cultural indicators.

Among the authors we can see the outstanding works of Amartya Sen, Sakiko Fukuda- Parr, Irma Adelman, Lourdes Arzipe, Yoro K. Fall, Leo Goldstone, Keith Griffin, Karl Rochgesand, Elizabeth Jelin, Terry McKinley, Prasanta K. Pattanaik and Adam Przeworski.

In a considerable way, recent works on cultural indicators have taken as reference previous works made within the framework of the UN system on the establishment of an Index on Human Development. Methodological works have also been taken into consideration – even if

they are not widely known – in the design of other important indicators that are currently used: Human Poverty Index (HPI), Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM). The Working Program on Sustainable Development Indicators, adopted by the UN Commission for Sustainable Development during its Third Session in April 1995, has also been taken as reference.

Among the most outstanding works carried out up to now, as part of the conceptual and methodological work in the field of cultural indicators we have the identification of different dimensions of culture regarding two aspects of development: as a result and as a process.

On the first aspect, (development as a result) the following cultural dimensions have been suggested that should be measured and built as indicators: cultural vitality, cultural diversity and global ethics. On the second aspect (development as a process), the cultural dimensions that are suggested to be measured would be different: participation in the creative expression, access to culture, respect for cultural identity.

However, apart from the theoretical and methodological work that has been done to date, the majority of the cultural indicators compiled by governments and international organizations (including institutions of the UN system) still refer primarily to indicators measuring the results of cultural creation, that is to say, they are approaches towards the measurement of cultural material (statistics on the publication of books, participation to cultural events, number of cultural facilities, etc) this does not allow adequate measurement of culture as a way of life, based on values and institutions, which is where we see the renewing conception contained in *Our Creative Diversity*. Educational indicators must be incorporated due to the determining importance that the levels of educational availability have for the socioeconomic development, especially in a world that penalizes those societies without a population that can incorporate productive processes of growing technological complexity.

For that reason, there is a consensus among the leading experts on the issue that a future work is necessary, a work with a closer approach to the other dimensions of culture that are essential for development. The complexity of this issue lies in the more qualitative character of these aspects and the distinction that might arise when the different historical and cultural contexts are analyzed:

- cultural diversity;
- global ethics;
- participation in creative activities;
- access to culture and education;
- cultural identity;
- living together.

These are precisely the directions that the Regional Office for Culture in Latin America and the Caribbean proposes in the establishment of cultural development indicators, useful in their application to countries of this region and that will contribute to a new strategic vision for the benefit of their peoples.

Conférences

Papers

Andrés Roemer
Alfonso Castellanos
Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, Conaculta, Mexico, Mexico

"Cultural Information Systems and Cultural Indicators: The Experience of Mexico"

Résumé

Le Mexique se caractérise par sa diversité culturelle. Dans le contexte actuel, qui est celui de la mondialisation, le développement culturel du Mexique s'appuie sur la variété des cultures qui vivent, interagissent et se développent dans les limites de son territoire, et sur la richesse des formes à travers lesquelles elles s'expriment.

Le Condejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes (CONACULTA) (Conseil national pour la culture et les arts) est l'organisme gouvernemental responsable de la politique culturelle. Faisant partie du nouveau modèle d'administration publique de ce secteur, le CONACULTA reconnaît l'importance des statistiques et indicateurs culturels. Dans ce contexte, des efforts ont été déployés pour le développement d'un système de statistiques et d'indicateurs culturels applicables à la formulation, aux conclusions et à l'évaluation de l'efficacité des politiques culturelles reposant sur cinq principes : la liberté d'expression et de création, l'affirmation de la diversité culturelle, l'égalité d'accès aux biens et services de nature culturelle et enfin, l'implication sociale en matière de politiques culturelles, de fédéralisme et de développement culturel bien réparti entre les régions.

L'objectif de cette communication est surtout de décrire ce qui a été accompli à ce jour dans ce domaine et quelles sont les perspectives dans un proche avenir, vu l'importance de développer un cadre international universel pour ces projets.

Abstract

Mexico characterizes for its cultural diversity. In the present globalization context, Mexico's cultural development is based on the variety of cultures living, interacting and developing in its territory, and the richness of forms through which these cultures express themselves.

The Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes (CONACULTA) is the national government agency responsible for cultural policy. As part of a new model for public administration in this sector CONACULTA recognizes the importance of cultural statistics and indicators. In this context, there has been an effort to develop a system of cultural statistics and indicators that are relevant with the purpose of formulating, reporting and evaluating the effectiveness of cultural policies based on five principles: freedom of expression and creation, afirmation of cultural diversity, equality of access to cultural goods and services, social participation in cultural policy, federalism and regionally balanced cultural development.

The paper deals mainly with describing what has been accomplished so far in this direction and the perspectives in the near future, taking into account the importance of developing a common international framework for these projects.

The Cultural Diversity of Mexico in a Globalization Context

In an increasingly changing and interconnected world, globalization is contributing to the appearance and the extension of similar conducts and values in individuals from different countries. This tendency towards homogenization represents a risk to the existence and reproduction of certain regional and national cultures that has been documented in all the world. Recognizing the risk that this implies in terms of loss of cultural heritage and the necessity to design policies and realize actions with international, national and local participation to avoid it, we must consider that this tendency does not act by itself. On the contrary, it coexists with a worldwide reaction of returning to the roots; of recuperating particularities and affirming differences; of making effective the plurality of contemporary society. What not so long ago seemed doomed to disappear and that even for some constituted an obstacle for development, now is valued as heritage of humanity.

Globalization is not generating a uniform global culture. Each society processes, combines and articulates the elements that circulate at a global scale, creating their particular appropriations and adapting the global processes. The tensions between the global and the local, lead to various processes of appropriation and new meaning by local cultures.

In any case, the unitary conceptions that conceive modernity as a process of world convergence, in accordance with a unique and ethnocentric model, show themselves incapable of explaining the events of these past years.

Culture is, at the same time, a stage for the globalization process and a road to affirm the particularities of a people. It is through culture that countries can take on development processes without losing that which characterizes and distinguishes them. Because, after all, culture is the origin and the end of development.

Furthermore, the notion about the importance of considering the cultural heritage as a means derives from elements associated with globalization, such as tourism and cultural industries.

In Mexico, since our origins as an independent nation in the XIX century, and until not so long ago, cultural and educational policies were centered on promoting national integration, without situating in its given perspective the regional and ethnic differences. National unity was a priority for educational and cultural institutions that promoted a sense of national identity, characterized by a cultural and linguistic homogenization, which went against the underlying diversity. It is not until the seventies that we see the preoccupation for diversity incises, gradually, in public policies and that it is not seen as an obstacle for national identity.

Today, Mexico is recognized as a multicultural nation. It is now understood that its greatest assets reside precisely in the plurality of its cultures and in the multiplicity of forms and creations through which these cultures express themselves. Therefore the cultural diversity shows itself as a reality we must preserve and as a value we must promote.

This new perception opens the historic opportunity of reinstating our cultural development and of making it correspond growingly to the new necessities of society and the challenges of today's world.

The Cultural Polices of Contemporary Mexico

Mexican society is recognizing the fundamental place that culture has in the diverse processes of our contemporary world and in the social and human development. This is why the State must include culture among the priorities of public action for the human development of all Mexicans.

Beyond economic growth; beyond translating this growth into development, that is into real benefits for the population, resulting equal and being sustainable; beyond all these goals, the final objective is reaching an authentically human development. We are talking about a more demanding definition of development that is not measured only by economic indicators, but by more intangible and profound criteria that have to do with principles of identity, democracy, liberty, self-respect and respect for the others, creativity, symbolic elements, heroes, solidarity and social cohesion and of equality of opportunities among individuals, organizations, communities and localities.

For the Mexican State, culture, first and foremost, must be an end in itself, and of equal importance, a privileged means for achieving a development that includes political, economical, and social liberty. It must also include the individual opportunities of receiving education, being healthy, creative, productive, critic, and of having emotional and intellectual liberty.

Culture is about guaranteeing the existence of the means and the spaces with the specificity and richness that the different sectors of society need. Culture enables the population to develop their full capacities, and strengthens their identity and self-esteem.

This is why in the field of culture it has been necessary not only to administer government programs efficiently, but also to initiate a process to bring the conception of cultural policy and the function of the State up to date, in the context of a political democracy.

As a fundamental issue in this reflection, we must acknowledge Mexico's multiple regional cultures with their own historical, artistic and human heritage. Identity is not precisely a group of identical traits. On the contrary, it is constituted through a conjunction of different ways of seeing and ways of being that, once they are related, produce a synthesis that surpasses the sum of the parts. Identity is never a resting point. It is a port of constant departure, from which one embarks on a journey heading for new astonishment.

In order to construct a State cultural policy, we must define a model for cultural development that takes into account the following principles:

- Access for Mexicans to cultural goods and services (a minimum array of cultural goods and services at the disposition – not imposition – of all Mexicans).
- Total respect to the individual autonomy of the human being that contributes to the solidarity of creative collectiveness (and other transcendental values to any governmental policy such as creative liberty, information and criticism).
- Responsibility of the State to protect, preserve, and disseminate the tangible and intangible heritage of Mexico.
- Citizen participation in the formulation, evaluation and implementation of cultural public policies.

- Quality and excellence in the cultural services and goods supported and/or generated by the government.
- Obligation of the State to conform mechanisms that induce the social cohesion, stimulate the creative capacity of groups and individuals and strengthen the projection of identity.

All of the above, through institutional arrangements that give viability to such policy: clear, efficient and accurate cultural legislation; evaluating committees of excellence; consultative counsels of citizen participation; support and/or creation of an offer (infrastructure needed, goods and services required) and, at the same time, creation of demand (consumers, new public, artistic education and teachers); through conditions that will allow an authentic equality of opportunities in the access, recreation and enjoyment of culture.

Derived from this cultural policy, a new model for public administration in Mexico is developing. Given the lack of measuring tools for the impact, efficacy and profitability of the policies according to the objectives and principles mentioned above, as part of this model of public administration it is necessary to develop a system of cultural statistics and indicators that:

- Allow the efficient orientation of cultural programs and actions according to the objectives.
- Help measure the results of cultural institutions.
- Facilitate to render information to citizens and the transparency of the institutions.
- Allow an efficient following of the implemented public policies.
- Develop a greater awareness of the cultural situation of the country in all its diversity.
- Encourage the evaluation of the state of human development from a cultural perspective and show the results obtained.
- Develop information systems that produce recommendations for cultural policies.

The Importance of Cultural Indicators to Strengthen Confidence in Institutions

The need to generate efficient governments that are close to the citizen, sustainable on results and improvements visible on a long term, drove different specialists in public policy to analyze the importance of constructing systems of strategic indicators for measuring the actions, accomplishments and effectiveness of the decisions taken by governmental institutions.

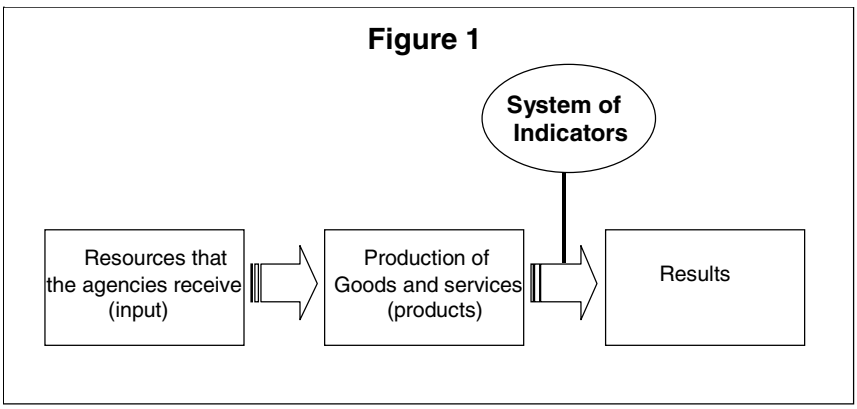
In regards to this last point, it is a complex problem determining the parameters that allow us to evaluate government action. That is to say, based on what criterion will we measure the performance of the public management? There are various possible parameters: the citizens' expectancy, the previous experience, the experience in other countries, the performance of the private sector and of the civil organizations in activities similar to those of the government, to mention a few.

Since there is not a continuous and thorough evaluation of the results obtained by the policies and programs of the public sector, the expectancies and hence the trust of society in the institutions and the governors diminish.

To evaluate the activities of the cultural institutions, we must distinguish between the resources that the agencies receive (input), the goods and services produced (products) and the results

generated (results). With the aid of an illustration, let us think about the different stages that make up the working method of a governmental agency in charge of culture. In the first stage, the agency will receive the resources that will allow it to operate from the Secretary or Ministry in charge of assigning public budgets. The second stage consists in the establishment of substantive cultural programs (cultural spreading, protection of heritage, artistic education and investigation, etc), by which the governmental agency will produce goods and services that are destined to different sectors of the population. Finally, in a third stage, the results of the different programs will be evaluated in conformity with various measurers of efficiency (for example, increasing cultural participation or creating new audiences). As figure 1 shows, it is possible to represent graphically this process.

Figure 1



A problem of traditional public administration is that it does not consider efficient mechanisms to evaluate the productivity and the governmental results. Usually, the programs are evaluated in terms of the fiscal resources they use (first step in the process), and not by the goods and services they produce, and more importantly, by the objectives of public policy that they reach through their instrumentation (second and third steps).

By not concentrating on work productivity and results, this evaluation model does not generate the adequate incentives so that public managers force themselves to improve the agency's competitiveness and capacity of response. This generates a bureaucracy which is mainly preoccupied with the level of expending in which it incurs and the activities and programs it undertakes, rather than its capacity to generate results in an efficient manner.

Many governments lack the institutional mechanisms capable of demanding the public officers of every level, the observance of their responsibilities with society. Finally we cannot ignore that often homogeneous administrative procedures are enforced upon all areas of government, whatever their strategic objectives and nature may be.

The gathering of results, in terms of satisfaction of social needs, has been subordinated to the implicit priorities in the determination of an optimum volume of public resources used and in the establishment of efficient mechanisms of control over their expenditure. Within this logic, it is more important to regulate the amount of spending, than to determine if the public resources are channeled towards the solution of real problems and the generation of the goods and services that the societies demand.

The new evaluation of cultural management that is emerging in Mexico is not worried with how many programs have been done and is not based in how many activities were organized. It does not matter if more festivals were organized or if more public libraries were built; what matters in the end is knowing, for example, how much the index of books read has increased, and (in an ideal scenario) how much did reading contribute to social and human development.

For the construction of indicators it is important to identified incentives, having in mind that the indicators have to launch clear messages about the politically relevant tendencies of what pre-occupies society.

The scarcity of accurate data that has always accompanied the development and growth of the cultural market has been a constant that, at least during the last few years, has marked the type of debate that was possible in this matter.

This lack of statistics has conferred to the environments of culture, a certain characteristic of structural inconsistency. Any breakdown and any flaw that is perceived in them will always be justified by the absence of quantitative and qualitative support that enable a rigorous strategy. The knowledge of these matters and managerial capacity of the various responsibles in this fields, more often than not, are excellencies derived from the state of sensibility shown by the aspiring cultural administrator; there is a deliberate escape from the "scientists" to govern and lead the most indisputable territories of the spirit. This obviously does not mean that there are not capable managers in different cultural institutions. However, in the end, the success or failure will always depend on this fine sense of smell of the director who is forced to take decisions in an environment that lacks organized references.

This permanent separation between science and culture, or better yet, between knowledge technologies and cultural policies have converted this field of economic activity in an environment structured by improvisation and demagogy.

In the field of culture, as in many others, there is a growing demand for a wide array of statistics and indicators that cover activities and products, spending and consuming, jobs, finances, institutions, costs and prices, etc. The need to measure, explain, evaluate and compare the progresses has almost become an obsession.

The data and information provide us with clues to discover the black box of creativity, beauty and innovation. However, the investments in culture rest too much upon acts of faith or on eccentricity, which does not reach the common citizen easily. More and better information is needed to deal with the risk, assign resources and time effectively, reorient the targets and invest capital.

Getting the governments to account for their actions in the field of arts and culture, is a previous essential condition for greater and faster supports. Culture belongs to humanity considered as a whole; hence, interchanging and communicating experiences and cultural activities at a world-wide scale is a fundamental ingredient for cultural progress. Now, any interchange of this type requires statistics and indicators of the highest quality that can be compared and contrasted at an international level.

It is therefore clear that all possible efforts must be made to normalize the statistical concepts, definitions and classifications at a worldwide level. The aim should be to develop a system of cultural statistics and indicators that allows us to analyze the cultural sector at local and national levels, and make significative comparisons with other localities, nations and regions of the world.

The Making of Reliable Cultural Indicators

The subject of measuring culture and of making relevant indicators is growing in importance in the actual context of investigation and in the political agendas.

The indicators are a tool for political dialogue that differ from statistical data; they hold information that can be used for evaluation and not mere descriptive information. The methodology for creating indicators should start by defining a conceptual frame. In the *World Report on Culture: Culture, Creativity and Markets*, 1999, UNESCO proposed to establish the principal characteristics of the cultural indicators, which intend to evaluate the level of human development from a cultural perspective. In other words, indicators which are particularly directed towards evaluating the way in which the quality of life is determined by the capacity of individuals to live in community and by the systems of values in which their relations are supported.

This is not only about knowing if culture allows life in community or not, but we must also know if it allows for good life in a community. We start from the hypothesis that the true test bank of a culture consists in determining if it favors or not the strengthening of human qualities and if it contributes to widen the array of choices offered to each individual.

In our view, the task of evaluating cultural development is very elusive. In other words, it is to determine if one culture is more "developed" than another. Since cultures are unique and diverse, the results of measuring them with the same parameters would be misleading. What we can intend is to evaluate their contribution to human well-being.

No indicator by itself can capture the complex reality of a culture. The dimensions of culture must be identified in relation with two aspects of development; the results and the processes. In regards to the first, it has been proposed that universal ethics, cultural vitality and cultural diversity are key dimensions; in regards the second, participation in creative activity, access to cultural goods and services, and respect for cultural identity.

For the creation of cultural indicators it is of great importance to recognize that their function is to stimulate political dialogue. The indicators must fulfil evaluative ends and not descriptive ends. They must be relevant and must emit clear messages about matters of actual interests and matters that could be affected by a political response.

In deciding what quantitative aspects of culture must stand out and how they should be presented, a problem arises immediately: It is in the production and consumption of cultural goods that have a price in the market, where we find the greatest number of indicators. Therefore it is not surprising that the richer the country, the more cultural goods it produces and consumes. Not only is there more data available in developed countries, but also this information privileges production and consumption of cultural goods through market mechanisms.

It is therefore important to introduce multicultural considerations in the selection of indicators, in order to allow significant comparisons between different countries. The objective should be to establish a scope of indicators that integrates cultural characteristics common to all countries.

There are three fundamental challenges in the area of statistics and cultural indicators:

1. The first refers to the establishment of a system of cultural statistics and indicators that reflects the complexity and diversity of cultural themes and to the relation of these indicators with multiple aspects of social and economic development. This implies to bind together

and put on line a lot of existing data bases and sources, including demographic censuses, archival records, population surveys and surveys among the public, and at the same time improve the processes of collection and dissemination of data.

2. The second challenge is of an institutional and political nature. Statistics are inherently a problem of confidence. Statistic information and transparency are needed for generating confidence. On the other hand, confidence and social capital are necessary for generating statistics of good quality. Confidence must be present among the participants of a survey, between politicians and statisticians. Confidence is particularly important in culture, a field that touches the minds and hearts of people, individual freedom and collective beliefs.

3. The third challenge, the most complex and intriguing of all, refers to the issue of measuring. Some of the difficulties with indicators emerge not because of the lack of data, but because of the lack of an adequate conceptual framework. Nowadays there is a growing awareness, not only among the specialists but also among the general public, that cultural expenses under certain conditions are an investment in social and human capital, and that certain cultural services, produced by voluntary or house-work must be considered as products.

Unfortunately, these theoretical concepts have not been turned yet into actions for obtaining normalized statistics that measure results, assets and well-being.

Here we can formulate some questions: What proportion of its wealth a society dedicates to what it defines as culture and according to which tendencies, by which channels and agents? Which are the cultural products of a society and how are they elaborated and diffused? How much employment generate those sectors? Which are their contributions to national wealth? Have they links with non-cultural sectors? What relationship have the men and women of a society with the cultural, commercial or non-commercial, producers? Which obstacles – financial, geographical, social or educative – stand between entire sectors of a society and the access to a more developed cultural life? How and on which bases can be better related among themselves the diverse actors of cultural life (citizens, artists, associations and private and public executives? How and on which bases can the States dialogue and coordinate their actions to promote development and cultural cooperation, beyond the great declarations of principles?

The Mexican Experience with Cultural Information Systems and Cultural Indicators

Mexico has an experience of decades in data bases and systematization of cultural information. Most of it refers to the register and catalogue-making of the tangible heritage (archeological, historic, and artistic), but also to fields such as libraries and editorial production. The information gathered so far is an important antecedent that must be taken into account for any project about cultural information in the country.

With such background, the System of Cultural Information (SIC) has recently been developed by CONACULTA, which is the federal agency responsible for cultural policies, responding to the necessity of counting with relevant, accessible, systematized, accurate and timely information, to help decision making on the formulation and evaluation of policies.

Before beginning this effort, in most cases the information was fragmented among different administrative units that operated with different criteria; was not actualized on a regular basis,

neither was systematized. Therefore, each information requirement supposed a search that involved different sources and was solved in a casuistical manner and through manual procedures. This showed that there was not open and transparent access to information, either between federal and state cultural organisms, or to researchers, artists and public in general.

For this reason, as a first step, the SIC proposed to integrate information generated by different areas of CONACULTA and by the states cultural organisms, through a system that operates under a decentralized structure, not only in regards to the feeding of the information, but also in the definition of its contents and evolution.

At the beginning several obstacles were faced to take: the lack of experience to handle systemized information and to share it interinstitutionally in a common data base; the scarcity of human resources and computer equipment that could be regularly dedicated to these tasks; and the technical difficulties to design a data base of this type that would interconnect all the states of the country.

The design of the system was based on the following criteria:

- Focusing on the most widely accepted fields of cultural order.
- Include information that would respond to the necessities of the institutions and to the most frequent requests they received form cultural promoters, researchers, artists and the general public.
- Develop a data base of public access through the Internet that as a network of federal and state institutions.

Considering the scarcity of cultural information and a certain degree of skepticism among some of the institutions invited to collaborate in this project (resulting from previous failed experiences to generate information systems) in the chosen strategy the development of a system was proposed that would quickly become useful to the institutions that provided the information.

In its present version, the SIC is available at *http://sic.conaculta.gob.mx*, where you can find more than 30 thousand entries related to the following subjects:

The presence of CONACULTA in the States

- General Direction of Libraries
- General Direction of Popular Cultures
- National Institute of Anthropology and History
- National Institute of Fine Arts
- National Center for the Arts
- Tijuana Cultural Center
- EDUCAL Books and Art

Cultural State Organisms

Cultural Infrastructure

- Auditoriums
- Libraries
- Handcraft Houses

- Culture Houses
- Indigenous Coordination Centers
- Cultural Centers
- Artistic Investigation Centers
- Artistic Education Centers and Schools
- Art Galleries
- Museums
- Theaters

Festivals

Social Actors

- Artists and Writers
- Artistic Groups

Editorial Production

- Cultural Magazines
- Editorial Funds

Scholarships, Awards and Funds for Artistic and Cultural Projects

- National Culture and Arts Fund
- States Culture and Arts Funds
- Other awards and funds

Cultural and Artistic Projects that Received Funding

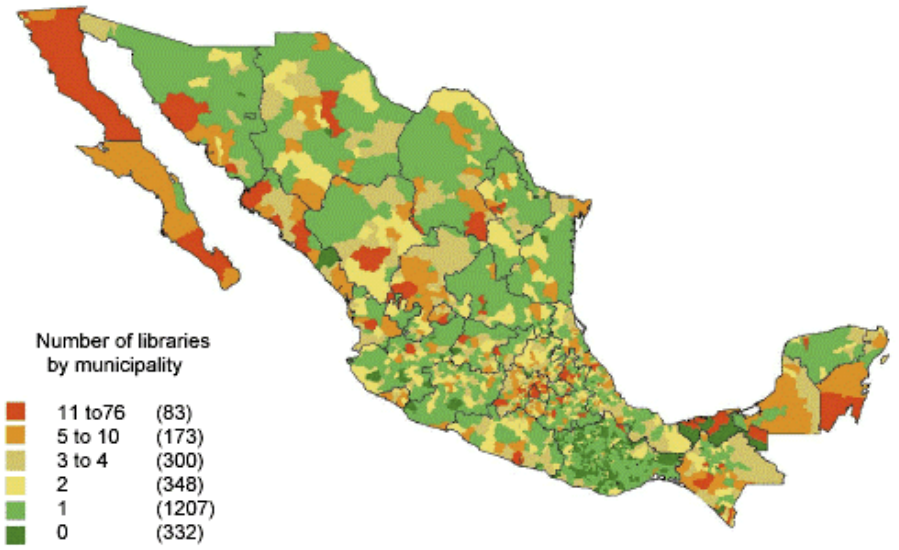
Media

As we can appreciate at first glance, the SIC is an inventory of cultural resources in Mexico that includes institutions, infrastructure, artists, cultural goods and services, and artistic and cultural projects. It constitutes a basic and indispensable tool for any effort of recollection and dissemination of cultural information. To give an example of what it represents, the INEGI, an organism in charge of national statistics in Mexico, acknowledges for 444 museums, while the SIC registers more than 900.

This information is organized in a relational data base that is useful for various consultative and analytical purposes. One can, for example, find out what theatres throughout the country have certain technical specifications; what is the cultural infrastructure of a state or municipality – be it in absolute terms, per capita or in terms of the specific demographic characteristics (by age group, education level, etc) – what options of artistic education exist by level or discipline; what festivals take place with a specific theme; what supports are offered by speciality and what projects have been financed with these resources, to cite some options.

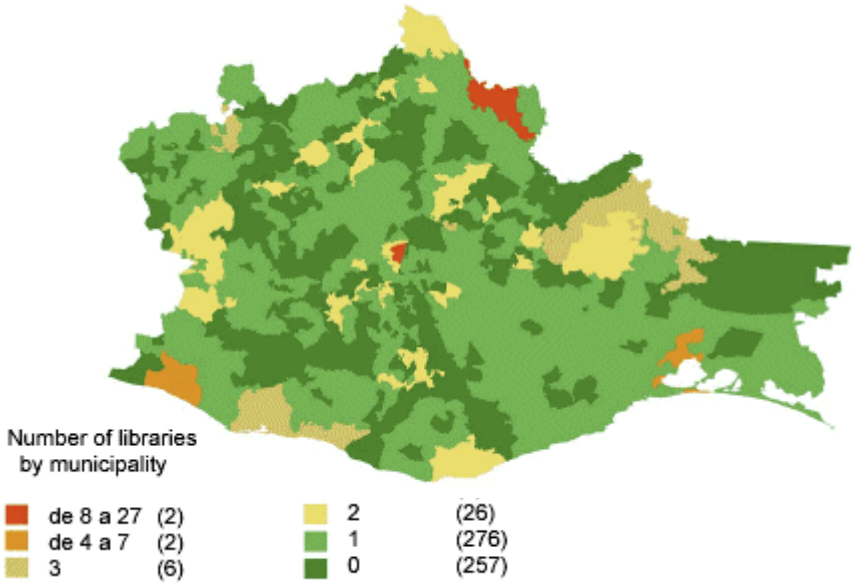
The SIC allows for institutional users to automatically generate a great variety of reports, graphics and maps, which represents an atlas of the cultural resources of Mexico permanently updated. Examples of these maps are included in this text and will soon be presented in a publication called *Atlas of the Cultural Infrastructure in Mexico* that is being prepared, as a tool evaluating the state of cultural equipment in the country.

MEXICO
National Distribution of Public Libraries by Municipality



Source: Dirección General de Bibliotecas, CONACULTA (02.10.02)
Total of public libraries: 6260
Does not include school, university or specialized libraries
Total of municipalities: 2443

Distribution of Public Libraries by Municipality
State of Oaxaca



Source: Dirección General de Bibliotecas, CONACULTA (02.12.02)
Total of public libraries in Oaxaca: 405
Does not include school, university or specialized libraries
Total of municipalities in Oaxaca: 569

The system was designed to share information with other data bases of statistical information available on the net, which allows to construct indicators that incorporate demographic, economic, educational and public finance variables, among many other options. In particular, it is possible to consult information automatically and construct indicators with the municipal data base systems developed by the office responsible for national statistics in Mexico.

In addition, the SIC has links with all the registers that are present on the Internet – actually more than 1,600 and counting – which allows to broaden the access to information. From this perspective, the system operates like a specialized search engine or a portal that offers an ample scope of what is available on the net about different aspects of Mexican cultures.

Perspectives

Based on what has been achieved thus far, and taking into account the conceptual considerations of the first part of the text, the design and construction of a system of statistics and cultural indicators is under way as a tool for evaluating the impact of policies, programs and projects and the performance of cultural institutions.

This process will take the cultural diversity of Mexico into consideration, the need to build indicators that incorporate the cultural component of social and human development, as well as methodological criteria which allow to make comparisons with other sectors and countries.

It is important to point out that we recognize that the definition of indicators is a political process in which it is necessary to incorporate institutions of different levels of government, creators, cultural promoters and researchers in order to fully socially legitimize this task.

The process of construction of indicators, which is underway, comprises the following tasks:

- Review and make an inventory of existing data collections in Mexico, that not only includes those generated by the different administrative units of the CONACULTA and the INEGI, but also other public and private institutions that regularly compile information related with different aspects of the cultural sector (like the management chambers of the different cultural industries).
- Make a study about good practices and experiences on cultural statistics and indicators in other countries and the recommendations of international organizations.
- Elaborate a strategic proposal of design for a National System of Cultural Indicators, based on a conceptual framework that will benefit from the results of the above mentioned points.
- Define the instruments for collecting and processing the data, as well as evaluation, interpretation and dissemination mechanisms (including products, responsibles and periodicity).

It is essential that the system of indicators designed should give information about the practices and standards of cultural consumption that are not registered trough marketing transactions nor in spaces commonly qualified as "cultural" and that constitute expressions of wide sectors, such as the ethnic communities, peasants, neighborhoods and other popular sectors.

As a result of what has been analysed so far, cultural statistics available today in Mexico present serious limitations considering:

- Their reliability, given that the collecting mechanisms do not offer certainty in relation to the reported quantities.
- Their covering, since many institutions and spaces are not included.
- Their dissemination, since as today the results are barely known.
- Their relevance for measuring the objectives of cultural policies and human development.

All of the above mentioned show that a deep transformation of the cultural statistics system in Mexico is necessary and urgent in order to break the vicious circle that generates information that is compiled by routine and that is not useful for the institutions and of no interest for the citizens.

Taking into consideration the limitations of available resources and the considerable task that represents to collect a substantial number of indicators, in a reliable and suitable way, it is intended to exploit as much as possible sources such as demographic census and various surveys that are regularly carried out and to be very selective in a limited list of selected indicators.

Paradoxically, next to the apparent lack of reliable data, it has been detected the existence of information that is gathered regularly by tools as the *National Survey of Home Income-Expenditure, National Survey of Employment, National Survey of Tourism* and others, that until now have not been used as sources of information and yet contain relevant data about certain aspects of the cultural sector.

In the process of establishing cultural indicators, the studies of opinion and in particular the different types of surveys are of great usefulness in the gathering of results that other tools would not allow us to detect. Due to the above mentioned, a *National Survey on Cultural Practices and Consumption* will be carried out shortly. This survey, that will take place every four or six years, is fundamental for getting to know the practices and patterns of cultural consumption in Mexico in a detailed manner, differentiated by age, gender, level of education, income, occupation, size of locality and state or region.

The survey includes attendance to cultural infrastructure, reading habits, exposure to media, use of leisure time, practice of artistic activities, cultural equipment, values and attitudes, and knowledge and opinion regarding cultural institutions. We are ready to make the necessary adjustments in the questionnaire in order that this information can be compared with data obtained by similar surveys in other countries.

In particular, considering that the UIS and the cultural sector of the UNESCO are working on the design of a survey on cultural practices and consumption that will be launched in various member countries of the UNESCO in 2003, for Mexico it would be extremely useful to benefit from this experience, for the design of the questionnaire, as well as for the analysis and interpretation of the information.

Complementing this population survey, public surveys will be made to get to know in detail the profile of the users of cultural goods and services, their level of satisfaction and the evaluation of performance of the different institutions. This kind of surveys will be made every six months where users of various areas such as libraries, museums, art galleries, archeological sites, movie theaters, concert halls, artistic education, festivals, etc will participate.

We will also promote the participation of external researches (national and international) in matters of interest such as design of indicators, evaluation of policies and projects, case studies and in the design, analysis and interpretation of the surveys.

Finally, we have established contact with the PNUD with the purpose of evaluating the possibilities of cooperation for the elaboration of a *Report on Culture and Human Development in Mexico* aimed at firmly including culture as a fundamental element in the agenda of development.

In all these projects, it is fundamental for Mexico to establish permanent cooperation and exchange programs with international organisms such as the UNESCO, particularly with the Institute for Statistics, with the European Union and with any country willing to share their experience in the matter. The development of a basic common framework of international reference and international recommended standards, to which the largest possible number of countries would subscribe, seems of fundamental usefulness.

What has been accomplished so far is of great importance. The framework developed by UNESCO in 1986 is certainly a starting-point that should benefit from numerous experiences and reflections generated thereafter. For instance, the achievements of the Leadership Group on Cultural Statistics established by the European Union are particularly significant as a conceptual and methodological basis for harmonizing statistics.

There are certainly many more experiences to benefit from in the effort to devise a common international framework, that sets agreed-on standards, reflects cultural complexity and diversity and stresses the value of culture and the linkages between culture and development. The establishment of a network of national systems of cultural statistics and indicators as a basis for international cooperation will be essential for advancing more rapidly towards these goals on a global scale.

Danielle Cliche European Research Institution for Comparative Cultural Policy and the Arts, ERICarts, Bonn, Germany

"Cultural Policies in Europe: a compendium of basic facts and trends"

Résumé

Le processus de collecte d'information et de données sur les politiques culturelles en Europe a commencé il y a près de 30 ans par une première série de profils de politique culturelle commandés par l'UNESCO au début des années 70, sans oublier les documents relatifs aux conférences internationales et européennes (Oslo 1976, Mexico 1982). Depuis, une myriade d'activités ont permis de générer une information plus complète sur les politiques culturelles. Des experts se sont réunis, des groupes de travail transnationaux ont été formés, des profils thématiques nationaux ont été produits, des guides et des annuaires ont été publiés et des bulletins d'information sur les politiques culturelles ont été diffusés par différents intervenants publics et privés partout en Europe.

Le Programme d'examen des politiques culturelles nationales présente une approche plus systématique qui a été mise de l'avant par le Conseil de l'Europe en 1985, et dans le cadre duquel des évaluations sont faites par des experts. En 17 ans, cette activité a généré une mine de renseignements. À la fin des années 90, on a senti le besoin d'établir en parallèle une activité dynamique qui permettrait aux chercheurs et aux documentalistes d'avoir accès à l'information la plus récente sur les politiques culturelles afin d'étayer leurs décisions, de mener des analyses comparatives et de maintenir leurs collectes. En 1998, le

Abstract

The process to collect information and data on national cultural policies in Europe began almost 30 years ago: with a first special series of cultural policy profiles commissioned by UNESCO in the early 70s. Documents prepared for and following European and international conferences (Oslo 1976, Mexico 1982) should also be mentioned. Since then, there has been a myriad of activities to produce more comprehensive information on cultural policies. Expert meetings have been held, transnational working groups set up, thematic country profiles produced, handbooks or directories published and cultural policy newsletters circulated by various public and private actors throughout Europe.

A more systematic approach was introduced by the Council of Europe in 1985 via its National Cultural Policy Review Programme including expert evaluations. This exercise has produced a wealth of information over 17 years. At the end of the 1990s, it was felt desirable to establish a parallel and dynamic activity which would ensure that policy-makers, researchers and documentalists had access to the most up to date information on cultural policies in order to better inform their decisions, conduct comparative analyses and maintain their collections. In 1998, the Council of Europe, ERICarts and a network of national partners embarked on an adventure to

Conseil de l'Europe, ERICarts et un réseau de partenaires nationaux ont tenté l'aventure de relever ce défi. Ainsi, fut créé *Cultural Policies in Europe: a compendium of basic facts and trends* (Les politiques culturelles en Europe. Compendium de données de base et de tendances).

L'objet de la présente communication est de présenter la conception d'ensemble et les méthodes ayant servi à réaliser ce qui est devenu l'un des plus importants projets de contenu en ligne sur les politiques culturelles dans le monde, lequel a servi à créer un « réseau d'échange de pratiques » pour les experts des politiques culturelles en Europe. Nous attirerons votre attention sur la façon dont les questions de « diversité culturelle » sont intégrées dans la grille méthodologique d'ensemble et inspirent l'élaboration de nouveaux indicateurs. Le projet de développement d'une fonction de suivi continu pour le Compendium sera exposé dans ses grandes lignes.

take up this challenge; the result being "Cultural Policies in Europe: a compendium of basic facts and trends".

The purpose of this paper will be to present the overall approach and methods taken to realise what has become one of the largest e-content projects on cultural policies in the world and which has created a new "community of practice" for cultural policy experts in Europe. Attention will be drawn to the way in which "cultural diversity" issues are integrated into the overall methodological grid inspiring the future development of indicators. Plans for the development of a monitoring function for the *Compendium* will be outlined.

Some Milestones in a 30 Year Effort

One of the earlier and notable benchmark examples of gathering information on cultural policies in Europe which stands out on a (not so) long, but winding road, are the national cultural policy profiles published by UNESCO in a Series of monographs in the 1970s and early 80s. As stated in the preface of each country profile, the purpose of the series was to "show how cultural policies are planned and implemented in various Member States". Each country was asked to prepare their profile concentrating on the more technical aspects of cultural policy and according to a "a similar pattern so as to make comparison easier".[2] Many of the profiles published in this series were updated and included with the results of a questionnaires sent out by UNESCO at the beginning of the 1980s, in a reference document to the World Conference on Cultural Policies, otherwise known as MONDIACULT, held in Mexico City, 1982. The final document did not make any comparisons between the countries, yet noted the inequalities in the level of information collected in the various member states (especially cultural statistics) and the need to train researchers who could continue to further develop the field of applied cultural policy research.

At around the same time, the Council of Europe was publishing a handful of more integrated reports in preparation for the Conference of European Ministers with responsibility for cultural affairs, held in Oslo, Norway[3]. A comparative report was written on public measures in support of the visual artists[4] as well as on cultural policy in 14 towns across Europe[5]. The introductory statement to the Conference noted that it was the "first occasion for the Ministers with responsibility for cultural affairs of the member states of the Council for Cultural Co-operation to compare problems of cultural policy in relation to their shared acceptance of democratic values".[6] The Final Conference Resolution referred to the mounting challenges facing the development of national cultural policies from the growing impact of the mass media and the dangers of it creating uniform values and tastes; upheavals in family life and the unresolved inequalities between men and women; exclusion of cultural communities from taking an active role in cultural life, especially "migrant workers". It called on the Council of Europe to "devote more of its resources to keeping member states informed by collecting all relevant information from the national ministries concerned, and particularly statistics…and to collate the documentation thus collected"[7]. It further proposed to circulate this information with the help of a network of qualified correspondents.

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1. This paper was prepared by Danielle Cliche, European Research Institution for Comparative Cultural Policy and the Arts (ERICarts) co-ordinator of the *Compendium* project. Special thanks to Kathrin Merkle, Council of Europe, for her input and comments on this text.
2. Paul Schafer, "Aspects of Canadian Cultural Policy" published in the UNESCO Series, *Studies and Documents on Cultural Policies*, UNESCO, Paris, 1976, Preface.
3. First national reports on cultural policies from Council of Europe member states were also provided as background material to the conference. A comparative summary was later published as "Cultural Policies in Europe": a synopsis of these national reports, by Jacques Depaigne, Council of Europe 1978.
4. Country "monographs" were prepared by independent experts and government officials in the Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the UK. An integrated report of the country results was prepared by Raymonde Moulin, Director of Research at the National Centre for Scientific Research, France and presented as a background paper to the Ad Hoc Conference of European Ministers with Responsibility for Cultural Affairs, Oslo, Norway, 1976.
5. Stephen Mennell, *Cultural Policy in Towns*, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 1976.
6. Ad Hoc Conference of European Ministers with Responsibility for Cultural Affairs, "Report of the Conference", Council of Europe, Oslo, Norway, 1976, p 7.
7. Ibid., extract from Resolution No. 7 on the dissemination of information, p 160.

The collection and integration of information on public policies across countries in other disciplines was not new. Comparisons of political, economic or legal systems had been conducted between the borders of academic inquiry and policy making for over 2000 years.[8] The innovation of both the Council of Europe and UNESCO exercises was the emphasis being placed on the construction of the first cross-national observations about cultural policy developments in their respective member states in order to identify some common goals, not necessarily common approaches, to cultural policy making. While these first efforts were not necessarily pursued in a systematic manner, the results of both exercises highlighted the pit falls to gathering comparative information and data in this developing field of policy-making and the importance of finding common methods which would also acknowledge the diversity of heritages and traditions of cultural life of individual countries. Cited obstacles included: incomplete and out of date information due to changes in cultural policies; sources of information used in the preparation of the profiles were not uniform; differences in political, economic, social systems not to mention historical backgrounds, cultural traditions and differing administrative systems; lack of evidence below the "surface" of national institutions; ambiguous definitions and terminology; non-existence of statistics etc.

An article written by Andreas Wiesand[9], identifies some the major exercises or "milestones" undertaken since the 70s by intergovernmental bodies, national governments, publicly supported and independent research bodies and networks to gather information and data on cultural policy developments in Europe. In his assessment, Wiesand refers to stand alone reports of transnational working groups on cultural statistics[10], historical assessments and internal political or legal country profiles[11], European handbooks[12], guides or directories[13] which have been published by various public and private organisations and/or institutions. Beyond these somewhat singular references, Wiesand notes a paradigmatic change, partly as a result of new and increasing demands from the European Union and European Parliament[14] "to monitor and evaluate the cultural dimensions of its policies and, in particular, the ongoing process of enlargement in the East and South" which places even greater importance on 1) the regular collection of basic cultural policy information and data and 2) reliable and timely comparative policy analysis (which is, of course, dependent on the value of the first).

Another major development which can be seen as part of this paradigmatic shift in the last 10 years is the increasingly complex nature of culture as a separate domain of policy making.

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8. In his article, "Prologue: achievements and challenges in 2000 years of comparative research", Karl Deutsch argues that the history of comparative research is linked to the development of the nation-state and cites the works of the Greek historian Herodtus, the conceptual analysis of Plato, early studies by Aristotle, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Hamilton, Morgenthau in laying the foundations for the field. See M. Dierkes/H.Wieler/A.Antal, *Comparative Policy Research: learning from experience*, WZB Publications, Gower, 1987.
9. See Andreas Wiesand, "Comparative Cultural Policy Research in Europe: A Change of Paradigm" published in N. Duxbury (ed.) *Making Connections: Culture and Social Cohesion in the New Millennium*, papers from the CIRCLE/CCRN Round Table, May 26-27 2000, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, Canadian Journal of Communication, Volume 27, Numbers 2&3, 2002.
10. For example, the EU Leadership Groups (LEG) working to develop a new framework for cultural statistics to be applied by all member states in the fields of financing, participation and employment.
11. For example, a study conducted by the Österreichischen Kulturdokumentation, *Cultural Policy and Cultural Administration in Europe: 42 outlines*, Vienna, 1996.
12. ZfKf/ERICarts (eds) *Handbook of Cultural Affairs in Europe, 3rd edition*, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden, 2000.
13. Culturelink, *Guide to the Current State and Trends in Cultural Policy and Life in the UNESCO Member States*, country profiles.
14. In November 2001, the Parliamentary Group of the PSE, European Parliament released a publication, "The Unity of Diversities: Cultural Co-operation in the European Union". This report, otherwise known as the "Ruffolo Report", published the EP Resolution on cultural co-operation in the European Union (2000/2323 (INI)) which recommended, among other things to set up "a European Observatory to monitor cultural co-operation, with the aim of promoting the exchange of information and co-ordination between the cultural policies of the Member States and Community cultural policy" (excerpt from Article 10).

Major world and European exercises[15] have acknowledged this transition from a more narrowly focussed domain of policy with supporting measures and instruments to, among other things, improve the socioeconomic status of artists, to one which can no longer ignore a broader agenda of cultural development and an emerging system of governance for culture and artistic creativity.[16] Today cultural policy makers in Europe are being forced to navigate between policy fields which regulate the (global and local) markets for cultural goods and services and the information society as well as immigration and identity politics. They have to consider the changing employment status, working practises and mobility of artists. No one says it better than Carl-Johan Kleberg, "policy makers and policy planners need to be helped!".[17] Clearly they require better and more information on a range of issues which necessitates the establishment of closer ties and exchange with the research community who can provide them with a knowledge base to inform their work; what some may today call "knowledge transfer and uptake". Kleberg goes on to say that "governments and international organisations must be motivated to set aside resources for the complicated work demanded".[18] There are, however, few national bodies (public or independent) located throughout Europe with enough resources to collect such extensive amounts of information and data on a regular basis within their own country.

Until the late 1990s, systematic exercises – requiring co-operation between actors such as independent researchers, statisticians and national policy makers as well as resources to develop regular monitoring tools and data collection – were few and far between at either the intergovernmental or national level.[19]

A Turning Point in Europe

In 1985, the Council of Europe began the first major undertaking whose main goal was to "create a reliable knowledge base for monitoring and evaluating cultural policies… with special attention paid to indicators for cultural policy monitoring". The European Programme on National Cultural Policy Reviews and Expert Evaluations, managed by Ritva Mitchell from 1992-1997 was, according to her, "an effort to modernise cultural policy to a policy field comparable to educational or technology policies… modelled after the OECD review of national systems of education".[20]

Over the last 18 years, the Council of Europe Review Programme has facilitated the production of key documents describing, analysing and evaluating the cultural policies and systems of 23 European countries; many of which would have not been otherwise produced (especially those in Eastern Europe which were invited into the Review Programme after 1995). Without going into detail about the complexity of the programme and the challenges it faced[21], it is important

15. Notable examples include: UN/UNESCO World Commission on Cultural Development, *Our Creative Diversity*, UNESCO, Paris, 1996; European Task Force on Culture and Development, *In from the Margins*, Council of Europe, 1997; Stockholm Action Plan of the UNESCO Intergovernmental Conference, *The Power of Culture*, Stockholm, 1998.
16. See an ERICarts Report prepared by Cliche/Mitchell/Wiesand, with Heiskanen/Dal Pozzolo, *Creative Europe: on the governance and management of artistic creativity in Europe*, Bonn, 2002.
17. Carl-Johan Kleberg, *The Need for a New Type of World Culture Report*, 4 October, 2002.
18. Ibid, 2002.
19. There are of course some exceptions ranging from the work of the Dutch Social and Cultural Planning Bureau, the French Département des Études et Prospectives or the Research Department of the Finnish Arts Council. For a more extensive survey of the activities of the research and information infrastructure in Europe see. Mark Schuster, *Informing Cultural Policy*, CUPR Press, 2002.
20. Ritva Mitchell, *Cultural Policy Evaluation as a Means of a Schemata Construction and as a Policy Instrument*, paper presented at the 2nd International Conference on Cultural Policy Research, Wellington, New Zealand, January 2002.
21. For a more complete understanding of the review programme, see Ibid., Ritva Mitchell, (2002).

to underline that the Review Programme had two distinct activities and subsequent products: 1) compilation of information and data by national experts from the government, universities and independent research bodies into a "National Review" and 2) an evaluation report produced by a team of independent international experts based on the information provided by the national reports and interviews conducted with the relevant actors throughout the respect countries during a sequence of country visits or missions. The result is thousands of pages of information and data on cultural policy in Europe which did not exist before as well as witness accounts to the validity (or not) of such material. In this respect, it has definitely succeeded in fulfilling its original goal. An important by-product of the programme was the training or "capacity building" it provided to researchers in former communist countries to think about culture within a democratic framework. Today, many of those researchers which were involved in the Council of Europe Review Programme (more specifically locals involved in writing the national reports) have moved on to top positions in newly established or reorganised Ministries of Culture, arms-length bodies or have set up their own observatories to monitor developments in cultural policy.

At the end of the 90s, the Council of Europe was in possession of a wealth of information, from both Western and increasingly from Eastern Europe as a result of the Review Programme. The value of this treasure chest was, however, diminishing year by year in the context of a demanding and complex information society. The material became increasingly out of date and there were no procedures yet in place to ensure that it would be continuously valuable and accessible to policy makers in search of inspiring models beyond their borders. Without negating the ongoing work, it was felt desirable to establish a parallel and dynamic activity complementing the Review Programme.

The Cultural Policy and Action Department, in charge of the Review Programme knew they had a good head start with the material lining their bookshelves. One of the challenges was to take the books off the shelf and transport the information and data into a framework or format; a compendium of information which had similarly been devised for other fields such as social security. The style should be "journalistic", "accessible" and "user friendly", however, at the same time not lacking seriousness. The Department recognised that the landscape for cultural policies in Europe was and still is changing. This required a new type of exercise; an ongoing pan-European forum which could provide a focal point for the provision and regular updating of basic information and data on cultural policies; what Ritva Mitchell would call a more *rationalist* based approach rather than *value-based assessments*.[22] Despite the wealth of material gathered not only by the Council of Europe and UNESCO but by a growing community of independent research bodies and networks, the availability of updated basic information on cultural policies in Europe had surprisingly not yet been achieved.

The initial political impetus for developing a new system was to:

- Make use of, digest and add value to the Council of Europe's Review Programme and establish a more permanent updating structure for them in the future;
- Provide an information pool for the countless external information requests received by the Council of Europe and for in-house information requirements;
- Provide – so far unavailable – brief and concise cultural policy country profiles; with a view to developing more comprehensive material.

22. Ibid., Ritva Mitchell (2002).

Designing an Offspring to the Council of Europe's Review Programme

In Spring 1998, a first meeting was held to discuss the construction of this new exercise: "Cultural Policies in Europe: a compendium of basic facts and trends", otherwise known and referred to in this paper as the *Compendium*. Its goals needed to be sketched, the physical form it would take needed to be defined and a model or grid needed to be designed which would enable the systematic collection of data and information on cultural policies in Europe. Who would be the main partners involved as producers of "content"? Which indicators would be used? How to make best use of the years of efforts to develop indicators to harmonise statistics or frameworks within which to assess cultural policies? It was clear right from the start that the *process* of delivering integrated data and information on cultural policies in all 48 member states to the European Cultural Convention would be almost as important as the *format of delivery* and *content*.

First steps to define the process

A key concern of the Council of Europe was to engage an institutionalised, central structure, with sufficient international documentation and good connections to experts in the majority of the 48 member states. The European Research Institute for Comparative Cultural Policy Research (ERICarts) – a pan-European structure whose *raison d'être* is to co-ordinate transnational research projects together with independent experts in the field of cultural policy – was invited to co-pilot the process together with the Council of Europe. The Council had the foresight of hindsight and took up the recommendation of their 1976 Oslo Resolution to enlist the help of "a network of qualified correspondents" in the form of "regional" satellite partners working in partnership with ERICarts. The selection of such partners was done on the basis of a) their involvement as pioneers in the design of several of the signpost exercises of the past 30 years; b) their contacts to experts in their "region of responsibility", especially in those areas of Europe where information and data on culture may not be fully accessible due to language or lack of research infrastructure or regular data collection mechanisms; c) their level of knowledge regarding not only trends, but also the historical context in which cultural policy has developed in the past 50 years in the individual countries making up their "region of responsibility". The following institutions were identified: Finn-EKVIT (Helsinki), Österreichischen Kulturdokumentation (Vienna), IRMO/Culturelink (Zagreb) and the Zentrum für Kulturforschung (Bonn). The LIKUS system developed by Franz-Otto Hofecker following the Austrian National Review was to be employed as a means to collect the data on public financing.[23]

Together, the partners discussed a very pragmatic step-by-step approach to the project which would allow for the constant development and evolution of a methodological framework generated from the information and data provided in subsequent country profiles; a bottom-up approach which is flexible and able to accommodate the myriad of changes and expanding parameters of cultural policy throughout Europe. Three main phases were identified:

- a first or 0-phase would synthesise already available information coming from 4-6 countries which had prepared a national report to the Council of Europe's Review Programme into a discussion version which would help to sow the seeds for future efforts and a subsequent refinement of content and indicators;

23. For more information on the LIKUS system, see Franz-Otto Hofecker, *Cultural Policy Comparative Research Work in Federal Countries: How to deal with the differences?*, paper presented to the International Conference on Cultural Policy Research, Bergen, Norway, November 1999.

- a second phase would then cover an additional 14-16 countries based on an improved methodology;
- a 3-year main phase to include the other countries party to the European Cultural Convention, while constantly updating the material of the already existing "country profiles" (institutes and experts responsible for the national entries would be designated to update these profiles).

Such a pragmatic approach to collect synthesised information over a period of years meant that generating comparisons was not an immediate objective. In fact, the ambitions were to reach a point, one day, when "observations about cultural policies in Europe could be generated and comparisons made at individual discretion, the methodology, approach and framework would become part of a systematic process subject to ongoing change. Final products and results can not be expected until the process has been lived".[24]

This process was also deemed necessary to take into account the sometimes radical differences in approaches, instruments, measures, budgets and conditions for cultural policy making across the 48 member states. Could it really be possible to eventually produce a framework and working procedures within which, for example, newly formed Baltic States or South East European countries, France and the UK (with long traditions of cultural policy making) could all identify themselves? Experience so far shows us that the answer is an undeniable YES; but only if the process is participatory, remains open and flexible and regularly integrates constructive feedback. On the other hand, the process requires a common horizon for all to follow, stable signposts to guide partners along the way and strong editorial leadership and communication to bring the results into a language understood across national specificity's. In other words, it was decided to adopt parameters which were somewhere between Mark Schuster's "inclusive", "floating" and "anchored" boundaries of comparative inquiry.[25]

Designing the format of delivery

Two main proposals on the format of this new product were pursued:

- presentation of country profiles in a *loose leaf binder* similar to legal directories with the possibility to replace updated pages each year and
- design of an interactive *multilingual electronic space* on the Internet where users from all over Europe and from various disciplines could submit as well as benefit from the inventory of information without the burden of bureaucratic procedures or high costs.

It was argued that such a self-sustaining mechanism for information processing would contribute to the longevity of the project and ensure that information is up to date; a disadvantage of traditionally published/printed material and of former harmonisation efforts. However, it was agreed that the printed version would be essential, especially for those countries in the eastern or southern parts of Europe where access to computers and the Internet was, per capita, much lower and slower than in most northern parts of Europe. Keeping such challenges in mind,

24. ERICarts report, "Trial Version ("0-Number") for a future Compendium" submitted to the Culture Committee of the Council of Europe, September 1998.

25. In the early 90s, Mark Schuster identified three different ways of setting boundaries for comparative inquiry: inclusive, floating and anchored boundaries. See J. Mark Schuster, *Making Compromises to Make Comparisons in Cross-national Arts Policy Research*, Journal of Cultural Economics, Vol. 11, No. 2, December 1987.

technical research was to be pursued into the most appropriate operational system. Main decision-making criteria would be the cost-saving benefits, an uncomplicated introductory learning phase, and a system that could be employed by the greatest amount of user groups. The Web site housing this new database/online information management system needed to be user-friendly and self-explanatory so that visitors could navigate through the site, extract and contribute information with great ease.

Setting the Framework for content

Determining which *content* should fill the pages of these brief (15-20 page) country profiles was a more complicated exercise. The methodological approach chosen for the pilot phase, otherwise known as the 0-Number, was initially inspired by secondary information and data provided in the existing national reports generated via the Council of Europe Review and Evaluation Programme both in:

- **Scope:** only those countries which had gone through the Review Programme would be initially included in the first editions of the *Compendium* (Austria, Finland, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Slovenia, Sweden) and
- **Breadth** of issues: the *history* of cultural policy and the *objectives* formulated by official institutions and government bodies, the *decision-making process* at the national, regional and local levels, public *expenditure* for culture and summaries of the main *legal instruments* adopted or in the process of becoming law. Measures to *support creativity* and *trends in decentralisation and new partnerships* were chosen as two specific issues for exploration. Information on policy issues such as the culture industries, cultural minorities, heritage, participation in cultural life or individualised sectors such as the performing, visual or literary arts etc, were planned to be addressed in subsequent issues of the *Compendium* series.

The main observations resulting from the production of the 0-Number and that took the project into new directions were:

- the need to work towards developing new approaches to the collection of information in order to achieve a comprehensive compilation of basic facts, figures and trends;
- data collected in the different countries was not readily compatible to the prepared framework, mostly due to definitional problems. It was proposed that work should continue in this area, perhaps in co-operation with experts in some member countries, the Council of Europe Secretariat as well as the statistical working groups of UNESCO and/or the European Union;
- the original main categories generated repetition and would need to be revised and further streamlined, also with new indicators making up a revised methodological grid;
- the burden placed on some of the "regional satellite partners" was too great to undertake the preparation of several policy profiles at one time without sufficient financial resources to support their work.

Going Beyond the Pilot Phase: towards building a flexible framework

A new grid of indicators elaborated by ERICarts, the Council of Europe and the regional partners was proposed at the beginning of 1999. A list of 14 countries[26] to be included in the next Phase was drawn up together with a list of nationally based independent experts who would be responsible for preparing the individual country profiles. In addition, the overall parameters of the project were further refined. The goal being an information system that was:

- Open and pragmatic – modelled from the information and data available;
- Flexible enough to accommodate the addition of future indicators without breaking the system;
- Able to capture the diversity of approaches to cultural policy in 48 countries based on different and changing systems of governance. It was acknowledged that while there may be a standard or interchanging list of cultural policy priorities which one can identify across the board, the way in which cultural policy is organised throughout the individual countries in Europe is unique. It is this diversity which should be captured;
- Transparent – to connect or create synergies with other transnational exercises such as those undertaken by the EUROSTAT LEG groups.

It was also decided NOT to

- Adopt clear cut definitions (framework and categories navigating between a broad and narrow definition of culture);
- Directly follow an existing statistical framework (e.g. national accounting systems, UNESCO-FCS framework);
- Take a sector specific approach but rather a *policy and issue driven approach* that would bring together both qualitative and quantitative information and which would try to capture the dynamics of change in the various sectors;
- Explicitly strive to make comparisons or value judgements, but rather to provide the basic informational tools that would allow researchers, policy makers and others to generate their own observations and comparisons. In order to achieve this goal, a framework was needed that would allow, on the one hand, the diversity of approaches to policy making in the different countries to shine through, but at the same time enable reasonable comparisons to be made as a by product;
- Duplicate work with any other transnational exercises but make links to their methodological discussions and results.

The following general categories were agreed upon:

1. Historical perspective: cultural policies and instruments
2. Competence, decision-making and administration
3. Cultural policy, general objectives and principles
4. Current issues in cultural policy development and debate
5. Main legal provisions in the cultural field

26. These included: Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Estonia, Finland, France, Latvia, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Portugal, Romania, the Russian Federation, Slovenia, Sweden.

6. Financing of culture
7. Cultural institutions and new partnerships
8. Support to creativity and participation
9. Sources and links

Under these main chapter headings 49 different categories or "soft-indicators" were elaborated (see annex I for an annotated list). The aim was to develop means which would produce relevant information and data for the different user groups (policy makers, researchers, documentalists, students and the so called general interested public) and reflect the changes and developments occurring in cultural policy debates (bringing together both qualitative and quantitative information). Over the past two years, the grid has expanded to include 10 major policy areas. Room is being made to accommodate new indicators on issues such as intercultural dialogue and conflict resolution for the 2003 edition. Suggestions for new indicators to be included in the framework are coming from within the Council of Europe, from the authors themselves who are curious about certain topics as well as from sponsoring partners such as foundations operating in the cultural field.

In all chapters and sub-chapters authors were asked to present information and data derived from a variety of sources as the profiles should not be written exclusively as official government documents. In addition to presenting policies, the profiles should refer to ongoing debates among the different public and private sector actors (e.g. artists, cultural producers, administrators) regarding the structural dynamics/policy changes and prospects. The profiles are to provide statistical evidence (where applicable) and meaningful examples and "good practices" by using examples to illustrate the functioning (or not) of policy or programme initiatives and measures.

Authors are required to report on almost all cultural policy issues and trends ranging from gender equality to arts education, employment in the cultural sector to programmes reflecting the diversity of cultural communities in their countries. All of this within a 20 page limit – an almost impossible task! Again, the Council of Europe can be seen as a "capacity builder" in this respect: expertise and knowledge being garnered across the spectrum of sub-policy fields which is difficult to find not only in the capacity one individual researcher but also among individual government officials who are caught up with micro level daily priorities to maintain a "birds eye view" of developments in cultural policy at the macro level of analysis and understanding. Surely this would never have been achieved without a step by step process whereby authors build up their knowledge on the issues at stake over a period of time and thereby achieve a comprehensive overview of cultural policy developments in their respective country.

Dealing with Financing Statistics

The reader may be wondering how the question of *statistics on the financing of culture* was dealt with. There are many statistical experts and exercises which have been working over the past 30 years to establish a common framework and definitions to collect cultural statistics; not to mention the most recent efforts of the European Union Leadership Groups (LEG), that are closely followed. It was never the intention of the *Compendium* project to create a new framework for statistics and as soon as the ongoing efforts produce positive results, agreed upon frameworks will gladly be adopted. For the time being an open, but simple approach is followed. Let the information, or in this case, data speak for itself.

Four categories were selected as the most likely fields for which the majority of countries would have both quantitative and qualitative information.

1. Short overview describing some recent trends in the financing of culture as well as any political or policy developments which have affected levels of expenditure.
2. Public cultural expenditure per capita: figures in local currency and as % of GDP.
3. Public cultural expenditure broken down by levels of government existing in the different countries e.g. federal/central, regional, provincial and local/municipal levels. Total expenditure figures are to be expressed in local currency and % share of total for comparison purposes.
4. Sector breakdown of government expenditure on culture. Authors are simply asked to provide the data which is available in their country. A table developed by Franz-Otto Hofecker at the beginning of the project is provided to the authors as a guide to how the data could be presented (see annex 1, section 6.4). Clearly, most countries do not have the majority of figures available for all the cells and indeed the way culture is defined and divided up into sectors is currently not comparable across countries. For example, in some countries figures for music and theatre are amalgamated into one category (performing arts) while in other countries these figures are separated (similar story for libraries and literature). In some countries, education figures are part of the overall total, while in others not.

The use of exact currency figures alone was avoided. In all finance tables, authors are asked to provide the percentage relations, which allows to make some comparative observations. For example, the following table provides information about sector spending priorities by central level governments in 4 countries: Bulgaria, Estonia, Finland and France in relative terms.

Table 1

Sector Breakdown: % Share of Total Expenditure by the Main National Government Authority Responsible for Culture, 2000

Country	Libraries/ Literature	Museums/ Archives	Performing Arts (music + theatre)
		%	
Bulgaria	2,9	6,9	48,3
Estonia	14	8	22
Finland	37,5	10,1	18,8
France	9	16	21

Source: Council of Europe/ERICarts. "Cultural Policies in Europe: a compendium of basic facts and trends". Compendium Comparative View, 2002 http://www.culturalpolicies.net.

While perhaps not the ideal model exercise statisticians are aiming at, this type of "intermediary" phase of soft-comparisons seems valuable in stimulating further questions.

Joining the Information Society: 1st steps toward the creation of an information system[27]

In addition to establishing a more sound methodological grid and confirming a reliable system of partners as national experts responsible for preparing the country profiles, major steps forward were made on the development of the first multifunctional Web-version of the *Compendium* in the Autumn of 1999.

The added value of presenting the *Compendium* on the Internet, rather than merely reproducing printed profiles in the loose leaf binder, is its accessibility, its navigational flexibility in accessing data and its facilities for updating information on a continual basis; features which reflect the overall methodological goals of the project. The 1999 Web version of the *Compendium* enabled users to access the 14 country profiles via a digitised methodological grid; participate in a users forum about the content of the profiles and; download the country profiles onto their computer in PDF format. Some of the new technical features developed for the 2002 edition included: full text natural language searching, country cross-over navigation facilitated by horizontal hyperlinks to enable a transversal reading of the profiles, an advanced print module to print single chapters of interest across countries and a new feedback option referring to specific chapters.

The nature of the cross-over navigational system has produced an interesting side effect, namely, for users to begin making their own country by country comparisons. The possibilities offered by the new technologies and software, inspired the ex-post harmonisation of information presented in the country profiles. A "comparative view" function was developed relying on a database of tables[28] which were generated by ERICarts using the information provided in the profiles. This new database provided the user with the possibility to select, for a certain subject issue, one, several or all countries ("filter") and hence generate their own comparisons; this possibility has become one of the most popular features of the Web version. The usability of such features developed for the *Compendium* Web version could be used as a model for other information systems in the cultural field.

The presentation of the Web version was a turning point in the whole project in terms of *process* ("observations about cultural policies in Europe could be generated and comparisons made at individual discretion"); *format of delivery* (the printed version has not been updated since 1999 and is not necessarily foreseen in the near future); and *content* (the ease of accommodating new indicators). The online version has catapulted the *Compendium* project to one of the largest e-content projects on cultural policies in the world[29] and has created a new "community of practice" for cultural policies in Europe.

27. For a more detailed account of the technical innovations and development of the Compendium on-line version see, **Gesa Büttner and Joerg Torkler,** *The online Compendium: a Web-based information system on cultural policies in Europe,* published in Cultivate Interactive 2002.

28. There are currently 8 comparative view tables presented on the Web version including: Public Cultural Expenditure broken down by level of Government; Sector Breakdown of Government Expenditure on Culture; Government Priorities in Cultural Spending; Current Cultural Policy Priorities; Main Features of the Cultural Policy System; Social Security Frameworks and Measures for Freelance Artists; Incentives for Public-Private Partnerships; Linguistic Diversity.

29. The *Compendium* on line version is being used daily by policy makers and administrators, researchers, documentalists, and journalists on national, European and increasingly international levels. It is also being used as a tool for university professors around the world wanting to introduce their students to the diversity of issues and approaches facing cultural policy makers in Europe today. As statistics for Autumn 2002 revealed, there were 2,690 hits a day to the Web version and the number of daily user working sessions was 107. In comparison, the number of hits in 2001 was at an average of only 794 per day while daily working sessions were at 39 – so the use has increased by ca. 274%! in one year. The Compendium online version has also received the "Best Practices Award for Social Sciences" by the University of California; was selected "Web Site of the Month" by the Information World Review in October 2001; has also been included in the Council of Europe's contribution to the 2nd Preparatory Committee for the World Summit on the Information Society, Geneva 2003.

A new "community of practice" of cultural policy experts in Europe?

Since the mid 1990s, scholars have been presenting various approaches on the points of convergence between knowledge production, management and dissemination within the context of the information society. In their article, *Knowledge Communities and Innovation*, Harry Scarbrough and Jacky Swan, present a description of an ideal type of system based on a "community of practice" school of thought: "inter-community interactions involved in innovation and the importance of what can be termed 'knowledge communities' in advancing innovations... such innovation is typified by flatter structures, debureaucratization, decentralisation, networked forms of organisation and co-ordination through increasing use of information and communication technologies... if successful, new ideas are utilised in the form of new products, services or ways of organising and become used routinely... different episodes of the innovation process are seen as centring on the involvement of different groups of social actors – interactions between these groups are crucial to mobilising and integrating the knowledge required by the process".[30]

How does Scarbrough and Swan's description relate to the organisation of the *Compendium* project and its style of knowledge management?

As discussed earlier in this paper, as much attention has been placed on the *process* of the project as on the *format of delivery* and the *content*. Certainly one of the most important aspects of the project is the unique mix of partners[31] involved to produce, verify, update and manage the distribution of information on cultural policies, measures and instruments in Europe. While the *Compendium* project was first developed in partnership between the Council of Europe and ERICarts and its regional partners, it would not exist without the commitment of the individual and newly formed groups of authors who write the country profiles[32]. Today, this new *decentralised* community of practitioners monitoring cultural policy developments in their respective countries has become an informal system of partners across national borders.

The project is supported by a shared will among members of the Council of Europe Steering Committee for Culture as well as by a set of key ministerial contact points (called ACPs) which feed authors with the latest information and data required to prepare the profiles. This latter step in the preparation of country profiles helps to facilitate networking among public and private actors within national borders and opens up an exchange between local research communities and the public policy makers responsible for culture; in many countries with great success! For example, some of the country profiles have been sent to Cabinet or Parliament members to be reviewed. Other countries are issuing press releases, distributing printed copies of their national profiles and making Web announcements on their national culture portals with links to the wider European project.

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30. Harry Scarbrough and Jacky Swan, «Knowledge Communities and Innovation» in Huysman/van Baalen (ed.), *Communities of Practice*, European Institute for the Media, Boom Publishers, the Netherlands, 2002, pp.7-8.

31. The individual roles and responsibilities of the different actors in this process are outlined in «Compendium Guide» for preparing country profiles. Adherence to a «10-step approach» to preparing and validating the information in the profiles is closely supervised by the Council of Europe and ERICarts.

32. At the beginning of 2003, experts from 29 countries are partners in this emerging community of practice: Albania, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Holy See, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Malta, Moldova, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

One of the key aspects to the "community of practice" model is the use of information and communication technologies. The online version of the *Compendium* facilitates *interaction* between the authors and the target audience or user groups of the information. On the other hand, interaction taking place in a common and real-time space is also crucial to "mobilise and integrate knowledge required by the process". Such face to face communication, via a yearly meeting of authors, is essential to exchange information, knowledge and experiences when preparing the profiles and review the overall coherence as well as methodological development of the project. The first meeting, which took place in January 2002, led to the production of *new content* (new indicators added to the methodological framework), *new services* (the addition of custom made technical features to the online *Compendium*) and new *ways of organising* (ideas to set up new sub-working groups tackling questions of compatibility).

Prospects for the Future

The project continues to evolve and expand in different directions: increasing the number of countries, developing new indicators and features, further elaboration of the functionality of the system. The irony of the project is that while it was born from the Council of Europe's Review Programme, the *Compendium* framework is now being used by researchers and policy makers in countries where the system of governance for cultural policy had partly collapsed, namely, in East and South East Europe, as a means to prepare themselves to participate in the Programme. Policy makers can easily see what is happening in other European countries and use the information on, for example, legal provisions for culture as a kind of check list.

As the project comes closer to reaching its goal of involving all 48 countries party to the European Cultural Convention, there are three main activities which are being pursued:

a) Reaching out to the local audience

In many countries, the profiles produced are the first comprehensive overviews of cultural policy available and therefore, the governments are encouraged to translate[33] them into the original language of the country in order to reach a broader and more local audience.

b) Pursuing a horizontal approach to the presentation of certain policy issues

One of the most important macro policy issues being discussed at the international level is the overarching concept of cultural diversity. While it is important to recognise that "cultural diversity" is not a clear cut policy area of the majority of governments in Europe, there are a host of measures which can be considered relevant but are not necessarily formulated in a strict policy manner. Therefore, a mainstreaming or horizontal approach was adopted that underlies the treatment of cultural diversity in the *Compendium* exercise as opposed to creating a separate Chapter; an option suggested at one point during the exercise.

In fact, via this horizontal approach, information on cultural diversity can be found in very many areas of the *Compendium* from sub-chapters on language policy, media policy, policies for official and unofficial minority cultural groups, gender questions, support for artists and arts

33. Profiles are submitted in English. A handful of countries have already prepared additional original language versions which have been posted to the Web version.

education, community arts, cultural industries or even in the section on general policy priorities (which mainly refer to principles of freedom of expression, participation in cultural life, protecting cultural identities and fostering creativity).

As more horizontal issues arise, we have decided to add a new cross-referencing feature to the *Compendium* which points to the relevant sub-chapters in a more user-friendly way. Separate pages indicating where those policies, laws, facts, figures and recent debates on the issue can be found with links to additional texts will be developed and made available online. A first test-model has been added to the Web version in February 2003 addressing three policy areas: cultural diversity, cultural heritage and creativity.

c) Evaluating the usefulness of the Compendium

The Council of Europe has recently started a systematic evaluation of their activities in the cultural policy field and the *Compendium* serves as a model exercise. Examining the continual rise in the number of users and user groups via Web statistics is one thing, but assessing the long term impact of the *Compendium* would require more sophisticated research and strong and systematic co-operation with the target groups/users in order to be able to assess, *inter alia*, the following three questions:

- How has *policy making* been affected (facilitated, inspired, changed, improved, etc) as a consequence of the availability of comparative data and the cultural policy information and monitoring system?
- How has *research* been affected (facilitated, inspired, changed, improved, etc) through the availability of comparative data and the cultural policy information and monitoring system?
- How has the work of the *Council of Europe* been affected (facilitated, inspired, changed, improved, etc) through the availability of comparative data and the cultural policy information and monitoring system (e.g. improved programmes/communication/background documents/publications, more efficient preparation of missions to individual countries thanks to concise information and data).

d) Defining a monitoring function for the Compendium

While the evaluation of the *Compendium* will enable the partners to better determine the value of the overall project in terms of its current usability by different target groups, the integration of a parallel "soft-monitoring" function is being explored as a means to make even better use of the information and data collected over the past four years. The expected result is a better understanding of the changing dynamics and developments in the field of cultural policies at the national level.

Acknowledging the difficulties to harmonise data systems across all 48 countries party to the European Cultural Convention, and given the specificity of the cultural field, classical or strict monitoring systems which systematically chart changes can not be employed at this time. An important step along the path to monitor very closely the development of a certain policy issue or to conduct trend analysis is to ensure a constant flow of information based on reliable sources. In this context, systematic updating of the existing country profiles is critical. While formal updating of *Compendium* profiles takes place once per year, technical and resource solutions

are being sought to encourage the governments and authors to work together to submit information on new laws, new statistical data or innovations in institutional change, as a matter of routine. This is essential for maintaining the dynamics and value of the project as an information and knowledge management system. A more proactive alerting system informing the user groups about developments in the various countries can allow them to track and begin to interpret the changes over a period of time.

One obvious challenge is to return to the roots of the *Compendium* project, namely the European Programme on National Cultural Policy Reviews and Expert Evaluations, to determine whether or not the recommendations made in these reports have ever been implemented.

ANNEX 1

Annotated Outline for Compendium Country Profiles, 2002

1. Historical perspective: cultural policies and instruments

This section should describe the major trends and milestones in the development of cultural policy in the past 50 years.

2. Competence, decision-making and administration

2.1 Organisational structure (organigram)

Please include diagram only. Text to describe the diagram is not necessary. The organigram should be sent separately to ERICarts as an rtf file. All organigrams should be in portrait format, not in landscape (if you think of an A4 sheet of paper, the organigram should stand upright, not sideways).

2.2 Overall description of the system

Breakdown of competence at the different levels of government (national, regional, local) and structures. Which level of government plays the most important role in cultural policy (e.g. the central authority or the local or regional governments)? Please describe the role of the parliament, special committees, arms-length bodies and other relevant bodies.

This section is not restricted to national features but is open for authors to describe the actual system in their country. For example, in some countries regional or local authorities may play an important role in the governance structure of culture.

2.3 Inter-ministerial or intergovernmental co-operation

Please include a description of how the Ministry of Culture – or responsible body – co-operates with other Ministries on matters related to culture, including communications, finance, urban planning etc (inter-ministerial co-operation).

Measures for inter-governmental co-operation to be listed e.g. recent projects undertaken between the different levels of government – state, regional (Land) and local (municipal). Are there particular policies or committees set up to facilitate such inter-governmental co-operation?

2.4 International cultural co-operation

Please describe the main debates and recent changes to bilateral programmes, international (multilateral) cultural projects, networks, EU programmes or co-operation in your country. Has there been a major shift in priorities or development of new strategies or alternative approaches towards international cultural co-operation? Please do not list all those culture institutes or other foreign representatives abroad.

3. General objectives and principles of cultural policy

3.1 Main elements of the current cultural policy model

Please describe the main elements making up the cultural policy system in your country. Does it follow a particular model (e.g. arms-length model, interventionist model, entrepreneurship model, decentralised model etc)?

Please describe how this model is reflected in cultural policy making. For example, in some countries there is evidence that responsibilities for cultural affairs are either being re-centralised or de-centralised.

3.2 National definition of culture

Are there specific definitions of culture in official government policy documents or in legal Acts?

3.3 Cultural policy objectives

What are the cultural policy objectives in your country? How are they related to the Council of Europe's 4 cultural policy principles: the promotion of identity and diversity, support of creativity and participation in cultural life?

4. Current issues in cultural policy development and debate

4.1 Cultural policy priorities in the past 5 years

Brief description of the main cultural policy priorities pursued in your country since 1998. Please identify the major change in policy direction.

4.2 Recent policy issues and debates

In each of the sub-sections below, please indicate the core issues governments are facing in the development of new policy priorities or updating old ones. If there are additional issues which are important in your country and are not covered by the categories below, please include a description of those current debates under 4.2.10. Descriptions should be around 2 paragraphs each and include references to current debates as well as concrete information about the implementation and effects (results) of governmental policies. Have specific policies been evaluated?

4.2.1 Provisions for cultural minorities

Which are the officially recognised cultural minorities in your country? Is there a particular approach which the government has taken to include provisions for cultural minorities in cultural policy (e.g. mainstreaming, integrationist, protectionist measures to emphasise national identity and heritage, social cohesion and/or intercultural strategies etc)?

Are there special measures or instruments which support diverse forms of expression e.g. support for production of books, television or radio programmes in their native language, art exhibitions, other cultural events, festivals etc?

4.2.2 Gender equality and cultural policies

How are women reflected in cultural policies and in cultural policy making? Are there specific strategies which support women as professionals in the cultural labour market? If so, please describe. (These could be, for example, quota schemes or mainstreaming programmes).

4.2.3 Language issues and policies

What are the official languages in your country? How are they recognised in your country's cultural policy and programmes? Which approaches have been adopted to ensure the dissemination of culture and media products in these languages? What are the main elements for debate on these issues in your country?

This section differs from 5.3.2 which asks you to list and briefly describe existing legal provisions governing language in fields such as the media (e.g. quotas).

4.2.4 Relation between media and culture (identity and diversity)

How is the media sector organised in your country? Do the public media have a particular culture mission in their mandate? Is this mission enacted by law? Are there measures which encourage the production of programmes with cultural or artistic relevance? Are there government regulations such as quota systems in place to encourage content diversity etc?

4.2.5 Culture industries: development programmes and partnerships

Please indicate recent debates over new policies or programmes which provide or relinquish support for the culture industries in your country. These could be everything from translation funds in the publishing sector, programmes to support indigenous productions in film or television or particular partnership arrangements between the public, private or third sector as seen in new "creative industry" strategies. These could also be privatisation strategies. This section differs from 5.3 which asks you to list and briefly describe the "culture industry" legislation in your country.

4.2.6 Employment policies for the cultural sector

How many people are estimated to be working in different areas of the cultural sector in your country (employees and self-employed)? Briefly describe specific policies or strategies to simulate or change employment levels in the cultural field. Particular reference could be made to the public sector institutions vs private sector culture industries.

4.2.7 New technologies and cultural policies

Please describe recent developments and measures to include new media, "information society" considerations in cultural policies. For example: support schemes or measures for artists working with new technologies, public-private support for centres of excellence, etc.

4.2.8 Arts education: programmes and models

Please describe what kinds of programmes or initiatives are being run by those responsible for the development of cultural policy in your country (e.g. culture and learning programmes, artists-in-schools, schools and cultural institutions running common programmes etc). Has there

been a recent debate or new developments in arts or cultural education programmes as part of the government's cultural policy priorities? Are there any specific programmes which incorporate the new technologies or issues of cultural diversity? (e.g. connecting schools, education programmes in libraries, new technology courses for arts students, technology based projects for school children, etc).

4.2.9 Heritage issues and policies

Refer to recent debates or major developments in heritage policies – e.g. is there an overall strategy towards museums or digital heritage? Are there specific heritage management programmes? This section differs from 5.5 which asks you to list and briefly describe existing legislation in your country.

4.2.10 Other relevant issues and debates

This is an open space for authors to briefly describe those policy issues and debates which are not covered by the categories above and are of particular importance in your country.

5. Main legal provisions in the cultural field

5.1 Overview of legal competence for cultural policy making

Please give an overview of the main pieces of legislation for the cultural sector. Via which legal competence does the government have the authority to develop policies, establish cultural institutions or budgets for its activities? Some countries have hundreds of laws, while others may have only a handful or a single "Culture Act". What are the reasons for the approach adopted in your country?

5.2 Legal frameworks for artists

Is there any overall legal framework for artists e.g. status of the artist legislation, Arts Promotion Act etc? If not, please indicate that there is no comprehensive framework in place. The subsections below provide you with the space to describe in greater detail the different indirect (support) measure for artists. Direct measures should be reported on in Chapter 8.

5.2.1 Social security/labour relations

Are there specific social security frameworks for artists? Are there labour relations frameworks or standardised collective bargaining agreements used when negotiating contracts with state cultural institutions? Have there been any recent legal developments for self-employed artists?

5.2.2 Tax measures

Are there specific tax breaks for artists, income averaging mechanisms etc?

5.3 Culture industries

The culture industries are considered as private sector activities in fields such as film, television, radio, multimedia, music, publishing etc. Is there any overall legal framework to promote and develop the culture industries? If not, please list and briefly describe individual sector regulations (e.g. fixed book price). This section differs from 4.2.9 which asks for information on policies, development programmes and strategies.

5.3.1 TV quotas

Please make a distinction between commercial and public broadcasters.

5.3.2 Language laws

Please refer specifically to the culture industries. This section differs from 4.2.5 which asks for information on recent debates and trends.

5.3.3 Film or other promotion laws

5.4 Copyright amendments

Please indicate recent changes to the overall copyright system or framework in your country including those resulting from technological developments.

5.4.1 Systems of author's rights/droit d'auteur

Does your country follow the copyright, *droit d'auteur* tradition or specific regional approaches? Have there been any recent debates about moral rights in your country?

5.4.2 Blank tape levies

Are there any blank tape levies in your country? How does the system work and what profits are re-invested in the sector?

