

EVOLUTIONS OF THE CULTURAL POLICY

Romania from 1989 to 2006

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ARGUMENT

At international level, culture has become more and more important. The European Union turned from a strictly economical project, into a political and cultural one. Unity in diversity, individual cultural rights, as human fundamental rights, but also diversity and tolerance towards “other”, cultures are the linking elements, the elements of social cohesion – the directory forces of the international cultural area. The countries become preoccupied with their image, with building national identity. A process started more than a century ago, became nowadays a priority on the political agenda. And this definition of their identity is given through culture. In post communist countries, still, culture has been marginalized; the economical and political transition has excluded the cultural aspect of the society. On the other hand, in the Eastern European area, the cultural conscience of the country should have been reconstructed: from the idea of the state as a censor, who constraints and indoctrinates, towards a state that dialogues that communicates on cultural purposes. The state involvement in the cultural area is possible through cultural policy – part of public policies. The states’ role is not anymore to dictate the culture, as it was during the communist period, but to encourage cultural life through educating the public and through providing favourable conditions for the artistic expression.

Romanian post communist reality needed a re-evaluation, a revising, of the role played by the state on the cultural scene. During the change of the state’s role into cultural area in post communist Romania, the cultural policy was the one that reflected the best the evolution of the relationship between state and culture. The cultural policy should have been imported and adapted to Romanian national specific features, still under the post communist trauma. To adapt Romanian national cultural policy to the West European trends, the outer interference, as that of the Council of Europe and of the European Union, have had a major importance in Romanian cultural policy statement and reinforcing. Both the Council of Europe and the EU influenced the present Romanian cultural policy.

I analyse in this paper the evolution from different points of view of the Romanian cultural policy from 1989 to 2006. The effort put into the emergence of a coherent cultural policy was considerable, taking into consideration the fact that only in the year 2000 one could talk about a real cultural policy in Romania. Gudrun Pehn says in his work *Networking Culture* that “cultural policy should become an element of general policy, operating at local and national level”. I would like to add the operability of cultural policy at international level as well. In this research, an analysis is performed at these three levels – local, national and international and I would try to highlight how cultural policies evolved and how they were implemented. At the same time, I tried to underline the reforms issued at institutional level and the financing system related to culture, because those two aspects have had an ascendant trajectory.

This research does not propose an analysis of the cultural segments, but a general overview of culture and the implications that the public authority, being central / national or local, has on stating and implementing the cultural policy. Also, I have stressed the role played by the independent sector in formulating and implementing the cultural policy. The relationship between the state and the third sector has to be based on communication, consultation and dialogue. “An attempt has to be made to re-establish the bridges between the performers and the governance, and between different sectors. Nevertheless, it should not be based on confrontation, but on extent mobility: knowing who is on turn, who is carrying the energy, at what level and in which manners different actors interact.”¹

Although I consecrated some pages to the explanation of the terminology used in the phrase “cultural policy”, this paper does not want to analyse neither the “policy”, nor the “culture”. I used a minimum definition of these two terms to have a starting point in explaining the “cultural policy”. Also, this subject of cultural policy is a current issue in the international agenda and in the Romanian one too. Concerning the temporal dimension of the paper,

¹ Gudrun Pehn, *Networking Culture. The Role of European Cultural Networks*, Council of Europe Publishing, 1999, p. 67

respectively 1990 – 2006, I have to mention that I did not want to make a comparative analysis communism period – post-communist period, but an analysis of the evolution recorded in Romania after 1989 in the cultural policy area.

1. A Definition of Cultural Policy

To define “cultural policy”, I will start with a minimal definition of the two terms of the phrase, and then I will try to define the cultural policy through them. Both terms “policy” and “culture” denominate very complex and different realities, taking into consideration the perspective through which they are analysed and defined, but also the contexts where they are used. Combining two complex terms, ambiguous in definition, it can not result but a concept which is more complicated to define and more complex. Though, cultural policy will be presented from the point of view of how it “affects” the culture, respectively from the point of view of the financial system and of legal framework corresponding to the cultural area. I will underline that cultural policy can not be defined exclusively from the “policy” or/and “culture” perspective, but through the inter-correlation of these two areas of any society. Cultural policy must be analysed more than the “policy” and “culture” in their strictly political and cultural sense.

1.1. “Policy” as Government

The word “policy” means in the first case everything related to the state organization. This is what Foucault named the “government”². Related to policy definition through this perspective of government, policy has three main directions, according to Foucault’s theory. The first one, through the government is called “the ensemble of institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations and tactics which permit the exercise of this very specific complex of power that has as target the population, as the main expression of knowledge, the political

² Michel Foucault, apud. Barker, Chris, *Cultural Studies-Theory and Practice*, Sage Publications, Londra, 2000, p. 367

economy, and as essential technical instruments, the security systems.” Thus, policy represents a complex system where the main element is the power exercised on a subject, respectively the population, through different methods, represented by tactics and strategies, and institutions. From the second and third perspective, policy is not seen anymore as a mechanism of power exercise, but as a conceptualization and a pure institutional and administrative construction. “The trend that for a long time and in the whole Western area always led to a pre-eminence above all other forms (sovereignty, discipline etc.) of this kind of power which could be named governance, came, on the one hand, from the building of a set of specific governmental instruments, and, on the other hand, from the development of complex knowledge. The process, or better the result of this process, through which the legal state in the Middle Ages turned into the administrative state during the 15th and the 16th century, gradually related to the *government*”³. The three perspectives of Foucault’s definition can be resumed as a leader mechanism in one state, including the institutional and the legislative part, and also the administrative aspect.