5.4.3 Public lending rights

Does your country have a system of public lending rights? How does the system work and what profits are re-invested in the sector?

5.5 Cultural heritage and properties

Briefly describe legislation pertaining to cultural heritage and indicate whether it forms part of the general cultural policy provisions. This section differs from 4.2.3 which asks for information on specific strategies and recent debates.

5.6 Legal incentives for private sector investment in culture

Briefly describe any legal incentives for private sector investment in culture. For example, new laws on sponsorship or tax incentives.

6. Financing of Culture[34]

6.1 Short overview

Briefly describe some recent trends in the financing of culture in your country as well as any political or policy developments which have affected levels of expenditure. The following figures should be included:

- Share of the State budget allocated to culture in percent.

34. Efforts are being made to further harmonise statistical information presented in the Compendium exercise. If you are particularly interested in co-operating in an informal working group, please contact Otto Hofecker: hofecker@mhsw.ac.at.

- Household spending on cultural activities and goods (total expenditure and in percent of the total household budget where available, e.g. from national household surveys).

6.2 Public cultural expenditure per capita

Please fill in the blanks: Public culture expenditure per capita in (YEAR) was (FIGURE IN NATIONAL CURRENCY). It corresponded to (%) of the GDP.

6.3 Public cultural expenditure broken down by level of government

Text is not required. Please present the most recent data available in a table (total expenditure and percentage shares). Below is an example of how to present the information.

Table 1
Public Cultural Expenditure: by level of government, YEAR

Level of Government	Total Expenditure in National Currency	% share of total
State (federal)		
Regional (provincial, *Länder*)		
Local (municipal)		
Total		**100%**

Source:

6.4 Sector breakdown

Text is not required. Please present the most recent data available in a table (total expenditure and percentage shares). Below is an example of how to present the information. Not all countries will have figures available for each of the categories listed below. If the data is organised differently in your country, please indicate and try to come as close as possible to those categories listed below.

Table 2
Public Cultural Expenditure: by sector, YEAR

Field	Total Expenditure in National Currency	% Share of Total
1. Museums and archives		
2. Monuments and sites		
3. Literature		
4. Libraries		
5. Press		
6. Music		
7. Performing arts		
8. Visual arts		
9. Film/cinema/photography/video		
10. Radio/television		
11. Socio-cultural activities		
12. Expenditure on cultural activities abroad		
13. Education and training		
14. Others		
TOTAL		**100%**

Source:

7. Cultural institutions and new partnerships

7.1 Re-allocation of public responsibilities

Has there been a re-allocation of public responsibilities for culture in recent years, for example, privatisation or outsourcing of activities? If so, how? To whom?

7.2 Status/role and development of major cultural institutions

Have public cultural institutions undergone any major reforms? Have there been any changes to the legal status of major cultural institutions in recent years, e.g. new "public foundation status", private companies, outsourcing of activities, etc? If so, which changes have occurred?

7.3 Emerging partnerships or collaborations

New partnerships have been arising between public cultural institutions and private sponsors or foundations in some countries. What has been the impetus for such partnerships? For example, national or local strategies to build partnerships between public bodies and private sector actors due to economic constraints. Are these collaborations based on formal agreements or on a project basis?

8. Support to creativity and participation

8.1 Direct and indirect support to artists

In addition to legislation listed under 5.2, provide an overview or summary of the approach government policies and measures take which either directly or indirectly support the work of artists (e.g. via market support schemes). They should be further elaborated below.

8.1.1 Special artists support schemes

These could be in the form of special funds for artists (e.g. Literary Fund for Writers and Poets), public purchasing programmes, artists/author's salaries or pensions, etc. Please describe.

8.1.2 Support to professional artists associations or unions

Please provide an overview of support for the activities of artists associations or unions (e.g. for writers, musicians, painters) such as grants for members to spend time at special artists centres e.g. *Künstlerhäuser* or *maisons des artistes*.

8.1.3 Grants or other schemes for artists

Please provide an overview of the award landscape for artists in your country. Are there special grants for start-ups or newcomers, scholarships for further training, travel bursaries or residency programmes, work grants etc? If so, please describe.

8.2 Participation trends and figures

Please indicate the main trends in cultural participation in recent years. Has there been a marked increase or decrease in certain fields or activities? If so, please describe/explain.

Please provide a table of participation statistics broken down according to discipline which could include the number of: visitors, tickets/copies sold, viewers/spectators, borrowers. Have there been any surveys taken in recent years on the participation of different (age, social or other) groups in cultural activities, for example: going to the theatre, museums, opera, or cinema?

8.3 Programme or policy initiatives to promote participation in cultural life

In addition to those programmes mentioned under 4.2.8, please identify and describe public initiatives such as "museum passes", voucher programmes for youth or seniors, literacy campaigns, co-operation programmes between schools and cultural institutions, or any other strategies applied to promote participation in cultural life.

8.4 The role of amateur arts/cultural associations and centres

Please describe the landscape of amateur arts associations and cultural houses in your country (e.g. association for amateur theatre or music, reading centres, community cultural clubs). How many are there? Have there been major changes or developments in their status or role in the last decade? Are these amateur activities supported by cultural policies (of either municipalities, regions or perhaps even the State)? If so, how are they supported? In which field(s) are they most prominent/concentrated?

9. Sources and Links

9.1 Key documents on cultural policy

Please list important sources of reference on cultural policy in your country such as significant publications and legal texts. This list is not meant as a bibliography for your profile but as a reference guide for users looking for additional information. Therefore, only core documents should be considered which users can access or purchase without hassle. This does not mean that only official documents should be listed. On the contrary, please also include major studies or other key research reports which users may find useful.

Documents are to be listed alphabetically. Please avoid abbreviations or other "insider" expressions. The indication of publisher and publication date will make it easier for users to retrieve these documents. If a source is available on the Internet please add the direct hyperlink. In order to ensure consistency, authors should follow the format below:

> Personal author (Name, Christian Name) OR Corporate author: Title. Place of publication: Publisher, Date.

9.2 Web links

Please assemble a list of Web addresses relevant to cultural policy in your country such as Web sites of cultural ministries, important cultural agencies, useful Web-based information services such as cultural portals or sites with cultural statistics. Each link should be preceded by a title and follow the format http://www./... Please order these Web addresses by using sub-heading to guide the user through a certain logic.

Session 3.2

Questions de politiques culturelles : thèmes particuliers

Mardi, 22 octobre 2002

Cultural Policy Issues: Specialized Themes

Tuesday, October 22, 2002

Conférenciers

Michel Jaumain — Observatoire des Politiques Culturelles, Ministère de la Communauté française, Bruxelles, Belgique

Whetu Wereta — Statistics New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand

Sara Selwood — University of Westminster, London, United Kingdom

Lecturers

Président de la session

Terry Cheney — T.J. Cheney Research Inc., Ottawa, Canada

Chair of the session

Résumé de la session

par Lydia Deloumeaux et Patrick Lucas
Institut de statistique de l'UNESCO

1. *« L'établissement de statistiques et d'indicateurs culturels dans un État fédéral : le cas de la Belgique »*

M. Michel Jaumain, Observatoire des politiques culturelles, Ministère de la Communauté française de Belgique

M. Jaumain annonce la création récente de l'Observatoire des Politiques culturelles dans la partie francophone de la Belgique. Il présente les principales missions qui lui sont confiées et expose les démarches préliminaires d'inventaire de statistiques culturelles qui ont été réalisées auprès des organismes fédéraux ad hoc.

Il s'avère que la structure institutionnelle de la Belgique n'est pas favorable à la production des diverses données permettant d'évaluer les domaines dans lesquels s'exercent les politiques culturelles à destination de la population francophone. En effet, plusieurs entités gouvernementales coexistent au sein de l'état belge. Les questions nationales sont gérées au niveau fédéral, les questions économiques au niveau régional et les matières relevant de l'identité linguistique (enseignement et culture) au niveau communautaire. Comme c'est souvent le cas, les découpages régionaux recouvrent des réalités linguistiques et communautaires mixtes. Dans la Région de Bruxelles-capitale, la population francophone y est estimée à 80 % et la population flamande, à 20 %.

La construction des statistiques par les organismes fédéraux ou régionaux ad hoc est, en définitive, réalisée dans une optique avant tout

Session Report

by Lydia Deloumeaux and Patrick Lucas
UNESCO Institute for Statistics

1. *"Developing statistics and cultural indicators in a federal State: the case of Belgium"*

Mr. Michel Jaumain, Observatoire des politiques culturelles,
Belgique

Mr. Jaumain announced the creation of the *Observatoire des Politiques culturelles* in the Francophone area of Belgium. He presented the principal missions that were entrusted to him and exposed the preliminary inventory activities of cultural statistics carried out on ad hoc federal organisations.

It turns out that the institutional structure of Belgium does not favour the production of various data that are used to evaluate the sectors in which the cultural policies targeting the Francophone population are applied. Actually, many governmental entities coexist within the Belgian State. National issues are dealt with at the federal level, economic issues at the regional level and issues relating to linguistic identity (education and culture) are examined at the community level. As is often the case, regional redistribution covers a mixture of linguistic and community-based realities. The population of the Brussels-Capital Region is estimated as 80% Francophone and 20% Flemish.

When all is said and done, the formulation of statistics by ad hoc federal or regional organisations is performed from a predominantly national and regional perspective, thus making it difficult to obtain with ease the data

nationale et régionale, et ne permet pas d'atteindre aisément des données utiles aux travaux de l'Observatoire (volume d'emplois culturels francophones, « PIB culturel-communautaire », etc.).

Par ailleurs, dans les domaines industriels et commerciaux, les opérateurs économiques sont légalement obligés de fournir des informations auprès d'un organisme centralisateur, mais ce n'est pas le cas des opérateurs non-marchands. En conséquence, la connaissance du secteur culturel industriel est a priori meilleure que celle des domaines culturels non-marchands, ceux qui sont généralement l'objet des politiques culturelles et des subventions. Une législation fédérale, imposant à tous types d'opérateurs à but non lucratif de déposer leurs comptes et des informations sur l'emploi auprès d'un organe central, est cependant mise en route aujourd'hui.

Dans l'attente, l'Observatoire compte explorer deux voies : celle de l'analyse et de l'évolution des crédits publics destinés à la culture (en Communauté française) et celle des « données dormantes » qui figurent dans les dossiers des opérateurs subventionnés que traitent les services du Ministère. Ces derniers récoltent en effet auprès des premiers une série d'informations (financières, relatives aux emplois, activités et fréquentations), et ce au titre de justifications des subventions, mais ne s'en servent pas dans une optique d'agrégation ou de production statistique. Il s'agira d'étudier et de mettre en œuvre des dispositions qui permettent de « réveiller » ces données utiles pour le propos de l'Observatoire.

M. Jaumain termine sa présentation en signalant à l'auditoire que depuis plusieurs années le Ministère publie un annuaire contenant des données sur le marché et le secteur audiovisuel, et plus récemment, qu'il diffuse un bilan annuel des dépenses culturelles du Ministère.

useful to the work of the observatory (volume of francophone cultural jobs, cultural/community GDP, etc).

Furthermore, in industrial and commercial sectors, economic operators are legally required to provide information to a central agency. However, this is not the case for non-commercial operators. As a result, the knowledge of the industrial cultural sector is initially better than non-commercial cultural sectors, which are generally the subject of cultural policies and subsidies. Federal legislation is currently under way to require all types of non-profit operators to file their accounts and employment information with a central agency.

In the meantime, the observatory intends to explore two avenues: that of the analysis and the evolution of public credits earmarked for culture (in the French community) and the "dormant data" that appear in the files of subsidized operators handled by the departments of the ministry. These departments collect a set of information (financial, employment-based, activities and attendance) from the operators for the purpose of justifying the subsidies but do not use them from an aggregation or statistical production viewpoint. It would be important to study and implement measures, thus allowing to "awaken" these data useful to the observatory.

Mr. Jaumain ends his presentation by informing the audience that, for many years, the ministry has been publishing a directory containing data on the audiovisual market and has recently released an annual statement of accounts on its cultural expenditures.

2. *« Représenter la réalité du peuple maori dans les statistiques officielles. Le défi que Statistiques Nouvelle-Zélande doit relever »*

Mme Whetu Wereta, Statistics New Zealand, Maori Statistics Unit, Nouvelle-Zélande

Mme Whetu Wereta indique que sa présentation porte sur le travail entrepris par Statistiques Nouvelle-Zélande pour répondre aux besoins des Maoris en information statistique sur la culture. Cette information, dit-elle, joue un rôle fondamental dans le développement du peuple maori. En Nouvelle-Zélande, les Maoris représentent 600 000 habitants sur une population totale de moins de 4 millions d'habitants. Malgré la pression exercée, la culture maorie traditionnelle a résisté à l'assimilation. Dans les années 50 et 60, tous les éléments semblaient réunis pour entraîner l'érosion de la culture maorie. Il n'est donc pas surprenant de voir surgir des protestations dans les années 70. Dans les années 80, les Maoris manifestent clairement leur volonté d'obtenir davantage de pouvoir sur leur culture et leur survie. Le gouvernement réagit positivement en appuyant les initiatives du peuple maori par la mise en œuvre de programmes. Cependant, les indicateurs habituels et précédents ne parviennent pas à refléter les particularités de l'organisation sociale du peuple maori, qui se présente sous forme de tribus. Les dimensions culturelles ne sont pas définies. D'après les statistiques traditionnelles, les Maoris semblent défavorisés sur le plan socioéconomique. Dans les années 90, Statistiques Nouvelle-Zélande essaie de corriger la situation en adoptant une approche élargie qui permet de répondre aux besoins statistiques du peuple maori. Leur objectif vise l'amélioration des capacités statistiques relatives aux Maoris. Une consultation menée auprès des Maoris dans le but d'évaluer certains indicateurs donne lieu à l'établissement d'un cadre de travail. Ce cadre inclut la pluralité de la société maorie et la notion de bien-être. Il est

2. *"Representing Maori realities in Official statistics. The Challenge for Statistics New Zealand"*

Ms. Whetu Wereta, Statistics New Zealand, Maori Statistics Unit, New Zealand

Ms. Whetu Wereta explained that her paper focuses on the work initiated by Statistics New Zealand in order to meet Maoris needs for statistical information on culture, that play a crucial role in their development. She mentioned that the Maoris comprise 600 000 of less than 4 millions total inhabitants of New Zealand. Despite pressure for assimilation, traditional Maoris culture has been preserved. In the 50, 60' s, there had been an ostensible potential for Maori cultural erosion. Consequently, the 70's reflected this with resulting protests. During the 80's, the Maoris expressed a strong desire for more control of their culture and its survival. The government responded positively by supporting Maori initiatives through governmental agency programs. However, usual and previous indicators failed to capture the specificities of Maori societal organization (in tribes). Cultural dimensions had been missing. Following the conventional statistics, Maoris appeared as socio-economic deprived. In the 90's, Statistics New Zealand tried to rectify the situation in adopting a broader approach that enabled Maori statistical needs to be met. The objective was to improve Maori statistical capabilities. A framework was established after consultation with Maoris in order to monitor certain indicators. The plurality of the Maoris' society had been included in this framework as well as notion of well-being. The framework was based on 6 notions: sustainability of Maori inheritance, social cohesion, realization of potential, economic security,

fondé, par ailleurs, sur six objectifs de base : la survie du patrimoine maori, la cohésion sociale, l'actualisation du potentiel, la sécurité économique, la durabilité de l'environnement et le renforcement des moyens d'action. Il reste toutefois beaucoup à faire pour compléter ce cadre de travail.

3. *« Au-delà des statistiques? L'évaluation de l'impact des activités culturelles »*

Mme Sara Selwood, School of communication and Creative industries, University of Westminster, Royaume-Uni

Mme Sara Selwood expose la relation entre la formulation des politiques et la collecte des données au Royaume-Uni. Elle met en relief la question d'atteindre les objectifs du gouvernement sur la base d'un ensemble de critères préalablement convenus. Les organismes financés par le ministère de la Culture, des Médias et du Sport du Royaume-Uni sont tenus de se conformer aux politiques de ce ministère depuis l'avènement au pouvoir du Parti travailliste en 1997. Depuis l'adoption de la politique fondée sur les résultats, la collecte de données est devenue une question fondamentale dans le secteur culturel subventionné. En présentant l'historique de l'actuelle collecte de données, Mme Selwood souligne que le ministère de la Culture, des Médias et du Sport a cherché à expliquer en termes économiques l'élargissement de son financement, en le définissant comme un créateur de richesse et un facteur de participation et de développement de la communauté. Elle souligne par ailleurs que les collectes de données ne sont institutionnalisées que depuis les années 90. Auparavant, les sondages du secteur de la culture au Royaume-Uni étaient menés par des sociétés privées.

Mme Selwood met l'accent sur trois principaux domaines de contrainte dans la collecte de données de qualité : (a) le processus politique de financement par subvention, qui alimente la concurrence dans l'établissement des

3. *"Beyond statistics? Assessing the impact of cultural activities"*

Ms. Sara Selwood, School of communication and Creative industries, University of Westminster, United Kingdom

Ms. Sara Selwood focused on the relationship between policy formulation and data collection in the UK. She highlighted the issue of meeting government targets through sets of agreed criteria. Organizations funded by the UK's government department of Culture, Media and Sport were required to abide by this policy since the Labor Party came to power in 1997. With the adoption of evidence-based policy, data collection has become a fundamental issue within the subsidized cultural sector. In describing the background to the current data collection, Ms. Selwood explained that the department of Culture, Media and Sport attempted to justify the broadening of its funding base in economic terms as a wealth creator and facilitator of participation and community development. She depicted data collections as only being institutionalized in the '90s. Prior to this, surveys of the UK culture sector came from the independent sector.

Ms. Selwood highlighted three main areas of constraints to the collection of good data: (a) the political process of grant funding which fuelled competitive reporting, (b) the ideological aversion to collect data due to perceived over-regulation, over-accountability and (c)

environmental sustainability and issues of empowerment. Much work remains to be done to complete the framework.

rapports; (b) l'aversion idéologique de collecter des données, en raison de la réglementation et de la responsabilisation perçues comme excessives; et (c) la question de gestion à l'égard du manque de ressources appropriées pour effectuer la collecte.

En donnant des explications additionnelles sur les besoins du ministère de la Culture, des Médias et du Sport de se doter d'une politique fondée sur les résultats, Mme Selwood met l'accent sur les notions de responsabilisation du rendement. Ses déclarations portent notamment sur la nécessité croissante de mesurer l'impact social. Ce type de mesure a fait l'objet de discussions, à savoir qu'il permettrait d'assurer une plus grande efficacité de la politique de financement culturel. Finalement, un travail considérable reste à faire dans le domaine de la collecte de données et des modes d'établissement de rapports.

4. Séance plénière

M. Laplante exprime son appréciation de la présentation de Sara Selwood en ce qui a trait aux liens existant entre la recherche et l'élaboration de politiques. Dans d'autres domaines aux côtés d'autres économistes et d'autres chercheurs, il a, dit-il, expérimenté des modèles économétriques complexes et précis pour mesurer l'impact d'une variable particulière. En se reportant à différentes séances, M. Laplante explique avoir remarqué que l'évaluation de différents programmes culturels était effectuée selon des approches très rudimentaires et non scientifiques. Il soulève la question suivante : « Comment pouvons-nous déterminer l'impact des politiques culturelles en nous servant de mesures et d'indicateurs à ce point imprécis? » Il termine en mentionnant que la présentation de Mme Selwood démontre l'existence d'un écart entre l'élaboration de politiques d'une part, et la collecte de données et la recherche d'autre part.

M. Carranza souligne que même si les indicateurs traditionnels de la culture sont utiles, il est nécessaire de définir de nouveaux indicateurs qualitatifs qui tiennent compte des nouveaux domaines de développement culturel.

the managerial issue regarding lack of appropriate resources to collect.

Additional explanations of the Department of Culture, Media and Sport demands of evidence based policy inveterate the notions of performance accountability. In these statements, a growing need for measures of social impact had been addressed. It had been argued that such assessment would be needed to guarantee greater efficiency in cultural funding policy. However, substantial work remained in the area of data collection and reporting methods.

4. Plenary discussions

Mr. Laplante explained that he appreciated Sara Selwood's presentation as it related to the linkages between research and policy making. In his experience in other areas with other economists and researchers, he stated that precise and complex econometric models had been used to measure the impact of a specific variable. Referring to various sessions, Mr. Laplante explained that he had noticed that the evaluation of various cultural programs was done using very rough and non-scientific approaches. He raised the following question "How could we prove the impact of cultural policy with such imprecise indicators and measures?" He concluded that Ms. Selwood's paper demonstrated this notion of having a gap between policy making and data collection and research.

Mr. Carranza pointed out that although the conventional indicators for culture are useful, there is a need for new qualitative indicators that must look at the new areas facing cultural development. Referring to the World Report on Culture and Development, he

En se reportant au Rapport mondial de la culture et du développement, il explique qu'il est souvent impératif de recourir à des indicateurs supplétifs pour effectuer une analyse rigoureuse. Les indicateurs devraient par ailleurs refléter la relation entre la culture et le développement et devraient tenir compte des différences entre les pays, les régions et les cultures.

M. Mbuyamba décrit le contexte des politiques culturelles et le spectre de la catégorie des acteurs en Afrique. Comme il l'explique, l'histoire du déroulement des activités commence avec la Conférence sur les politiques culturelles en Afrique en 1975. Depuis 1986, les ministres de la Culture de toute l'Afrique se sont rencontrés tous les deux ans pour discuter des programmes de la culture et du développement. Les organismes régionaux ont élaboré des projets dans ces domaines, et des bases de données ont été créées pour servir notamment d'outil indispensable à la recherche. En Afrique occidentale, le CRAC (Centre régional pour l'action culturelle), financé par le PNUD, l'UNESCO et la Coopération française, forme des conseillers et des administrateurs culturels.

Le CICIBA (Centre international de civilisation Bantu), situé à Libreville et desservant l'Afrique centrale, possède une base de données bien documentée sur laquelle s'appuie l'élaboration de politiques dans le domaine de la culture. L'Union européenne est la principale source de financement. Le CAIS (Système d'information de l'Afrique centrale), qui dessert les quatorze membres de la SADC (Communauté de développement de l'Afrique australe), a créé récemment un fonds culturel destiné aux questions de statut des artistes, de formation, d'éducation artistique et de marché du travail dans le domaine des arts.

À l'échelle mondiale, le NEPAD a élaboré un programme de promotion visant à fournir un appui aux produits culturels. De même, un observatoire sur les politiques culturelles a été mis en place en collaboration avec l'UNESCO et la Fondation Ford. Son site Web affiche une liste des politiques et des organismes professionnels.

explained that proxy indicators must be often used to achieve rigorous analysis. Furthermore, they should respond to the relationship between culture and development and should take into account differences between countries, regions and cultures.

Mr. Mbuyamba described the context of cultural policies and the spectrum of actors in Africa. He explained that the chronology of activities that have occurred beginning with the Conference on cultural policies in Africa in 1975. Since 1986, ministers of culture from all over Africa have been meeting every two years to discuss programmes on African culture and development. Regional organizations have been developing such initiatives as well and databases have been created that serve as a useful research tool. For Western Africa, the CRAC (Centre Regional pour l'Action Culturelle) teaches cultural administrators and advisers and is financed by UNPD, UNESCO and the "Coopération Française".

The CICIBA (Centre International de Civilisation Bantu), which is based in Libreville and covers central Africa, possesses a rich database that informs policy-making in the realm of culture. The European union is main source of finances. The CAIS (Central African Information Systems) which covers the 14 members of the SADC (Southern African Development Community) has recently set up a cultural fund, that aims at addressing the status of artists, training, education in the arts and the associated labor market.

At the global level, the NEPAD has developed a promotional program that aims at supporting cultural products. Similarly an observatory on cultural policy has been established in collaboration with UNESCO and the Ford Foundation. A list of policies and professional organizations may be found on the website. In addition to these regional organisations, various professional associations have been established and act as an important source of information, research and evaluation. Examples of those are

En plus de ces organismes régionaux, plusieurs associations professionnelles ont été créées et assument d'importantes fonctions d'information, de recherche et d'évaluation. C'est le cas notamment d'AFRICOM (Conseil international des musées africains) et d'APNET (Réseau d'éditeurs de livres africains).

Comme le fait remarquer M. Throsby, un parallèle peut être établi entre la présentation de Mme Wereta et celle de Mme Selwood. Il se reporte au cas de la Nouvelle-Zélande en signalant que les jalons de la responsabilisation ont été posés relativement tôt par rapport à plusieurs pays, et que la collecte statistique sur les Maoris donne des résultats favorables. Dans le cas du Royaume-Uni, M. Throsby fait remarquer que les résultats et les impacts positifs observés dans l'industrie musicale sont attribuables aux mesures gouvernementales d'attribution de subventions aux diverses industries du domaine de la créativité. Cependant, d'après ce qu'il comprend des explications fournies par Mme Selwood, la politique culturelle a besoin d'un cadre statistique plus large au lieu d'un cadre mettant l'accent uniquement sur des principes économiques.

Mme Selwood poursuit en soulignant qu'une distinction a été établie entre les industries dites créatives et les secteurs culturels subventionnés. Comme elle l'indique, deux documents de schématisation ont été produits, l'un en 1998 et l'autre en 2001. Le document de 1998 n'était pas clair en raison de son montage à partir d'une mosaïque de différents regroupements de données. En 2001, il n'était plus possible de démontrer l'évolution courante, à cause de l'insuffisance des données de référence de 1998. Par ailleurs, le gouvernement désirait insister sur l'aspect du développement social et aussi mettre l'accent sur les données qualitatives. Mme Selwood soulève également le problème de causalité qui se présente au moment de déterminer l'application d'une quelconque amélioration en matière de politique gouvernementale.

Mme Alonso-Cano fait part des différentes activités qui font l'objet d'un examen au sein de

AFRICOM: International Council of African Museums and APNET (African Publishers Network) for the books etc.

Mr. Throsby described that a parallel can be made between Ms. Wereta's presentation and Ms. Selwood's presentation. He referred to the case of New Zealand where the premise of accountability was introduced earlier compared with many countries and the favorable outcomes that are being achieved with the Maori statistical collection. In the United Kingdom where the government has subsidized various industries in the creative domain, Mr. Throsby depicted the favorable outcomes and impacts in the musical industry that have resulted from this stimulation. However, he understood from Ms. Selwood that cultural policy needs a broader statistical framework rather than a framework that focuses solely on economic drivers.

Ms. Selwood replied that there has been a separation between what is characterized as creative industries and the subsidized cultural sectors. Ms. Selwood explained that two mapping documents have been developed, one in 1998 and the other in 2001. The 1998 document was not clear because it was based on a patchwork of different data sets. By 2001 it was difficult to demonstrate what had gone on because 1998 had minimal base line data. Secondly, another government concern was to focus on social development with an emphasis on qualitative data. She also mentioned the problem of causality in determining the attribution of any improvement of government policy.

Ms. Alonso-Cano outlined the various activities that were being examined within UNESCO. She emphasized the importance of feasibility studies in attempting to measure certain spheres of cultural activities. She explained that for the translation center of UNESCO, the idea of intercultural dialogue is of great interest. Although we have witnessed indicators relating to cultural production and its flows from

l'UNESCO. Elle souligne l'importance des études de faisabilité lorsqu'il s'agit de mesurer certains aspects des activités culturelles. En ce qui concerne le centre de traduction de l'UNESCO, Mme Alonso-Cano précise que l'idée d'un dialogue interculturel renferme un grand intérêt. Même si nous avons pu constater la présence d'indicateurs portant sur la production culturelle et ses fluctuations d'un domaine à l'autre, la considération du contenu créatif dans les communications revêt une grande importance pour cette organisation. En outre, la considération des artistes et des travailleurs culturels constitue un autre secteur d'intérêt. Comme l'indique Mme Alonso-Cano, des études seront effectuées sur la participation et les pratiques culturelles dans différents pays.

M. Sall commente la présentation de Mme Wereta et soulève la question d'effectuer une collecte de données dans le cas de groupes minoritaires dont la langue s'éteint graduellement. Il souligne l'importance de laisser à ces groupes le soin de faire eux-mêmes la collecte et l'analyse de données au lieu de les confier à des observateurs externes.

Mme Lievesley exprime la gratitude des hôtes du Colloque à l'égard de M. Bouchenaki pour sa participation à l'événement. Elle remercie également Mme Shigekawa pour la contribution financière de la Fondation Ford à la tenue du Colloque et pour son parrainage de l'événement.

M. Bouchenaki, qui prend la parole au nom de l'UNESCO, remercie les hôtes du Colloque. Il met fin à la séance en disant que le Colloque a constitué une occasion par excellence de réunir des experts du monde entier pour discuter des statistiques culturelles. L'événement a, dit-il, favorisé une approche sérieuse des statistiques culturelles et fourni aux pays un lieu de dialogue. Il espère que des recommandations concrètes émaneront de cette rencontre et permettront à l'ISU et à l'UNESCO de contribuer à l'établissement solide d'une politique culturelle.

area to another, looking at creative content in communications is of great significance for UNESCO. Furthermore, looking at artists and cultural workers was another area of interest. She explained that cultural practices and participation studies in various countries will be implemented.

Mr. Sall commented on Ms. Wereta and referred to the idea of data collection for minority groups where many languages were disappearing. He highlighted the importance of having such groups doing their own analysis and data collection as opposed to external observers.

Ms. Lievesley expressed the gratitude of symposium hosts to Mr. Bouchenaki for his participation in the symposium. Likewise, she thanked Ms. Shigekawa of the Ford foundation for the financial contribution and the sponsorship of the symposium.

Mr. Bouchenaki, on behalf of UNESCO, expressed his thanks to the hosts of the symposium. He closed the session saying that the symposium is a great opportunity to bring experts together from around the world on the subject of culture statistics. He underlined that this seminar enabled a serious approach to cultural statistics and provided a forum of dialogue between countries. He hoped that concrete recommendations would come from the seminar allowing both the UIS and UNESCO to contribute to the solid establishment of cultural policy.

Conférences — Papers

Michel Jaumain Observatoire des Politiques Culturelles, Ministère de la Communauté française, Bruxelles, Belgique

« Élaboration de statistiques et indicateurs culturels au sein d'un État fédéral : le cas de la Belgique »

Résumé

La communication se propose d'exposer quelques problèmes rencontrés dans l'élaboration de statistiques et d'indicateurs culturels au sein d'un pays qui a emprunté les voies du fédéralisme et est composé de plusieurs entités d'autorité. Les matières culturelles, en effet, sont désormais confiées aux gouvernements de Communautés, celles-ci étant fondées sur l'appartenance linguistique (trois langues sont reconnues en Belgique). Cette division s'articule elle-même à d'autres niveaux de pouvoir (Fédéral et Régional) et crée une situation à certains égards complexe. Dans ce cadre, la communication fera le point :

- sur l'état des outils statistiques en Belgique élaborés par les organismes fédéraux, examiné du point de vue des besoins d'informations associés aux politiques culturelles des Communautés;
- sur les « forces » qui poussent à la constitution de données (et lesquelles) relatives aux secteurs subventionnés en Communauté française de Belgique;
- sur les questions politiques et méthodologiques qui se posent à cet égard;
- sur les options et les orientations que l'Observatoire sera amené à adopter.

Abstract

The paper sets out some of the problems encountered in developing statistics and cultural indicators in a country that is a federation and comprised of several entities with authority. Cultural matters are entrusted to the governments of Communities which are based on language affiliation (three langages are recognized in Belgium). This division interfaces with other levels of power (Federal and Regional) and creates a complex situation in many respects. In this context, the paper reports on:

- the state of statistical tools in Belgium developed by federal bodies, examined from the viewpoint of information requirements associated with the Communities' cultural policies;
- the "forces" pushing for the development of data (and what data) on subsidized sectors in the French Community of Belgium;
- policy and methodology issues that arise in this regard;
- the options and orientations the Observatoire will be led to adopt.

La mise en place ou la modification de politiques culturelles impliquent la construction de statistiques et d'indicateurs culturels, soit en amont du lancement de ces politiques, afin d'éclairer le(s) décideur(s), soit en aval de celles-ci lorsqu'il est question de « faire le point », de dresser un bilan ou d'évaluer. C'est un fait acquis aujourd'hui et partagé dans son principe par les acteurs concernés.

Dans cet esprit, je ferai part des possibilités et des obstacles que l'on rencontre aujourd'hui en Belgique francophone lorsqu'on poursuit cet objectif. Ceci sera mon premier point. Dans un deuxième temps, j'indiquerai quels sont les facteurs qui, au sein même des politiques du Gouvernement francophone, déclenchent des besoins de statistiques culturelles; enfin, je présenterai les pistes que le tout récent Observatoire des Politiques culturelles (OPC), que je dirige, étudie et développe actuellement dans cette optique. Ces pistes sont examinées en collaboration avec le Service de la Recherche (SR)[1] du Ministère de la Culture (dit Ministère de la Communauté française Wallonie-Bruxelles : je prends la peine, à dessein, de pointer cette appellation parce que les dimensions géopolitiques qu'elle recèle accompagnent et traversent les questions d'élaboration de statistiques culturelles dont il sera question ici.

Mais d'abord, un rapide gros plan sur la création de cet observatoire et ses missions[2]. Elles consistent essentiellement à :

- inventorier tous types de données et d'informations qui améliorent la connaissance des caractéristiques socio-économiques des domaines culturels en Belgique francophone, ainsi que la connaissance des contenus et des moyens des politiques qui sont développées à leur endroit (aspect d'inventaire);
- contribuer à développer des outils d'analyse et d'évaluation des politiques culturelles, notamment en se documentant à ce sujet à l'étranger;
- faire connaître largement les contenus de l'histoire des politiques culturelles développées en Belgique francophone, ainsi que les résultats des études et recherches menées dans ces domaines.

Il n'est pas question du terme « statistiques » dans le texte qui crée l'OPC comme Service administratif, il n'est non plus « délégué » ou associé à l'Office Statistique du pays[3], comme cela est le cas du Département des Études et de la Prospective en France ou de l'Observatoire de la Culture et des Communications du Québec. Il sera cependant amené, soit à consulter des données, soit à en faire construire le cas échéant : la formule « inventaire » y invite. Bref, il sera confronté aux problèmes posés par la construction ou l'utilisation de statistiques (culturelles).

Je ferai donc part ici des premiers constats que nous avons établis quant aux obstacles et possibilités de l'utilisation (ou de développement) de données et statistiques utiles à l'exercice des missions de l'OPC (améliorer la connaissance des secteurs pour éclairer les politiques culturelles).

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1. Je remercie Jean-Claude TORFS, responsable du Service de la Recherche (SR), avec qui j'entretiens de fructueux échanges depuis plusieurs années, pour la relecture attentive de ce papier et ses judicieux conseils.
2. Arrêté du Gouvernement (26 avril 2001) portant création de l'Observatoire des Politiques culturelles, Moniteur belge du 30 juin 2001.
3. Institut National des Statistiques.

1. Du côté des organismes fédéraux de statistiques

Sans prétendre être exhaustif à leur égard, je pointerai ici quelques obstacles et impossibilités actuelles qui s'observent du côté des organismes fédéraux de statistiques. Ces problèmes résultent du découpage institutionnel du pays.

1.1 Le découpage institutionnel du pays et ses effets au plan des statistique culturelles

La Belgique fait partie de ces pays où se croisent et s'entremêlent des questions de sol et d'identité culturelle : sur son territoire vivent des populations qui ne parlent pas la même langue. Cette donne est reflétée dans l'organisation institutionnelle du pays qui s'est mué, au terme de plusieurs réformes constitutionnelles (depuis 1980), en un État fédéral (1993) comportant trois niveaux de pouvoir (entités fédérées). À côté du niveau fédéral, qui détient les compétences sur les matières qui restent communes (défense, justice, monnaie, affaires étrangère, sécurité et solidarité sociales, …), les nouvelles entités politiques, dotées de parlements et d'exécutifs propres, sont les Régions et les Communautés. Les premières traitent les matières économiques dans des régions nettement délimitées – elles sont au nombre de trois : Région flamande, Région Wallonne et Région de Bruxelles-Capitale. Les Communautés traitent les matières qui concernent l'identité linguistique et culturelle de la population (essentiellement flamande et française[4]) : en résumé, il s'agit de l'enseignement et des matières que la constitution a réputées « culturelles »[5].

Les problématiques et l'organisation institutionnelles dans le pays reposent sur le fait que l'identité linguistique et culturelle ne s'ajuste pas strictement à la réalité régionale. L'une des trois régions comporte deux populations linguistiques – la Région de Bruxelles-capitale, qui de ce fait est réputée bilingue, comportant 20 % de néerlandophones et 80 % de francophones –. À dire le vrai, ceci n'est qu'une approximation dans la mesure où le critère linguistique dans les recensements des populations a été "neutralisé" au début des années 1960, au moment où l'État établit une frontière « intérieure », de nature linguistique, entre régions flamande (au nord) et wallonne (au sud), Bruxelles-capitale se trouvant de ce fait enclavée au sud de la Région flamande. Le dénombrement des flamands dans la population bruxelloise (majoritairement francophone) et des francophones à la périphérie de la capitale, comme ailleurs en région flamande, devint un enjeu politique majeur qui fut réputé « tabou » à l'époque et l'est encore aujourd'hui. Pour croiser les logiques territoriale et identitaire, dans l'optique population, on résumera en disant que la Communauté c'est : la population de la Région wallonne[6] (dénombrable) + les francophones des deux autres entités régionales (non dénombrés).

Ainsi, chaque Communauté dispose de l'autonomie et de la maîtrise des politiques culturelles qui concernent « ses » opérateurs et « ses » populations. Ceci peut être considéré comme un bien mais ne va pas sans quelques problèmes lorsqu'on cherche à rassembler des données sur les matières et domaines culturels en liaison avec ces politiques « autonomes » et que, pour ce faire, l'on se tourne vers les organismes fédéraux de statistiques. Il apparaît en effet que les données qu'ils construisent sont disponibles dans une optique essentiellement régionale, et non communautaire. On en examinera quelques conséquences.

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4. Pour être complet, il faut ajouter un troisième groupe linguistique, de langue allemande (moins de +/- 70 000 personnes sur 10 millions d'habitants).
5. Également des matières réputées « personnalisables », c'est-à-dire qui ont trait à certains aspects de la vie des personnes (prévention en santé, etc.).
6. De laquelle il convient de retirer la population de la Communauté germanophone, localisée en Région wallonne.

1.2 Conséquences de ce découpage

En l'état des collectes de données par les organismes fédéraux, il n'est pas possible d'obtenir de manière rapide et immédiate des données sur l'emploi dans les domaines culturels francophones ou sur l'emploi issu ou associé aux politiques culturelles des communautés, pas plus que de construire « raisonnablement » des indicateurs tels que le poids de la culture de chaque communauté dans son PIB respectif (si ceci a un sens), ou le poids des dépenses culturelles publiques de chaque communauté par rapport à « son » PIB.

1.2.1 Emplois culturels et/ou générés dans des branches d'activités culturelles

En matière d'emplois, pour avoir interrogé l'organisme de sécurité sociale qui compile les données[7], il apparaît que celui-ci opère sans faire usage du critère de « régime » linguistique des employeurs et des établissements, et sans que ces informations ne soient enregistrées au niveau des travailleurs. Quoique l'on puisse en partie admettre que la langue utilisée dans les déclarations trimestrielles des employeurs ou la dénomination de l'établissement constituent des indices de qualification communautaire, il est certain que d'assez importantes restrictions existent[8]. C'est la raison pour laquelle la piste que l'OPC et le SR préparent et explorent, consiste à interroger les bases de données de la sécurité sociale, en fournissant à son département statistique des listes d'opérateurs subventionnés par le Ministère, d'une part, et, d'autre part, à demander des extractions de données rassemblées sous les rubriques réputées culturelles de la classification NACE et ce, pour les régions bruxelloise et wallonne.

En direction de cet opérateur statistique, c'est la seule méthode que le SR et nous entrevoyons actuellement pour estimer l'emploi dans les branches d'activités culturelles et situer, au sein de celles-ci, l'emploi associé aux opérateurs francophones subventionnés.

Du point de vue de la connaissance fine des secteurs culturels et des politiques, les données de l'organisme de sécurité sociale présentent de sérieuses limites. Celui-ci n'enregistre en effet aucune information sur les professions, métiers ou fonctions des travailleurs. Si on estimait devoir disposer de ces indications, il faudrait alors procéder à une interrogation spécifique des opérateurs (subventionnés ou non) et organiser les liaisons avec les données des premières extractions.

Ces méthodes, cependant, ne produiront pas d'indications sur le volume des professions et métiers culturels actifs dans les branches « non-culturelles ».

1.2.2 Estimation des « PIB communautaires »

L'idée de rapporter les dépenses culturelles ou la « production culturelle » à un des étalons macro-économiques standards (le Produit Intérieur Brut) se retrouve comme indicateurs culturels dans la littérature[9]. Des collègues de l'administration culturelle flamande se sont essayés[10], il y a quelque temps, à comparer les poids des dépenses culturelles de chaque communauté du

7. « Office National de Sécurité Sociale » (ONSS).
8. La langue dans laquelle sont établies les déclarations peut tout simplement dénoter la langue de la personne qui l'établit et non pas la qualification communautaire de l'établissement; les raisons sociales peuvent être déclinées dans une autre langue (anglais, par exemple); il existe à Bruxelles des institutions culturelles dites « bi-communautaires » ou « fédérales », c'est-à-dire qui n'ont pas été « attribuées » à l'une ou l'autre communauté.
9. Augustin Girard, « Indicateurs culturels : quelques exemples », Conseil de l'Europe, DECS-Cult (92) 6, Août 1992.
10. Résultats publiés dans l'hebdomadaire « De Morgen », 18 juin 2002.

pays par rapport à « son » PIB, le calcul faisant apparaître que l'indicateur était plus favorable du côté francophone que du côté flamand. Et de conclure, rappelant l'état différencié de l'économie au nord et au sud du pays, par une formule paradoxale qui, à mon avis, ne manquait pas d'une visée politique en direction du Gouvernement flamand : la communauté la moins riche en fait davantage pour la culture que la communauté la plus riche.

À l'examen, la méthode de calcul est la suivante : au numérateur, les budgets culturels initiaux de chaque Gouvernement de Communauté; au dénominateur, les PIB communautaires. Le mode de calcul de ceux-ci consiste à retenir les PIB des régions flamande et wallonne et à affecter/distribuer le PIB de la Région bruxelloise selon la clé linguistique de population estimée à Bruxelles, soit 20 % pour la Communauté flamande et 80 % pour la Communauté française.

Qu'en dire? Outre le fait que l'estimation de la répartition des populations n'est en définitive qu'une clé qui a fini par s'imposer politiquement et est reproduite dans les grands dossiers institutionnels, – d'ailleurs selon certaines estimations, les proportions seraient plutôt 87/13 –, outre ce fait, la combinaison PIB régional/population régionale n'est pas des plus heureuses dans le cas d'espèce : en construisant de la sorte l'indicateur, on réfère la richesse produite à la population d'une région alors que – et c'est évidemment nettement le cas dans la capitale – cette richesse n'est pas le fait des seuls habitants bruxellois. En effet, les « navetteurs » augmentent la valeur ajoutée de la région où ils travaillent, alors qu'ils sont recensés comme habitants de la région où ils sont domiciliés. Ceci fonctionne évidemment « dans les deux sens », mais l'effet net est sans doute en faveur de la capitale.

Il eût donc été préférable que la comparaison s'appuie sur le revenu attribué aux habitants d'une région déterminée plutôt que sur le revenu brut engendré par la production à l'intérieur des frontières de cette région. L'estimation de cette dernière n'existe malheureusement pas pour l'instant. L'Institut des Comptes Nationaux (ICN) annonce la publication prochaine de données sur le revenu régional par habitant, « concept qui, d'un point de vue économique, serait plus pertinent pour mesurer la richesse relative d'une région »[11]. Dans l'attente, un indicateur tel que la dépense culturelle publique par habitant permettrait de contourner la difficulté.

1.3 Statut juridique des opérateurs culturels et systèmes d'informations : problème pour l'estimation de la « production culturelle communautaire »

Estimer la part de la production culturelle (francophone) dans la valeur ajoutée communautaire rencontre, au dénominateur, les difficultés que l'on vient d'exposer, mais est également confronté à l'état de l'information formant le numérateur. Selon que les opérateurs soient marchands ou non, cet état dépend des dispositions légales concernant la publicité de leurs comptes et autres données sociales; autrement dit, il dépend du statut juridique des opérateurs.

Pour faire bref, les entreprises à vocation industrielle et commerciale sont soumises à une législation concernant la tenue normalisée de leurs comptes et l'obligation de les déposer auprès d'un organisme centralisateur. Ce dernier (Centrale des Bilans de la Banque Nationale) agrège les données individuelles ainsi récoltées et établit des statistiques sectorielles. Les données rassemblées sont largement utilisées par les comptables nationaux pour estimer la production

11. « Comptes régionaux – Agrégats par branche d'activité (1995-1999) », Institut des Comptes Nationaux, Banque Nationale de Belgique, Bruxelles, janvier 2002, p 23.

marchande et le secteur financier (les secteurs institutionnels S11 et 12, selon SEC[12]) et, sous la réserve des problèmes de finesse de classification identifiés à la suite des travaux du LeG sur les statistiques culturelles européennes[13], elles constituent une base d'informations pour estimer la production culturelle marchande.

Par contre, les organismes à vocation non lucrative ne sont pas soumis à pareilles dispositions. Or, il se fait que la toute grande majorité des politiques culturelles de la Communauté et de leurs moyens est destinée à des opérateurs qui ont adopté un statut non-marchand.

Dans l'attente d'une législation concernant la normalisation et la publicité des comptes des organismes sans but lucratif[14], les comptables nationaux et l'Institut National de Statistiques recourent à diverses méthodes (enquêtes par échantillonnage auprès du monde associatif). Mais, à l'examen, il apparaît que les bases de données portant sur l'associatif non-marchand – et donc aussi culturel – sont largement perfectibles du point de vue de l'exhaustivité et que le classement en code NACE et secteur institutionnel l'est également.

J'ai ainsi fait vérifier si les principaux opérateurs culturels[15] subventionnés par le Ministère, qui ont le statut d'ISBL, figuraient dans la base de données de l'ICN, contribuant à l'estimation de la valeur ajoutée. Tous sont connus, mais certains n'entrent pour l'heure dans aucun secteur institutionnel (ni marchand, ni administration publique, ni asbl), par manque d'informations financières. En outre, il apparaît que le classement en catégorie NACE et en secteurs institutionnels, notamment du point de vue du critère de la production marchande[16], est problématique. Enfin, j'ajouterai que l'ICN est parfaitement conscient de ces questions et il est probable que nous développerons des démarches systématiques d'échanges avec lui à ce propos.

1.4 Conclusions provisoires

De manière générale, on sait que l'observateur se heurte aujourd'hui aux limites des classifications perfectibles pour saisir les secteurs et activités culturelles : les travaux du LeG-Culture[17] ont assez mis en lumière la nécessité d'affiner les classifications et les nomenclatures de la NACE, par exemple pour qu'il ne soit pas nécessaire d'y revenir. Mais à supposer que les recommandations issues de ces travaux aboutissent, on se trouve également en Belgique en présence d'autres limites dans la construction de données et statistiques relatives à la culture, par les organismes fédéraux ad hoc : le découpage institutionnel du pays et ses conséquences (optique régionale versus communautaire), les questions d'exhaustivité dans les répertoires d'opérateurs non-marchands culturels, et les « doutes » et interrogations quant au classement approprié des opérateurs (en NACE ou secteur institutionnel du SEC 95, par exemple) constituent des obstacles à la saisie un tant soit peu correcte des secteurs culturels, plus particulièrement ceux qui entrent dans le champ des politiques culturelles.

12. Système Européen des Comptes, SEC 1995, Eurostat, 1996.
13. « Les statistiques culturelles dans l'UE », Eurostat Working papers, 2000.
14. Le principe en est acquis (Loi sur les associations sans but lucratif, les associations internationales sans but lucratif et les fondations, adoptée par le Sénat le 18 avril 2002) : il fait obligation aux asbl de communiquer leurs états financiers auprès de la Centrale des Bilans. L'horizon de sa réalisation pratique n'est cependant pas encore nettement défini en l'absence d'arrêtés d'application.
15. Ce que nous appelons les « opérateurs majeurs », obtenant annuellement des montants de subventions supérieurs à 2 millions d'euros : la Radio-télévision RTBF, l'Opéra de Liège – Centre lyrique de la Communauté française, le Théâtre National de la Communauté Française de Belgique, l'Orchestre Philharmonique de Liège et de la Communauté française, le Centre chorégraphique de la Communauté – Charleroi/Danse, le Centre Culturel « Le Botanique ».
16. Cfr. la définition dans « SEC 1995 - Système européen des comptes », chap. 3 « Les opérations sur produits », § 3.27 à 3.45, Eurostat, Bruxelles-Luxembourg, 1996.
17. « Les statistiques culturelles dans l'UE », op.cit.

Rendre les statisticiens nationaux attentifs au réel culturel du pays sera une tâche que nous ne nous priverons pas de mener.

2. Les « demandes » d'élaboration de statistiques culturelles en Communauté française

Dans l'attente de résultats à ce niveau, on peut d'ores et déjà identifier les éléments qui, dans la partie francophone du pays, exercent une « pression » sur les besoins d'informations, diffus ou explicites (des « commandes »), et appellent des réponses dans lesquelles le recours à la construction systématique de données et de statistiques est (ou sera en toute vraisemblance) mobilisé. Ces besoins résultent du développement même des politiques culturelles ou des objectifs politiques que le Gouvernement francophone s'est donnés sous la présente législature.

2.1 La contractualisation devient un moyen privilégié des politiques culturelles

Depuis quelques années, et comme en d'autres pays, on voit se développer des politiques culturelles qui inscrivent au cœur de leurs moyens le principe de la « contractualisation » avec les opérateurs culturels. L'attribution de ressources publiques aux acteurs de terrain ne s'effectue plus a posteriori sur base du constat d'écart de revenu, ou comme contribution à certains postes de dépenses, ni d'ailleurs par exercice annuel; elle s'opère en contrepartie de la réalisation de cahiers de charges négociés et établis a priori avec les opérateurs et organise la planification des subventions dans le temps (3 à 5 ans). Il s'agit de dispositifs qui établissent des missions et objectifs, ainsi que les items qui les traduisent sous forme chiffrée. C'est par exemple le cas depuis plusieurs années dans le secteur des Arts de la Scène en Belgique francophone[18] où les principaux items chiffrés portent sur les volumes de programmation (créations, représentations), d'auteurs francophones et d'emplois artistiques, ou déterminent l'engagement de consacrer une part des moyens financiers à telle ou telle destination (métiers et professions de la scène par exemple).

Lorsque de telles politiques se développent, il vient un moment où la tutelle, les commissions d'avis et l'administration, – ces dernières ayant à la fois pour mission d'émettre des jugements de nature esthétique (critères d'excellence) et des avis et recommandations quant à ces cahiers de charges –, il vient un moment donc où ces parties prenantes au processus ont besoin d'être éclairées sur l'état de réalisation des engagements des opérateurs, afin de contrôler et d'évaluer l'exécution des cahiers de charges, soit dossier par dossier, soit de manière agrégée pour établir des tendances moyennes en vue d'établir d'éventuelles négociations futures. Un chiffrage, un dénombrement supposent alors les outils de collecte de données indispensables.

2.2 Mesures en faveur de l'emploi non-marchand culturel

Lorsque le Gouvernement francophone, au début de l'actuelle législature, annonce qu'il prendra diverses mesures budgétaires contribuant à refinancer les domaines culturels du secteur non-marchand qui sont de sa compétence et ce, en agissant sur le versant des mécanismes de subsidiation qui s'appliquent au personnel des opérateurs (emplois subsidiés); lorsqu'il provoque l'ouverture de tables rondes et de négociations entre interlocuteurs sociaux (en commission paritaire notamment) autour de questions salariales, de fonctions, etc.; dans ces circonstances,

18. Michel Jaumain , « La régulation publique des arts de la scène (1980-1997) », Courrier hebdomadaire du CRISP, n° 1562-1563, 1997.

il est assurément utile qu'il se donne les moyens de percevoir le volume des emplois qui seront concernés, pour ajuster les mécanismes du refinancement et les moyens à la réalité. Pareil objectif conduit à mettre en place un dénombrement des emplois concernés plus concrètement que tous les discours parant les domaines culturels de la vertu de la génération d'emplois[19].

2.3 Question régionale et géographique

Enfin, il vient bien un jour où est posée la question de la territorialité et de la destination géographique des flux de crédits budgétaires consacrés à la culture dans la partie francophone du pays[20]. Actuellement, cette optique paraît se déduire de l'initiative de la Charte passée avec les Provinces wallonnes, qu'a adoptée le Gouvernement francophone (septembre 2001).

Les Provinces représentent un niveau de pouvoir « sub-régional », hérité de l'organisation institutionnelle du pays précédant les réformes constitutionnelles que j'ai rappelées. Les Provinces[21] développent, au moyen de leur budget propre, des politiques et interventions dans les domaines culturels. Le Gouvernement francophone a donc lancé une série de synergies avec celles-ci, qui comporte notamment des mécanismes d'informations budgétaires réciproques et une cartographie des services offerts aux populations des provinces, selon le pouvoir (communautaire/provincial) exerçant la tutelle sur les opérateurs concernés.

Par ailleurs, il faut savoir qu'au sein même de la Belgique francophone, l'articulation régionale/communautaire est un clivage qui a suscité dès l'origine deux types de positions politiques. Celles-ci ne se sont jamais vraiment éteintes[22] et alimentent encore un débat au sein de la classe politique francophone, entre les partisans de la régionalisation de la culture, d'un côté, et de l'autre, les défenseurs du maintien de l'entité politique communautaire. Ce n'est pas pour rien que l'entité se présente sous l'appellation « Communauté française Wallonie-Bruxelles (CFWB) ». Il faut d'ailleurs se remémorer qu'à la fin des années 70, la structure des budgets de la Communauté française répercutait cette appréhension croisée, chaque ligne budgétaire étant répartie en trois sous-rubriques (littera) identifiant la part de crédits destinés aux opérations ou opérateurs relevant de la Région bruxelloise, de la Région de langue française (c'est-à-dire wallonne) et d'un niveau en quelque sorte supra-régional, considéré comme à destination de toute la Communauté (on aura compris que le territoire des Communautés sont des « utopies » au sens premier du terme [« sans lieu »]).

Ces deux points rappelés suscitent et entretiennent des « demandes » de cartographies des dépenses et des opérateurs culturels.

2.4 Charte d'avenir de la Communauté française et culture d'évaluation

Les modes de financement des Communautés, instaurés depuis 88/89[23], ont été revus dans le courant de l'année 2001, sous l'effet de diverses pressions et demandes de négociations entre

19. Qui paraissent se vérifier au demeurant. Cfr. Xavier Greffe, « L'emploi culturel à l'âge du numérique », Anthropos, Paris,1999 ou MKW Gmbh, « Exploitation and development of the job potential in the cultural sector in the age of digitalisation », Final Report, commissioned by European Commission, DG Employment and Social Affairs, June 2001.

20. Il peut y avoir à cela plusieurs raisons : la pression d'opérateurs culturels faisant valoir que leurs collègues en disciplines artistiques, localisés en d'autres parties du territoire, sont « mieux servis »; le relais par les politiques locaux de cette thématique de combat; …

21. Formant un autre découpage du territoire, elles sont au nombre de 10, dont 5 sont en Région wallonne.

22. Alors que la Flandre a, de son côté, pris l'option de fusionner les deux entités institutionnelles (régionale et communautaire) sous l'appellation « Communauté flamande ».

23. Giseuppe Pagano, « Le financement des régions et des communautés (1970-2002) – Solidarité, responsabilité, autonomie et concurrence fiscale », Editions CRISP 2002.

le nord et le sud du pays. Ceci a donné lieu à l'organisation d'un refinancement des deux entités communautaires, permettant, entre autres, que la Communauté française envisage de se libérer progressivement du fort resserrement de moyens budgétaires auquel elle avait été confrontée. Parallèlement, le Gouvernement a établi une « Charte d'avenir » (traçant les objectifs généraux et les priorités qu'il décidait de se donner dans le développement de ses politiques sur les 10 prochaines années[24]). La Charte s'accompagne d'un plan d'action[25], qui décline et chiffre les priorités retenues. Parmi les principes de gouvernance qui font partie de cet ensemble, on voit explicitement apparaître la volonté de mettre en place une culture de l'évaluation[26] qui se traduit entre autres par la décision de faire élaborer, avec le concours de l'administration, des batteries d'indicateurs destinés à assurer le suivi des actions et des priorités du Gouvernement.

Le processus est en marche et il est trop tôt pour porter un commentaire à ce sujet. Mais il est aussi clair qu'il provoque un appel d'air en faveur de la construction systématique de données et de statistiques concernant les secteurs culturels et les politiques menées, et pas uniquement les actions du Gouvernement.

3. Orientations de l'OPC en matière de statistiques culturelles

Voici donc quatre bonnes raisons qui commanderont l'usage de données et statistiques sur les secteurs et les politiques culturelles en Communauté française. Et il est clair que ce n'est pas en recourant aux données « externes », telles que produites actuellement par les organismes fédéraux, que les demandes seront rencontrées, mais qu'elles devront l'être sur le mode de la production primaire et dans un périmètre qui sera limité aux secteurs culturels subventionnés.

Quelles sont les ressources informatives mobilisables pour cette production primaire? Il y en a au moins deux[27] : le budget et les « données dormantes » détenues par les services administratifs. J'en dirai maintenant quelques mots.

3.1 Le budget culturel

Le budget – et son exécution – sont le moyen par excellence des politiques culturelles aux côtés des réglementations et des ressources humaines de l'administration.

Sa structuration formelle est cependant rarement satisfaisante pour l'analyse, car elle est avant tout conçue à partir des classifications de la comptabilité publique ou de l'organisation des services administratifs. S'il comporte une structure de programmes qui énumère et détaille les sous-ensembles de matières culturelles et artistiques (c'est le cas depuis 1993), le budget de la Communauté française comporte également des divisions généralistes ou à vocation transversale qui contiennent des crédits relatifs à ces mêmes matières. En d'autres termes, les budgets-programmes comportent les transferts aux opérateurs pour leur fonctionnement, tandis que les divisions généralistes, qui portent des crédits d'infrastructures ou d'équipements par exemple, ne sont par structurées selon le même schéma. La simple lecture du budget ne permet pas de « rapatrier » ces crédits vers les domaines culturels et artistiques concernés.

24. Adoptée le 26 septembre 2001.

25. 13 juin 2002.

26. « Une culture de l'évaluation : Gestion rigoureuse et volonté d'excellence obligent à une évaluation régulière des actions menées. Cette évaluation ne peut faire abstraction de l'évolution des besoins et des réalités sociales. La Communauté s'engage donc à se doter des outils nécessaires pour procéder régulièrement à un examen critique des politiques qu'elle met en œuvre et, le cas échéant, à les réorienter. De la même façon, les crédits seront réévalués annuellement en fonction des priorités fixées. » Extrait de « La Charte d'avenir », Gouvernement de la Communauté française, 26 septembre 2001.

27. Un troisième serait le travail administratif lui-même et les travaux des instances d'avis qui constituent un matériau d'information.

D'autre part, le budget fournit peu de renseignements sur la mobilisation des transferts au regard d'un certain nombre de critères et d'indicateurs de la politique culturelle (dispositifs juridiques à la base des transferts; opérateurs récurrents versus initiatives/opérateurs nouveaux), ce qui donne une indication sur les « marges de manœuvre » des politiques culturelles; zones géographiques d'affectation des flux; grandes fonctions culturelles (création, diffusion, conservation, etc.).

Pour saisir et construire des données qui rencontrent ces préoccupations, il est nécessaire de se placer au niveau de l'exécution budgétaire et d'ajouter aux informations de flux strictement comptables les informations ad hoc. Ceci a conduit, il y a quelques années, le SR à concevoir un cadre conceptuel de saisie et à mobiliser les services traitant de l'administration, habilités à réaliser les encodages adéquats[28]. Les saisies peuvent être conçues soit dans un processus ex post (on revient sur les flux d'un exercice budgétaire passé), soit « en ligne », c'est-à-dire au moment du traitement même du dossier de subvention – ce qui présente le double avantage de la fraîcheur du traitement et des délais raccourcis de résultat –.

Dans ses débuts, ce chantier avait retenu la première méthode, donnant annuellement lieu à publication[29]. Actuellement, c'est la deuxième méthode qui est adoptée et le SR et l'OPC sont occupés à établir le bilan des questions qu'elle suscite (par exemple, la nécessité de mieux développer une culture d'entreprise en matière d'informations auto-produites), quitte à rechercher et choisir une troisième voie, le cas échéant. De même, il apparaît nécessaire de mettre en place une révision de la méthodologie et des concepts jusqu'à présent retenus, qui avaient privilégié l'optique des flux (mouvements financiers) au détriment de la saisie de l'univers des opérateurs et de leur catégorisation. Enfin, il s'agira d'améliorer la stabilité sémantique (dans le temps) des informations associées par les services aux flux traités.

Un mot sur la dimension géographique de ces travaux et des méthodologies que nous estimons devoir mettre en place. La liaison entre crédits et localisation s'effectue par l'intermédiaire de l'opérateur bénéficiaire du transfert, dont la base de données comptable du Ministère connaît la combinaison « compte bancaire/siège social ». Cependant, utiliser cette information dans une opération de géocodage, sans autre forme de précaution, risque de conduire à des représentations tronquées de la répartition géographique des crédits si on ne prend pas en considération la réalité de l'action même des opérateurs. Plusieurs points sont à observer :

- le siège d'exploitation d'un opérateur peut être différent de l'identifiant compte bancaire/siège social;
- un opérateur bénéficiaire de transferts peut être, dans le cadre légitime de certaines politiques culturelles[30], un collecteur/centralisateur qui redistribue des crédits auprès de « filiales » localisées dans des zones géographiques autres que la sienne;
- certains opérateurs ont des activités en siège fixe uniquement mais d'autres ont des activités mixtes : en leur siège et en diffusion hors siège.

On essayera de prendre en compte ces paramètres[31], afin de vérifier si la représentation brute de la destination géographique des crédits (sur base de l'adresse des opérateurs) s'en trouve substantiellement modifiée, notamment la répartition entre Bruxelles et la Wallonie.

28. Tout en occupant une autre fonction à l'époque, j'avais été associé à l'opération dès l'origine.
29. « Bilan de la Culture – Étude des flux financiers de la CFWB pour la Culture (1997) », Ministère CFWB, 2001.
30. En Éducation permanente, par exemple (matière qui relève du Ministère).
31. Notamment, en testant l'usage de certains outils empruntés aux études d'impact et de retombées économiques.

3.2 « Données dormantes »

Une approche de ce type implique que l'on dispose d'informations sur les opérateurs eux-mêmes. Les services fonctionnels de l'administration en disposent à des degrés divers. Dans le jargon de l'OPC, c'est ce que nous appelons les « données dormantes » – du point de vue de la construction de statistiques culturelles – dans la mesure où elles sont peu exploitées dans des perspectives d'agrégation, les services étant généralement plus préoccupés par l'établissement du « bilan » de leurs actions et interventions que par la construction du portrait socioéconomique des domaines qu'ils traitent[32].

Ces données sont communiquées aux services par les opérateurs au titre de la justification de l'emploi des subventions. Une des premières tâches de l'OPC a consisté à passer systématiquement en revue avec les services l'état des systèmes d'informations relatifs aux opérateurs dont ils traitent les dossiers. Et cela au regard (critère) de quatre grands volets que sont : les flux financiers (ressources/emplois) ; l'offre de biens et services (activités) ; la fréquentation/participation ; l'emploi et les métiers[33].

Si, sur base de ce relevé, nous sommes maintenant en mesure de formuler des recommandations que j'appellerais « classiques » dans l'optique de la constitution de données et de statistiques (homogénéisation, normalisation, etc.), cette démarche débouche sur la question de la transmission matérielle des données par les opérateurs, qui devrait ne plus s'en tenir au seul support papier (nous faisons vérifier le taux d'équipement informatique des opérateurs subventionnés par le Ministère). Elle identifie aussi les mêmes problèmes de définition d'unités statistiques que rencontre le SR dans la réalisation de l'étude sur les crédits culturels. J'en terminerai par là.

3.3 Deux priorités

De ces travaux et des réflexions menées conjointement avec le SR, ressortent aujourd'hui deux priorités :

Il va s'agir d'établir un répertoire (ou registre) centralisé des opérateurs culturels subventionnés, qui identifie la présence et les raisons d'éventuels doublons dans les bases de données comptables. En second lieu, il s'agira d'associer à chaque unité statistique des informations de type « carte d'identité » qui, en outre, devront être historicisées. Je pèse tous les mots : cela signifie qu'en l'état, on ne dispose pas d'un tel outil.

3.3.1 Problématique des doublons : entreprise/établissement

Ni la base de données des flux, ni les bases de données locales établies par les services de l'administration, ne traitent de manière globale une problématique qui distingue, par opérateur, le niveau de l'entreprise et celui de l'établissement[34] (ou unité d'activité économique locale[35]) : un même opérateur (entité juridique, comptablement consolidée) peut comporter plusieurs « départements » qui,

32. Seul le secteur audiovisuel fait l'objet, depuis plus de 10 ans, d'une construction de ce type. Cfr. « Annuaire de l'audiovisuel », tomes 1 et 2, Communauté française de Belgique, 2001.

33. Michel Jaumain et alii, « Les systèmes d'information relatifs au opérateurs subventionnés, développés par les services de la Direction générale de la Culture », OPC, Ministère de la CFWB, septembre 2002, Doc. Travail.

34. Claude Martin, « Système de classification des établissements de la culture et des communications du Québec », Observatoire de la culture et des communications du Québec, ISQ, mars 2002, p. 6.

35. Système Européen des Comptes, SEC 1995, Eurostat, 1996, p. 37.

chacun, relève d'un financement public spécifique (dans le cadre d'une politique spécifique), et dispose d'un ou plusieurs comptes bancaires. Autrement dit, un même opérateur peut être reconnu et subventionné au titre de politiques culturelles différentes. Le cas le plus flagrant est celui du Centre culturel, reconnu et subventionné à ce titre, et qui l'est également au titre de Centre dramatique, de Centre d'expression et de créativité ou d'organisme d'éducation permanente : il est opérateur/partenaire dans quatre dispositifs de politique culturelle différents. Un inventaire cohérent de l'univers des opérateurs ne peut pas ignorer ce type de situation de « départementalisation » et ses implications dans les dénombrements.

3.3.2 Carte d'identité des opérateurs

La nécessité d'établir un répertoire complet des opérateurs (entreprises/département) s'impose donc à un niveau centralisé (dans lequel les services fonctionnels ou budgétaires viendraient puiser les identifiants et des informations ad hoc). En effet, il s'agirait d'associer à l'identité des opérateurs (dénomination, siège social, d'exploitation, localisation, date de création, etc.), d'autres données identificatoires qui permettent aisément de les lier à des systèmes d'informations géographiques (SIG) ou de les faire reconnaître dans des bases de données externes (par exemple, auprès des organismes de sécurité sociale ou auprès de l'ICN).

Enfin, il s'agira de concevoir un système qui entretient la mémoire historique de la trajectoire des opérateurs. Ceci n'est sans doute pas négligeable du point de vue de l'analyse et de la perception des politiques culturelles, qui instaurent généralement des catégories d'opérateurs dans leur dispositif de reconnaissance et de subventionnement, catégories dans lesquelles transitent – « voyagent » – les opérateurs réels par l'effet de recommandations et d'avis administratifs, et de décisions politiques. Ainsi, si l'on veut pouvoir rendre compte de l'évolution de cet aspect des politiques culturelles dans le temps, il faudrait être en mesure de reconstituer, année après année, non seulement le stock final d'opérateurs (entreprises/établissements) figurant dans une catégorie donnée, mais aussi les mouvements d'entrées et de sorties qui s'y produisent.

* * *

J'en termine ici. Contribuer à élaborer ou à réfléchir à l'élaboration de statistiques culturelles n'est certes pas la seule tâche de l'OPC. Mais il est d'ores et déjà évident qu'elle définira une large part de nos programmes dans les mois à venir.

Whetu Wereta Statistics New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand

"Representing Maori Realities in Official Statistics. The Challenge for Statistics New Zealand"

Résumé

Depuis le début des années 1970, les Maoris, peuple autochtone de la Nouvelle-Zélande, connaissent une renaissance culturelle. En même temps que cette renaissance, le peuple Maori réclame le contrôle direct de son développement. Au fil du temps, les différents gouvernements ont répondu à cette exigence en adoptant des politiques qui ont favorisé les initiatives de développement du peuple maori. Le programme actuel de renforcement des capacités du gouvernement vise à développer l'efficacité des initiatives de développement des organismes communautaires maoris en apportant son soutien au renforcement des capacités en matière de gestion des affaires publiques.

Pour que les initiatives pour le développement des Maoris donnent des résultats, il est nécessaire d'obtenir des données statistiques de haute qualité, dans l'intérêt des Maoris eux-mêmes comme dans celui du gouvernement. Pour le peuple Maori, le développement concerne autant la langue et la renaissance culturelle que l'amélioration du niveau de vie. Les statistiques officielles actuelles ne reflètent pas nécessairement la réalité des Maoris. La présente communication traite du travail accompli par Statistiques Nouvelle-Zélande en vue d'adapter les statistiques officielles à la réalité du peuple Maori en tenant compte de la dimension culturelle de son développement.

Abstract

Maori, the indigenous people of New Zealand, have been undergoing a cultural resurgence since the 1970s. Associated with this resurgence has been a growing demand for more direct control by Maori over their own development. Successive governments have responded to this call by adopting policies that have been increasingly supportive of self-development initiatives. The present government's capacity building programme aims to improve the effectiveness of Maori initiatives by assisting Maori communities to build and strengthen their governance and management institutions and processes.

High quality statistical information is needed by both Maori themselves and by government if Maori development initiatives are to be effective. For Maori, development is as much about language and cultural revitalisation as it is about improvements in living standards. Existing official statistics do not necessarily reflect Maori realities. This paper is about the work that Statistics New Zealand has been doing to improve the relevance of official statistics to Maori by capturing the cultural dimension of Maori development.

Introduction

Maori are the indigenous people of New Zealand, who despite sustained pressures on them to assimilate into the dominant European group, have retained much of their traditional culture. During the 1950s and 60s they urbanized at such a rapid pace that leaders feared they would lose control of their culture. The 1970s were marked by strong demands for government to address both the erosion of Maori language and culture and the burgeoning social problems that it was widely believed urbanization had brought. This period also marked the beginning of a cultural resurgence that gained momentum during the 1980s bringing with it another demand, this time for direct control by Maori people over their own development. Successive governments have responded by adopting policies that have been increasingly supportive of self-development. All government agencies are expected to have programs that support Maori initiatives.

Maori people are now in as much need of sound statistical information as any other group with decision-making responsibilities. Official statistics on Maori unfortunately, are limited and Maori people are losing trust and confidence in their relevance and validity. Government agencies responsible for monitoring the outcomes of policy have also questioned the integrity of the data albeit on different grounds. Loss of confidence in official statistics by any population group can have serious repercussions for the entire statistical system, a prospect that no national statistical agency likes to contemplate. Rather than adopting a defensive position, Statistics New Zealand has taken the opportunity presented by the challenges to engage Maori assistance and cooperation in improving the relevance of official data and enhancing its overall quality.

This paper begins with a brief overview of the history of Maori people as a context for considering the official statistics that relate to them. From there, it moves on to take a detailed look at the quality of the statistical information and concludes that relevance is the key issue. The third section is about the policies Statistics New Zealand has adopted to build its capacity to address the issues that Maori have raised during consultations. Outstanding for some time has been the development of a statistical framework, regarded by the agency as the key to the provision of relevant data. The first draft of the proposed framework is presented in the final section.

Historical Context

New Zealand became a British colony in 1840 following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Through the Treaty, Britain obtained the right to govern subject to the protection of Maori people's way of life and of the resources that supported it. Before the century was out, the Treaty had been declared a nullity and all but forgotten by the administration. However, Maori did not forget. Over the years, the Treaty and its guarantees and pledges have served as a powerful rallying point for Maori.

Of the many challenges that Maori have faced, two stand out as having been particularly traumatic. At the close of the 19th century, Maori were fighting for their physical survival. A combination of estimates and census figures suggest that between 1840 and 1896, numbers fell by nearly half to about 42,000 (Pool: 1991). Not surprisingly, settlers and administrators of the day were of the view that Maori would eventually die out as a people. Today, the Maori ancestry population, the descendants of the signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi, stands at more than 600,000. Another 73,000 are living in Australia.

The other challenge has been the threat to cultural survival. Until the end of World War II, rural isolation served to buffer Maori from the assimilative policies and influences of the state. At the end of World War II, less than 25% of Maori lived in urban areas. By the mid-1970s, the situation had reversed. As the pace of urbanization gathered momentum, there was mounting concern among Maori leaders about the sustainability of Maori culture and the implications of rural depopulation for the retention of land and other resources. Burgeoning social problems associated with adjustment to urban-life aggravated the concern.

In the early 1970s, the radicalized university-educated, the indigenous peoples network-connected, the trade union-experienced and the generally disaffected marched in protest. Responding to pressure to address grievances arising out of loss of land and cultural dislocation, the government established the Waitangi Tribunal to consider claims based on alleged breaches of the Treaty. As a result of the decisions of the Tribunal and now, the Courts, there has been a growing body of Treaty-related jurisprudence in New Zealand. Claims relating to land confiscation, fisheries, forests, Maori language, Maori knowledge and a number of other matters have been heard and adjudicated on and the principles enunciated in the decisions have filtered into the political system and influenced much of government policy on Maori issues.

In 1984, the Ministers of Finance and Maori Affairs convened a Maori Economic Summit. The Summit concluded that Maori development had to be shaped and controlled by Maori if Maori culture was to survive. A covenant was adopted and the Maori Development Decade was launched. The principle aims of the Decade were to encourage economic self-sufficiency, reduce state dependency and promote tribal development. In the late 1980s, government began transferring some of its service provision functions to tribal authorities. At about the same time, it adopted a series of measures aimed at improving the responsiveness to Maori of policy and service agencies. The duty to consult was one of those measures.

The present government's capacity building programme is focused more on local communities than on the tribe. It aims to improve the capacity of Maori community-based organisations to utilise the resources they have and to enhance the effectiveness of self-development initiatives by supporting governance and management capability building.

Review of Official Statistics on Maori

Now, more than ever before, Maori need good quality statistical information for their own purposes. High quality statistical information is fundamental to good governance and sound management practice. Like any other organization with these responsibilities, Maori organizations need to be properly informed about the communities that they serve and the issues that confront them. Effective planning and decision-making rest upon the quality of the information input.

In the lead-up to the 1996 census, and for the first time in the department's history, a Statistics New Zealand team led by the Government Statistician traveled the country to consult with Maori on the content of the census. At every meeting the department was taken to task over some aspect of the official statistics, sometimes in a very acrimonious manner. There was a real sense of grievance over the way in which Maori had been represented in the official data and over the extent to which they had been surveyed and researched for what they saw as little or no return. The connection between policy and official data was clearly recognized and since there had

been little or no perceptible change in their position, they questioned the data on which policies were based. Maori people at the time did not trust the official statistics or the statisticians that produced them.

The official statistics on Maori comprise:

- complete counts and estimates of population size at national and sub-national levels;
- projected population counts;
- measures of the growth and geographic dispersion of the population;
- numerical descriptions of the demographic structure of the population and of its social and economic attributes;
- analyses of the structure and circumstances of households and families;
- measures of Maori use of health and other services and their participation and performance in education and work;
- measures of housing tenure and quality;
- indicators of the extent of Maori dependency on state provided benefits;
- statistics on Maori time use;
- data on criminal offending, truancy, diseases, etc;
- numerical descriptions of the demographic structure and of the tribes that make up the Maori population and of their social and economic attributes; and
- data on Maori language acquisition, proficiency and use.

Although the list may seem comprehensive, the range is extremely limited. There are big gaps in the information base. In addition, there are limitations in analysis and presentation and there are inconsistencies across data sets and within data sets over time.

a) Gaps in the information base

Collection of information about tribes resumed in 1991 after a period of ninety years but there is no information on institutions, organizations or groups other than tribes. The basic unit of the tribe is the whanau or extended family. Although traditional living arrangements might have been modified to suit modern life, some Maori continue to maintain their kinship ties and to observe the authority of their leaders. In other cases, especially in the cities, kin-based living arrangements and attachments may have been fractured beyond recognition. Most Maori people exist somewhere along the continuum between these two extremes.

Maori institutions are being revitalized as vehicles for Maori development and in urban areas modern hybrids have formed and are taking over the role that kin-based organizations once had. They too, are a part of the development network. More recently, there has been a proliferation of Maori issue-based organizations, all of which are engaged in development activities of some kind.

Also missing is data on Maori resources, an area of information critical to economic development. Although their resources have been greatly depleted since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, substantial areas of land are still in the collective ownership of extended families and sub-tribes and as a consequence, there have always been problems accessing development finance through the banks. Trusts and incorporations provided for under legislation have helped

breakdown the barrier and Maori now have a large stake holding in the farming and horticultural industries. Some also own and operate businesses outside of the traditional land-based industries. The largest geothermal power station in New Zealand is owned by a Maori Trust. Treaty of Waitangi settlements have given Maori ownership of a substantial proportion of the fishing quota available under New Zealand's fisheries management plan. They also own exotic and indigenous forests. A proportion of the profits that Maori trusts and incorporations earn is returned to the communities out of which they emerge in the form of grants and donations for cultural, educational and social purposes, a practice provided for by the legislation. Very little of any of the information just described is captured by the official statistics and what data is available tends to be of a purely financial nature. A joint initiative between Statistics New Zealand and the Ministry of Maori Development has been in train for some years but has stalemated over the definition of a Maori business.

There is little too, on the social capability and (with the exception of formal educational qualifications) on the human capital inherent in Maori communities or on the issues that Maori need to address if they are to ensure their cultural survival. For example, environmental issues are high on the Maori agenda because their customary food and medicine reserves and their sacred places are in danger of being depleted, polluted and damaged. Within the Maori community, there are norms governing the use and care of such places and some of these customs have been taken into account in the laws applying to resource management and conservation. There is even less information on the contribution that Maori as citizens of New Zealand make to the life of the nation, through for example, the creation and operation of the successful businesses, participation in policy and decision-making processes, in mainstream service organizations and in cultural and sporting activities.

b) Focus on socio-economic aspects of Maori life

As the list of data demonstrates, the focus of the official statistics is restricted almost entirely to the demographic and socio-economic aspects of Maori people's way of life. The gaps identified above all fall within the ambit of culture or indigeneity. They are the aspects of life that make of indigenous people like Maori what they are. Focusing on the socio-economic without accounting for cultural difference results in distortion and misrepresentation of indigenous people's realities.

In New Zealand, it has been common practice to measure Maori people's progress by benchmarking them against the rest of the population (non-Maori) on a range of social and economic indices as well as behaviours that have been identified problematic. To some extent, this is a reflection of the nature of the data and the difficulty of reconciling data sets from different sources. However, it is also symptomatic of analytical failure. Typically, analyses are descriptive and undertaken in the absence of any underlying conceptual and analytical framework. Most focus on failure rather than on dynamics of change (including advances as well as failures) in a way that furthers understanding of the issues.

The most commonly used indices are health, work, educational achievement, income, source of income and housing whilst the most commonly used behaviours are adult and juvenile offending, truancy, suicide and receipt of hospital treatment. As a result, Maori people are continually being represented in statistical analysis as a socio-economically dependent and dysfunctional minority and a homogeneous one at that. In the consultation preceding the 1996 census, Maori

indicated (and reiterated in the lead-up to the 2001 census) that they found this representation not only wrong but offensive as well. Statistics New Zealand's reports now balance the socio-economic comparisons with data showing changes within the Maori population.

c) Inconsistencies in definitions, classifications and methodologies

New Zealand has a dispersed official statistical system. The census of population conducted every five years by Statistics NZ is the major source of data on Maori and this is supplemented by regular or continuous sample surveys such as the Household Labour Force Survey, the Income Survey and the Household Economic Survey. Ad-hoc surveys are conducted as required by the policy agencies, sometimes by Statistics New Zealand and sometimes by private firms. Besides the census and sample surveys, the other significant sources of information about Maori are the administrative records of government agencies. There are inconsistencies in definitions, classifications and methodologies across the data sets.

The definition and classification of Maori has always been controversial and getting consistency across data sets over time has been particularly difficult. Until the 1986 census, a racial classification based on a conception of race popular in the late 1800s and early 20th century was used to classify the Maori population. Respondents were asked to state their degree of blood in precise fractions and those recording half or any fraction greater than half Maori were allocated to the Maori population. Much of the acrimony experienced during the consultations is a legacy of that classification system.

In spite of a high level of intermarriage, the largest category in the race-based population count had always been full Maori with half Maori as a distant second. Heaping around the full and half suggests that Maori were reporting social affiliation as early as the turn of the 20th century. Pressure from the Maori Council and other national Maori organizations led in the mid-1970s, to a change in the statutory definition. For legal purposes, Maori were now defined as persons of the Maori race of New Zealand and any descendant of such a person, a definition that reflected the salience of genealogy in the Maori social order. The statistical classification of Maori was changed in 1986 to allow for self-reporting of ethnicity.

In 1991, a question was on Maori ancestry was added to the census, to comply with electoral requirements (Maori have had separate representation since 1867). This question also serves as a filter for a question on tribal affiliation. Thus, since 1991 three different counts of the Maori population have been available – the Maori ancestry population, the Maori ethnic group population (those who reported Maori as one or more of their ethnic affiliations) and the sole Maori ethnic group population (those who reported Maori as their only ethnic affiliation). The present method of counting Maori seems to have been generally accepted by them.

The gaps and inconsistencies in the data have prevented government agencies responsible for policy formulation and the monitoring of Maori policy outcomes from gaining a comprehensive picture of the impact of Maori development policies. The population that is used as the basis for policy is the Maori ethnic group and it is within this classification that all of the inconsistencies arise. In 1995, the Government of the day issued a set of principles that departments should follow in the collection and presentation of data on Maori. The principles were:

- ethnicity data should be routinely collected as part of administrative data collections;

- the standards developed by Statistics New Zealand should be used;
- appropriate measures for Maori should be developed in high priority areas; and
- Maori statistics should be analysed for trends within the Maori population and for disparities between Maori and non-Maori.

However, problems are continuing to occur and last year, Statistics New Zealand initiated a review of the measurement of ethnicity, which is still continuing.

d) Other issues

Maori concerns about the data range widely. Currently individuals make up the units of measurement in most of the social and economic statistics. Maori wanting to address social issues like unemployment or ill-health feel they gain a better understanding of its impact when they are able to observe the phenomenon within a household context, particularly in the context of households where there are children. Whilst the recasting of census outputs can help Maori to address unemployment in this context, it is difficult to cast health issues in this light without taking a household survey. Health information is collected from administrative case records. Household details are not collected.

The sectoral approach to measurement is another concern. It is one that is widely shared in New Zealand and, judging by the literature, in many other countries as well. Access to information was also raised. Much of the information available free of charge cannot be readily utilised for the purposes for which Maori require it. As well, statistical skills are scarce in Maori communities and Statistics New Zealand is often required to present the information in a readily digestible form. Resources being scarce, this is not always possible.

In summary, the inadequacies in the existing data on Maori reflect the circumstances under which they have been gathered. Rarely, if ever, have they been collected specifically to meet Maori needs. For the most part, Maori have simply been one of a number of categories in the statistical information collected for the entire population. To this extent, what is available mirrors the concerns and priorities of the larger society and its perceptions and understandings of what being Maori means.

It has been largely through on-going discussions with Maori people and with the Ministry of Maori Development that Statistics New Zealand has reached the understanding it now has about the statistical needs of New Zealand's indigenous people and their perceptions of the official statistics. With this understanding has come new insight into existing statistical policies and practices and into Statistics New Zealand's and the rest of government's responsiveness not only in relation to Maori people's need for relevant data but also in relation to their need for statistical knowledge and skills.

Applying the Lessons

Improving the relevance of official data to Maori has always been seen as a long-term exercise. Initially, issues were dealt with on an issue by issue basis and at the operational rather than the strategic level. Nevertheless, some important steps were taken to improve the organizational infrastructure, to build mutually beneficial relationships with Maori and to service Maori data needs.

On the infrastructure front, a small Maori Statistics Unit was set up within the agency to advise the organization on statistical policy and practice. An external advisory committee was established not long after, its membership being drawn from among Maori users of statistical data. A scholarship to encourage and support young Maori wishing to pursue a course in mathematics and statistics was also established.

Relationships were built through a number of initiatives. The calling of representatives of the tribes to a meeting to mark the release of the first statistics on tribal affiliation since the 1901 census was one of these. Another was the agreement by the Government Statistician to serve as member of the project board for a longitudinal study being undertaken by members of the Maori studies department of Massey University. In 1996, the first conference of Maori users of official statistics was convened and for the census in the same year, a team of Maori liaison officers was recruited. Bilingual questionnaires were developed and made available to respondents on request.

In relation to data needs, statistical profiles were prepared on each tribe following the 1991 and 1996 census. These took the form of simple presentations of the data in both tabular and graphic format and a simple narrative explanation. During this early period, a question was added to the census seeking information on language(s) spoken, from which were derived the first statistics on the Maori language. Following the 2001 census, a post-censal survey on Maori language was conducted.

Earlier this year, a comprehensive strategy was adopted covering the next five to ten years. One of six strategic areas in the agency's long-term plan, the aim of the Maori statistics strategy is to enable Maori statistical needs to be met. The phrasing of the goal recognizes that whilst the official statistical system is dispersed, the Government Statistician has a leadership role through the setting of standards and protocols. The aim is to be promoted on three fronts – enhancing the relevance of official statistics to Maori, raising awareness of official statistics and encouraging their use in Maori communities and, building the statistical capability of Maori organizations through the transfer of statistical knowledge and skills.

The reconstituted Maori Statistics Unit drafted the strategy. Following a review in 2000, a new manager was appointed and the staffing establishment was raised to four. Finding Maori with the required statistical experience and skills, who want to work in the national statistical office has always been a problem for Statistics New Zealand. On this occasion however, the recruitment process proved fruitful. Two of the staff have experience in the collection and production of statistics and one is also experienced in analysis. Two recent graduates were taken on, one of whom has a background in astrophysics and the other in Maori studies and law. Law is a useful subject to have studied when the Unit is required to draft position papers arising out of the agency's obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi. In addition to the four full-time members, the Unit also has six part-time community-based liaison officers.

The Unit's main functions are to lead and advise the organization on Maori statistical matters, to direct and manage the agency's Maori community awareness program, to coordinate the contribution of the different business units to the statistical capability building pilots and to build and maintain relationships with the stakeholders. Although its focus is strategic, it nevertheless advises and sometimes works on operational issues. It is not seen as a permanent fixture but as

an interim arrangement, pending the enhancement of the capacity of the organization as a whole, to respond appropriately to Maori needs.

The Maori Advisory Committee's role has also been reviewed to bring it into line with the new strategic direction. Its functions are to:

- Advise on key policy and other issues that are likely to affect Maori statistical priorities;
- Advise on the relative merit of Maori statistical programs or projects where there is resource tension;
- Advise on the adequacy of Maori statistical services in particular fields, including those provided by agencies other than SNZ;
- Advise on how to manage external pressures that might affect its Maori statistical activities.

A First Draft of a Maori Statistics Framework

The need for a framework for Maori statistics, which captures and encapsulates Maori thinking about well-being and development and which represents their diversity, was identified as long ago as 1991. One of the main reasons for establishing the Maori Statistics Unit and the Maori Advisory Committee was to boost Statistics New Zealand's capacity to undertake the conceptual work involved. Work on the framework commenced in 1993, following the consultation round referred to earlier. Due to a combination of factors such as the failure to attract staff from among the few Maori with the required skills and resource constraints, priorities were constantly being revised and the work kept being deferred. With the adoption of the Maori statistics strategy, the development of a framework assumed top priority. It is regarded by the agency and by the Advisory Committee as the key to the long-term development and improvement of Maori statistics.

A first draft of the proposed framework has now been completed to the stage where its shape and structure are apparent and consultation with Maori groups and government agencies can commence. It is essentially a working document that draws on many different sources, including the earlier work of the Maori Statistics Unit and the Maori Advisory Committee.

Maori development is the subject matter of the framework. For the purpose of defining the notion, the capabilities approach was adopted (Sen:1989). Maori development is therefore conceived of as a process of enablement, a process that seeks to extend Maori people's scope for improving their own lives. It involves notions of:

- expanding opportunities;
- enhanced choice;
- better access (for example, to Maori knowledge and institutions and to the institutions of mainstream New Zealand society); increasing participation not just in Maori spheres of life but also in the larger social, economic, political and cultural processes;
- increasing command over goods and services; and
- increasing self-determination.

This view of development acknowledges the fluidity, complexity and diversity found to exist in Maori society by the longitudinal study being undertaken at Massey University (referred to above).

"Far from being homogeneous, Maori have a variety of cultural characteristics and live in a number of different cultural and socio-economic realities. …… Maori society is not static. Changing demographic patterns, technological advancement, interaction with other cultures and nations, and reduced control over resources have been accompanied by changing cultural beliefs and practices. …….. Maori belong to numerous and diverse cultural and social groupings. Sometimes ethnicity will be the most significant affiliation but on other occasions it might be less important than belonging to a school, a sports club, a socio-economic grouping or a family constellation. …….. Imposed stereotypes both from outside and within the Maori population create misleading impressions that Maori development lies in a specific direction, when in fact Maori might have quite different inclinations. Being Maori in contemporary times cannot be assumed to be synonymous with conservative expectations of a stereotyped cultural heritage or with a desire for assimilation into a pale mainstream" (Fitzgerald: 2000).

The ultimate end of development is a state of well being, a state in which Maori have all of the capabilities at their disposal, to live the kind of life they want to live. For the purposes of measurement, that desired state has been defined by reference to the conditions that provide for choice. Whilst Maori might well choose not to live as Maori all the time or even some of the time, the death of the Maori world (or cultural inheritance) would eliminate any choice they might have had in this regard. Thus the sustainability of Maori cultural inheritance has to be regarded as one of the dimensions of well being and hence, one of the goals of Maori development. However, the findings of the Massey project suggest that the notion of well being encompasses much more than cultural affirmation. By adopting a thinking process similar to that used to identify the first dimension, and without going into the detail of each, a list of six possible aspects was compiled. The contention is that in the absence of these conditions, choices for Maori either do not exist or are limited in some way.

The six dimensions are:

- Sustainability of Maori inheritance;
- Social Cohesion;
- Realization of Potential;
- Economic Security;
- Environmental Sustainability; and
- Empowerment.

All are, to some extent, interconnected if not by anything else, then by the all-pervasiveness of culture. Culture is both a cause and effect of development and it cuts across all of the dimensions. It has not been represented as a dimension however, because of the difficulty in delineating its boundaries. Initially, it was thought that cultural vitality ought to be included in the list. However, it was eventually decided that rather than being a dimension, it is probably at the very core of Maori well being.

The framework is intended to measure the goal dimensions of well-being and hence, progress with Maori development, in the context of the areas of life that are of most concern to Maori. Up to this time, sixteen areas have been included. They are:

- Maori language
- Maori knowledge
- Marae (traditional seat of community decision-making)
- Sacred sites
- Cultural resource sites (food reserves, etc)
- Maori land
- Population
- Families & households
- Social connections and attachments
- Modern knowledge, skills, competencies
- Health
- Housing
- Income & Expenditure
- Work
- Social Problems
- Business development & operation
- Participation in decision-making processes
- Human rights/indigenous rights

Measurement dimensions have been added as the first step in populating the framework. These set out the broad information requirement. In selecting the measures, regard was had to a number of factors. First, fundamental Maori values had to be considered. These have been used in many instances to determine what the most appropriate measure should be. Second, Maori development does not occur in a vacuum. One of the reasons for choosing the capabilities approach was its focus on enablement. Thus, the selected measures include among other things, a mix of Maori investments, government investments and the investments of the rest of the society. Third, more thought has to be given to linkages between the Maori framework and the demographic, social and economic databases Statistics New Zealand keeps for the whole population.

The following is an example of the structure and form of the framework. It deals with just two areas – Maori language and part of cultural resource sites.

Area of Concern: Maori Language

Goal Dimension	Measurement Dimension
Maori Heritage	Use of the Maori language Spoken proficiency Availability of Maori language – • Speakers • Services (television/radio hours, etc) • Products (literature, music, shows, etc)
Human Potential	Acquisition of Maori language proficiency
	Recognition of proficiency (academic, Maori)
Empowerment	Opportunities to acquire/enhance proficiency (provision of formal & non-formal learning, including Maori mentored learning)
	Access to opportunities to acquire proficiency
	Government spending on provision of: • Learning opportunities & resources • Services (television/radio hours, etc)
	Spending by Maori organizations on provision of: • Learning opportunities & resources • Services (television, etc)
Economic security	Purchase of, and expenditure by individuals on Maori language-related: • Products • Services, and • Learning opportunities

Area of Concern: Cultural Resource Sites

Goal Dimension	Measurement Dimensions
Environmental Sustainability	Identification & recognition of sites by type. Includes: • Sites recognized by tribes & sub-tribes but not by authorities • Sites formally recognized by authorities (local bodies, government agencies, etc)
	Quality of the resource obtained based on user observation of the resource site
	Depletion of natural resource stock (such as paua/abalone)
	Damage and destruction of sites as a result of local body management or operational procedures
Empowerment	Arrangements for Maori control over, or representation in, management, operation, protection and preservation of cultural resources
Maori Heritage	Availability of expertise and materials on cultural & historical significance of resource sites. Includes: • Experts • Documents • Sound recordings • Maps & images

There is still a great deal of work to be done on populating the framework. The broad measurement dimensions derived from the goal dimensions within each area of concern mark only the beginning of the task. Work has already commenced on identifying outcomes for each area of concern and specifying the statistical outputs needed to measure them. Some attention has also been given to the inputs. As presently envisaged, the completed statistical framework will have the following structural elements:

- Goal dimensions
- Areas of concern
- Outcomes
- Outputs
- Inputs/Process

In summing up, the approach taken to the development of the framework was chosen for its ability to accommodate cultural diversity. As well as being consistent with Maori thinking about the heterogeneity of Maori society, it also consistent in other respects, namely:

- Although it is conceived of in terms of individual development, it can readily be adapted to development at the collective and societal levels.

- Issues like freedom, security and the empowerment and participation of people are often overlooked by other approaches.
- It is rights-based rather than needs-based, although it does not discount the fact that in order for people to choose and realize the kind of life they want to live, basic needs must be satisfied.
- It recognizes that government, the rest of society and the world can play in enabling development.
- It does not attempt to impose a definition of what the good life is.
- It is well suited to a pluralistic society.

By the end of March next year, consultation with Maori groups will have been completed. Before then, no further changes will be made to the framework but there may be major changes to be made following the conclusion of the consultative meetings.

Conclusion

A statistical agency, which depends for its business on the goodwill of the community in which it is located, can ill-afford to lose the trust and confidence of such a sizeable population group as Maori. However, as long as they perceive the picture of themselves to be distorted and regard themselves as having no stake in the official statistics, trust and confidence is going to be an issue. Improving the relevance of statistical information to Maori is therefore critical to the integrity of the wider statistical system. Delays in presenting a framework for Maori to discuss among themselves have done little to facilitate the process.

However, Statistics New Zealand is in a far better position to deal with the issues today than it was ten years ago. Through its Maori community liaison officers and the Maori Advisory Committee, it has built important relationships with Maori communities and it has gone out deliberately to engage Maori in statistical debates. Improving and upgrading the statistics on Maori has never been only about data collection. It is also about raising community awareness of statistics and statistical issues and assisting organizations to build their own capability.

This paper is about meeting the statistical needs of Maori, the indigenous people of New Zealand. Its purpose has been to share Statistics New Zealand's experiences of coming to an understanding of the effects that poor statistics can have on a people and of the approach it has taken to correct the situation. That experience might be helpful to others in a similar situation.

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Sara Selwood University of Westminster, London, United Kingdom

"Beyond statistics? The politics of data collection in the English cultural sector"

Résumé

Depuis l'arrivée au pouvoir du Parti travailliste en 1997 au Royaume-Uni, les organismes subventionnés par le ministère anglais de la culture, des communications et du sport, le DCMS (Department for Culture, Media and Sport), sont tenus de réaliser les objectifs du gouvernement en visant un ensemble d'objectifs tactiques concertés. Un certain nombre de mécanismes, destinés à contrôler l'efficacité du financement du secteur culturel, ont également été mis en place. Certains objectifs du DCMS peuvent être soumis à une évaluation quantitative, mais certains autres requièrent une approche qualitative. Un défi de taille attend le ministère et ses organismes : celui de rendre compte de l'impact des activités culturelles qu'il finance, d'évaluer les effets positifs qu'elles peuvent avoir entraînés, en plus de se conformer à la politique du gouvernement central qui exige l'établissement de preuves solides et concrètes. Voilà pourquoi la collecte de données constitue un enjeu fondamental pour le secteur culturel subventionné. Au cours de la présente communication, nous nous pencherons sur le contexte politique, et nous tenterons de tracer le portrait de la situation actuelle en ce qui concerne l'évaluation de l'impact des activités culturelles subventionnées, et nous verrons à quelles difficultés, méthodologiques et autres, ce genre d'évaluation se heurte.

Abstract

Since the Labour Party came to power in the UK in 1997, organisations funded by the government's Department for Culture, Media and Sport have been obliged to deliver government objectives through sets of agreed targets. A number of mechanisms, intended to monitor the effectiveness of cultural funding, have also been introduced. The delivery of some of the department's targets can be assessed quantitatively, but others call for more qualitative approaches. Some of the most substantial challenges facing the Department for Culture and its agencies are: accounting for the impact of the cultural activities that they fund, assessing what difference they have made, and complying with central government pressure to pursue evidence-based policy. Because of this, data collection has become a fundamental issue within the subsidised cultural sector. This paper considers the political context for, and the current state of play of assessments of the impact of subsidised cultural activities, including the methodological and other difficulties involved.

Introduction

The first attempt to collect and analyse statistics about the arts in the UK was made some 20 years ago by the Policy Studies Institute (Nissel, 1983). Intended to lead to a better understanding of the extent to which the cultural activities contributed to quality of life of the country, it collated the data available. On that basis, *Facts about the Arts* sought to quantify what was spent on the arts; how many people they employed; what they earned; the number of events provided; and, who went to see what. This exercise inevitably attracted the scorn of those who believed that the concept of the arts is, by definition, 'elusive and indefinable and that any attempt to measure it cannot begin to represent its essential quality' (Nissel, 1983: 1).

In one sense, at least, not much has changed. Attempts to collect and analyse data on the cultural sector are still derided by some as being 'no way to measure the true value of the arts' (Marr, 2001). But, in another sense, everything has changed. Driven by the notion that the arts constitute 'a civilizing influence' (Smith, 1999: 14) and that they contribute to the quality of life as a matter of course, the subsidised cultural sector has been pressed into delivering on a number of government objectives – combating social exclusion, in particular. This is a far cry from the perception of culture as 'a self-contained realm which exists in opposition to the material and the economic' (Ward and Pitt, 1985: 6), which prevailed before. The Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS's) aspirations for data collection are far more sophisticated than the Policy Studies Institute's initial pragmatism allowed for. In its attempt to make cultural provision accessible to 'the many, not just the few' and to cast cultural institutions in the role of 'centres for social change' (DCMS, 2000a), the department hopes to monitor the value for money and efficiency of those organisations to which it grants funds; measure the extent to which its ambitions are achieved; and, evaluate the precise impact that they are having. Consequently, data collection has become central – theoretically pivotal, even – to the Department for Culture's operations.

It might well be that these issues, and indeed the English experience of them, seem somewhat parochial in the context of an international symposium about *Statistics in the Wake of Challenges posed by Cultural Diversity in a Global Context*. But, I hope that aspects of this paper ring true of experiences elsewhere – in particular, its central theme about the politicization of the gathering of data and the state's blurring of the relationship between advocacy and research. Despite manifest improvements, data collection in the UK cultural sector is currently a long way off being a disinterested, objective or even well-regarded pursuit and – whatever the rhetoric – the implementation of evidence-based policy is a long way off.

Generalisms aside, the aim of this paper is to consider how data collection is currently perceived within the English subsidised cultural sector – in particular, the arts and museums. It draws on various published and unpublished policy documents and accounts pertaining to initiatives relating to cultural policy. And, it examines why data is being collected; how it's being collected; what is being collected; and, whether it is indeed capable of delivering evidence of achievements promised by politics.

The paper is organised in six parts:

Part 1 provides some background to the current preoccupation with data collection. It examines various factors, which both depended upon and prompted the collection of data on the cultural sector prior to 1997, not least top-down government initiatives.

Part 2 considers the critical legacy of data collections which both informed and developed in response to these initiatives.

Part 3 suggests that many of DNH's ambitions were amplified by DCMS. It considers the department's objectives, demands for evidence of their delivery and those systems of accountability which apply to its own performance as well as those of its sponsored bodies.

Part 4 examines attitudes to the government's expectations within the cultural sector, and considers claims that advocates have made in respect to its delivering on the social agenda.

Part 5 summarises how DCMS, its agencies and others have been attempting to produce evidence of impact – what kind of efforts they have made to find it; how these have been informed; and, what limitations characterise the evidence so far.

To close, **Part 6**, considers what is emerging from this plethora of primary data and the critical analyses of the impact of subsidised cultural activities. It looks at what might improve the state of data collection and the quality of evidence produced by the UK cultural sector, the extent to which organisations may or may not be bound to comply with the government's agenda, and the seriousness with which the cultural bureaucracy regards data collection.

Part 1 Background

The current government's preoccupation with data collection was foreshadowed by successive Conservative governments' demands for accountability and strategic management within the public sector. In terms of the cultural bureaucracy, the Department for Culture's predecessor department, the Department of National Heritage (DNH), sought to broaden the sector's funding base, which drove the sector to justify its subsidies in economic terms and identify itself as a wealth creator. It was also concerned to increase 'access'; and – in the months immediately preceding the 1997 election – encourage participation and community development. It is proposed that these four concerns and the initiatives related to them, both depended on and encouraged the development of data collection.

The Department of National Heritage

The DNH was established after the Conservative's 1992 election victory. It assumed responsibilities from a number of other government departments and developed a rationale which included the economic importance of its sectors, encouraging access across them, and improving quality of life.

Unlike the ministries that preceded it, the DNH was accorded status as a Department of State with representation at Cabinet. The implications of this marked the growth of political interest in the cultural sector, and were most keenly and emotively felt in the department's relationship with the arts since increased government intervention was symbiotic of the diminution of the arm's length agreement. While the Secretary of State for the National Heritage was still publicly

committed to the so-called 'arm's length principle' in the early 1990s, by 1996 the proceedings of a parliamentary committee revealed that it had actually come to be regarded as 'stunt[ing] the growth of the Department' (House of Commons, 1996: 16) and that as a Cabinet Minister, the Secretary of State expected to be able to have a view about how money was spent and what decisions should be taken about the future direction of culture in the country (ibid: 16).

Accountability and the imposition of strategic management

> *I am convinced that priority must be given to increase economy, efficiency and effectiveness in public funding for the arts* (Peter Brooke, 1993 cited in House of Commons, 2002).

Following the Conservative's Financial Management Initiative (1982), attempts to introduce greater accountability and strategic management to the arts and the rest of the cultural sector in the form of the so-called three 'Es' were inevitable. Much of this was mediated by the DNH.

The DNH's operations were largely determined by its need to 'act as a catalyst for effective action' (DNH, 1994: 8). Unlike most other government departments, as much as 95 per cent of the monies voted to it were spent through its range of diverse, executive non-departmental public bodies on which it depended for the achievement of its aims and objectives. These included the then Arts Council of Great Britain, the national museums and galleries and so on. So, when the department came to describe itself as 'in part policy-orientated and strategic and in part supervisory' (ibid: 12), it followed that a fundamental principle of its relationship with its sponsored bodies would be their 'accountability and value for money' (ibid: 11).

Given that the DNH had itself been encouraged to make effective use of the corporate planning process, similar demands were passed on to its sponsored bodies. These required that the arts and museums should demonstrate increased economy, efficiency and effectiveness. The department oversaw a number of initiatives intended to improve the organisation and management of its sponsored organisations' services to the public including the introduction of corporate plans, support for the development of staff training, and the devising of a range of performance indicators which touched on measures of access and use, income generation and financial management. These were intended to provide objective benchmarks against which organisations' progress in achieving the aims and objectives identified in their corporate plans and elsewhere could be measured; to identify areas of relative strength and weakness; to inform decision–making on the allocation of resources; and to motivate staff. And, in 1996 the department introduced funding agreements as a way of clarifying what expectations could be made of sponsored bodies and to 'stand as a concise and public statement of what [Parliament] and the taxpayer should expect for the grant in aid' (House of Commons, 1996: 2).

The DNH regarded it as vital 'that policies are formulated in the light of the best available and most up to date information about the sectors in which they are to operate'. It consequently commissioned reviews of existing data sources as a way of clearing the ground for its own initiatives and to review its need for statistical information. At about the same time, its first-tier bodies – the then Arts Council and Museums & Galleries Commission – set up collections of time series data, intended to collect statistics from their respective domains and inform their strategic development.

Economic agenda

A second imperative which encouraged dependence on and the development of data collection stemmed from the DNH's desire for the sector to break its largely exclusive dependence on public subsidies by generating its own income and attracting and levering in private sector funds. Pressures to comply with an economic agenda – albeit a different one – also came from the Left. In the brief period between 1985 and its abolition in 1986, the Greater London Council proposed funding 'interventions' in the 'cultural industries' in order to increase people's choice of cultural provision and create new jobs and training opportunities, particularly amongst those previously excluded. This was a political and pragmatic response to the then massive rise in unemployment and 'free time' (GLC, 1985). The debates and policies that ensued ultimately combined to encourage the sector to justify its value in economic terms, identify itself as a job and wealth creator, and as a catalyst for regeneration.

So, during the second half of the 80s, as the 'new financial reality' began to bite, the Arts Council increasingly actively sought to increase its grant in aid on the basis of making an economic case for increased public 'investment' in the arts. It introduced the notion of the arts as an 'industry', and listed the returns that the government could expect for 'a small increase in public funding' including the low cost of creating new jobs, savings on unemployment and recycled tax arts (ACGB, 1985; 1986). It also proposed that arts projects could help 'bring our cities back to life' by acting as a magnet, attracting people, tourism, businesses and jobs to an area, and as a catalyst for regeneration; by enhancing the visual quality of the built environment; providing a focal point for community pride and identity; and, helping to build self-confidence in individuals (ACGB, 1989). The Cabinet Office itself endorsed the role of the arts in urban regeneration, on the basis of their potential to deal with the problems of unemployment and alienation in the inner cities, as well as contributing to the creation of a classless and tolerant society.

This suggests something of how arts advocacy changed. Within the space of the mid-80s alone, it shifted from 'special pleading' – predicated on a loose equation based on the relationship between the size of the sector, the amount of investment sought, and the potential dividends – to arguments about the arts' role in 'an era of industrial restructuring' (Myerscough, 1988: 2). The notion that the arts and the cultural industries were grounded in economic reality was further boosted by John Myserscough's research into the *Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain* (1988). Based on a series of surveys, this presented the arts and the cultural industries as a major contributor to the economy – as stimulating tourism, contributing to urban renewal, generating substantial exports and as responsible for mass employment. These findings were regarded as extraordinarily persuasive by a number of local authorities, many of which subsequently invested in the arts and cultural industries as a way of encouraging employment and inward investment in cities suffering the effects of post-industrialisation.

Access, community development and participation

> *I would like to see everyone in the country share in the opportunities that were once available only to the privileged few… It was in that spirit that I set up the Department of National Heritage. Its creation was a sign that Government should take such activities seriously* (John Major cited in House of Commons, 1996: v).

The third and fourth strands of policy development closely associated with data collection from the early 90s onwards were the impetus to increase public 'access' and the promotion of community development and participation, which it came to embrace. As the decade progressed, rather than being regarded as merely a token commitment, 'access' became a highly emotive and strategic issue, subject to both top-down and bottom-up pressures.

The findings of the Target Group Index, which the Arts Council commissioned from 1986, doubtless played some part. This series, based on questions added to an omnibus survey, comprised year on year coverage of arts attendance. It not only revealed what percentages of the GB population said they attended arts activities, but a high degree of consistency from year to year.

Since the survey did not discriminate between subsidised, commercial and amateur events, it could only imply that the percentage attending subsidised arts events would have been smaller than the figures suggested. Moreover, year on year comparisons suggest that increased funding over the years appears to have made little difference. Acknowledging that 'the available statistics suggest that some areas are enjoyed by a relatively narrow section of the population', DNH established a strategic Access Initiative intended to ensure 'the opportunity for as many people as possible to benefit from the arts, heritage and sport' not least because 'the investment of taxpayers' money brings with it a responsibility to ensure that those who pay have the opportunity to benefit' (DNH: 1994: 4-5). But, in addition to finding out about the numbers benefiting, there was also concern about what informed people's attitudes to cultural provision. This promoted the funding system's collection of audience and non-audience data, which interrogated, for example, which publics were being served; whether and how they personally valued cultural provision; and, whether it improved their quality of life. Academic publications of the period, in particular, considered issues pertaining to the opening up of access to museums; the quality of visitors' experiences in museums; and the sociology of museums' publics.

One way of forwarding access initiatives was to remove various barriers which were assumed to inhibit access to the arts per se. Against a wider context of equal rights, this prompted the introduction of 'cultural pluralism' and 'diversity' into the mainstream. By the early 1990s a number of constituencies were vying with each other for the Arts Council's recognition of their needs (ACGB, 1993). Despite the majority of the DNH and the Arts Council grant funding being dedicated to portfolios of historically supported organisations, the appropriation of alternative activities within the funding mainstream signalled the theoretical cessation of the privileging of one cultural activity over another. One such activity was community and participatory arts.

In the months before the 1997 election, DNH's own access agenda was significantly boosted by the department's assumption of responsibility for the promotion and development of volunteering throughout the country. This prompted its establishing several initiatives intended to encourage participation as a way of fostering 'pride, satisfaction, and self-confidence' and community development to help people to improve their quality of life (Bottomly, 1996). And, whereas the Arts Council had previously had little interest in community and participatory arts, an implication of its promoting the arts as an economic catalyst and having to address the critical fall out of that, was that it not only found itself embracing community projects but advocating for a broader social regeneration.

Part 2 Critical legacy of data collection prior to 1997

Prior to the establishment of the Department of National Heritage and the appointment of a Secretary of State at Cabinet level, there was no particular imperative for state funded bodies to gather or analyse data. There was no political pressure; limited funds; and, relatively few people with limited expertise working in the field. Significantly, the earliest attempts to construct a national overview of the UK cultural sector came from the independent sector (Nissel, 1983). But, from the beginning of the 90s, data collection – in particular, time series – came to be regarded as an important tool in establishing an understanding of the sector and theoretically developing policy for it.

In general, cultural data were collected in a variety of ways – through auditing, performance measurement, time series, the development of economic impact studies, and audience and non-audience research. Most of it was quantitative, focused on inputs and outputs, and delivered in statistical form. But, as data collection became more accepted as a conventional bureaucratic procedure, its flaws inevitably became more evident: including how data were collated and trends constructed; the use data were put to; and, the elusiveness of assessing what difference initiatives had actually made.

The convention of collating extant data persisted for a number of reasons, including its cost effectiveness and the lure of credible government statistics. But, it was acknowledged to have its limitations – the fact that analyses were almost invariably out of date; data were unlikely to be fit for purpose; variable reliability; and difficulties of alignment in terms of periods covered and the sectoral definitions used. Existing data also tended not to cover activity at the micro-level – small enterprises, sole traders and freelancers etc – which is more predominant within the creative industries than other industries.

Given the importance attached to trend data which might indicate changes, and potentially track the effectiveness of policy and intervention, difficulties in making meaningful comparisons over time were also identified. The convention of creating snapshots based on aggregates of secondary data created patchworks and thwarted attempts to construct even loosely based comparisons. And, comparisons made on the basis of what appeared to be year-on-year consistent time series were found to be subject to changes in methodology and presentation. Then there was the question as to how long it might take for trend data to show meaningful trends.

The use made of data also came to be questioned. While DNH's first-tier bodies were encouraged to collect their own time series data as a way of positively informing strategic decisions within their sectors, it's unclear, given the prevailing culture of those institutions, precisely what difference having the data actually made, beyond its occasional use for advocacy purposes. There is, for example, no evidence that DOMUS, the statistical museums database, informed decisions about strategy or policy (Wright et al, 2001). And, accounts by former Arts Council of England officers suggest that, in the context of the Council itself, research was

> *… kept back from policy making. It is often used for the post hoc justification of decisions, but not in the formation of those decisions. It is very rare that… internally focused research… informs or evaluates policy* (Andy Feist cited in Shaw, 1998: vi).

This was because:

> *… within parts of the funding system… people don't want to use research or data as the basis for decision making and funding allocation. Funding allocation will be made on the basis of historic patterns. This is an endemic, not necessarily a wilful, process* (Arts Council of England officer cited in Selwood, 1999:120).

There was also some dispute as to how useful certain types of data, or calculations based on them, might be. For instance, questions have been raised about the effectiveness of investing in cultural regeneration. As early as 1993 urban renewal projects were criticised as masking, rather than solving, persistent economic and social inequities (David Harvey cited by Bianchini, 1993: 14). The theoretical basis of economic impact studies – including their appropriateness, limitations and the validity of their methodologies, has come under increasing criticism. Indeed, one reaction to such studies has been the growth of interest in social impact.

Of course, not all data collected by and on behalf of the sector were statistical. A common response to the lack of evidence pertaining to policy initiatives was to collect examples, which were often anecdotal and were described variously as 'case studies', 'examples of good practice, or 'innovative approaches'. The shortcomings of this practice were evident from the start. As one of the Secretaries of State for National Heritage, observed:

> *The government …is seeking ways to assess the elusive concept 'quality of life' in ways that reflect the richness and variety of people's experience. Many people are seeking indicators of growth and improvement beyond the simply economic. Some of the indicators I have in mind are… levels of disease, life expectancy… opportunities for artistic expression and sporting activity, access to libraries and the media. Such attempts to assess the quality of life may well be only partly successful…They have in common an acknowledgement of the complexity of modern life, and a suspicion of easy answers* (Bottomly, 1996: para 25).

Part 3 The Department for Culture, Media and Sport

From its establishment following Labour's 1997 election victory, one of DCMS's most striking characteristics – and, one that distinguished it from its predecessor departments – has been its explicit concern to contribute to the government's manifesto commitments. From the start, the department intended playing a full part in 'joined-up Government' as well as 'arguing for recognition of the part the arts, sport, tourism etc can play in delivering Government policies beyond this Department's direct interests'(DCMS, 1998a: 'The way forward'). Five years on, and well into its second term, DCMS is still seeking '… to maximise the contribution that culture, media and sport make to the Government's wider social, education and economic objectives' (DCMS, 2002a: 28).

The department's first annual report described its aims as being

> *… guided by four central themes: the promotion of access, for the many not just the few; the pursuit of excellence and innovation; the nurturing of educational opportunity and the fostering of the creative industries, which provide a growing proportion of Britain's employment and wealth… aims which resonate across every other department of Government* (DCMS, 1998b).

A recent ministerial statement suggests that 'Opportunity, access, social inclusion, participation will all continue to provide the foundations on which much of our policy will develop in the coming years' (Tessa Blackstone cited by Thorpe, 2001). While the phraseology has changed, remains a pre-eminent theme within the department's publications and policy utterances. And, given the issues which it raises with respect to data collection, it is a major focus of this paper[1].

Social inclusion

As well as setting up DCMS, within months of the election, the Cabinet Office had also established a Social Exclusion Unit to report to the Prime Minister on ways in which government departments could work together to reduce the incidence of social exclusion[2] to create a more equitable and inclusive society. It proposed that successful neighbourhood renewal would depend 'on communities themselves having the power and taking responsibility to make things better', and recommended the formation of a number of Policy Action Teams to look at different areas of public policy and propose ways in which social exclusion might be tackled head on (Cabinet Office, 1998). And, it was in response to this that DCMS reported back on how

> *art and sport can not only make a valuable contribution to delivering key outcomes of lower long-term unemployment, less crime, better health and better qualifications, but can also help to develop the individual pride, community spirit and capacity for responsibility that enable communities to run regeneration programmes themselves* (Policy Action Team 10: 2).

The department subsequently established its own social inclusion action plan, designed to ensure that social inclusion objectives were incorporated across the whole of its remit including museums, galleries, archives and libraries – everyone of which

> *… can recognise its social responsibilities and should be considering and reaching informed decisions about how it can best meet the needs of its communities* (DCMS, 2001a).

The sector's support of community projects has been further enhanced through a series of reforms which shifted the distribution of lottery funding "away from 'grand' plans towards smaller 'micro' projects for local communities" (Woolf, 2002).

Accountability

DCMS's preoccupations around economic impact, access, opportunity and inclusion are firmly rooted in Labour's promises to deliver on its priorities, improve public services generally, and to use evidence into the formulation of policy – ambitions, which are predicated on the collection and analysis of data. On coming to power it found that because expenditure decisions were largely taken outside the department, this had 'resulted in little strategic direction from the centres and only limited knowledge of how public money has delivered Government objectives' (DCMS, 1998c).

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1. The Creative Industries Task Force was assigned to serve as a 'clearing house ' for initiatives relating to the fostering of the creative industries. The second Creative Industries Mapping Documents (DCMS, 2001c) highlights the particular difficulties of measuring change using a patchwork of statistical data, as described above.
2. A shorthand term for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown (Cabinet Office, 2000).

Indeed, one of the ambitions of Labour's first administration was to enhance the integrity, both actual and perceived, of all official statistics (HM Government, 1998). The government has also moved to commit itself to evidence-based policy – the principle that it should create 'the conditions within which rigorous analysis is routinely demanded and delivered' across Whitehall and in which 'good analysis' is placed at the heart of policy-making (Performance and Innovation Unit, 2000).

The framework

As described elsewhere, DCMS's accountability largely depends on the performance of its non-departmental public bodies. And, its reforming 'approach to investment in culture', as outlined in 1998, set out how it saw the relationship between the department and its sponsored bodies as functioning in the future in so far as it

- defined a new strategic role for the department, in the delivery of cultural policy and funding;
- set out the terms of a new relationship between the department, and the bodies that it funds to ensure the delivery of the appropriate outputs and benefits to the public to be articulated through the introduction of three year funding agreements, 'placing clear responsibilities on those bodies to deliver against demanding targets';
- streamlined the way policies and programmes are delivered – not least, through the establishment of new strategic sectoral bodies; and
- sought to raise standards of efficiency and financial management across all its sectors reinforced by the establishment of a new watchdog, QUEST (the Quality, Efficiency and Standards Team), intended to work alongside the National Audit Office, the Audit Commission and sponsored bodies own auditors 'to monitor and improve standards of efficiency and promote quality across our sectors' (DCMS, 2000b; DCMS, 1998a).

This framework, which was ultimately driven by the advent of resource accounting across government, meant 'that DCMS ties its expenditure to its objectives' and that it needs 'to be assured that public money is being used appropriately to meet public objectives'. Moreover, 'investing for reform', as the rhetoric has it, means that the 'more money invested, [the] more results are required'. For DCMS, this implied closure on any possibility of 'grants for grants' sake'

> *This is not something for nothing. We want to see measurable outcomes for the investment which is being made. From now on there will be real partnership with obligations and responsibilities* (DCMS, 1998d).

By way of example, the £290 million boost for DCMS sectors from 1999-2002, announced in 1998, was predicated on the expectation of

> *… outcomes which reflect our four central themes… They will be linked to the delivery of increased outputs, improved access and efficiency and increased private sector support, reflected in the funding agreements from 1999* (DCMS, 1998a: Foreword).

Agreements

DCMS's obligation to account for its progress and demonstrate that it is 'delivering improvements in public services', like those of other departments, is articulated in its Public Service Agreement. According to the Treasury, Public Service Agreements which were introduced through the 1998 Comprehensive Spending Review constitute 'a clear commitment to the public on what they can expect for their money', although another source suggests that they are, in effect, departments' contract with the Treasury (House of Commons, 1999: para 21).

Public Service Agreements essentially motivate departments to deliver on the government's agenda. They are tied to biennial Spending Reviews, and outline each department's aims, objectives and its specific and measurable targets for the following three years, thus enabling government to monitor whether they are indeed delivering 'better public services' and how effectively its resources are being used (HM Treasury, 2000). They determine the nature of departments' core activities, and inform their annual reporting.

DCMS's targets are ultimately delivered by its non-departmental public bodies, as specified in their funding agreements which were reformulated to

> *… set out the overall aims and objectives of the Department, any particular aims for the sector in question and the aims and objectives of the quango. They then set out what the department view as 'explicit and challenging statement of the outputs and levels of performance expected of sponsored bodies over the funding period* (House of Commons, 1999: paras 11).

So, while there might be some question as to how challenging targets actually are, funding agreements constitute the tool through which DCMS gives direction; sets targets and chases progress; and, 'where appropriate, will take direct action to make sure that its objectives are achieved' (DCMS, 1998a).

While DCMS primarily depends on its sponsored bodies, it is also concerned with developing the efficacy of its policies and improving the delivery of public services via local authorities and regional bodies. It regards local authorities' cultural services are ideally placed to

> *… make a considerable contribution to the wider aims of both central and local government, whether tackling social exclusion; encouraging healthier lifestyles; providing opportunities for voluntary and community activity; sparking urban and rural regeneration; or stimulating a commitment to lifelong learning, as well as enriching people's lives* (DCMS, 1999: 3).

Local authorities are encouraged to produce Local Cultural Strategies, which take on board the aims of objectives of DCMS, other government departments, lottery developments and the Best Value regime. These documents are also expected to set out how their implementation will be reviewed – what performance indicators and means of quantitative and qualitative assessment will be used, and what targets set. Individual local authorities are also entering into Local Public Service Agreements, which set out the authority's commitment to deliver specific improvements and the government's commitment to reward these improvements.

If in its first term, government was establishing departmental priorities, it has been suggested that in its second term, the government is expecting its first-tier and other 'service delivery organisations', including local authorities, to demonstrate their responsiveness and effectiveness in the delivery of those objectives. Their responses are considered in the next section.

Part 4 Claiming to deliver on the agenda

In some quarters, the dominance of the government's agenda and the notion of the arts and museums as a panacea for various social ills, is regarded as an anathema. However, numerous initiatives by DCMS constituencies, nevertheless, suggest that cultural sector bodies are not only amenable to the government's concerns, but that they believe in or are more than ready to advocate their domains' potential to deliver. Indeed, swathes of the subsidised cultural sector – which are only now being mainstreamed – claim to have been delivering on social issues for some time. This section considers some of the claims that the cultural sector and its advocates have made in respect to delivering on the social and economic agendas.

Challenging the 'new orthodoxy'

Both the arts and the museums sector have recently been accused of apathy in the face of the 'new orthodoxy' – 'the monotonous whine' of 'vacuous slogans of relevance, accessibility and inclusiveness' (Ryan, 2001: 8). This is probably most clearly articulated in the litany of claims attributed to the arts by DCMS: 'the arts are good for your health'; 'the arts have a key role in making our society a better place to live'; 'the arts… can help tackle crime' (DCMS, 2000c; 2001b, 2002b). But, it is people-centered museums that are perceived as being at the core of this new orthodoxy. Their missions around 'empowerment, inclusiveness, diversity and customer satisfaction' are said to combine the ideologies of the economic right and the cultural left, and it is suggested that they threaten the very 'existence of the museum as such… the collection, preservation and study of objects deemed to be of artistic, historic or scientific interest' (Appleton, 2001: 15). They are accused of dumbing down; questions have been asked about the appropriateness of the government's recruitment of cultural organisations to combat social exclusion, and their ability to deliver on 'joined up' policies; it is intimated that social policy issues could be delivered more cost effectively by other areas of activity; and that the sector is making itself susceptible to having to accommodate shifting perceptions of benefits which might be subject to revised political judgments.

Nevertheless, responses by the sector to such accusations imply that parts of it, at least, are willing to participate in, if not actively inform, this new orthodoxy. Indeed, a high degree of convergence, for instance, seems to have existed between the government and the Regional Museums Task Force whose case for additional funding for major regional museums was made on the basis of developing the capacity to deliver on the government's agenda (Regional Museums Task Force, 2001). Numerous other initiatives amongst DCMS's constituencies suggest that cultural sector organisations are not only amenable to the government's concerns, but that they believe in, or are opportunistically prepared to advocate their domains' potential to deliver. It probably goes without saying, that this signals the further diminution of the arm's length principle, which – according to a parliamentary Select Committee enquiry – 'now embraced ministers setting the financial, administrative, legal and overall policy framework for the public bodies', with the bodies themselves retaining 'a considerable measure of independence in individual decision making' (House of Commons, 1999: para 32).

Claims

The Secretary of State's assertion that the arts and sport deliver key outcomes in terms of combating social exclusion (Policy Action Team 10, 1999: 2) not only echoed a number of similar claims, but inspired a cascade of similar assertions by first-tier bodies, local government bodies and other sectoral bodies. Consequently, the literature is replete with publications asserting the vital contribution of the arts. But, what kind of impact is it that these activities are claimed to be delivering?

The basis of the model by which claims have been made for the sector was established in the mid-1990s in relation to small scale, arts-based, neighbourhood community and participatory projects. These might be temporary, event- or process-driven, and had effectively been neglected by the emphasis on economically-driven, prestige, cultural regeneration. The promotion of social impact was essentially driven by the consultancy, Comedia, which in 1993 began lobbying for support to prove the effectiveness of 'investing in socially orientated arts initiatives'.

> *All kinds of arts projects can have a social impact be that a neighbourhood project to increase commitment and involvement with a local community; a project with disabled people to increase skills and life choices; and arts in hospital projects to increase the quality of that caring environment, and initiative with prisoners to prepare them to re-enter the outside world or a community play to create common ground between people of different ages* (Landry et al, 1993: Executive Summary).

In its series of publications around social impact, which most notably included François Matarasso's report, *Use or Ornament? The social impact of participation in the arts* (1997)[3], Comedia distinguished arts-based projects from other social programmes on the basis of their uniqueness, but more importantly claimed such projects' credentials as a tool for social renewal – in that they enhanced social cohesion; improved local image; reduced offending behaviours; promoted interest in the local environment; developed self-confidence; built public/private sector partnerships; explored identities and visions of the future; enhanced organisational capacity; and, supported independence.

Other typologies of claims for public projects are couched in broadly similar terms (Hall and Robertson, 2001). They identify the development of a sense of community identity, of place, of civic identity; projects' ability to address community needs, tackle social exclusion, provide educational value and, promote social change. The prevalence of these assertions is hardly surprising given projects' reliance on common sources.

But, despite – or perhaps because of – this prevailing orthodoxy it has become increasingly pressing for a distinction to be drawn between advocacy and evidence, and potential and fact. While there is a large body of research, documented case studies and anecdotes, which are used to illustrate the impact of the arts, the sector is under increasing pressure to provide 'robust' evidence. The ways in which it has been going about this, and the current state of play, are discussed in Part 5.

3. See, for example, Matarasso , 1999; 1998; 1996; Matarasso and Pilling, 1999; Williams, 1997; Moriarty, 1997.

Part 5 Constructing the evidence-base

This section considers how DCMS, its agencies and others have been attempting to produce evidence of social impact, in particular, to demonstrate what difference the cultural sector is making to the social agenda. It considers how the sector has set about pursuing such evidence; how these efforts have been informed; and, what limitations characterise the evidence so far.

The 'holy grail'

As already suggested, DCMS is necessarily motivated by certain kinds of pragmatism – all of which require 'evidence' as in the need for answers to questions like 'Where are we now? What is the current position?'; the fact that it is driven by common sense dictates – as in 'We cannot do very much about developing a cultural policy unless we have statistics to inform it' (Mark Fisher cited in Shaw, 1998); its requirement to demonstrate the effectiveness of its policies; and, its desire to secure a more prominent position on the political agenda for cultural activities.

Despite the existence of funding agreements for the national museums and galleries, DCMS is failing to produce much in the way evidence of social impact from that particular sector (Selwood, 2002). The bulk of responsibility to deliver on the government's agenda is manifest in the burgeoning research capacity of the department's first-tier organisations and number of research reports commissioned. These bodies are attempting to involve the rest of the sector through the dissemination of project evaluations (which have come to be regarded as providing evidence of social and learning impact as well as raising awareness of what can be achieved and how) and toolkits, guidelines, frameworks and standards, designed to encourage and help organisations themselves to capture evidence of the impact of their projects. This very concentration of effort dedicated to identifying and extracting evidence of impact across the whole of the sector is such that it has been described as

> *the huge search to find the 'holy grail' – the answer to the question why fund the arts or more precisely show us why funding the arts will cure the sick, raise the dead and eradicate world poverty* (Hamilton, 2002).

As implied, the evidence is elusive. Commentators have been remarking on the lack of a serious and robust evidence-base for the arts and museums for nearly a decade (Landry et al 1993: Executive Summary). And, a number of recent reports published by DCMS, the Arts Council of England, Resource and on behalf of local authorities make the same point (Policy Action Team 10, 1999; DCMS, 2000a; Shaw, 1999; Reeves, nd; Bridgwood, 2002; Jermyn, 2001). So, given its very evident frustrations with the lack of evidence, what has the sector been doing to improve the situation and move beyond the rhetoric? How is it bridging the gap between advocates' enthusiasm to show what difference the sector is making and the cassandras who suggest that what limited evidence exists indicates that 'museums have had really very little impact on their communities' (Newman and McLean, 2000:7 cited by Wavell et al, 2002).

Two of DCMS's first-tier bodies – the Arts Council and Resource – have been approaching the problem along broadly similar lines. Both organisations' current research agendas list their commitments to ground clearing exercises – scanning what data already exist and critically assessing it in the light of its potential value to the establishment of an evidence-base for informing strategic initiatives.

Groundwork

Having established what already exists in terms of statistics and impact evaluations, Resource's experience, in particular, suggests that mining extant data for evidence of social impact, in particular, is relatively unproductive, if critically revealing. One recent statistical report, for example, noted that the existing body of quantitative data is not only 'patchy, inconsistent and incomplete, but that it fails to generate any useful information on the outcomes of the services or on the impact they make' (Cultural Heritage Consortium 2002). By definition, its findings comply with a growing consensus of opinion that 'the scientific model of research is unlikely to provide the kind of assessment required'.

> *Convincing hard data are also difficult to come by beyond the (perhaps not so) simple monitoring of participants from different groups. Sometimes through despair and frustration and sometimes through natural inclination, some have dismissed a naïve faith in the validity and reliability of quantitative measures of participation as indicators of inclusion* (Leeds Metropolitan University, 2002: 29).

Given the widespread acceptance of the value of qualitative data in understanding and assessing impact, a second piece of research, also commissioned by Resource, pulled together the available evidence from a varied range of evaluations based on 'soft' (qualitative) indicators related to social impact, learning impact, economic impact and access (Wavell et al, 2002).

Amongst the most frequent approaches used were the aggregation of case studies, project evaluations, cameos, 'pen portraits of particular projects or initiatives, brief accounts of engagement with specific groups in the community, and anecdotal quotes from staff, project workers and… project participants' (Wavell et al, 2002: 12). These characterise a number of advocacy cum policy documents published by DCMS and the Arts Council. But, few pass muster in relation to current critiques of the evidence, which have been prompted as much by scepticism about the apparent bias in most of the literature, as by the need to base policy development on an impartial and robust evidence-base.

Criticisms of evidence of impact assessment

Several critical reviews of the available evidence on the impact of cultural projects have been published within the past year or so (Centre for Leisure & Sport Research, 2002; Wavell et al, 2002; Reeves, 2002; Jermyn, 2001; Coulter, 2001, DCMS, 2002c). They include meta-analyses which cover a mass of individual documents; they tend to have been driven by the government's priorities around education, employment, crime and health; and, they mostly analyse the robustness of the existing evidence and the methodologies employed. And, they reveal a consensus of opinion which questions the validity of much of the evidence presented, particularly with respect to:

- the non-substantiation of claims;
- the prevailing culture of cultural institutions, and their lack of evaluative experience;
- the limited jurisdiction of projects and their potential to influence outcomes; and
- the lack of robustness of the methodologies used, the quality of evidence gathered and a failure of reporting of methods, which ultimately undermines the validity of what evidence exists.

In terms of the non-substantiation of claims and the prevailing culture, for example, it has been suggested that

> *Rather than illustrating actual impact, these studies tend to provide evidence of engagement with the local community and of the organisations' belief in their potential to make a social impact* (Wavell et al, 2002: 31).

They identify various sectoral characteristics that are impeding institutions' ability to move forward with the collection of relevant data, including senior managers' fear of the implications of visitor-centeredness – not least dumbing down – and arts practitioners' fear that evaluations of what they do may detract from their achievement by loosing

> *… something very precious… that the complexity of an experience which includes relationship, enjoyment, learning, exploration, expression will be destroyed, diluted or reduced* (Moriarty, 1997).

Project organisers are regarded as having little or no incentive to collect data, and many lack the resources to do so. They may have little understanding of evaluation processes, and what has been done may have been carried out in a haphazard manner. Even when data are collected, it may not be analysed. Institutions may prioritize promoting their activities to key stakeholders and casting projects in a good light. Consequently, outputs (such as participants' continued involvement) often suffice for outcomes, and users are effectively bypassed in the process. Relatively few projects are even able to identify the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants.

It is observed that projects are liable to raise expectations beyond what they can deliver – not least in order to increase their chances of securing funding. In practice, some can only offer a limited sphere of influence. Projects may simply be 'self-fulfilling' and satisfy participants' needs by definition; others can only have limited success in 'opening doors' to 'people typically seen to be disenfranchised'. Moreover, the remit of individual project evaluations is fairly limited, and the manifestations by which the success of projects might be judged – increased self-esteem, employment, social inclusion – tend to occur outside their jurisdiction (Leeds Metropolitan University, 2002: 82-83).

A key issue affecting the quality of current evaluations is the lack of, and need for, appropriate methodologies to examine impact. Criticisms focus on the lack of systematically gathered hard evidence which might, for instance, enable projects' effectiveness against their proposed outcomes to be assessed; causality to be attributed; or, long term as opposed to immediate impacts examined. So, while there may be evidence of actual impact for particular individuals at specific points in time – something reinforced by an emphasis on 'critical incidents' – the methodologies used cannot reveal long term or sustained impacts (how, for instance, immediate engagement with the learning environment creates change or impact in the individual, group or community). It follows that little consideration is paid to securing baseline data against which change might be measured.

Other shortcomings identified include the reference groups that evaluations are based on. In general, these tend to refer to staff and project workers rather than project participants – which undermines the theoretical validity of user-based evaluation. Another frequently cited shortcoming is the identification and use of appropriate and meaningful indicators of impact.

It is also said that 'interpretation problems plague studies' (DCMS, 2002c: 3) and that the over-determined use of 'project evaluations by policy makers may even be distorting the true picture of an impact or deflecting attention away from the more significant areas of impact' (Wavell et al, 2002: x). Commentators have called for a culture of more 'balanced' research, in which the reporting of specific examples of people who have achieved something valuable through projects rises above the status of 'pure happenstance' by a more compelling case being made by the inclusion of counter examples (Leeds Metropolitan University, 2002: 29).

The lack of reporting of methodologies themselves introduces another layer of doubt. Credibility as to the validity of evidence and its analysis is undermined by the absence of such details as the number of participants surveyed; how data were collected; what techniques or procedures were used; and the presentation of detailed results.

Finally, the lack of robust evidence frustrates the possibility of meeting the political aspirations of building up a comprehensive picture of the social impact of the sector and indicating its relative value for money. There are real problems in aggregating existing data. As DCMS (2002c) itself has observed, neither case studies, nor research based on small samples can be generalised from, and given that 'reliable' studies tend to vary in design and assessment, 'the evidence they provide is often inconsistent and even contradictory'. Going back to the government's concern with 'value for money' – whatever the benefits, the lack of identifiable outcomes means that 'we do not have enough information to judge whether such gains are enough or are efficiently and effectively gained'.

Many of these same criticisms have been levelled at Matarasso's work in particular (Merli, 2002; Belfiore, 2002). *Use or Ornament?* (1997), referred to above, not only claimed to be the first report to specifically identify and assess evidence of the social impact of participation in the arts, but proposed much of what subsequently became accepted within mainstream qualitative research – surveying participants rather then institutions, addressing outcomes rather than outputs. Like *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain* (Myerscough, 1988), *Use or Ornament?* exerted considerable political influence and effectively consolidated a 'near-consensus in Britain amongst cultural policy makers'. But, its critics assert that the report is 'flawed in its design, execution and conceptual basis', that the data collected cannot support the conclusions reached, and that the methodology and the analysis are suspect. One example cited is Matarasso's default to intuition in the face of not being able to attribute causality:

> *… it cannot be denied that there is a cumulative power in the hundreds of voices we have heard over the past 18 months, in vastly different circumstances, explaining again and again how important they feel participation in arts projects has been for them. How many swallows does it take to make a summer?* (Matarasso, 1997: 6 cited by Wavell et al, 2002: 14 and Belfiore, 2002: 99).

Given the extent of Matarasso's influence, these criticisms throw the whole project of evidencing the social impact of the cultural sector into doubt. They also implicate the methodological competence of those policy makers who have promoted approaches to evaluating social impact based on his findings – not least DCMS, which aided and abetted the successful dissemination of Matarasso's work by its citation in the Secretary of State's speeches (Merli, 2002: 107) and the author's involvement in initiatives set up by department and others (for example, Policy Action Team 10, 1999; QUEST, 2002; Essex County Council, 2001).

Part 6 To close

Many of DCMS's concerns – both from the perspective of its objectives and in terms of its accountability – were inherited from the DNH. Before the 1997 election, the department had already established initiatives around: access, including plans for culture online; museum education; the nurturing of young talent; participatory projects and community development, as a way of contributing to neighbourhood renewal. It had begun to shift the focus of lottery funding away from capital prestige projects to local community projects. It introduced funding agreements and it attempted to monitor the impact of its funding. The development of all these has massively accelerated under DCMS via a controlling bureaucratic system intended to ensure the delivery of government objectives and increased funding, including sums specifically earmarked for the delivery of specific objectives.

So, to all intents and appearances, cultural policy is driving an immanent process in which the gathering of evidence about its impact has assumed centre stage. And, as a result of initiatives going back to the 1980s we have by now accumulated a mass of primary data. But, what is it – and the recent critical analyses of it – telling us?

According to QUEST, DCMS's watchdog, the existing and varied mass of research carried out to date is unlikely to offer much of a way forward because it's never been

> *pulled together to provide the sector with a clear view of current knowledge or the ability to influence future research priorities. Emerging policy and practice cannot therefore benefit ...*

Moreover, it suggests that

> *One of the results of these separate but related issues is that rhetoric, practice and evidence gathering are only rarely heading in the same direction* (QUEST, 2002:2).

This very disparity prompted QUEST's former Chief Executive to observe that organisations that are supposed to provide data about their social impact are locked into a 'nightmare–cycle' in which the funding bodies' need to be seen to be making a difference to the social agenda; and in which organisations are cast as agents of social change; and, in which evaluation needs to be carried out over a long timescale which doesn't accord with funding rounds. So, it 'ends up with no research being done because it's likely to show that what you're doing doesn't work' (Suter, 2002).

What, then, might it take to improve the state of data collection on the UK cultural sector – to provide something which provides evidence of impact, which is capable of measuring change, and which could support evidence-based policy? The critical literature suggests that

- the political mission;
- the notion of what might actually constitute 'robust' evidence; and,
- how systems of data gathering and analysis could be rationalised so as to produce meaningful indicators need addressing.

The political mission

Whatever the arguments for or against the appropriateness of cultural organisations being cast as 'centres for social inclusion', the critical literature suggests that there is a broader debate surfacing about the paternalism implicit in government's attitudes. Cultural policy makers have been compared to 'missionaries' and questions asked about their fundamental assumptions – that 'benevolence' is actually capable of problem solving or removing the structural conditions that cause deprivation and exclusion. Critics have also wondered about the ethics of imposing 'modes of behaviour on the poor, which the rest of society has rejected' (as in community centres, self-help groups, etc); the desire 'to transform the culture of studied communities and make them more similar to their own culture and values'; and, the implications of changing, if not 'emancipating the researched' (Merli, 2002). While Matarasso's appeal for DCMS lay in his advocating that 'the real purpose of the arts' is 'to contribute to a stable, confident and creative society', other consultants employed by the department more recently regard as pejorative the fact that much of the extant sectoral work they have reviewed on its behalf is 'redolent of social engineering' (Leeds Metropolitan University, 2002: 87).

Achieving robust data

Apart from questions about social change, much discussion has focused on the evidence. It has been suggested that the sector's failure to capture this sometimes '… extends to a rejection of the idea that there is any point in engaging in evaluation at all'. And, while

> *the feeling that confidence, esteem, community cohesion, etc are not amenable to quantitative measurement may be perfectly correct … the challenge then has to be to identify what does constitute 'evidence'* (Leeds Metropolitan University, 2002: 29).

It's hardly surprising, then, that policy and funding bodies are keen to establish principles as to what might constitute robustness in evaluations, and what kind of qualities should characterise future attempts at data gathering.

DCMS's own guide to 'robustness' assumes that 'good quality, reliable policy evidence' needs

- large, representative and unbiased samples of the relevant populations, so that the research results can be generalised to the whole population;
- random assignment of participants to receive the 'treatment' (ie policy intervention) or not, which should ideally occur in a 'double blind' situation – in which neither the investigator/assigner nor the subjects know whether the 'treatment' or even a non-active placebo is actually going to be delivered;
- well-matched control and 'treatment' groups, so that the effects of the 'treatment' can be isolated (i.e. other things held constant); and
- adequate time within the study for the 'treatment' to be fully administered and for its monitoring and evaluation, to allow any post-'treatment' impacts to be fully developed and measured (DCMS, 2002c: 8).

And, the Arts Council's identification of 'issues' and 'challenges' to be addressed by way of improving the evidence-base points to the need to: clear up conceptual confusion, including defining 'social exclusion'; identify where to intervene; develop appropriate measures and indicators; identify long term vs short term outcomes and changes; attribute causality; establish

research methodology including the size of samples; encourage evaluation; and, make assessments about the quality of work (Bridgwood, 2002: Jermyn, 2001).

Revising the bureaucratic framework

Other players are more concerned with rethinking the overall system than the detail. QUEST (2002), for instance, proposed a wider-ranging bureaucratic solution – particularly focused on how to move things forward for DCMS's non-departmental public bodies. It suggests a new analytical framework to help these organisations to clarify and locate what they are trying to achieve within a specific range of possible responses; the identification of a set of issues around which sectoral standards could be developed, to help install a consistency of process across DCMS sponsored sectors and to spread good practice; and, the devising of a limited set of performance measures that could be used in DCMS's funding agreements and conceivably extended to all organisations within the funding system.

DCMS simply suggested a lighter touch:

> *There should … be a greater degree of trust between the funded organisations and their funders… As an example, those cultural institutions which are artistically and managerially excellent might be allocated a long term funding deal… lightly monitored.*

This would have the effect of 'freeing' 'our best artists and creative professionals from the excessive bureaucracy that stifles them' (DCMS, 2001d: 3 &12).

Compliance

But if the major players acknowledge that the current system isn't working and that the evidence-base is far from watertight, and if commentators are expressing doubts as to the department's assurances that it can deliver on its social agenda – where does this leave those cultural organisations which are supposed to be providing the data, which have been described as neither convincing nor robust? What kind of pressure are they under to comply with an approach which, at worst, could be said to be just 'muddling through'.

It was always implied that any failure to deliver on targets would be that of organisations in receipt of funding, and – despite some ambiguity – DCMS planned for remedial action (House of Commons, 1999: para 22). However, the department has tended not to contemplate the prospect of its own failings in publicly available documents. Yet, the possibility has been considered. Back in 1999, for example – when the new generation of funding agreements were just coming on stream – the Culture, Media and Sport Select Committee suggested that if targets were not met, it would most likely be for 'reasons outside a quango's direct control or because of the incomplete or inadequate nature of the targets' (House of Commons, 1999: para 23). And, government departments have subsequently been seen to be having some difficulties in meeting their targets and providing evidence of their successes (HM Treasury (2002). So, it was – perhaps – not surprising that the Chief Secretary to the Treasury recently implied that government was adopting a rather softer approach to the non-delivery of targets than was previously assumed, by announcing that

> *the system of targets aimed to deliver value for public money out of public spending… carried no sanction for departments that failed to hit them…*

> *There was never any question that: 'Oh if we don't meet this target, our money's going to be cut. The purpose is to focus minds, and get people to work together better…* (Paul Boateng cited by Blitz and Crooks, 2002).

Whether these comments actually had to do with clearing up a 'misapprehension' or are evidence of backtracking, they nevertheless raise a host of questions – not just about delivering on targets, but about the use of evidence in general. So, how valuable has the pursuit of data collection in the cultural sector actually been? Whatever the discussions about the quality of evidence gathered, the use to which it is put ultimately has to do with tensions implicit in government – in the relationship between investigation and political decision-making; between politicians' receptivity to new research and determined ideology; between rational, evidence-based policy and intuitive politics; between the timescale required to research impact and politicians' immediate requirements for information (Walker, 2001). But, until the cultural bureaucracy's analysis of data is guaranteed and until the evidence gathered can be seen to be being used constructively, it could be argued that collecting data has been a relatively pointless exercise.

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Session 4

Consommation et pratiques culturelles : perspectives nationale et internationale

Mardi, 22 octobre 2002

Cultural Consumption and Practices : A National and Cross-National Perspective

Tuesday, October 22, 2002

Conférenciers

Gilles Pronovost — Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières, Trois-Rivières, Canada

Yves Évrard — Groupe HEC, Paris, France

Rubén Nájera — Association for the Advancement of Social Sciences in Guatemala, AVANCSO, Guatemala City, Guatemala

Vladimir Bina, — Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, Zoetermeer, The Netherlands

Rubén Gutiérrez del Castillo — Fundación Autor/Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, SGAE, Madrid, España

Il n'a malheureusement pas pu assister au colloque.

Lecturers

Unfortunately he did not attend the symposium.

Président de la session

Patricio Chaves — UNESCO, Social and Human Sciences Unit for Latin America and the Caribbean, Mexico, Mexico

Chair of the session

Résumé de la session

par Benoit Allaire
Observatoire de la culture et
des communications du Québec

Session Report

by Benoit Allaire
Observatoire de la culture et
des communications du Québec

Résumé de la conférence de M. Rubén Nájera

La conférence de M. Nájera porte sur le développement d'indicateurs culturels au Guatémala. M. Nájera explique comment l'histoire des relations ethniques au Guatémala y a façonné le développement des politiques culturelles et des besoins en indicateurs culturels. Après avoir tenté d'opérationnaliser les concepts de Pierre Bourdieu à la situation guatémaltèque, les chercheurs se sont tournés vers l'utilisation de base de données existantes, d'enquêtes sur le terrain, d'entrevues et de sondages. Pour la première fois depuis des décennies, le Guatémala disposait d'indicateurs quantitatifs sur la consommation culturelle, l'activité culturelle, les emplois et l'accès à la culture. La publication de ces donnée a eu un impact important en montrant que le secteur culturel contribuait pour moins de 1 % au PIB.

Outline of the lecture given by Mr. Rubén Nájera

The lecture of Mr. Nájera deals with cultural indicators in Guatemala. Mr. Nájera explains how the history of ethnic relations in Guatemala shaped the development of cultural policies and of cultural indicator needs. After attempting to put into action the concepts of Pierre Bourdieu in Guatemala, researchers turned to field investigations, interviews, surveys and existing databases. For the first time in decades, Guatemala was able to use quantitative indicators on cultural consumption, cultural activities, employment and culture access. Releasing this information had a significant impact because it showed that the cultural sector contributed less than 1% of the GDP.

Résumé de la conférence de M. Gilles Pronovost

La conférence de M. Pronovost porte sur les enquêtes de participation culturelle. Selon M. Pronovost, les statistiques issues de telles enquêtes devraient faire partie des indicateurs de comparaison entre les pays, lorsque c'est possible. La plupart de ces enquêtes ont pour but de mesurer la participation culturelle afin d'évaluer l'efficacité des politiques culturelles dans un contexte de démocratisation de la culture. Malgré leurs limites méthodologiques, les enquêtes de participation constituent une base d'informations inestimable à cause de leur pérennité. Toutefois, les comparaisons internationales restent souvent très difficiles à cause de la

Outline of the lecture given by Mr. Gilles Pronovost

This lecture deals with cultural participation surveys. According to Mr. Pronovost, statistics stemming from these surveys should form a part of comparative indicators between countries, when possible. Most of these surveys focus on measuring cultural participation in order to evaluate the effectiveness of cultural policies within a context of cultural democratization. Despite their methodological limitations, participation surveys represent an invaluable basis of information due to their continuity. However, international comparisons are difficult to make due to the diversity of definitions and the formulation of questions.

diversité dans les définitions et la formulation des questions. Ces enquêtes sont malgré tout fort utiles pour décrire l'évolution des pratiques culturelles et des publics au sein d'un même pays. M. Pronovost conclut en soulignant la nécessité de repenser le projet initial de ces enquêtes, basé sur la participation à la culture savante.

Résumé de la conférence de M. Yves Évrard

La conférence de M. Évrard porte sur la mesure de la consommation culturelle. M. Évrard soutient que la mesure de la consommation culturelle doit dépasser la mesure du moment de consommation pour s'orienter vers la compréhension de cette consommation comme un processus où s'articulent les processus de choix qui précèdent le moment de consommation comme tel, l'expérience de ce moment, et l'évaluation de l'expérience de consommation ou la satisfaction. Pour palier les insuffisances des approches actuelles de mesure de la satisfaction appliqués au domaine culturel, M. Évrard propose un modèle de compréhension de la valeur culturelle basé sur deux dimensions : l'orientation de la consommation comme moyen ou comme fin en soi et l'orientation de la consommation vers soi ou vers les autres. M. Évrard termine en soulignant la nécessité de mieux comprendre les rapports entre les créateurs, les œuvres et les publics.

Résumé de la conférence de M. Vladimir Bina

La conférence de M. Bina porte sur les changements relatifs à la participation aux activités culturelles qui sont apparus au cours des cinquante dernières années aux Pays-Bas. M. Bina constate que l'augmentation de la fréquentation des équipements culturels traditionnels (musées, opéras, etc.) est moins forte que ce à quoi on pouvait s'attendre compte tenu de la hausse du niveau de scolarité de la population, que l'intérêt des jeunes pour les formes traditionnelles de la culture est en

Nevertheless, these surveys are very useful when describing the evolution of cultural practices and of the public within the same country. Mr. Pronovost concludes by pointing out the necessity to rethink the initial project on these surveys, based on the participation of the elite culture.

Outline of the lecture given by Mr. Yves Évrard

The lecture of Mr. Évrard deals with measuring cultural consumption. Mr. Évrard maintains that the action of measuring cultural consumption must go beyond that of measuring the moment of consumption in order to move towards understanding this consumption as a process. This process links the choosing process that comes before the moment of consumption, the experience itself and the evaluation of the consumption experience or the satisfaction to one another. To overcome the deficiencies of current approaches aiming to measure satisfaction in the cultural field, Mr. Évrard suggests a model to understand cultural value that is based on two aspects: the direction of consumption as a means or an end in itself and the direction of consumption toward us or others. Mr. Évrard ends by underlining the necessity to understand the connection between the creators, their creations and the public.

Outline of the lecture given by Mr. Vladimir Bina

This lecture addresses the changes in cultural activity participation that have occurred over the last fifty years in the Netherlands. Mr. Bina observes that the increase of attendance to traditional culture events (museums, operas, etc) is not as high as one might expect given the higher level of schooling of the population. He has also observed that the interest of young persons in traditional forms of culture is declining from one generation to another; that ethnic minorities seldom participate in the

déclin d'une génération à l'autre; que les minorités ethniques participent très peu à la vie culturelle, quoique cette dernière situation est en bonne voie d'amélioration. Ces changements impliquent des modifications importantes aux fonctions sociales de la culture, telles la fonction critique, la stratification sociale, la fonction de divertissement et la fonction esthétique. Les politiques culturelles ont de plus en plus de la difficulté à tenir compte de ces changements puisqu'elles sont définies le plus souvent par des experts des milieux artistiques et culturels et s'écartent des demandes du public en général.

Compte rendu de la discussion en séance plénière

La discussion s'ouvre sur les limites actuelles des enquêtes de participation culturelle et sur leur nécessité. Tant en Europe qu'en Amérique du Nord ces enquêtes montrent une diminution de la participation aux activités culturelles d'élite au profit d'une participation accrue aux activités liées à la culture populaire. Il est souligné que plus souvent qu'autrement, ces enquêtes ne mettent pas en relation la participation culturelle avec d'autres activités. À cet égard, les enquêtes de budgets-temps permettent, dans une certaine mesure, de pallier cet inconvénient.

Une autre limite des enquêtes de participation culturelle réside dans le biais de la désirabilité sociale de certains comportements culturels. Là aussi, les enquêtes de budgets-temps permettraient de neutraliser en partie cet effet. Un autre problème est manifeste quand vient le temps de savoir qui consomme tel ou tel produit culturel et pourquoi, et on donc très peu d'information sur les œuvres. Certains participants estiment que des méthodes de type qualitatif seraient plus appropriées que les enquêtes statistiques pour aborder les questions de contenus.

cultural scene, although this situation is improving agreeably. These changes have modified significantly the social functions of culture, such as the critic function, the entertainment function, the aesthetic function and social stratification. It is increasingly difficult for cultural policies to consider these changes because they usually are defined by experts from the artistic and cultural communities and deviate from the demands of the population in general.

Outline of the discussion held during the plenary session

The discussion opens on the current limitations of cultural participation surveys and their necessity. Both in Europe and in North America, these studies show a decrease in elite cultural activity participation to the advantage of increased participation in activities linked to popular culture. If is mentioned that, more often than not, these studies do not establish a relationship between cultural participation and other activities. However, time budget surveys allow to offset this inconvenient to a certain extent.

Another limitation of cultural participation surveys lies in the bias of the social desirability of certain cultural behaviour. Once more, time budget surveys allow to neutralize this effect partially. However, another problem emerges when comes the time to find out who consumes such or such a cultural product and why because there is so little information on the creations. Some participants believe that qualitative-based methods would be able to address content issues more appropriately than statistical surveys.

D'autres participants concluent à l'échec des politiques de démocratisation de la culture et estiment qu'il est dorénavant plus important de comprendre la participation culturelle plutôt que de la mesurer et que des méthodes qualitatives seraient alors à privilégier.

À propos de l'impact des enquêtes de participation culturelle sur les politiques culturelles, plusieurs participants évoquent la distance qui existe entre les chercheurs et les décideurs politiques. Ces derniers ne sachant trop souvent comment interpréter les résultats qui leur sont fournis. Cette situation est le lot des pays privilégiés où de telles enquêtes existent. Dans beaucoup d'autres pays, il n'y a même pas de politiques culturelles ou même d'institutions pour les établir et les soutenir.

Malgré les limites des enquêtes de participation culturelle, on s'entend sur la nécessité de poursuivre de telles enquêtes et de les étendre à d'autres pays. Ces enquêtes ne devraient pas être seulement une production comptable de statistiques sur les pratiques culturelles, mais aussi une mise en relation des pratiques culturelles avec d'autres variables. Il serait également nécessaire d'étendre les enquêtes de participation culturelle auprès des jeunes pour que les politiques d'éducation tiennent compte des arts et de la culture.

Finalement, il est souligné que les méthodes quantitatives et qualitatives ne s'excluent pas nécessairement et que leur mise en contraste permet souvent de faire émerger d'autres questionnements très productifs. Par ailleurs, il ne faudrait pas oublier que les enquêtes statistiques sont nécessaires pour établir des tendances.

Other participants conclude that cultural democratization policies have failed and consider that it is now more important to understand cultural participation than to measure it; in this respect, qualitative methods should be favoured.

With respect to the impact of cultural participation surveys on cultural policies, many participants mention the gap between researchers and political decision-makers. The decision-makers do not always know how to interpret the results given them. This situation is the fate of privileged countries where such surveys exist. In many other countries, there are no cultural policies or even institutions to establish and support them.

Despite the limitations of cultural participation surveys, we agree on the necessity to continue such surveys and to extend them to other countries. These surveys should be not only a mathematical production of statistics on cultural practices but also a way to connect cultural practices with other variables. It would be necessary to broaden the scope of cultural participation surveys to include young people so that educational policies take into account arts and culture.

Finally, it is pointed out that quantitative and qualitative methods do not necessarily exclude one another and opposing one to the other often gives rise to new productive ways of looking at things. Moreover, one should not forget that statistical surveys are necessary to establish trends.

Gilles Pronovost Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières, Trois-Rivières, Canada

« Un bilan des enquêtes de participation culturelle »

🕮 Résumé

Un très grand nombre d'enquêtes sur la participation culturelle a été réalisé en Occident. Nous allons procéder à un bilan de ce types d'enquête, en nous interrogeant tout d'abord sur les motifs implicites ou explicites à l'origine de ces enquêtes ainsi que les choix de contenu et leur évolution dans le temps. Puis nous allons procéder à un survol des grandes tendances de participation culturelle qui peuvent être relevées. Nous conclurons par un questionnement sur la pertinence et les limites de telles enquêtes. Nous nous interrogerons sur leur avenir. Notre réflexion s'appuiera essentiellement sur les enquêtes réalisées au Québec, en France et aux États-Unis.

🕮 Abstract

A large number of surveys on cultural participation have been conducted in the Western world. We will carry out an assessment of this type of survey by first examining the implicit and explicit reasons behind these surveys, as well as the choice of content and their development over time. We will then skim through the broad cultural participation trends that can be found. We will conclude by examining the relevance and limits of such surveys, and by asking ourselves what their future will be. Our reflection will basically rest on surveys conducted in Quebec, in France and in the United States.

Introduction

De nombreuses enquêtes de participation culturelles ont été réalisées depuis les années soixante-dix dans la plupart des pays occidentaux et dans certains pays de l'Amérique latine et de l'Asie. Je ne suis pas en mesure d'en établir une liste même partielle, mais qu'il suffise de mentionner qu'à ma connaissance pratiquement tous les pays européens de l'Europe de l'Ouest en ont réalisé une, y compris les pays nordiques, l'Angleterre, la France, l'Espagne, l'Italie et l'Allemagne; je sais également que le Mexique, l'Australie et la Nouvelle-Zélande en ont réalisé. De telles enquêtes portent d'ailleurs divers noms : *Arts participation, Arts and Cultural Activities, activités culturelles de loisir, pratiques culturelles*.

De manière très générale, on peut dire que l'une des raisons majeures de la réalisation d'enquêtes sur la participation culturelle, tient au fait que ces sondages s'inscrivaient dans l'idéologie de la démocratisation de la culture issue des politiques culturelles implicites ou explicites des années soixante. En effet, c'est généralement à partir du moment où l'on met en place des dispositifs visant le « développement culturel » (maisons de la culture, création de musées, etc.) que l'on cherche à en mesurer les effets. Les sondages ainsi réalisés ne sont certes pas neutres puisqu'ils visent généralement à mesurer l'accessibilité à la culture... suite à l'intervention des pouvoirs publics. Il est maintenant bien établi que le lien de cause à effet n'est nullement acquis. Les études de participation culturelle ne constituent d'ailleurs que l'un des instruments de mesure envisagés et même mis en place : il y eut les comptes publics de la culture, des systèmes d'indicateurs culturels et même d'ambitieux programmes de statistiques de la culture qui ont connu une très grande vogue dans la décennie de 1970 tout particulièrement.

Une des caractéristiques des enquêtes nationales et internationales est de procéder généralement par des échantillons de population plus ou moins vastes et à intervalles plus ou moins réguliers. Il s'agit en fait de sondages, mais dont le thème est la participation du public à telle ou telle activité, sa fréquentation de tel ou tel établissement culturel, ses habitudes de lecture, etc. Au plan méthodologique, donc, la plupart des enquêtes procèdent d'un même modèle même si, bien entendu, des différences subsistent en termes de modalités de constitution de l'échantillon et de la population visée. La technique consiste à retenir une *sélection* d'activités et à demander aux répondants s'ils ont pratiqué chacune des activités mentionnées dans la liste choisie, au cours d'une certaine période de temps précédant l'enquête (3, 6 ou 12 mois).

La population échantillonnée a souvent été celle âgée de quinze ans et plus, à l'exception notamment des États-Unis et de la première enquête québécoise, dont on a retenu la population de dix-huit ans et plus. On compte également de plus en plus d'études empiriques portant spécifiquement sur les moins de quinze ans, ce qui témoigne de l'élargissement des catégories d'âge associées à la jeunesse et à la culture, d'une extension manifeste de la catégorie de « jeunes » et d'un traitement empirique analogue aux études portant sur les adultes. À l'autre bout de la pyramide des âges, il est significatif de constater que l'on observe de plus en plus d'études de participation culturelle traitant spécifiquement des personnes âgées et des retraités. Bref, après une période d'observation indifférenciée de la « population », on a maintenant tendance à fragmenter davantage les diverses classes d'âge et de sexe. La population des jeunes de moins de 15 ans reste cependant peu étudiée.

Tel que mentionné, ce sont les pouvoirs publics qui ont le plus souvent pris l'initiative de telles études et les ont financées. Il est très rare que l'on n'ait pas répété les enquêtes à au moins une

à deux reprises. Depuis au moins une dizaine d'années se sont aussi ajoutées, aux grands sondages publics, des études particulières commanditées par des institutions culturelles, des mécènes ou les pouvoirs publics.

Des problèmes de comparaison, de construction d'échantillons comparables subsistent toujours, avec lesquels doivent composer les chercheurs et les praticiens. Ce faisant, on mettait à la disposition des chercheurs d'inestimables données sociodémographiques et sociologiques et qui ont mené à de grands travaux de synthèse (par exemple Donnat et Cogneau, 1990).

Le champ d'investigation

Le contenu des enquêtes de participation varie grandement en fonction des commanditaires, des événements et des situations nationales. On peut cependant soutenir que les premiers sondages, tout au moins, renvoyaient essentiellement à la culture savante. L'exemple typique est certainement celui des études américaines qui s'en tiennent à l'assistance à des spectacles d'opéra, de ballet, etc., à la fréquentation de musées et de galeries d'art, à l'écoute de la musique classique; dans les derniers sondages, on y a ajouté quelques questions sur les activités de loisir. Les enquêtes françaises et québécoises font preuve à cet égard d'une plus grande ouverture, puisque si une bonne partie des enquêtes recouvre les champs de compétences du ministère qui s'occupe de culture, on a posé des questions sur les spectacles populaires, les fêtes et même sur la pratique de sports. Notons que la plupart des enquêtes nationales incluent dans leur définition du champ culturel les habitudes de consommation des médias; on trouve généralement, par exemple, une section importante traitant, outre des habitudes de lecture, de l'écoute de la radio, de l'auditoire de la télévision, des préférences musicales, de l'assistance au cinéma : les enquêtes françaises et québécoises sont très diversifiées sur ces thèmes.

Encore une fois, au risque de généraliser, on peut dire que le champ culturel initial visé par les enquêtes de participation culturelle renvoyait en grande partie à une notion de culture savante, que l'on voulait rendre accessible au plus grand nombre; il s'agissait bien de « mesurer » les progrès de la démocratisation de la culture savante. À preuve, certains domaines se retrouvent constamment – musées, habitudes de lectures, assistance à des spectacles de théâtre et des concerts de musique classique tout particulièrement – alors que d'autres domaines gravitent autour de cette sélection première. Les champs d'investigation ont ainsi évolué au fil des changements sociaux et culturels. Par exemple, les médias de masse occupent maintenant une place plus grande que dans les premières enquêtes; les choix télévisuels sont très détaillés dans les dernières enquêtes françaises (mais sont absents des enquêtes commandées par la *National Endowment for the Arts*). On a également élargi la gamme des spectacles retenus, on a tenté de mesurer plus finement les choix musicaux, on a ajouté des questions sur les pratiques en amateur, on a inclus des données sur les pratiques associatives.