But the concept of policy can be perceived out of the “government” framework, generally speaking, as tactics, as modality of approaching a situation, defined in general as a set of principles, of rules applied in a certain system, to achieve a specific goal. In this case we can speak about organizational policy, the policy of economic agents and not only these ones. The policies of companies are oriented nowadays more and more towards the cultural area; culture has become an environment through which the company sells its image, on the one hand, and also, on the other hand, through patronage actions. The company, given a small part of its income to culture, attaches to its name, to its brand, a part of the cultural heritage. Although it is very interesting to see how this shift of economic agents was made towards the cultural sphere and how culture became one of the promotion environments for them, I would not go deeper in this matter. I will focus the research on the concept of cultural policy, in the sense of governance and the public authority action in the field of culture.

³ Foucault, apud. Barker, Chris, *Cultural Studies-Theory and Practice*, Sage Publications, Londra, 2000, p. 367

1.2. Culture: Way of Life and Artistic Expression Way

The concept of culture has had numerous definitions, from customs and beliefs, to science and language, from way of behaviour to products of human activity, from social and political institutions to religion. In my approach to define political culture, I will start from the anthropological, social definition of culture given by Raymond Williams. Raymond Williams perceives the culture from two perspectives. “We use the word culture in these two meanings: to designate a full way of life – common senses; to designate arts and learning process – special processes of discovery and creative effort”⁴. Speaking about these common meanings, Raymond Williams refers especially to those constitutive and designing elements for a society: “The society building is based on finding the common senses and the common directions, and its growing is an active debate and an improvement under the pressure of experience, of contact, and of discovery, and all these are written by themselves on the ground.”⁵ Culture as way of living was defined by Pierre Bourdieu using the term *habitus*⁶, where some social communities share the same distinct trends in their way of life, have the same preferences and the same characteristics in the process of expressing social identity, through a personal culture. This *habitus* is synonymous with “common sense” characteristics of culture in Raymond Williams’s definition. Culture seen as “arts” represents the external expression of culture as way of life. Culture as “arts” is not seen anymore as a system, but fragmented. Culture is split in different activity fields, as visual arts, theatre, dance, music, cinema, architecture and urbanism, patrimony, book publishing⁷. The artistic expression, under any of its expression forms, is nothing else than a reflection of interior feelings of the artist, and this, on its turn,

⁴ Raymond Williams, *Culture is Ordinary*, in Ann Gray and Jim McGuigan- *Studying Culture- an Introductory Reader*, Ed. Edward Arnold, 1993, p. 6

⁵ Ibid. Williams, Raymond- p. 6

⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, *Structures, Habitus, Power: Basis for a Theory of Symbolic Power*, p. 155, in Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, and Sherry B. Ortner (editors), *Culture, Power, History- A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*

⁷ The culture areas are taken from *Guide du secteur culturel roumain- Un panorama en faveur de la cooperation culturelle*, Oana Radu and Ștefania Ferchedău, Ecumest, 2006

more or less conscientious, is under the action or under the pressure of the society to which it is affiliated.

These visions on culture, whether “common sense”, or *habitus*, but also “arts”, all of them are specified in what UNESCO, in Mexico City Declaration in 1982, defined “cultural identity”: “Every culture represents a unique and irreplaceable body of values since each people's traditions and forms of expression are its most effective means of demonstrating its presence in the world.”⁸ Culture, from this perspective is integrated in an “extrovert” defining system. If the “common sense” of Raymond Williams and Bourdieus *habitus* focused more on finding the lost identity, and culture as way of life defined identity, but for a specific culture only, in the UNESCO perspective, culture is the instrument through which identity becomes popular for the “others”⁹. The ways through which culture, as way of life of a society, is accessible and accessed by the “others”, are also represented by culture, but, in this case, with “arts” meaning. Culture has to be perceived by an inner eye, as way of life, and projected outside, as arts.

1.3. Cultural Policy

With culture entering the political actions area, cultural policy comes to life. Before analysing the cultural policy through the two terms combination and analysing those two terms together, we should see why culture was introduced in the politics area. Politics, as I have already mentioned, has as target the population; it is responsible for everything that is related to this target. Culture enters under the incidence of politics, because culture is the one that designates the social way of life, and the area of politics comprises and is oriented especially towards the community life, towards society. The European Declaration on Cultural Objectives begins with

⁸ Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies, World Conference on Cultural Policies Mexico City, 26 July - 6 August 1982, http://www.unesco.org/culture/laws/mexico/html_eng/page1.shtml

⁹ For defining the concept of the „others“, I use the Hegelian definition: „each is for the other the term through which it mediates itself; and each is, for itself, a being of itself that, in the same time, is like this only through this mediation. They recognize themselves only mutually recognizing each other.” Georg W. Friedrich Hegel, Phenomenology of Spirit, in *Uses of the Other- “the East” in European Identity Formation*, Iver B. Neumann, Manchester University Press, 1999, p. 2

the impact that culture has on humanity development, “taking into consideration the significant role that culture and those values that give sense to our existence and to the humanity acts”¹⁰ The introduction of culture in the politics area, this relationship between policy and culture, is not unidirectional, politics – culture, how it could appear at first sight, but it is a bidirectional one, in both ways of reading this equation: politics – culture and culture – politics. Politics are, on their turn, influenced by a certain way of life, by a certain culture of the population, of course in democratic societies.