On assiste de nos jours à un élargissement certain de la notion de culture. Les documents plus récents portant sur l'évaluation des politiques culturelles ou encore ceux ayant trait à la définition de nouvelles politiques culturelles renvoient à un univers beaucoup plus large, reconnaissant le rôle des médias, celui de l'école, faisant référence à des pratiques culturelles populaires (cinéma, habitudes d'écoute de la musique, etc.) ou à la culture scientifique et technique, bref proposant implicitement ou explicitement une notion plus ouverte de la participation à la culture, que reflètent les sondages récents.

Portée et limite des enquêtes de participation culturelle

Je ne traiterai pas ici des difficultés proprement méthodologiques inhérentes à des sondages dont le contenu varie dans le temps, dont les échantillons ne sont pas toujours comparables et dont les nomenclatures variées posent d'inévitables problèmes de comparaison. Ces difficultés ont été régulièrement abordées dans les essais de synthèse ou d'étude portant sur des séries temporelles. Il ne s'agit nullement d'un cas particulier, puisque tel est le lot de la plupart des études du genre. Je noterai ici cependant qu'il y a peu de consensus au plan international quant au choix des catégories d'activités culturelles; par exemple, la seule fréquentation des musées renvoient très souvent à des libellés différents; l'identification d'une activité aussi simple que la lecture pose problème. Alors que pour prendre le cas des études d'emploi du temps, un certain consensus s'est progressivement dessiné autour de la nomenclature des activités quotidiennes, ce qui rend les comparaisons un peu plus aisées.

Notons, tout d'abord, qu'il s'agit essentiellement d'enquêtes descriptives. Les catégories démographiques utilisées demeurent également très rudimentaires (à l'exception de l'enquête française). Généralement, il n'y a pas de cadre d'analyse. La mise en rapport des pratiques culturelles avec d'autres champs – travail, famille, loisirs, etc. – est pratiquement impossible. Le contexte des activités culturelles, les réseaux sociaux, demeurent pratiquement escamotés.

Une difficulté manifeste est celle de l'écart entre les déclarations des répondants et les pratiques effectives. Si on peut considérer comme une information valable le fait de répondre que l'on est allé au moins une fois au musée au cours des derniers mois, le nombre total déclaré de visites reste fort aléatoire. La période de référence peut être fixe pour le sondage (généralement les douze derniers mois), mais pas nécessairement pour l'informateur dont la mémoire peut fléchir ou se reporter inconsciemment sur une période plus courte ou plus longue. Il n'est pas indifférent d'ailleurs que l'enquête s'étende sur une année entière (comme ce fut généralement le cas pour les premières études françaises), ou se déroule sur une courte période de temps, généralement deux à trois semaines dans la plupart des cas; il n'est pas indifférent non plus que la période de sondage soit située au printemps, à l'été ou à l'automne.

Il faut aussi rappeler, comme on l'a fait en France et aux États-Unis, qu'il ne s'agit pas d'études longitudinales où le même échantillon serait suivi dans le temps. Chacun des sondages reflète autant les transformations des pratiques que les mutations structurelles de la population.

Si l'on s'en tient aux enquêtes et sondages sur le public des arts, ceux-ci tentent d'obtenir une mesure quantitative de la fréquentation de certaines disciplines (théâtre, musique, etc.), de certains établissements (musée, etc.) ou de certains genres (tout particulièrement dans le cas de la musique), tout en faisant appel à des nomenclatures différentes sinon contradictoires (Bellavance, 1994). La synthèse de Donnat et Cogneau (1990) rappelle que les sondages sur les pratiques culturelles sont généralement centrés sur des activités qui relèvent du domaine de compétence ou du champ d'intérêt du commanditaire. Les « données » recueillies portent sur les déclarations que font les sujets individuels quant à leur participation à des activités culturelles, de leur présence à des événements culturels ou de leur fréquentation d'établissements culturels.

Il y a encore le biais culturel souvent explicite dans le choix même des activités sélectionnées dans les enquêtes, biais très souvent fondé soit sur les normes sociales (on choisit des activités qui supposent une référence à ce qui est « actif » plutôt que « passif », même si dans les faits une telle distinction est pratiquement impossible à faire), soit sur des choix de classe sociale particulièrement dans le cas de la culture dite savante ou cultivée (ainsi les musées sont régulièrement mentionnés dans les enquêtes culturelles, mais jamais ou rarement la « contemplation de la nature »). Les informateurs eux-mêmes sont très souvent conscients des activités « les plus nobles » et peuvent avoir tendance à surestimer leur participation en certains cas et à la sous-estimer en d'autres situations; il est ainsi notoire que le temps consacré à la télévision a tendance à être sous-estimé dans les sondages.

Prenons encore l'exemple des « pratiques amateur ». Une enquête française récente (Donnat, 1996) retient une douzaine d'activités relevant du domaine artistique disons « noble » (jouer d'un instrument de musique, écriture, arts plastiques), alors que le sondage américain de 1997 retient la poterie, la broderie et la photographie. Ces choix ne relèvent pas uniquement du hasard, mais de différents univers culturels de référence.

Mentionnons encore la signification même de la « participation » à une activité culturelle, laquelle suppose indéniablement des normes et degrés différents d'implication. Les contraintes des sondages imposent de mettre sur le même pied le fait de lire le journal de manière superficielle ou attentive, de jouer d'un instrument de musique avec des amis ou en solitaire. La fréquentation d'un musée renvoie à une diversité d'approches, de temps et de retour éventuel sur l'événement. L'écoute de la radio peut être faite à titre d'activité d'ambiance ou pour elle-même. Et ainsi de suite.

L'étude des activités culturelles n'est donc qu'une facette des comportements quotidiens. Il s'agit d'un niveau relativement superficiel de la culture. Elle se révèle néanmoins d'un grand intérêt, car elle est met en lumière la structure des comportements, ainsi que les processus sociaux à l'œuvre dans toute société (stratification sociale, stéréotypes, subcultures, etc.). Tel que mentionné, peu de pays occidentaux ont négligé de procéder à au moins une enquête de participation culturelle, de sorte que l'on dispose maintenant de séries temporelles certes sommaires, mais très riches d'informations et de questionnements.

Une certaine image de nous-mêmes

J'ai eu l'occasion d'étudier plus en détail trois séries d'enquêtes : celles réalisées en France, au Québec et aux États-Unis. En voici quelques caractéristiques techniques :

Tableau 1
Enquêtes publiques internationales en matière de participation culturelle, France-Québec-États-Unis

Pays	Année	Taille de l'échantillon	Commanditaires
France	1973-1974	1 987	Ministère de
	1981-1982	3 984	la Culture
	1988-1989	4 997	
	1997	3 002	
Québec	1979	2 983	Ministère de la Culture
	1983	2 316	et
	1989	2 900	des Communications
	1994	4 894	
	1999	5 997	
États-Unis	1982	17 254	National Endowment
	1985	13 675	for the Arts
	1992	12 736	
	1997	12 349	
	2002	En cours	

J'ai réalisé que la comparaison stricte était pratiquement impossible essentiellement en raison de la diversité des nomenclatures. Prenons l'exemple pourtant, à priori facile, des habitudes de lecture. Des trois cas que j'ai étudiés, il faut d'abord exclure les États-Unis, car la seule question posée a varié selon les enquêtes et porte sur la seule lecture de roman, de nouvelles et de poésie, prise en bloc. En France, on interroge les répondants sur leur lecture de quotidiens, magazines ou livres « *tous les jours ou presque* », « *plusieurs fois par semaine* », « *environ une fois par semaine* », « *plus rarement* », « *jamais ou pratiquement jamais* ». Au Québec, on pose la même question en donnant comme réponses possibles : « *très souvent* », « *souvent* », « *rarement* », « *jamais* ». Ici, le libellé des réponses ne permet que des comparaisons approximatives.

Les difficultés sont encore plus importantes pour l'étude des genres de lecture, de livres et de magazines, tout particulièrement. Je met en annexe un tableau présentant les nomenclatures françaises et québécoises. On voit bien que les enquêtes françaises sont très détaillées quant aux genres de romans, tiennent compte des dictionnaires et des encyclopédies, par exemple, alors qu'au Québec on ne tient pas compte des prix littéraires et de la littérature classique, mais on inclut l'ésotérisme et les ouvrages de psychologie populaire.

Les difficultés sont encore plus nombreuses dans la comparaison des genres de musique écoutés ou préférés. À la difficulté des comparaisons s'ajoute celle de la diversité, voire de l'incompatibilité des questions posées. Ainsi, le genre le plus populaire en France renvoie… aux variétés françaises, alors qu'il s'agit de la musique Country-Western aux USA; pour le Québec, les choix sont moins nets. Aux Etats-Unis, on fait aussi mention des genres *Gospel, Big Band, Soul, Reggea, Barbershop*. En France, la *musique internationale* et la *musique du monde* sont

mentionnées et apparaissent comme des genres davantage écoutés. Au Québec, on est les seuls à avoir retenu des genres musicaux reliés aux chansonniers et aux auteurs-compositeurs interprètes. En bref, il s'avère très difficile de comparer vraiment les préférences musicales en raison des différences culturelles, des nomenclatures peu uniformes et du libellé de la question. Mais les quelques comparaisons possibles dessinent des univers musicaux assez spécifiques à chacun des pays étudiés.

De manière plus générale, les enquêtes tiennent compte, à leur manière, d'un noyau culturel renvoyant à la culture savante, mais abordent très différemment d'autres champs, renvoyant à des intérêts culturels différents. Par exemple, les enquêtes françaises sont plus détaillés pour les genres de lecture, tant romans que magazines, le contexte social de la lecture, l'écoute de la télévision (type d'émissions, identification de certaines d'entre elles), les choix de films, la connaissance de certaines personnalités, certaines pratiques en amateur, l'utilisation d'Internet; elles abordent également les « sorties » et les réceptions. Aux États-Unis, l'un des modules les plus intéressants et inédits porte sur la participation culturelle par médias interposés, un autre module porte sur la socialisation à la culture. Au Québec, je dirais que l'on est plus attentif à certains aspects de la culture populaire.

En d'autres termes, les enquêtes de participation culturelle renvoient à une double représentation de la culture : une vision occidentale de la culture savante, un univers périphérique relevant des intérêts culturels propres à une société donnée. Dans ce dernier cas, on peut y retracer une certaine conception du champ de la culture, une représentation culturelle de la culture; ici, ce que l'on tente de mesurer renvoie autant aux catégories dominantes de la culture dans un pays donné qu'à des pratiques spécifiques.

Vaut-il la peine de poursuivre dans cette voie?

Malgré leur limite et les difficultés de comparaison, je suggère de poursuivre de tels genres d'enquêtes; dans le cas contraire, on se priverait d'une source inestimable d'informations sur la participation culturelle, on mettrait fin à une série précieuse de données.

Grâce aux données recueillies, on peut relever les grandes tendances de la participation culturelle en Occident. Ainsi, on a pu noter un mouvement important de diversification des pratiques culturelles que permettent d'étayer les enquêtes déjà réalisées. Cela s'observe par exemple dans la diversification de l'offre muséale et des genres de spectacles (en salle, comme dans la rue), dans la panoplie de loisirs culturels et de pratiques en amateur. D'autres parlent plutôt de *renouvellement* des rapports à la culture (Donnat, 1997; Garon, 1997). La plupart des observateurs ajoutent d'ailleurs qu'un tel renouvellement s'est fait sans véritable rupture ou renversement de tendances; il s'agit d'un mouvement de fond.

De telles enquêtes permettent également d'apporter un certain éclairage sur la question de la démocratisation de la culture, identifier les grands facteurs sociodémographiques qui la freinent. On peut mieux connaître les secteurs de population plus actifs, de même que les exclus de la culture. On peut suivre l'évolution des stéréotypes masculins et féminins, les transformations des pratiques culturelles des jeunes, des retraités, les rapports entre les générations. La plupart des enquêtes identifient constamment de nouveaux champs de pratiques culturelles, par exemple les pratiques en amateur, les festivals, les pratiques culturelles via Internet.

Cependant, on ne peut plus penser le projet initial des enquêtes de participation culturelle de la même manière; j'ai souligné qu'il était fondé sur un certain projet politique de démocratisation de la culture savante. Or, l'élargissement le plus spectaculaire s'est produit dans le domaine de la culture populaire et des pratiques en amateur, dans celui des choix musicaux et des pratiques audiovisuelles… champs que les différentes enquêtes ont tenté d'observer plus ou moins habilement. De nouvelles générations, plus jeunes, portent ces nouvelles pratiques. De sorte que coexistent maintenant plusieurs formes culturelles, ni opposées, ni contradictoires, plutôt en continuité qu'en rupture, et se recoupant d'ailleurs à de nombreux points de jonction. Coexistent également *plusieurs types de public*, que l'on a décrit sous de multiples facettes : les types de participants aux spectacles décrits par Rosaire Garon (*le tragi-comique, le moderne*, etc.[1]), les sept univers culturels décrits par Olivier Donnat (*l'univers de l'exclusion, l'univers du dénuement culturel, l'univers juvénile, l'univers du carrefour de la moyenne, l'univers cultivé classique, l'univers cultivé moderne, l'univers cultivé branché*[2]), et ainsi de suite.

Il s'en suit que l'on ne peut appréhender la participation culturelle seulement à travers les équipements culturels classiques ou les formes classiques de spectacles et d'événements, surtout pas à travers le seul prisme du projet original de démocratie culturelle. Il faut se résoudre à la diversité, à l'hétérogénéité, voire à l'éclectisme.

Après trois décennies d'enquêtes, il est temps de procéder à un examen en profondeur du contenu des questionnaires, compte tenu de l'évolution du projet initial qui présidait à ces enquêtes et de la diversification des formes de pratiques culturelles et d'accès à la culture. Cet examen pourrait tout particulièrement viser : à déterminer les champs qui doivent être maintenus pour des fins de séries statistiques et de comparaison; à identifier un « noyau » fondamental de pratiques culturelles dont on veut poursuivre l'étude dans le temps; et à tenter de standardiser le libellé de certaines questions pour rendre les comparaisons plus faciles. La coopération internationale est donc cruciale.

En regard de l'expérience acquise, une conclusion se dégage : les enquêtes de participation culturelle ne peuvent à elles seules couvrir tout le champ de la culture. Il est devenu indispensable d'y ajouter des enquêtes ponctuelles, scrutant plus en profondeur certains aspects. Sur ce point, on peut donner les deux exemples français suivants : l'étude sur les pratiques en amateur réalisée par Olivier Donnat, l'étude des transmissions familiales en cours.

Une stratégie visant à délimiter le champ de certaines enquêtes ponctuelles pourrait donc être mise en place en même temps que la poursuite des enquêtes générales. Voici des exemples de thèmes qui pourraient être étudiés, avec cette fois des échantillons plus modestes :

- l'évolution des habitudes de lecture;
- la transformation des goûts musicaux;
- les motivations à la participation culturelle, les contextes sociaux, culturels et économiques à cette participation;
- la participation culturelle *familiale* et différenciée selon les types de famille;
- la consommation culturelle via l'Internet;
- les pratiques culturelles des communautés culturelles;

1. 1997, p.124-132.
2. Donnat, 1994, p. 338-343.

- les pratiques culturelles des communautés autochtones;
- les pratiques culturelles des jeunes;
- les pratiques culturelles des enfants;
- la concurrence et les conflits entre temps sociaux, offre de loisirs, participation sportive et pratiques domestiques;
- les « non-publics ».

Rendre les données facilement accessibles

Il est bien connu que les données disponibles ne sont pas l'objet d'une exploitation optimale. Ici, au Canada, Statistique Canada a déjà fait un pas dans cette direction dans le cadre d'une entente avec les universités : par exemple, les dernières enquêtes sociales générales sont déposées dans un site universitaire d'où on peut télécharger les données originales … ainsi que les instructions en format SPSS et SAS, ce qui rend leur exploitation très facile. De même, la création du CADRISQ, le projet de l'UNESCO ici à Montréal, sont certes de nature à faciliter la diffusion et l'exploitation des données d'enquête. Je signale que de plus en plus, aux États-Unis, on peut accéder facilement et simplement aux données d'enquêtes publiques; de son ordinateur, on peut procéder à divers traitements statistiques en direct[3], ce qui est rarement le cas au Québec et au Canada.

Conclusion

Les chercheurs disposent d'environ une trentaine d'années de recul pour procéder à un bilan des enquêtes de participation culturelle. L'expérience acquise est suffisamment riche pour en conclure qu'il faut certes poursuivre cette tradition de recherche. Les expériences de comparaison ou de coopération internationales ne sont pas légion! Mais, à mon sens, le temps est venu de revoir assez en profondeur la nature et la qualité des données recueillies, revoir également le projet initial à l'origine de telles enquêtes, établir éventuellement un programme de recherches ciblées sur des thèmes ou des champs que les enquêtes réalisées ou prévues ne sont pas en mesure de couvrir et s'assurer de la plus grande accessibilité possible des données.

3. L'Université de Berkeley est pionnière en ce domaine. On peut consulter gratuitement son site et procéder à des analyses statistiques des recensements américains ainsi que de diverses banques de données : http://sda.berkeley.edu:7502/. On peut également consulter le site du département de sociologie de l'Université du Maryland, financé par la *National Science Foundation* : http://www.webuse.umd.edu/ où pratiquement tous les types de traitement statistique en ligne sont possibles pour les enquêtes disponibles.

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Yves Évrard Groupe HEC, Paris, France

« Comprendre le comportement de consommation culturelle »

🕮 Résumé

La relation avec le public est devenue une préoccupation centrale des organisations artistiques et culturelles, au sein desquelles se sont développées des fonctions de médiation entre les œuvres, qu'il s'agisse de création ou de patrimoine, et le public. Pour faciliter cette médiation, il est nécessaire de comprendre le processus de consommation et le comportement des « consommateurs culturels ». Une telle compréhension est également pertinente dans la perspective de la théorie esthétique où le consommateur (ou « regardeur », dans la terminologie de Duchamp) est considéré comme partie intégrante de la définition de l'art.

L'objet de cette communication est, en se fondant sur la théorie du comportement du consommateur et sur une revue de littérature sur ses applications dans le domaine des produits et services culturels, de contribuer au développement de cette connaissance. Après avoir examiné les principales caractéristiques spécifiques du champ culturel du point de vue de la consommation, le plan suivra le processus de consommation : processus de choix (motivations; sélection : sources d'information, catégorisation) ; expérience de consommation et évaluation (satisfaction).

🕮 Abstract

The relationship with the public has become the chief preoccupation of artistic and cultural organisations that have developed forms of mediation between the works, whether creative or heritage-oriented, and the public. To facilitate this mediation it is important to understand the consumption process and the behaviour of "cultural consumers". This understanding is also pertinent from a viewpoint of esthetic theory where the consumer (or "looker", in Duchamp terminology) is considered as an integral part of the definition of art.

The purpose of this paper is to contribute to the development of this knowledge by using as bases the theory of consumer behaviour and the literature review of its applications in the field of cultural products and services. After examining the major characteristics specific to the cultural field from a consumption standpoint, the plan will follow the consumption process: the process of choice (motivations, selection: information sources, categorisation), consumer experience and evaluation (satisfaction).

Introduction

La relation avec le public est devenue une préoccupation centrale des organisations artistiques et culturelles. Au-delà des missions de conservation et de création, il s'agit de mettre en œuvre une médiation entre les artistes, les œuvres et le public. Le développement de la relation entre l'art et le public nécessite de connaître et de comprendre les « consommateurs culturels »[1], les individus qui composent la catégorie générique « public »[2].

Une première source de connaissance du public est constituée par les enquêtes et études générales sur la fréquentation et la consommation (enquêtes sur les « pratiques culturelles » ou les loisirs; études sur les budget-temps ou les dépenses des ménages). Ces études fournissent un cadre général indispensable; elles permettent d'identifier les caractéristiques démographiques et socio-économiques, en particulier dans une logique de politiques culturelles axées sur la démocratisation. Cependant, ces approches restent limitées à une logique de comptage de l'audience des activités culturelles (de façon analogue au rôle de l'audimat pour le média télévisuel). Au-delà de la description, il est également important de développer la compréhension des motivations qui déterminent les choix des consommateurs, des valeurs qu'ils attribuent à leur consommation et des satisfactions qu'ils en retirent, ainsi que des significations individuelles et sociales des pratiques culturelles.

L'objet de cette communication est, en se fondant sur la théorie du comportement du consommateur et sur une revue de littérature sur ses applications dans le domaine des produits et services culturels, de contribuer au développement de cette connaissance. Après avoir examiné les principales caractéristiques spécifiques du champ culturel du point de vue de la consommation, le plan suivra le processus de consommation : processus de choix (motivations; sélection : sources d'information, catégorisation); expérience de consommation et évaluation (satisfaction)[3].

Les spécificités des consommations culturelles

Le champ des arts et de la culture se caractérise par une très forte hétérogénéité des biens qui le constituent. Pour dépasser cette diversité et permettre une analyse conceptuelle du secteur, il a été recensé divers éléments qui fédèrent le champ culturel et fondent sa spécificité (Busson et Évrard, 1987).

Plusieurs caractéristiques des biens culturels peuvent ainsi être identifiées (aucune ne leur est spécifique, mais leur combinatoire définit un champ particulier) :

- la consommation de produits culturels nécessite l'allocation du temps (aller à un spectacle culturel ou lire un livre chez soi est un acte chrono phage), ce qui donne une place centrale à l'expérience de consommation;

1. Le terme « consommateur » sera utilisé ici faute de mieux; il est fort peu approprié dans le domaine culturel, puisque son étymologie signifie destruction.
2. Selon les formes artistiques, les consommateurs peuvent être rassemblés physiquement constituant un « public » au sens courant du terme (spectacle vivant) ou dispersés (la lecture; la « culture d'appartement », selon l'expression d'Augustin Girard).
3. Un développement plus important des principaux thèmes abordés dans cette communication peut être trouvé dans Evrard, Bourgeon et Petr (2000) dans lequel figure également une liste détaillée de références.

- le produit culturel n'est pas reproductible à l'identique, (même si le support de sa diffusion peut faire l'objet de reproduction de masse : c'est ce que Goodman, 1968, met en évidence à travers la distinction entre les œuvres autographiques et allographiques). Le produit culturel correspond donc à un prototype et représente un risque pour le producteur et pour le consommateur;
- la consommation culturelle est associée à la notion de plaisir esthétique et à des motivations intrinsèques; une œuvre d'art est appréciée pour elle-même et non pour ses seules fonctions utilitaires;
- l'objet culturel, en tant qu'expression singulière d'un artiste, se caractérise par son incomparabilité et son incommensurabilité; il fait l'objet d'un double système d'évaluation, en amont par les pairs ou les critiques et en aval par le public. En conséquence, il implique une double subjectivité, celle de l'auteur et du récepteur entre lesquels s'établit un rapport de communication symbolique;
- enfin, et il s'agit sans doute d'une des caractéristiques les plus spécifiques de l'économie du champ culturel, l'œuvre d'art se caractérise par sa durabilité, sa valeur peut fluctuer au cours du temps au gré de l'évolution des goûts et des modes, ce qui fonde la gestion patrimoniale (qui s'oppose à des concepts couramment utilisés dans d'autres secteurs d'activités, comme le cycle de vie du produit).

Les motivations et le choix

Les œuvres d'art diffèrent des produits des biens de consommation courante dont certaines caractéristiques peuvent être mesurées objectivement. À l'inverse, les « attributs » les plus importants des produits esthétiques sont les sensations subjectives que le bien provoque chez le consommateur et qui ne peuvent être révélées qu'au cours de l'expérience de consommation. Il convient de chercher à identifier la façon dont ces objets et ces activités sont perçus et valorisés par le consommateur (Évrard et Aurier, 1996, 1999).

Les motivations de la consommation culturelle ont fait l'objet de nombreuses études qui peuvent être soit spécifiques d'un secteur particulier, soit relever de théories générales de la valeur attendue d'une expérience de consommation. Dans un exemple de la première approche, Bergadaà et Nyeck (1995) distinguent quatre types de motivation de la consommation théâtrale : le divertissement, l'éducation, l'enrichissement et le développement personnel, et l'hédonisme social, qui se déclinent en divers avantages recherchés. À un niveau plus général, la valeur de la consommation a fait l'objet de plusieurs approches en marketing qui aboutissent à deux dimensions principales (Aurier, Évrard et N'Goala, 2000) :

- motivation intrinsèque/motivation extrinsèque;
- orientation vers soi/orientation vers les autres.

La valorisation du produit ou service par le consommateur, puis le choix résultent ainsi d'une confrontation cognitive entre des coûts et des bénéfices. La notion de coût va au-delà de l'expression d'un prix et fait référence au sacrifice consenti par un individu lors de l'achat d'un billet de spectacle (ressources monétaires, risques) ou lors de la consommation culturelle (ressources temporelles). Les bénéfices attendus sont fortement liés aux dimensions caractérisant l'expérience de consommation. La notion de valeur perçue est un concept important pour représenter l'arbitrage auquel se livrent les consommateurs; elle permet de recadrer la prise en compte des

attributs intrinsèques et extrinsèques. Dans le domaine culturel, la valeur repose davantage sur des dimensions hédoniques (capacité de l'objet culturel à produire du plaisir, de la distraction, des émotions, des sensations), des dimensions esthétiques associant la consommation à la beauté et des aspects holistiques impliquant une approche globale (Hirschman et Holbrook, 1982).

Malgré un problème de comparabilité des alternatives, le consommateur opère des choix et sélectionne le produit auquel il va affecter du temps et de l'argent. Le processus de choix d'un produit culturel comprend plusieurs phases : les sources d'information, la catégorisation et les critères de choix.

L'information peut avoir deux origines principales : la perception du produit ou du service à travers l'environnement (communication commerciale et influence interpersonnelle); et les éléments que le consommateur a stockés en mémoire et qui sont activés lors de l'évaluation du produit ou service (processus d'apprentissage). Dans le domaine culturel, les sources d'information sont également distinguées selon leur dimension expérientielle ou non expérientielle (Cooper Martin, 1992). Une source d'information expérientielle permet de se donner une idée de ce que sera la consommation du bien : soit elle résulte d'une expérimentation sensorielle préalable, comme dans le cas des bandes annonces au cinéma, soit elle présente les expériences de consommation réalisées par des proches ou des amis (communication inter-personnelle). La critique, qui est une spécificité du champ culturel, a été souvent étudiée; il semble qu'elle possède plutôt un rôle prédictif qu'un rôle influenceur (Eliashberg et Shugan, 1997). Il est à noter cependant que la recherche de surprise (Sedgwick, 1999) peut modérer considérablement la quantité et l'étendue de la recherche d'information.

Sur le temps limité du loisir, il existe une concurrence importante entre les activités (Scheff et al., 1999) : d'une part, une concurrence intertype qui correspond au choix d'une activité plutôt qu'une autre et, d'autre part, une concurrence intra-type qui s'opère lors du choix d'une œuvre plutôt que d'une autre (tel film, tel spectacle, tel livre, telle visite de monument…). Qu'il s'agisse de s'engager dans l'activité ou de choisir le produit, le consommateur est amené à structurer les alternatives possibles selon une démarche de catégorisation qui lui sert à caractériser chaque activité selon trois critères : l'intensité émotionnelle, l'accessibilité et le risque perçu (Labrecque et Belves, 1993). La notion d'accessibilité reprend l'idée que certains arts exigent, pour être compris et appréciés, une certaine connaissance préalable et renvoie à la traditionnelle distinction entre arts populaires et arts élitistes (Colbert, 2000). Concernant maintenant le choix du produit, il existe une catégorisation par genre qui s'appuie soit sur les classements des professionnels, des médias et de la critique, soit sur les expériences passées des consommateurs (Bourgeon et Kruger, 1997). Ces démarches analytiques d'engagement dans l'activité et de choix du produit s'expliquent à travers le concept de typicalité qui est un des aspects de l'interdépendance fonctionnelle entre les connaissances et les processus de traitement de l'information (Ladwein, 1994).

Le prix est également un déterminant de choix souvent mentionné dans l'analyse des consommations culturelles. Il est souvent considéré comme un frein; il ne faut cependant pas oublier que, en l'absence de motivations positives, la suppression du frein ne produit pas nécessairement un accélérateur. D'une façon générale, les consommateurs évaluent les prix en les comparant aux autres prix proposés ou au prix de référence qui est stocké en mémoire; les consommateurs ont un éventail de prix qu'ils considèrent comme acceptables; si le prix de l'offre n'est pas acceptable, ils seront incités à ne pas acheter. La politique tarifaire apparaît

donc comme un élément majeur en particulier pour le public de non initiés. En ce qui concerne les spectateurs initiés, la qualité perçue semble jouer un rôle significatif dans leur décision. La valeur repose surtout sur l'évaluation anticipée de l'expérience de consommation qui dérive de l'interaction entre une personne, un objet et une situation ou contexte de consommation (Evrard et Aurier, 1996).

L'expérience et l'évaluation

Comme indiqué précédemment, la consommation culturelle, même si elle fait l'objet d'une évaluation anticipée qui détermine le choix, n'est véritablement connaissable que par le vécu de l'expérience de consommation, ce qui la range au sein des biens « expérientiels ». L'accroissement des recherches, dans ce domaine, témoigne d'un glissement de l'attention des chercheurs vers l'étude de la recherche d'expériences.

Throsby (1994) affirme que : « la consommation relative des arts augmentera avec le temps, non pas à cause d'une modification des goûts, mais parce que l'ombre du prix des arts diminue alors que l'expérience, la compréhension et les autres attributs du capital humain associés à l'art s'acquièrent ». La notion de goût « acquis », fondé sur l'expérience accumulée en tant que variable explicative de la consommation culturelle, apparaît ainsi comme une variable explicative de la consommation culturelle. Le fait de vivre une première expérience de consommation d'une forme d'art, même si l'expérience est unique, donne lieu à des intentions futures de consommation (Kolb, 1999). En revanche, si l'individu n'a pas encore expérimenté l'activité culturelle en question, les freins à la consommation semblent particulièrement forts. Une particularité essentielle de l'expérience dans le domaine culturel est l'addictivité. En effet, le fait d'expérimenter le produit ne conduit pas à la satiété, mais au contraire, plus l'individu consomme, plus il a le désir et le goût de consommer. L'influence des expériences passées sur la consommation est double : le développement d'un intérêt et d'une capacité à apprécier la pratique (l'expertise) et le processus de formation des goûts. Celle-ci peut s'expliquer également par le concept de familiarité; en effet, dans la lignée des travaux de psychologues sur la « simple exposition », il a été démontré que les individus éprouvent un attachement et une attirance plus forts pour les choses qu'ils connaissent (formes, images, sons…). De plus, selon Genette (1997), la formation du goût, à travers la sensibilité esthétique, est influencée par le degré de compétence de l'individu.

L'analyse de l'expérience culturelle est fondée sur sa singularité subjective, ce qui conduit à l'aborder par une diversité d'approches méthodologiques et épistémologiques, en particulier phénoménologique et herméneutique. Parmi les dimensions de l'expérience les plus fréquemment observées dans le domaine culturel, on peut noter l'authenticité (importance de l'original par rapport à la copie) et la nostalgie (qu'il s'agisse de souvenirs personnels ou, plus souvent, d'une reconstruction, éventuellement idéalisée, du passé).

En fonction des individus et des situations de consommation, les valeurs investies dans la pratique culturelle peuvent varier. La signification d'une même activité culturelle n'est ni la même pour tous, ni la même tout le temps. En conséquence, la perception ou l'interprétation de l'objet culturel est soumise à une variance intra et interpersonnelle. Le recours à la sémiotique peut donc se révéler porteur pour analyser l'expérience vécue lors de la consommation des produits culturels. L'objet culturel est un outil de connaissance, mais il fait vivre également, au public, par « procuration », des émotions et des pulsions. Ces deux optiques sont vécues dans une

oscillation permanente entre la réflexion et la sensibilité. On fait vivre au spectateur une expérience à laquelle il est contraint de donner un sens. Le sens ne préexiste pas à la représentation et ne se fait pas sans le spectateur. L'expérience est ainsi « coproduite » par le consommateur, qui cherche à préserver sa part d'autonomie; il s'agit d'une expérience « ouverte » (au sens que Eco donnait à l'« œuvre ouverte »). Un des intérêts de ce type de recherche sur le sens de l'activité culturelle est de proposer des cadres d'analyses qui sont adaptés aux différents regards que le consommateur peut accorder à la même pratique culturelle.

Le courant postmoderne met en évidence que la consommation culturelle, en tant qu'expérience sociale, doit être analysée selon une logique, reposant sur une classification des individus souple, voire « floue », exprimée en termes de « tribus », que Maffesoli (1988) qualifie de « communautés affectuelles ». Le postmodernisme prône donc le passage d'une logique de distinction à une logique d'identification à la communauté, caractérisée par la recherche d'émotions partagées et d'interaction sociale. Le sujet va pouvoir se construire une multitude d'identités, en fragmentant ses expériences, en adoptant plusieurs images, plusieurs comportements vécus comme autant de réalités différentes. L'individu consomme davantage une image qu'un bien fonctionnel, image grâce à laquelle il construit son identité; il n'est donc plus reconnu par ce qu'il produit, mais par ce qu'il consomme. La sémiotique peut donc élargir le cadre d'analyse des modèles de comportement de consommation en proposant deux perspectives possibles : conférer du sens au produit (perspective opérationnelle); identifier le sens (perspective de compréhension).

Enfin, après le vécu de l'expérience, vient le temps de l'évaluation. De nombreuses études ont été développées dans le champ culturel pour étudier la satisfaction retirée de l'expérience. Cependant, la transposition des modèles de satisfaction des consommateurs issus de l'analyse des produits et services de grande consommation soulève deux types de questions. D'une part, le modèle le plus diffusé, connu sous le nom de « paradigme de la disconfirmation », est fondé sur les écarts entre les attentes préalables à la consommation et les performances réalisées au cours de l'expérience de consommation; dans le domaine culturel, nous avons vu que les attentes préalables sont floues, voire inexistantes, ce qui rend difficile l'application de la « disconfirmation »; il faudrait peut-être plutôt parler de « déception ». D'autre part, le concept de satisfaction est fondé, étymologiquement, sur l'idée de satiété, ce qui n'est pas forcément pertinent pour des biens addictifs; les travaux récents sur le « délice » (delight) offrent sans doute à cet égard une voie prometteuse.

Conclusion

La réflexion contemporaine sur la relation entre l'objet culturel et le consommateur, à partir d'une analyse de l'art contemporain, replace le consommateur au centre même de la relation esthétique et en fait un élément central de la définition de l'art (Évrard et Colbert, 2000). En effet, l'art n'est plus défini exclusivement, soit par l'œuvre, soit par la signature de l'artiste, mais par le regard porté sur les objets. En conséquence, nous pouvons appréhender l'art en nous plaçant sous trois angles différents : l'activité créatrice de l'artiste, l'œuvre d'art et la réception de l'art par le public. L'artiste produit un artefact, le monde de l'art classe cet artefact dans la catégorie des œuvres d'art et le consommateur réagit à cette œuvre d'art de façon appréciative. Cette approche a été développée sous des expressions différentes : c'est ce que Genette (1997) appelle la « relation esthétique » et ce que Shaeffer (1996) désigne par la « conduite esthétique ». La valeur de l'œuvre n'est plus ainsi fondée uniquement sur le jugement des pairs conformément à leur système d'évaluation (Dickie, 1974), mais sur l'évaluation du consommateur qui, pour Shaeffer (1996), est au cœur même de la définition de l'esthétique.

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Conférences — Papers

Rubén Nájera Association for the Advancement of Social Sciences in Guatemala, AVANCSO, Guatemala City, Guatemala

"Cultural Indicators in Guatemala"

Résumé

Cette communication présente les résultats d'enquêtes par sondages sur les indicateurs culturels dans le contexte d'un pays en développement, une société déchirée par des décennies de guerre civile, par des relations ethniques complexes non résolues, par une crise d'identité nationale et une extraordinaire transformation du paysage artistique et culturel. Nous tentons d'agencer en un seul paradigme les différents éléments qui convergent pour composer le « domaine culturel » dans le but de présenter les résultats de notre sondage – disponibilité des ressources pour le développement culturel, profil de la production culturelle, ampleur des dépenses de la population affectées à la consommation des biens et services de nature culturelle, nécessité d'étendre la portée de la recherche. Pour terminer, nous abordons les problèmes, attentes et perspectives concernant la production de statistiques et la création d'indicateurs dans un pays qui a grand besoin de surmonter un passé dénaturé et un présent dominé par la négation, et d'imaginer l'avenir avec créativité.

Abstract

The paper presents the results of preliminary surveys on cultural indicators in the context of a developing country and a society that has been affected by decades of internal war, complex unresolved ethnic relationships, national identity crisis, and an extreme transformation of the artistic and cultural landscape. An attempt to organise in one paradigm the different elements converging in the "cultural field" is made in order to introduce the results of our survey – availability of resources for cultural development, profile of cultural production, extent of expenses of the population in the consumption of cultural goods and services –, as well as the need for a broader scope of research. A final discussion deals with the problems, expectations and perspectives of creating statistics and building indicators in a country highly in need of recovering a distorted past, overcoming a present affected by denial, and thinking its future with creativity.

Introduction

This paper is a reflection based on the recent experience of the author in the debate of cultural policies in Guatemala as well as in two survey papers prepared for the United Nations Development Program, related to specific cultural aspects of its annual local human development reports.

While a lot of research and attention has been given to socio-cultural problems in a country with a complex historical, social and political background involving ethnic diversity and an internal conflict that lasted for over three decades and cost hundreds of thousands of lives, no advances have been made in Guatemala in order to collect specific statistical data or build quantitative indicators, on a systematic basis, to approach the objective knowledge of the country's cultural processes and to support cultural policy making. So far, no institutions are specifically in charge of cultural statistics and no facilities have been created within the existing institutions to fulfil this activity.

The purpose of this paper, though in a very preliminary way, is threefold: it intends to present the case of a developing, culturally complex country, that would logically be in high need of this kind of information but has not developed the capacity to do so; it presents a specific case of cultural indicators built on the basis of existing quantitative information that try to show patterns of production and consumption of cultural activities in such a country; and it tries to arrive to some conclusions on the organisation of quantitative information on culture that can be helpful to understand the diverse dimensions of culture and to formulate and assess cultural policies.

The structure of the paper follows this sequence.

The Cultural Particularities of Guatemala

In march 1995, the Guatemalan Government and the National Guatemalan Revolutionary Union, representing the insurgent movements of Guatemala, signed the first of a series of agreements (so-called "peace agreements") that represented the formal conclusion of more than three decades of internal political strife. It was not a coincidence that this first agreement dealt with the "Identity and Rights of the Indigenous People" – in fact, most of the casualties of this long war had been the indigenous population that represented, and still represents, the majority of the population of Guatemala. This was expected to be, therefore, the beginning of a new period where massacres, forced migrations, internal displacement of whole populations, and the destruction of whole towns and ethnic areas, had been the rule.

The indigenous groups being the majority of the peasant population of Guatemala, and the rural areas the main scenery of the conflict, it is not hard to conclude the urgency of such an agreement as a symbol of good will for the international community, highly concerned with the fate of ethnic groups in Guatemala. The contents of the agreement refer to the right for the acknowledgement of ethnic identities; fight against discrimination; civil, political, economic and social rights; and a single chapter is dedicated to "cultural rights", namely language, proper names, religion, costumes, knowledge, education and media. Ten years earlier, the new Constitution of Guatemala had acknowledged that Guatemala is a "plurilingual" and "multicultural" society and had given the indigenous people's language and cultures the dubious status of national heritage.

For almost five hundred years the Guatemalan state had dealt with ethnic issues in different though somehow efficient ways. In colonial times, the Spanish crown managed its new subjects by means of two parallel systems, (two "republics" or "public things"); while this implied that indigenous populations could manage their internal affairs by themselves as long as they provided what the conquerors expected (taxes and labour force), the cultural impact of the conquest and colonization had been strong. After independence in 1821, the difference of regimes was, at least officially, suppressed and eventually, under liberal regimes, the idea of assimilation prevailed (as it did elsewhere, pari passu with the exterminating expansions of, e.g., the United States and Argentina), supposedly for the sake of universal culture, but in practice in order to serve the economic dynamics of progress, even if that implied land expropriation and forced labour. In the middle of the twentieth century, the attempt to modernize the state and implement democracy was less efficient in providing a framework to deal with an ethnic reality that could not be solved under the assimilation paradigm. After the collapse of this experience, an era of civil strife and war went hand in hand with a succession of military regimes and eventually, as noted, the ethnic diversity of Guatemala got entangled in the conflict with the most tragic consequences for the indigenous populations of the country.

The result of this last stage of affairs is manifold. For ethnic groups it represented, perhaps, the worst period of history after the Conquest, with all the implications this has for the continuity of their lives, social organization and culture, but also the emergence of elites and organizations, of international support, and of enhanced spaces to voice out ethnic related claims. For the non-indigenous population, that had grown during the last century to almost equal in numbers its counterpart, it implied a challenge to their status quo and the exclusiveness of their cultural identity but, also, a challenge to its ability to understand, interpret and accept a new reality where, at long last, the ethnic dimension of their social context was not going to be dealt with any more as a different republic or as a different geography or as a military strategy. For the Guatemalan state the end of the political strife, the terms of the new Constitution, the peace agreement on indigenous identities, did not imply an automatic availability of means or institutions to face and respond to the expectations of its society.

In practical terms it is hard to describe the dimensions of this newly named multicultural society, but language and demography are the among the most common measures to start with. By year 2001, Guatemala may be described as a developing country, with a population of about 12 million people distributed unevenly on a territory of about 110 000 square kilometers; the average amount of population in poverty was, by 1999, 54.3%, but in the most populated areas this percentage was of about 80%, and this refers mostly to areas where ethnic groups prevail. About one third of the population lives in urban areas and one half of the total population belongs to ethnic groups.

As mentioned supra, indigenous languages have been given special acknowledgement in the Guatemalan Constitution, but Spanish remains the official language and, in practice, the lingua franca; even the peace agreements did not go further than asserting the right to use, promote and preserve indigenous languages, including in education and cultural expressions.

Language diversity is the main evidence of ethnic diversity in Guatemala. Indigenous population is estimated in about half the total population, depending on the source; indigenous languages amount to 21, but the major four are spoken by about 75% of the total indigenous population.

Most of this population do speak Spanish as a second language and illiteracy (Spanish illiteracy) in Guatemala refers to about one third of the population.

Against this reality, the public discourse has been slowly evolving during the last years; publications and debates on identity, ethnicity, racism, among other related issues, have arisen among the efforts to bring to light the specifics of the last decades war. Social institutions, specially government institutions, have been slow to respond and evolve, however, as they belong to frameworks where national identity was based in the appropriation of national heritage (or its transformation into tourism) and the promotion of the (western-rooted) arts and excluded ethnicity as an alive and ongoing reality.

To elaborate about these issues is beyond the aims of this paper, but it is important to discuss them briefly, in order to understand the inability of current institutions to deal efficiently with the complexities of cultural policies and, therefore, information.

While ethnic diversity is the most obvious, urgent and critical condition of the countries current affairs, cultural policies during modern history were mostly conditioned by other priorities.

To begin with, Guatemalan territory is part of a region endowed with important archeological sites, dating to several hundreds of years before the discovery of America. Having been constantly inhabited in precolumbian times, research, preservation and restoration of archeological sites have provided the country with potential and actual attractions for the touristic industry. This is perfectly complemented by the fact that the country, as a Spanish Colony, was a Captaincy General, meaning a second rank government that implied a significant investment in public and religious buildings and a concentration of an affluent population that also provided its own architectonic heritage and the required identity link of the local bourgeoisie with its European origin. In addition to this physical heritage, certain symbolic contributions of ethnic origin were assimilated by nationalistic projects as part of this national heritage, whether independency myths involving, e.g., precolumbian heroes, or consumption goods produced by ethnic groups. How these elements meet in the economic dynamics of tourism and handicraft exports is less important than the reification of the past and the present of the ethnic diversity implied in the history of the territorial integration of Guatemala. In what refers to cultural policies it means that the profile of surviving public institutions is highly associated to the tendency of preserving physical heritage or contributing to the reification of cultural expressions which are still alive or, contrario sensu, to the symbolization of the production and consumption of goods and services proper to ethnic groups at the expense of their actual economic and social value.

So far, it is important to notice that multicuturality and cultural heritage issues tend to revolve around the ethnic segment of the cultural continuum of Guatemalan society. Little effort has been done, indeed, to analyze the whole continuum in a systematic way – that is, to include the other half of the population associated with westernized values and ways of life. In this sense, the introduction of the notion of interculturality in the discourse of elites and NGOs remains partial.

Nevertheless, the fact is that what we understood as cultural policies in the recent past were conceived to enforce (or to comply with) what used to be called the universal culture, the term implying the array of social institutions equated to the arts, at least until T.S. Eliott declared the death of culture. In spite of all the debate resulting from this obituary that has prevailed "in the

west" during the past fifty years or so, the official perception in Guatemala continued (and continues) to match the taxonomic orthodoxy of artistic creativity. During most of the last 125 years this was coherent with the ideology of governments and dominant social classes committed with advancing the country towards progress and modernity, a project shared by all the countries in Latin America.

The actual practice of these policies (the arts as a vehicle for modernity but also as the image builders of the international civilized image of the country) has come to be faced currently with a set of conditions to which they are inept to operate. To begin with, the legitimate claim of individuals to the practice of art as an expression of creativity, criticism and aspirations for an improved society was historically incoherent with the repressive regimes that prevailed during most of the independent life of the country; this did oppose official art to "clandestine" art in more than one sense throughout our "modern" history, and resulted in particular patterns of creativity and diffusion that have been inherited mostly by urban, non-ethnically oriented artists and movements. Official artistic institutions (mostly schools and performing groups), sponsored by the government, have lost projection and identification but prevail as part of the bureaucracy. The "transition to democracy" experienced since 1986 has provided, nevertheless, the necessary space for the organization and projection of artistic disciplines, but neither these movements nor public institutions have been able to produce paradigms that may include the creativity nature of the cultural expressions of ethnic groups in such a way that they do not appear diminished in the face of westernized institutions proper of the universal culture or become reduced to the status of anthropological categories.

So far, in the face of these complexities, what remains valid is that there are no institutions that are in the capacity to implement the aims, objectives and commitments included in the new Constitution of Guatemala and the peace agreement on indigenous identities. Less clarity seems to exist with regard to the fact that even in "non ethnical" fields, cultural policies are increasingly devoid of means and mechanisms to produce an important impact on society's demands for cultural expression. This becomes obvious when we realize that the enforcement of cultural policies are perceived in a compartmentalized, subsidiary way – that is, they are assumed to be too sectorial or too specific, not central to, e.g., major economic and political problems, and are not considered to be the overall responsibility of government and social institutions. This is clearly reflected in the nature and size of the Ministry of Culture, an hybrid ministry created in 1986 combining institutions that had been conceived mostly for the protection of physical (archeological) heritage and the sponsorship of the official groups of performing arts, whose organizational structure and budget remain well below the tasks expected of it.

For our purpose, finally, the complexities and deficiencies of these scenario and its institutional consequences help to explain the lack of systematic quantitative information on cultural issues (cultural statistics and indicators), both in terms of conceptual development and practical approaches.

Measuring Cultural Exclusion and Financing

Given the context described supra it was natural to expect that cultural indicators could become a part of the human development report for Guatemala. The first attempt was considered for the 2000 national report, that was to focus on social exclusion; the second, a year later, was interested in assessing the contributions of sectors different to the state in financing human

development. In both cases culture was approached in a very preliminary way, with no preconceptions as to what was expected and with the certainty that the issue was sensitive and difficult to deal with in a quantitative way. The second survey did in fact include education and culture, but it helped also to make additional elaborations with the previous cultural data. Methodologically both surveys were conceived as desk research but they implied also collecting data on the sources and interviews with key actors of the cultural sector.

The results of both surveys did not contribute exactly to the general issues of both human development reports. Exclusion in culture was not proved by the collected data and indicators and there was not real measurement of the participation of, say, the private sector in the financing of cultural activities or production of cultural goods or services. Evidently, a lot of additional conceptual elaboration and data collecting is still required in order to produce sophisticated analyses of these topics. In terms of exclusion, it was obvious, for example, that little could be found with regard to non-urban, non-westernized aspects of cultural activities and governmental funding – existing institutions had been designed for the opposite purpose and whatever was happening out of this scope, happened at a very low profile or in conditions that, even if reported by sociological or anthropological research, has not been transformed into systematic information. Even performance information of public institutions like libraries, theatres or museums, for example, has not been recorded on a systematic basis; inventories and directories, if any, are still on the making. As for financing other than the State's, several conditions converged: culture (no matter the definition) is widely expected to be supported and funded by the State; private efforts are very incipient, refer mostly to philanthropic activities and their financial data are usually confidential; and activities at the community level fall in the ambiguous category of traditions, national heritages, touristic guides or handicraft catalogues. The economics of culture are also little documented and, besides, present additional problems of definition when ethnic diversity is taken into account.

Nevertheless, and perhaps because these surveys represented a first attempt to take a preliminary picture of cultural activities on a quantitative basis, the results were rewarding and did provided some helpful evidence for the human development reports. In terms of attempting to quantify and produce some useful indicators that go beyond the demographics and linguistics of ethnic diversity they tried to be as informative as possible, even when the overall spectrum of the variables considered was incomplete.

As expected when dealing with culture, the problem of definitions arose from the beginning. In order no to get lost in a forest of very sensitive debates, some functional decisions had to be taken. It is obvious that speaking of culture in a country where multiculturality is an ideological and political issue and where anti-artistic movements are colliding with traditional artistic disciplines as part of post-war phenomena is not easy and will always be unsatisfactory. Initially, the decision was to deal within a certain range of possible definitions that did not fall in the extremely universal nor in the extremely specific. An attempt was made to make operative some of Bourdieu's[1] proposals on cultural capital and cultural field of production but it was obvious

1. "Two forms of capital are particularly important in the field of cultural production. *Symbolic capital* refers to degree of accumulated prestige, celebrity, consecration or honour and is founded on a dialectic of knowledge (*connaissance*) and recognition (*reconnaissance*). *Cultural capital* concerns forms of cultural knowledge, competences or dispositions. ...Bourdieu defines cultural capital as a form of knowledge, an internalized code or a cognitive acquisition which equips the social agent with empathy towards, appreciation for or competence in deciphering cultural relations and cultural artefacts. ...The possession of this code, or cultural capital, is accumulated through a long process of the family or group members (family education), educated members of the social formation (diffuse education) and social institutions (institutionalized education)." Randal Johnson (editor): "Introduction" in Pierre Bourdieu: **The Field of Cultural Production**; Columbia University Press, 1993. Page 7 and ff.

that, trying to make these concepts measurable was an infringement of Bourdieu's caveat that prevented an analysis of the type of the economics of culture. In the end, for practical reasons, enriching as the discussion might have been, the implications of the topical subjects of the human development reports prevailed – while trying to measure exclusion and the financing of human development what mattered was to identify the extent to which a given society makes resources available to its members in order to make possible, on a democratic basis, the development of their cultural expressions regardless of their cultural definitions.

Having arrived at this compromise, collecting information followed. In both cases the surveys were performed by a researcher (the author) and a part-time assistant; in both cases the deadline was two months. This implied very limited conditions for a subject so far not researched.

Major existent sources included the central government's budget and the specific budget of the Ministry of Culture, but in order to identify the institutions, resources and activities of the public sector information was collected directly in the sources. An additional decision had to be made here. Physical national heritage being of public concern, it would have been expected to account for cultural infrastructure (namely museums, public libraries, archeological parks and sites) and for its projection (briefly, statistics on people visiting these facilities); unfortunately that was not so, and estimations of the social importance of these facilities was not available then.

Information on private activities was collected through informal networks of art producers and promoters and artists, including some artistic associations. Of course, a high degree of speculation was allowed in these cases. What was surprising, mostly, was not the lack of information but the relative availability of scattered data, records and information expecting to be organized, updated and transformed into something more systematic and accessible. Private sector activities were only quoted, but it was clear that the impact of the philanthropic institutions in cultural activities is very limited. With regard to economics, that is, the production of cultural goods and services, except for systematic information on book publications (something virtually inexistent two decades ago) and some data of the trade balance, there was little more.

A final source, which was very important and helped to fill in the picture of the "availability of resources for cultural development" was the National Inquest of Family Income and Expenditures[2]. The inquest, performed between 1998 and 1999, was not of course intended as an input for the analysis of patterns of cultural consumption; it did not even consider the notion of expenditure on cultural goods and services. Fortunately, it was possible to go to the fine detail of the data basis and identify, one by one, all the items that could be classified as consumption of cultural goods and services.

For the sake of a global figure that could tell something about the amount of resources the Guatemalan society was making available for cultural expression, the combination of some of

2. Instituto Nacional de Estadística: Encuesta Nacional de Ingresos y Gastos Familiares 1998-1999. Guatemala, 2000.

the data collected did, in a very speculative way, provide a sort of indicator of "investment in culture". To build this figure several compromises were obvious:

1) It was assumed that the budget of the public sector for the Ministry of Culture represented all the governments investment in culture, comprising cultural promotion (the activity most linked to ethnic diversity), performing arts (production and education) and national protection, conservation and restoration of the national heritage; it was also assumed (and there is a great certainty in this sense) that the public sector cultural activities and services are almost completely subsidized and their consumption imply no cost.
2) It was assumed that the contribution of the philanthropic private sector was not significant (a valid assumption for the case of culture, though not for education).
3) It was assumed that the exports of cultural goods and services were not significant.
4) It was assumed that the Inquest of Familiar Income and Expenditures was highly representative of the amount of money the consumers were using to pay for purchasable cultural services and goods – that is, those provided by the private sector producers and imports.

The implicit production equation of this set of assumptions allowed for the construction of a very simple and tentative figure, namely the addition of the cultural items of the public budget and familiar consumption; when data related to education is added in the same way, we could be speaking, in a very perverse way, of something very like Bourdieu's notion of investment in capital production.

For our case, a summary of the results of our survey is shown in Table 1, infra. The first items show the speculative figures of expenditures in culture; the remaining items are either a result of existent data or data collected originally for these surveys.

Tables 2 to 5 were an additional and interesting by-product of our research and were produced for the second survey, which also included data on education. Though they have not been subject to analysis yet, they are quoted here because they represent an interesting profile of patterns of consumption of cultural goods and services according to ethnic, urban-rural and geographical continua; as long as the same data can produce Graphic 1, they also present an idea of the socio-economic dynamics of cultural consumption in Guatemala (figures are in quetzales, the local currency, approximately equivalent to US$ 7.8).

Table 1
Guatemala Cultural Indicators

Expenditure	
Investment in cultural capital (speculative; public investment + familiar consumption; refers to education and culture)	US$ 1,026 millions US$ 93 per capita 5.13% of GDP
Public budget for education, culture and sports 1998	US$ 375 millions (of which 10% only for culture) 15.7% of total budget US$ 34 per capita
Familiar expenditure in education, leisure and entertainment	US$ 650 millions (of which only 20% for culture) 7.9% of total familiar expenditure
Trade of cultural goods and services	
Imports 1998	US$ 24.5 millions
Exports 1998	US$ 3.3 millions
Balance (Net imports)	US$ 21.2 millions
Persons working in culture	Approx. 0.04% of EAP
Artists funded by the State	223
Association of writers	265
Association of composers and musicians	428
Painters participating in the major national-wide exhibit (Bienal Paiz) 1998	435
Activities produced by the government	
Public presentations of official groups per year	100-150
Art schools	18
Students in art schools	1,744
Teachers in art schools	129
Active cultural promoters	38
Public museums	20
Editorials	1
Theatres	3 Approx. 3,000 seats
Radios	1
Projects funded by ADESCA (a decentralised fund for culture and arts) 1999	
Projects	69
Amount funded	US $ 500,000
Other institutions	
Casas de la cultura (cultural centers in communities)	154
Foundations supporting socio-cultural activities	12 Of which only 3 dedicated exclusively to the promotion of cultural activities

Private museums	12
Municipal and university museums	13
Private art schools	35 (in the city)
Movie houses	63
Publishing	
Published titles 1999	360
Total number of issues 1999	1,100,000 issues
Issues per 1,000 inhabitants 1999	105
Active publishers	63

Table 2
Guatemala
Total Expenditure of Homes in Cultural Capital
According to Ethnic Group, 1998-1999
Quetzales per month

Expenditure	Total		
	Total	Indigenous	Non indigenous
TOTAL EXPENDITURES IN EDUCATION, CULTURE, SPORTS AND ENTERTAINMENT	428,335,342	91,285,016	337,050,326
EDUCATION	178,254,014	36,081,123	142,172,891
CULTURAL GOODS	79,592,477	18,746,166	60,846,311
CULTURAL SERVICES	6,628,523	198,223	6,430,300
SPORT GOODS AND SERVICES	5,396,707	1,008,698	4,388,009
ENTERTAINMENT GOODS AND SERVICES	152,228,299	33,721,677	118,506,622
OTHER EXPENDITURES	6,235,322	1,529,129	4,706,193

SOURCE: National Inquest of Familiar Income and Expenditures.

Table 3
Guatemala
Total Expenditure of Homes in Cultural Capital
According to Urban or Rural Area, 1998-1999
Quetzales per month

Expenditure	Total	Urban	Rural
EXPENDITURE IN EDUCATION, CULTURE, SPORTS AND ENTERTAINMENT	428,335,342	339,249,168	89,086,174
EDUCATION	178,254,014	150,094,049	28,159,965
CULTURAL GOODS	79,592,477	61,488,511	18,103,966
CULTURAL SERVICES	6,628,523	6,585,850	42,673
SPORT GOODS AND SERVICES	5,396,707	4,252,595	1,144,112
ENTERTAINMENT GOODS AND SERVICES	152,228,299	112,274,578	39,953,721
OTHER EXPENDITURES	6,235,322	4,553,585	1,681,737

SOURCE: ID.

Table 4

Total Expenditure of Homes in Cultural Capital According to Geographical Region, 1998-1999 Quetzales per month

Expenditure	Geographical Region							
	Metropolitan	North	North East	South East	Central	South West	North West	Petén
NOMBER OF HOMES	514,163	136,712	218,010	173,081	223,591	435,694	242,333	53,953
EXPENDITURES IN EDUCATION, CULTURE, SPORT, AND ENTERTAINMENT	258,401,924	13,695,799	24,647,309	17,492,779	38,967,951	47,375,098	20,711,007	7,043,475
EDUCATION	119,798,044	4,290,351	7,975,733	5,019,588	13,284,962	18,770,716	7,038,700	2,075,920
CULTURAL GOODS	42,274,018	2,336,690	6,642,935	4,133,504	7,731,290	11,273,063	3,700,183	1,500,794
CULTURAL SERVICES	6,125,186	18,018	176,105	42,765	141,354	79,522	35,445	10,128
SPORT GOODS AND SERVICES	2,895,532	178,129	383,559	138,961	483,142	1,001,954	252,499	62,931
ENTERTAINMENT GOODS AND SERVICES	84,155,614	6,671,400	9,304,921	7,891,009	16,952,882	15,625,935	8,533,615	3,092,923
OTHER EXPENDITURES	3,153,530	201,211	164,056	266,952	374,321	623,908	1,150,565	300,779

SOURCE: ID.

Table 5

Total Expenditures of Homes in Cultural Capital By Decils of the Population, 1998-1999 Quetzales per month

Expenditure	Decil de ingresos del hogar									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
NUMBER OF HOMES	199,754	199,754	199,754	199,754	199,754	199,754	199,754	199,754	199,754	199,754
EXPENDITURES IN EDUCATION, CULTURE, SPORT AND ENTERTAINMENT	2,755,203	6,263,408	10,150,408	12,893,822	17,525,530	23,740,112	31,871,122	43,255,286	70,547,367	209,333,084
EDUCATION	664,271	2,123,512	4,033,604	4,055,936	5,731,132	9,593,076	12,420,766	17,943,023	31,451,322	90,237,372
CULTURAL GOODS	397,600	1,455,472	1,762,440	2,045,400	4,874,365	5,220,649	7,079,510	9,615,358	14,374,653	32,767,030
CULTURAL SERVICES	0	0	7,314	2,220	13,344	72,826	169,301	78,451	457,990	5,827,077
SPORT GOODS AND SERVICES	35,134	20,786	64,363	73,657	195,674	372,273	440,923	549,918	693,945	2,950,034
ENTERTAINMENT GOODS AND SERVICES	1,652,809	2,578,354	4,219,011	6,022,139	6,450,845	8,293,953	11,446,428	14,301,618	23,122,101	74,141,041
OTHER EXPENDITURES	5,389	85,284	63,676	694,470	260,170	187,335	314,194	766,918	447,356	3,410,530

SOURCE: ID.

Graphic 1
Distribution of per month expenditures in education, culture, sports and entertainment

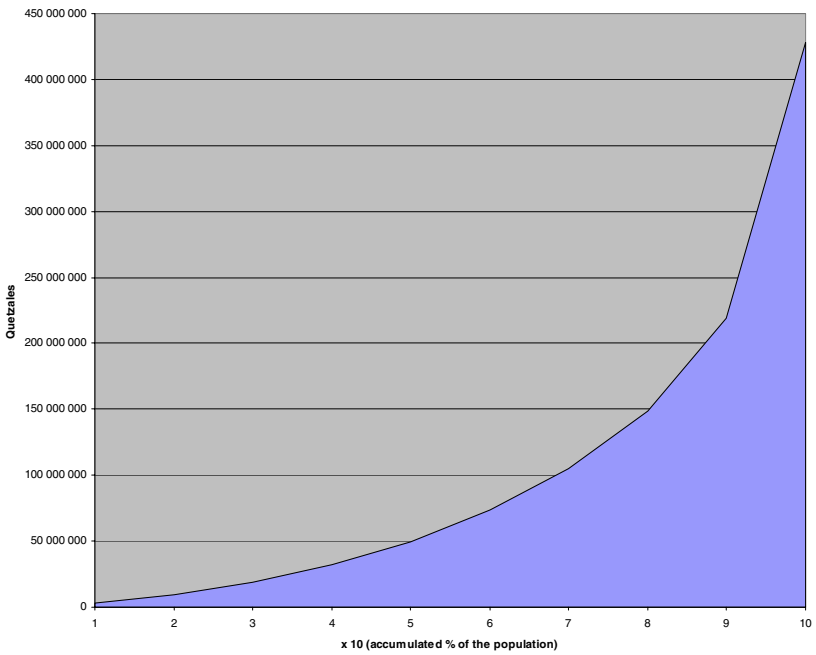


Table 6
Total annual expenditure of homes in cultural capital
1998-99
Quetzales

Expenditure	Annual Figure
NUMBER OF HOMES	1,997,537
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	54,105,846,492
TOTAL INCOME	77,204,964,853
EXPENDITURES IN EDUCATION, CULTURE, SPORTS AND ENTERTAINMENT	5,140,024,104
EDUCATION	2,139,048,168
CULTURAL GOODS	955,109,724
CULTURAL SERVICES	79,542,276
SPORT GOODS AND SERVICES	64,760,484
ENTERTAINMENT GOODS AND SERVICES	1,826,739,588
OTHER EXPENDITURES	74,823,864

SOURCE: ID.

Cultural Statistics as a Time Framework

While perhaps extremely preliminary, the experience of these surveys was enlightening in many senses.

To begin with, it made clear that gathering quantitative information on cultural variables is not a difficult task, given adequate resources and time – information is available through different sources, either directly or indirectly, and cultural actors are willing to provide it. The survey also helped making clear that, whenever basic information is missing from the analysis, there is a tendency to over elaborate on theoretical and conceptual issues, delaying the approach to practical matters. This is particularly true of a country where social sciences were constrained to desk research for too long, at the expense of field research. The opportunity to profit of data basis, not necessarily designed for cultural purposes, like the Inquest of Familiar Income and Expenditures, shows the potential of a more systematic cooperation between institutions – given the possibility of interacting with the design of such projects would give cultural policy makers the opportunity to collect a wide range of information related to, for example, social patterns of production and consumption of cultural activities, goods and services.

However, without being its purpose, the surveys were more successful when dealing with macro data and with information related to artistic activities (the creativity segment of the spectrum) than with information related to the private sector and, most relevant, to the social availability and use of the national heritage and the specifics of ethnic diversity with regard to cultural expression. Doubtlessly, there is a great amount of reflection and discussion to be made in this regard but our suggestion is that these should lead, when dealing with quantitative information, to very pragmatic approaches.

Guatemala is a very particular case, but to say that it is unique would be an exaggeration. It is a developing (or underdeveloped) society defined by ethnic diversity, coming out of a long term internal war, submitted to the pressures of globalization, urban growth and poverty and, none the less, in great need of reinventing its culture and looking forward, in spite of its current complexities and its complicate past. But, as usual, in order to move on, it is important to begin with as an objective an information of our present as possible.

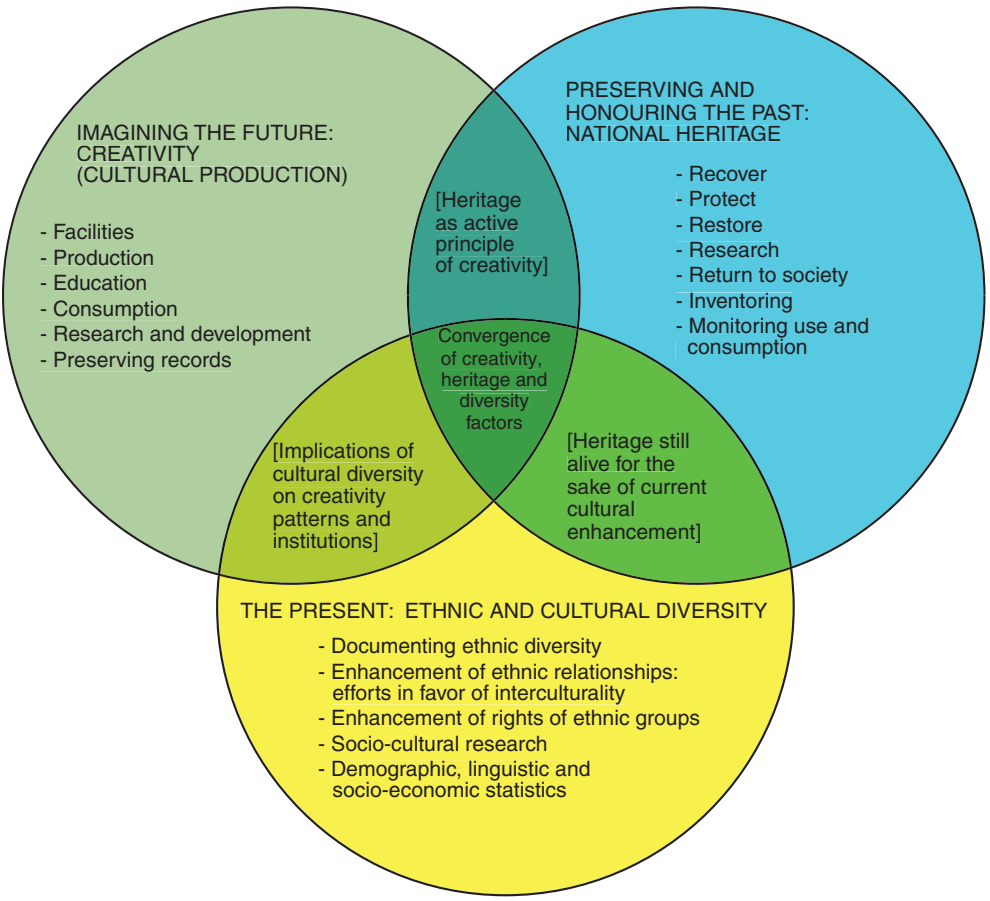
Whatever the institutional framework that will eventually prevail, it is important that cultural statistics and indicators give a clear image of the temporal dimensions of culture, understood basically as the means by which a society understands its past, manages its present and conceives its future. These three time vectors are enough to define the fields of information on which policy makers should focus, to the extent that:

1) The past, represented by cultural heritage, whether incorporated in archeological sites or in traditions, is a source of identity and should be not only documented, but integrated in the present needs of society.
2) The present is determined by ethnic diversity, and requires as objective and precise data as possible.
3) The future is the product of the creativity of the society, that is, its will and capability to reinvent itself.

For the case of Guatemala, heritage, diversity and creativity constitute the great areas in which policy making should focus and are the organizational basis for the implementation of a systematic effort to collect, process and produce cultural statistics and indicators.

Graphic 2

SUGGESTED ORGANISATION OF FIELDS TO BE COVERED BY CULTURAL STATISTICS AND INDICATORS



Conférences — Papers

Vladimir Bina — Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, Zoetermeer, The Netherlands

"Cultural participation in the Netherlands"

Résumé

La recherche sur la participation culturelle est une tradition déjà ancienne aux Pays-Bas. Les premières études furent menées avant la guerre. Depuis 1970, deux enquêtes de grande envergure ont été réalisées : une enquête sur les loisirs, qui porte sur la pratique d'activités artistiques, la fréquentation des salles de spectacle, des musées, des concerts et des monuments, et une enquête sur l'emploi du temps avec utilisation d'un journal permettant de consigner les habitudes en matière de pratiques culturelles – lecture de livres et de journaux, écoute de la télévision et de la radio, utilisation d'un ordinateur personnel ou pratique de l'Internet. Ces enquêtes permettent de voir l'évolution de la participation culturelle au cours des trente dernières années et d'en cerner les tendances. La présente communication passera en revue les principaux développements et tendances en les comparant, dans la mesure du possible, à ceux d'autres pays européens. Il sera ensuite question de l'importance de la recherche sur la participation culturelle pour les décideurs, et des mesures politiques néerlandaises visant à accroître la participation culturelle de ceux que l'on retrouve « en bout de ligne », comme les jeunes et les membres de minorités ethniques.

Abstract

Research on cultural participation has a long-standing tradition in the Netherlands. First studies were conducted before the war. Since 1970's two large scale surveys are carried out: a survey on leisure that includes questions on practicing of artistic activities, visits to theatres, museums, concerts and monuments; and a time use surveys using a diary for recording of media habits such as reading books and newspapers, viewing television, listening to the radio, or using personal computer or the Internet. Those surveys make it possible to discern developments and trends in cultural participation over the last three decades. My paper will contain a review of the main developments and trends and, where possible, comparison with other European countries. I will also discuss the significance of the research on cultural participation for policy makers and sketch Dutch policy measures aiming at increasing cultural participation of those "lagging behind" such as young people and members of ethnic minorities.

Introduction

Research into participation in culture, media use and leisure pursuits have a long-standing tradition in the Netherlands. First studies in this area were carried out before the Second World War. In the fifties Statistics Netherlands began with national surveys of leisure activities (CBS 1954-66) which examined cultural visits, the amateur arts, reading habits and media use in detail.

Since the seventies the large-scale surveys have been continued by the Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP) founded in 1973, one of whose main functions is to conduct scientific research into social and cultural trends.

The SCP's researchers make use of two regular surveys in particular. The Additional Services Survey (ADS) started in 1979, since when it has been repeated every four years. The most recent ADS was conducted in 1999. The ADS involves a representative sample of some 15,000 respondents from the Dutch population. All household members aged 6 and over are interviewed. The ADS provides information on four types of cultural participation:

a) visits to cultural institutions;
b) artistic activities;
c) art collecting;
d) following arts programmes in the media.

The second survey, the Time Use Survey (TUS) has been conducted every five years since 1975, involving a representative sample of some 2,000 to 3,000 respondents aged 12 and over. The most recent TUS was conducted in 2000. The TUS combines a traditional survey with a diary in which the respondents note what they have done and where they have been in a period of a week. It is particularly useful for research into media use. The main areas are:

- reading (books, newspapers, magazines);
- viewing television, video and DVD;
- listening to the radio and recorded music;
- use of computers and the Internet.

The great strength of both these tools, the ADS and the TUS, lies in their longitudinal nature: they enable us to see developments and trends over the past quarter-century. The results of both surveys have also been used to forecast future development in the field of culture (Van den Broek en De Haan 2000).

It goes without saying that these results have important bearing on Dutch cultural policy as well. Therefore I will first present an overview of the main developments in cultural participation and media use and then discuss the significant policy measures.

Visits to cultural institutions

SCP publications distinguish between traditional culture, i.e. theatre, classical music, ballet, mime, museums and art galleries, and popular culture, i.e. pop music, jazz, musicals, cabaret and cinema. In general terms, visits to cultural institutions have risen slightly since the end of the seventies: in 1979, 64% of the Dutch population aged 12 and over paid at least one visit a year

to a performance venue, cinema, museum or art gallery; by 1999 the percentage had risen to 71.

Given the social developments that took place during this period – in particular the much higher educational level of the Dutch population – this growth can only be described as modest. In the seventies about 40 percent of 30-year-olds had received secondary or higher education; by the nineties the percentage had risen to 70 (Knulst 1995, pp. 37-38). As research shows a strong correlation between cultural participation – especially in traditional culture – and level of education we might have expected much sharper growth, but this expectation has not been met. One of the reasons is that the amount of leisure time Dutch people tends to go down, especially in the nineties: it fell by some 5 percent from 1975 to 2000 (Van den Broek 2001, p. 46). The shrinking leisure budget is not only the result of increased pressure of work but other developments as well, such as increasing labour market participation of women or growing amount of time spent on education.

People with secondary and higher education have had less leisure time in the last quarter-century than the average Dutch population.

People now engage in a greater variety of activities in their spare time than in the sixties: not only cultural visits and media use but also sports, voluntary work, leisure clubs, excursions, nightlife and so on. (Knulst 1995, p. 47; Van den Broek 2001, p. 47).

With less leisure time being spent on more activities there is less time for cultural visits. The frequency of visits is declining. Most visitors go to a museum, theatre or concert hall only occasionally i.e. no more than a few times a year.

Table 1

Visits to different types of performances and museums, population aged 12 and over, 1979-99 (in percent and index 1999, 1995 = 100)

	1979	1983	1987	1991	1995	1999	Index
% of cultural participants	64	66	65	66	67	71	105
Traditional culture	30	38	41	42	40	40	100
theatre:	22	22	21	22	23	24	107
professional theatre	.	12	12	12	13	13	104
classical music:	12	13	14	15	16	15	90
concerts	.	.	12	13	13	13	97
opera, operetta	.	.	5	5	7	5	78
ballet	3	3	4	4	3	3	97
mime	1	1	1	1	1	1	78
museums	25	31	34	35	31	33	106
art galleries	17	17	19	19	18	17	90
Popular culture	51	50	49	50	53	56	107
pop music, jazz, musicals	13	18	19	23	24	25	106
cabaret	12	11	10	10	11	13	125
cinema	45	45	42	42	44	49	110
film clubs	4	5	6	5	5	5	100

Source: De Haan 2001, p. 105.

As Table 1 shows, visits to forms of traditional culture increased until the start of the nineties, after which they declined slightly. Visits to forms of popular culture, on the other hand, rose during the decade. This, of course, is not to say that most visitors visit only traditional or popular culture: often the two types are combined.

In general people do not show an interest in traditional culture, e.g. classical music, opera or art, until later life. The age at which people start to be interested in traditional culture has risen over the years: in 1995 the turning point – the age at which a person started visiting traditional forms of culture more than the average – was around 40; four years later it had shifted to 45 (SCR 2000, p. 502).

Visitors only interested in traditional culture make up a mere fraction of the Dutch population. This exclusive interest is also largely confined to older people with secondary and higher education. Conversely, the proportion of the population interested exclusively in popular culture rose from one-fifth in 1983 to a quarter in 1999. Particularly striking is the strong advance of popular culture among young people with secondary and higher education.

The majority of the audience for culture consists of 'omnivores' who have both traditional and popular forms of culture on their menu and alternate between them. The breakdown of the menu has changed, however. The most far-reaching changes have taken place among young people with secondary and higher education. The portion of traditional culture, which in 1983 was about the same as that of popular culture, was dramatically reduced by 1999. Older people with the same level of education had more popular forms of culture on their menu in 1999 than in 1983. Traditional forms of culture predominate, however.

Table 2

The content of events visited in 1983 and 1999 among the population aged 16 and over (A) and the population with secondary and higher education (B), by age

	A: entire sample		B: secondary, senior secondary vocational, higher vocational and university			
	16 and over		16-39		40 and over	
	1983	1999	1983	1999	1983	1999
Only traditional culture	6%	4%	2%	1%	9%	5%
Only popular culture	20%	25%	15%	26%	8%	10%
Combinations of popular and traditional culture:	69%	68%	82%	73%	82%	85%
More traditional than popular culture	21%	17%	23%	9%	44%	36%
Equal shares of traditional and popular culture	19%	15%	17%	10%	22%	19%
More popular than traditional culture	29%	36%	42%	53%	16%	30%
No visits	4%	3%	0%	1%	1%	1%
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
n	**12342**	**11540**	**3054**	**3357**	**1496**	**2347**

Source: Van Eijck, De Haan and Knulst 2002.

Although young people have grown up in a situation favourable to cultural participation, this has not resulted in greater interest in traditional culture. Young people now stay longer in school and therefore have more opportunity to acquire the required cultural skills. The price of an admission ticket to a museum, theatre or concert hall plays only a very limited in deciding whether or not to attend a performance, concert or exhibition. And yet these favourable circumstances do not result in increased interest, not even in the long run, when people get older and have passed beyond the childhood and young adulthood phase of life.

Active cultural participation

Almost forty percent of the Dutch population aged 6 and over – just under six million people – pursue artistic hobbies in their leisure time (De Haan, Van den Broek and Breedveld 2001, p. 136). The number of amateur artists has hardly changed since the seventies (see also Van Beek and Knulst 1991, and De Haan and Knulst 1998).

Among the various artistic activities there have been some changes over the years, however. The popularity of textile work, photography, filming and video has clearly declined since the start of the nineties. The classic art forms in the performing arts and visual arts, on the other hand, have remained almost equally popular. In the case of textile work the decline could be related to increased prosperity, which may have reduced the desire to decorate one's home with homemade wall hangings or carpets. It could also be that the rise of new interactive media, in particular the Internet, has made the older audio-visual equipment – cameras, film cameras and video cameras – less attractive. The last round of the ADS in 1999, however, did not ask about hobbies that make use of computers or the Internet, e.g. Web design or computer-aided design.

Table 3
Participation in various amateur arts, people aged 6 and over, 1991 and 1999

	Participants (% of population)			Those who take lessons (% of practitioners)			Those who belong to a club (% of practitioners)		
	1991	1995	1999	1991	1995	1999	1991	1995	1999
Drawing, painting, graphics	20	17	19	18	18	17	7	6	5
Sculpture, clay modelling, pottery, jewellery-making	6	5	6	22	24	19	10	8	4
Textile work, making wall hangings, weaving	14	8	9	18	18	14	8	7	4
Singing	17	13	17	28	29	23	29	27	23
Playing a musical instrument	16	13	15	38	37	32	20	22	19
Theatre, mime, folk dancing, ballet (including jazz and beat ballet)	7	5	7	65	59	45	56	45	35
Photography, filming, video (other than holiday or family snapshots/films)	13	7	9	6	9	8	3	4	5

Source: De Haan, Van den Broek and Breedveld 2001, p. 134.

It goes without saying that not all amateurs take an equally serious, in-depth approach to their hobbies. Taking lessons and club membership are good indications of the concentration and time devoted to the particular art form. There is a downward trend in both percentages of serious practitioners, those who take lessons and those who belong to a club. Although amateurs are nowadays more inclined to pursue their hobbies in an informal setting, e.g. playing music with a group of friends rather than in a music club, (De Haan 2000), the decline in membership and lessons indicates that the intensity of amateur artistic activities is suffering from increasing pressure of time. This is also true, for that matter, of receptive cultural participation. As already pointed out, mainly occasional visitors populate Dutch theatres, concert halls and museums.

The vast majority of amateurs have traditionally been children and youngsters of school age. Although this age group still makes up the bulk of practitioners, the differences between the various age groups have gradually become smaller due to increasing participation of the elderly: 'the artistic citizen is getting older' (De Haan and Knulst 1998).

Social status, measured by level of education and household income, plays less of a role in the amateur arts than in visits to cultural institutions. While it is true that more people from the higher social strata have artistic hobbies, the differences are smaller. Women (44%), however, are considerably more active than men (34%).

Besides amateur cultural activities we can regard voluntary work in the area of cultural heritage as a form of active cultural participation. This work is by no means as widespread as the amateur arts. Only a few percent of the Dutch population work for museums, heritage sites or archives in their spare time. The majority of the volunteers are well-educated older people (De Haan 1997).

The media

Art and culture through the media

Thanks to the electronic media it is now possible to reach a much larger audience than just visitors to cultural facilities, and the new media have made types of participation possible that did not exist before. Radio, television, audio and video cassettes, compact discs, personal computers, cable and the Internet enable practically everyone in the country to enjoy music, films or drama, writers' discussions and artistic debates without leaving their homes.

Cultural programmes on radio and television are thus heard and seen by far more people than theatre and concert hall performances and museum exhibitions. More than half the population aged 12 and over listened to classical music on CD, television or radio in 1999, for instance, whereas only 15% of the population attended concerts of classical music, operas and operettas. The broadcasting and music industries have succeeded in attracting not only a larger audience but also one that has a broader social span than the performance venues have ever achieved.

Table 4
Art and culture experienced through the electronic media, people aged 12 and over (in percent), 1995-99

	Total percentage of participants		Frequent participants (at least four times a year)		Occasional participants (less than four times a year)	
	1995	1999	1995	1999	1995	1999
Arts programmes on radio or TV	41	35	32	27	10	8
Classical music on radio or TV	32	29	21	20	11	9
Classical music on LP or CD	49	47	35	33	14	14
Cinema films on TV or	77	75	58	55	19	20
Pre-recorded videos	53	62	26	34	27	28

Source: SCR 2000, p. 500.

Interest in traditional forms of culture in the electronic media declined somewhat from 1995 to 1999, owing mainly to decreasing interest among young people. Older people, on the other hand, particularly pensioners, showed more interest in arts programmes and broadcasts and recordings of classical music. Although the quantity of films on television has increased sharply, mainly owing to broadcasts by commercial channels, this has not resulted in more interest. Evidently the market for films on television has been saturated.