Starting from these two meanings of culture in the definition we have used here, we can define the relationship between culture and politics on the one hand aesthetically, on the other hand anthropologically. “Culture is connected to politics in two registers: aesthetic and anthropological. In the aesthetic register, artistic production rises from creative people and it is judged through aesthetic criteria, framed by the interest and the practices of cultural criticism and history. In this world, culture is taken as a landmark of differences and similarities in taste and status within the social groups. The anthropologic register, on the other hand, understands culture as a landmark of the way in which we live our lives, a landmark of place significations and of what is making us human beings – neither individual, nor totally universal, but founding us on a language, religion, customs, time, and space.”¹¹ Therefore, culture has to be constituted, as Tony Bennett shows, as “a special space of governance and of social regulation”, and cultural studies have this duty.¹²

Taking into consideration the first meaning of the term culture as way of life, what cultural policy should do is to search, to express and to develop those common points characteristic of the community, the *habitus*, and those common meanings of one group. Max Baumann’s affirmation on music referring to the relationship between culture and cultural policy, “ethno musical values and judgment formulation must be expressed through cultural

¹⁰ Council of Europe, *European Declaration on Cultural Objectives*, adopted by the 4th Conference of European Ministers Responsible for Cultural Affairs, Berlin, 1984

¹¹ Cultural Policy, Toby Miller, George Yudice, Sage Publications Inc., 2002, p. 2

¹² Tony Bennett, *Culture: A reformer’s Science*, 1998, apud. Barker, Chris, *Cultural Studies-Theory and Practice*, Sage Publications, Londra, 2000, p. 367

policy”¹³ is available in all cultural fields. To formulate these values, through cultural policy one must construct, first of all, a partnership between political and societal structures, between politics class and cultural actors, starting from the artist to the public, but also a very close three-dimensional relationship between politics, economics and culture. Not only because they are inter dependent, but these three elements and the relationship between them, through cultural policy and its implementation, have a major impact on society development. Culture, being way of life, and the arts – constitutive part of social organization, the economic changes affect directly or indirectly the culture¹⁴. For that reason, cultural policy uses the partnership development, for building communicational networks between cultural creators, on the one hand, and national culture integration in a broader artistic space, on the other hand, and also the promotion of national identity through culture and cultural agents¹⁵.

Implications in development and expression of culture that the politics have, in the meaning of institutional structure, as legislator and administrator of social life, are multiple, politics present themselves between two polarities, from the point of view of the attitude towards culture, as Michel de Certeau characterises it. “Politics do not assure the wealth and do not give sense to things. Politics create or refuse the conditions of possibility. They interdict or permit: they make possible or impossible.”¹⁶ On the one hand, politics can be, for culture, a constraint and manipulative organ, as it happened during the communist period, when culture was the main instrument for propaganda. During communism, culture had a political and ideological importance. Through “fabrication” of culture as art, through imposing the communist ideology to the value-ideate level of culture, it was perverted by the state and it imposed a certain way of life. On the other hand, politics can sustain and stimulate culture, in the second meaning of the term in Raymond Williams’s definition, exactly the arts and the

¹³ Max Peter Baumann, *Traditional Music in the Focus of Cultural Policy*, in *Music in the Dialogue of Cultures: Traditional Music and Cultural Policy*, Florian Noetzel Verlag, Wilhelmshaven, p. 25

¹⁴ Raymond Williams, *Culture is Ordinary*, in Ann Gray and Jim McGuigan- *Studying Culture- an Introductory Reader*, Ed. Edward Arnold, 1993, p. 8

¹⁵ „Through cultural agent we understand those who exercise one of the functions or the positions defined by de cultural field: creator, animator, critic, diffuser, consumer etc.” (Michel de Certeau, *La culture au pluriel*, Ed. Christian Bourgois, 1993, p. 169)

¹⁶ Michel de Certeau, *La culture au pluriel*, Christian Bourgois Editeur, 1993, p. 187

learning process, the creator and inventive act, through numerous modalities. One modality through which politics influences the art development and cultural manifestation generally speaking is the culture financing. But not only financing is important. Also, the legislative framework, the legal norms which are “offered” exclusively through the political demarches, actions and decisions represent a very important point of cultural policies.

In fact, these two characteristics of state, as financer and legislator, are the basis of cultural policies. Related to culture financing, a warning signal is raised in the report asked by the Council of Europe, *Inside the Culture*, where the authors underline the very labile limit between sustaining the culture and using it in other aims, out of the cultural ones: “Governments, always preoccupied by the political efficacy, could be tempted to change culture into an instrument of their strategies. At the same time, the cultural sector, always avid for resources, could accept to be treated extensively, out of its specific, authorizing finances with other motivations than the cultural ones (economy, creation of new jobs, tourism etc.)”¹⁷ it should not be understood from here that the use of culture for society development is criticised. On the contrary, culture as development is encouraged, sustained and promoted. The authors refer to the lost of culture specific features in the state manipulation, the utilitarian perspective of culture, but the excessive role of the state on culture. The government has to avoid the accusation of state art. “No government has the right to decide on the truth of scientific principles, or to determine the aesthetic value of artistic creations, nor to limit the forms of literary or artistic expression.”¹⁸ In this sense, cultural policy, where the state can remain the main financer of culture, has to be conceptualized so as to delimit the influence purely politically on the cultural act and product. Also, excessive intervention of the state in the cultural area can produce, as Corina Şuteu remarked, the „pollicisation” of culture. „States

¹⁷ *Inside the Culture* – a contribution to the debate on culture and development in Europe, synthetic version of a report prepared for Council of Europe by the European group for cultural action and development, version in Romanian language, under the aegis of Romanian Ministry of Culture, translation by Vladimir Simion, 2000, p. 27

¹⁸ Richard Feynman, apud. Francois Matarasso and Charles Landry, *21 Strategic Dilemmas of Cultural Policy*, 2000, p. 38

intervention, when extensive, could conduct to pollicisation of cultural content and sometimes to unhealthy interdependence between the general political measures and culture.”¹⁹

Cultural policy must develop and finance projects for artists’ support, for the creator act by itself, for preserving and promoting the cultural patrimony, and it also needs to be oriented towards the public. In this sense, cultural policy focuses more on investments than the development of cultural infrastructure, but also on the artists’ support and famous artistic companies and new comers – artists and cultural fields, like culture on the Internet, web design, generally speaking young and new culture. „Patrimony preservation, but also construction of a new patrimony, through prestigious buildings, buying or commanding art works constitutes the fundament of future generations. The state only is able to protect and to finance these future consumptions.”²⁰ On the other hand, cultural policy must invest in public education, in orienting it towards the cultural consumption and products, in the meaning of art, and also the facilitation of its access to culture.

All these directions, priority points of the state in the cultural field, concerning the creative act and the artist, must be established within the borders where the culture and the creator are not deprived by independence from the state, and more, within the borders where the freedom of expression is assured and guaranteed. Also, culture support by the state, financially or legislatively, must be understood as being made exclusively for the citizen. As Françoise Benhamou underlines, in *L’Economie de la culture*, the only favourable argument concerning the idea of pollicisation of culture is the education and the orientation of the citizen towards culture, with the result of improving individual life and the society. „Aesthetic pending of humans must be educated, as they will feel the wealth better. This beneficial effect is not

¹⁹ Corina Șuteu, *Cultural Policies in Transition. The Issue of Participation and the Challenge of Democracy*, in *The Arts, Politics and Change- Participative Cultural Policy-Making in South Easern Europe*, European Cultural Foundation, Ecumest Association, Bookmanstudies, Amsterdam, 2005, p. 26

²⁰ Françoise Benhamou, *L’Economie de la culture*, Ed. La Découverte, Paris, 2001, p. 93

always perceived by citizens; cultural goods must then be put under a tutor, and the state becomes responsible for inciting the production and the consumption of cultural goods.”²¹

I underlined how the culture has come under the political incidence, from the financial pragmatic point of view. At the same time, the culture needs a legislative framework for development and expression. The legal framework offers this support for culture and for culture actors, here being included the art creators and non governmental organizations that are active in culture support, and also the public – an essential participant in the equation culture-politics-cultural policy. Cultural policy seen in this perspective, the legal one, was defined by Charles Landry. He understands cultural policies, in the general framework of politics, as a process characterized by a precise dynamic, where the identification of neuralgic points and the clearly formulation of objectives conduct to a strategy, and the strategy conducts to prioritization. The priorities give the incentive for law formulation. „Through policy one understands the director mechanisms – law sets, measures and mechanisms that are directed towards the goals’ achievement in the cultural development. One can see the first step in policy as starting from the political debate that conducts to objectives sketching within the limits of the possibilities, wherefrom derives the strategy that takes into consideration the manoeuvre space within each context apart; this one, at its turn, underlines the priorities that are implemented in structures, procedure methods and rules.”²²

Therefore, one element that characterizes cultural policies from the political perspective is the priorities settlement, identifying the domains and the cultural areas that have to be especially sustained financially and legally. A cultural field can have echoes for the whole system, and not only, but also in social, economical and political areas. That is why the cultural strategies have to be set up in concordance with the cultural capital that could be exploited, but also with the necessities, at a specific point, of the cultural sector. One example in this sense

²¹ Françoise Benhamou, *L'Economie de la culture*, Ed. La Decouverte, Paris, 2001, p. 93