Media use

Unlike in the case of the performing arts, when it comes to media use there is not much point in finding out whether people ever watch television, listen to the radio or read newspapers and books: virtually everyone does so during the course of the year. Far more worthwhile is researching the amounts of time people devote to the various media. As already noted, the Dutch TUS keeps track of this time during one week in October. The week in October was selected at the start of the TUS in 1975 because it is an ordinary week with no public holidays or special events. During the week respondents keep a pre-coded diary in which they record a number of activities 24 hours a day in quarter-hour periods.

That most time within the media time budget is devoted to television is not surprising. Television is the predominant medium in Holland as it is in the rest of the industrialised world. What is remarkable is that the amount of time spent watching television has risen only slightly since 1985. Before then Dutch people had only two public channels to watch in their own language (some of them also had a Flemish channel). In the late eighties and the nineties the number of channels increased considerably, mainly thanks to commercial channels. Nowadays there are more than ten Dutch language channels to choose from. The less educated generally watch more television than the better educated, but the differences between the two categories became smaller in the last quarter of the 20th century. Young people spend more time watching commercial channels than public channels. The reverse is true of older people, in particular the over-50s. As is the case throughout the world, the programming of the Dutch commercial channels consists mainly of entertainment, series and films. The public channels, on the other hand, are obliged to observe certain programming rules and devote a lot of their broadcasting time to news, information and culture.

Most people listen to the radio in their cars or while engaged in other activities, particularly domestic. They listen mainly to news and classical or popular music. Listening times have declined continuously since 1975. The biggest decrease was among young people. This may be due to the growing use of the Internet, which provides facilities for downloading and playing music (Huysmans and De Haan 2001, p. 81).

Table 5

Media use: watching television (inc. video, and cable news), listening to the radio (inc. audio), reading, computer use (inc. Internet) as a main activity, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in percent, hours per week and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	Index
Media use (hours per week)	18.5	17.8	19.0	18.8	18.8	18.7	100
watching television	10.2	10.3	12.1	12.0	12.4	12.4	100
listening to the radio	2.2	1.8	1.4	1.2	0.8	0.7	79
reading printed media	6.1	5.7	5.3	5.1	4.6	3.9	86
computer and Internet			0.1	0.5	0.9	1.8	186
Media use: participation (%)	99	100	100	100	99	99	100
watching television	94	96	98	97	96	97	101
listening to the radio	68	60	52	50	41	36	89
reading printed media	96	95	94	91	89	84	94
computer and Internet			4	13	23	45	193
Media use by participants (hours per week)	18.6	17.9	19.0	18.9	18.9	18.8	100
watching television	10.9	10.8	12.4	12.4	12.9	12.7	99
listening to the radio	3.2	3.0	2.7	2.4	2.1	1.8	89
reading printed media	6.4	6.0	5.7	5.6	5.2	4.7	91
computer and Internet			3.5	3.7	4.0	3.9	97

Source: Huysmans and De Haan 2001, p. 77.

Since the first survey in 1975 the amount of time spent on reading has declined. (This is of course concern print media only, as the use of a television or a computer screen also involves a lot of reading.) The biggest decrease has been in book-reading: whereas the Dutch population read books for 1.6 hours a week on average in 1975, by 2000 the figure had almost halved, to 0.9 hours a week. The decline in book reading was first seen among young people, but since 1995 the time older people – aged 35 and over – spend reading books has also declined. Prior research has established that watching television goes partly at the expense of book and newspaper reading (Knulst and Kraaykamp 1996, p. 203). Watching time has not increased over the last five years, however, so it may be that it is "no longer the television but the personal computer connected to the Internet that is eating away at the time spent reading books, newspapers and magazines" (Huysmans and De Haan 2001, p. 87).

The use of personal computers and in particular the Internet has grown exponentially in recent years. In 2001 54 percent of the Dutch population surfed the Web, thus taking third place in the European Union after the Swedes and the Danes (Europeans' 2002, p. 4). Young people aged 12-19 are ahead in the use of PCs and the Internet. From 1995 to 2000 the proportion of the Dutch population using computers and the Internet in their spare time almost doubled, from

23% to 45%. Given that the total time spent on the media remained constant during that period – 19 hours a week –, this has been at the expense of viewing television and reading (Huysmans and De Haan 2001, p. 90). Although there is again a positive link between PC and Internet use and level of education, the differences between the less-educated and the better-educated are smaller than in the case of visits to cultural facilities: they are about as large as those pertaining to amateur artistic activities.

Some cultural pessimists are afraid that people use new media at the expense of social contacts and participation in civil society. They think that computer and Internet users prefer a virtual to actual contact with other people. This anxiety is not backed up by research. Frequent Internet use does not take place at the expense of face-to-face contacts; indeed, it would appear to strengthen social contacts and informal aid to friends and neighbours. Also, the Internet – in the form of e-mail, chat groups and so on – is often used for voluntary work (De Haan, Huysmans and De Hart 2002, p. 87).

Diverging preferences of young and older people

All the research into cultural participation shows a clear correlation between cultural interests – especially interest in traditional culture – and education. All other things remaining equal, the better-educated show more interest than the less well educated. This applies to young and older people alike. Periodic surveys such as the ADS and TUS enable a comparison of different cohorts. We can, for instance, compare cultural participation by people who were young, adult or elderly in the seventies with that by their contemporaries at the start of the 21st century. As we have already seen, the difference between young people and older people has grown constantly over the last 25 years.

A lot of research, mainly conducted by sociologists employed now or formerly by the Social and Cultural Planning Office, has been done in the Netherlands into the increasing differences in cultural participation by young people and older people (Knulst 1989; Knulst and Kraaykamp 1996; De Haan 1997; De Haan and Knulst 1998; SCR 1998; De Haan and Knulst 2000). To explain the divergence Jos de Haan and Wim Knulst elaborated and tested two theories in the last-mentioned study.

"The first theory examined seeks the causes in particular characteristics of young people and young adults. According to this phase-of-life hypothesis, life between the ages of roughly 20 and 40 gets in the way of participating in time-intensive leisure activities in particular because of the demanding combination of work and family responsibilities. In the phase of life after 45 the pressure of time gradually decreases".

"The second possible explanation, the socialisation hypothesis, seeks the causes in a change in the child-rearing climate and child-rearing ideals, the effects of which act through the new birth cohorts. This is based on the supposition that the generations who grew up in the sixties and later are 'programmed' differently from previous generations, and this 'programming' inhibits the younger generations from developing the skills required for traditional culture" (De Haan and Knulst 2000, p. 200).

The socialisation hypothesis turned out to provide the best explanation for the growing divergence in cultural interest. There is less interest in traditional culture among cohorts born after 1960 than in the generation born before 1960. This applies not only to the arts and cultural

heritage – e.g. museums and historic buildings – but also to media use. Young people spend less of their spare time reading and prefer the commercial television channels to the public channels. This process takes place gradually, in the sense that each younger cohort takes less interest in traditional culture than its predecessors do. This trend is best explained by the socialisation hypothesis, which assumes that "people during the subsequent course of their lives remain faithful to the forms of culture and media they mastered during their youth (the socialisation phase) and then woven into their lifestyles. Receptivity to new forms of culture or media is greatest in each new generation, which does not have to set aside previously acquired cultural habits for them and which eagerly latches onto new forms of consumption which distinguish it from the older generation" (De Haan and Knulst 2000, p. 232).

This process is not confined to the cultural domain. In other areas too – e.g. fashion – innovation takes place on a cohort basis, starting at the bottom of the age pyramid.

The first cohort that shows less interest in traditional culture is the one born around 1960. This is not a coincidence. In the second half of the sixties and the early seventies there was a "cultural revolution" in Dutch society, as there was throughout the industrialised world. This had far-reaching consequences for the child-rearing climate. Parents made less and less use of do's and don'ts bringing up their children; instead they negotiated with them, with the result that children gained a considerable say in their own upbringing. Under this permissive regime the cultural canon and the associated *Bildungsideal*, the ideal of cultivated man, have lost much of their significance. It was no longer taken for granted, even among the well-to-do, that children would read 'good' children's books, take music lessons or go to the theatre and classical music concerts with their parents. Many critical movements of the era were suspicious of artistic traditions and conventions, which were seen as weapons of the Establishment.

The cultural hierarchy that had previously been unquestioned was further weakened by the rise of 'youth culture'. The world-wide success of pop groups like the Beatles and the Rolling Stones encouraged young people to find their own way, also in the cultural domain, and to set less and less store by their parents' aesthetic ideals.

Another important factor was the democratisation of secondary and higher education. Before 1960 secondary school pupils and university students in the Netherlands came mainly from the higher social strata. In the sixties children from the lower and middle classes started moving on to secondary and higher education in large numbers. Due to their background these pupils and students were not usually as familiar with the traditional cultural canon as their predecessors in earlier decades. At the same time radical reforms took place, first in secondary and then in higher education. These – in particular the 1968 Secondary Education Act – changed the system of secondary education and added a large number of new types of schools and courses. In most of these courses, culture education was replaced with a broader set of social studies to provide pupils with the skills considered necessary for the world of work and life in the community. From the end of the sixties to the start of the 21st century only the grammar schools (*Gymnasium* in Dutch) devoted a substantial part of their curriculum to culture with the result that most children who were not initiated into traditional culture in the family had little if any opportunity to explore it at school.

Cultural participation by ethnic minorities

Since its genesis as a sovereign nation in the 16th century the Netherlands always attracted immigrants. People who were persecuted in their own countries on account of their religion, persuasion or ideas sought refuge in the tolerant climate of the Dutch Republic; indeed, the economic and cultural flowering that the country experienced in the 17th century – the Golden Age – was due to a large extent to Flemish refugees, French Huguenots and Spanish and Portuguese Jews.

Until the 1960s the immigrants were mainly people who had been brought up in the Judaeo-Christian tradition, so the difference between the culture in their country of origin and Dutch culture was fairly small. This was also true of the wave of immigrants who came to the country after 1948, when Indonesia became independent. This pattern began to change with the arrival of 'guest workers' in the sixties. These were mainly Muslims and moreover from underdeveloped areas such as Anatolia in Turkey and the Riff mountains of Morocco. They had little if any knowledge of Western culture. Nowadays some 10% of the Dutch population – just under one-and-a-half million people – are non-western immigrants. Turks, Moroccans,Surinamese, and Antilleans make up the biggest groups. On top of this, asylum-seekers have been coming to the Netherlands from all over the world since the eighties. Their numbers are growing rapidly, from 21,000 a year in 1990 reaching a peak of 44,000 in 2000. Most immigrants settle in the big cities in the west of the country. The majority of schoolchildren in cities such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht are now, or soon will be, members of ethnic minorities (Statistisch 2002; Allochtonen 1995; Tesser et. al. 1995-2001).

It goes without saying that major efforts are needed to assimilate immigrants into Dutch society. As traditional and popular forms of culture are an important aspect of social life in the Netherlands, familiarity with Western culture is conducive to the social functioning of immigrants.

The ADS shows that ethnic minorities are underrepresented among visitors of cultural institutions: this is particularly true of Turks and Moroccans, to a lesser extent of immigrants from the former Dutch colony of Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles which are still a part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands (De Haan and Knulst 2000, p. 43). This situation is due mainly to their inadequate command of Dutch and low level of education. If we take educational level into account, the difference disappears: better-educated immigrants do not visit performance venues or museums any less than their native Dutch contemporaries. For this reason alone it is gratifying to note that the educational level of immigrants is rising: far more second and third-generation youngsters – those who were born or have grown up in the Netherlands – are in secondary and higher education than their parents or grandparents (Tesser and Iedema 2001).

When it comes to amateur artistic activities the differences are smaller: whereas 40% of the native Dutch population are active participants, the percentage among immigrants is 36 (De Haan, Van den Broek and Breedveld 2001, p. 136).

Increasing interest in Western culture does not go at the expense of interest in the culture of the country of origin: even better educated immigrants retain this interest (Campbell, Reinsch and Driessen 1994; Rijpma and Roques 2000). Their 'exotic' cultures are manifested particularly in

the large number of events and festivals that have been staged in virtually all the larger towns and cities in the Netherlands since the end of the eighties. These are attended not only by immigrants but also by the native Dutch population, thus enriching the country's cultural life.

International comparison

Like the Netherlands, most Member States of the European Union conduct research into cultural participation, but the design, methods and periodicity of the surveys and the questions they ask differ considerably. The Task Force is therefore making attempts, under the auspices of Eurostat, to harmonise research into cultural participation, in particular on Participation in Cultural Activities (Report 2001). It was the Task Force that devised the questionnaire for the Eurobarometer survey into cultural participation conducted in autumn 2001 in all fifteen Member States. The Eurobarometer involved a limited sample of approx. 1,000 respondents in each country. To date only an Executive Summary has been published (Europeans' 2002) with tables on a country-by-country basis (Eurobarometer 2002). The tables show that the Dutch are ahead in the use of personal computers and the Internet. In other areas, e.g. visits to the performing arts and museums, reading of books, newspapers and magazines and amateur artistic activities the Netherlands rank somewhere in the middle.

On some points the findings of the Eurobarometer differ substantially from those of the national surveys. The influence of various background variables such as education level, age and gender has not been analysed yet. Eurostat therefore plans to carry out a more detailed analysis of the Eurobarometer.

Andries van den Broek and Jos de Haan have already done an analysis of this kind based on national surveys in nine European countries. In all the countries studied there is a correspondence between level of education and cultural participation. The less educated show less interest in both the traditional forms of culture and the form of popular culture par excellence, pop concerts. This inequality in cultural interest seems to be a universal law (SCR 2000, p. 543). The question, then, is whether cultural policy as such can do much to change the inequality. Educational policy – encouraging as many young people as possible to go on to secondary and higher education – is much more effective in this regard.

On the other hand, the waning interest of young people in traditional culture seems to be confined mainly to the Netherlands. This is remarkable because the developments affecting this have taken place not only here but also in all the industrialised countries, cf. the rebellious sixties and the rise of youth culture and lifestyle. It may be that upbringing and/or education in other European countries provides a stronger counterbalance to these socio-cultural developments than they do in Holland.

It is also possible, however, that the differences found are due to the design of the national surveys and the questions they asked. Analysis of the Eurobarometer findings could provide an initial indication of this, but only an initial indication, as the sample was too small to enable the differences to be analysed in depth. Eurostat has plans to include questions on cultural participation in a large-scale Adult Education Survey that is to be launched within the next few years. Not until we have the results of this will we have a clear picture of the trends in cultural participation by young people – as well as adults and the elderly, of course – in various European countries.

Table 6

Cultural participation, percentages of the 15-75 age bracket that visited a museum, theatre, classical or pop concert in the past 12 months, with differentiation for young people and the less-educated(a) and, where possible, deviation from the national average in 9 European countries, in the 1990s

	Classical concert			Pop concert		
	all	young	less-educated	all	young	less-educated
Netherlands (1995)	16	-8	-7	25	+13	-13
Other Western Europe						
Belgium[b] (1998)	31	+15	-17	27	+32	- 8
France (1997)	9	-3	-4	16	.	.
Great-Britain[c] (1991)	13	-6	-4	18	+28	-3
Northern Europe						
Denmark (1993)	16	.	.	.	.	.
Finland (1991)	11	-1	- 8	12	+25	-4
Southern Europe						
Italy (1995)	10	0	-5	19	+20	-7
Spain[d] (1990)	7	+1	!4	10	+7	-3
Average for all countries	14	0	-7	18	+21	- 6
	Museum attendance			Theatre performance		
	all	young	less-educated	all	young	less-educated
Netherlands (1995)	31	-5	-14	27	-2	-12
Other Western Europe						
Belgium[b] (1998)	48	+2	-15	49	+1	-17
France (1997)	32	+7	-8	15	+8	-5
Great-Britain[c] (1991)	32	0	-7	39	-4	-8
Northern Europe						
Denmark (1993)	55	.	.	26	.	.
Finland[e] (1991)	43	+6	-9	38	-2	-8
Southern Europe						
Italy (1995)	29	+6	-11	18	+2	-10
Spain[d] (1990)	28	+13	.	14	+4	-8
Average for all countries	37	+4	-11	28	+1	-10

a. Young people 15-24 age bracket, less-educated: bottom tertile.

b. Flanders only, population 16-75.

c. Great Britain instead of United Kingdom: question was not "did you visit in the past 12 months"but"do you visit occasionally at the moment".

d. Art museum not included.

e. Population of 18 and over.

Source: SCP 2000, supplemented with data from Cultural Statistics in the EU (2000). Les pratiques culturelles des Français (1997) and Arts Council of Great Britain (1991).

Cultural participation and policy

Before discussing policy measures aimed at enhancing cultural participation, a short outline of the system of cultural policy in the Netherlands is probably useful for the reader.

Central, local and provincial government in the Netherlands together spend about 2 billion euros a year on culture. The municipalities account for 58% of this and central government (the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science) 32%. The remaining 10% are provided by the provinces (Cultuurbeleid 2002).

Although the Ministry is not the principal source of funding for culture, it is the Ministry – or to be more precise the State Secretary for Education, Culture and Science – that mainly decides cultural policy in the Netherlands. This is because the Ministry subsidises the main national troupes, museums and other cultural institutions. All subsidies are awarded for a four-year period. They are allocated on the basis of a four-year plan known as the Cultural Policy Document. The drafting of each new Cultural Policy Document starts with the publication of a Discussion Paper setting out the principles of cultural policy for the next four years. The State Secretary submits the Paper to Parliament and the main advisory body, the Council for Culture. After the Council has made recommendations on the Paper and it has been debated in Parliament, and if necessary amended, all cultural institutions in the Netherlands have the opportunity to submit subsidy applications for the next Cultural Policy Document period. Professional experts selected by the Council for Culture appraise these. Quality is the main criterion. As it is inconceivable under the Dutch system that a politician and his or her civil servants should judge the content and quality of art or culture, the Council's opinion is the decisive factor. The State Secretary must have compelling reasons if he or she wishes to set a recommendation concerning an orchestra, a theatre company or a museum aside. The process results in the publication of the Cultural Policy Document, which sets out the allocation of subsidies for the next four years. The Document must also be debated and approved by Parliament, of course.

The main aims of cultural policy have remained practically unchanged over the years. Government policy is to enhance the quality and variety of culture available and to encourage cultural participation by the Dutch population.

The first two goals are much easier to achieve than the third one: if the government subsidises a wide range of outstanding cultural activities it helps to enhance the quality and diversity of culture in the Netherlands.

Subsidies, however, have only an indirect effect on cultural participation by making admission tickets cheaper. About 85% of the expenses of theatre companies and 70% of the expenses of art museums are covered by subsidies (Principles 1999, pp. 73-74).

Apart from this generic measure we can broadly identify three types of policy on participation: policy on particular target groups, cultural education and the Cultural Outreach Action Plan.

Policy on target groups is aimed mainly at young people and ethnic minorities. In addition to the Cultureel Jongeren Paspoort, a discount card which entitles young people to substantial reductions on the price of theatre and concert tickets, since 2001 all secondary school pupils in the country have been issued with culture vouchers to the value of 23 enabling them to attend performing arts events free of charge. Most Dutch museums provide admission to young people under the age of 18 free of charge.

Different initiatives are being taken to encourage cultural participation by ethnic minorities. These include policy measures aimed at supporting artists from these minorities, fostering co-operation between Dutch and immigrant artists and promoting good practices. All subsidised institutions are encouraged to make more allowance for the cultural diversity of the Dutch population in their programming and PR, so as to extend their reach among the 'new' Dutch. The Netherlands Museum Association has developed Intercultural Museum Programmes, which have introduced more colours into the presentations and public of the Dutch museums. When new members are appointed to the boards of cultural institutions there is positive discrimination in favour of candidates from ethnic minorities. This, then, is another way of trying to achieve greater diversity.

As already noted, culture and art remained on the margins of Dutch education until the nineties. This unsatisfactory situation has now been substantially improved in both primary and secondary schools, both of which now devote quite a lot of attention to art and culture, working together with cultural institutions such as theatre companies, orchestras and museums. The vast majority of these institutions has partnerships with schools in their town or region and has developed special educational programmes. A new subject, Cultural and Arts Studies, has been introduced in secondary schools. This does not only consist of lessons about the arts and culture: pupils are required to visit at least ten cultural events (performances, concerts and exhibitions). Research shows that this subject has a positive effect on pupils' interest in traditional culture. This also applies to pupils from ethnic minorities, who show at least as much interest in this culture as their native Dutch classmates (Ganzeboom and Haanstra 2001, 2002).

An important feature of the current Cultural Policy Document, Culture as Confrontation, is the Cultural Outreach Action Plan, the aim of which is to involve more people in culture, especially new audiences such as immigrants and the young. The term 'culture' is taken in the broad sense here, covering not only traditional culture such as the performing arts and museums but also popular culture such as pop music. The Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, the provinces and the municipalities have reached agreements and instituted programmes for the 2001-04 period, which the Ministry is to fund to the tune of 31 million euros a year. The municipalities and provinces are contributing just fewer than 14 million euros a year. It goes without saying that the culture covered by the plan is not confined to traditional cultural venues such as theatres and concert halls; on the contrary, performances and other events are to take place in less 'posh' places such as community centres, cafes and the open air. Targeted publicity campaigns will attempt to interest new audiences in the programmes. To find out what effect the Action Plan is having, the Ministry has initiated a detailed survey in collaboration with the Association of Netherlands Municipalities and the Interprovincial Consultative Council.

Towards a democracy of culture

Our present-day attitude to the arts derives to a large extent from 19th-century notions, in particular those of Romanticism, in which the artist is seen as a genius, elevated above ordinary mortals. Artists' creations are of a quasi-sacramental nature, which is why the public is expected to show due reverence towards them, e.g. when attending a concert or play or visiting a museum. It is important to point out that this attitude to the arts did not become commonplace until the 19th century. The present-day rules of conduct in a concert hall – wearing appropriate dress, refraining from eating, drinking and smoking, not applauding until the piece has finished – did not come into force until then (Smithuysen 2001). Before that time people had a much more informal and relaxed attitude to the arts.

Trends in cultural participation, at least insofar as we can identify them from research in the Netherlands, indicate that this solemn attitude is changing. Visits to the arts and other forms of traditional culture are increasingly losing their exceptional, festive nature and are more often taking place in combination or alternation with other leisure pursuits and out-of-house entertainment. Even frequent visitors who confined themselves mainly to traditional culture in the sixties and seventies started playing more sport, watching television more often or visiting amusement parks at the end of the 20th century. Conversely, people who spend most of their leisure time on non-cultural pursuits are occasionally going to a performance venue or museum (Van den Broek, Knulst and Breedveld 1999, pp. 34-35). The visiting conventions are beginning to wear off: by no means everyone, at least in Holland, goes to a performance or concert in his or her Sunday best: Dutch theatres and concert halls are populated mainly by people in jeans and other leisure wear.

Not only the performing arts but also other art forms are increasingly making up an integral part of daily life, one that is almost taken for granted. At one time it was only the nobility, the wealthy bourgeoisie and the churches that could afford an architect. Nowadays architects shape our towns and villages – from centres to suburbs. Artists have designed virtually all the objects we use in our daily lives. They have a major influence on – for instance – broadcasting, advertising, food packaging, or the interior design of shops, offices and other public areas.

The pedestal upon which Romanticism placed art and culture, then, is crumbling, but this certainly does not mean that art and culture have lost their influence. On the contrary, in present-day life they have become much more important, substantially determining the quality of life.

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Conférences

Papers

Rubén Gutiérrez del Castillo

Fundación Autor/Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, SGAE, Madrid, España

"Cultural Indicators in Spain"

Résumé

L'Espagne ne possède pas une très longue tradition en ce qui concerne les statistiques sur la participation culturelle. Ces recherches débutent vers le milieu des années 1970 et sont gérées par le gouvernement espagnol; elles sont interrompues au début des années 1990. Depuis, certaines entreprises privées comme la *Fundación Autor (Spanish Society of Authors, Composers and Publishers)* ont mené des recherches dans le but d'étudier l'évolution des principaux indicateurs de consommation culturelle, particulièrement la part de activités culturelles dans le PIB espagnol.

Dans cet article, je tenterai de démontrer comment les principaux indicateurs de participation évoluent, me concentrant davantage sur les données les plus récentes ainsi que sur les principales données économiques dans le domaine de la culture en Espagne.

Abstract

Statistics about cultural partipation in Spain have a very short tradition, beginning in the mid seventies and run by the Spanish Government, they were interrupted in early nineties. Since then, some private institutions like Fundación Autor (Spanish Society of Authors, Composers and Publishers) have led research in order to know the evolution of the main indicators of cultural consumption and, even, the share of the cultural activities in the Spanish GDP.

In this paper I'll try to show the evolution of the main indicators of participation, with a special focus in the most recent data, and also the main economic figures of Culture in Spain.

1. Introduction

This paper seeks to review the cultural consumption reality in Spain. It focuses on the three key issues to describe and understand the cultural industry in Spain.

The first part contains an aggregate vision of the culture and leisure industry in Spain, viewed through the lens of macroeconomic data. The analysis quantifies the economic importance of the industry and its ability to create wealth and jobs. The second part will break down the level of aggregation to analyze in further detail the situation of some specific cultural areas, particularly, the performing arts, music and audiovisual sectors in the past year, in 2001. In the third and last part of the presentation, after analyzing the importance and situation of the offering in each sector, we will turn to the composition of the demand side – the profile of the Spanish consumer of culture.

2. Economic Contribution of the Spanish Culture and Leisure Industry

In 1996, the SGAE conducted a pioneer study to ascertain the financial contribution of the culture and leisure industries to the Spanish economy. The result of that initial study is the work led by Isabel García Gracia, which analyses and updates periodically the repercussion of the culture industry on the Spanish GNP.

The main conclusions to be drawn from this work – last update published in 2000 and titled *La Industria de la Cultura y el Ocio. Su aportación al PIB (1993-1997)* – are the following.

a) Contribution of the culture and leisure industry to the GNP. The impact of the culture and leisure industry to the GNP was on the rise in the period under analysis. In 1997 the contribution to the GNP was 4.5% (in constant pesetas), from 3.1% in 1992.

   The gross value added (GVA) generated by the Spanish culture and leisure industry in 1997 was over 3 trillion pesetas (3.281.950 million pesetas or 1.971.712 million in constant terms). Gross value added resulted mainly from private initiative which was certainly higher than public initiative. Specifically, the share of the private sector in the total gross value added in the industry was 92% vs 8% of the public sector.

   In the private sector, direct activities mainly related to processes generating intellectual property rights amounted in 1997 to 27% of the GVA generated by the sector; indirect activities related to the use and distribution of goods and services amounted to 63.3%; and finally, indirect activities related to the manufacture of the physical support for the development of cultural and leisure activities amounted to 9.7%. The GAV generated by the public sector – where two institutions were the key players – corresponded to the Central Administration (16%), and Regional Administrations (84%).

Table 1
Evolution of key variables in the culture and leisure industry

		1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
GVApm Total	Current pesetas	1,766,251	1,445,425	1,615,016	1,971,539	2,296,720	3,281,950
	Constant$_{86}$ pesetas	1,243,607	963,144	1,046,946	1,227,924	1,396,798	1,971,712
GVApm Private	Current pesetas	1,576,680	1,245,360	1,415,716	1,738,666	2,043,264	3,020,148
	Constant$_{86}$ pesetas	1,129,069	849,127	933,282	1,099,308	1,262,514	1,834,578
GVApm Public	Current pesetas	189,571	200,065	199,300	232,873	253,456	261,802
	Constant$_{86}$ pesetas	114,538	114,017	113,665	128,616	134,284	137,134
GNPpm	Current pesetas	59,104,986	60,952,584	64,811,535	69,780,058	73,743,261	77,896,586
	Constant$_{86}$ pesetas	40,177,443	39,710,033	40,04,007	41,706,926	42,715,349	44,224,113
% over GNPpm	Current pesetas	3.0	2.4	2.5	2.8	3.1	4.2
	Constant$_{86}$ pesetas	3.1	2.4	2.6	2.9	3.3	4.5

Source: Isabel García Gracia (2000).

b) Job creation. The culture and leisure industry created 758,510 jobs in 1997, of which 702,156 belonged to the private sector, and 56,354 to the public sector. The evolution of this variable was positive, and grew 34.8% from 1992 to 1997 – a much stronger growth than in any other industry, which grew 6.9% during the same period.

Table 2

Employment in cultural activities and share in the economy as a whole, %

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
			Culture			
Number						
Total jobs	**562,769**	**573,487**	**619,210**	**656,294**	**693,915**	**758,510**
Private sector	516,569	527,333	573,075	608,452	642,139	702,156
Public sector	46,200	46,154	46,135	47,842	51,776	56,354
			Economy			
Number						
Total jobs	**9,076,284**	**8,685,577**	**8,626,216**	**8,942,697**	**9,284,080**	**9,708,847**
Private sector	6,909,700	6,570,900	6,567,910	6,821,190	7,047,910	7,449,980
Public sector	2,166,570	2,114,700	2,058,320	2,121,550	2,236,200	2,259,070
			Share of culture in the economy (%)			
Percentage						
Total jobs	**6.2**	**6.6**	**7.2**	**7.3**	**7.5**	**7.8**
Private sector	5.7	6.1	6.6	6.8	6.9	7.2
Public sector	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6

Source: Isabel García Gracia (2000).

c) Turnover in the private sector in 1997 was over 9 trillion current pesetas (5.5 trillion in constant pesetas), a 83.1% growth in current pesetas (55.3% in constant pesetas) from 1992 to 1997. The breakdown by type of activity was similar to the GVApm generated by the sector, where indirect activities related to use and distribution prevailed.

d) The number of companies in the industry increased by almost 38%: from 67,166 companies in 1992 to 92,642 in 1997. While indirect activities prevail in the large-scale metrics previously listed, the evolution of players by type of activity shows a significant growth of direct activities in the case of GAVpm and turnover. However, indirect activities – related to the use and distribution of cultural products – still displayed the highest number of companies in the industry, in line with turnover.

e) Commercial exchanges of culture and leisure goods and services abroad, exports and imports, were on the rise from 1993 until 1997, with a positive balance in favor of exports. At the aggregate level, the balance on current account was adverse overall as a result of the exchange of activities related to use and commercialization, while direct and indirect activities were favorable for the entire period.

f) Total public expenditure on culture and leisure activities showed a rising trend that peaked in 1997 with over 752 billion pesetas. Compared to five years ago, this evolution represents a 46.2% increase in current terms (30.7% in constant pesetas). The structure of public spending is similar to the structure of the GVApm.

g) Industry-specific comparisons. Using tax sources published by the Instituto de Estudios Fiscales for all industries – homogeneous comparative data – the culture and leisure industry soared to fourth position. In the comparison, the culture and leisure industry exceeded all other relevant industries in the economy, i.e. transportation, textile, chemicals, and automobile, among others.

h) International comparisons. Comparing the Spanish culture and leisure industry with the culture and leisure industry in the UK and USA – where similar studies are available – reveals that the contribution of the UK and USA industries was superior. In 1995 the US industry participated with 5.6% in the US economy, and 4% in the UK economy, compared to 2.9% in Spain. The data must be read with caution because the description of cultural activities is not consistent across the countries. However, the impact of the Spanish culture and leisure industry is fast growing.

   Total job creation by the Spanish culture and leisure industry is more intense. It amounted to 7.34% of all jobs in 1995, compared to 5.02% in the US and 5.0% in the UK.

3. The Situation of the Performing Arts, Music and Audiovisual Arts in Spain

Since 1997, the SGAE and Fundación Autor have analyzed the development of the different sectors that are the core of our activities. Published yearly since 1997, the *SGAE Yearbook of the Performing Arts, Music and Audiovisual Arts* records the key figures of the industry – a benchmark in the field . The main figures are listed and explained below.

3.1 The Performing Arts

For the first time in years, the fast development of the performing arts seems to have come to a halt in Spain. While the number of performances grew from 42,777 in 2000 to 46,220, all other indicators show a lacklustre trend. In fact the total number of viewers went slightly down from 12,605,270 in 2000 to 11,648,035 – a 7.6% drop. Box office sales remained practically unchanged (a 0.9% increase disregarding inflation; in constant terms, a slight drop is detected), going from 121.2 million euro to 122.3 million euro in 2001. The figures reveal that the performing arts – at least with the current structure of programming and pricing – have possibly peaked in terms of spectators. It is very likely that in 2002, and as a result of the 2001 figures, the performing activity will sink even further.

The reason underlying the uneven evolution of sales (rising) and spectators (declining) is that for unsubsidized shows, the average ticket price – total box office sales divided by number of spectators – increased from 15.1 euros in 2000 to 19.8 euros in 2001 (31.1% higher). The increase may be due to a widespread increase of ticket prices or, more likely, to the fact that spectators are increasingly favoring the shows with the most expensive tickets, and disregarding all other shows.

Theater

In 2001 there were 42,390 theater performances (up from 37,563 in 2000) including all genres. 24.1% were performed in the Community of Madrid, and 18.6% in Cataluña. Total number of spectators was 9.6 million – a loss of almost 650,000 attendants compared to 2000 –, concentrated in Madrid (23.9%), Cataluña (13.9%), and the Community of Valencia (12.5%). With the loss of 2.2 millions spectators, the Community of Madrid recorded the worst drop. Audience attendance levels in Madrid were set back even below 1999 levels.

Box office sales went from 82.8 million euro in 2000 to 80.4 million euro the following year, a slight drop of almost 3%. Madrid, with 43.8% of the domestic market, and Cataluña, with 25%, displayed the highest ticket sales. Despite the substantial reduction in the number of spectators in Madrid, ticket sales hardly suffered (from 36 million euro to 35.3), which reflects the stiff average increase of ticket prices.

Some productions played a major role in 2001. Just one of the them, *Beauty and the Beast*, posted sales of 11.5 million euros – in other words, 14.3% of the total theatre turnover in Spain.

Major productions in 2001

Play	Spectators	Ticket sales (euro)
Beauty and the Beast	342,374	11,509,010
5 hombres.com	143,185	3,021,818
La Cage aux Folles	138,786	2,878,524
Una nit d´opra	135,463	2,692,841
My Fair Lady	62,691	1,798,282

Dance

Dance shows experienced a substantial decline, thus confirming its negative evolution in the past few years. The number of dance shows in 2001 was much below the figure for 2000. The Community of Madrid offered 30.4% of the total dance shows, followed by Andalucía with 21%, and Cataluña with 14.5%. Dance shows were attended by 895.302 spectators, down from 1,488,230 spectators in 2000 – a 39.8% reduction. Viewers were also mainly in Madrid (30.6%), Cataluña (15.5%), and Andalucía (15.5%).

Despite the substantial drop in the number of shows and viewers, ticket sales went only slightly down, from 14.5 million euro in 2000 to 13.7 in 2001. Sales concentrated in Madrid (36.6%), Cataluña (24.4%), and Andalucía (9%) – proof again that the public favored the shows with the highest ticket prices, and rejected other options.

Opera and Spanish Zarzuela

In 2001 the number of lyrical performances increased to 1,543 (a 48.5% increase compared to 2000, with 1,039 shows), mainly due to the positive evolution in Cataluña – where the Liceu consolidated its offering –, Asturias, Aragón, and Madrid. 28.3% of the shows were performed in Madrid, 25.3% in Cataluña, and 6.2% in Andalucía. The total figure of spectators showed also a substantial 34.8% growth, and went from 823,025 in 2000 to 1,109,639 in 2001. Tickets sales also expanded notably, from 23.9 million euro in 2000 to 28.1 million, an increase mainly attributed to Asturias, Cataluña, and the Basque Country.

3.2 Classical Music

Live performances of classical music displayed a positive evolution across all indicators, compared to the disappointing figures in 2000.

The number of performances increased slightly from 17,704 in 2000 to 17,996 in 2001. The number of attendants increased by a modest 2.7%, and went from 5,255,583 spectators to 5,396,000 in 2001. Tickets sales fared equally well: from 28.2 million euro to 33.9 million.

It should be noted that over 70% of the classical music performances were free (the proportion varies, of course, whether it is symphonic or chamber music, or other forms, such as choral music, where the amount of free shows is even higher).

Symphonic music recorded the following numbers. In 2001 1,466 concerts took place, of which 1,172 (80%) were pay performances, were attended by a total of 1.1 million spectators, and grossed sales of 16.9 million euro. The symphonic activity concentrated in Madrid (22.6% of concerts, 38.1% spectators, and 44% of ticket sales), and Cataluña (17.9% of concerts, 20.3% spectators, and 27% of ticket sales).

As for **chamber music**, the *SGAE Yearbook* records 9,738 concerts, of which 6,928 (or 71%) were free. Concerts were attended by a total of 2.7 million spectators, with 11.8 million euro in ticket sales. Chamber music concentrated in Cataluña, with 12.1% of concerts, 11.5% of spectators, and 30.5% of ticket sales. It was followed by Madrid, with 9.3% of the concerts, 10.6% of spectators, and 25.4% of ticket sales; and Valencia, with more concerts (14.5%), and spectators (16%) yet only 5.8% of total ticket sales, which shows the importance of the subsidized activity in the Community of Valencia.

Main venues and concert halls

Venue	Performances	Spectators	Tickets sales
Auditorio Nacional de Música	373	577,053	10.6 million
L'Auditori (two halls)	228	206,435	4.1 million
Palau de la Música (BCN)	174	175,517	2.9 million
Palau de la Música (Val)	187	161,835	1.3 million
Gran Teatre del Liceu	38	44,743	1.3 million

3.3 Pop Music

Live pop music grew substantially from 2000 to 2001, with revenues increasing beyond the growth of the activity itself, as in other sectors. The number of performances grew to 72,276 up from 71,045 in 2000. This slight increase was accompanied by a slight increase of concert-goers (from 22.4 million spectators in 2000 to 22.7 in 2001), and a notable increase of 14.3% in terms of revenues (84.9 million euro in 2001 vs 74.3 million recorded in 2000). These figures prove again that audiences are increasingly favoring the most expensive concerts in relative terms, those featuring major pop stars.

By autonomous community, Castilla-La Mancha recorded the highest growth in terms of spectators (from 821,517 in 2000 to 1,234,175 in 2001). At the opposite end of the scale are the Community of Madrid, and the Basque Country, with the worst decline in number of spectators. In Madrid concert goers went from 2,338,967 in 2000 to 2,104,771 in 2001 (a 10% reduction). In the Basque Country, concert goers went from 1,797,804 in 2000 to 1,460,848 in 2001 (a 18.7% drop). However the global figure for the country presented a slightly positive evolution – a 1.2% increase.

Main concerts by ticket sales in 2001

Performer	Venue	City	Spectators	Ticket sales
Madonna	Palau Sant Jordi	Barcelona	36,136	2.039 million
Alejandro Sanz	Estadio Vicente Calderón	Madrid	54,991	1.269 million
Alejandro Sanz	Palau Sant Jordi	Barcelona	48,585	1.254 million
U2	Palau Sant Jordi	Barcelona	18,000	849.990 euros
Eric Clapton	Palacio de los Deportes	Madrid	20,172	720.291 euros

3.4 Recorded Music

The world market for recorded music is undergoing a recession. The year 2001 was characterized by a 5% sales drop. While the main indicators of the Spanish market did not reveal a substantial drop, there were signs of a dangerous stagnation. The number of units sold in 2001 were similar to the previous year, with 80.5 million units, up from 79.2 million units in 2000 (per capita units purchased went from 1.9 per person and year to 2 in 2001). Total turnover increased very slightly (0.9%) over 2001, and went from 678.9 million euro to 685.1 million in 2001 – per capita consumption increased 16.9 euros in 2000 to 17.1 in 2001. With these figures Spain was seven in the world ranking by sales turnover, below the US, UK, Germany, France and Canada, a 1.8% share of the world market.

A total of 20 million illegal (pirate) copies were sold between January 1st and December 31st, 2001 – between 25% and 30% of total sales. In the last years, the number of blank CDs sold in Spain has reached spectacular proportions, and went from 23 million CDs sold in 1998 to 138 million units sold in 2001.

It is interesting to note the increasing presence of Spanish artists in the list of best-selling albums – from 20 titles present in the top 50 in 2000 to 31 titles in 2001. Four of the top five titles were Spanish. Spanish pop music represented 34.7% of total sales. The figures for "music in Spanish" were even more favorable. In the top 50 list, 37 titles were performed by Spanish and Latin artists, of which 9 were among the top 10.

Turning to the evolution of formats, the long-playing CD steadily increased, from 67.3 million units sold in 2000 to 71.1 in 2001. The tape format is fast disappearing from the market (from 9.8 million to 7.0 million). Sales of CD singles grew from 2.1 million to 2.4 million, while vinyl records preserved a constant residual share (with 30,000 units sold in 2001).

Retail sales of record products are mainly the territory of large commercial outlets, which represented 60% of the market.

Best-selling albums in 2001

Title	Performer	Record company
El Viaje de Copperpot	La Oreja de Van Gogh	Epic
Estopa	Estopa	Ariola-BMG
Nunca el tiempo es perdido	Manolo García	Ariola-BMG
Destrangis	Estopa	Ariola-BMG
Paulina	Paulina Rubio	Muxxic
Nos sobran los motivos	Joaquín Sabina	Ariola-BMG
1	The Beatles	EMI-Odeón
El alma al aire	Alejandro Sanz	Warner Music
Siempre	Tamara	Muxxic
Próxima estación Esperanza	Manu Chao	Chewaka-Virgin

Best-selling Spanish albums in 2001

Title	Performer	Record company
El Viaje de Copperpot	La Oreja de Van Gogh	Epic
Estopa	Estopa	Ariola-BMG
Nunca el tiempo es perdido	Manolo García	Ariola-BMG
Destrangis	Estopa	Ariola-BMG
Nos sobran los motivos	Joaquín Sabina	Ariola-BMG
El alma al aire	Alejandro Sanz	Warner Music
Siempre	Tamara	Muxxic
De vuelta y vuelta	Jarabe de Palo	Virgin España
Amor.com	Camela	Hispavox
Rosana	Rosana	Mercury-Universal

Best-selling CD-Singles in 2001

Title	Performer	Record company
Played-a Live the Bong Song	Safri Duo	Polydor-Universal
La otra orilla	Reincidentes	Boa Music
Can't get you out my head	Kylie Minogue	EMI-Odeón
Me gustas tú	Manu Chao	Chewaka-Virgin
Suerte	Shakira	Columbia

3.5 Films

Without a doubt, the year 2001 was marked by the significant recovery of the market share of Spanish films, with an 8 point increase, and went from 10% in 2000 to 18% in 2001. Such growth had not been witnessed for decades, and is attributed to the success of Spanish productions such as *Torrente 2* and *The Others*. These two productions, the biggest blockbusters in 2001, concentrated 44% of the ticket sales of Spanish films in the year.

The film industry is evolving. The number of movie theaters is on the rise, from 3,527 in 2000 to 3,706 – a 5.1% increase. Again, Madrid, with 593 locations (16%), and Barcelona, with 468 locations (12.8%), have the highest concentration of movie theatres. Growth was accompanied by a substantial increase in the number of sessions, which grew to 3.733.622 shows in 2001 up from 3,386,347 the year before. Films attracted a total of 143 million viewers, up from 134 million in 2000. Viewers concentrated in Madrid, with 20% of total numbers, and Barcelona, with 16.2%. Spain was third in terms of film attendance per inhabitant (3.4 films per person and year), only below Iceland (7.9 times per person and year), and Ireland (3.9). Sales revenues went from 507.2 million euro in 2000 to 606 million in 2001, a 19.5% rise that was highly dependent on the increase of ticket prices. 64% of total sales went to US films, and 17.9% to Spanish films.

Out of the 2,473 full-length films shown in 2001, 324 (13.1%) were Spanish, a modest increase from 2000 (12.4%).

However, this rosy picture should not obscure the harsh reality of the Spanish film industry. So far this year, market share has come down to a mere 10%, and the number of productions currently on show is very small – a 32% reduction in the first quarter compared to the year before.

Top-grossing films in 2001

Title	Spectators	Box-office sales (million euro)
The Others	6,312,987	26.8
Torrente 2. Misión en Marbella	5,318,879	22.2
Harry Potter	4,399,794	19.7
Planet of the Apes	3,289,056	13.8
Diary of Bridget Jones	3,250,642	13.7

Top-grossing Spanish films in 2001

Title	Spectators	Box-office sales (million euro)
The Others	6,312,987	26.8
Torrente 2. Misión en Marbella	5,318,879	22.2
Juana la Loca	1,630,922	7.1
Lucía y el sexo	1,260,814	5.3
No te fallaré	782,277	3.2

3.6 Video

The Spanish video industry shows signs of a structural change, due to the positive evolution of the DVD medium. In terms of sales of VHS videos, all indicators are declining. Direct sales went from 1,265 titles in 2000 to 1,132 in 2001, according to early reports. Sales of videos garnered 100.2 million euro in revenues, far below the 130.8 million euro in 2000. This figure evolved in tune with the number of videos sold to consumers, which went from 14 million units to 12.7 million in 2001.

However, purchase of DVDs presented a clearly positive evolution: sales went from 39.5 million euro to 81.3 million in 2001; the number of titles grew from 852 to 1.125, and the total number of DVDs sold to consumers more than doubled, going from 3 million units in 2000 to 6.8 million units in 2001.

Video rentals also evolved positively. However, while DVD rental increased substantially (going from 852 titles to 1,125, and from 0.5 million total DVD rented to 2.9 million in 2001), the VHS rental market started to be slightly stagnant (from 89.7 million rentals in 2000 to 88.3; the number of titles published for rentals shrunk from 506 in 2000 to 488 in 2001).

Most rented titles in 2001

Title	Film studio
Gladiator	Universal
El Bar Coyote	Buena Vista
Meet The Parents	Universal
Traffic	Manga films
Beneath the Truth	Fox

Best-selling videos in 2001

Title	Film studio
Shrek	Universal Pictures
Dinosaurs	Walt Disney Compañía Ibérica
El emperador y sus locuras	Walt Disney Compañía Ibérica
Snow White and the 7 Dwarfs	Walt Disney Compañía Ibérica
Lady and the Tramp 2	Walt Disney Compañía Ibérica

3.7 Television

Average consumption per person and day was 208 minutes in 2001, vs 210 minutes in 2000 and 213 minutes in 1999. Consumption remained thus stable. Advertising continued gaining space: advertising time grew 7%, with 117,645 TV spots more than the 1,470,378 in 2000. Among the top five programs in terms of audience in 2001, the first three were football spaces, the fourth a *Big Brother 2* show, and fifth, New Year's Eve Bell Countdown in TVE-1. The *Operación Triunfo* show from December 17 was ninth by viewers. Among the top ten films (headed by *Medidas desesperadas*), there is no Spanish film.

3.8 Radio

In 2001 the number of radio stations was still on the rise, from 1,836 in 2000 to 1,964 in 2001. Out of them, 828 were publicly-held. The most-played songs by conventional radio stations in the first six months 2001 were *Me pongo colorada* (Papá Levante), *El alma al aire* (Alejandro Sanz), *La playa* (La Oreja de Van Gogh), *Y yo sigo aquí* (Paulina Rubio), and *Subidón* (Nacho García Vega). The most-played songs by music radio stations were *El alma al aire* (Alejandro Sanz), *Estaciones* (Antonio Vega), *Jaded* (Aerosmith), *All for you* (Janet Jackson), and *Here with me* (Dido).

3.9 New Technologies

In the context of rapidly-evolving new technologies (from April 2001 to March 2002 the percentage of Spanish Internet users grew 21.2% to 22.2%), it is important to gauge their influence on the culture and arts segment. The presence of music contents is fundamental in the so-called new technologies (downloading MP3 files ranks fourth in the list of the most-common activities performed by Spanish Internet users). As for the presence of different languages in the web, English content represented 52% of all web contents in 2001, compared to a meagre 5.69% of the Spanish-languages sites.

4. Demand of Cultural Products and Services

To finish the review of the Spanish culture and leisure industry, we shall now analyze to what extent culture and leisure services are part of the habits of Spanish citizens. We will also indicate who are the most frequent users and the least frequent users, and the main reasons that underlie a lower consumption of culture.

The SGAE and Fundación Autor have re-taken this initiative first developed by the Ministry of Culture, who discontinued it in 1990. (Fieldwork is taking place at the moment of writing this report; findings will be presented in a new report at the end of 2003, this time in collaboration with the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sports). The last report dates from 1998. A survey of over 24,000 citizens provided the following findings.

4.1 Music. Rock, Spanish music, and song-writer genres prevail despite the slight increase of other genres

- The genres with the widest appeal among the Spanish population are conventional pop-rock, Spanish music, and song-writers and ballad-singers. These are the preferences of the majority of respondents, with slight generational and social differences. The under -25 year old population favors disco music, especially medium and lower social classes; hard rock is mostly the territory of men; conventional pop-rock and new age finds adepts among the 35 year-olds and medium and upper classes. The 25-55 year old generations are interested in Latin music, ballad-singers and song-writers, mainly women. Jazz and world music are preferred, above all, by the 25-45 year old upper class. After the age of 55, the interest shifts to flamenco and Spanish music. Finally the interest in classical music and opera is associated to the upper class and the highly educated, but only among a minority. A final point of interest: for 40.3% of the Spanish population, it is essential that music be sung in Spanish, while only 1.4% prefers music sung in English.

- Music consumption includes private audition and live concerts. As for individual consumption, 31.1% claims to listen to music almost every day (up from 19.4% in 1991), and 30.3% a few times weekly. The medium of choice is the radio, followed by records or tapes at home or in the car. 17.2% of participants buys records often, 38% occasionally, and 44.2% does not usually buy records. Buyers tend to be under 35 years, and of medium and upper classes. The music genres purchased attest to the hegemony of the pop-rock in the record market: 37.1% of participants bought pop-rock records in their last purchase. Far behind come ballad-singers, song-writers, flamenco, and disco music, with figures between 5 and 10% each. Record ownership is closely linked to social class: lower and low-income families rarely own over 100 records, while upper class families own 100-500 records.

- Live music attendance also proves the prevalence of pop-rock music: 18.8% of participants claims to have been to one or more pop-rock concerts in the year, vs 5% of individuals who went to one or more flamenco concerts in the year, or 2.9% of individuals who went to a jazz concert. Attendance to classical performances grew to 7.7%. Pop-rock concert goers are aged 15-24 years, mainly from medium and medium-upper origin, with a high-school or university education. Classical concert attendants enjoy a high social standing, and are 25-55 years old, after which point they migrate to opera. Attendance to ballet and dance performances, as well as to opera, is minimal, restricted to high-social standing, over 25 year-old individuals: only 2% of the respondents went at least once to a ballet or dance show, and 1.8 went to the opera once.

- Respondents suggest that the main factors that would compel them to attend more classical music concerts, opera, dance and ballet shows are better music training, more accessible contents – more popular works – and, especially for people who already go, cheaper ticket prices.

4.2 Theater. 75.4% of the Spanish population never goes to the theater

- Despite the real increase in the past few years, figures measuring perception of theater attendance reveal a discouraging picture: 75.4% of the Spanish population never goes to the theatre or only once. Only 1.3% acknowledged going to the theater more than 6 times per year. The sociological profile of theatre goers includes college-educated women, upper class, aged 25-44 years. The low attendance rates of the under 20, especially when their film consumption habits are compared, is striking. Also, medium-sized cities record high-attendance figures, even above the large metropolitan areas.

- The factors that would increase theater attendance, according to the respondents, are the following: broader theater offering, better advertising of the offering, price reduction, and more venues (only in cities under 5,000 inhabitants).

- Spanish respondents show a much lower interest in the theatre than in films. Theater scores 3.55 points over 6 in terms of interest, and only 32.4% of respondents gives theater a 5-6 rating. College-educated respondents are the most interested, with an average score of 4.33 points, followed by upper and medium-upper class respondents (4.14). By region, Madrid and Cataluña (with 3.94 and 3.81 respectively) are the

most interested. In terms of styles and genres, comedy is the most appealing (3.62), musicals (2.98), and modern drama (2.89). The interest in comedies, musicals and comedy of intrigue is inversely proportionate to educational level, while the interest in classic and modern drama is directly related to cultural level.

4.3 Audiovisual arts

a) Film. Spanish attendance exceeds European average

- It should be first noted that going to see a movie is no longer a habit. It has instead become a social event for a large amount of the population. To the question, "How often do you go to see a movie?", over half the sample states they never go (49.3%), while the other half states they go sporadically. Only 11.5% states they go once a month, and 5.5% goes once a week. Film attendance is very uneven by generation and social class. The most frequent movie-goers are those under 35 years, especially between 21 and 24 years, members of upper and medium classes, and college students. On the contrary, the most sporadic movie-goers are found in the population over 55 years, lower social classes, with hardly any formal education, and living in small cities. By region, Madrid, Cataluña and Valencia record the highest film attendance (according to the survey, and in line with data from the SGAE Yearbook).

- The main reasons why film attendance is not higher are: first, broad selection of films on TV; second, price and distance from movie theater. Other reasons mentioned are difficulties to leave the home associated to personal responsibilities, problems to park, and lack of information on the film offering.

- On a scale of 1 to 6 points, Spanish respondents claim a high interest: 4.27 points on average, and 50.52% rates their interest between 5 and 6. Even those who claim they never go to the movies, rate it highly: 3.7 points. Young audiences, highly-educated individuals, and members of the upper classes register the highest interest in films. Regarding the national origin of the films, the figures corresponding to Spanish and US films are quite similar. Interest in American films scores 3.92 points, while Spanish films garner 3.90 points. European films, however, are below (3.24). An in-depth analysis of the figures reveals that respondents below 35 years, medium and upper classes, and with secondary education – precisely the segment who goes to the movies most often – prefer American films, which explains the higher attendance to US films despite the fact that interest in Spanish and US films is very similar.

- The factors that drive choice of a specific film are, first, the storyline; second, that the film be dubbed in Spanish; third, good word of mouth; and fourth, well-known actors. Other influential factors are the name of the film director and awards received, although the criteria vary greatly according to spectator's characteristics.

b) Television. Viewers under 19 years, and over 65 are the main consumers of television

- 98.9% of respondents claims they have at least one TV set at home, which attests to the practically universal presence of the television in Spanish society.

- Respondents' perception of time spent watching television varies greatly from real television consumption figures. In our sample, respondents acknowledge watching

television an average of 140 minutes daily, compared to the 210 minutes daily according to a specific survey (*Encuesta General de Medios*). By age, 14-19 year old viewers and viewers over 65 are the heaviest TV consumers. By socio-economic variable, TV consumption is higher among the least educated, least well-off population.

- Satisfaction with TV shows vary. TV shows that arouse the most widespread interest (newscasts, news programs and sports) are generously rated by viewers. However, the offering of programs of specific interest, especially music, film, and theatre, is highly unsatisfactory.

c) Video. Main video buyers are parents of kids under 14

- 73.4% of respondents claims they own a VCR, up 1.5% from 1997. Ownership is directly related to socio-economic status: only 51.3% of lower-income families own a VCR, compared to 86.6% of medium-class families, and 90.8% of upper-income families.

- Purchase of video tapes is not yet a habit in Spain: 78.1% of respondents practically never buy a video, and only 7.0% buys over 4 video tapes per year. Main buyers are parents of under 14-year old kids, as well as respondents who claim to see a movie more than twice a month, thus revealing the complementary nature of the videos for a segment of the population. The most successful genres are fiction and children movies, which account for 90% of total purchases. The remaining 10% is evenly split among documentaries, music videos, and other products of minor interest.

- Video rental, unlike video purchase, is indeed a habit for a good part of the population, with 14% of respondents claiming to see rented videos at least once monthly. This group of viewers is mostly under 25 years, and some 25-34 year olds, with hardly any distinction by social levels. Technology is the key factor that keeps respondents over 35 years away from the video. Preferred genres include action films, followed at a distance by thrillers, adventure films, and comedy.

4.4 Reading

a) Books. Highly-educated individuals, aged 25-35 years, of medium and upper class, and mainly women are the most avid readers in Spain

- Reading is not a rooted habit in Spain. Practically half the population claims they never read, and 5% reads less than once a month. Only one third of respondents reads once or twice per week or almost every day, and the figure is lower than that recorded for 1997. Women read more than men, although the main factor underlying the reading habit is education: 71.8% of college-educated individuals read every day, or at least once or twice per week. By age, the 25-35 age range produces the most regular readers.

- The average number of books at home is 141, evenly split by education and social status. Being college educated and a member of the upper class guarantees a higher number of books: 342 books on average.

b) Daily press and magazines

- **Generalist newspapers**: over 30% of respondents claims they read newspapers every day, another 30% reads newspapers sometimes, and over 33% hardly ever reads a newspaper. Men, 25-55 year olds, and highly educated respondents are the most frequent readers.
- **Sports press**: 24.6% reads sports press regularly. Main consumers are men, aged 20-35, with medium social and education levels.
- **Magazines**: approximately 45% of respondents are regular magazine readers. Main readers are women, under 35, and the upper-upper social classes, although reader profile varies extraordinarily with magazine theme focus.

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Session 5

Comparaison internationale de statistiques culturelles

Mercredi, 23 octobre 2002

Cross-National Comparisons of Culture Statistics

Wednesday, October 23, 2002

Conférenciers

Lecturers

S. Venkatraman	Asian Mass Information and Communication Centre, AMIC, Singapore
Jeannine Cardona	Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, Paris, France
André Lange	European Audiovisual Observatory, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, France
Michail Skaliotis	EUROSTAT, Unit E3, Health, Education and Culture, Luxembourg, Luxembourg
Asta Manninen	Department of Urban Facts, City of Helsinki, Finland

Président de la session

Chair of the session

Richard Engelhardt	UNESCO Regional Advisor for Culture in Asia and the Pacific, Bangkok, Thailand

Résumé de la session

par Anne Bernard
Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec

Enjeux d'accessibilité et de collecte des données et besoins en formation

Selon Monsieur Venkatraman, les principaux problèmes en termes d'accessibilité et de collecte de données statistiques culturelles en Asie sont la disponibilité des données (le manque de données aussi élémentaires parfois que le nombre de publications en langue locale ou le nombre de films diffusés), la faible représentativité des données collectées et la qualité souvent médiocre des données lorsqu'elles sont disponibles, le manque de fiabilité ainsi que l'interprétation des données qui renvoie à des problèmes majeurs de définition des concepts.

Les grandes difficultés sont notamment associées à la cueillette d'informations sur des situations changeantes (tel l'impact de l'exode rural des artisans et artistes) qui nécessite l'intervention de professionnels très compétents. S'ajoutent les obstacles liés à la gestion des bases de données, notamment à l'absence de mises à jour, exercices jugés coûteux et non nécessaires, ainsi que le manque d'outils adéquats pour archiver et cataloguer les données collectées.

Des intervenants soulignent la nécessité de poursuivre un travail de formation des chercheurs dans les pays où se rencontrent des problèmes méthodologiques constituant parfois des impasses, des problèmes de collecte et de fiabilité des données, de lacunes au niveau des sources d'information, de la diffusion et de la publication des données. Plusieurs intervenants insistent également sur la nécessité de prévoir des budgets supplémentaires pour assurer la collecte de l'information.

Session Report

by Anne Bernard
Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec

Accessibility and data collection challenges – Training requirements

According to Mr. Venkatraman, the main problems concerning the accessibility and the data collection of cultural statistics in Asia are: the availability of data (shortage of data as basic as the number of local language publications or the number of films released), the low representativeness of collected data and the often poor quality of data when they are available, the lack of reliability and the interpretation of data. These problems call to mind the major issues of concept definition.

The difficulty lies in gathering information on changing situations (such as the impact of the rural exodus of artisans and artists), which requires the intervention of highly competent professionals. Add to this the snags linked to database management, notably the lack of updates, a practice deemed costly and unnecessary, and the lack of adequate tools to archive and catalogue the collected data.

Participants stress the necessity to continue the work of training researchers in countries where methodological problems that sometimes give rise to deadlock situations collide with data collection and data reliability problems as well as with deficiencies regarding information sources, data release and data publication. In addition, many participants insist on the necessity to anticipate additional funds to ensure the collection of data.

Enjeux de l'analyse comparative

Les États membres de l'Union Européenne se sont mobilisés pour la création d'un système de statistiques culturelles européennes depuis déjà plusieurs années. Selon Jeannine Cardona, le développement de statistiques culturelles comparables, utiles à la compréhension et à l'action est une nécessité et constitue un enjeu de taille dans un contexte de mondialisation et d'évolution rapide des modes de production, de distribution, de consommation et d'échanges des produits culturels. Les travaux réalisés ont confirmé qu'un suivi statistique fiable et efficace de la culture au niveau européen ne peut être assuré individuellement par les États membres sans l'instauration d'un cadre communautaire approprié.

À la lumière des travaux réalisés dans le cadre de l'Observatoire européen de l'audiovisuel, institution visant l'amélioration du transfert de l'information et la promotion d'une meilleure perception du marché de l'audiovisuel et d'une plus grande transparence, André Lange affirme que le secteur de l'audiovisuel est un secteur privilégié fortement soutenu en Europe au sein duquel l'analyse comparative de données statistiques constitue un exercice relativement aisé.

Selon Asta Manninen, des efforts importants ont été consentis à l'harmonisation des statistiques en Europe. Les projets majeurs ont été coordonnés par Eurostat. Le cadre relatif aux statistiques culturelles de l'UNESCO (Framework for Cultural Statistics) permet d'établir et d'élaborer des statistiques culturelles aux niveaux local et national dans la plupart des pays. Dans les pays nordiques, la coopération au niveau de la production statistique est effective depuis même plus de cent ans.

The challenges of comparative analysis

For many years, the Member States of the European Union have been rallying for the creation of a system on European cultural statistics. According to Jeannine Cardona, there is a need for developing cultural statistics that are comparable and closely associated with understanding and action. This constitutes a daunting challenge within a context of globalisation and the rapid evolution of the methods used to produce, distribute, consume and trade cultural products. Work carried out in this respect has confirmed that the Member States cannot assure individually a reliable and effective statistical monitoring device for Europe without the institution of an appropriate community-based framework.

In light of the work achieved within the scope of the European Audiovisual Observatory, an institution aiming to improve the transfer of information and foster a better perception of the audiovisual market as well as greater transparency, André Lange affirms that the audiovisual sector is a privileged and highly supported sector in Europe for which the comparative analysis of statistical data is a relatively straightforward exercise.

According to Asta Manninen, significant efforts were made to harmonize statistics in Europe. Major projects have been coordinated by Eurostat. The Framework for Cultural Statistics set up by UNESCO allows to establish and formulate cultural statistics at both local and national levels in most countries. In northern countries, cooperation in the production of statistics has been a going concern for over one hundred years.

Plusieurs intervenants insistent sur le fait que la comparaison de statistiques culturelles internationales implique davantage un travail d'interprétation et d'analyse qu'un travail technique. Afin de tenir compte des contextes précis, des intervenants rappellent à quel point il est fondamental dans le processus d'élaboration de statistiques culturelles, de comprendre et d'identifier la problématique qui est explorée, étape qui ne doit jamais être escamotée.

Priorités pour l'élaboration de statistiques culturelles

David Throsby propose quatre domaines prioritaires pour l'élaboration de statistiques culturelles : l'emploi, qui constitue un critère-clé pour caractériser notamment la contribution des industries culturelles, l'atténuation des phénomènes de pauvreté et le développement; la participation; la contribution aux « extrants » , afin de considérer le contexte global; et le financement et la participation du secteur public.

La question selon lui étant de savoir s'il faut aborder ces questions toutes à la fois ou les aborder sous l'angle de priorité parmi les priorités, auquel cas, l'emploi constituerait probablement le domaine prioritaire à explorer.

Ces priorités semblent faire une certaine unanimité parmi les participants. Selon Jeannine Cardona, l'ordre de ces priorités devra toutefois probablement varier selon les continents. Pour exemple, les trois priorités dans le contexte européen sont, selon elle, l'emploi, le financement public et la participation. Par ailleurs, il est également important de ne pas oublier les atouts des approches sectorielles dans les analyses du fait culturel.

En Amérique Latine, s'observent un souci croissant d'élaboration de statistiques culturelles ainsi qu'une volonté d'établir des priorités régionales. Les priorités énoncées par David Throsby reçoivent l'appui de plusieurs intervenants présents issus de ce continent.

Many participants insist that comparing international cultural statistics is more a work of interpretation and analysis than a technical one. In order to take into account precise contexts, participants remind us how fundamental it is to understand and identify the problem areas, a stage that should never be overlooked, when formulating cultural statistics.

Priorities for cultural statistic formulation

David Throsby proposes four priority areas in the formulation of cultural statistics: employment, which constitutes an essential criterion used to characterize the contribution of cultural industries, development and the alleviation of poverty; participation; contribution to output, in order the recognize the global context; and the funding and participation of the public sector.

According to him, the question is whether we need to address these questions simultaneously or address them on a priority basis, in which case employment would probably be the item to explore first.

The participants seem to accept these priorities unanimously. According to Jeannine Cardona, the order of these priorities should probably vary according to the continents. For example, the three priorities for the European contingency are, in her opinion, employment, public funding and participation. Moreover, it is important not to forget the benefits of sectoral approaches in the analysis of cultural phenomena.

In Latin America, there is a growing concern for the formulation of cultural statistics and a commitment to establish regional priorities. The priorities stated by David Throsby received the support of the many persons attending his lecture who originate from this continent.

Des intervenants soulignent qu'en Afrique, l'application de ces priorités suggérées serait très importante et significative, mais qu'elle implique une redéfinition des concepts et l'élaboration de nouvelles méthodologies, qu'elle ne prend pas suffisamment en compte le rôle déterminant dans le développement de l'animateur culturel, et précisent qu'au niveau du financement, il y a un lien étroit entre l'éducation et la culture qui ne doit pas non plus occulter les défis de l'alphabétisation.

La faible qualité de l'information dans certains pays pose des défis de taille et exige, selon plusieurs intervenants, une grande innovation et créativité en termes d'outils de collecte et d'analyse. Des intervenants insistent sur la nécessité d'intensifier partout les efforts en termes d'interprétation des données et d'analyse des statistiques culturelles.

Le partage des connaissances entre les chercheurs et l'amélioration des échanges en général demeurent des enjeux de taille selon tous les intervenants. La pertinence des débats et l'intérêt suscité par ce colloque en témoignent.

Enfin, plusieurs intervenants s'entendent sur le fait qu'il faut permettre une vélocité de la publication des données. Les problèmes de méthodologie et d'épistémologie liés notamment à la gestion des ajustements, des corrections et des mises à jour des banques de données, sont parfois très compliqués à résoudre. Dans l'optique d'atteindre une plus grande vélocité de publication, il faut accepter l'imperfection des banques de données statistiques ainsi que l'exercice constant consistant à y apporter ajustements et corrections.

Some participants point out that the implementation of these suggested priorities in Africa would be very important and significant but would involve redefining concepts and formulating new methodologies. They add that it does not sufficiently take into account the determining role that the cultural facilitator plays in development, and specify that in terms of funding, there is a close bond between education and culture that must not overshadow the challenges of literacy.

The poor quality of information in certain countries represents a daunting challenge and requires, according to many participants, a great deal of innovation and creativity with respect to collection and analysis tools. Some participants insist on the necessity to step up efforts everywhere in terms of data interpretation and cultural statistic analysis.

The sharing of knowledge between researchers and the furtherance of trade in general represent daunting challenges according to all participants. The pertinence of the debates and the interest generated by this symposium testify to this.

Finally, many participants agree that we must work toward speeding up the publication of data. The methodological and epistemological problems linked to managing the adjustments, corrections and updates made to databases are often very difficult to resolve. With a view to attaining a better speed of publication, one must accept the shortcomings of statistical databases and the constant exercise of making adjustments and corrections.

S. Venkatraman Asian Mass Information and Communication Centre, AMIC, Singapore

"Cultural Statistics in Asia: Problems and Prospects"

🕮 Résumé

La communication examinera, sous l'angle des statistiques, le secteur de la culture en Asie. Il y sera question du patrimoine et des différentes institutions culturelles, ainsi que des industries et des institutions concernées. La communication portera plus particulièrement sur le contexte de l'Asie méridionale et du Sud-Est asiatique, où l'auteur a travaillé.

🕮 Abstract

The paper will look statistically at the cultural sector in Asia. It will look at various cultural institutions and heritage – related industries and institutions. The paper will focus particulary on the South Asian and SE Asian context where the author has worked.

Introduction

1. It is not easy to define culture. Its base is in the human thought process and in the sphere of human emotions. It has a long history of growth and development, of diversity and variety. Culture may be said to constitute the manifestations of human intellectual achievements and emotional exuberance regarded collectively. Such manifestations are often in the form of outlets of expression which vary in terms of their subjects, their spaces, their times and their contexts. Culture is the sum and substance of a people's perceptions of things around them, their interactions within themselves and is an abstraction of their emotional exuberance. Because of this very nature, culture keeps changing with the passage of time, now adding something, now dropping something and again synthesizing something new. It is a constant movement. It is more of a florescence than a linear movement. It is dynamic and variegated. Diversity is its grain. That is its appeal as well. Its roots are strong. Its outer growth and foliage are the hallmark of its contemporariness and its distinctiveness.

2. The study of the culture of a people is the best way to understand them. It is particularly useful in understanding the people's perceptions and their determinants and the consequent behaviour patterns.

3. There can be several expressions of culture – music, drawing, painting, sculpture, crafts, architecture, cuisine, wares, costumes, dancing, theatre, games, toys, festivals, fairs, functions, celebrations, print, audio and visual media, cinema, etc. Each of these, again, can have several local and ethnic variations. The essence of culture is its variety and its diversity. It is generally believed that cultural diversity gives rise to conflicts. The actual fact is that it need not necessarily be the case. On the other hand, cultural diversity and pluralism can prove to be the strong bond of unity of a nation. Unity in diversity is the strong thread which binds pluralistic societies together in to a nation. There are several such pluralistic societies among the comity of nations of the world today.

4. The question is whether one makes a conscious attempt to study these variations, list them, define them and understand them. This question arises because by understanding such variations the understanding of the people concerned is improved. And, better understanding of a people means better communication with them, resulting in improved relations. The general answer to this question is no. Culture studies are not given their due recognition in the day-to-day affairs of people. In fact, cultural expressions ought to be identified, studied, understood and put to advantage in several spheres of human activity such that they get enriched and become more effective. In any sector of human development, what is basically sought to be achieved is a set of desired behaviour changes among the stakeholders. Such behaviour changes would promote growth and development. There is evidence based research to prove that such behaviour changes are facilitated by using local cultural expressions as the media for communicating such development messages. Hence the importance of culture in human development.

5. How to go about understanding and using culture for human development? The first step is to identify and list them. This is something like thew process of taxonomy. Then comes the process of familiarisation with them. And finally comes their appropriate use. In this paper I propose to look at the first step in the context of Asia. What are some of the problems in this first step, that is, cultural statistics and what are the prospects of solutions for them? The following is a digression on these questions.

Cultural Statistics in Asia

6. Asia has some of the oldest civilizations of the world. Therefore, the cultural roots of many of the Asian countries are quite strong and do influence their contemporary social frameworks, notwithstanding the fact that many of these countries have got modernized with the latest technological advances. Again many of these Asian countries are culturally diverse with pluralistic policies. While there are certain broad national cultural streams that are discernible in each such country, there are also equally discernible several local cultural expressions. In some contexts, such local cultural expressions are less discernible.

7. Cultural Convergence. Cultural convergence is perceived as a threat in some of these countries which have witnessed an obliteration of diversified expressions of local cultures. For instance, in the Philippines, some scholars have observed the "demise of diversified expressions in local culture due to cultural convergence brought (about) by globalization"[1]. However, these scholars also point to the fact that "culture, being dynamic, does not stop evolving"[2]. There is a controversy on whether traditional and local cultures ought to be preserved or whether they should converge with national mainstreams. This is very much like the controversy on whether local tribal cultures should be preserved or whether they should be encouraged to converge with the national mainstream. Will convergence permit the retention of the recognition of local cultures or will it mean the loss of their individual identities and their merger in to a new culture? Indonesia represents another scenario of a big country consisting of thousands of islands with a multiplicity of races, traditions and cultures. There are several big ethnic groups like Java, Batak, Minang, Bali, Dayak and Sunda. There are also several small ethnic groups like Mentawai, Baduy, Nias, etc. These virtually thousands of ethnic groups have created what is essentially the Indonesian nation, which is a multicultural mosaic. However, the point to be noted is that despite this plurality, only certain prominent local cultures are visible in Indonesia. In fact according to a report of a survey of training institutions conducted in Indonesia, "the centralist government paradigm had a negative effect on local culture". The report also laments that as a result some local subcultures like Nagari in Minang and the local traditions and customs in Aceh became extinct. There is now an apparent concern to preserve whatever is still remaining. In Thailand, there is a growing recognition of the importance of culture to development. There has been a growing number of agencies, both governmental and non-governmental, who have been engaging themselves in culture promotion. According to a recent survey on institutions and centres providing training for cultural development professionals in Thailand, indigenous/local knowledge is now accepted widely throughout the country as an important element of the development programmes at the local and national levels. There is a realization now that the earlier National Economic and Social Development Plans did not take in to account the cultural dimension of development and to that extent were deficient. The current recognition of cultural promotion is clearly stated in the Constitution and in the Eighth and the Ninth National Economic and Social Development Plans. This concern is also reflected in the operational plans of various agencies. The scenario in South Asia is not very different from the one in Southeast Asia. These are all multicultural nations. This region has been the melting pot of different cultures, different traditions, different

1. Dr. Jesus Peralta, Anthropologist and Consultant to the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA), Philippines. "Dissemination of Idea on Cultural Diversity in the Philippines – Completion Report", April 2002.
2. Ibid.

ethnic groups and the local cultural expressions are a legion. In India, for instance, there has been the big Sanskrit tradition running predominantly through the centuries. There have also been several local little traditions running parallel through the same centuries. The tribal traditions have had their own place in the social history of the country. Out of all these has emerged a national mainstream culture as well with several intermediary sub cultures. In India, the recognition of the importance of culture to development has been on a rather low key, even though the importance of communication through mass media for spreading development messages has been fully recognized. However, due to high rates of illiteracy and a vast tradition-bound rural society, development messages disseminated through the mass media have not been able to reach a large majority of such people. Bringing about behaviour changes in areas such as health, nutrition, etc, has been extremely difficult as such messages run counter to long held beliefs and traditions particularly of the rural audience. And, the use of local cultural expressions in development work has been quite few and far between. The phenomenon of several such local cultural expressions dying out as witnessed in some of the Southeast Asian nations is also true of the South Asian nations. So, what can one do to save such a situation? Are there case studies, success stories, best practices, which can be replicated and upscaled?

8. The Indian-Malaysian Experience. Some years ago, AMIC sponsored a project to i. list all the local traditional performing arts and ii. to use a few selected ones among them to experiment the idea of communicating development messages through them. This pilot project was implemented in India and Malaysia. The importance of this experiment lies in the fact that it highlighted on two important points that are relevant to our present discussion. They are: i) there should be a comprehensive data base on all the local traditional performing arts of any country and ii) that such traditions should be used to communicate development messages. One can, of course, expand the scope of the local traditional performing arts to include all the local cultural expressions including performing arts, rituals, crafts and other forms. While the first point relates to the updating of cultural statistics, the second one relates to the process of integration of development messages in to such local and traditional cultural expressions. There is an element of preservation of the cultural expression forms that one can glean in the second point. Preservation is not possible until the form concerned is made self sustaining. And, self sustenance is not possible without introducing an element of income generation in to the effort. Let us now examine these two aspects a little closer. The aspect of preservation addresses issues such as the need to ensure that the cultural expression form is not uprooted from its space and its context, that its structure is not tampered with, its content is not interfered with, its *repertoire* is carefully studied, and only such storylines are selected as may lend themselves for integration of development messages. Usually, this is a desultory process, involving a lot of patient research, detailed discussions with the proponents of the cultural expression forms, training workshops on the scientific facts related to the development messages that have been chosen for integration and research support for assessing the impact of the resulting public performances. As long as the whole process as described above remains within the domain of the ritualistic traditions and the storylines chosen for development message integration are within the bounds of traditional *repertoire,* sustenance of these cultural expression forms is guaranteed. However, the performing artists would still need adequate incomes to keep them in the profession. This can be achieved by linking such performances to the development efforts of the region and via that the development budget that would be

available for each region. The upscaling of such efforts would depend very much upon the availability of comprehensive cultural statistics.

9. The Importance of Using Local Cultural Expressions for Effective Development Communication. There has been another interesting innovation in the use of local cultural expressions for behaviour promotion in development work in the state of Tamilnadu in India. This project was sponsored by the Ford Foundation. I was personally in charge of designing and implementing the project. The project was implemented in the Anukavur block of Tiruvannamalai district in the state of Tamilnadu. The project was based on a four-fold approach, namely, i. sensitize the community through communicating the relevant messages through the use of local cultural expressions, ii. bring about the desired behaviour changes among the target groups/individuals, iii. create a sense of ownership of the efforts among the community so that it is sustaining and iv. create a convergence between the various stakeholders and the service providers[3]. This project makes a distinction between the traditionally/culturally determined knowledge and modern knowledge. The project focused on the knowledge which is already there but not put in to practice (that is, knowledge that one gains from the modern world but never used properly due to socio-cultural constraints). In other words, this project has chosen this area and attempted development communication using local cultural expressions as the media with great success.

10. The Case for Cultural Diversity. UNESCO has issued a Declaration on Cultural Diversity, which urges all nations to develop and encourage cultural diversity. This is again taken as a step in the process of implementation of Universal Human Rights. As we have noted earlier, cultural diversity will only strengthen human development as long as people respect one another's cultures. Given such respect for every culture, the potential for conflicts could be eliminated. Cultural Diversity is to human development what germ plasm reserve is to eco development. Like biological evolution, cultures are also products of human evolution. They are the manifestations of the evolutionary process in the spheres of thought and emotions. Therefore, they can be tapped for further growth and development of the human race.

The Problems of Gathering Cultural Statistics

11. We have already noted that cultural statistics fall in to several categories. Under each category like music or craft, there will be a lot of sub categories based upon regional, local and ethnic variations. Most of these cultural expressions have long histories and traditions and are represented by different schools. How does one go about gathering such statistics and what are the problems? Let us briefly look at some of the Asian experience in this regard.

12. Attempts have been made in almost all the Asian countries to collect cultural statistics through various specialized agencies. The efforts have been sponsored by government grants or international donor funds. However, there have not been much of a comprehensive coverage of all the cultural forms in a country, including all the regional, local and ethnic variations.

3. "Knowing the 'Known' - Social Mobilisation Initiative at Anukavur, Tamil Nadu", by Dr. S. Venkatraman, published by the National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development, New Delhi, March, 2001.

13. The Asia Pacific Arts Directory, for instance, provides a lot of useful information about country profiles. Let us take the example of Cambodia. The Directory briefly mentions about the geography and the topography of the country. It provides a brief historical account. Similar information is provided on the society and religion. Under the arts overview, performing arts are mentioned including folk music and dance and the popular theatre and the film industry. Under visual arts, traditional arts are mentioned as also contemporary arts. There is a note on culture policy and cultural infrastructure. Similar information can be found for other countries of the region like Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam, etc.

14. Need for Comprehensive Listing. The main problem in such attempts is to ensure a comprehensive listing of all the persons and groups that practice such cultural expressions in all its details. And this listing needs to be updated on a continuous basis. Most cultural expression groups are hereditary in their origin. They could thrive in the old order of self sufficient villages. However, with the advent of modernization and market economy, the villages are no longer self sufficient. The markets have widened in their space and have become vast. Therefore, the hereditary cultural expression professionals are no longer supported by the erstwhile self sufficient villages. The result is that they have to eke out a living and keep up their interest in their own traditional cultural expression work as well. In such a situation, making a comprehensive listing of all such traditional cultural expression groups or individual performers is quite a difficult task. In the Indian experience, for instance, each village has its own ritualistic traditions and its own cultural expressions. In the olden days, for instance, the folk theatre performers were looked after by the villagers through annual donations of foodgrains, clothes, and other requirements. Similarly, the village artisans and craftsmen had their own local market which they could cater to without any competition. But, what has happened now is that such traditional donations have been reduced though not stopped completely and the village markets have been opened up to invasions by mass produced plastic products coming from outside. The village performers, the village artisans and the village craftsmen are in a fix. They have to migrate to urban areas in search of jobs. That means displacement for them. Once in urban areas, they do not get the opportunity to continue with their old professions/skills for which there is no demand in the urban areas. However, they still tend to go to their villages once in a while, during festivals etc, and during such short stays, they still try to practice their traditional professions/skills. Now, the question is how can one systematically list such individuals and groups along with a description of their products in a comprehensive way and keep updating it? It is an enormous task involving a lot of trained professionals to do the job and a lot of resources to support such a venture. In the case of large countries, such exercises would run in to thousands of bulky volumes or consume proportionally that much of digital space if the work is done electronically.

15. Storage and Retrieval of Data. Once the cultural data are collected, the problems of their proper storage and retrieval arise. There are two aspects to data collection. The first one is data collection at a particular point of time. The other point is updating them periodically. If the data are not updated periodically, they lose their relevance and topicality. In practice, what one finds in the Asian context is that data collection mostly is at a single point or in the nature of an one-time collection. They are seldom updated. The main reason for this is that most data collection exercises are funded as one-time exercises. No provision is made to

update them over time. It is also hard to find other donors who would evince interest in updating something that was funded by some other agency. This problem needs to be addressed and a mechanism found by which this deficiency could be rectified. Data storage is equally problematic. In most cases, again, the raw data that is collected is always processed for producing some kind of a report. After the report is produced, the entire mass of raw data is dumped somewhere and forgotten in due course. When such storage is done digitally, there are still the problems of their longevity depending upon the type of storage infrastructure that is used. For instance storage in hard disks or floppies have their limitations. They could get easily corrupted. Other durable forms and use of alternate storage sites are very expensive and not many can afford them. The main point to note here is that all the initial efforts that are put in to data collection will be virtually lost if the data are not stored properly keeping in view the need for keeping them intact over long periods of time. Adequate resources need to planned for doing this even at the outset of data collection. Then comes the need for a proper, functioning and efficient data retrieval mechanism. This is very important and very difficult to maintain. It involves proper cataloguing, archiving, easy identification mechanisms, easy retrieval and appropriate referencing and documentation mechanisms. Doing all these things involves the creation of adequate space, equipment, human resources, their training and adequate financial resources. In the absence of an efficient retrieval mechanism, most valuable information run the risk of remaining inaccessible to those who need them.

16. In the hearing and oral narrative traditions of Asian cultures, there has been the capacity to receive, store and easily and accurately retrieve any piece of information from memory. The voluminous Vedic[4] *mantras* have for thousands of years been passed on from one generation to another through the tradition of "hearing, memorising and reciting"[5]. Similar traditions have been there in the other oral narrative traditions like *villu-p-pattu, burra-katha, katha kalakshepam,*[6] etc. However, with the advent of print medium and the digital medium, these cultural traditions along with the human capacities on which these are based, are slowly fading. Therefore, something that will match such capacities and can handle all the large volumes of modern data collection should come in to place. Such a system of retrieval should also be quite cost effective so that a large number of organizations and individuals can afford such a system. The present day Asian scenario is that retrieval systems of cultural statistics are quite expensive and are not usually built in to the budgets of most data collection exercises. This lacuna needs to be addressed.

The Prospects

17. The prospects of bringing culture in to the centre stage of day-to-day human affairs in the Asian context depend to a great extent on how much realization comes about on the part of policy makers of the criticality of culture for sustaining socio-economic development. Let us now examine some of the cultural expressions in the light of the above statement and examine what are their prospects.

18. Mass Media. Mass media are used for mass communication. Mass communication may be defined as "the institutionalized production and generalized diffusion of symbolic goods

4. From Veda(s), the Hindu scriptures.
5. That is why the Vedas (the Hindu scriptures) are usually referred to as the *sruti* (that which is heard).
6. These are some of the extant oral narrative traditions of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and the entire Southern India respectively.

via the transmission and storage of information/communication[7]". Such communication is quite different from the one-to-one conversations in which the individuals engage in local contexts of action, because there is a break between the producer and the receiver. Again in mass communication, the symbolic forms are commodified, that is, bought and sold in a market. The mass media thus fit aptly within the context of modern capitalistic societies, whose hall marks are standardized production and a system of commodity exchange governed effectively by the market or the price mechanism. Therefore, their survival and growth will be dictated by the general survival and growth of all market based industries. In to this category will come forms such as the print media (books, newspapers, journals, etc), radio, TV, cinema, audio-visual productions, digital media, etc. They command considerable resources which they can reinvest in order to build on the gains already achieved and move forward.

19. Tourism. Like mass media, tourism is also a product which is packaged and sold in the market. Since it is linked to the market mechanism, its listing and its statistical coverage are fairly well developed. Of course, there is still the question whether there is any perceived imbalance in coverage between different tourist spots, places and attractions. Some might be better developed and better promoted while some others with equal potential might not be so developed and promoted. For example, there is a general complaint from Southern India that even mediocre tourist places in the north are better promoted and therefore attract a lot of overseas tourists, while several places with better tourist attraction potential in the South are not so promoted. This point is debatable; but the main point is that there could be such imbalances as between different tourist places. Collection of all relevant statistical information about places with old and famous temples, churches, mosques and other places of worship, ancient monuments, heritage structures, old castles, forts, archaeological sites, museums, art galleries, etc, will not only be helpful as tourist guides but also as reference material for understanding the cultural histories of the regions concerned. We can cite examples like the famous temples of Angkor Wat in Cambodia, the Buddhist temples of Thailand and Srilanka, the old mosques in Delhi and Agra in India, St. Thomas Mount and Luz Church in Chennai in India, the monolith carvings of Mahabalipuram and Ellora in India, the famous frescoes of the caves of Ajanta in India and the old temples of Southern India. While most of the well-known ones among these have been carefully documented and promoted, the lesser known ones have not been either carefully documented or promoted. An example of the latter category is the 1000 year old granite temple of Gangaikondacholapuram in Tamilnadu in India. This is only an example. There are so many others like this which need to be documented carefully and promoted well. The cultural histories behind such historical places need to be disseminated to a wider audience, particularly the youth.

20. Theatre. As a mass medium, theatre is different from the other mass media in that it still retains its direct contact with the audience. There is no break. Its reach is limited though. It still reflects the strong cultural roots of its own region. The numbers of such theatre groups are easily identifiable in respect of the urban elite populations. Collecting and updating data on such groups pose no special problems.

7. "Social Theory, Mass Communication and Public Life" – John Thompson, "The Polity Reader in Cultural Theory" Polity Press, Oxford, 1994.

21. Folk Theatre. This is more ubiquitous, of much older origins, with stronger cultural and traditional roots; but closer to the rural audience. Often they are also linked to local ritualistic traditions. If properly handled (as already explained) they can promote the desired development behaviour. However, the resources at their command is quite meagre as their marketability is entirely local. Again, a detailed listing of all the groups that are involved in such work even by a region within a country is difficult, time consuming and expensive. As already stated, again, the information need constant updating. Then there are the information storage and retrieval problems, which have also been discussed earlier.

22. Music. This can be classified in to classical, modern, pop, cinema, folk, etc. Here again, it is in the area of folk music that one confronts problems of collecting comprehensive data and updating them on a continuous basis. Folk music has its own space and contexts and its appropriate use can strengthen the quality of human life.

23. Drawing and Painting. There are the old classical and the new and modern schools. There are also the folk forms. As far as data collection is concerned, here again, the problem is more with the folk forms, because of their large numbers and local variations and diversities. Some of the old and powerful forms are almost getting extinct. It is time that they are identified and appropriately utilised to strengthen communication of modern development messages.

24. Dancing. This art form is particularly rich in the Asian countries. The various styles of this art form are supposed to have been inspired since thousands of years by the various rhythmic and graceful movements that are observable in nature. Human ingenuity and emotions have added a richness of colour and music to such forms and made them marvels of grace, style and beauty. Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia, Myanmar, Srilanka, India, Bangladesh, Malaysia and Pakistan have their own variations of classical and modern dancing. The data base on classical dancing is fairly elaborate and up to date. However, the information on folk dancing is not all that comprehensive and up to date. Much work needs to be done in this area. Tribal dancing is a class by itself. It is particularly noted for its power and vigour. This also needs a lot of careful documentation.

25. Crafts. Traditional crafts are unique since they are hand made mostly. They are exquisite pieces of beauty and workmanship retaining at the same time their utility for day-to-day life. These include traditional terracotta, pottery, wood carvings and wood crafts, articles made from natural fibers, cane products, bamboo products, handmade textiles and garments, hand made carpets, shawls, scarves, leather products, toys, sculpted items, bronze and brass ware, jewelry, ornaments, souvenirs, artifacts, etc. All the Asian countries are quite rich in this tradition and the varieties under each category are innumerable. While crafts development boards of these countries do have a lot of useful data on such items, there are certain specialty items like tribal crafts which are not covered as comprehensively as the rest are.

26. Customs and Traditions. The process of local knowledge systems observing and absorbing knowledge coming from outside via their collective instinct for survival develops in due course of time in to a set of local customs and traditions. These, in their turn, start determining the behaviour patterns of individual members of the community to given external stimuli. Many social-anthropological studies have been carried out on such customs and

traditions. However, it is difficult to say if these studies cover the whole gamut of all such customs and traditions in the whole of Asia. In the context of micro level planning, such localised studies of customs and traditions would be immensely useful for planning development programmes at the micro level. We have already seen how Thailand, for instance, has recognised the need for such inputs in to their planning exercise.

27. Idioms and Symbols. Here again, several social-anthropological studies have been carried out in the Asian countries. For instance, the symbols used by tribal communities have been the focal points for several social-anthropological studies. The same is the case with locally relevant idioms. These are indeed useful in effective communication of development messages in the concerned local areas/tribal communities. Here again, not all the available variations have been studied and documented. There is much scope for further work to be done in these areas.

Need for Systematic Studies of Culture and Culture Statistics and Putting into Appropriate Use the Results by Trained Professionals and Policy Makers

28. In the foregoing paragraphs, we have seen the immensity of the work that still needs to be done in the realm of cultural statistics in Asia. The main point to be noted in this connection is that such work needs to be taken up by highly skilled professionals. If not, the efforts are likely to go haywire. Let me illustrate this point with an example. When nutrition and health messages are communicated using traditional media in India, the usual practice has been to identify a few well known performing groups and give them a list of points that need to be communicated and then leave the rest to them. The duration is fixed, the rates are fixed and those who monitor the performance do only a simple checking of whether all the points given have been mentioned during the performance. It must be admitted that this too naïve an approach to communicate nutrition and health messages. Any folk performing art has its own space and context. It has its own place in the social and ritualistic scheme of things at the village level. It has its own *repertoire*. People understand all these things perfectly well. The entire symbolism used in such folk traditions are fully understood by the people. Any abrupt insertion of messages, no matter how scientific and important they are for the development of the people, without taking in to consideration the ritualistic schema in to which the folk performance fits, without taking in to consideration the storylines and their suitability for message integration, is sure to end up as a disaster. The ritualistic traditions of the village need to be studied carefully. The exact place of the chosen art form in the schema has to be understood. The *repertoire* of the chosen art form, again, needs to be carefully studied. A suitable storyline that would lend itself for the integration of the chosen messages needs to be selected carefully. And then, the chosen messages need to be discussed with the folk art team in a workshop mode to make sure that they have understood the scientific facts underlying the messages. The performing team would then do the message integration carefully and artfully. Doing all these things calls for expertise – expertise in social research, social-anthropology, expertise in folk literature, in folk theatre, and in communication. Such expertise has to be built and made available to the performing teams. Only then such efforts would bear fruits. In the Anukavur project, mentioned earlier in this paper, such expertise was provided to the local performing groups of traditional art forms and the experiment was highly successful. The point here is that such capacities need to be consciously built up in the service providers.

29. Let us now examine what has been done in this regard so far in some of the Asian countries and what needs to be done further.

30. Thailand. A survey on "Institutions and Centres Providing Training for Cultural Development Professionals in Thailand" has been carried out. The survey tries to look closely at the institutions and agencies that provide training on cultural development in order to better understand the present situation with regard to the quality and adequacy of such training of cultural development specialists. It is an attempt to understand the present situation in the training of cultural development of corresponding programmes. It aims at identifying the major trends and the new training needs in the field of cultural development. It is expected that based on the findings of the survey, recommendations can be made for policy orientation concerning the training in cultural development. According to the survey, there are many universities in Thailand that offer courses mainly for cultural transmission, like, for instance, in Thai musicology, in Thai classical dancing and drama. Other unique Thai cultural features have been integrated in to courses such as architecture, sculpture, fine arts, and interior decoration. Several vocational training courses have been started by different governmental and non-governmental agencies in subjects like handicrafts, making of traditional foods and desserts, fruit carving, and flower decoration. The Office of the National Culture Commission (ONCC) has the mandate to preserve, promote and develop national as well as indigenous culture. Several non-governmental organisations and private organisations including religious organisations do provide training on various cultural subjects like handicrafts, traditional medicine and massage, Thai boxing and in a variety of traditional performing arts. The present government policy is:

    - To promote school and university students to explore and study Thai cultural heritage for the purpose of preservation, dissemination and transmission.
    - To develop the sources of culture, artifacts and archaeological sites in order to promote the learning of such things as well as for income generation activities.
    - To coordinate with the public and the youth to take up active roles in cultural matters, through schools, families and communities.
    - To give support to tourism industry for the promotion and dissemination of Thai arts and culture.

31. Following the Ninth National Economic and Social development Plan (2002-2006), the Office of National Culture Commission (ONCC) has developed the National Cultural Plan in to the following eleven programmes:

    - Capacity building for the servicing of cultural learning.
    - Provision of cultural services for better coverage and quality.
    - Development of learning experiences using the cultural dimension.
    - Research and development.
    - Media production and mass communication for cultural transmission.
    - Strengthening of people's organisations.
    - Cultural watch.
    - Cultural investment for social security.

- Promotion and support of family and community capacity.
- Development of cultural management and administration.
- International public relation on culture.

32. Malaysia. In Malaysia, there are 14 public universities and an International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM) which operates as a company. Most of these institutions have culture as a subject included in their overall curriculum.

33. Indonesia. A survey has been conducted in order to map the various institutions in the country that provide training on cultural development. Data gathering has been done by listing the institutions with the help of internet, books and other available networks. A main finding of the survey has been that there are quite a lot of art training institutions (like dance, theatre, etc) but very few that provide training in cultural development. Anthropology and sociology departments in the various universities have been identified as providing some training on cultural issues. Besides, there are also several foundations and associations that offer training in cultural development. A proper listing of institutions could not be done due to a simple lacuna, namely, lack of proper address. Again, the listing and mapping cannot be construed to be comprehensive for the simple reason that the focus has been on institutions located in Java and Bali. Most of these institutions offer training in anthropology, sociology, Indonesian language and literature, art management, cultural management, cultural entrepreneurship, pluralism, journalism, etc. Another important finding of the survey is that many of these institutions have difficulties in finding qualified trainers. It is interesting to note that the Society of Indonesian Performing Arts has stated that besides the difficulty of finding the right type of trainers, it is equally hard to find the right type of participants in their training programmes. The other common problem is lack of adequate funds to run the programmes. Many face problems of publication work. The basic problem seems to be the difficulties in building awareness on the advantages of pluralism and the need to encourage local cultures to flourish.

34. The Philippines. A project on the dissemination of idea on cultural diversity in the Philippines has been completed. A forum was organized on the 4th April 2002 at the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) in Manila, to discuss the UNESCO Declaration on Cultural Diversity. The important role played by mass media, the education sector and the bureaucracy in promoting cultural awareness and creativity was recognized. The need for giving due recognition, respect and representation at the national level to the diversity in local cultures was underlined. Regarding capacity building for cultural development, a concern was expressed that the millennium curriculum as endorsed and adopted by the Department of Education might further reduce the time devoted to culture awareness and education. The need for increased involvement of the media in cultural development programmes was also highlighted. The forum also recommended that policy and programmes should address the commodification of cultural products and the problem of displacement of indigenous peoples to urban centres due to armed conflicts in certain areas of the country. The need for more initiatives towards awareness campaigns, dialogue, and education were thought to be necessary for promoting cultural diversity.

35. The Need for Developing Trainers' Training for Capacity Building. The above discussions clearly point to the need for a dynamic programme of trainers' training for providing the much needed capacity building in the areas of cultural statistics and their use for identification of the suitable forms for use in human development endeavours.

Conclusions

36. To conclude, cultural development is a part of a process of evolution of the human thought process and the human emotions, regarded collectively. Cultural diversity and cultural convergence are but parts of this dialectical evolution. Cultural expressions in all their local variations are very useful tools for human development, particularly in the context of Asia with its several developing countries striving to achieve socio-economic development of their masses in a short period of time. Therefore, such cultural expressions need to be identified properly, defined, described, and the information constantly updated and disseminated. The users of such information would be the policy makers and programme implementers of development programmes. These functionaries need to be provided with the needed capacity building training such that they could effectively utilise such local cultural expressions in development work. There is a need to strengthen trainers' training resources. For the proper utilisation of local cultural expressions in development work, cultural statistics need to be streamlined and made comprehensive. Besides gathering of information on all aspects of culture, the information so gathered should be carefully stored and systems should be developed and put in place for proper retrieval of such information. In the Asian context, doing all these things would warrant adequate funding resources. The policy makers and international donor agencies should accord priority to such funding as an integral part of their funding of development projects. While activities like mass media and tourism can take care of themselves since they are driven by the market forces, other local cultural expressions and lesser known cultural expressions are in dire need of such resource support and encouragement. Such support would also benefit the cause of encouraging and maintaining cultural diversity.

Jeannine Cardona Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, Paris, France

« Les statistiques culturelles européennes : Bilan et perspectives »

Résumé

Le développement de statistiques culturelles comparables, utiles à la compréhension et à l'action est devenu une nécessité incontestée dans un contexte de mondialisation et d'évolution rapide des modes de production, de distribution, de consommation et d'échanges des produits culturels. Cette communication s'appuie sur les réflexions conduites dans l'Union Européenne où les États membres se sont mobilisés pour la création d'un système de statistiques culturelles européennes depuis déjà plusieurs années. À partir d'exemples concrets qui concernent notamment la mesure de l'emploi et du financement de la culture, elle fait le point des avancées réalisées dans la définition d'outils méthodologiques communs et dans la production de données. Cet état des lieux s'accompagne d'une analyse des possibilités et des opportunités d'amélioration qui permettent d'espérer que l'Union européenne et ses États membres pourront mieux appréhender à l'avenir l'importance du secteur culturel et de son rôle dans le développement économique et social de l'Europe.

Abstract

The production of comparable statistics on culture is a valuable aid to understanding and action. The need for them in a world of globalisation, of headlong change in the way cultural products are made, distributed, consumed and exchanged, is unquestioned. This presentation draws on the European Union's brainwork: for a number of years now, member States have been actively engaged in creating a system of Europe-wide cultural statistics. Using concrete examples on the measurement of employment or the funding of the arts, the paper reviews the progress achieved in devising methodological tools, and compiling data. To this stocktaking is joined an overview of how and where improvements might be made so that the European Union and its member States may have a better grasp in future of the size and importance of the cultural sector and its role in Europe's economic and social development.

L'importance de la culture dans le développement économique et social est aujourd'hui unanimement reconnu en Europe. Toutefois, alors que la culture constitue un enjeu très important pour la cohésion sociale et met en cause de réels enjeux économiques, l'Union Européenne manque de données et d'analyses sur les phénomènes culturels. La comparabilité des statistiques est ainsi devenue une exigence forte de tous ceux qui dans les États membres ou au sein de l'institution européenne, ont besoin de mesurer, comprendre et expliquer les différentes dimensions de la Culture en Europe.

Les premières réunions sur ce thème entre les États membres de l'Union Européenne, organisées à l'initiative de la présidence française, puis de la présidence espagnole, remontent à 1995. Elles ont eu pour objectifs de procéder à des échanges de vue sur les situations nationales, de réfléchir sur les besoins de comparabilité entre pays et de dégager des pistes de travail en commun. A la suite de ces réunions d'experts nationaux, une requête visant à lancer des activités dans ce domaine a été adressée aux institutions communautaires par le États membres et le Conseil des ministres européens de la Culture a adopté le 20 novembre 1995 une résolution sur la promotion des statistiques sur la culture et la croissance économique. Cette résolution invite la Commission, en étroite collaboration avec les États membres, « à veiller à ce qu'il soit fait un meilleur usage des ressources statistiques existantes et que les travaux d'élaboration des statistiques culturelles progressent harmonieusement ».

Depuis lors, des efforts importants pour améliorer la comparabilité des statistiques culturelles ont été entrepris par un groupe d'experts nationaux, constitué en mars 1997 sous la forme d'un LEG[1] (leadership group), sur décision du Comité de Programme Statistique d'Eurostat. Ce LEG a fonctionné avec l'aide de la Commission et des services d'Eurostat. En 2000, après approbation du rapport du LEG, Eurostat a créé un groupe de travail sur les statistiques culturelles en Europe.

En l'absence d'un système européen de statistiques culturelles, l'unique voie possible actuellement pour comparer les situations nationales et avoir une vision de l'importance du secteur culturel européen est de réaliser des analyses qui utilisent les données produites dans les États membres. Or, on sait combien il est difficile de comparer et d'agréger ces données. Les principales raisons sont largement connues; elles sont rapidement rappelées ci-dessous afin d'expliciter les lignes directrices du programme de travail entrepris par les États membres et Eurostat.

Un développement récent et des situations nationales hétérogènes

Tous les États occidentaux disposent depuis longtemps de systèmes statistiques performants pour décrire et analyser leur économie. De nombreuses données économiques comme le taux de croissance, les indices de prix, le taux de chômage, etc. font partie du quotidien des débats économiques et sociaux. Toutefois, le développement de ces données économiques, directement issu de la période de croissance industrielle, a laissé de côté des domaines où l'émergence plus récente de politiques publiques a suscité une nouvelle demande.

Dès 1967, la Table Ronde de l'UNESCO sur les politiques culturelles à Monaco, se faisait l'écho de cette demande et soulignait que pour élaborer une politique culturelle, il importe de connaître ce qui existe et d'évaluer les besoins et que les deux sont très mal connus dans la plupart des

1. LEG : groupe de travail expérimental constitué d'experts des instituts statistiques nationaux et des ministères de la Culture de tous les pays de l'Union Européenne, à l'exception de l'Allemagne. Il a été créé fin 1997 et a remis son rapport fin 2000. Après approbation de ce rapport par le Comité de Programme Statistique, Eurostat a créé un groupe de travail sur les statistiques culturelles en Europe qui rassemble les 15 pays de l'Union.

pays. Ce besoin d'informations, exprimé d'abord par les responsables des politiques culturelles, a conduit à développer la statistique culturelle suivant des priorités fortement liées aux préoccupations de politique culturelle. Il en a découlé des modes d'organisation spécifiques à chaque pays. D'une part, le niveau de développement des statistiques culturelles est très différent d'un pays à l'autre en termes de contenu comme de méthode. D'autre part, la responsabilité de la statistique culturelle incombe soit aux administrations chargées de la Culture, soit à l'office national de la statistique, soit à ces deux types d'institutions dont les collaborations lorsqu'elles existent, peuvent être établies sur la base de contrats pluriannuels, de textes légaux ou rester complètement informelles. Cette diversité des situations nationales constatée tant au niveau de la production de statistiques qu'au niveau de son administration, constitue un frein important à la comparabilité des données entre pays.

Un champ d'observation difficile à cerner

Le premier obstacle rencontré pour élaborer des statistiques culturelles susceptibles d'appréhender et de décrire l'ensemble du champ culturel, d'aider les décideurs dans la définition des politiques culturelles et d'expliciter les mécanismes complexes de la vie culturelle, est celui de la définition de la Culture. Les approches sont multiples et mêlent souvent des points de vue esthétiques, ethnologiques, économiques, sociaux ou politiques rendant difficile un véritable consensus sur la définition du champ culturel et de ses frontières.

Une autre caractéristique du champ culturel est de regrouper des activités très hétérogènes relevant des grands secteurs de l'économie : industrie, commerce, services, artisanat. Il n'a donc pas la cohérence d'un secteur économique ni dans ses structures, ni dans ces activités, ni dans ses produits.

Ces deux grandes caractéristiques du champ culturel, difficulté de le définir et multitude d'activités diverses qui le composent, font que toute approche doit s'appuyer sur des choix. Les résultats obtenus sont différents suivant les approches et les définitions retenues. Elles expliquent en partie les différences dans le niveau de développement des statistiques nationales ainsi que leur grande hétérogénéité. Ceci constitue une difficulté majeure et une source de préoccupation importante dans une perspective de travail en commun.

Des données nombreuses mais... une cohérence difficile

A la diversité des activités culturelles correspond une production importante de données chiffrées par de nombreux organismes, administrations publiques et privées, syndicats professionnels, etc.

Compte tenu des difficultés méthodologiques pour recenser et observer les unités qui interviennent dans les activités culturelles et faute de moyens suffisants, la statistique culturelle publique s'est essentiellement développée en collectant l'information produite par ces nombreuses sources.

Les différences de méthode (contenu des questionnaires, procédés d'échantillonnage, traitement des non réponses, mode de collecte des données …), de périodicité, de champ couvert font que les données ainsi collectées présentent plusieurs inconvénients même au niveau national. Il n'est d'une part, pas possible de les agréger pour décrire un ensemble d'activités, d'autre part des pans entiers des activités culturelles ne sont couverts par aucune donnée et d'autres

font l'objet de statistiques partielles et parfois très divergentes. Globalement, les statistiques disponibles portent sur des activités culturelles couvertes par des syndicats ou organisations professionnelles, des activités réglementées pour lesquelles existent un suivi administratif, des activités subventionnées par les administrations publiques. Elles concernent également des activités qui font l'objet d'enquêtes dans un cadre plus général d'enquêtes auprès des entreprises du secteur industriel, commercial ou des services. Enfin, à ces statistiques d'origines diverses, il faut ajouter les statistiques issues des enquêtes statistiques propres au secteur culturel. Suivant les pays, ces enquêtes concernent les musées, les bibliothèques, les pratiques culturelles… mais plus rarement d'autres aspects de la vie culturelle.

Ce constat général a été confirmé par l'expertise que le LEG a réalisé dans cinq pays pour les musées, les bibliothèques, les arts plastiques et le théâtre. Un repérage des sources statistiques disponibles et une première collecte de données ont montré l'absence d'enquêtes régulières, la diversité des sources à mobiliser, l'hétérogénéité des champs couverts, des définitions et des méthodes de production qu'elles utilisent. Pour les musées[2] et les bibliothèques, la référence aux classifications de l'UNESCO peut être considérée comme un point de départ pour un travail en commun. Par contre, pour les arts plastiques et le théâtre, on est confronté à des conceptions très différentes d'un pays à un autre et à de nombreuses sources nationales d'origine professionnelle très souvent divergentes.

Une disponibilité des données variable

Enfin, la régularité de la production de données et de leur diffusion dépend de critères internes à l'organisme qui les produit et qui sont autant de facteurs de difficulté en matière de comparaison. Toutes les données produites ne sont pas accessibles, les niveaux de détail des publications peuvent être modifiés d'une année à l'autre. Ils dépendent de chacun des producteurs qui déterminent leurs choix de publications en fonction notamment de leur champ de compétence (publication sectorielle, thématique, etc.) et des publics visés (professionnels de la culture, politiques, chercheurs, étudiants, grand public, etc.).

Face à cette situation, travailler à l'harmonisation des concepts et des méthodes tout en commençant à produire des premières statistiques, est le défi auquel le groupe de travail Eurostat est confronté.

Le programme de travail sur les statistiques culturelles européennes, vise à comparer pour expliquer et comprendre les ressemblances et différences entre pays, mais il vise également à décrire et analyser la réalité culturelle européenne dans son ensemble « par le rassemblement d'un ensemble de données et l'élaboration d'indicateurs propres à refléter la diversité des phénomènes culturels en Europe et à contribuer à la définition, au suivi et à l'évaluation des politiques développées à l'échelle communautaire »[3]. La mission générale consiste à établir au niveau communautaire, un système d'informations cohérentes et comparables susceptibles de contribuer à une meilleure compréhension des liens entre la culture et le développement économique et social dans les États membres et au sein de l'Union Européenne dans son ensemble.

2. Pour les musées, un projet de questionnaire commun sera expérimenté par quelques pays qui réalisent des enquêtes nationales sur les musées en 2003 et 2004. Les questions communes en cours de définition ont pour objectif de permettre la production d'une liste d'indicateurs pour les musées en Europe. La définition du musée retenue est celle de l'UNESCO à l'exclusion des réserves naturelles, des centres scientifiques et planétariums, des institutions qui présentent des spécimens vivants (jardins botaniques et zoologiques, aquariums.

3. Protocole pour l'organisation du LEG « statistiques culturelles dans l'Union Européenne ». 24e réunion du Conseil du Programme statistique. Bruxelles le 13 mars 1997 – CPS 97/24/6b.

En s'appuyant sur la résolution du Conseil du 20 novembre 1995 sur la promotion des statistiques sur la culture et la croissance économique, les experts du Leadership Group (LEG), puis du groupe de travail Eurostat ont posé les bases d'un processus d'harmonisation qui repose sur les données des États membres. Ces données seront collectées et organisées dans un cadre commun et sur la base de concepts, d'instruments d'enquête et de méthodes de travail harmonisés répondant également aux besoins et aux critères nationaux.

Le processus d'harmonisation a posteriori qui a été entamé, est centré sur la construction de ces outils méthodologiques et sur la production d'indicateurs. Les premiers résultats concernent :

- la délimitation d'un champ culturel commun et le recensement des activités culturelles qui composent ce champ;
- la définition d'une méthodologie de production de statistiques limitée dans un premier temps aux trois thèmes transversaux qui sont particulièrement importants pour les politiques culturelles : l'emploi culturel, le financement de la culture et les pratiques culturelles. À cette fin, le groupe de travail a mandaté trois Task Force[4] qui travaillent chacune sur un de ces thèmes dans le prolongement direct des propositions du LEG. Seuls les travaux réalisés sur les deux premiers thèmes, pour lesquelles une approche similaire a été mise en œuvre, sont présentés dans cette communication.

La création d'une base méthodologique commune

La délimitation du champ culturel

La première question à résoudre qui conditionne la collecte et la production de données est celle du champ d'observation. Nous avons vu que les définitions de la culture sont très nombreuses et que chaque pays met en œuvre une conception spécifique. Dès lors la comparaison des données produites par chacun ne peut être immédiate. C'est pourquoi le premier objectif du LEG a été la création d'une base commune d'observation. La démarche suivie par la Task Force Méthodologie[5] du LEG a été volontairement pragmatique et opérationnelle. Elle a abandonné l'utopie d'une définition européenne de la culture et s'est appuyée sur le Cadre de Statistiques culturelles de l'UNESCO défini en 1986. Elle a abouti à la délimitation d'un champ culturel commun, objet de l'observation au niveau européen. Ce champ est défini comme un regroupement de huit domaines culturels faisant consensus : le patrimoine artistique et monumental, les archives, les bibliothèques, le livre et la presse, les arts plastiques, l'architecture, les arts du spectacle, l'audiovisuel et le multimédia. Cet ensemble de domaines reconnus par tous comme culturels constitue le noyau commun opérationnel au niveau européen sans remettre en cause les conceptions nationales. Il exclut des domaines tels que le sport, le tourisme, la religion, l'environnement… qui font partie du champ culturel dans certains pays.

La classification des activités culturelles

Toutefois, cette notion de domaine qui se réfère aux différents modes d'expression artistique et culturelle reste trop générale pour permettre l'établissement de statistiques. Elle a été complétée par une approche fonctionnelle destinée à situer les activités culturelles de chaque domaine

4. La Task Force sur l'emploi culturel est coordonnée par le ministère français de la Culture, celle sur le financement est coordonnée par les ministères français et italien de la Culture et celle sur les pratiques culturelles par l'institut italien de statistiques (ISTAT).
5. Le LEG avait mandaté 4 Task Force : Méthodologie, Emploi, Financement, Pratiques culturelles. La Task Force Méthodologie, coordonnée par les ministères français et italien de la Culture, rassemblait 10 pays de l'Union Européenne.

d'après leur fonction économique. Six fonctions ont été retenues : conservation, création, production, diffusion, commerce, formation. Cette approche, centrée sur l'aspect économique de la culture et guidée par le caractère statistique du projet est nécessairement réductrice. Elle trouve cependant sa légitimité dans la volonté de mieux appréhender la dimension économique et sociale de la culture en Europe.

Le croisement Domaine X Fonction permet d'établir la liste détaillée des activités culturelles. Chaque unité de production appartient à une activité culturelle repérée par le domaine dans lequel elle est exercée et la fonction qu'elle met en œuvre. On définit ainsi une classification des activités considérées comme culturelles dans tous les États membres.

Cette première classification des activités culturelles a été conçue comme un outil de travail permettant d'engager rapidement des travaux statistiques. Elle a fourni une base méthodologique commune aux travaux transversaux qui ont été jugés prioritaires sur l'emploi, le financement et les pratiques culturelles. Elle constitue un point de départ pour une réflexion plus approfondie en vue de l'établissement d'une nomenclature européenne des activités culturelles, instrument indispensable à sa connaissance statistique. Ce travail d'approfondissement devrait en particulier statuer sur certaines décisions en attente comme la prise en compte ou non de certaines activités telles que les activités de reproduction liées à des produits culturels (imprimerie, reproduction d'enregistrements sonores, etc.), les activités de recherche ou encore la fabrication d'instruments de musique.

La correspondance entre la classification des activités culturelles et la nace

L'élaboration d'une classification détaillée des activités culturelles était indispensable pour les recenser et les organiser dans une optique spécifiquement culturelle. La réalisation d'enquêtes nouvelles directement codifiées avec cette nomenclature demeure cependant un objectif à long terme.

La voie qui a été explorée dans une optique immédiatement opérationnelle, a été la mise en correspondance de cette classification avec la NACE[6] afin d'y repérer les activités culturelles. Toute l'information sur les activités économiques en Europe est en effet collectée et diffusée en utilisant la NACE, grille de production incontournable pour toutes les statistiques existantes en Europe, articulée aux nomenclatures d'activités nationales.

Cette mise en correspondance de la NACE avec la classification des activités culturelles (voir annexe) montre que les activités culturelles ne constituent pas une ou plusieurs classes homogènes de cette nomenclature. Elles sont dispersées dans un grand nombre de classes qui mêlent souvent des activités culturelles et des activités non culturelles.

La table de correspondance établie a constitué une première base de travail. Elle a permis d'expertiser les possibilités d'utilisation des enquêtes existantes pour produire des statistiques culturelles.

L'apport des enquêtes harmonisées européennes

Deux enquêtes harmonisées européennes ont été expertisées : l'enquête Forces de travail pour la connaissance de l'emploi culturel et l'enquête Budget des ménages pour la connaissance de la consommation culturelle.

6. NACE : Nomenclature des activités économiques de la Communauté Européenne.

L'emploi culturel

La question de l'emploi culturel a été étudiée suivant deux approches également importantes et complémentaires : l'emploi dans les unités d'activité économique qui exercent une activité culturelle et l'emploi des professions artistiques et culturelles.

1 - Méthode et résultats

L'emploi dans les activités culturelles est défini comme l'ensemble des emplois, culturels ou non, des unités économiques (établissements, structures, travailleurs indépendants, etc.) dont l'activité relève du champ de la culture. Le travail a été conduit en se référant à la classification des activités culturelles.

L'emploi dans les professions artistiques et culturelles est défini comme l'ensemble des personnes qui exercent ces professions dans les unités économiques du champ culturel, mais aussi dans d'autres secteurs. Un des exemples le plus significatif est celui des designers salariés dans l'industrie (industrie automobile, alimentaire, etc.).

Pour cette approche, une liste des professions a été établie en prenant comme base la nomenclature internationale des professions CITP-COM[7]. Il n'existe en effet aucune classification spécifique aux professions culturelles qui puisse être utilisée ou élaborée dans des délais raisonnables. Des critères précis d'appartenance à ces professions sont très difficiles à établir : diversité des disciplines, diversité des statuts, émergence de nouvelles professions, etc. Trois critères ont été retenus pour sélectionner les professions artistiques et culturelles dans la CITP-COM : professions spécifiques dans des activités liées aux œuvres artistiques et autres produits culturels, spectacles, expositions, etc., professions essentielles dans la définition et la production des contenus des œuvres et des produits artistiques, professions qui comportent des éléments créatifs. Plus de 80 professions artistiques et culturelles ont été recensées. Elles sont regroupées dans 11 classes de la CITP détaillée (4 positions) uniquement composées de professions culturelles et 13 classes qui mêlent professions culturelles et non culturelles.

L'expertise des sources

Une exploration systématique des sources nationales et européennes sur l'emploi permet de distinguer trois sources principales : les recensements de population, les enquêtes Forces de travail et les fichiers administratifs.

Le caractère exhaustif et le contenu détaillé des recensements de population permettent de les considérer comme une source potentielle importante pour la connaissance de l'emploi culturel en Europe. Toutefois, l'ancienneté de certains recensements et la non concordance des nomenclatures nationales ont conduit à repousser leur exploitation à une phase ultérieure.

Les enquêtes Forces de Travail sont des enquêtes annuelles réalisées dans tous les pays européens. Ce sont des enquêtes harmonisées, régies par un règlement du conseil des ministres et utilisant les nomenclatures européennes d'activités et de professions (NACE et CITP-COM). Le questionnaire européen comprend des variables démographiques (sexe, âge, nationalité, etc.) et de nombreuses variables qui caractérisent l'activité professionnelle exercée, elles-mêmes harmonisées.

7. CITP : Classification Internationale Type des Professions.

C'est l'exploitation de ces enquêtes qui a été la base d'un premier chiffrage de l'emploi culturel malgré des limites qui tiennent essentiellement à la taille de certains échantillons nationaux et au caractère trop agrégé des données collectées en utilisant la NACE et la CITP. Ces limites ne permettent pas d'utiliser les données de ces enquêtes pour calculer des indicateurs d'emploi pour les activités ou les professions au niveau le plus détaillé. Elles peuvent cependant, être utilisées pour calculer des indicateurs qui couvrent des regroupements d'activités ou de professions.

Pour les pays pour lesquels l'enquête Forces de travail ne peut-être utilisée en raison de la taille de son échantillon, d'autres sources (registres administratifs, fichiers de sécurité sociale, etc.) peuvent être mobilisées.

La collecte des données auprès des États membres

Eurostat dispose d'une base de données des résultats des 15 enquêtes nationales Forces de Travail. Cette base est toutefois insuffisante pour l'analyse de l'emploi culturel car les données sont collectées auprès des États membres à des niveaux trop agrégés de nomenclatures : niveau 2 chiffres pour la NACE et 3 chiffres pour la CITP.

Un questionnaire a donc été envoyé en mars 2001 à tous les États membres. Il avait pour objectif de collecter des données détaillées par activités et professions, extraites de l'enquête Forces de travail. Dans les pays où les nomenclatures et/ou la taille des échantillons ne permettaient pas d'y avoir recours, les données des recensements ou des fichiers administratifs ont été utilisés.

Des données ont été fournies au niveau 3 de la NACE par 2 pays et au niveau 4 pour 7 autres pays. Pour les professions, 4 pays ont fourni des données au niveau 4 de la CITP.

Ceci limite bien évidemment la comparabilité des données mais l'objet principal de cette collecte était d'obtenir un chiffrage au niveau le plus détaillé possible afin de mettre au point une méthode d'estimation qui serait ensuite appliquée aux seuls résultats des enquêtes Forces de travail.

Les données collectées ont ainsi permis en particulier de mesurer la part des activités culturelles dans les classes de la NACE partiellement culturelles et de procéder à des estimations pour les pays n'ayant pas fourni une information détaillée.

Les estimations des activités au niveau 4 chiffres ont été essentiellement basées sur le poids des activités culturelles dans la classe correspondante à 3 chiffres dans les pays ayant fourni les données.

Les classes partiellement culturelles qui ont été estimées sont en gris clair dans le tableau ci-après. Certaines classes à 4 chiffres partiellement culturelles figurent en gris foncé. Elles ont été retenues en totalité en raison d'un effectif très réduit qui limite l'effet de surestimation (22.15, 92.33 et 92.53), ou en raison du poids important des activités culturelles (92.34).

Nace à 3 chiffres	Nace à 4 chiffres	Classes d'activités totalement ou partiellement culturelles
22.1	22.11	Édition de livres
	22.12	Édition de journaux
	22.13	Édition de revues et périodiques
	22.14	Édition d'enregistrements sonores
	22.15	Autres activités d'édition
51.4	51.43	Commerce de gros d'appareils électroménagers et de radio/tv
	51.47	Commerce de gros de biens de consommation non alimentaires divers
52.4	52.45	Commerce de détail d'appareils électroménagers et de radio/tv
	52.47	Commerce de détail de livres, journaux et papeterie
	52.48	Commerce de détail spécialisés divers
74.2	74.20	Activités d'architecture et d'ingénierie
74.8	74.84	Autres services aux entreprises nca
92.1	92.11	Production de films
	92.12	Distribution de films
	92.13	Projection de films cinématographiques
92.2	92.20	Activité de radio et télévision
92.3	92.31	Art dramatique et musique
	92.32	Gestion de salles de spectacles
	92.33	Manèges forains et parcs d'attractions
	92.34	Activités diverses de spectacle*
92.4	92.40	Agence de presse
92.5	92.51	Gestion des bibliothèques
	92.52	Gestion de patrimoine culturel
	92.53	Gestion du patrimoine naturel

Sur ces bases, on estime que le volume d'emploi en Europe se situe à 3,2 millions d'emplois soit 2 % de la population active. Sont exclus de cette estimation, les emplois dans les activités d'enseignement artistique et ceux dans les associations diverses qui n'ont pu faire l'objet d'estimations faute de données nationales suffisantes.

Tableau 1
L'emploi dans les activités culturelles dans l'Union Européenne

Activités culturelles	Effectif (milliers)	%
22.1 Édition	887	28
92.1 Cinéma et vidéo	170	5
92.2 Radio et télévision	335	10
92.3 Autres spectacles	721	22
92.4 Agences de presse	118	4
92.5 Autres activités culturelles	359	11
Autres	*620*	*19*
Commerce culturel	*231*	*7*
Architecture	*308*	*10*
Divers	*81*	*3*
Total	**3 210**	**100**
Part des emplois des activités culturelles dans la population active occupée	2 %	

Données nationales de 1999, 2000 et 2001.
Source : Task Force sur l'emploi culturel.

Une démarche similaire a été conduite pour estimer la population des professions culturelles. Seuls 4 pays ont fourni des données détaillées au niveau 4 de la CITP. À partir de ces données, une estimation des postes partiellement culturels a été réalisée. Les rubriques estimées figurent en gris clair dans le tableau de la page suivante. La classe relative aux bibliothécaires, documentalistes et assimilés (en gris foncé) a été retenue en totalité bien que partiellement culturelle faute de données suffisantes pour réaliser une estimation.

Par ailleurs, les architectes, les dirigeants et cadres d'institutions culturelles, les enseignants, les artisans et ouvriers d'art qui sont dans des classes majoritairement non culturelles de la CITP n'ont pu être estimés et sont exclus des tableaux ci-après.

CITP 3 chiffres	CITP 4 chiffres	Professions artistiques et culturelles
243	2431	Archivistes paléographies et conservateurs de musée
	2432	Bibliothécaires, documentalistes et assimilés
245	2451	Auteurs, journalistes et autres écrivains
	2452	Sculpteurs, peintres et assimilés
	2453	Compositeurs, musiciens et chanteurs
	2454	Chorégraphes et danseurs
	2455	Acteurs et metteurs en scène de cinéma, de théâtre et d'autres spectacles
Partie de 313	3131	Photographes et techniciens d'appareils enregistreurs d'images et de son
Partie de 347	3471	Décorateurs et dessinateurs modélistes de produits industriels et commerciaux
	3472	Annonceurs/présentateurs de radio, de télévision et de spectacles
	3473	Musiciens, chanteurs et danseurs de rue, de boite de nuit et assimilés
	3474	Clowns, magiciens, acrobates et assimilés

Sur ces bases, on aboutit à un effectif de 2 millions de personnes qui exercent des professions culturelles en Europe. Elles représentent 1,2 % de la population active avec une fourchette qui s'établit entre 0,6 % pour la Grèce et 3,4 % pour les Pays-Bas.

Tableau 2
Les professions artistiques et culturelles dans l'Union Européenne

Professions	Effectif (milliers)	%
243 – Archivistes, bibliothécaires, documentalistes et assimilés	232	12
245 – Écrivains et artistes créateurs et exécutants	1 003	51
Partie de 313 – Techniciens du son et de l'image (photographes et techniciens son et image)	255	13
Partie de 347 – Professions intermédiaires de la création artistique et du spectacle (décorateurs, musiciens et chanteurs de rue, clowns, etc.)	477	24
Total	**1 967**	**100**
Part des professions culturelles dans la population active occupée	1,2 %	

Données nationales de 1999, 2000 et 2001.
Source : Task Force sur l'emploi culturel.

L'exploitation complémentaire de l'enquête européenne Forces de travail

Dans la mesure où les tous les États membres ne peuvent fournir des données sur les activités ou professions culturelles au niveau 4 chiffres, un mode d'approximation consistant à extraire les données par sous-populations correspondant aux croisements de la NACE à 2 chiffres et de la CITP à 3 chiffres est en cours d'étude à partir de la base de données d'Eurostat. Les deux approches de l'emploi culturel (par activités et par professions) sont combinées afin d'élargir le champ couvert. L'intérêt de cette approche serait d'améliorer la comparabilité et notamment de construire des indicateurs sur des bases comparables, en utilisant les données européennes harmonisées mais des investigations complémentaires doivent encore être conduites.

2 - Développements envisagés et travaux futurs

L'étude a montré que les nomenclatures harmonisées, au niveau 3 chiffres pour la NACE et 3 et 4 chiffres pour la CITP fournissent une appréhension relativement satisfaisante de l'emploi culturel sous ses deux composantes, activités et professions. L'amélioration des résultats est conditionnée par la production de données à ces niveaux de détail dans tous les pays. Elle repose donc sur la capacité et la volonté des Instituts Nationaux de Statistiques à fournir à Eurostat les données correspondantes. Dans le cas d'impossibilité, une analyse de la compatibilité des nomenclatures nationales avec les rubriques culturelles retenues peut être effectuée et des tables de correspondance pourront être proposées aux Instituts Nationaux de Statistiques.

Par ailleurs, lorsque les nomenclatures nationales ne permettent pas de coder à un niveau de détail suffisant des clefs de répartition plus adaptées seront recherchées par une exploration de sources nationales spécifiques, générales ou sectorielles. De plus, l'incompatibilité de certaines nomenclatures nationales (France, Italie) avec la CITP et l'impossibilité de disposer même pour un petit nombre de pays, du nombre d'architectes, de dirigeants d'institutions culturelles, d'enseignants, d'agents d'accompagnement, d'artisans et d'ouvriers d'art nécessite des recherches complémentaires et le recours à d'autres sources d'information nationales.

Enfin, une analyse de la précision des résultats devra être effectuée pour chacune des rubriques ou regroupements mais aussi pour l'ensemble du champ culturel.

Les résultats de ce premier travail exploratoire ouvrent des perspectives de développement et d'amélioration qui devraient aboutir dans un avenir proche à une estimation annuelle de l'emploi culturel en Europe et au calcul d'indicateurs qui permettront des analyses comparatives. Deux types d'indicateurs ont déjà été définis. Les premiers sont principalement basés sur des statistiques d'effectifs. Ce sont des indicateurs qui caractérisent l'emploi en fonction de l'âge, du sexe, de la profession, du temps de travail, de l'activité économique de l'entreprise, du statut professionnel, du niveau de formation. Les deuxièmes sont des ratios qui ont pour objectif de situer l'emploi dans le reste de l'économie comme par exemple le total de la population occupant un emploi culturel par rapport au total de la population occupant un emploi.

La consommation culturelle des ménages

L'établissement de statistiques sur les dépenses culturelles des ménages en Europe se fonde également sur une enquête harmonisée : l'enquête Budget des Ménages (EBM). L'exploitation de cette enquête a pour objectif d'appréhender le comportement des ménages en matière culturelle et de mesurer le poids de la consommation culturelle dans la consommation totale des ménages.

1 - Méthode et résultats

Les enquêtes Budget des ménages sont harmonisées au niveau européen. Elles servent principalement à l'établissement des indices de prix à la consommation et comme éléments de construction des comptes nationaux. Elles sont une source importante et précieuse de données pour l'analyse des conditions de vie des ménages.

D'une part, les nomenclatures de biens et services utilisées permettent de construire une image détaillée des dépenses de consommation, d'autre part les nombreuses variables disponibles dans ces enquêtes permettent de rapprocher cette consommation des grandes caractéristiques socio-démographiques comme par exemple l'âge, la catégorie socioprofessionnelle du chef de ménage, le type de ménage, la classe de revenu. Elles peuvent constituer ainsi un outil précieux pour la description de la consommation culturelle et pour la situer dans l'ensemble de la consommation des ménages.

Dans un premier temps, l'étude a défini la consommation culturelle à partir des postes de la nomenclature communautaire des biens et services (la classification de consommation individuelle par objet COICOP-HBS[8]). Cette nomenclature est une nomenclature à 4 niveaux dont le premier niveau regroupe dans une seule division la grande majorité des dépenses culturelles. Toutefois, ces dépenses sont regroupées avec des dépenses du domaine du loisir et du sport notamment.

L'analyse du niveau le plus détaillé, permet de dresser une liste des biens et services liées aux dépenses culturelles. Sur 25 postes, 15 ont été retenus mais il est nécessaire, comme avec la NACE et de la CITP, de procéder à des arbitrages compte tenu du caractère trop hétérogène de certains postes. Pour éviter des surestimations importantes, les postes où le poids des biens et services culturels paraît marginal ont été exclus (en gris dans le tableau ci-après).

8. COICOP-HBS : classification des fonctions de la consommation individuelle adaptée aux besoins des enquêtes sur les budgets des ménages.

HE09 : Loisirs et Culture					
2 chiffres	Description	3 chiffres	Description	4 chiffres	Description
HE091	Équipement et accessoires audiovisuels, photographies et informatique, y compris leur réparation	HE0911	Appareils de réception, d'enregistrement et de reproduction du son et de l'image	HE09111	Appareil de réception, d'enregistrement et de reproduction du son
				HE09112	Appareil de télévision et magnétoscopes
		HE0912	Équipement photographique et cinématographique; instruments d'optique	HE09121	Équipement photographique et cinématographique
				HE09122	Instruments d'optique
		HE0913	Équipement informatique	HE09131	Équipement informatique
		HE0914	Support d'enregistrement image & son	HE09141	Support d'enregistrement pour l'image et le son
		HE0915	Réparation des équipements & accessoires audiovisuels, photographiques & informatiques	HE09151	Réparation des équipements et accessoires audiovisuels, photographiques et informatiques
HE092	Autres biens durables importants du domaine des loisirs et de la culture, y compris leur réparation	HE0921	Autres biens durables importants du domaine des loisirs et de la culture	HE09211	Instrument de musique
				HE09212	Équipement lié aux sports et aux loisirs
		HE0922	Réparation des autres biens durables importants du domaine des loisirs et culture	HE09221	Réparation des autres biens durables importants du domaine des loisirs et de la culture
HE093	Autres articles et équipements de loisirs : fleurs, jardins et animaux d'agrément	HE0931	Jeux, jouets et passe-temps, articles de sport, de camping et de loisirs en plein air	HE09311	Jeux, jouets et passe-temps et petits instruments de musique
				HE09312	Équipement de sport, de camping et de loisirs en plein air
		HE0932	Horticulture	HE09321	Horticulture
		HE0933	Animaux d'agrément	HE09331	Animaux d'agrément

HE09 : Loisirs et Culture *(suite)*					
2 chiffres	Description	3 chiffres	Description	4 chiffres	Description
HE094	Services récréatifs et culturels	HE0941	Services sportifs et récréatifs	HE09411	Services sportifs et récréatifs
		HE0942	Services culturels	HE09421	Cinémas, théâtres, salles de concert
				HE09422	Musées, jardins zoologiques et similaires
				HE09423	Services de télévision et de radiodiffusion
				HE09424	Autres services
HE095	Édition, presse et papeterie Voyages à forfait	HE0943	Jeux de hasard	HE09431	Jeux de hasard
		HE0951	Livres	HE09511	Livres
		HE0952	Journaux et périodiques	HE09521	Journaux et périodiques
		HE0953	Imprimés divers	HE09531	Imprimés divers
		HE0954	Articles de papeterie et de dessin	HE09541	Articles de papeterie et de dessin
HE096		HE0961	Voyages à forfait	HE09611	Voyages à forfait

Source : Task Force sur le financement de la Culture.

Sur ces bases, une exploitation des données de l'enquête Budget des ménages 1999 a été effectuée, en collaboration avec les services d'Eurostat. Elle fournit pour chacun des 13 pays[9] dont les données étaient disponibles et pour l'ensemble européen correspondant, une série d'indicateurs : dépense culturelle moyenne par ménage, par ménage et par poste, par ménage et par postes agrégés, par postes agrégés en pourcentage du total des dépenses, par densité de population, par revenu.

On constate, par exemple, que la dépense moyenne pour des biens et services culturels est la plus élevée au Danemark et en Suède et que ce sont les ménages danois et suédois qui consacrent la part la plus importante de leur budget aux achats culturels. Un montant important de dépenses n'induit pas forcément une part du budget culturel aussi importante : c'est le cas du Luxembourg et dans une moindre mesure du Royaume-Uni.

9. Les enquêtes française et portugaise étaient en cours de traitement lorsque l'exploitation a été réalisée.

Tableau 3
Dépense moyenne par ménage en biens culturels (1999)

Pays	Dépenses culturelles en euros	Dépenses culturelles en % des dépenses totales
Belgique	1 305	4,80
Danemark	1 775	6,17
Allemagne	1 364	5,46
Grèce	509	2,66
Espagne	562	3,33
Irlande	1 182	4,05
Italie	732	3,04
Luxembourg	1 610	3,61
Pays-Bas	1 344	5,46
Autriche	1 309	4,65
Finlande	1 209	5,61
Suède	1 775	6,15
Royaume-Uni	1 419	4,75
UE (13 pays)	956	4,65

Source : Eurostat, Enquête Budget des Ménages.

Par ailleurs, des regroupements de dépenses ont été effectués dans un double objectif : réduire les problèmes de fiabilité liés à des postes de dépenses trop faibles et fournir des données pertinentes pour l'analyse de la consommation culturelle. Un chiffrage par filière ou par grands domaines culturels, plus intéressant pour l'analyse que l'approche par produit n'a pas été possible même avec le niveau le plus détaillé de la COICOP. Un regroupement plus large par grands thèmes a été proposé : équipement en image et son, dépenses connexes à l'équipement, sorties, pratiques amateurs, écrit. Les données correspondantes montrent l'importance du budget audiovisuel et informatique dans tous les pays européens. Il représente 44 % du budget culturel moyen pour l'ensemble des 13 pays concernés. C'est en Grèce et en Italie qu'il est le plus faible. Ce sont ces deux pays qui consacrent par contre une part plus importante de leur budget culturel à l'achat de livres et de journaux.

Tableau 4
Dépense moyenne par ménage en biens culturels agrégée par poste (1999)

	Dépense culturelle moyenne par ménage et par poste en % du total des dépenses culturelles				
	Équipement en image, son et informatique	Dépenses connexes à image, son et informatique	Pratique en amateur	Sorties	Écrit
		%			
Belgique	13	32	15	9	31
Danemark	27	29	12	5	26
Allemagne	23	22	13	19	24
Grèce	14	22	4	9	52
Espagne	23	13	5	12	46
Irlande	16	30	2	10	43
Italie	13	20	9	10	48
Luxembourg	26	17	13	10	34
Pays-Bas	27	17	14	9	33
Autriche	22	25	11	8	34
Finlande	23	20	16	5	35
Suède	24	22	13	5	36
Royaume-Uni	21	25	19	6	28
UE (13 pays)	21	23	14	12	31

Source : Eurostat. Enquête Budget des ménages.

2 - Développement et travaux futurs

Ces premiers travaux confirme l'intérêt des enquêtes Budget des ménages pour la connaissance de la consommation culturelle. Ils permettent d'ores et déjà de disposer d'une estimation de la consommation culturelle par pays et pour l'ensemble de l'Union et de dégager des pistes d'amélioration et d'approfondissement.

Parallèlement à l'établissement d'un cadre conceptuel à partir de la COICOP, un examen des nomenclatures nationales de consommation, réalisé pour 9 États membres, montre une grande hétérogénéité des niveaux de détail. Certains pays utilisent des niveaux très agrégés (Allemagne) alors que d'autres (Pays-Bas, Danemark) ont une nomenclature extrêmement fine.

L'examen des nomenclatures nationales va être poursuivi afin d'aboutir à une méthode et des procédures qui permettront à terme d'avoir une mesure plus précise de la consommation culturelle par postes et d'opérer des regroupements plus pertinents pour l'analyse, par filière et par domaines culturels notamment.

Ce travail s'accompagnera d'une étude sur la fiabilité des comparaisons compte tenu des caractéristiques de chaque enquête nationale (sous estimation des dépenses occasionnelles, différences de calendrier et fréquence des enquêtes, différences dans les définitions de la personne et de la période de référence).

La mise en œuvre d'une démarche exploratoire pour la connaissance du financement de la culture

Connaître le montant total pour l'Europe, des dépenses effectuées par les administrations publiques des États membres en faveur de la Culture, le situer par rapport aux dépenses que lui consacre le secteur privé, analyser les priorités de financement et leur évolution, est pratiquement impossible aujourd'hui. Il n'existe pas, comme pour l'emploi ou la consommation des ménages, d'enquête européenne qui puisse servir de point d'appui pour développer des statistiques régulières sur les dépenses culturelles publiques européennes.

Par ailleurs, peu de pays sont capables de fournir des données sur l'ensemble des dépenses publiques qu'ils affectent à la culture et encore moins de le faire sur une base annuelle. On comprend dans ces conditions que l'objectif à atteindre « être capable de produire des données plus complètes et plus comparables » est un objectif de long terme dont la réalisation est conditionnée par la définition et la mise en œuvre dans tous les pays d'un cadre harmonisé de production des données.

Les avancées réalisées par le LEG et le groupe de travail Eurostat, reposent sur un état des lieux détaillé des sources et des systèmes d'information sur le financement public existant dans quatre pays[10] et sur l'élaboration d'un cadre de collecte des données testé dans chacun de ces pays. L'objectif est de déterminer dans quelle mesure une collecte des données nationales existantes peut répondre à l'objectif de comparabilité européenne et quelles seraient les modifications et développement éventuels à apporter aux données nationales.

Collecter des données détaillées sur une base commune s'est avéré complètement impossible compte tenu des modes très divers de classification à des niveaux fins. De sorte que le cadre proposé privilégie trois dimensions de la dépense publique repérées à des niveaux très agrégés :

- l'appartenance à un domaine culturel en se référant à la classification des activités culturelles;
- la nature économique de la dépense en distinguant dépenses courantes et dépenses en capital et en se limitant aux dépenses directes c'est à dire aux dépenses qui vont versées directement au secteur culturel. Les flux financiers indirects, comme les exonérations ou dégrèvements fiscaux, ne sont pas pris en compte dans un premier temps bien que leur importance pour l'économie du secteur ne soit pas négligeable. Enfin, les transferts entre niveaux de gouvernement sont isolés. L'objectif est d'établir la dépense culturelle nette en excluant ces transferts;
- le niveau de gouvernement en établissant une table de correspondance entre les différents niveaux nationaux. Quatre niveaux ont été retenus : niveau 1 État, niveau 2 Lander pour Autriche et Allemagne, Région pour France et Italie, niveau 3 Département pour France et Province pour Italie, niveau 4 municipalité. Seules sont prises en compte les dépenses de ces différents niveaux de gouvernement. Les dépenses assurées par d'autres types d'administrations (fonds culturel, institutions publiques ad hoc) ne sont pas retenues.

10. Ce sont les 4 pays qui participent à la Task Force sur le financement culturel Autriche, Italie, Allemagne, France. Deux autres pays ont rejoint la Task Force en 2002 : l'Espagne et les Pays-Bas.

Chaque pays concerné par le test a réalisé un rapport national structuré suivant un plan commun prédéfini et a renseigné les tableaux répartissant la dépense publique suivant les rubriques qui viennent d'être mentionnées. Les données qui en résultent sont fournies ci-dessous. Elles doivent être interprétées avec précaution à la lumière des précisions apportées par les rapports nationaux.

Tableau 5
Dépenses culturelles publiques brutes

	Autriche	France	Allemagne	Italie
Dépenses culturelles (en millions d'euros)	1 445,7	10 501,6	9 778,7	5 740
Répartition par niveau en %				
Niveau 1 État	54,9	54,5	9,2	49,9
Niveau 2 Région	23,2	2,6	41,4	13,7
Niveau 3		7,9		2,9
Niveau 4	21,9	34,9	49,5	33,9
Dépenses par habitant (en euros)	179	180	119	100
Part des dépenses culturelles totales dans le PIB (en %)	0,8	0,9	0,5	0,5

Données de 1999 pour Autriche et Italie, de 1996 pour France et de 1998 pour Allemagne.
Source : Task Force sur le financement de la culture.

Ces résultats sont encore très réduits tant par le nombre de pays, que par le nombre d' indicateurs disponibles ou le niveau d'agrégation des données. L'expertise réalisée sur les données nationales dans le cadre de chaque rapport national permet cependant de faire le point précisément sur les difficultés les plus sensibles en matière d'harmonisation et d'envisager les solutions à proposer. Ces solutions concernent tant des recommandations que chaque État pourrait apporter à son système statistique de suivi des dépenses publiques qu'un perfectionnement du cadre commun de référence. Ces perspectives rendent pertinentes la généralisation du test à tous les États membres.

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En 5 ans, depuis 1997 première année du LEG, les progrès accomplis pour la statistique européenne paraissent tout à la fois importants mais limités, prometteurs mais fragiles. Le travail réalisé ouvre des pistes sérieuses de développement : un consensus a été obtenu pour la définition du champ culturel et celle des activités et des professions qui en font partie, une première approche par produit a été abordée, les premières statistiques comparables ont été élaborées et des possibilités d'amélioration sont déjà dessinées. Ce n'est pourtant que le début d'un très vaste chantier dont on a pu mesurer la complexité et l'étendue.

Pour démarrer, le programme de travail a été centré sur trois aspects majeurs des préoccupations nationales et européenne : l'emploi, le financement et les pratiques culturelles. Pour les deux premiers sujets, il a tiré parti de l'existence d'enquêtes européennes harmonisées qui pourront désormais être exploitées régulièrement pour produire en particulier des données de cadrage sur l'emploi culturel et la consommation des ménages.

Le volume d'emploi culturel en Europe et sa part dans la population active ont fait l'objet de nombreuses évaluations, parfois très hasardeuses. Il en est de même de la consommation culturelle et de sa part dans le budget des ménages européens. Ces indicateurs sont maintenant estimés sur des bases méthodologiques solides même si elles doivent être approfondies. Il est désormais possible par ailleurs de comparer par pays, la structure de l'emploi culturel par grands domaines d'activités et celle de la consommation des ménages par grands postes de consommation.

Les premiers résultats sont très importants et encourageants. Toutefois, pour les raisons déjà évoquées qui tiennent essentiellement au caractère trop agrégé des nomenclatures européennes et à la taille des échantillons nationaux, ces résultats doivent être affinés et complétés. Leur amélioration dépend en grande partie de la capacité et de la volonté des Instituts Nationaux de Statistique de produire des données suffisamment détaillées. Il y a là un enjeu majeur pour la poursuite du travail compte tenu de l'incertitude qui pèse sur le classement des activités culturelles dans la version révisée de la NACE en cours de préparation pour 2007. La possible création d'un secteur de l'information qui regrouperait de nombreuses activités culturelles avec des activités relevant de l'information ou même des télécommunications risque de rendre moins pertinente l'exploitation des enquêtes harmonisées.

Mais les résultats obtenus sont encore insuffisants par rapport à l'ampleur des besoins des acteurs culturels. L'économie du spectacle vivant, du patrimoine, de la création, de la formation, etc., leur poids respectif, le poids économique de la culture dans son ensemble et son évolution, sont autant de questions pour lesquelles les réponses sont encore trop partielles.

Les travaux réalisés ont confirmé qu'un suivi statistique fiable et efficace de la culture au niveau européen, ne peut être assuré individuellement par les États membres sans l'instauration d'un cadre communautaire approprié. Cette confirmation, ainsi que le rôle reconnu de la Culture dans le développement économique et social, sont autant d'arguments qui plaident pour que la statistique culturelle devienne une dimension de la statistique européenne. Cette décision relève d'une volonté politique que la création d'un espace culturel commun au peuple de l'Europe mentionnée dans le programme Culture 2000 devrait rendre de plus en plus indispensable.

Références bibliographiques

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Report by the Task Force on cultural expenditure and finance, 2nd meeting of the working group cultural statistics; Eurostat (DOC/STAT/E3/2001/CULT04).

Analyse des dépenses culturelles des ménages à partir des enquêtes Budget des ménages, 2e réunion du groupe de travail sur les statistiques culturelles; Eurostat (DOC/ESTAT/E3/2001/CULT05). Aussi disponible en anglais.

Annexe

Table de correspondance entre la classification culturelle et la nace*

Activités culturelles	Classes NACE concernées
Patrimoine	
Activités de protection des monuments	Partie de 92.52 : gestion du patrimoine culturel
Musées	Partie de 92.52 : gestion du patrimoine culturel
Activités archéologiques	Partie de 92.52 : gestion du patrimoine culturel
Autres activités liées au patrimoine (expositions, etc.)	Partie de 74.84 : autres services aux entreprises n.c.a.?
Animation et sensibilisation	Partie de 91.33 : organisations associatives n.c.a.
Enseignement	Partie de 80.30 : enseignement supérieur Partie de 80.42 : formation permanente et enseignements divers?
Archives	
Gestion, conservation des archives générales et spécialisées	Partie de 92.51 : gestion de bibliothèques
Animation et sensibilisation	Partie de 91.33 : organisations associatives n.c.a.
Enseignement	Partie de 80.30 : enseignement supérieur Partie de 80.42 : formation permanente et enseignements divers?
Bibliothèques	
Bibliothèques de conservation et de consultation	Partie de 92.51 : gestion de bibliothèques
Animation et sensibilisation	Partie de 91.33 : organisations associatives n.c.a.
Enseignement	Partie de 80.30 : enseignement supérieur Partie de 80.42 : formation permanente et enseignements divers?
Livre et presse	
Création d'œuvres littéraires	Partie de 92.31 : art dramatique et musique
Rédaction d'articles pour journaux et revues	Partie de 92.40 : agences de presse
Production de livres	Partie de 22.11 : édition de livres
Production de journaux et périodiques	22.12 : édition de journaux 22.13 : édition de revues et périodiques
Agences de presse	Partie de 92.40 : agence de presse
Agents littéraires	Partie de 74.84 : autres services aux entreprises n.c.a.?
Festivals et salons	Partie de 74.84 : autres services aux entreprises n.c.a.
Animation et sensibilisation	Partie de 91.33 : organisations associatives n.c.a.
Commerce des livres	Partie de 51.47 : commerce de gros de biens de consommation non alimentaires divers Partie de 52.47 : commerce de détail, de livres, journaux et papeterie

Table de correspondance entre la classification culturelle et la nace* *(suite)*

Activités culturelles	Classes NACE concernées
Commerce de presse	Partie de 51.47 : commerce de gros de biens de consommation non alimentaires divers Partie de 52.47 : commerce de détail, de livres, journaux et papeterie
Enseignement	Partie de 80.30 : enseignement supérieur. Partie de 80.42 : formation permanente et enseignements divers?
Arts plastiques	
Restauration d'œuvres	Partie de 92.31 : art dramatique et musique
Création d'œuvres plastiques (yc galeries d'art)	Partie de 92.31 : art dramatique et musique Partie de 74.84 : autres services aux entreprises n.c.a.?
Édition d'œuvres plastiques (reproduction)	Partie de 22.15 : autres activités d'édition
Expositions (yc photo)	Partie de 74.84 : autres services aux entreprises n.c.a.?
Festivals	Partie de 74.84 : autres services aux entreprises n.c.a.?
Animation et sensibilisation	Partie de 91.33 : organisations associatives n.c.a.
Commerce d'œuvres d'art (yc galeries d'art)	Partie de 52.48 : autre commerce de détail dans établissement spécialisé?
Commerce de reproduction	?
Enseignement	Partie de 80.30 : enseignement supérieur Partie de 80.42 : formation permanente et enseignements divers?
Architecture	
Création architecturale	Partie de 74.20 : activités d'architecture et d'ingénierie
Enseignement	Partie de 80.30 : enseignement supérieur Partie de 80.42 : formation permanente et enseignements divers?
Arts du spectacle	
Création d'œuvres (musicales, chorégraphiques, lyriques, dramatiques, etc.)	Partie de 92.31 : art dramatique et musique
Activités des orchestres, des compagnies, etc.)	Partie de 92.31 : art dramatique et musique Partie de 92.34 : activités diverses du spectacle
Organisation de festivals	Partie de 74.84 : autres services aux entreprises n.c.a.?
Activités de production de spectacles (danse, musique, théâtre, etc.)	Partie de 92.31 : art dramatique et musique
Activités de gestion et de diffusion des salles de concerts, de danse, de théâtre	Partie de 92.32 : gestion de salles de spectacle

Table de correspondance entre la classification culturelle et la nace* *(suite)*

Activités culturelles	Classes NACE concernées
Services liés à la production de spectacles (yc agents artistiques)	Partie de 92.72 : autres activités récréatives Partie de 92.32 : gestion de salles de spectacle Partie de 74.84 : autres services aux entreprises n.c.a.
Animation et sensibilisation	Partie de 91.33 : organisations associatives n.c.a.
Enseignement	Partie de 92.34 : activités diverses de spectacles Partie de 80.30 : enseignement supérieur Partie de 80.42 : formation permanente et enseignements divers?
Audio, audiovisuel et multimédia	
Création cinématographique et audiovisuelle	Partie de 92.31 : art dramatique et musique
Création d'œuvres multimédia	?
Production de films pour le cinéma	Partie de 92.11 : production de films cinématographiques
Production de films autres	Partie de 92.11 : production de films cinématographiques
Production d'émissions radio	Partie de 92.20 : activités de radio et télévision
Production d'émissions télévisées	Partie de 92.20 : activités de radio et télévision
Édition d'œuvres multimédia	?
Distribution de films	92.12 : distribution de films
Exploitation de salles de cinéma	92.13 : Projection de films cinématographiques
Festivals et salons	Partie de 74.84 : autres services aux entreprises n.c.a.
Diffusion par la radio	Partie de 92.20 : activités de radio et télévision
Diffusion par la télévision	Partie de 92.20 : activités de radio et télévision
Diffusion d'œuvres multimédia	?
Édition d'enregistrements sonores et audiovisuels	22.14 : Édition d'enregistrement sonores
Commerce des enregistrements sonores et audiovisuels	Partie de 52.45 : commerce de détail d'appareils électroménagers et de radio/télévision Partie de 51.43 : commerce de gros d'appareils électroménagers et de radio/télévision
Commerce des œuvres multimédia	?
Enseignement	Partie de 80.30 : enseignement supérieur Partie de 80.42 : formation permanente et enseignements divers?

* Le point d'interrogation signifie que le classement dans la NACE n'a pas été repéré ou laisse subsister des doutes.

André Lange European Audiovisual Observatory,
Council of Europe, Strasbourg, France

"Activities of the European Audiovisual Observatory in the Field of Statistical Information"

Résumé

Créé en décembre 1992, l'Observatoire européen de l'audiovisuel est un organisme de service public consacré à la collecte et à la diffusion de l'information sur l'industrie audiovisuelle (cinéma, télévision, vidéo, nouveaux médias) en Europe. Trente-cinq États européens en sont membres ainsi que la Communauté européenne. L'Observatoire fonctionne dans le cadre d'un Accord partiel élargi du Conseil de l'Europe et remplit sa mission avec un réseau de partenaires, de correspondants et d'organismes professionnels.

La collecte et la diffusion d'information statistique constitue une de ses activités principales. On en présentera la stratégie générale, les principaux problèmes méthodologiques, la mise au point de diverses bases de données ainsi que quelques résultats récents.

Abstract

Established in December 1992, the European Audiovisual Observatory is a unique pan-European public service organisation dedicated to gathering and distributing information on the European audiovisual industry (film, television, home video, new media). Currently 35 European States as well as the European Community are members of the Observatory. The Observatory functions within the framework of an enlarged partial agreement of the Council of Europe and carries out its mission with a network of partners, correspondents and professional organisations.

Collection and publication of statistics is one of the important activities of the Observatory. General strategy, methodological issues, databases and recent results will be presented.

The author wishes to thank his colleagues from the Markets & Financing Information Department of the European Audiovisual Observatory (Kees Bakker and Susan Newman) for their contributions to this paper. Lone Le Floch-Andersen, former expert at the Observatory, should be credited with the conceptual development of the KORDA database. Software development of the LUMIERE and KORDA databases was done by Cyril Chaboisseau and Jean-Marc Lits. Valérie Haessig, webmaster of the Observatory Internet site, manages the Yearbook Premium Service and the regular input of data to the LUMIERE database. Thanks also to all our partners, correspondents and suppliers of information in Europe and elsewhere: their contribution to our work is invaluable.

1. The European Audiovisual Observatory

Set up in December 1992, the European Audiovisual Observatory is the only organisation of its kind to gather and circulate information on the audiovisual industry in Europe. The Observatory is a European public service body with 35 Member States and of which the European Community is also a member. It owes its origins to Audiovisual Eureka and operates within the legal framework of the Council of Europe. The Observatory works alongside a number of partner organisations, professional bodies from within the industry and an extensive network of correspondents.

A Challenge for Europe

The audiovisual sector is one of the fastest growing areas of the European economy and a leading global market. Internationalisation and integration of what previously were mostly national media landscapes, boosted by rapid technical progress, means that the audiovisual sector now stands out above other branches of the economy.

As well as huge potential, the dynamism, size and incredible diversity of the sector implies considerable challenges for the players involved. One such challenge lies in public understanding of the entire audiovisual sector or of its component parts, over and above linguistic, cultural and national boundaries. Such an understanding depends on reliable, up-to-date information, the need for which has never been as great as it is today.

Transparency through Information

According to its Statute, "the aim of the European Audiovisual Observatory shall be to improve the transfer of information within the audiovisual industry, to promote a clearer view of the market and greater transparency. In doing so, the Observatory shall pay particular attention to ensuring reliability, compatibility and comparability of information".

The Observatory's task is therefore clearly defined: to improve the transfer of and access to information. Achieving this means developing and providing information services in whatever format audiovisual specialists need them most.

Fields of Activity and Responsibility

The Observatory has adopted a pragmatic definition of the audiovisual sector in which it works. Its principal areas of interest are:

- Film,
- Television,
- Video/DVD and the expanding field of,
- New Media.

In these four areas, the Observatory provides information services through the activities of two departments: the Legal Information Department and the Markets and Financing Information Department.

As far as its geographical scope is concerned, the Observatory monitors, records and analyses developments in its Member States. In addition, where pertinent and practically possible, countries relevant to Europe are included.

Information Services and Target Groups

The various stages involved in providing information include the systematic collection and processing of information and data, together with their dissemination to users.

The services offered by the Observatory can be divided into five groups:

- Print Publications,
- Online Publications,
- Online Services,
- Databases,
- Conferences and Workshops.

In addition, the Observatory assists in the transmission of requests for information outside the scope of it's activities to the relevant contact persons.

The Observatory's primary target groups are audiovisual experts, including decision-makers in the various national ministries responsible for media, press officers of public administrations, journalists, scientists, researchers, lawyers and consultants.

2. Observatory Activities in the Field of Statistical Information

This short presentation of the European Audiovisual Observatory clearly demonstrates that the Observatory is not an Institute for Statistics. In Europe, the collection of official statistics is delegated to national statistical institutes. Statistics on the audiovisual sector are also collected by EUROSTAT, the statistical body of the European Union, working in close collaboration with the various national institutes. The European Audiovisual Observatory and EUROSTAT started to collect audiovisual statistics at around the same time (in 1993). This parallel work by two European bodies has been a matter of concern for some Members of the European Parliament, but the complimentarity of the two projects now seems both recognised and accepted. The

Observatory and EUROSTAT attempt, as far as possible, to co-operate and to share relevant experience. Although EUROSTAT undertakes some work in the field of cultural statistics, its principal approach to the audiovisual sector is in terms of business statistics. EUROSTAT works mainly through the data collection process organised at a national level by the national institutes and within the framework of international classification systems (mainly the NACE).

The Observatory has adopted a different approach: as its mission is mainly the improvement of the transparency of the sector in the interest of professionals, it has adopted an approach of *statistical information*. This means that it attempts to achieve greater rapidity in data collection as well as to come as close as possible to industry professionals' information requirements. This does not mean that methodological issues are not a concern – quite the contrary – but that the statistics made available are intended to be a useful tool in understanding the rapid evolution of markets.

2.1 The *Statistical Yearbook* as a reference publication on the various branches of the audiovisual industry

In the early years of it's activity, the Observatory decided to work principally with thematic pan-European partners (i.e. partners specialised in at least one relevant field of statistical information on a pan-European level) rather than with national correspondents. Sending omnibus questionnaires to a network of correspondents in the hope that they would be able to collect information on sectors as diverse as film, television and video, not to mention advertising and multimedia, would have been a nonsense.

Thanks to this strategy of identifying thematic pan-European partners, the Observatory has been able to cooperate with organisations (either public and professional organisations or private companies) that were already active and specialised, managing networks and well positioned to organise the harmonisation process in their specific areas. The idea was to facilitate access to existing, but frequently little known and expensive, publications.

The following list give an idea of the main sources used by the Observatory:

- in the field of household equipment data: GfK and (until 2001) the European Association of Electronic Consumers Manufacturers Association (EACEM);
- in the field of TV audience data: the Eurodata-TV service provided by the French audience measurement institute Médiamétrie;
- in the field of information on public service broadcasting: the EBU Information Statistics Network;
- in the field of information on companies, the Observatory has worked during several years with IDATE, but during the last two years elaborated its own strategy using the AMADEUS database published by the Bureau Van Dijk (see below);
- in the field of advertising: the statistics group of the former European Advertising Tripartite, now managed by the British Advertising Association;
- in the field of cable data: the European Cable Communication Association;
- in the field of video and multimedia data: Screen Digest, a private company working in close collaboration with the International Video Federation and national associations of entertainment software.

Additionally, in order to compile data on the TV fiction market, the Observatory established collaboration with the Fondazione Hypercampo (Università di Firenze), which manages the Eurofiction network, as well as with ETS, a private company based at Pinewood (UK) which monitors imports of TV fiction by the 100 leading TV channels in Europe.

For statistical data on the film industry, the Observatory prefers to undertake itself the yearly data collection process, working directly with the national primary sources (of varying types according to the countries in question). There are several reasons for this choice, not the least of which is the fact that most of the national film centres are represented within the Executive Council of the Observatory, and that in many countries it is these film centres themselves that are the primary source for data.

The above strategy of data collection has rapidly established the Observatory's *Statistical Yearbook* as a recognised source in the various fields of the audiovisual industry. The eigth edition of the *Yearbook*[1], published in 2002, is split for the first time into five thematic volumes:

1 Economy of the European Audiovisual Industry
2 Household Audiovisual Equipment – Transmission – Television audience
3 Film and Home video
4 Multimedia and the New Technologies
5 Television Channels – Programme Production and Distribution

2.2 Other studies and publications with a statistical dimension

In complement to the *Yearbook,* the Observatory also either edits or publishs various publications with a significant statistical dimension:

- The *FOCUS. World Film Market Trends* is published every year, since 1998, in collaboration with the Marché international du Film (Cannes). This brochure provides the basic figures of the recent market developments in the various areas of the world[2].
- The *Eurofiction* report, edited by Prof. Milly Buonnano, is now in its 6th edition[3]: it provides qualitative and quantitative analysis of fiction programming in the five leading western European markets (Germany, France, Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom) using a harmonised methodology. Collaboration with five specialised national teams (researchers at the British Film Institute, the Institut national de l'audiovisuel (France), at Siegen Universität (Germany) and at the Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona (Spain)), has allowed regular monitoring of this strategic (but difficult) branch of the industry. As a result historical data series covering volume, duration, genre and other parameters of television fiction programming are now available.

1. Last edition available: Yearbook 2002. Film, Television, Video and Multimedia in Europe. European Audiovisual Observatory, Strasbourg, 2002. / Annuaire 2002. Cinéma, télévision, vidéo et multimédia en Europe. Observatoire européen de l'audiovisuel, Strasbourg, 2002/Jahrbuch 2002. Film, Fernsehen, Video und Multimedia in Europa. Europäische Audiovisuelle Informationstelle, Straßburg, 2002.
2. Last edition available: *FOCUS 2002. World Film Market Trends. Tendances du marché mondial du film*, Marché du film/Observatoire eurpéen de l'audiovisuel, May 2002.
3. Last edition available: M. BUONANNO (ed.), *Eurofiction. Television fiction in Europe*, 6th Report, European Audiovisual Observatory, Strasbourg, 2002.

- A complementary study on the financial dimension of television fiction was published by the Observatory in 2000[4]. This study, based on the application of an original method of "standard costs" was elaborated by Jean-Pierre Jezequel

  (Institut national de l'audiovisuel, France), allowed estimates to be made both of the financial value of television fiction, and of the relative weight of independent and of the in-house production. An up-date of the study will published by the end of 2002 by the Centre national de la cinématographie (France), and co-financed by the Observatory and the DDMA (Ministry of Communication, France).
- Reports on specific countries are occasionally commissioned from national experts and published on the Observatory website. In 2002, the Observatory published two such reports on the film and video markets in the Russian Federation. These reports were commissioned from recognised Russian experts (the Double-D consultancy for film and Interactive Research Group for video). A third report on television in Russia has recently been commissioned from Internews and should be available in 2003.
- The Observatory also provides advice to national governments on the possibility of improving their statistical tools related to the audiovisual sector. For exemple a report was prepared for, and a workshop on film statistics organised in collaboration, with the Turkish Ministry of Culture.

2.3 Database creation strategy

In the framework of its third triennial Action Plan (1999-2002), the Observatory enlarged its strategy of statistical data collection to the establishment of databases. The Observatory now manages two databases with statistical dimension: LUMIERE (http://lumiere.obs.coe.int) and KORDA (http://korda.obs.coe.int). Since 2000 the Observatory also makes extensive use of the AMADEUS database, published by the Belgian company Bureau van Dijk Publishing, and has created significant added value by indexing and completing the database.

This policy of database creation has allowed the Observatory to develop more precise statistical tools (improving thereby the quality and the scope of its publications). At the same time access to the LUMIERE and KORDA databases is freely available through the Internet. This move (as well as a restructuration of the Observatory's website) has dramatically improved the Observatory's relations with the professional world. Whereas the *Statistical Yearbook* is mainly useful for managers, strategic planners, consultants and those involved in forecasting, the LUMIERE and KORDA databases have been designed to provide information directly to a wide professional public such as individual producers, directors or distributors as well as researchers and students.

2.3.1 The LUMIERE database on admissions to films released in Europe

The LUMIERE database provides a systematic compilation of available yearly data on admissions to films released in European cinemas since 1996. The database is the result of collaboration between the European Audiovisual Observatory and various specialised national sources as well as the MEDIA Programme of the European Union.

4. J.-P. JEZEQUEL and A. LANGE (ed.). *Economy of European TV Fiction, A study carried out by the Institut national de l'audiovisuel* (INA) in collaboration with the Eurofiction team for the European Audiovisual Observatory and the Centre national de la cinématographie (CNC). European Audiovisual Observatory, 2000.

The idea of setting up a database of ticket sales for films distributed in Europe was originally put forward by the Advisory Committee of the Observatory. A feasibility study was carried out in 1997, which concluded that such a database was necessary to meet various needs within the industry. It also suggested that, if adequate resources were made available, it was feasible to set up such a database, and it recognised that the European Audiovisual Observatory was the ideal body to carry out this task.

The Observatory had regularly collected data on admissions to films distributed in Europe since 1996. Software for the new database was developed in summer 2000 and the LUMIERE database was launched on 13 November 2000 on the occasion of the European Cinema Forum held in Strasbourg. It has since that date been accessible on-line. The database has rapidly found its public: there are now an average of around 100 visits per day. As at mid-September 2002, the database includes information on 9700 films with data on 27 different territories. The rate of coverage and the quality of information varies widely, however, from country to country. In countries like Denmark or Spain it is possible to obtain 100% coverage, including data for films with only one admission in the year! At the other end of the spectrum, for countries like Russia or Greece it is very difficult to obtain even a list of the top ten films by admissions for each year. Within the European Union, the current rate of coverage is close to 90%. For the 35 Member States of the Observatory, the rate of coverage is estimated at around 80%.