²² Landry, apud. Hanneloes Weeda, Corina Şuteu, and Cas Smithuijsen- *The Arts, Politics and Change- Participative Cultural Policy-Making in South East Europe*, European Cultural Foundation, Ecumest Association, *Bookmanstudies*, Amsterdam, 2005, p. 16

could be the Romanian Ministry of Culture strategy, under Ion Caramitru direction, where the patrimony occupied a prioritized place: „For the authors of this strategy, proposed for adoption to the Ministry of Culture, it is clear that the national economy is too weak to sustain a wealth institutional structure, in the cultural field, and that the only chance is to establish a prioritized area that attracts, for a certain period of time, important investments from the state, from local public administrative authorities, sponsors and patronage (the last ones, encouraged, through a legislation that excludes the bad fiscal techniques, to invest in culture). Once that field has succeeded to develop itself sufficiently to become attractive for a private economy, it should generate financial resources even for the budget that the public investors could reorient for the support of other cultural fields. The chosen strategic field is the one of cultural patrimony. Well highlighted, this one can generate cultural tourism, capable to contribute to flourishing economy development.”²³ But, the politics should not treat exclusively some areas of culture, and the others to be ignored, as happened in the already mentioned case.²⁴ „The cultural sector and the critics stress the fact that the governance should not do this (to concentrate on a certain cultural segment): all arts are valuable (and all of them deserve financing) and arts autonomy is very much utilized to maintain and to demand more consistent financing.”²⁵ The researches made in the cultural policies field had shown that „the positive effect of cultural policies depends on interdependence, complementarily and more or less harmoniously on attitudes in the evaluation of different domains and layers.”²⁶

Therefore, more than defining as a priority a certain cultural sector, cultural policy must take into consideration the whole cultural system. But what is exactly this „whole system”? In the study *21 Strategically Dilemmas of Cultural Policy*, the cultural policy definition is directly related to the definition of culture. „There where cultural sector definitions are the largest, the

²³ Virgil Nițulescu, http://www.anuc.ro/cultpol_r.html 22 July 2006 *Why Do We Need a Cultural Policy (strategy)?*

²⁴ Establishing the patrimony priorities, in the detriment of the other segments of culture, was criticized by the experts group of Council of Europe, in the analysis done in 1999. (See also the chapter 3, subchap. 3.4. in this paper)

²⁵ Frederick van der Ploeg, *The Making of Cultural Policy : an European perspective*, p. 30

²⁶ Oskar Elschenk, *Traditional Music and Cultural Politics, in Music in the Dialogue of Cultures: Traditional Music and Cultural Policy*, Edited by Max Peter Baumann, Florian Noetzel Verlag, Wilhelmshaven, 1991, p. 52

distinctions and supplementary priorities become inevitable in the policy framework, keeping in mind the different reactions claimed by these very different activity areas. In the last instance, the culture concept in a broad or narrow sense defines the form of cultural policy.”²⁷ These definitional circles, broad or narrow, determine the priority identification on certain cultural domains. From a political point of view, a concrete definition of culture is necessary, more exactly a definition of domains where culture enters with priority under the incidence of politics that is for political decision and action focusing.

To conclude, cultural policy represents the measures that are taken in this case by the state, to permit the cultural goods protection, the promotion of new artistic and cultural trends, and to assure to the citizen, the political target, a cultural environment positive to personal development and society development, generally speaking. The measures that the state takes from this point of view are, on the one hand of legislative nature, and, on the other hand, they are financing measures. Cultural policy is described as „a set of operational principles that guide the cultural programmes planning, institutional instalments, and the issuing of administrative and budgetary laws for their implementation.”²⁸ From a legislative point of view „cultural policy means conscientious adjustment of the interests in the cultural domain and decision making on problems related to cultural development of the society seen globally.”²⁹ From a financial point of view, „cultural policy could be defined as an operational principle corpus, administrative and budgetary practices that offer a basis for cultural action by the state”³⁰ or any other organization.

In a more „violent” cultural policy definition, „cultural policy refers to institutional support that orients at the same time the creative aesthetics and the collective ways of life – a

²⁷ Matarasso, Francois și Landry, Charles- *21 Strategic Dilemmas of Cultural Policy*, Romanian version issued under the Romanian Culture Department, 2000.

²⁸ UNESCO, in J.H. Kwabena Nketia, *Music and Cultural Policy in Contemporary Africa*, p. 77 (*Music in the Dialogue of Cultures: Traditional Music and Cultural Policy*, Editor Max Peter Baumann, Florian Noetzel Verlag, Wilhelmshaven, 1991)

²⁹ Milena Dragicevic-Sesic, Branimir Stojkovic, Foundation Interart TRIADE, 2002, p.27 / *Culture. Management. Mediation. Marketing*

³⁰ Max Peter Baumann, *Traditional Music in the Focus of Cultural Policy*, in *Music in the Dialogue of Cultures: Traditional Music and Cultural Policy*, Editor Max Peter Baumann, Florian Noetzel Verlag, Wilhelmshaven, 1991, p. 22

bridge between those two registers. Cultural policy is incorporated into systematic and regulatory action ways that are adopted by the organizations to reach their goal. Shortly, it is more bureaucratic than creative or organic: organisations ask, educate, distribute, finance, describe and reject actors and activities which go under the signs of artist or art work, through policies implementation. The governments (...) help, finance, control, promote, learn and evaluate the creative persons; in fact, many times they decide and implement to the least detail the criteria that make possible the utilization of the word *creative*.”³¹

2. Trends of Romanian Cultural Policy after 1989

This chapter will present the most important moments in defining a coherent cultural policy in Romania and the actors involved. After analysing very briefly the steps made by the Ministry of Culture from 1989 to 2006, I will underline the importance the “Western mentors”³² had on this process, respectively the Council of Europe and the European Union. As a starting point I will take into consideration the Romanian cultural reality, from the point of view of culture development trends after 1989, and the communist heritage and the change of the system from the centralized model to a transitional one. After a short chronological overview of culture development, before 1997, between 1997 and 2001, and after 2001, I will try to respond in the end of this chapter to the question “What has determined the sequential development of the culture?” being reflected into cultural policy.