A database of admissions to films distributed in Europe has many different uses.

a) Verification of attendance and income

A variety of parties are interested in obtaining precise figures with which to measure a film's commercial success:

- distributors would like to know how many tickets are sold by cinema owners as a result of the exhibition of their films;
- right-holders (producers, directors, etc) are interested in precise figures showing how successful their films are;
- public bodies would like detailed information about films they have supported financially. This information is particularly important since the MEDIA Programme launched a system of automatic distribution aid based on the number of tickets sold for European films outside their national market. The European co-production fund, Eurimages, also part of the Council of Europe, is particularly interested by this data, as one of it's tasks is to ensure reimbursement of the advances on receipts which it provides to producers.

The LUMIERE database systematically compiles data available in the various European Audiovisual Observatory Member States and thus meets these needs to a certain degree. However, the Observatory is not in a position to verify the accuracy of the data provided by national sources. The figures contained in the database must therefore be considered as indicative.

b) Statistical analysis of admissions to films for market research purposes

A compilation of data indicating how successful a film has been can prove useful in various types of market analysis:

- analysis of a film's success in different geographical areas;

- analysis of shares in a particular market;
- analysis of a film's success abroad;
- analysis of trends specific to a particular region;
- analysis by genre;
- analysis of the performances of producers, distributors, directors and actors.

Various groups of people may carry out this type of analysis: film industry analysts (working for companies and professional bodies); national or European film institute managers; consultants; journalists; university researchers.

It is therefore in the general interest to create an easily accessible, transparent-managed European database. The LUMIERE database includes various calculation functions designed to facilitate market analysis (analysis of market share, comparison between supply and demand, degree of concentration of film attendance, exportation rates, film attendance charts). For various methodological and technical reasons, these tools are not available on-line. The Observatory can however provide tailor-made reports.

c) Analysis of ticket sales for the purposes of estimating the commercial value of directors, actors, films or film libraries

- Information on a film's commercial success in cinemas can be used to assess its commercial value in other markets:
  - distribution to cinemas abroad,
  - video sales,
  - sale of TV rights.
- Generally speaking, cumulative information on films is taken into account in order to estimate the value of directors and actors.

2.3.2 The KORDA database on public funding for the film and audiovisual sector in Europe

In March 2002, the Observatory made available for consultation by the public a trial version of its KORDA database. The database, accessible on-line through the Observatory's Internet platform, provides a compilation of available information on public funding for film and audiovisual production and distribution in Europe. It includes profiles and regulations of national, regional and some pan-European bodies, as well as information on individual funding schemes, and forms a pendant to the LUMIERE database described above.

The KORDA database is the result of collaboration between the European Audiovisual Observatory and the funding bodies concerned, as well as with a number of specialised national sources. Information covering most of the European Union countries is at present available on-line, and geographical coverage is gradually being extended. The final aim is of including data on funding programmes in all the 35 member states of the Observatory.

The initial idea for the database grew out of a joint publication by the Observatory and the French *Centre national de la cinématographie*. This study, "Public Aid Mechanisms for the Film and Audiovisual Industry in Europe" was published in 1999 in two volumes, and covered support mechanisms in eighteen of the Observatory's Member States.

Given the constant evolution of the public funding landscape in Europe, the difficulty of updating such a study soon become apparent, and the creation of a database, in line with Observatory strategy, appeared to be a preferable solution.

KORDA is structured around two principal elements: on one hand the funding body, and on the other the funding programmes administered by that body. Public access to the information is proposed through an on-line search form, which permits to search by funding body and by funding programme but also to browse by country, by type of production and by phase of production. It also offers the possibility of combining these different parameters in multi-criteria searches.

These functionalities are principally aimed at providing relevant information to professionals in the film and audiovisual sector, for whom the identification of non-national funding opportunities has in the past been a difficult exercise.

However, the database also targets a second user group, that of fund administrators and policy makers seeking to obtain aggregate information useful both in the evaluation of current programmes and as a basis for future policy. With this group in mind, the internal interface of the database offers the possibility of extracting aggregate statistical data, in the same way as the LUMIERE database.

The data collected in KORDA allows the Observatory to obtain a unique overview of public funding for the film and audiovisual industry in Europe and it's evolution over the period 1997 to 2001.

- The database focuses on sector-specific direct funding schemes relating to the development, production and distribution of films and audiovisual works. The primary focus is therefore on project-oriented funding.
- The emphasis has been placed on obtaining coherent data relating to funding for the various phases of production and for distribution. Support for exhibition and for training has been included where such schemes are administered by a body also administering production and/or distribution support programmes.
- The criterion of public funding has meant that a number of high-profile initiatives are not included, as they fall into the private domain. This is the case for the media investment funds in Germany, for example, but also the case of the FINE tax incentive programme in the Netherlands.
- Budgetary data on funding has been drawn wherever possible from the annual reports and reviews of the funding bodies concerned.

It should be underlined that the KORDA database is still in development, and the extension of coverage depends on the availability of information. Monitoring constant changes in the funding landscape represents a considerable challenge for the Observatory, and implies continuous updating of KORDA, making it difficult to be entirely comprehensive at any given moment in time. Nevertheless, the data drawn from KORDA and published in volume 3, "Film and Home Video", of the Observatory's *Statistical Yearbook* gives a reliable and unique overview of public funding for the film and audiovisual sector in Europe at the end of 2001.

The following are the principal conclusions drawn from the Observatory's work on the KORDA database: overall public funding to the European film industry grew by an estimated 13% between 2000 and 2001. Within the European Union, the amount of public funding allocated to the film and audiovisual sector in the European Union has grown by an estimated 45% between 1997 and end 2001. This represents an annual average growth rate of almost 10%.

However it was the non-European Union countries for whom data is available that showed the most vigorous overall rate of growth between 2000 and 2001, with the total funding available in these countries climbing by 37%, compared to an increase of less than 1% between 1999 and 2000. Switzerland, Hungary and Norway all reported significant increases in funding allocated during this period.

Despite strong growth in funds allocated by non-European Union countries, their share of total funding represented only 5% of the total support allocated in Europe in 2001. France alone accounted for almost a third of the total funding allocated, and the five major markets (Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy and Spain) were responsible for the allocation of a total of 77% of funding.

2.4 Towards a financial analysis of the European Audiovisual Industry

Data published by the Observatory in the *Statistical Yearbook* may be mainly defined as "functional statistics" in the sense that it provides statistical data useful in understanding audiovisual markets. However, description of markets in terms of supply of products and services and of consumption practices is not sufficient to understand current developments. It is clear that the progressive industrialisation of the sector requires a more in-depth economic and financial analysis. The Observatory took the somewhat ambitious option of moving towards the provision of a kind of business statistical analysis, but within a different methodological framework and drawing upon sources other than those used by EUROSTAT.

2.4.1 Sources

To meet this challenge, the European Audiovisual Observatory draws upon different types of sources:

Annual Reports of the Major Communications Groups

The major communications groups publish annual reports describing their activities and publishing their consolidated accounts. These reports are increasingly frequently published on the companies' Internet sites and, for American companies, are available on the Stock Exchange Commission's EDGAR database[5].

The AMADEUS database

Most of the tables and graphs on financial situations published for the first time in the 2002 edition of the *Yearbook* are elaborated from data compilated in the AMADEUS database, published by Bureau Van Dijk Electronic Publishing (Brussels)[6]. This DVD-ROM provides the profit and loss accounts, balance sheets and ownership structures of some five million companies in

5. http://www.sec.gov/edgar.shtml.
6. http://www.bvdep.com/.

Europe and facilitates the collation of statistics, calculations of ratios etc. The European Audiovisual Observatory has completed the major project of indexing this database (in particular a systematic reclassification of some 30,000 companies in the audiovisual sector on the basis of their main activity) and of adding to the base (in particular the inclusion of the accounts of public companies).

The AMADEUS database, augmented by the Observatory, thus represents a unique tool for in-depth analysis of the audiovisual sector. However certain limits to the use of the database should be pointed out from the start:

- Harmonisation of accounting practices is still a long way from being achieved, even within the European Union. There can be problems of designation in the case of certain companies, particularly in relation to their balance sheets[7].
- Published accounts are collected by the Bureau Van Dijk in collaboration with a network of national accounts centres. This system is generally both efficient and reliable. It is, however, limited by the differing national legal requirements relating to transparency in company accounts and by the variants in the extent to which these are met[8]. Within the European Union there are significant lacunae for the following countries: Denmark, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands and Portugal and, to a lesser degree, Italy, Luxembourg and the United Kingdom. For countries that are not members of the Union, AMADEUS has appeared useful for companies in the Czech Republic, Iceland, Norway, and Poland.
- AMADEUS does not provide the appendices to the accounts and therefore, in particular, does not give information on the breakdown of revenues by activities. This information has been incorporated by the Observatory in the case of more than 700 television companies, but within the limits described below.
- Comparison of the expenditure structures of audiovisual companies is a virtually impossible statistical exercise. We have limited ourselves to allocation, where possible, to one of the three major basic areas: purchase of goods and services, personnel costs, and depreciation.

Studies and Questionnaires Carried out by Professional Organisations

The European Audiovisual Observatory continues to have privileged access to the studies and questionnaires carried out by European and national professional organisations. The questionnarev administrated yearlyy by the Information and Statistics Network of the European Broadcasting Union (EBU-UER-ISN) provides complementary data on public service financing, in particular the breakdown of public organisations revenues.

National Reports

Various reports and national collections of statistics have been used as additional information.

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7. For more information, see the European Commission's Europa Web site: http://europa.eu.int/comm/internal_market/fr/company/account/index.htm.
8. The publication of annual accounts for public and private companies limited by shares or by guarantee in the European Union is regulated by Section 10 of the Fourth Council Directive (amended) of 25th July 1978. A consolidated version of the Directive including successive amendments was published on 26th June 1999. (http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/fr/consleg/main/1978/fr_1978L0660_index.html).

2.4.2 Defining the Audiovisual Sector

The first difficulty in analysing the overall economy of the audiovisual sector lies in the very definition of the sector itself. From the outset the Observatory has adopted a pragmatic approach, with the aim of providing statistics helpful in understanding changes in the market.

The logic of *statistical information* has the advantage of allowing for a certain flexibility in organising the collection of data and in attempting to make the best possible presentation of the major categories and developments in the sector. This approach must therefore be seen as different from but complementary to a *statistical logic of national (or Community) accounts,* such as is practised by the national statistical institutions and EUROSTAT. These base their work in the context of broad classification systems, defined by international agreements, which seek to encompass all economic activity and which follow regulatory procedures whose justification resides in the need for harmonisation and overall compatibility. The chief of these classification systems is the NACE (Classification of economic activity)[9].

The fact that the European Audiovisual Observatory is not constrained by the NACE's categories permits a certain flexibility in it's approach to classification. This does not, however, imply a lack of rigour. We set out here our methodology, attempting to compare it with that of work based on the use of the NACE.

The four branches of the "filière de l'image"

An approach in terms of the "branches of moving image" produces four main branches in the audiovisual sector:

1. the film branch;
2. the television branch;
3. the home video branch (generally deriving its products from the film branch and, to a lesser extent, the television branch);
4. the other forms of audiovisual production (commercials production, corporate and educational production…).

This approach by branches is notably that followed by the European Commission in its recent working paper *Commission staff working paper on certain legal aspects relating to cinematographic and other audiovisual works SEC(2001) 619,* although the branch of "other productions" (commercials, corporate, educational…) is not included.

To these four traditional branches it is necessary nowadays to add entertainment multimedia. The European Audiovisual Observatory cannot ignore developments which, increasingly, relate to its field of study. Not every multimedia product or service is necessarily a part of the audiovisual domain: a database on DVD-ROM or on the Internet, unless it incorporates moving images or sound, is not an audiovisual product. But a growing number of multimedia products or

9. The principal aim of national accounts is to measure national production (or Community production in the case of EUROSTAT). A typical example of the differences caused by the application of the differing logics of national production as opposed to statistical information (as applied by the Observatory), is that observed in the treatment of the public resources of audiovisual companies. Strict respect of statistical laws for the calculation of national production proscribes the inclusion of subventions as part of production. As a result, national statistics ought logically to treat differently licence fees amounts that are paid in the legal form of a subsidy to the radio-television company (as is the case in Belgium, for example) and licence fees collected directly by the organisation itself (as is the case for the BBC or RAI). From our statistical information point-of-view, intended to facilitate sectorial analysis, such a distinction appears unnecessary or at least of minor importance.

services do incorporate images and sound and are therefore relevant to the field that we are committed to cover. The branch of multimedia products (entertainment software, including video games) is beginning to converge with that of the disc and the video branch in so far as distribution and sales are concerned, as these are often carried out through the same networks. From the economic point-of-view the sale of such products (discs, cassettes, video games, DVDs, CD-ROMs…) via the Internet seems to us to be no more than a new form of retailing.

The Statistical Categories of the NACE

The NACE Rev.1 categorises audiovisual activity as follows:

92.1 Motion pictures and video[10] activities

1.1 Motion pictures and video production
1.2 Motion pictures and video distribution
1.3 Motion picture projection

92.2 Radio and television activities

This subdivision diverges in a significant way from a branch-based analysis.

On the one hand, a number of activities in the moving image branch are not represented in Groups 92.1 and 92.2:

- Video retail activities;
- Manufacture of audiovisual supports (video cassettes, DVDs, …).

On the other hand, radio activities are intermingled with those of television in Category 92.2. This combination of radio and television activities is explained by the fact that, historically, radio and television activities were carried out by the same organisations. Furthermore this remains true in the case of public service organisations in ten of the fifteen Member States of the Union[11], as well as in a number of non-Member States (Croatia, the "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia", Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Slovenia, Switzerland and Turkey). In the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe (the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the Slovak Republic), public service radio and television are operated by separate organisations.

2.4.3 The Classification of Company Activities by the European Audiovisual Observatory

Our analyses are based on an indexation, established by ourselves, of each of the companies listed in the AMADEUS database: each company is placed in a category according to what is

10. The NACE category definitions unfortunately bear little relationship to current professional usage. In the context of the NACE, video should be understood to mean 'audiovisual activity' (as opposed to cinematographic activity which is designated by 'motion picture') and not publishing and distribution of home video. Editors and distributors of home video ought in principle to be found under NACE 92.12, but they do occasionally appear under NACE 2214 (Production of recorded media).

11. Countries with integrated radio-television organisations: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom.
Countries with distinct radio and television organisations: France, Portugal, Sweden. Spain has an intermediate structure, where a holding company regroups distinct radio and television companies. Luxembourg has no public service radio or television company, with public service duties shared between a private radio-television company and an association of radio companies.

considered to be its main activity[12]. This indexation is established on the basis of a descriptive classification of these activities which does not correspond to the NACE system.

The problem of the integration of radio and television in a certain number of public service organisations produces the difficulty of separating the "audio" branch from the "image" branch. It should furthermore be noted that, in practice, this confusion of the two branches is also found in the activities of facilities companies (recording studios, copying of digital discs…) as well as at the retail sales level (it is often the same companies which sell audio discs and video formats such as video cassettes and DVDs). As a result it seems to us that the wisest approach is to take the "audio" and "image" branches together (Table T.1.1.)

A table showing reconciliation with the NACE can be fairly easily produced (Table T.1.2.).

The NACE does not for the moment envisage a category of companies' publishing and or distributing entertainment software nor of companies selling via the Internet. This omission presents a genuine challenge to statisticians. It is clear that a system of classification like that of the NACE, in its current version, is not sufficiently modern to include in a coherent manner the new activities deriving from the "digital revolution". A rapid scan of a significant and coherent sample of 146 French companies publishing multimedia products or services reveals that these companies, of which almost half have been established since 1995, are classified, for lack of specific categories, in no less than 34 of the NAF's (the French equivalent of the NACE) different sub-categories! Work on modernisation and specific studies are being carried out by the OECD, EUROSTAT and national statistical institutions on the "information society" in order to bring the classification systems up to date and to provide for better coverage of current developments.

2.4.4 Analysis of television companies

We have classified television companies into seven main categories:

SPTV: public service television companies

In this category we include television broadcasting companies whatever their legal constitution (public body, public limited company, corporation…) or their financing sources (licence fee, subsidy, advertising, subscription), but taking as our criterion the fact that they are owned by a public organisation. Applying an economic logic, rather than a legal one or one of broadcasting policy, we no longer refer to the public service, but rather to the public sector.

This criterion has the advantage of a certain practicality, since cases of mixed companies are rare (ORT in Russia, TV-2 in Denmark, certain French and British thematic channels…). The Dutch public service sector poses a particular problem, since it is controlled by a public organisation (the NOS), but for a large part is operated by private companies (the associations of broadcasters), whose accounting transparency is only partial.

Under this criterion we regard as public service companies Channel Four (often wrongly categorised as part of the private sector), including its subscription channel FilmFour, but also

12. Such indexation obviously has its limits. The principal problem is evidently that of companies active in multiple branches. We do not presume to have identified the principal activity of all of the 30,000 companies registered in the database, and in particular that of the small- and medium-sized enterprises among them. Progressive verification of the information is however underway through our network of correspondents. We can at least guarantee the relevance and homogeneity of our indexation of the larger companies active in the various branches of the sector.

commercial companies, generally classified as outside "public service", such as RAISAT s.p.A., public companies publishing French thematic channels such as Histoire, Mezzo, Régions, Festival…).

We also include within this "public sector television" category:

- Companies addressing regions or territories, often neglected in European comparisons (the regional stations of the ARD of course, but also the Spanish "autonomous community" broadcasters", RFO in France, small companies such as the BRF of the German-speaking Community in Belgium, or the Welsh channel S4C);
- Companies with an international remit such as BBC World Service, TV5-Satellimages, Canal France International, Deutsche Welle…;
- Channels with specialised services such as educational or training channels (France5/La Cinquième, UR in Sweden), services for the armed forces (The Services Sound and Vision Corporation in the United Kingdom) or parliamentary channels.

On the other hand we do not include within this category publicly-owned production companies, or those under public control (such as Studio Hamburg, Bavaria, France Cinéma, RAI Cinema…) facilities organisations (BBC Resources, SFP, NOB…), transmission companies (TDF, NOZEMA, RAI Way…), media buying agencies, autonomous organisations for the collection and administration of licence fees (GEZ and KEF in Germany) nor the autonomous bodies of regulation or control. Suffice it to say here that the great diversity in the internationalisation or externalisation of these various activities imposes significant limits on European statistical comparisons.

We have also excluded local television broadcasters financed or managed by local authorities, which are of only a marginal economic significance and where it is not possible for us to make a systematic collection of accounts.

ADTV: private television companies financed by advertising

There are almost no difficulties in identifying companies of this kind. However the following problems should be noted:

- a certain number of these companies either do not publish accounts or publish them very late;
- it is seldom possible to obtain breakdowns of the turnover of these companies, which may include revenues other than those deriving from sales of advertising space (sales of rights, merchandising, etc);
- certain companies generate the majority of their turnover in a country other than that in which they are legally based. Our statistical aggregates are created following the logic of the country of registration and not of the target country whose advertising market is being exploited.

PAYTV: television companies offering films on payment

We include within this category pay-TV channels whose basic programme consists of films, even where the programming may sometimes demonstrate a hybrid character (as is the case with the Canal+ channels). Secondary receipts, such as advertising, sale of rights or merchandising revenues are not always identifiable.

PACKTV: the "packagers" of programmes

We include within this category those companies which sell packages of programmes, such as BSkyB, Canalsatellite, Viasat, PremiereMedien, DTS-Via Digital or the new terrestrial digital television companies (On-Digital, Quiero, Senda i Sverige…). These packagers are often the publishers of several theme channels themselves. The breakdown of these companies' receipts (which can include receipts for advertising and the rebates on subscriptions paid by cable distributors) is not always a simple matter. In some cases this type of company is registered in a country which is not its actual market. Here we have also followed the logic of country of registration for statistical allocation.

There are significant collection problems for this category in certain countries where the packagers do not publish their accounts (Premiere World in Germany, TPS in France) or publish them very late or in a fragmentary manner. Given the size of the investments made by these companies – and, from information published in the press – the size of their annual deficits and their accumulated debt, this lack of transparency produces extended grey areas in the analysis of the market.

We have not adopted the logic followed by certain statistical bodies by which cable operators are included within this category of packagers. It is open to discussion but we feel that the cable operators rarely perform a truly editorial function (with the notable exception of Stream in Italy and TV Cabo in Portugal) and that their service remains an essentially technical one (see below).

ThTV: the publishers of private themed channels

We include within this category those companies that operate themed channels other than those published by the packagers. The breakdown of the receipts of this type of company is normally not available. Receipts are most often made up of rebates on subscription receipts paid by the cable distributors or by the packagers, but also of advertising receipts, in certain cases direct receipts from sales, and finally other receipts.

InTV and PPVTV: interactive and pay-per-view television companies

The receipts of these companies are still only a marginal factor in the audiovisual sector's economy and we intend in Volume 4 of our *Yearbook* to study methods of economic and statistical analysis for this type of company.

HSTV: home-shopping companies

The receipts of this type of company come basically from the sale of the goods advertised by the channels specialising in "home-shopping". It is this type of receipt that showed the most significant growth between 1996 and 2000. We include these companies and these types of receipts in our general table, even though it could be argued that this is an activity more relevant to the retail trade than to the audiovisual sector.

2.4.5 Analysis of film companies

In October 2002, the Observatory will publish volume 3 of its *Yearbook*, including for the first time a financial analysis of the film sector for the period 1997-2000. The preparation of this study has brought into evidence methodological issues different from those highlighted by our analysis of the radio-television sector.

In this case, account needs to be taken of a number of shortcomings. These are generally the result of differing national practices in the publication of company accounts.

- In Germany, limited liability companies (GmbH) do not usually publish their accounts. AMADEUS gives only estimated figures for operating revenue.
- In Denmark, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Sweden, companies often publish their balance sheet but not their profit and loss accounts.
- In France, limited partnership companies (SNC) are not required to publish their accounts.
- The information available on Austrian and Irish companies is extremely limited.
- A number of companies publish their results late. In some cases the data for 2000, or even for 1999, is not yet available.

Where we considered it possible, gaps have been filled using a range of approximation procedures, which cannot be explained in detail here.

A further difficulty arises from the actual structure of the companies; a number of them operate in several branches of the industry and do not publish a breakdown of their accounts by activity. We have therefore classified them according to what appears to us to be their principal activity. We have also tried as far as possible to take into account the phenomena of consolidation, merger and absorption in order to provide coherency in the historical series. The classification of the branch remains fairly traditional (production, theatrical distribution, exhibition, video distribution). Companies with activities such as provision of facilities, international sales or management of rights libraries have not been taken into consideration at this stage.

Film Groups

In general business statisticians prefer to use companies' non-consolidated accounts. In principle this choice allows us a closer view of a company's base activities and ensures the avoidance of double accounting. We generally follow this practice. However, when dealing with the film sector we need to take account of the existence of a number of groups with activities in more than one branch. For this reason we propose firstly a financial analysis of the 50 leading companies, based on an aggregation of their consolidated accounts. It may be considered that the financial evolution of these fifty companies indicates the overall trend for the cinematographic industry in Europe. It can be seen that these companies developed considerably in the period from 1997 to 2000; total assets more than doubled and operating revenue also almost doubled. This substantial growth has not, however, been accompanied by an improvement in performance. Indeed, the significant increase in the debt (gearing) ratio during the period from 1997 to 1999 reflects a period of investment characterised by deteriorating profitability in the sector. The operating margin (which indicates the relationship between operating revenue and operating costs) indicates that costs are relatively stable. However, the other performance indicators point to a very serious deterioration of margins resulting from deterioration in financial operations. In 2000, the level of profitability achieved by the sector was practically nil.

Production companies

The ranking of production companies indicates the serious instability of this branch. Operating revenue (an indicator that is generally considered to be more relevant than turnover because, in

addition to sales, it also takes account of subsidies and production in stock) varies enormously from one year to the next. It can also be seen that, in the case of the United Kingdom, companies are set up specifically for the production of a single film.

Cinematographic production has expanded considerably, since in the period from 1997 to 2000 operating revenue and assets increased by more than 50%. Performance ratios, however, remain stable but very low, varying little at between –1 and +1%. The cinematographic production branch in Europe does indeed seem to operate, even in structural terms, on the financial water line. At the same time, however, debt and solvency ratios deteriorated over this period.

Distribution companies

During the period under consideration, the operating revenue of distribution companies increased by 33%, while assets increased by 67%. Analysis of distribution companies requires that a distinction be made between the subsidiaries of American companies and companies whose capital is European. The latter have seen growth in their operating revenue (71% compared with just 5% for the subsidiaries of American companies), and have seen assets increase by 80% compared with just 35% for the American subsidiaries. The operating margins of European companies are substantially better than those of the American subsidiaries, which would appear to indicate a better control of costs. However, the American subsidiaries make up for this in their financial operations, and in the end achieve better profit margins and above all better rates of returns on shareholders' funds and on assets. Their solvency and debt ratios also tend to be better.

Exhibitors

In the context of the large-scale investments necessary for the development of multiplex cinemas, the exhibition branch has seen increased concentration in recent years. The activity nevertheless remains very scattered (more than 1 700 exhibition companies identified). We estimate that operating revenue increased by 47% over the period from 1997 to 2000, whereas assets increased by 90%. Despite an increase in cinema-going, the exhibition branch has seen a significant deterioration in its financial situation, to such an extent that in 2000 it appears to be the most fragile branch in the sector, with all the performance indicators in the red. The first data available for 2001 for a few of the major groups indicates that the situation appears to be far from improving.

Video publishing and distribution companies

Even more than is the case for theatrical distribution, video publishing and distribution is dominated by the subsidiaries of American companies. Of the top 50 companies in the branch, 30 are controlled either totally or partially by the American Majors. Operating revenue increased by 44% in the period from 1997 to 2000, whereas assets increased by 73%. The branch saw a weakening in its performance ratios in 1998, probably because of the increase in operational costs and debt ratios to meet the cost of the launch of DVD. Margins recovered rapidly from 1999 onwards, however, and are currently the best in the sector.

2.4.6 Ancillary Activities and Activities Related to the Audiovisual Sector

Various activities ancillary to those of the audiovisual sector create complications for statistical analysis, either in the analysis of accounts or in the analysis of consumer spending:

Signal transmission activities

The transmission of audiovisual signals (and especially the signals of television services aimed at the public) can be carried out by a variety of technical means: terrestrial transmission (analogue and digital), satellite transmission (in Europe nowadays practically entirely digitised), cable transmission (analogue or digital) and broadband network transmission (cable, ADSL…).

There is debate among statisticians as to the way in which these transmission activities should be classified: should they be classified as telecommunications activities or should they be considered as services ancillary to the audiovisual sector? The debate is not purely theoretical. It is associated with significant problems in the interpretation of company accounts and economic fluctuations.

With terrestrial transmission an understanding of the system is becoming progressively clearer because of the process which has led the public service bodies either to sell their networks (in the case of the BBC), or to create a specialised subsidiary or partnership (recent examples include the establishment of RAI Way in Italy, and of Oy Digita in Finland). Identifying terrestrial transmission activities in company accounts remains difficult, however, in those countries where the television companies, and in particular the public service organisations, have not made this activity autonomous.

Identifying the accounts of satellite transmission companies does not pose any great problem because of the limited number of operators active in this market. The distinction between transmission activities directed at the end consumer and professional transmission activities could, however, become problematic.

Statistical analysis of cable transmission continues to pose significant statistical problems. Analysis on the basis of company accounts remains extremely difficult, due in particular to the recent phenomena of concentration, but also because of the merging of cable distribution activities into companies pursuing other activities such as gas or electricity distribution in countries such as Belgium or the Netherlands. The very nature of cable distribution activities has changed. On the one hand there has been progressive expansion into the provision of services other than the simple relaying of radio and television signals: telephone services, Internet… On the other hand cable operators have become, in certain countries, publishers of television services (in particular, in the Netherlands and Sweden, of pay-per-view services) and, more generally, sales intermediaries for pay channels, packages of channels and theme channels. This function as sales intermediary has brought them (both in operational terms and in terms of the analysis of their activities) close to the packaging companies, as have been described above. In two unusual cases, that of TV Cabo in Portugal and that of Stream in Italy, companies originally established for cable distribution have been seen to develop towards the activities of packagers and publishers of television services which are sold not only on the cable market but also on the direct reception by satellite market.

Financial and revenue flows among cable distributors, packagers and publishers of channels have become extremely complex. A detailed analysis, country by country, would need to be undertaken to follow these flows and to allow for a more comprehensive understanding of consumer spending[13].

The activities of publication and distribution of books and periodicals

A certain number of the major communications corporations are active in the field of book and/or magazine publishing. We do not regard these kinds of activities as part of the remit of our study, even though it is evident that an integrated analysis would be desirable.

The professional and domestic electronics industry, the computer industry and the telecommunications industry

The domestic electronics industry and significant sections of the computer industry are also fields of economic activity which are directly involved in the development of the audiovisual sector. Similarly, convergence, the developments in digital television and broad band transmission have brought the television industry closer to the telecommunications industry (from which it has been progressively diverging since the 1930s). Here too, one might expect the Observatory to take some more significant initiatives. But numerous studies conducted by other organisations such as the ITU, the OECD, the "Information Society" Directorate General of the European Commission, EUROSTAT and the existence of a specialised body like the European Information Technology Observatory[14] commit us to concentrating our efforts on activities central to the audiovisual sector, those which relate to its financing, production, distribution, exhibition and the consumption of its content.

The multimedia market

One of the most difficult challenges is the analysis of the new multimedia market, a market that converges at least partially with the audiovisual sector. Almost no data is publicly available on this sector, as it is mainly monitored by private consulting companies. We are currently testing, in collaboration with Screen Digest and other national experts, the possibility of using AMADEUS to provide the same kind of financial analysis on multimedia and videogame publishers and developers.

2.4.7 Methodology for financial analysis

Annual accounts and analysis of the breakdown of receipts

In ranking companies we generally use operating revenues in preference to turnover. Operating revenues are provided by the companies' annual reports or by the AMADEUS database.

13. Given the impossibility of undertaking this study within the framework of the Observatory *Yearbook*, we would suggest that readers consult the study on the subject which appears to us both the most recent and most serious, undertaken in collaboration with the cable distributors European representative body, ECCA: *European Cable Yearbook 2001/2002*, Screen Digest/ECCA, London – Brussels, 2001. Data concerning transmission and reception, as well as the economic and financial analysis of signal transmission companies, is published in volume 2 of our *Yearbook*.

14. See in particular the *European Information Technology Observatory 2002*, 10th edition, European Information Technology Observatory (EITO) – European Economic Interest Grouping (EEIG), Frankfurt am Main, 2002.

In Volume 1 of our *Yearbook*, the breakdown of the revenue of public service companies is generally derived from the questionnaire of the EBU's statistical information network (EBU-UER-ISN). The total revenues provided by the EBU's questionnaires do not necessarily correspond to the operating revenues published in the annual accounts (for example, in the case of French public companies it does not take account of tied-up production, which is, however, taken into account in the calculation of operating revenue in the company accounts).

In the tables in Chapter 4 of Volume 1 relating to companies considered individually, we provide a minimal breakdown of expenditure: purchase of goods and services/personnel expenditure/depreciation. Regrettably we cannot give a more analytical presentation of the expenditure of public companies, such as the EBU previously provided for us.

We systematically provide the three traditional headings of results: operating profit (loss), profit (loss) before tax, and net profit/loss.

Balance Sheets

Balance sheets are provided to us by the annual reports and by the AMADEUS database. Although an analysis of the structure of assets or liabilities might be interesting, we restrict ourselves to presenting the sum of the assets.

Ratios

For the first time in the 2002 edition of the *Yearbook* we provide ratios of financial performance. The compilation of data on operating revenue or turnover, useful in estimating growth, is clearly insufficient as a measure of the economic health of the sector or of individual companies. We therefore provide a choice of the following ratios:

- two ratios of financial independence: gearing ratio and solvency ratio;
- three classic performance ratios: profit margin, returns on shareholders' funds and return on assets[15];
- a ratio of industrial performance: the "operating margin" (corresponding to the "EBIT margin" in some terminology). This simple ratio (operating revenue / operating profit) is not part of the classic body of financial analysis. We felt it was useful to introduce it in our industrial analysis as an indicator of cost control in relation to operational revenues. The growing importance of purely financial transactions, including the cases of certain public service companies, may otherwise provide, in the profit margin, a biased view of the efficiency of an organisation's base activity.

15. The use of standard financial performance ratios (such as profit margin and return on shareholders funds) is of debatable relevance in the context of non-profit making public service companies whose asset structure may be atypical (certain may not have share capital or reserves or reduced, even negative, levels of capital and reserves). Nonetheless negative financial performance ratios remain a poor sign, even in the case of public service companies…

Table 1.1

The classification of company activities in the audiovisual sector used by the European Audiovisual Observatory.

	PRODUCTION	DISTRIBUTION	EXPLOITATION
Cinema Branch	PRODCIN (Film production)	DISCIN, SALES (film distribution and sales)	EXH (film exhibition)
Television Branch	PRODT (television programme production)	DIST, RIGHTS (television programme distribution, negotiation of television rights)	TV (television programme transmission activities *including public service radio activities*)
Video Branch	VID (publication and distribution of video cassettes/DVDs)	} } } }	{ { { { RET (retail trade in discs, cassettes, DVDs, entertainment software, video games…)
Publication of Entertainment Software Branch	MULTIP (publication and distribution of entertainment software and video games)	WH (wholesale trade in discs, cassettes, DVDs, video games rack-jobbing)	
			E-COM [13](sales via Internet)
Audio Branch	REC (phonogram publication) + PUBM (music publication)		RAD (radio activities, not including public service radio)
Other Audiovisual Products	PRODAD / PRODCORP (commercials production, corporate, audiovisual products for educational purposes…)		
Facilities	FAC (facilities companies including copying DUPL and laboratories LAB)		

Table 1.2
Table of reconciliation between the classification of audiovisual activities by the European Audiovisual Observatory and the NACE.

NACE 92.1		
9211	**PRODCIN**	Producers of cinematographic films (incl. short films)
	PRODT	Production of television programmes for television
	PRODAD	Production of commercials, corporate..
	FAC	Facilities (provision of all kind of services to the various branches of the AV industry)
9212	**DISCIN**	Distributors of cinematographic films
	SALES	International sales of film rights
	VID	Publishing and distribution of video and DVD (does not include duplication activities nor retail)
	RIGHTS	Rights companies, film libraries..
	DIST	Distribution of TV programmes – Rights libraries
9213	**EXH**	Film exhibition
NACE 92.2		
	TV	TV broadcasters (all kinds) includes radio activities of public service organisations when integrated
	RAD	Radio (does not include public broadcasters radio activities when integrated with TV)
NACE 2214		
	REC	Production of phonograms
Part of NACE 52		
	RET	Retailers (Videoclubs, retail sales of phonograms or video..)

Table 1.3
Financial indicators and ratios

Operating revenue	Sales + Capitalised production + Other operating revenues (including grants)
Operating Profit (Loss)	Operating revenues - (Cost of Goods Sold + Other operating revenues)
Profit (loss) before tax	Operating profit + Financial profit
P/L (for Period)	Profit after Taxation + Extraordinary Profit
Gearing (%)	((Non Current Liabilities+Loans)/Shareholders Funds) X 100
Solvency (%)	(Shareholders Funds/Total Assets) X 100
Operating margin (%) (= EBIT margin)	(Operating Profit/Operating revenues) X 100
Return on shareholders **funds (%)**	(Profit before Taxation/Shareholders Funds) X 100
Profit margin (%)	(Profit before Taxation/Operating revenues) X 100
Return on assets (%)	(Profit before Taxation/Total Assets) X 100

Conclusions

In January 2003 the European Audiovisual Observatory will celebrate its 10th Anniversary. It is now both a recognised and respected institution and we are proud of the success we have achieved after years of experimentation, doubt and some institutional turbulence. We are pleased to know that our data is used by the American Majors as well as by the most radical of professional organisations bent on defending the interests of European filmmakers and a romantic view of the freedom of the artist. Increasingly, the European Commission, the European Parliament, national governments or professional organisations quote our figures in their reports. The European Investment Bank, probably the most cautious of the European public bodies in terms of their approach to the audiovisual sector, has recently joined our Advisory Committee, demonstrating that we are also useful for this respected financial institution.

More than ever, transparency remains our key word, our *credo*.

A great part of our credibility in the professional and in the political world is that, although we are a public body, we are genuinely independent in our choice of strategy of data collection, and, in particular, in our choice of sources. Developing a scientific spirit in a pan-European institution dealing with a professional world profoundly divided on the meaning and the purposes of statistical practice was certainly a challenge.

Part of our success is also probably due to our pragmatic approach. Of course, methodological caution is a must in statistical work, but such caution should not lead to sterility. From this point of view, we have resisted the intellectual temptation of over-methodologising our work as well as that of imposing harmonisation. Harmonisation is of course part of our mission and is a concept quoted in our statute. Nonetheless it is not only a methodological concept but is also related to the problematic of the integration of the European market and of implementation of the European audiovisual policy proposed by the European Union institutions. The application to the cultural and audiovisual field of the principle of subsidiarity (stipulating that no need for Community intervention exists where an individual State's initiative may be more beneficial) has a direct bearing on the impossibility of harmonising audiovisual statistics. Willingness to harmonise statistics on very different systems may lead to absurdities or damaging misconceptions.

The position we have obtained as statistical data providers for European – and increasingly – international players in the audiovisual industry magnifies our sense of responsibility. A recent remark by a representative of one of the film producers' organisations that our demonstration of the non-profitability of the film industry may discourage investors from taking risk in this sector illustrates this point. This may indeed be true, but we are also convinced that providing more pertinent tools for the understanding of the market, including the financial performances of it's companies, may be in the long term a more solid and convincing approach in the search for a balanced sectorial economy than the practices of confidentiality that can lead, in Europe as well as in other parts of the world, to spectacular failure. One could also argue that analysing the recent trends in the loss of profitability of a cultural industry could have some positive effects in the long term for this very sector of human activity. Weak profitability for cultural industries may lead to a re-thinking of cultural activities not a simple business sector but as activities that should be supported *per se*. The problematic of social reallocation of economic resources to enable creative practices that are not immediately profitable, once theorised by W. Baumol, will probably find itself back on the political agenda. And a sound policy of reallocation of resources will certainly continue to need a solid statistical apparatus.

Conférences — Papers

Michail Skaliotis EUROSTAT, Unit E3, Health, Education and Culture, Luxembourg, Luxembourg

"Key Figures on Cultural Participation in the European Union"

Résumé

La présente communication souligne les principaux aspects de la participation culturelle dans les quinze États membres de l'Union européenne. L'analyse est fondée sur une enquête Eurobaromètre, une enquête par sondage menée auprès d'environ 16 000 personnes à l'automne 2001. Il peut être fascinant d'observer les différences dans les habitudes culturelles (lire des livres, des journaux et des magazines, écouter la télévision et la radio, aller au cinéma, au concert, au musée, utiliser un ordinateur personnel et Internet, pratiquer des activités artistiques, etc.). Cependant, la communication souligne l'importance de mettre au point des instruments statistiques appropriés qui permettent d'obtenir rapidement des réponses pertinentes aux questions relatives à la politique culturelle. À cet égard, l'analyse démontre l'importance des comparaisons internationales tant pour les politiques culturelles nationales que pour les actions culturelles qui concernent l'ensemble de l'Union européenne.

Abstract

This paper highlights the main aspects of cultural participation in the 15 EU Member States. The analysis is based on a specific *Eurobarometer* sample survey of some 16.000 individuals, which was carried out in autumn 2001. While it is fascinating to look at differences among Europeans' cultural behaviours and practices (*reading books/newspapers/magazines, watching TV, listening to the radio, going to the cinema, concerts, museums, theatre, using PC and internet, practising of artistic activities, etc*), the paper also underlines the importance of developing appropriate statistical instruments capable of providing quick and valid responses to cultural policy questions. In this respect, the analysis demonstrates the significance of international comparisons for both (i) national cultural policies and (ii) cultural actions at the EU level.

Background and purpose

The development of *harmonised* European cultural statistics is still at its infancy[1]. The main reason for the late start and slow advancement of cultural statistics at EU level is the fact that Community competencies in the area of culture are limited. At EU level, we speak about *cultural action* (not *cultural policy*) and *cultural co-operation* (not *community decisions*)[2]. In other words, the decision-making power in the field of culture rests with the Member States. It is therefore not surprising that the driving force behind developments in cultural statistics comes mainly from national authorities. It was in March 1997 that Eurostat – in response to a request from Italy and France – created a *leadership group (LEG)* with the task of 'developing cultural statistics capable of describing the European cultural scene and enabling inter-country comparisons to be made more easily'.

Statistics on *cultural participation* was one of the three domains that were considered by the LEG. The other two domains were (i) cultural employment and (ii) cultural expenditure and financing. Like in other fields of statistics, the roadmap towards achieving internationally comparable figures and indicators on cultural participation is very long. The timetable can be very frustrating to cultural actors, planners and other decision-makers who are not impressed by mere methodological developments; they are in search of hard evidence. It is often impossible to persuade them that we would need 8 to 10 years of methodological work prior to the production of statistics. Already after three years of such work, we strongly felt that there was a risk of losing the achievements built by the LEG efforts, if we were unable to produce some basic indicators for international comparisons. In front of such a risk, we were in search of innovative solutions and we soon decided to launch an experiment, i.e. the organisation of a *Eurobarometer survey on the participation of Europeans in cultural activities*.

This paper presents the main results of the survey that was carried out in autumn 2001 in the 15 Member States, on the basis of the same questionnaire, using face to face interviews of a sample of 16.200 Europeans. The descriptive analysis highlights differences and similarities among EU countries with respect to reading habits, music, concerts, computer and Internet usage, radio and television, and practice of artistic activities. The potential use of these international comparisons for national cultural debate and cultural policy is straightforward. Publication of initial results, earlier this year, has just confirmed the attractiveness of EU comparisons for national users. Similarly, the findings are providing useful elements for managers and administrators of cultural actions at EU level (e.g. promotion of books and reading is just one of the areas for eligible projects to be funded in 2003)[3].

For Eurostat and the Member States' statisticians who initiated and managed this survey, the whole operation is seen as an experiment in which, an opinion-type survey has been used for statistical purposes. Initial evidence suggests that there are several advantages in using such an instrument to obtain – extremely fast and at a low cost – policy relevant indicators on the participation of individuals in cultural activities. Certain weak aspects of the Eurobarometer, like *treatment of non-response, small sample size* and the necessity for *post-reweighting* can be improved. A detailed evaluation of the Eurobarometer is planned for next year.

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1. Cultural Statistics in the EU: Final report of the LEG, Eurostat Working Paper 3/2001/No1.
2. http://europa.eu.int/comm/culture/eac/overview_en.html.
3. Official Journal of the EC, C148/4 of 21.06.2002, CALL FOR PROPOSALS FOR 2003.

It was not possible, in this paper, to analyse all the survey topics with the same detail. However, the results give a good overview of the various 'cultural' types of Europeans and illustrate the possibilities that exist for further analyses.

Reading books

There are various reasons for which people read books. The survey tried to cover the following possible categories:

- reading for work;
- reading for educational purposes (compulsory texts only);
- reading for educational purposes (non compulsory texts);
- reading for reasons other than work or study.

It is mainly the last category that can indicate if there is a 'strong or weak' reading culture in a given population. The EU average of 45% hides some large differences among Member States: It is in Sweden (72%), Finland (66%) and the UK (63%) where high proportions of the population (15+) declared that they have read books for other than school or work related reasons; on the other side of the scale we find Portugal (15%), and Belgium (23%).

Table 1
Have you read any books in the last 12 months? (multiple answers possible)
(as a % of total population 15 years old and over)

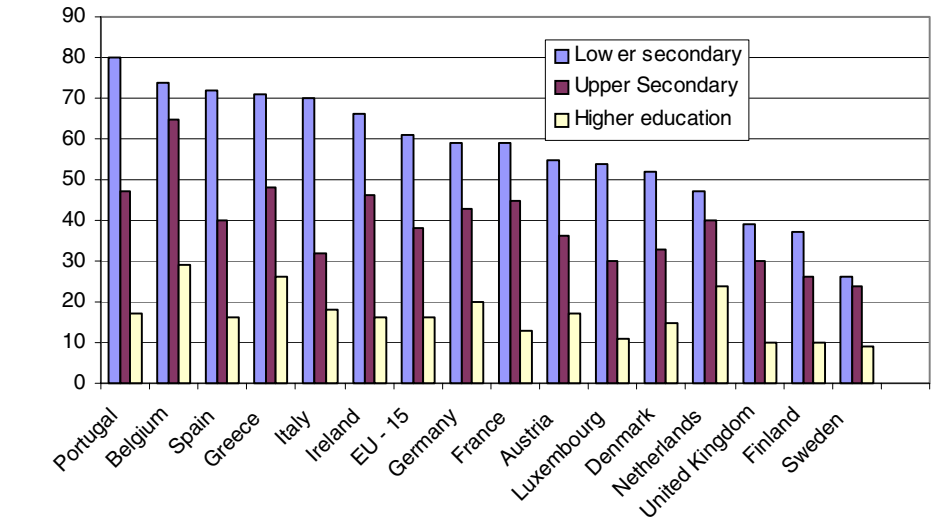
	Yes, for work educational purposes (compulsory texts only)	Yes, for educational purposes (non compulsory texts)	Yes, for reasons other than work/study	Yes, for	No
Belgium	4	8	18	23	58
Denmark	15	19	17	55	33
Germany	15	16	21	40	41
Greece	5	11	9	36	54
Spain	5	12	7	39	53
France	9	11	18	40	43
Ireland	7	15	11	40	44
Italy	5	6	4	43	50
Luxembourg	13	10	8	56	35
Netherlands	10	14	9	53	37
Austria	12	14	21	43	38
Portugal	4	8	14	15	67
Finland	17	17	20	66	24
Sweden	15	23	17	72	19
UK	18	16	17	63	25
EU - 15	11	13	15	45	42

Another significant indicator is the proportion of the population having declared that they did not read any books during the last 12 months (the non-readers). There are five Member States where 50% or more of the population do not read books. These results have provoked

substantial reactions and debates in the various media (Press, TV and Radio) in several countries. The level of educational attainment seems to be the main explanatory variable of the reading behaviour in all countries. Graph-1 and Graph-2 present the *non-readers* and the *readers* by level of educational attainment.

Graph 1

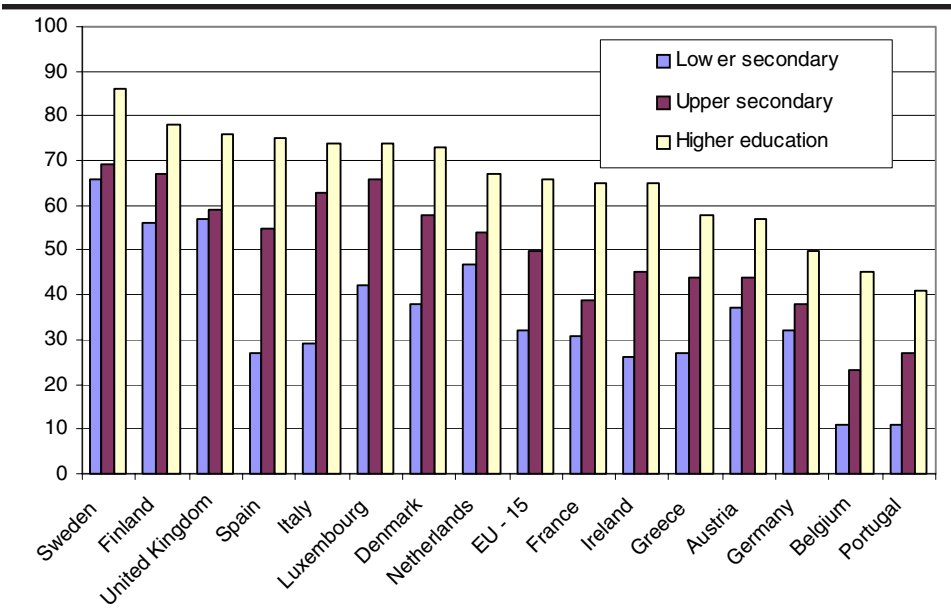
Non-readers (*) by level of educational attainment (%)



(*) persons who did not read any books during the last 12 months

Graph 2

Readers (*) by level of educational attainment (%)



(*) persons having read books for reasons other than work or study

There are relatively more women than men who declared having read books, over the last 12 months, for reasons other than 'work or study'. This finding was observed in all countries and it is valid for all levels of educational attainment.

Table 2
Reading books for reasons other than 'work or study', by gender
as a % of men/women 15 years old and over

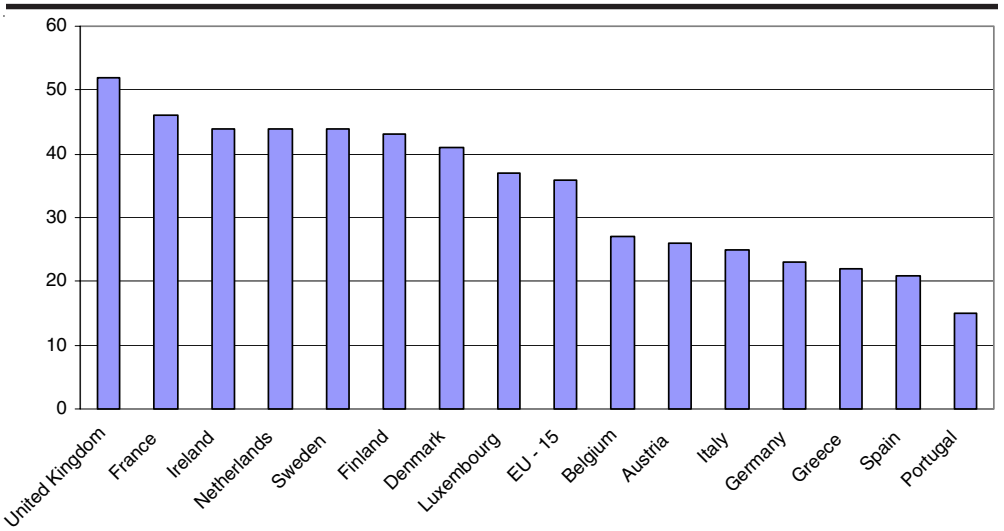
	Men	Women
Belgium	20	26
Denmark	45	64
Germany	35	44
Greece	28	43
Italy	36	50
Spain	37	42
France	37	44
Ireland	33	47
Luxembourg	52	60
Netherlands	45	60
Portugal	14	17
United Kingdom	58	68
Finland	61	71
Sweden	63	80
Austria	35	51
EU - 15	40	51

The survey has also attempted to classify the readers into 'weak', 'usual' and 'strong' by asking them a question about the number of books they had read during the last 12 months; the range used was '1 to 3 books', '4 to 7', '8 to 12' and 'more than 12 books'. For the purposes of this paper, we consider the last two groups together (8 books and more) to represent the category of 'strong readers'.

This question was asked within every category of 'reason for reading books'. In Graph-3, we look, once more, within the group of persons who declared that they had read books for *reasons other than work or study* during the last 12 months prior to the interview.

It is in the United Kingdom (52%) and France (46%) that we find the highest rates of 'strong readers', and in Portugal (15%), Spain (21%) and Greece (22%) the lowest.

Graph 3
Strong readers: Persons who read 8 books and more, during the year (*)



(*) as a % of those who declared that they had read books for reasons other than work or study, over the last 12 months.

Reading newspapers and magazines

Nearly half of Europeans (46%) read newspapers every day (5 to 7 days a week). Again, this average hides significant differences that exist among Member States: 78% of Swedes and Finns, 32% of French and only 20% of Greeks read newspapers every day. It is also interesting to note that in some countries the percentage of population who declared that they *never read newspapers* is not negligible (Table 3).

Similar differences are observed with respect to how frequently Europeans read magazines. It is in Finland (61%) and Luxembourg (52%) where most of the adult population (15 years and over) read magazines at least once a week (Table 4).

Table 3
Reading newspapers (% of population 15 years and over)

	5 to 7 days a week	3 to 4 days a week	1 to 2 days a week	Less often	Never
Belgium	31	12	14	17	23
Denmark	56	11	18	10	5
Germany	65	14	9	6	6
Greece	20	11	19	19	30
Spain	25	14	22	16	23
France	32	14	21	16	16
Ireland	53	20	17	7	3
Italy	33	17	17	18	15
Luxembourg	63	10	11	9	7
Netherlands	56	13	12	10	10
Austria	61	18	13	6	2
Portugal	25	16	15	18	25
Finland	78	11	6	3	(.)
Sweden	78	10	7	5	(.)
United Kingdom	56	12	17	6	9
EU - 15	46	14	15	12	13

Table 4
Reading magazines (% of population 15 years and over)

	Once a week or more	1 to 3 times a month	Less often	Never
Belgium	34	25	22	16
Denmark	47	22	15	12
Germany	46	28	16	9
Greece	18	15	21	46
Spain	18	25	28	29
France	39	29	15	17
Ireland	25	19	27	29
Italy	32	27	25	17
Luxembourg	52	21	13	14
Netherlands	44	21	17	17
Austria	30	28	29	12
Portugal	25	17	21	37
Finland	61	23	12	3
Sweden	35	35	20	9
United Kingdom	30	30	16	24
EU - 15	35	27	19	18

Some additional observations (not shown in the tables)

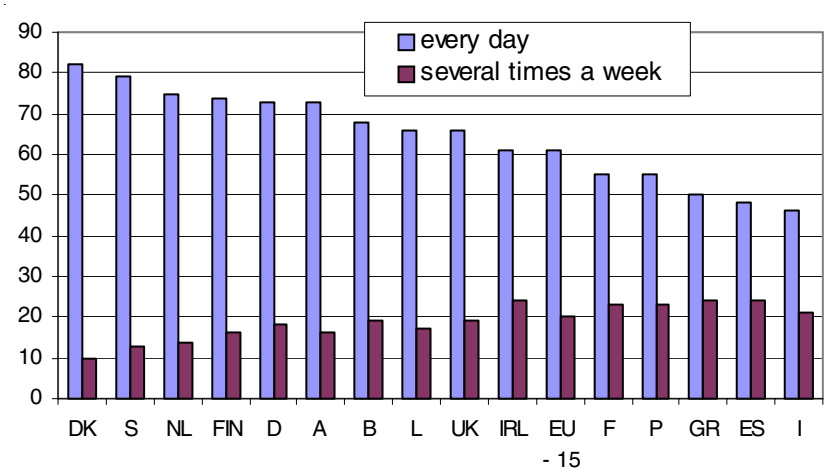
The rate of frequent readers (5 to 7 days a week) of newspapers is higher among men (53%) than women (39%); this rate increase with age: 25% of the 15-24, 40% of the 25 to 39, 53% of the 40 to 54 and 56% of the 55 years old and over read newspapers every day.

Weekly, or even more frequent, reading of magazines is more popular among women (41%) than men (28%).

Europeans and music

Music is part of the daily life of Europeans. 82% of Danes, 80% of Swedes, 78% of former East Germans and 75% of Dutch listen to music every day. They are using traditional ways of listening to music, i.e. radio and television (89%) and tapes/records/CDs/DVDs that are not connected to a PC (62%). It is worth to note that, in some countries, listening to music via CDs and DVDs on a PC is gaining importance: more than 15% in Luxembourg, Germany, UK and more than 20% in Denmark, Netherlands and Sweden.

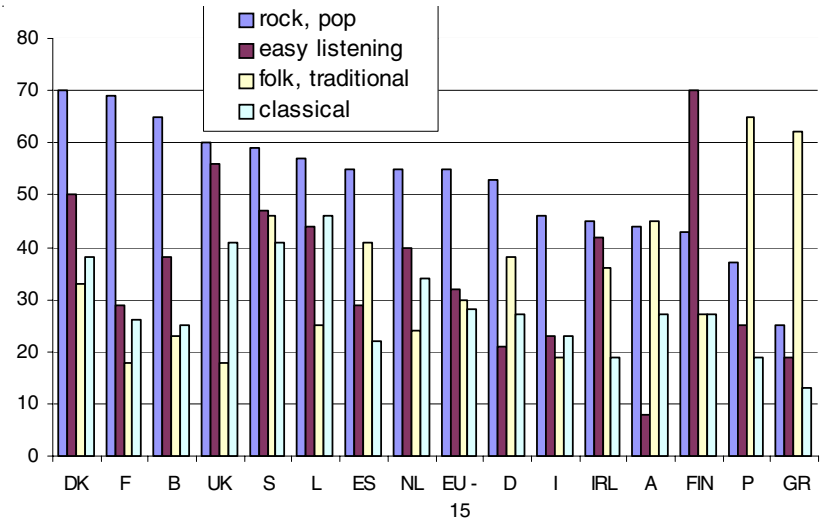
Graph 4
How frequently do Europeans listen to music?



There are four kinds of music in the preferences of Europeans: 'Rock and pop' music is listened by 55% of Europeans, 'easy listening' by 32%, 'folk, traditional' music by 30% and 'classical' music by 28%. Graph 5, shows some interesting country comparisons with respect to the music preferences of Europeans.

Graph 5

What kind of music do Europeans listen to?

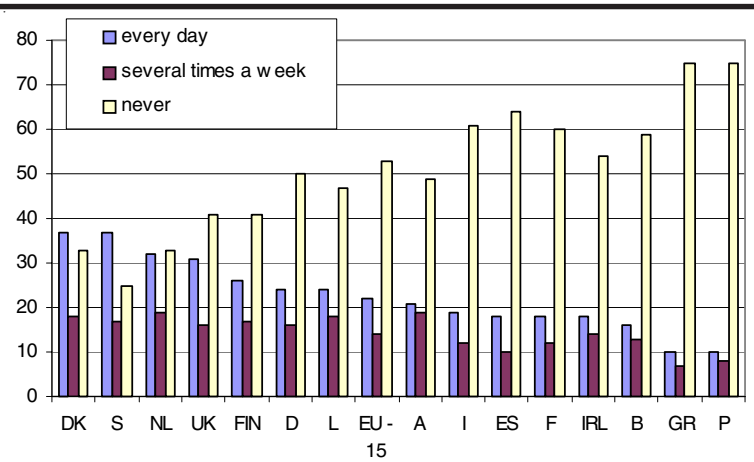


Computer and internet usage

It seems that PCs and Internet have not yet completely invaded the working and private life of Europeans. More than half of Europeans (53%) declared that they never use a computer or PC; the highest rates of *non-users* are observed in Greece (75%) and Portugal (75%). On the other hand, in some northern European countries the picture is quite different. More than 50% of the population in Denmark, Sweden and Netherlands use a PC either every day or several times a week.

Graph 6

Frequency of PC usage (% of population 15 years old and over)



It should be underlined that the 1st question about PC /computer usage attempted to capture all possible situations, i.e. whether at work or at home or elsewhere. The wording of the question in English was: *'Do you use a computer or PC'?*….And the possible answers were: every day / several times a week / once a week / 1-3 times a month / less often / never / do not know.

The data allow some further analysis of the profiles of users and non-users according to age, gender, educational attainment, work status, etc. It is not surprising that PC users are more likely to be men (52%) than women (41%) and 15 to 24 years old (76%) than 40 to 54 (52%) or 55 years old and over (15%); similarly, a PC user is more likely to be a student (90%) or university graduate (83%) than someone who has – at the very best – completed a level corresponding to lower secondary education (22%).

The three most popular uses of computers or PCs in Europe are '*at home for leisure'* (67% of PC users), *'outside home for work or study'* (60% of PC users) and *'at home for work or study'* (54% of users).

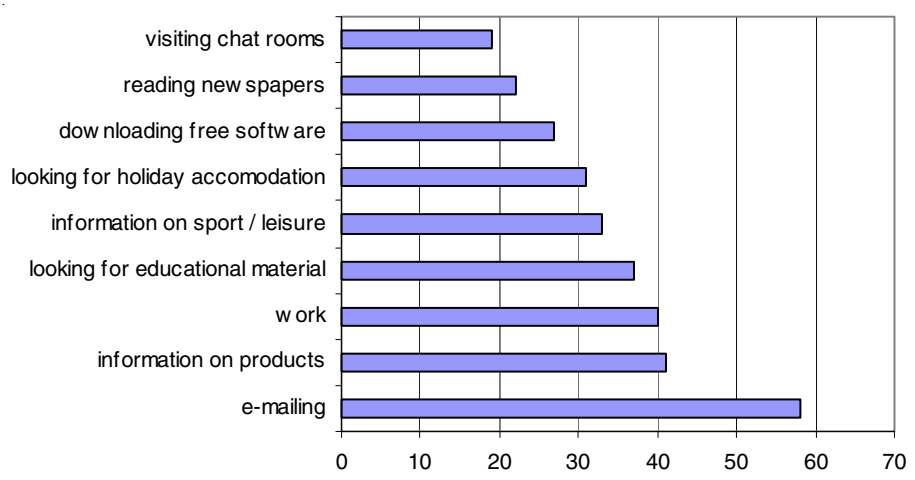
Table 5 and Graph 7 present some basic aspects of the Internet usage in Europe. Surfing the Internet is more frequent in Sweden (66%), Denmark (59%), Netherlands (54%) and Finland (51%) than in Italy (28%), Spain (26%), Greece (15%) and Portugal (15%). Internet is used for several different purposes. The Eurobarometer questionnaire listed 28 possibilities and graph 7 presents the 9 most frequent uses of Internet. Behind the European averages that are plotted in the graph, it is very interesting to look at the *champions* in every category.

- E-mailing: Denmark (77%) and Sweden (76%)
- Searching information on a product: Netherlands (50%), Sweden (48%), Germany and Austria (47%)
- For work: Germany (48%) and Austria (47%)
- Searching for educational material: Portugal (49%), Austria and UK (47%)
- Searching information on sport/leisure: Finland (45%), Luxembourg (43%)
- Looking for holiday accommodation: Sweden (44%), Luxembourg (41%) and UK (40%)
- Downloading free software: Netherlands (36%), Austria (36%) and Germany (32%)
- Reading newspapers: Sweden (42%) and Finland (35%)
- Visiting chat rooms: Spain (43%) and Austria (27%)

Table 5
Internet usage (% of population 15 years old and over)

	Every day	Several times a week	Once a week	1 to 3 times a month	Less often	Never
Belgium	6	11	3	2	3	72
Denmark	17	19	11	8	4	39
Germany	6	16	6	4	3	64
Greece	3	5	3	3	2	85
Spain	5	10	3	2	4	74
France	8	9	3	3	3	73
Ireland	7	10	9	4	6	62
Italy	7	13	3	3	2	72
Luxembourg	11	16	6	5	5	57
Netherlands	17	18	10	3	6	46
Austria	8	15	5	3	6	63
Portugal	2	6	2	2	2	85
Finland	11	20	8	6	6	47
Sweden	25	23	8	6	5	32
United Kingdom	15	16	7	6	5	51
EU - 15	9	13	5	4	3	65

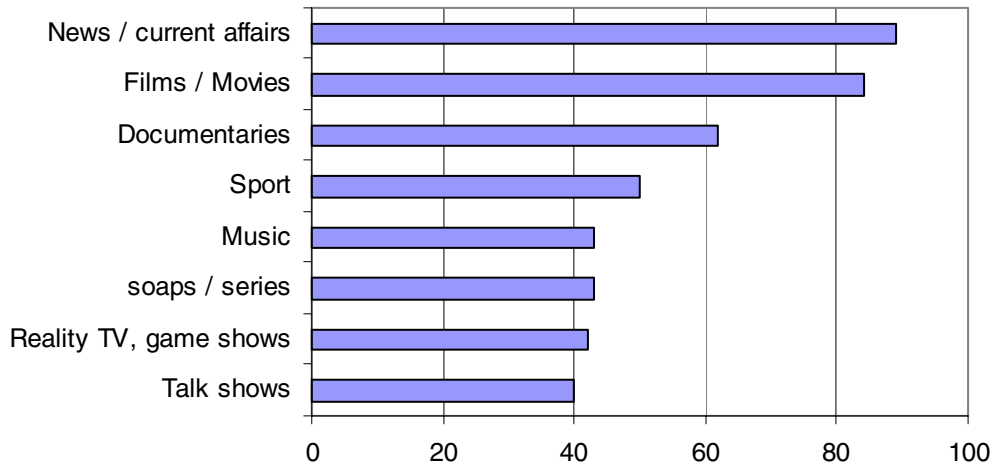
Graph 7
What do Europeans use the Internet for?
(as a % of the population using the Internet)



Radio and Television

Almost all Europeans (98%) watch television. There is quite a lot of convergence in the ranking of their most watched TV programmes. *News* and *Movies* are the top two preferences almost in all countries. Graph 8 presents the first 8 TV programmes that Europeans watch. Once more, it is interesting to mention some *national* characteristics, which are not obvious in the graph.

Graph 8
What do Europeans watch on television?
(as a % of the population watching television)



- News and current affairs: Denmark (98%)
- Films/Movies: France (90%), Italy (90%), Germany (89%)
- Documentaries: Denmark (80%)
- Sport: Sweden (63%) and Finland (63%)
- Music: Former East Germany (63%)
- Soaps/Series: Belgium (70%), Ireland (64%), United Kingdom (64%)
- Reality TV/Game shows: Finland (66%)
- Talk shows: Finland (53%), Luxembourg (47%)

Gender, age and educational attainment also play a role in the individual preferences of Europeans with respect to what they actually watch on television. For example, *music programmes* are more popular among young persons (15 to 25 yrs old) (68%) than older people (40 years old and over) (36%). University graduates are more likely to watch *documentaries* (74%) than persons who have attained lower secondary education (55%). *Soaps / series* are much more popular among women (58%) than men (27%) while the opposite is observed with respect to watching of *sport events:* 76 % for men and 26 % for women.

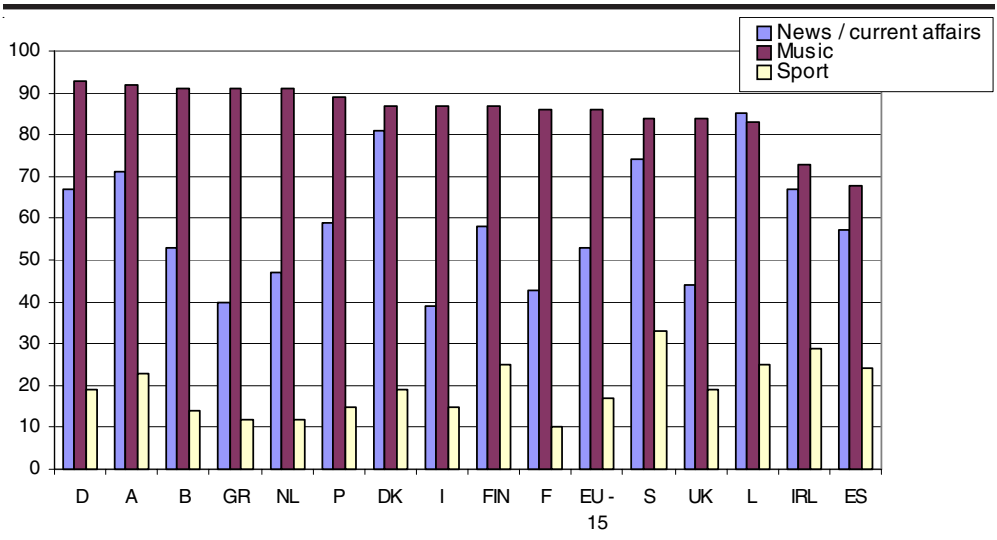
Nearly 60% of Europeans listen to the radio every day. The highest percentages of frequent radio-listeners are found in Ireland (77%), Luxembourg (76%) and Sweden (76%). The top three preferred radio-programmes in Europe are *music* (86%), *news/current affairs* (53%) and *sport* (17%). Graph 9 presents the percentages of listeners of these three programmes in the 15 Member States of the European Union.

There are very similar national patterns among those who listen to the radio and those who watch television:

- Music: Former East Germany (95%), Austria (91%)
- News/current affairs: Denmark (81%)
- Sport: Sweden (33%)

Differences in gender/age and educational level are also reflected in the behaviour of radio-listeners. A typical person listening to the news on the radio is most likely *male, university graduate and 55 years old and over* while someone who listens to a music programme is quite probably *female under 25 years old.*

Graph 9
What do Europeans prefer listening to on the radio?
(as a % of the population listening to the radio)



Cultural activities[4]

Respondents have been asked to recall the number of times, in the last 12 months, they had participated in various cultural activities by positioning themselves on a frequency scale. There was a separate (but identical) question for each of the 10 cultural activities that had been included in the questionnaire. The wording of the question(s) was the following:

> *Here is a list of cultural activities. How many times in the last 12 months did you…..?*
> The frequency scale was as follows: '1' = Never, '2' = one to three times, '3' = four to six times, '4' = seven to twelve times and '5' = more than twelve times.

Analyses of results of this particular question have attracted special attention (and continue to do so); reactions from the Media have been very similar to those that followed the publication of results with respect to the *reading habits* of Europeans. International comparisons have provoked strong national debates. Quite often, such debates have gathered additional information

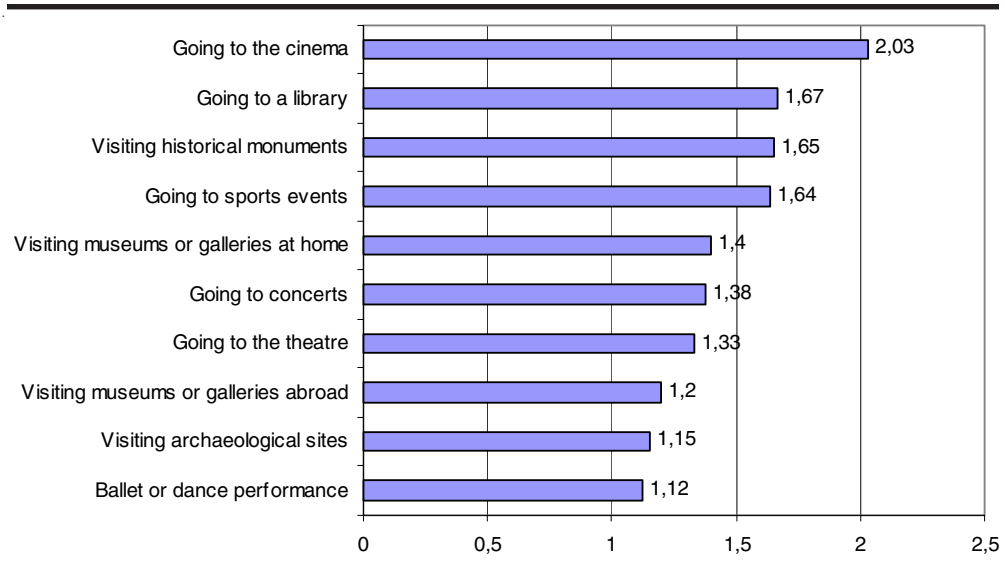
4. The 10 cultural activities were listed as follows: a) go to see a ballet or dance performance, b) go to the cinema, c) go to the theatre, d) go to sports events, e) go to concerts, f) go to a library, g) visit historical monuments (palaces, castles, churches, etc), h) visit museums or galleries in your country, i) visit museums or galleries abroad, j) visit archaeological sites.

and analyses in order to answer questions of the kind: *Why are we so low? How can we explain that we are so different from our neighbours? I cannot believe these numbers! Can we look at some of the trends? etc.*

Going to the cinema is the most popular cultural activity of Europeans, while *attending a ballet or dance performance* is the least preferred activity (Graph 10). The Spaniards, Irish and British were those who had been more frequently to the cinema – during the last 12 months – than any other European citizen. On the other hand, the highest percentages of the population who *go to a library* were observed in the three Nordic countries (Finland, Sweden, Denmark) the United Kingdom and the Netherlands.

We have seen in previous sections that cultural behaviours are largely explained by differences in educational attainment levels. We can as well observe here that *participation* or *non participation* in the various cultural activities that were included in the questionnaire is strongly differentiated according to educational level. Graph 11 illustrates this situation for the part of the population who declared that they *'never participated in any of the 10 listed activities'* during the last 12 months.

Graph 10
Most frequent cultural activities of Europeans
e.g. On average, Europeans go to the cinema 1 to 3 times per year

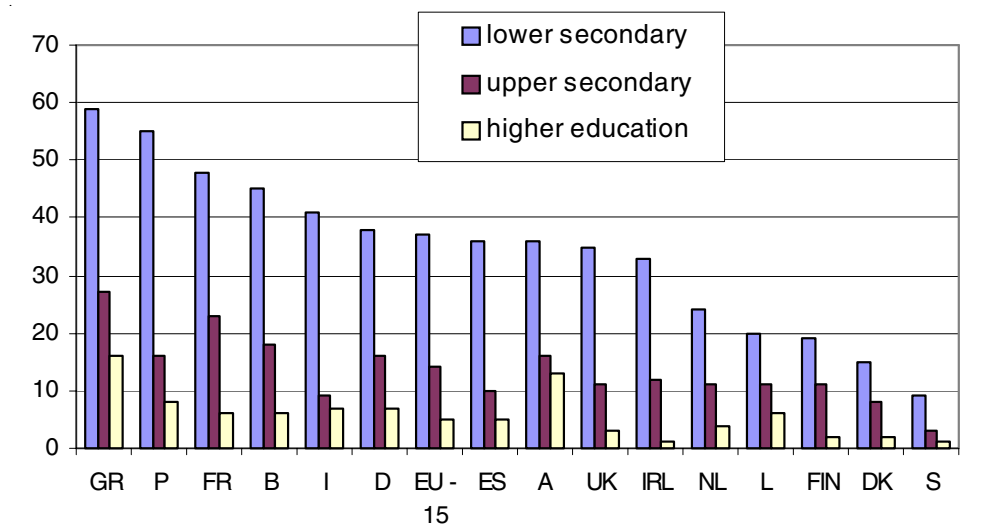


(a value of '1' is equivalent to 'never' and a value of '2' is equivalent to 'one to three times')

Graph 11

Non-participants by level of educational attainment

(persons who – during the last 12 months – had not participated in any cultural activity)

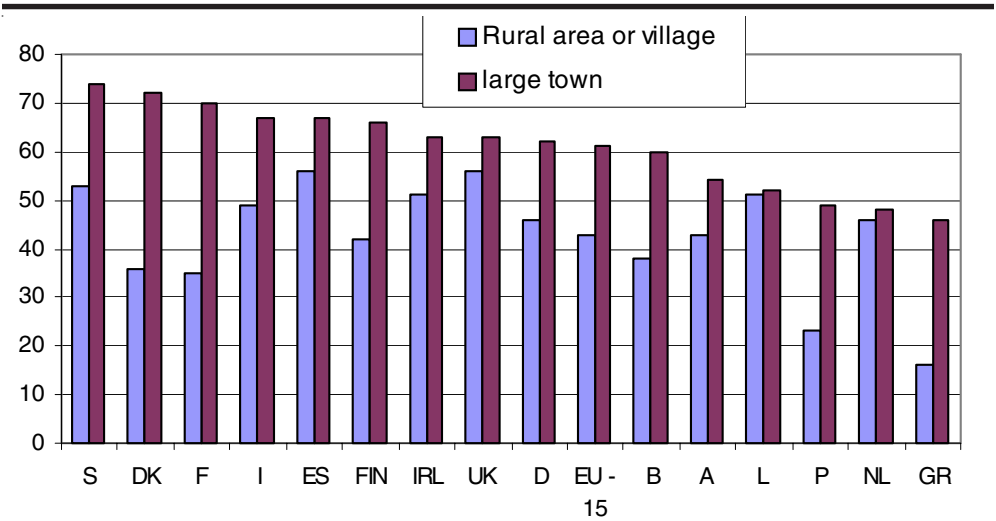


Participation in cultural activities is also a matter of *opportunities offered* to the population, i.e. adequate supply of cultural activities in terms of numbers and variety. In some countries cultural activities are highly concentrated in large towns. The comparison of participation rates for *going to the cinema* and *going to the theatre,* by degree of urbanisation is quite revealing.

Graph 12

Going to the cinema in rural areas vs large towns

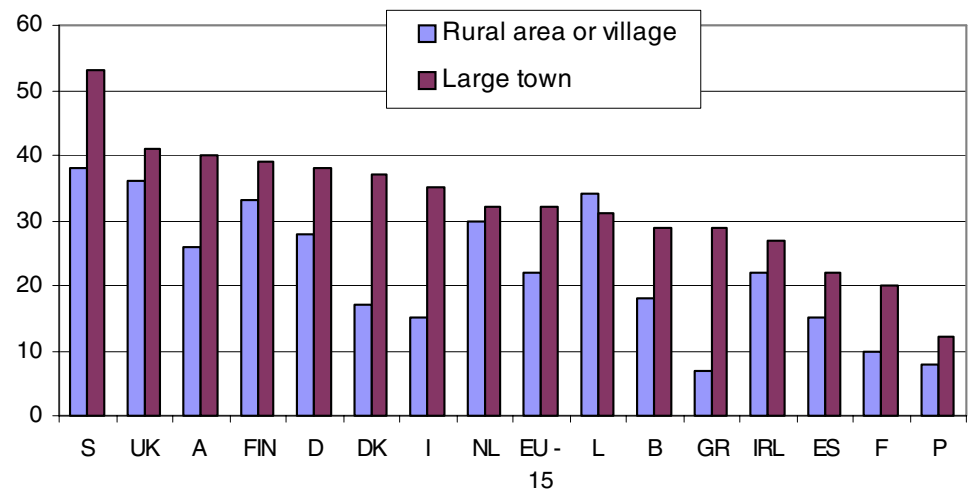
(% of population who have gone to the cinema at least once during last 12 months)



Graph 13

Going to the theatre in rural areas vs large towns

(% of population who have gone to the theatre at least once during last 12 months)



On average, it is much more likely to go to the cinema or theatre for persons living in large towns than those living in rural areas or villages. Differences in participation rates for *going to the cinema*, can be as large as 1:3 (Greece) or 1:2 (Portugal, Denmark and France). Similarly, the greatest difference for the activity '*going to the theatre*' is observed in Greece: it is 4 times more likely to go to the theatre in large towns than in rural areas or villages.

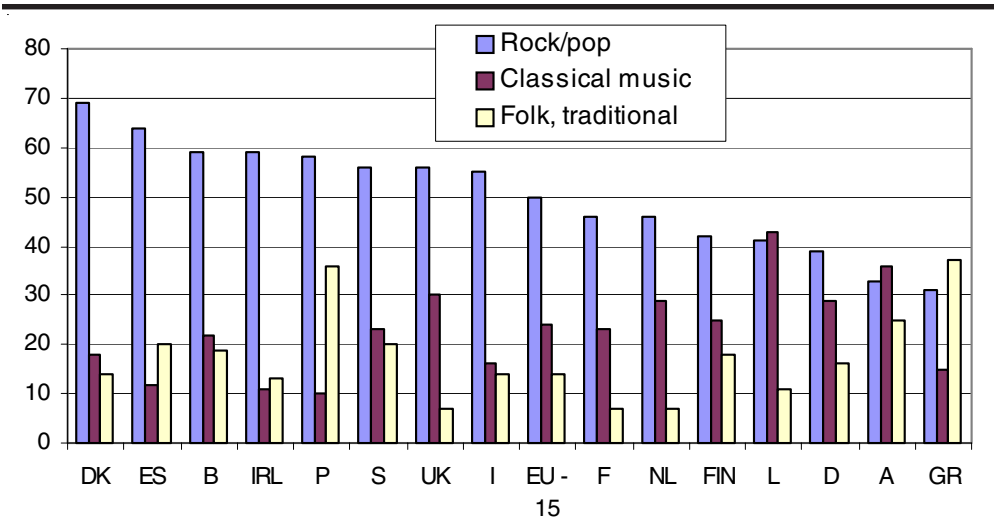
It is interesting to note that *rural vs large town* differences with respect to *going to concerts* are not as big as for cinema or theatre. One possible explanation is that several concerts can be 'mobile' and 'travel' in the various regions of a country.

30% of Europeans declared having attended some concert(s) during the year. Among those persons, 50% have attended a rock/pop music concert. This rate reaches 69% in Denmark and 64% in Spain. Second most preferred kind of concerts are classical music concerts (24%), which are most popular in Luxembourg (43%) and Austria (36%).

On the other hand, folk and traditional music concerts come third in the preferences of Europeans (14%), and they are very much attended in Greece (37%) and Portugal (36%).

Graph 14 presents the distribution of the three 'most preferred kinds of concerts' within the European Union.

Graph 14
Europeans' most preferred concerts
(as a % of the population who attended concerts during the last 12 months)



Practice of artistic activities

There is a wide range of activities that can be classified as *artistic activities*. The survey has included a limited number of such activities. The interviewees were asked to say whether they had practised during the last 12 months – either on their own, or as members of a group or class – one or more of the following seven activities:

- Played a musical instrument
- Sung
- Acted
- Danced
- Written something
- Done some photography, made a film
- Done any other artistic activity (sculpture, painting, drawing, etc)

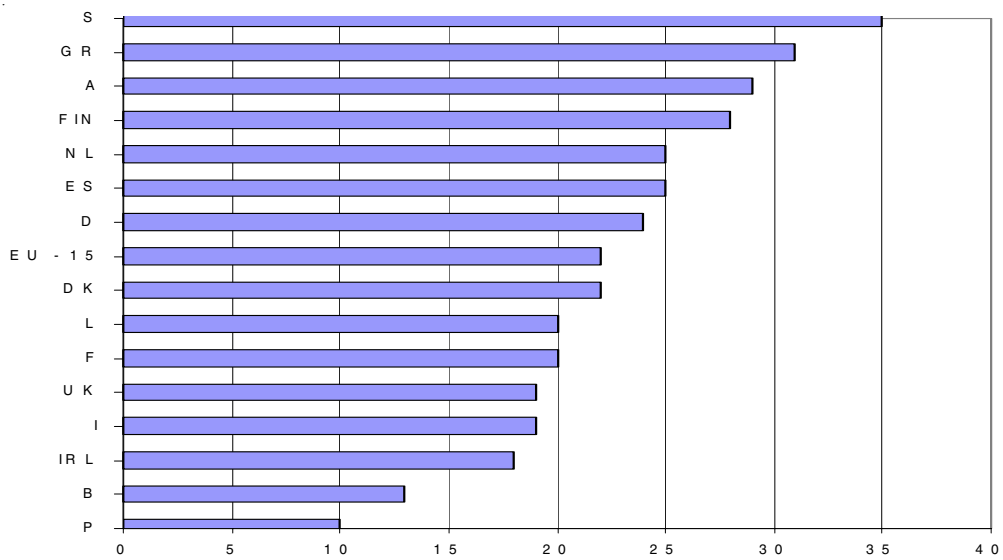
The results show that one in two Europeans have practised one or more of the above activities. *Photography, dancing and singing* seem to be the most practised activities. The data also indicate that there are very large differences among the various Member States. On the one hand, we see some *hyper active* countries like Sweden, Netherlands and Finland where 78%, 71% and 63%, respectively, of the population has practised some artistic activities and, on the other hand, the corresponding *(artistic)* rates in Portugal, Belgium and Ireland are as low as 21%, 32% and 34% respectively.