2.1. Romanian Cultural Reality

After the fall of communist period, all ex communist countries have known a transition period. This transition, very evident at political and economical levels, is an important characteristic of the cultural sector too. “We must see the fall of communism firstly as a cultural niche, not only

³¹ Toby Miller, George Yudice, *Cultural Policy*, Sage Publications Inc., 2002, p. 2

³² Corina Șuteu, *Cultural Policy in South East Europe*, in Hanneloes Weeda, Corina Șuteu and Cas Smithunijzen (editors), *The Arts, Politics and Change- Participative Cultural Policy-Making in South Eastern Europe*, European Cultural Foundation, Ecumest Association, *Bookmanstudies*, Amsterdam, 2005, p. 28

as an ideological one. During the transition period from the communist order to young capitalist societies, known as *young democracies*, for the individuals of these societies, all societies seem to live the cultural transition. In this situation, it is necessary to reformulate the behaviour, and the living standards, also the perceiving of the *others*. In the process of transition facilitation and in order to offer space for reconciliation, cultural policies could play the mediator role, to intermediate.”³³

Communist heritage in cultural infrastructure, the shock that the society suffered once the communism fell and the society entered into market economy, but especially, the communist mentality enclosed in doctrines and censorship, in ideological contamination, all these had a big impact on culture development and on cultural activities. Romania get out of communism, from the cultural point of view, with a huge infrastructure, very big and very well developed, but without specialists prepared for the new forms of administrating and financing these cultural areas. In the report of the Council of Europe in 1999³⁴, there are registered as cultural institutions: 19 national museums, 62 regional museums, 600 municipal and city museums, approximately 50 theatres and opera houses, 2 national libraries, 41 regional libraries, 212 city libraries and more than 2600 local libraries, without including the libraries under the tutelage of the Ministry of Learning and Education. Therefore, an important cultural capital on institutional terms characterized the Romanian reality existent after 1989.

Another characteristic immediately after 1989 was the privatization process. The privatization phenomenon and the market radical liberalization were accepted as non-differentiated. Culture has known a sudden shift, from the supra control of the state to a misunderstood liberty, to a no control system. Leaving behind communism triggered at the same time a sentiment that renegades totally the past, and concerning the cultural policy of the

³³ Corina Șuteu, *Cultural Policies in Transition. The Issue of Participation and the Challenge of Democracy*, in *The Arts, Politics and Change-Participative Cultural Policy Making in South East Europe*, Hanneloes Weeda, Corina Șuteu and Cas Smithuijsen (editors), European Cultural Foundation, Ecumest Association, Bookmanstudies, 2005, p. 32

³⁴ Council for Cultural Cooperation, *European Programme of National Cultural Policy Reviews, Cultural Policy in Romania*, Report of a European group of experts compiled by Jacques Renard, Strasbourg, 11 October 1999

state, although it was very late constructed, this has not had as first objective to create a cultural identity, in fact a reconstruction of a cultural identity, but it was focused especially on the impetuous willing, non realist and irrational, to enter Europe, together with, as an imperative condition, the negation, forget and the superficial erasure of the past. That is why the cultural policy knew a strategic paradox, specifically, instead of being oriented towards inside, towards the national values, in order to ameliorate the communist heritage, Romanian cultural policy got lost itself into the nostalgia after a lost Europe and into a nonsense fight, at that moment, to enter Europe, without being aware of the fact that Romania was not ready for Europe, and neither Europe was ready to welcome the former communist countries.

The cultural sector developed very hard after 1989, in two *boom* stages, respectively the period between 1989 and 1997, and the second one from 1997 to 2001. *The Guide of Romanian Cultural Sector, A Panorama in the Favour of Cultural Cooperation*³⁵ presents on cultural fields – visual arts, theatre, dance, music, cinema, architecture, urbanism, patrimony and publishing houses, an overview on the Romanian cultural activity development after 1989. From this research results that generally the cultural infrastructure and cultural educational infrastructure are, mostly, inherited from the communist period or maybe before it, while the initiatives in the field, as the development of new cultural associations, new structures in culture, new cultural institutions, but also new cultural manifestations, as festivals or contests, or national either international, were made in two big temporal sequences: before 1997, and after 2001. As geographical area, these kinds of manifestations are developed in Bucharest, the capital of Romania, and the Western part of the country. The period between 1997 and 2001 was very weak from the point of view of the new cultural association creation and organizations that encourage art and artistic expression, also of initiating new cultural manifestations.

³⁵ Oana Radu și Ștefania Ferchedău, *Guide du secteur culturel roumain- un panorama en faveur de la coopération culturelle*, Une enquête réalisée par l' Association ECUMEST, 2006

2.2. From the State-bureaucratic Educational Model to Transitional Countries Model

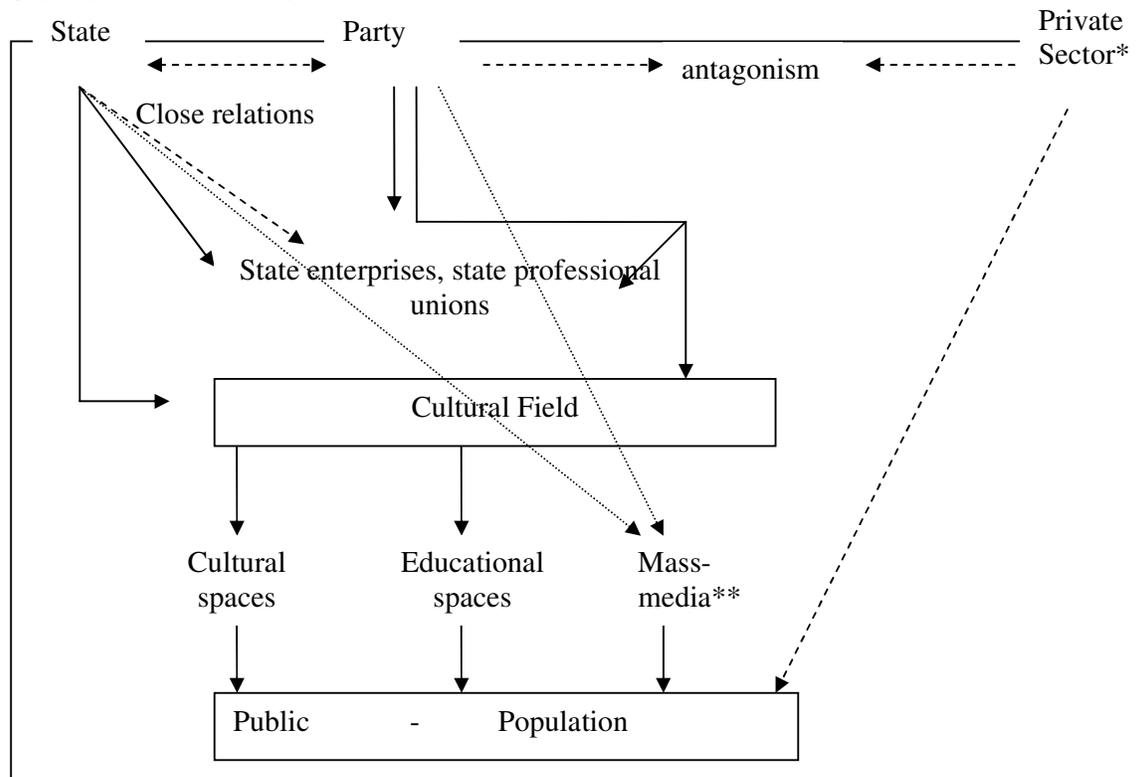
Romania had passed the door step of the totalitarian model, the state-bureaucratic educational model in cultural policies, to the transitional one, also known under the title cultural policy model of the developing countries³⁶. “Culture and cultural policy in post totalitarian societies still are, on the one hand, profoundly dependent on old cultural policies models and on institutions organizational system, and, on the other hand, on special demands of democratic orientation intellectuals, preoccupied generally by the national and nation culture issues. (...) The characteristics of the transitional period in Eastern and Central European countries, generally are reduced to political system instability, unsolved economical relations (the coexistence of all propriety forms), to verbal exaggeration of market economy importance without a complete and veritable reestablishment of these kind of relations in such type of economy, to the raise of national feelings and the care for the nation *wealth* and the survival, to censorship fall because of ideological causes, together with its introduction by religious and national causes.”³⁷

The actors of the cultural scene from communist period had changed. There are new “characters” in the cultural system. To have an idea upon how the system looked like, I use the models proposed for the Yugoslavian space, by Milena Dragicevic-Sesic and Branimir Stojkovic.

³⁶ Milena Dragicevic-Sesic and Branimir Stojkovic, *Cultura. Management, mediere, marketing*, în românește de Liubița Raikici și Lucian Alexiu, Fundația Interart TRIADE, 2002, p. 30-32

³⁷ Milena Dragicevic-Sesic și Branimir Stojkovic, *Cultura. Management, mediere, marketing*, Fundația Interart TRIADE, 2002, p. 32