Graph 15 presents country by country comparisons with respect to the practice of *dancing* and Graph 16 illustrates differences in participation rates in artistic activities according to the two extreme educational attainment levels, i.e. higher education and lower secondary education.

Graph 15

Europeans and dancing

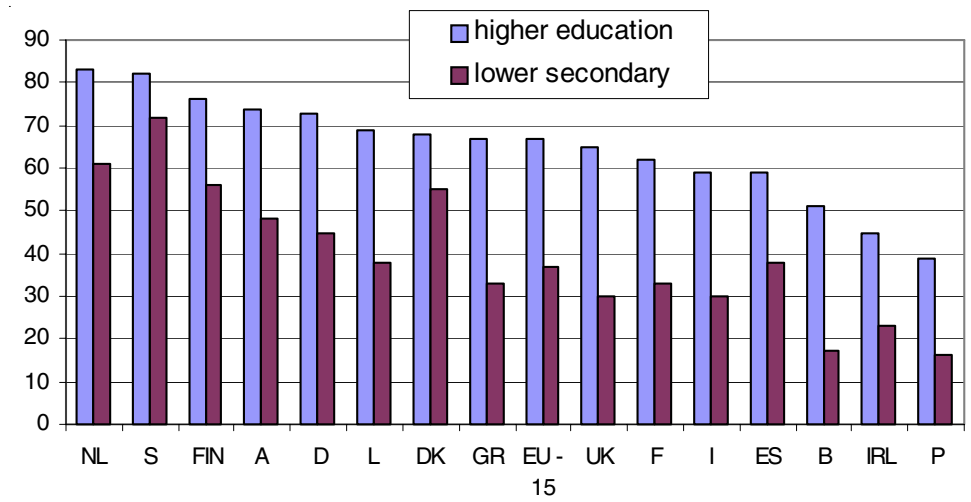
(% of population 15 years old and over who have danced during the last 12 months)



Graph 16

Practice of artistic activities by educational level

(% of population 15 years old and over)



Discussion

It is perhaps the first time that internationally comparable data on the subject of 'participation in cultural activities' are presented for the 15 Member States of the European Union. They have filled an important gap and at the same time they have raised several debates in most Member States. The national discussions have mostly tried to explain the *reasons for* the observed differences in cultural participation rather than to question the precision of the estimates. In some cases, it was necessary to bring into the discussion other relevant national sources of data that would have otherwise been (almost) unknown even to national policy makers. In this respect, international comparisons have helped to raise awareness on the existence of national data sources (e.g. surveys on reading, leisure, etc). The main objective of the Eurobarometer survey was to provide cultural policy stakeholders in the EU with comparable basic figures on cultural participation that could be obtained and published quickly and at reasonable cost. We believe that the main objective has been largely achieved. First detailed results were available within two months following the end of the fieldwork. The total cost of the operation, including fieldwork in the 15 Member States, translations of the survey questionnaire in all national languages, data editing, analysis, reporting and publication of the *'Highlights'* in 10.500 copies (in English, French and German) was about 600.000 Euro.

The Eurobarometer is an opinion survey instrument that has been used by the European Commission for many years. Its sample design and weighting procedures respect the standard minimum requirements we find in most sample surveys. Given the fact that Eurobarometers are not administered by Eurostat, we could not have substantial influence with respect to the desired statistical properties of the survey. Nevertheless, some important changes have been introduced. Firstly, the design and content of the questionnaire has been undertaken by statisticians working in the field of cultural participation. Several among them are responsible in their country for the running of surveys on leisure and cultural activities. Secondly, the results of the Eurobarometer have been post re-weighted according to educational attainment levels (by age, gender and region) that were obtained from the latest Labour Force Surveys.

Inspite of these improvements, there is, however, some evidence suggesting that Eurobarometer results are, systematically, over-estimated. It is our intention and commitment to critically examine the reliability of the results obtained from this instrument. A detailed project in this respect is about to be launched.

In planning future improvements of such instruments, we should also take into account two additional issues, which have recently been underlined by experts of the domain. In order to improve international comparisons, there is a need to undertake research on how people in different countries interpret and understand words and concepts like 'concert', 'opera', 'museum', historical monument', etc. Moreover, we should question the adequacy/completeness of the list of activities and behaviours that have up to now been included in cultural and leisure surveys. Appropriate consideration should be given to a wider range of activities – less formal – which are linked to the concept of 'social capital'[5].

5. See for example in the 'Leisure Survey 2002', Statistics Finland, where new questions have been added to address the issues of *social participation, social relationships, networks, trust and attitudes.*

References

All the results which are presented in this paper have been obtained from the analysis of the micro-data sets of the Eurobarometer No 56.0, which was carried out in the 15 Member States of the European Union, from 22/08/2001 till 27/09/2001

Cultural Statistics in the European Union: Final report of the LEG, *Eurostat Working Paper 3/2001/No1*

Europeans' participation in cultural activities, Executive Summary, April 2002, *Eurostat*

Information about cultural actions at EU level and the related legislative acts can be found at the following website: http://europa.eu.int/comm/culture/eac/

Asta Manninen Department of Urban Facts, City of Helsinki, Finland

"Cultural Consumption and Practices: A National and Cross-National Perspective"

Résumé

Définir la culture est un exercice ambitieux. Le cadre conceptuel de l'UNESCO pour les statistiques culturelles a servi de base à l'élaboration et au développement des statistiques culturelles, à l'échelle nationale comme à l'échelle locale, dans différents pays. Les nouvelles réalisations dans le domaine des statistiques culturelles auxquelles sont parvenu les villes indépendantes, les réseaux urbains et les organismes nationaux et internationaux de statistique se sont avérées d'une importance capitale. Ces réalisations nous donnent déjà une bonne idée des points de vue à adopter pour décrire la culture, les différents domaines culturels et les activités culturelles. Il nous est permis d'espérer que dans un avenir rapproché, nous disposerons d'un cadre commun non seulement pour décrire avec précision le domaine culturel, mais aussi pour prendre en considération les nouveaux éléments et le nouveau contenu de la culture. Il existe, par exemple, de nouveaux espaces pour la production et la distribution de la culture et l'on observe de nouvelles tendances de consommation de la culture, un intérêt accru pour la culture et les communications (les nouvelles technologies contribuent à ces nouveaux modes) et la mise en évidence de la dimension économique (flux financiers et emploi).

La présente communication se fonde principalement sur les expériences européennes et plus particulièrement sur le travail de développement et sur les réalisations d'Eurostat. Il

Abstract

The definition of *culture* is a challenging task. The UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics has provided the basis for establishing and developing cultural statistics on both national and local level in various countries. New achievements in the field of cultural statistics demonstrated by individual cities, city networks, national and international statistical organisations have proved to be of crucial importance. The work so far provide an orientation as to what new angles should be adopted in describing culture, various cultural domains and activities. It seems promising that we in the future will get common guidelines not only of how to specify the cultural field, but also on how to take into account new elements and new content of culture. For example, there are new units and places for production and distribution of culture, new patterns of consumption of culture, an emphasis on culture and communication (new technologies contribute to new modes), and an emphasis on the economic dimension (financial flows and employment).

The presentation will mainly draw upon experiences from Europe, especially from development work and achievements of Eurostat, co-operation between the Nordic countries both on national level and between

y est également question de la coopération entre les pays nordiques, tant au niveau national qu'au niveau des grandes villes, de la coopération sous l'égide de l'Institut International de Statistique (IIS) et de sa division responsable de l'élaboration des statistiques officielles, c'est-à-dire l'Association internationale pour les statistiques officielles (AISO) et du Comité permanent pour la recherche et les statistiques régionales et urbaines (SCORUS). Enfin, le cas de la Finlande et d'Helsinki, capitale de la Finlande, sera illustré.

major cities, and co-operation under the umbrella of the International Statistical Institute (ISI) and its section on developing official statistics, i.e. the International Association of Official Statistics (IAOS) and the Standing Committee on Regional and Urban Statistics and Research (SCORUS). Finally, the case of Finland and Helsinki, capital of Finland, will be demonstrated.

1. Constructing comparative cultural statistics

1.1 Harmonisation of national statistics on European level

The major project for developing cultural statistics in Europe at the moment is the European Union project, which started on a voluntary basis in 1995, entered in a LEG Culture project during 1996 –1999, and was established as a permanent Working Group within Eurostat in 2000. Today, culture has political relevance within the European Union (EU). The "Cultural 2000 programme", established for a period of five years capturing 2000-2004, encouraged various Directorates General (DG´s) of the European Commission to adopt the cultural dimension in their work. As a result, the cultural dimension is mentioned in plans for regional development, employment policies, strategies for the exploitation of new technologies, improvement of quality of life and so forth. Studies and statistics are requested for describing and comparing different national situations and for launching policy programmes, because culture is considered more and more important in terms of potential for economy and employment and, of course, quality of life and identity.

Most member states provide key figures on culture and even compile comprehensive statistical yearbooks on culture. However, definitions, classifications, data collection and practices adopted in the production of culture statistics have varied. In addition, the production of culture statistics has been irregular and heavily dependent on project funding. Fortunately, most countries have to some extent applied the UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics.

In 1995, the EU Council adopted a resolution on the promotion of statistics on culture and economic growth. Following this resolution Eurostat took the role as co-ordinator of a European project on culture statistics to be carried out in close co-operation with the Member States. In 1996, Eurostat introduced the "LEG" formula for development of culture statistics to invited national experts. Leadership Groups, LEGs, are a new method adopted by the Statistical Programme Committee (SPC, composed of the Director Generals of the national statistical offices in the Member States and chaired by the Director General of Eurostat). The founding meeting of the LEG Culture, convened by Eurostat, was held in early 1997. *The LEG Culture Project* was given the status of a three years pilot with the task to create conditions for a coherent and comparable information system at European level. The harmonised culture statistics should enlighten the relationship between culture and socio-economic development. Developing European culture statistics was considered a long-term venture. (Sari Karttunen, Cities and Regions 2/2001).

LEG Culture aiming at comparable key cultural variables and indicators at European level was led by Italy, with France, the Netherlands and Luxembourg as the leading partners. These four countries shared the co-ordination of the four task forces which were established for the project. There were altogether twelve countries involved in the task forces. Each country was represented by experts with their background in National Statistical Offices, Arts Councils, or government agencies involved in cultural policy issues. The LEG Culture project applied the UNESCO matrix approach and defined culture by means of "domains" and "functions". The participants of the LEG project agreed upon *eight core cultural and artistic domains*, as well as on *six economic functions*. These definitions drew upon the UNESCO framework, though modifications were made. The domains of sports, games, environment, and nature, which were assigned lower priority in the UNESCO framework, were left out. (It is important to note that Eurostat has established and produces environmental statistics. There is also a separate

European project developing sports statistics.) Thus the eight domains agreed upon were: *cultural heritage, archives, libraries, books and press, plastic arts, architecture, performing arts, and audio-visual or multimedia*. The functions adopted were: *preservation, creation, production, dissemination, trade and sales, and education*. Finally, in order to provide an operational framework to be used by national and European policy-makers, *the variables and key indicators were designed for reviewing culture from three perspectives, namely employment, financing and participation*. In fulfilling the mission of establishing harmonised culture statistics at European level existing data sources, for example harmonised surveys like the Labour Force survey and the Household Budget Survey, were in focus rather than new data collection efforts. The LEG Culture project submitted its final report in autumn 1999.

The SPC established a permanent *Working Group on Cultural Statistics within Eurostat* to develop further and implement the recommendations made by the LEG Culture project. This new Working Group started its work in the beginning of 2000. All fifteen Member States and also Norway and Switzerland joined the work. *Three task forces* have been set up, actually according to the outcome of the LEG Culture project, namely *employment, expenditure, and participation*. The task forces have been collecting and processing available data, and also drafting tables on selected topics. Though the main principle is to utilise already available data, the Task Force on Cultural Participation presented a plan for a European Survey on Cultural Participation. This plan has already been implemented as a pilot project in connection with the Eurobarometer (see http://europe.eu.int/comm/public_opinion/archives/eb/ebs_158_en.pdf). The pilot was accomplished in June 2002. The Eurobarometer survey carried out at the request of the European Commission, Eurostat enables us for example to draw the artistic profile of Europeans (see annex 1, fig.14).

Comparable statistics and indicators on culture in the EU Member countries are urgently requested and a first compilation is to be published in the near future.

1.2 Harmonisation of urban statistics on European level

There is an urgent demand for urban statistics in Europe. The globalisation has had great impact also on the information needs of the city leadership. The major change is that statistics on your own city is not enough. There is a request for profound knowledge and information about the forces behind the internationalisation and their local impacts. In Europe there is the ongoing transition from an industrial to an information and service society, and also the process of European integration. This means a request for international comparisons, which should meet higher and higher standards in terms of quality and coverage.

Over the last ten years, the European Commission has been developing an urban approach to regional policy, as well as to its other policies. Cities are important actors of present and future Europe. Among the measures taken by the European Commission we find the Commission document "Sustainable urban development in the European Union – a framework for action". Published in 1998. This document articulates clearly the need for comparable information about individual cities. Eurocities (www.eurocities.org) is an organisation specialised on urban issues and it represents more than 100 major European cities (cities with 250 000 inhabitants or more may apply for membership). Eurocities is regularly monitoring progress in urban policy issues and raising awareness of topical urban questions. A description of current Eurostat and Eurocities projects with connection to cultural statistics and quality of life indicators will follow next.

The European Commission has carried out an *Urban Audit pilot project* providing indicators about quality of life in 58 large cities of the European Union. The results were promising and were made available in the autumn 2000 (see www.ereco.com/audit/). The measures taken by the European Commission to achieve a tool for monitoring quality of life in European cities and their functional urban regions are of crucial importance. After a careful assessment of the pilot project and its results, a laborious work carried out by Eurostat, the Commission decided about future data collection for producing comparable urban statistics and urban indicators on European level. The Urban Audit pilot have got a successor called Urban Audit II.

The organisational set-up of the Urban Audit II is a challenging task, taking into account the varying structures that exist in the different countries. For urban statistics there are many partners involved, more than in other areas of statistics. There are not only various users, but also various statistics providers ranging from national statistical offices to city statistical agencies. Co-ordination between these parties or agents is important, especially as the objective is to achieve high quality statistics efficiently.

The Urban Audit II will have more cities, about 170 including the pilot cities. The Urban Audit will feature nine domains of life in cities. These are:

1. Demography
2. Social aspects
3. Economic aspects
4. Civic involvement
5. Training and education
6. Environment
7. Travel & transport
8. Information society
9. Culture and recreation

In the Urban Audit pilot project, data were collected on almost 500 variables. The response varied between zero and full coverage. Based on the analysis of the pilot, around 300 variables were discontinued for Urban Audit II, while almost 150 variables were added. Hence, Urban Audit II will collect data on roughly 300 variables.

As in the pilot project, there will be three levels of spatial units for which observations will be collected. The first spatial unit is the core city or the administrative city, for which there usually are a rich data set available. Secondly, data will be collected on the functional urban region of the core city (some 160 variables). Finally, some variables are to be collected on sub-city level (about 30 variables) in order to identify statistical variation within the cities and to measure social and economic disparities. Supporting comparative knowledge of the urban realities in 15 EU Member Countries is a challenge. Cities are complex organisations and there is a wide diversity of urban situations.

The aim of the Urban Audit II is to lay foundation for a regular data collection of comparable urban statistics, which should become a permanent part of the "European Statistical System" (ESS). The extensive data collection process will be done in close co-operation with National Statistical Offices and the cities concerned. National Statistical Offices are the national co-ordinator

in their respective country and they will work in close co-operation with the cities and urban networks.

Eurostat is the focal point at European level. Candidate countries may participate in the Urban Audit II on voluntary basis. The data collection will start in the beginning of April 2003, first results are expected in July 2003, and the final results by the end of 2003. (Berthold Feldmann, 2002).

What concerns cultural statistics there were some variables already in the Urban Audit Pilot project. The section "Culture and recreation" of the Urban Audit II includes the following statistics: concerts (per year), concert attendance (per year), number of cinema seats, cinema attendance (per year), number of museums, number of museum visitors (per year), number of theatres, theatre attendance (per year), number of public libraries, number of books and other media loaned from libraries (per year), perception of the quality and quantity of cultural facilities and events, perception of the quality and quantity of sports facilities, and various aspects of tourism, e.g. total annual tourist overnight stays.

Helsinki and Finland are pleased to give their contribution to the establishment of a European Urban Statistics System. *A Finnish Urban Indicators System* has been established as part of the national urban policy actions in late 1990´s. Statistics Finland has taken the responsibility for the maintenance of the Urban Indicators System.

1.3 Experiences of city networks

NORDSTAT
http://heln03.novogroup.com/nordstat/

The capitals and the 2-3 largest cities of each of the five Nordic countries made up the project NORDSTAT and established *the network of 16 Nordic cities*:

Denmark: *Copenhagen*, Århus, Aalborg, Odense
Finland: *Helsinki*, Tampere, Turku, Oulu
Iceland: *Reykjavik*
Norway: *Oslo,* Bergen, Stavanger, Trondheim
Sweden: *Stockholm*, Gothenburg, Malmö

The first results – the publication "Major City Regions of Scandinavia – Facts and Figures" and the NORDSTAT database – were released in 1992. From then on the database is updated once a year and publications (extracts from the database) in Swedish and English respectively are issued also once a year.

The latest comprehensive publication in English entitled "Major Nordic Cities and Regions – facts and figures" was published in 2002. The publications are available at the Statistical Offices of the capital cities. At present, the NORDSTAT database contains comparative statistics on eight major themes comprising about 30 sets of variables. Furthermore, the database provides pretty long time series for each variable. The themes covered at present are: Population and Vital Statistics, Labour Market, Education and Training, Industries, Housing, Social Welfare,

Transport and Communications, and Elections. The content of the database will be enlarged step by step following the progress of the Urban Audit II. What concerns culture statistics there are additional experiences to draw on, especially those achieved in providing comparative statistics on cultural offerings in the nine *European Cities of Culture 2000* and other selected cities (see annex 1, and Arts and Culture 1999, City of Helsinki Urban Facts).

European Cities of Culture 2000

To celebrate the "Cultural City of Europe 2000", the City of Helsinki Urban Facts compiled a cultural statistics publication which included also an international section. The international section consists of comparative statistics on cultural offerings and performance in a number of European cities, among others in the nine Cultural Cities of the year 2000. These cities are Avignon, Brussels, Bologna, Prague, Krakow, Santiago de Compostela, Reykjavik, Bergen and Helsinki. In addition, 20 other European cities were co-operating, many of which had been "Cultural City of Europe" or would be in the future.

Actually, this was the second time the City of Helsinki Urban Facts aimed at mapping the cultural performance in a number of European cities. The first try was in 1994 when 18 cities participated in a questionnaire. The results were presented in the publication "Arts and Culture – Facts and Figures, 1995". The results of the 1999 and 1994 comparative cultural city statistics were presented during the 52nd ISI Session in Helsinki in 1999.

One main problem of gathering cultural statistics concerns different interpretations as to what "culture" is. The questionnaire used allowed "culture" a broad definition, though questions and variables were defined using international definitions and classifications that were available.

Another challenge met was how to describe and measure the cultural dynamism and liveliness of a city. Cities are culturally distinctive. The key question was and still is: how to find out what kind of a varied description and yet comparative is possible utilising available data sources (mainly maintained by the cities themselves, but also data sources provided by National Statistical Offices and other organisations).

What kind of cultural city statistics is possible utilising available data sources (see annex 1)? One tested cultural statistics approach is to describe the various cultural offerings in a city branch by branch. You may pay attention to the following points of view:

- The audience of various performances and special events
- Culture as professions and jobs
- Professional training
- Culture as hobby
- Finance and support
- Infrastructure

The cultural sectors or branches present in all cities are:

- Music
- Theatre
- Dance
- Visual arts
- Books, libraries, reading
- Museums and archives
- Film (movies, cinema), video, photography, multimedia
- Radio, TV, Press
- Special events, festivals etc and their audiences in different arts

The statistical measurement of the cultural life in a city usually provides a set of varied indicators. Indicators help to portray the cultural profile of a city. Among the indicators most frequently used you will find the following ones:

- Number of workers in recreational, cultural and sport activities
- Proportions of various professions in the arts and culture in the city
- Cultural workers employed by the city
- Institutions of higher arts education and number of students in these institutions
- City library loans
- Symphony orchestra visits and number of orchestras
- Museum visits and number of museums
- Theatre visits and number of theatres
- Cinema visits and number of films shown
- Funding – public and private – of cultural activities
- Expenditure on culture and leisure per inhabitant and by cultural sector

Clusters of cultural businesses represent new entries to be observed in cultural statistics. Among the new clusters one may mention for example graphic designers, photographers and other cultural entrepreneurs as well as new media industries. We can also identify individuals and organisations clustering in specific geographical areas, buildings or block of buildings. There is a rich diversity of places for creation of arts and culture. Finally, it is important with linkages. A new linkage to benefit from is to match the cultural statistics framework with the framework for the *information sector*, especially the *content production* (see annex 1, fig. 5-7). Interesting branches from the point of view of culture within the content production are publishing, motion picture and video activities, and radio and television activities.

Important to note is that culture and related activities and their linkages to education and training as well as to research and development are fast growing branches and important employers in cities. Moreover, new structures of financing of arts and culture are also emerging. These new structures will change the breakdown of the public/private divide and they too have economic impacts on the city. Even though, these new entries are important statistical items, they still wait for common definitions and classifications to be developed on national, regional and local level.

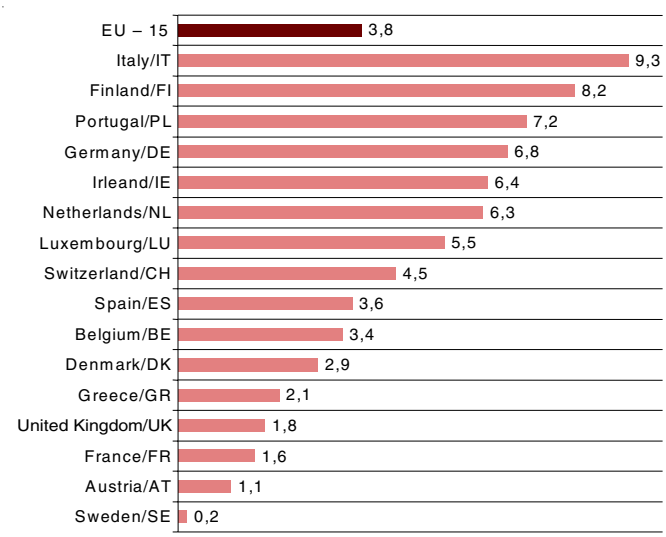
Eurocities – studies, research and conferences

The Eurocities Culture Committee and Economic Development and Urban Regeneration Committee (EDURC) have recently set up a research project on the added value of culture for the urban economy especially and urban development in general. A group of cities and a number of research institutes will make up the project body. The objective is to explore opportunities for cities to strengthen the ties between the culture and economic policies in order to enhance urban cultural and economic life. In 2000, the European Commission commissioned a study on employment opportunities in both traditional and digital culture in the EU. In this area, there is also a newly established Eurocities working group, namely the Working Group on Culture and ICT. At the moment, nine cities are involved in the work, namely The Hague, Bologna, Rome, Venice, Turin, Barcelona, Stockholm, Helsinki and Turku.

The Eurocities Conference in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (England) on 24 October 2002 will examine the employment opportunities within the creative and Cultural industries and their impact on local regeneration and social cohesion, set in the context of the European Employment Strategy. Another Eurocities Conference held this year focused on the theme "Culture, Sport and Diversity" in relation to social inclusion and urban regeneration.

Michael Söndermann (in Cities and Regions, 2/2002) examines cultural industries and employment in Europe. According to his results, based on the Labour Force Survey commissioned by Eurostat in 1999, growth rates in the cultural sector are higher than those of overall employment and they show regional differences. On average, cultural employment across Europe increased by 3.8% and the overall employment grew 1.2% per year between 1995 and 1999. Italy and Finland had the highest growth rates in the cultural sector.

Development of Employment in the Cultural Sectors (1995-1999)
Annual growth rates in % (annual average 1995-99)



Note: definition: culture, sports and entertainment.

Sources: Labour Force Survey 1999, Eurostat 2001, EU-DG Employment and Social Affairs, Employment statistics Switzerland 1999, Federal Office of Statistics Switzerland 2001; Michael Söendermann (Working Group on Cultural Statistics, Bonn).Michael Söendermann, Cities and Regions 2/2001.

Promoting harmonisation of cultural statistics on city level has been on the agenda of SCORUS, the Standing Committee on Regional and Urban Statistics and Research, for a couple of years. SCORUS is part of the IAOS, the International Association of Official Statistics. During the SCORUS Conference held last June in Lisbon (Portugal) there was one invited papers session devoted to cultural statistics.

As the phenomenon of the digitalisation of culture already exists, it is important to develop and adopt new indicators for tracking how culture is being distributed and consumed by means of new media and mixes of present and new media. Access to devices of new media are important in the context of the digitalisation of culture. If we take libraries as an example and look at the experiences in Helsinki, we will notice that virtual library visits are twice as common as visits to the libraries.

What concerns availability of comparative city statistics on libraries, the International Association of Metropolitan Libraries, Intamel, is a valuable service provider (see annex 1, fig. 9).

2. Development work in Finland

2.1 Statistics Finland and culture statistics national standards

The work on comprehensive cultural statistics was started by Statistics Finland in the 1970s. In the 1970s, cultural statistics became part of a wider statistical system describing people's living conditions and welfare. Large compilations were published in 1978 and 1984. They adopted a fairly broad definition of culture and extended the definition of culture to mass media. Both publications were partially financed by the Ministry of education. The third issue of Cultural Statistics following a narrower definition, was published in 1999 and the fourth edition in 2002. Statistics on culture will be compiled on a regular basis by Statistics Finland and thus the next compilation will be issued in 2004. In the intermediate years special surveys are undertaken on topical themes. A study and report on employed labour force in cultural industries in 1970-1999 was published in 2001.

Data on cultural jobs and industries are now readily available in Finland and can easily be updated as soon as occupational data from the next census are released. Data on industries can be updated annually using the Employment Statistics. A specific module for the biennial compendium has been created.

In 1995, some 75,500 people were employed in cultural industries (52% of whom held cultural occupations). By 1998, the number of individuals working in cultural industries had gone up to 85,600, equivalent to 4.0 per cent of the total employed labour force. Employed in cultural industries in 2000 were altogether 90,000 persons representing 4.0 per cent of all labour force.

Employed labour force in cultural industries in Finland 1995–2000

INDUSTRY	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000*
Architectural and industrial design and art	3 327	3 552	4 049	4 672	5 037	5 759
Arts facilities	4 726	4 846	4 901	5 421	5 698	5 690
Art and antique shops and second-hand bookshops	396	323	363	423	428	455
Libraries, archives, museums, etc	9 516	9 885	9 368	9 421	9 425	9 474
Production and distribution of books	4 044	4 120	4 407	4 854	5 164	4 603
Production and distribution of newspapers and periodicals	27 847	26 993	27 732	29 361	29 235	29 621
Advertising	4 767	5 138	5 706	7 024	7 507	9 010
Photography	3 015	3 070	3 156	3 219	3 199	3 229
Radio and television	11 459	11 546	12 252	12 924	13 324	13 662
Production and distribution of motion pictures and videos	1 391	1 477	1 843	2 294	2 302	2 379
Production and distribution of music and sound recordings	992	1 008	1 105	1 191	1 172	1 231
Amusement parks, games and other entertainment and recreation	3 992	4 131	4 322	4 779	4 879	5 145
Cultural industries total	75 472	76 089	79 204	85 583	87 370	90 258
Percentage of all employed labour force	3.9	3.9	3.9	4.0	4,0	4,0

* Preliminary data. Statistics Finland, 2002.

Employed labour force in cultural occupations in Finland 1970–1995

OCCUPATION	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995
Art, design and crafts	8 109	8 993	10 660	14 595	15 922	15 730
Editing and journalistic work	4 006	4 460	5 576	7 531	8 195	7 909
Photography, cinematography and technical work in radio and TV	3 167	2 904	3 920	4 453	4 560	3 999
Graphics	17 615	17 771	17 154	20 018	19 783	16 149
Advertising	5 574	6 828	6 675	9 586	10 778	10 619
Cultural administration, information and guidance	...	..	3 626	5 209	6 392	5 875
Library, archive and museum work	3 467	4 842	6912	8 637	9 453	8 817
All cultural occupations	41938	45798	54523	70029	75083	69 098

Source: *Sari Karttunen´s article published in Cities and Regions 2/2001.*

Mass Media Statistics became independent and regular in 1987, due to the financial support of the Ministry of Transport and Communications. Since 1987, a compendium called "Finnish Mass Media" has been published every second year, and thematic reports have been prepared in the intervening years. With a special interest in the audio-visual field the Ministry of Education nowadays also financially supports the compilation of mass media statistics. *The survey of cultural and leisure-time activities* became similarly an independent venture in 1991. The next survey will be carried out in 2002 with help of financial support from the Ministry of Education and the Finnish Broadcasting Company YLE.

The reinforced efforts of international development work in cultural statistics were clearly a major precondition for gaining funding for the development project at the national level. The establishment of a system of cultural statistics and its continuity was seen to be of strategic importance for Statistics Finland and Finland as well. The international discussion about the unforeseen economic potential of the so-called cultural or creative industries gave further stimulus for the statistical project. Following the main guidelines the evolving EU framework, culture is no longer defined as broadly as in the 1970s and 1980s. The present publication, issued in April 2002, contains sections on the financing and consumption of the arts and culture, the cultural labour force, cultural enterprises and their operations, cultural events, buildings and journals, the cultural heritage, museums, archives and libraries, as well as reviews by art form. In future, the biennial culture statistics publication will include also a section of international comparisons.

Contents of the biennial publication "Cultural Statistics":

1. Financing and consumption of the arts and culture
2. The cultural labour force, vocational organisations and training
3. Cultural enterprises and their operations
4. Cultural events, buildings and journals
5. The cultural heritage, museums, archives and libraries
6. Cinema
7. Literature
8. Visual and photographic art
9. Crafts and design
10. Architecture
11. Theatre
12. Dance
13. Music

In addition, a selection of continuously updated statistics on media and culture are offered free of charge in the Internet by means of Statistics Finland's StatFin Service (http://statfin.stat.fi/StatWeb).

Statistics Finland is currently making a critical inventory of indicators which could be constructed from existing data at the municipal level ('indicator' is used here rather loosely). It is evident that all aspects of *municipal cultural activities* cannot be illustrated by means of available sources some of which present simple indicators themselves. Yet the list of topics covered seems already astonishingly long: cultural offices, basic arts education, cultural events and festivals, cultural halls and centres, cinemas, public libraries, museums, orchestras and theatres and so on. Before going on with the actual database construction, the problem of varying definitions and practices has to be solved. Moreover, the project has to be linked to the on-going indicator construction in related fields. Statistics Finland has for instance set up *an urban indicators service* that actually covers all municipalities. Currently, the only cultural indicators included in the service pertain to public libraries. The inclusion of other cultural topics, for instance, the number of theatres, orchestras and museums and their visitors, has been discussed, and as one

result of the current development project, a limited number of cultural indicators is to be added to the urban indicators service.

Actually, Statistics Finland intend to produce statistics and indicators on cultural services and cultural participation in a way which would allow for using various spatial units ranging from municipality to various regional delineations. Thus the current project focused on constructing cultural statistics on municipal level is not only about mapping municipal cultural activities but more generally about introducing the regional dimension into the system of cultural statistics (Sari Karttunen, SCORUS Lisbon 2002).

2.2 The City of Helsinki – statistics and research in the field of culture

Helsinki was one of the nine European cultural cities in 2000. The other eight cities were: Avignon (France), Brussels (Belgium), Bologna (Italy), Prague (Czech Republic), Crakow (Poland), Santiago de Compostela (Spain), Reykjavik (Iceland) and Bergen (Norway). The "Arts and Culture 1999" publication (mentioned already in chapter 1.3) portrays Helsinki as a cultural city through cultural statistics and sets Helsinki in a wider context of not only eight cities, but 25 other European cities. The publication also serves as a sequel to the 1995 publication; "Arts and Culture, Facts and Figures".

"Arts and Culture 1999" presents the diverse cultural life of Helsinki. It describes the various culture sectors from the point of view of the users, amateurs, professionals and producers. In addition, the publication presents statistics on the economic importance and job-creating effect of culture in Helsinki (see annex 1, fig. 3 - 4).

The Year of Culture 2000, left Helsinki people with lasting benefits. One of the most valuable achievements was the inter-administration collaboration. International visits, large-scale outdoor events, and several art education and children´s culture projects may also be mentioned as valuable achievements.

The virtual library is an evolving issue. In 2001, Helsinki City Library put the funds from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation Access to Learning Award into use and developed the City Library´s IGS, "Information Gas Station", a project providing customers with Internet information on services. The customer may ask any question, either on the spot or via the Internet, e-mail or mobile phone short messaging service. The IGS also provides guidance on independent use of the web including how to use the Internet and e-mail.

All in all, the Year of Culture 2000 was the biggest event in Helsinki since the Olympics in 1952. According to research and evaluation of the Year 2000, the outcomes may be summarised as follows. The Year 2000 was well received among the citizens, it was internationally visible, and it was important for the local identity. The Year 2000 embraced 503 projects, enjoyed a budget of 50 million euros and attracted 5.4 million visitors.

The new "Arts and Culture" statistics publication, which is due to 2004, will be the next big challenge in terms of Helsinki cultural statistics. The Statistical Yearbook of Helsinki will provide a culture statistics section annually.

Helsinki has systematically studied various events and their visitors. Methods have been developed to collect data on large-scale cultural and sports events. Concerts taking place at the Olympic Stadium or in parks, sports events such as Ice-Hockey World Championships at large indoor arenas have been studied in order to establish the visitor numbers, their background and economic consumption linked with the visit. These studies have been used in understanding the nature of so called mega-events in Helsinki and the data has had a role to play for example in Helsinki's bidding process for World Athletics Championships that Helsinki was awarded for the year 2005. (Timo Cantell, 2002).

The importance of creative industries, including cultural industries, for urban development may be demonstrated through the following cross-national project. "St Petersburg creative industries development partnership project" involves the cities of St Petersburg (Russia), Helsinki (Finland), and Manchester (United Kingdom). It is funded by the European Commission's Tacis fund, which aims at developing links between former eastern European countries and EU countries. This particular project has highlighted the importance and potential of creative industries for urban development in Helsinki and draws from the experiences gained at developing cultural and creative industries in Manchester, St Petersburg's twin city, and Helsinki, St Petersburg's close neighbour.

The project has involved extensive mapping exercises of the creative industries sector in all partner cities, particularly in St Petersburg, studying commercial organisations, state establishments and organisations as well as non-commercial organisations, their employment, economic revenue generated, visitor numbers etc. Particular emphasis has been on small and medium-sized enterprises and their potential. (Timo Cantell, 2002).

Constructing reliable and comparable data in St Petersburg has been a challenge – as it has been in Helsinki and Manchester, as well. Nevertheless, experiences gained in the project suggest that this area can be developed to provide comparative statistics.

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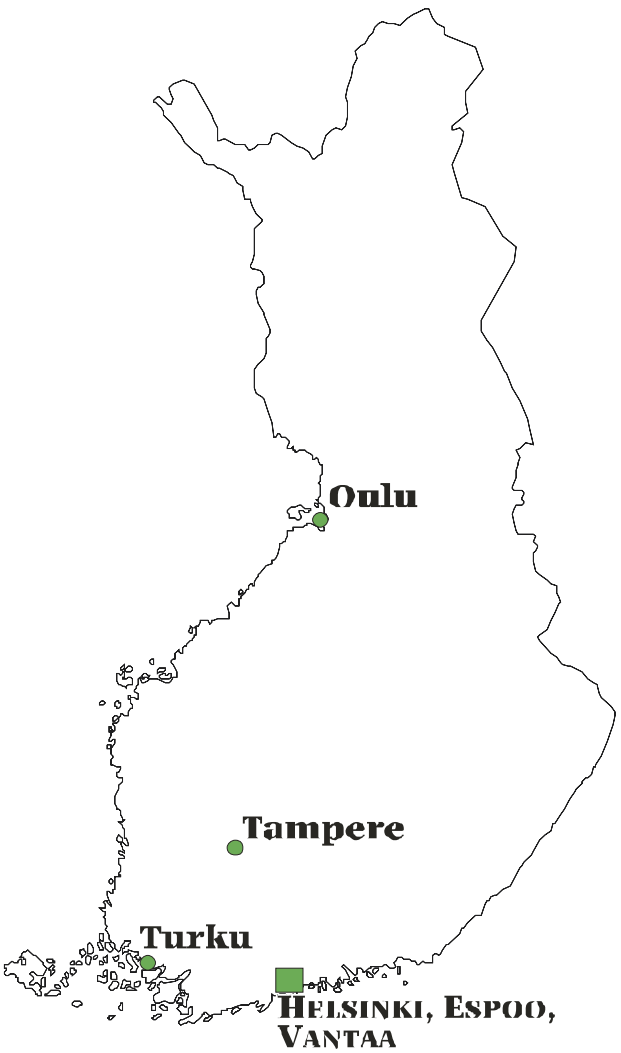
HELSINGIN KAUPUNGIN TIETOKESKUS • CITY OF HELSINKI URBAN FACTS

Major cities in Finland



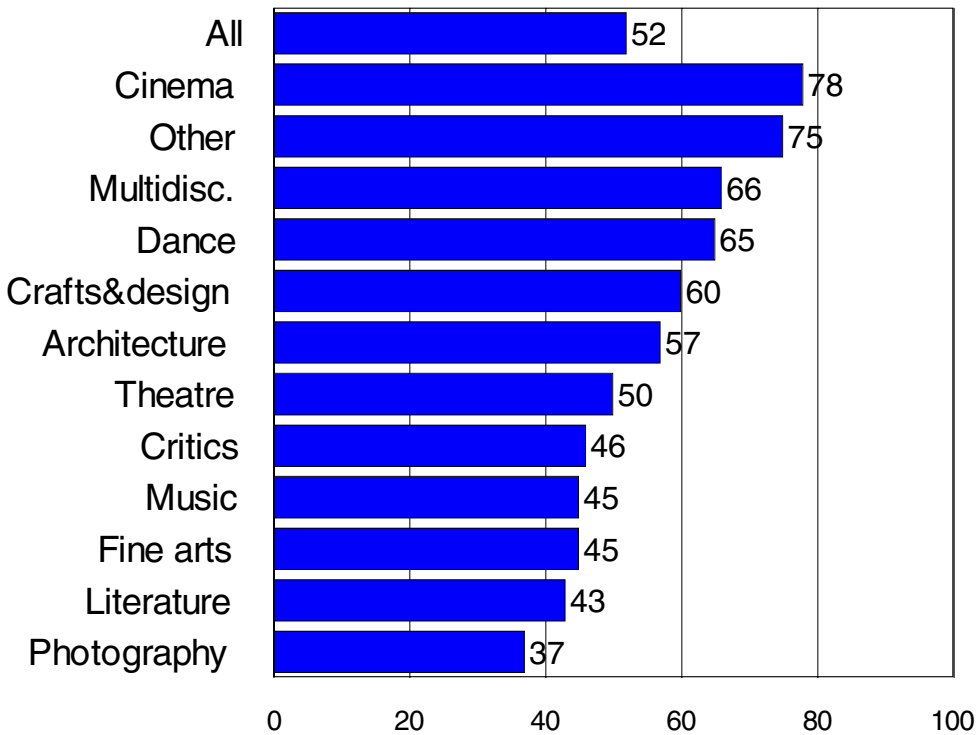
September 20th, 2002

HELSINGIN KAUPUNGIN TIETOKESKUS • CITY OF HELSINKI URBAN FACTS

Map of Europe

September 20th, 2002

1. The proportion (%) of members of artists' associations 1) living in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area in 2000



1) All in all 16 611 persons were members of Finnish artist associations. Of these 1 201 (7%) were members of more than one association.

Source: Karhunen Paula: Statistics on the number of Finnish artists. Facts and figures 1/2002. Arts Council of Finland.

September 20th, 2002

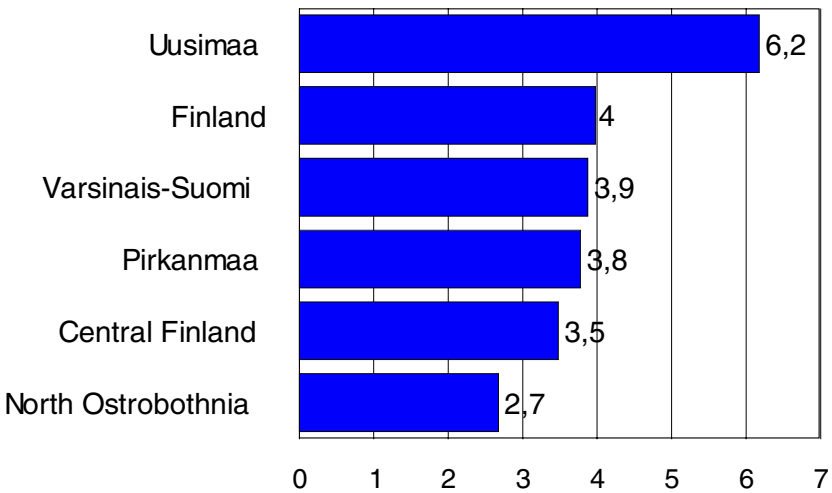
2. Students, qualifications and degrees in the educational sector of art in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area 2000

Educational level and field	Students	Females	Qualifications and degrees	Females
		%		%
Vocational education				
Crafts and design	192	76,0	24	91,7
Communication and visual art	352	51,7	66	42,4
Music	148	27,7	19	31,6
Theatre and dance	14	100,0	14	100,0
Art total	706	54,2	123	56,9
Metropolitan area of Finland, %	8,0		6,7	
Polytechnic education				
Crafts and design	496	80,4	110	90,9
Communication and visual art	432	50,7	11	63,6
Music	333	50,5	-	-
Theatre and dance	72	68,1	-	-
Art total	1 333	62,6	121	88,4
Metropolitan area of Finland, %	15,1		6,6	
University-level education				
Industrial arts	1 580	60,3	236	62,7
Music	1 437	54,8	158	66,5
Theatre and dance	333	51,7	54	53,7
Visual art	216	58,8	51	62,7
Art total	3 566	57,2	499	62,9
Metropolitan area of Finland, %	81,2		86,3	
Metropolitan area, total	**5 605**	**58,1**	**743**	**66,1**
Metropolitan Area's share of Finland, %	**30,7**	**27,0**	**25,8**	**24,7**

Source. Finnish educational institutions 2000. Statistics Finland.

September 20th, 2002

3. Employed labour force in cultural industries as a proportion of all employed by region of domicile 1999

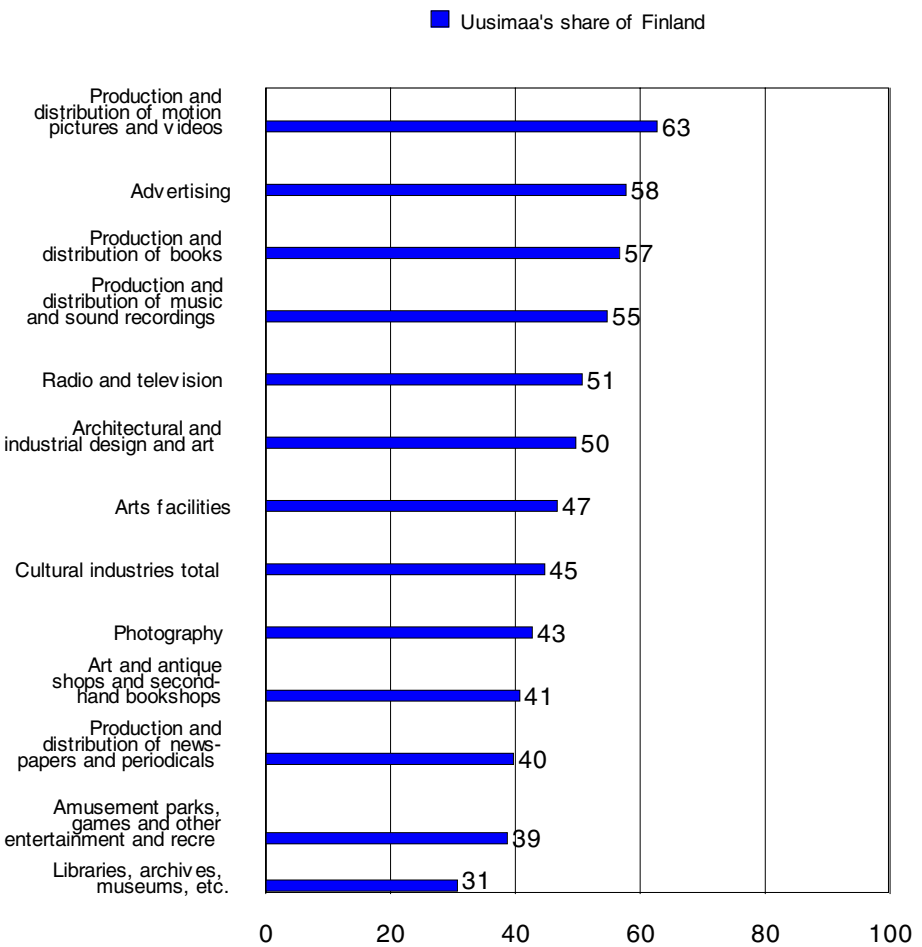


Source. Cultural statistics 2001.
Statistics Finland.

(Finland: 87 379 employees, the Uusimaa county 39 579 employees).

September 20th, 2002

4. Employed labour force in the Uusimaa county in cultural industries 1999



Source. Cultural statistics 2001.
Statistics Finland.

September 20th, 2002

5. Jobs in content production in Helsinki and in Finland on 31. December 1999

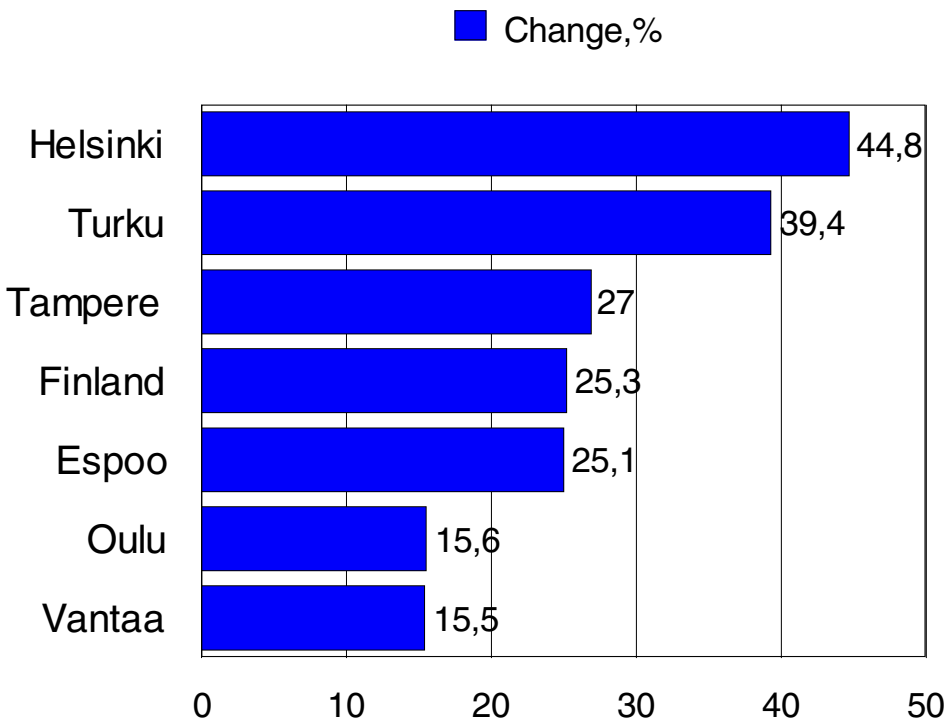
SIC-95	Jobs in Helsinki	Share of Finland, %	Concentration index	Jobs in Finland
Information sector[1], broadly defined	**61 429**	**31,2**	**190**	**196 905**
Content production, broadly defined	**36 250**	**37,9**	**231**	**95 581**
Publishing	6 830	39,1	238	17 477
Market research and public opinion polling	1 123	57,6	351	1 949
Business and management consultancy activities	3 514	46,5	283	7 564
Advertising	3 957	52,7	321	7 507
Motion picture and video activities	1 121	59,8	364	1 874
Radio and television activities	5 169	69,4	422	7 447
News agency activities	346	78,6	479	440
Printing	3 031	20,3	124	14 925
Reproduction of recorded media	121	53,5	326	226
Renting of videotapes	51	14,8	90	344
Research and development	4 905	31,7	193	15 462
Secreterial and translation services	985	35,3	215	2 788
Other entertainment activities	3 047	37,5	228	8 127
Library, archives, museums and other activities	2 050	21,7	132	9 451

[1] The information sector consists of three classes, i.e. the production of goods, production of services and content production (for details, consult Statistics Finland's publication On the Road to the Finnish Information SocietyIII (Helsinki 2001).

Source. Regional employment statistics. Statistics Finland.

HELSINGIN KAUPUNGIN TIETOKESKUS • CITY OF HELSINKI URBAN FACTS

6. Job growth within content production from 1993 till 1999

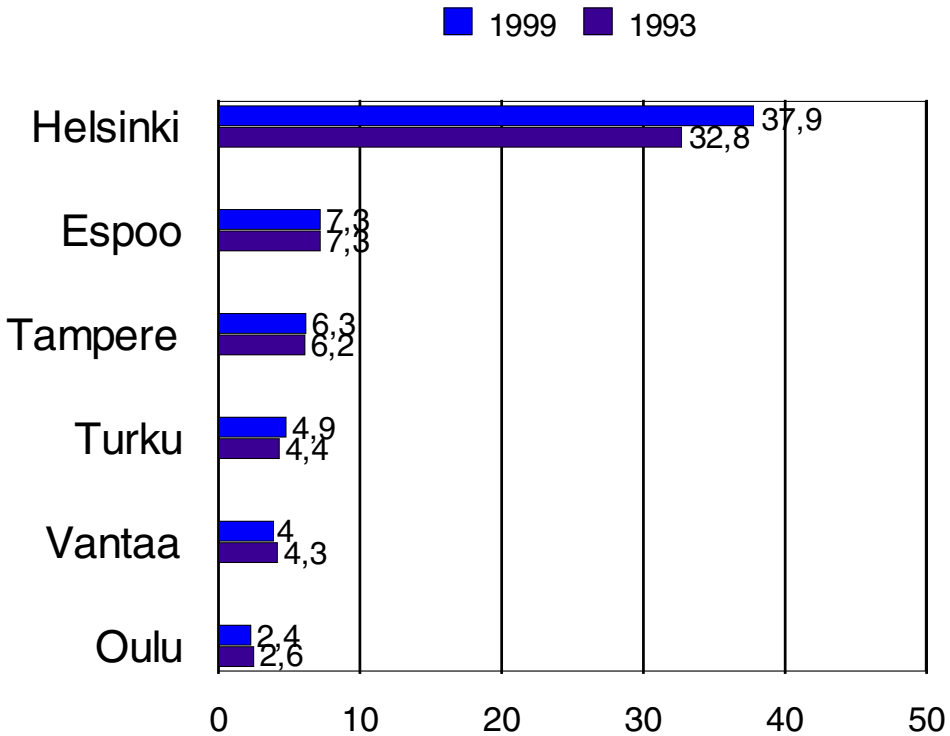


Source: City of Helsinki Urban Facts and Statistics Finland

September 20th, 2002

HELSINGIN KAUPUNGIN TIETOKESKUS • CITY OF HELSINKI URBAN FACTS

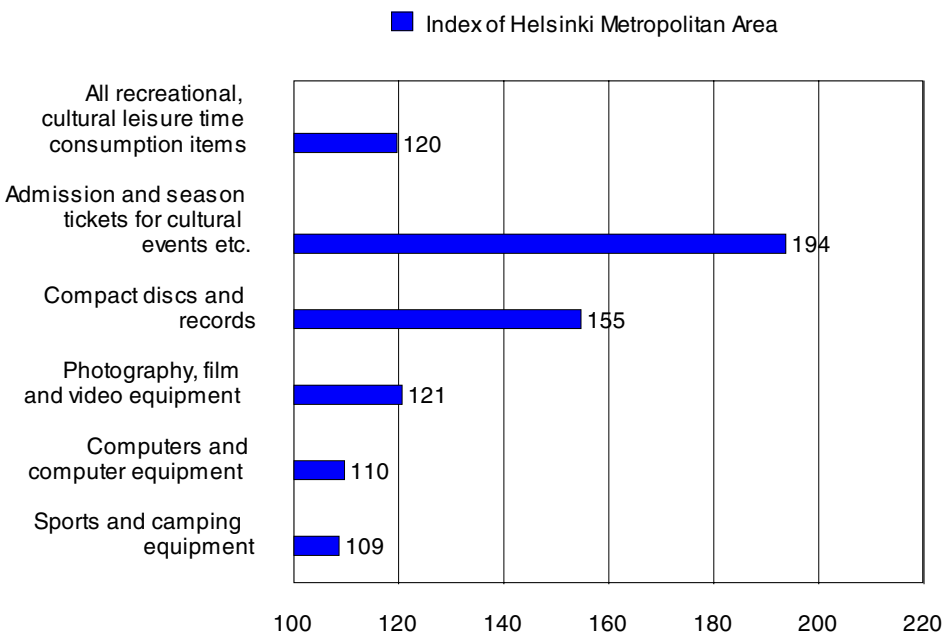
7. Content production in major Finnish cities. Share (%) of Finland 1993 and 1999



Source: City of Helsinki Urban Facts and Statistics Finland.

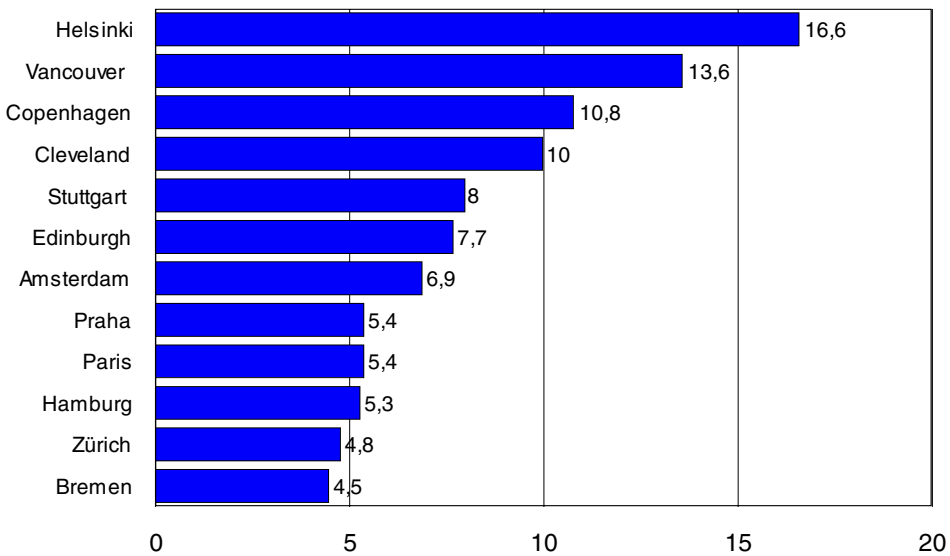
September 20th, 2002

8. Household consumption expenditure on some recreational,cultural and leisure items 1998. Index comparison of Helsinki Metropolitan Area and Finland.



Source. The Finnish Household Consumption Survey. 1999.
The average consumption of households in the Metropolitan Area on all recreational, cultural and leisure items was 15 993 FIM.

9. Library loans per inhabitant in Helsinki and selected cities 2000



Source. Intamel.

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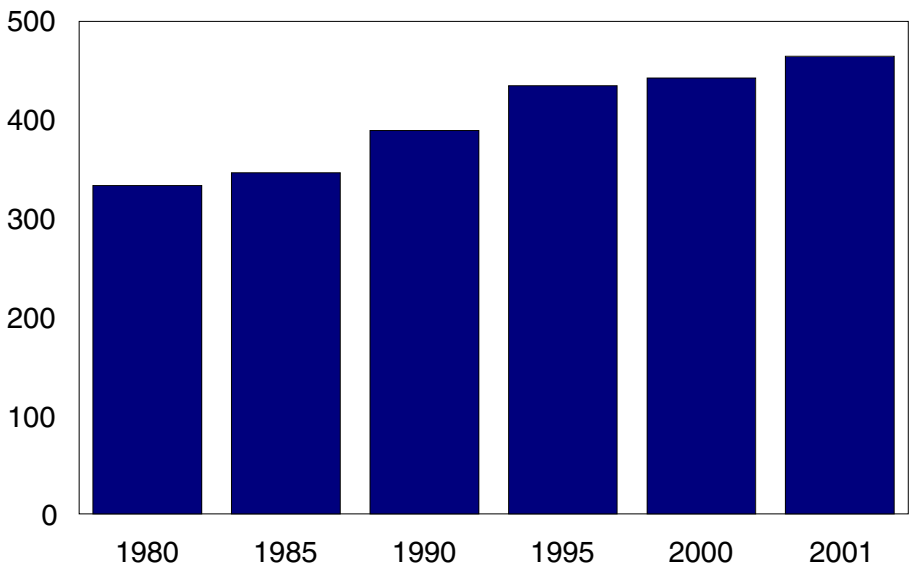
10. City library loans in Helsinki

Loans per 1 000 inhabitants



Source. Statistical Yearbook of the City of Helsinki.
City of Helsinki Urban Facts.

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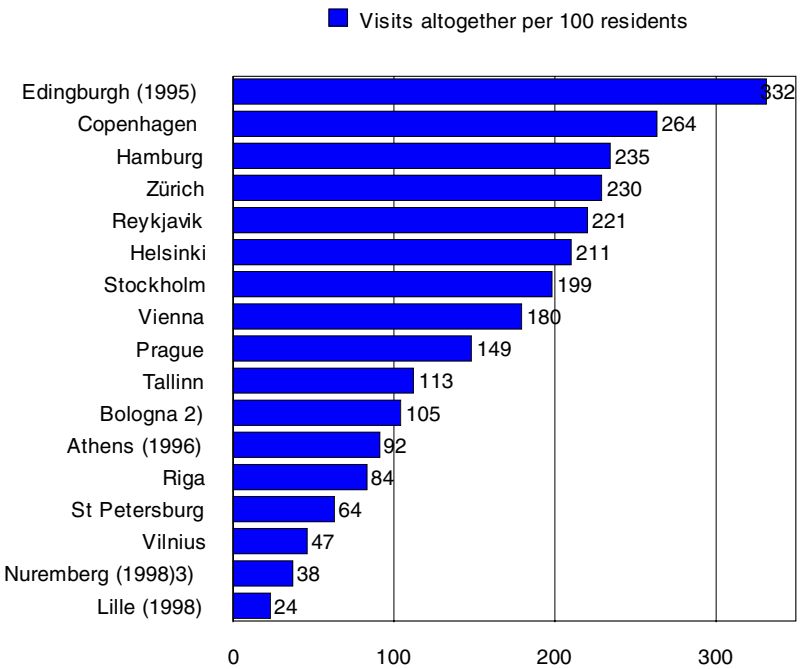
11. Theatre visits 1), 1997

Theatres denote all theatres (dance theatre, puppet theatre,opera etc)



1) Incl. persons attending performances of visiting theatres
2) Only persons attending performances.
3) Only theatres of the city.

Source. Arts and Culture 1999. Statistics 1999:15, City of Helsinki Urban Facts.

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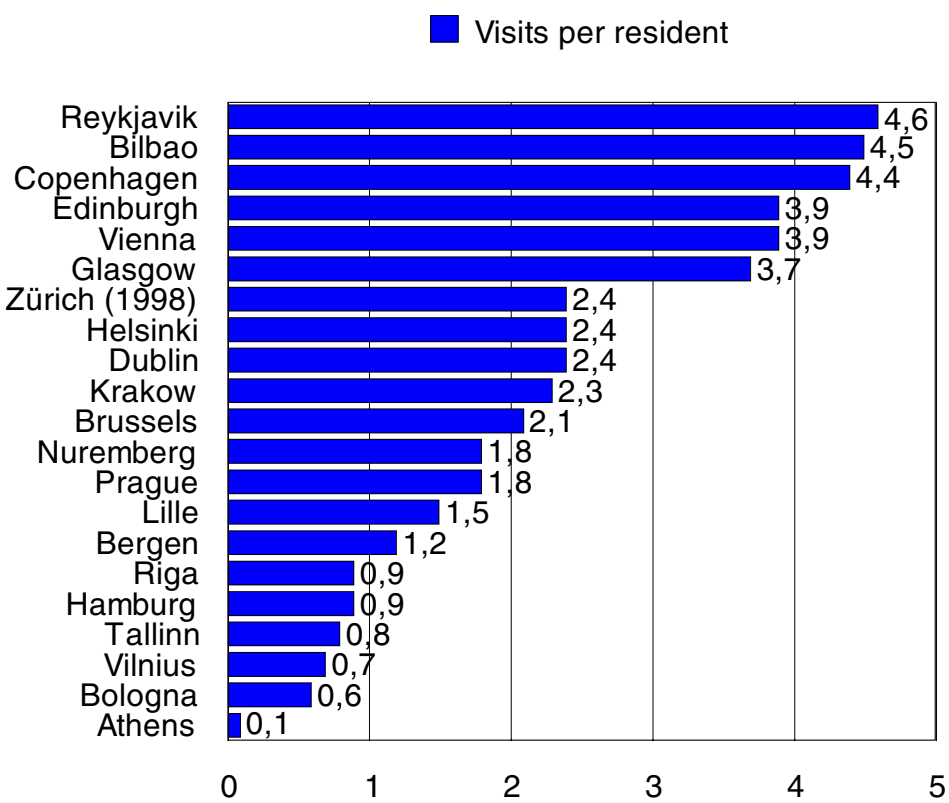
12. Museum visit, 1997

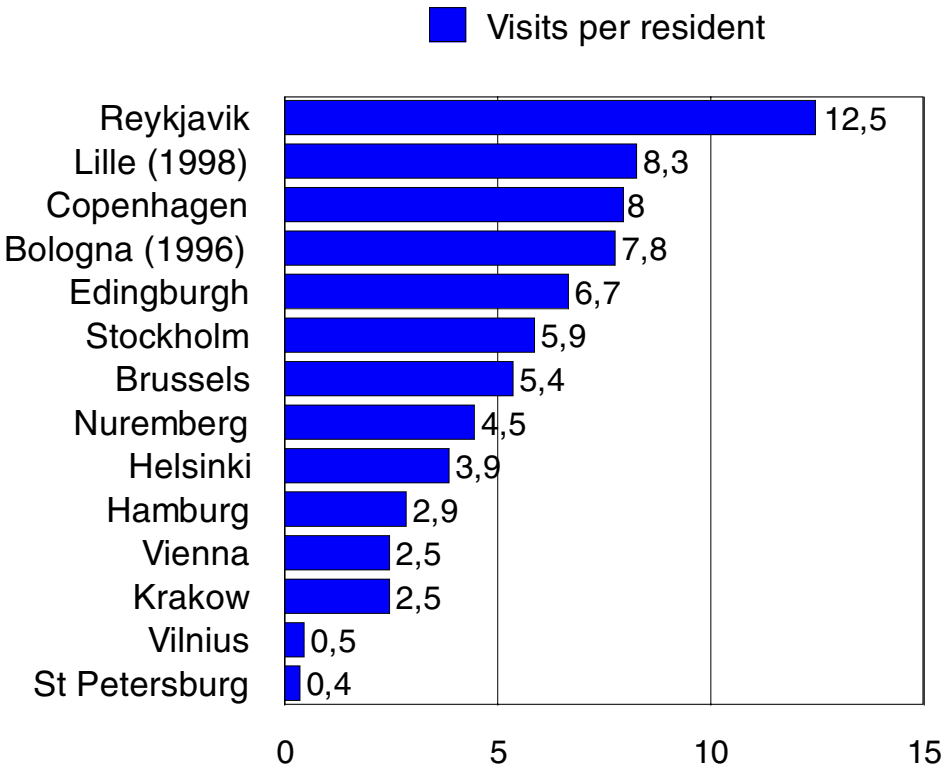


Source. Arts and Culture 1999. Statistics 1999:15, City of Helsinki Urban Facts.

September 20th, 2002

HELSINGIN KAUPUNGIN TIETOKESKUS • CITY OF HELSINKI URBAN FACTS

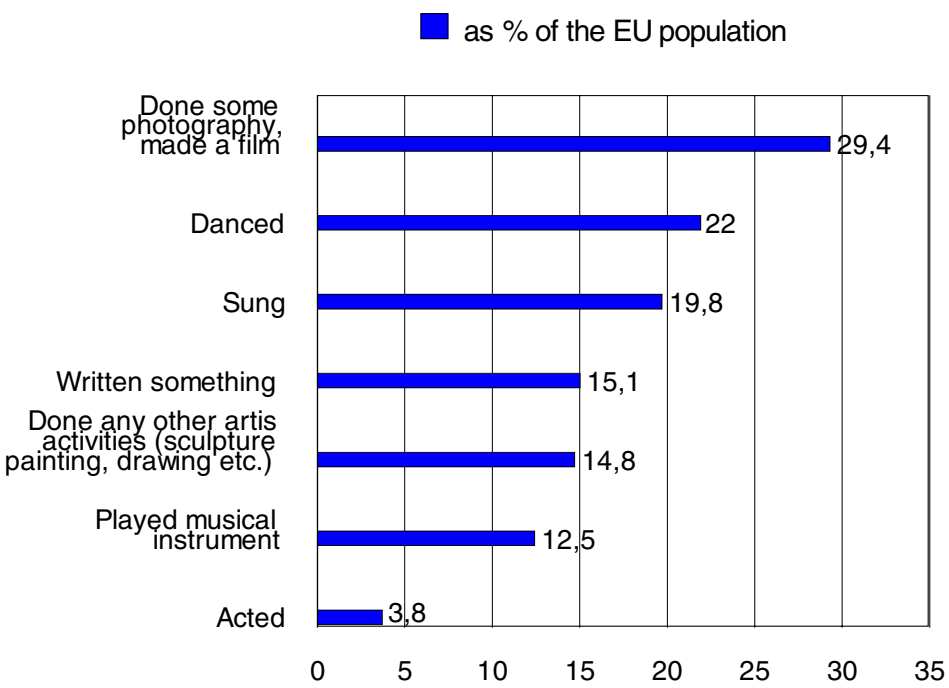
13. Cinema visits, 1997



Source. Arts and Culture 1999. Statistics 1999:15,
City of Helsinki Urban Facts.

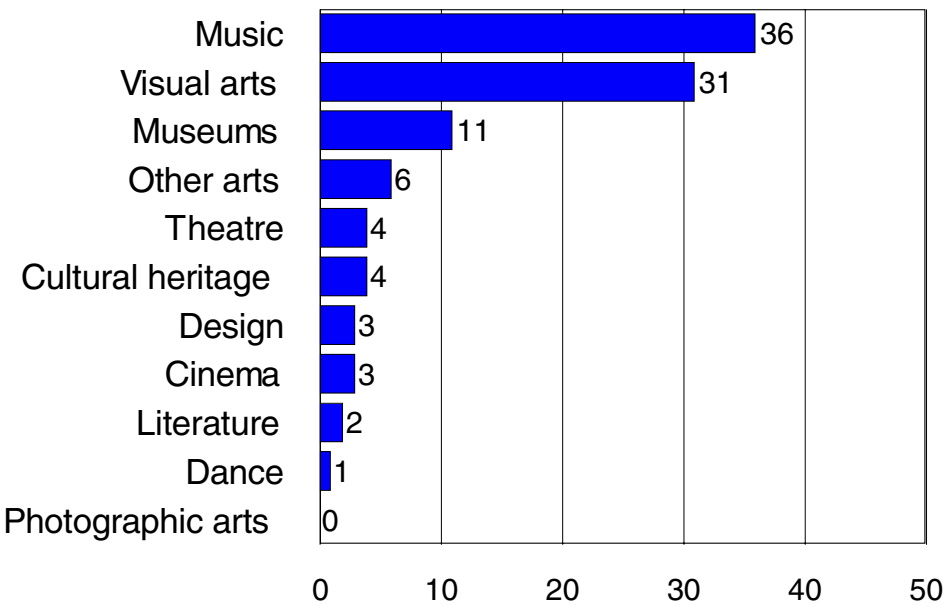
September 20th, 2002

14. Practicing artistic activities in the European Union



Source. Europeans' participation in cultural activities.
A Eurobarometer survey carried out at the request
of the European Commission, Eurostat. April 2002.

15. Percentage of total company support in Finland received by different art forms and heritage in 1999



Source. Facts about the Arts.
Arts Council of Finland.
Publication no. 27. Helsinki 2001.

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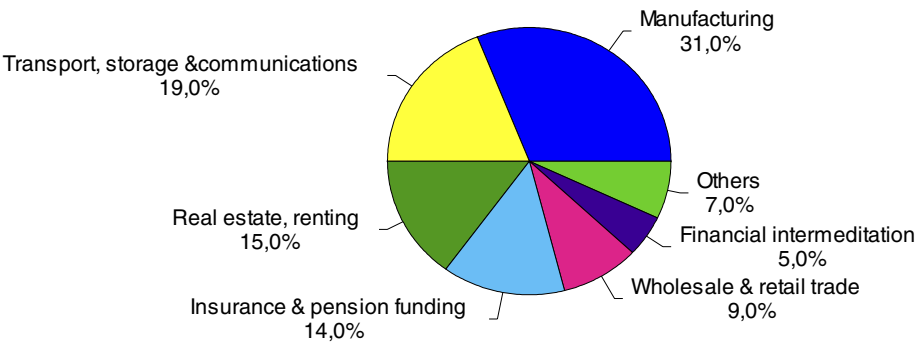
16. Company support for the arts in Finland by type of company in 1999

(Total amount 8,157,00 Euros)



Source.Facts about the Arts.
Arts Council of Finland.
Publication no. 27. Helsinki 2001.

Conférence de clôture

Mercredi, 23 octobre 2002

Closing Address

Wednesday, October 23, 2002

Conférencière

Lecturer

Denise Lievesley UNESCO, Director of Institute for Statistics, Montréal, Canada

Power Point Presentation of Ms. Lievesley

- Thanks to everyone here for rich debate.
- UIS developing new programme.
- This is an important part of the research and consultation exercise.
- Advice/feedback welcome to Diane Stukel: d.stukel@unesco.org.

Functions of the UIS

- Collection and dissemination of cross-nationally comparable data on culture.
- Technical capacity building within countries for users and producers of data.
- Facilitating countries to learn from one another, providing a forum for debate of relevant issues.
- Analysis and interpretation of international data (often in partnership with others).
- Special methodological and technical projects; conceptual development; establishment and maintenance of international classifications.
- Centralisation of statistical work in UNESCO, quality assurance.

The reasons for establishing the Institute

- To centralise and promote statistical work in UNESCO.
- To provide a focal point within UNESCO for relations with outside agencies, as 'lead' agency for education, science, technology, culture and communications.
- To co-ordinate statistical capacity building activities in Member States.
- To improve the quality and policy relevance of statistical systems.
- To promote evidence-based policy nationally and internationally (recognising the complexity of the relationship between research and policy).

UNESCO Review of Statistics and Indicators on Culture across the World

Objectives

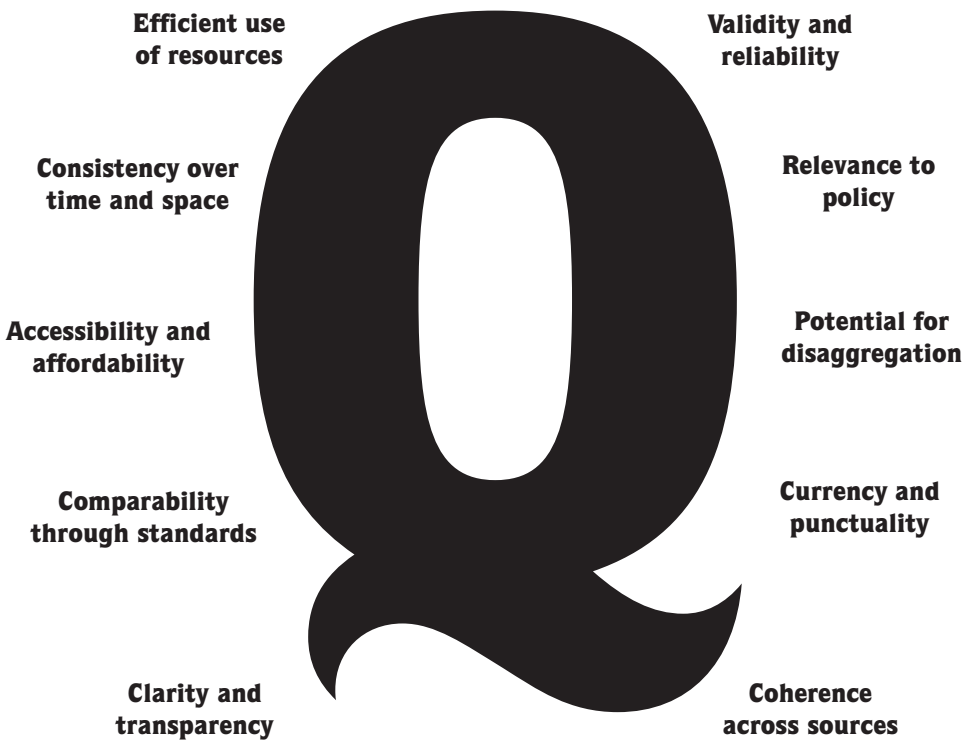
- To review priority cultural policy information needs.
- To examine existing statistical and indicator systems on culture (focussing on what UNESCO has achieved in the past and the problems involved, and on what is being carried out by other agencies).
- To identify key areas for future development of statistics on culture.
- To define the future role and strategy of the UIS.
- "Lead agency" brings responsibilities to ensure the needs of a wide community are met.

- Importance too of focussing on UNESCO 's role.
  - promoting understanding;
  - countering prejudice and cultural imperialism;
  - empowering "ordinary" people;
  - reducing inequities in access and opportunities;
  - fostering a sense of identity, and social cohesion;
  - valuing cultural diversity - recognising that shoes are different from operas;
  - improving the quality of life.

UNESCO Institute for Statistics

- semi-autonomous;
- own governing board;
- limited resources but;
- free to seek external funding;
- cross-cutting work encouraged both in relation to UNESCO cross-cutting themes (poverty alleviation, and the use of ICT) and more generally.

Quality of data



How to improve the quality of data received from countries

- Consult countries and engage in partnership.
- Be temperate in data requests.
- Identify key data needs.
- Embed data requests in statistical capacity building.
- Deliver information on data quality, promote good practice.
- Show that data quality is taken seriously at UNESCO.
- Enter into a dialogue about data which appear wrong.
- Refuse to publish dubious data or publish with a footnote.
- Promote international discussions on data quality.
- Co-ordinate with other agencies and share meta data.
- Get the data used.

Ensuring greater policy relevance of data we collect

- Analysis must be problem driven NOT data driven.
- Partnerships required between UIS staff and culture policy experts.
- Data must achieve a balance between long time series for benchmarking and flexible systems which can address current concerns.
- We must also achieve a balance between country specific data and internationally comparable data.
- Good meta data are vital as is sound interpretation (as "data do not speak for themselves").
- Feedback loops are essential from user to producer.

Principles underpinning the work of the UIS...

- Data should not be collected for their own sake but because they are needed for policy purposes.
- Countries should be fully involved in determining what data should be collected, with what frequency and how.
- Response burden on countries should be minimised.
- Co-ordination with other international agencies is paramount.
- Methodology should be used which is appropriate to the circumstances.
- Data collection requires resources, and expertise (so the technical capacity building must be integrated with the data strategy).

- Data are owned by countries and they should be assisted in making use of them.
- Data should be collected and used in a way that is culturally sensitive and recognises that they are culturally grounded.

Challenges facing us

- To identify issues of relevance across very different parts of the world.
- To build on the work of regional initiatives (to meet the needs of both cutting and trailing edge countries).
- To improve quality of data received from countries.
- To balance the need for independent data of authority and country ownership.

Comparability

- Should we choose to avoid it? and only work at the national level?
- Or do we seek to harmonise data and concepts in order to provide cross-national data?

Why – Purpose of cross-national data

- To provide the global or regional picture
  - for advocacy;
  - resource mobilisation (at global and regional level);
  - accountability of governments.
- For purposes of comparison
  - learning from one another - to show what can be achieved;
  - benchmarking;
  - act as a catalyst for debate.

Tension between nationally specific and cross-nationally comparable data

Dangers of comparison

- Spurious comparability.
- Becomes competitive.
- Over-simplification
  - Therefore should we avoid over-emphasis on small number of indicators?
  - But key indicators can raise the profile of the subject and are in favour with many politicians.

So what might a UIS programme of work on culture statistics comprise?

- Small core of data collected from as many countries as possible.
- Technical capacity building to underpin these core data and to improve their quality.
- Special methodological projects with a small number of volunteer countries to examine particular research questions.
- Partnership (eg with UNESCO culture sector on specific work).
- Fostering networks to develop the field and promote greater awareness of relevant research especially in relation to the transfer of knowledge across nations.

So can we reach agreement on a core set of data?

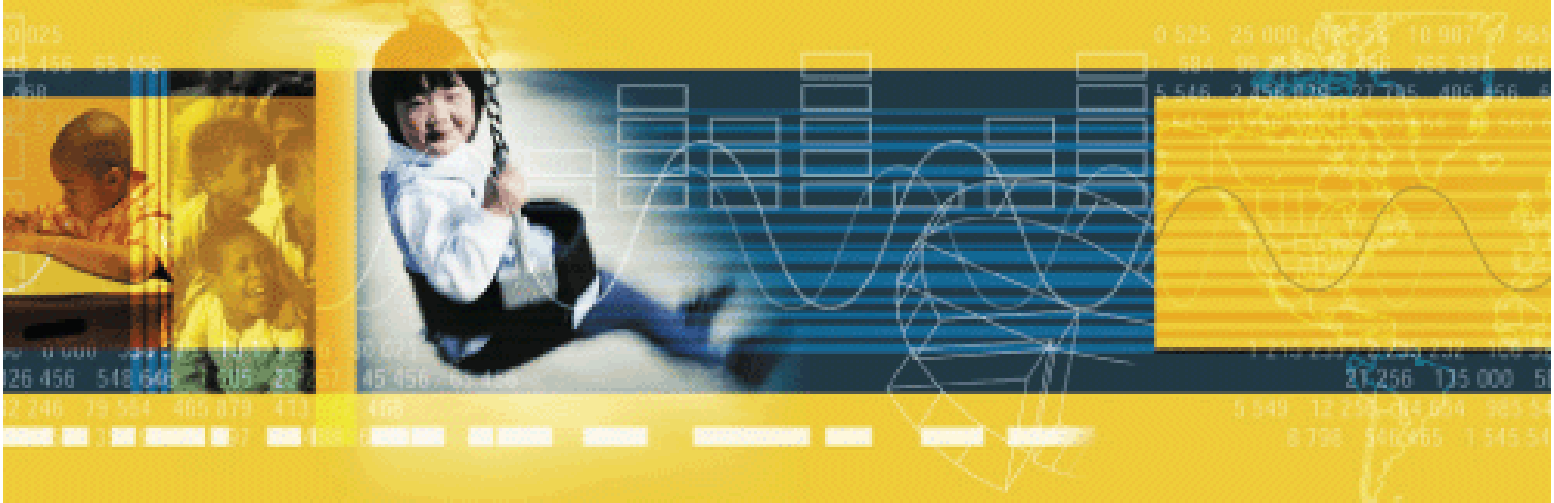
Economists have come to feel
what can't be measured, isn't real.
The truth is always an amount.
Count numbers, only numbers count.

- Statistics give visibility, convey importance.
- But some issues are difficult to define unambiguously and to permit measurability.
- Responsibility for future generations because our data will become the baseline.
- Need to ensure that the changes over time and between groups/ countries are not artefacts of the measurement procedures.
- And that data are not treated as error or context free.
- Resources are needed for methodological work on definitions (inclusive, floating or with boundaries anchored).
- Are relative measures more robust than absolute measures?
- What cross-national research can be exploited *(plagiarism to be encouraged !)* and what partnerships fostered*?*
- Recognise that gaps in data are information and therefore try to establish why the gaps exist.
- To what extent should we put resources into developing a framework or should we be content with a patchwork quilt?
- The UIS is not a primary data collector.
- We are dependent upon existing data.
- Or on influencing what should be collected in the future.
- Cultural data often nationally specific.
- No obvious counterpart to the UIS in many countries.
- Data sources often biased.

Positive aspects

- Many regional and sub-regional initiatives to draw upon.
- Plus other co-operative ventures.
- Some cross-national sources do exist.
- We seem to have a lot of consensus regarding the priorities (employment, participation, contribution to the economy, financing, social value).
- Concern that to date there has been a concentration on things we can count.
  - on the more formal aspects of culture;
  - and a bias towards the developed countries.

HOW DO WE ENSURE THAT THE CORE DATA REFLECT THE DIVERSE CULTURAL SYSTEMS WE ARE ANXIOUS TO PROTECT?



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