State-bureaucratic model

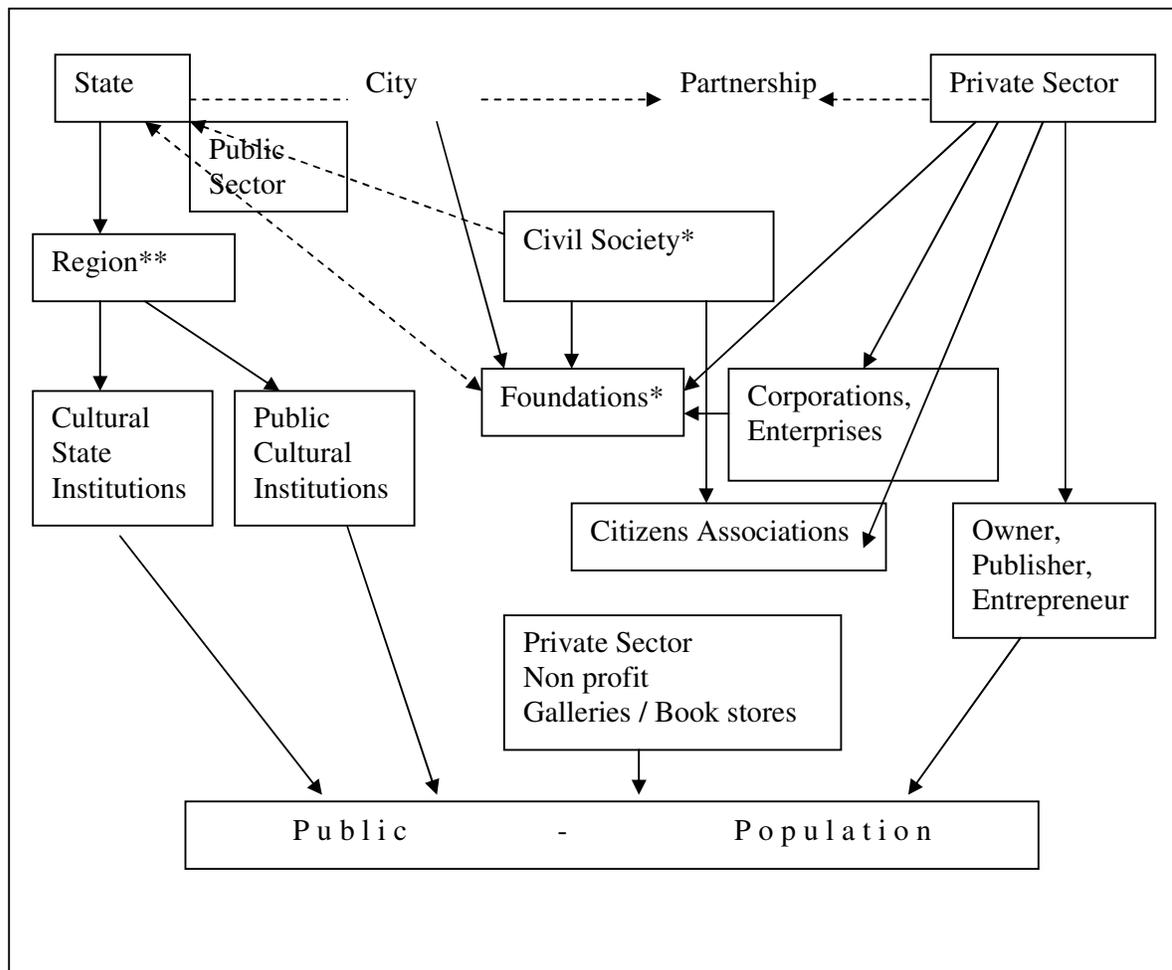


* Private sector in Romania in communist period was almost inexistent, compared with Yugoslavia

** Mass-media in Romania were under the state / Communist Party control

Source: Milena Dragicevic-Sesic and Branomir Stojkovic, *Cultura. Management, mediere, marketing*, p. 33

Model of transitional countries



*Romanian legislation gives citizens the right to have legislative initiative.

** County

Source: Milena Dragicevic-Sesic and Branomir Stojkovic, *Cultura. Management, mediere, marketing*, p. 33

Therefore, as the two models show, the system has changed radically: from a very centralized system, where the middle part in the system construction is almost totally missing, to a system where the middle zone starts to develop. What was the middle zone during the communism, as state enterprises and the state professional unions, these structures did not influence at all “the cultural field”, being under total state and Party control. Still, during post

communism new elements had appeared. Through decentralisation process³⁸, the state is not directly “responsible” for the cultural institutions on the local-regional level. Local Councils assumed the responsibilities of conception, implementation and coordination of cultural policies on local level, also the financing of cultural activities that take place on county level. Also, there appeared new elements in the civil society, as the foundations and citizens associations that had influenced more and more the state decisional process, with an impact on cultural policies too. Third sector, though, had come into being very hard. “Two reasons stay behind the difficult got into being of independent cultural sector: firstly, the economical problems related to transition period, and secondly, the inertia of artistic mentalities that were educated to legitimize them and to produce art only in the institutionalized context defined by the state.”³⁹ Not only was the third sector put into difficulty in its formation, but also the private sector. The propriety is not state propriety anymore; through privatisation process, the state propriety became private propriety. The private sector manifests itself more and more powerful, owning a very important role in cultural economy. These new actors, as the owners, contractors, publishers, should have a major impact on cultural policies, lobbying for culture. But this sector is itself in a position identifying, formation and consolidation process, in the *cultural schema*. This fact is explained by the communist reminiscence that characterized the whole society, cultural system being included.

Related to the activity that these new actors had had, the first years after 1990 could be characterized, on the one hand, by a chaotic action, and, on the other hand, some or the most of these actors did not play the role that they should have played on decisional level. These facts had several reasons. The first one was the economy in general was at that stage of a hard work period, a research of a good way to integrate itself in market economy. The second reason that determined the poor activity or even no activity had by these actors on cultural policy definition process was the non-existence of an adequate legislative framework, in cultural and

³⁸ See the chapter *Cultural Policy at different levels. Policy on local level*, in this research/paper.

³⁹ Oana Radu, Ștefania Ferchedău, *Guide du secteur culturel roumain. Un panorama en faveur de la coopération culturelle*, Asociația ECUMEST, 2006, p. 11

economical fields. Also, the political decision was taken, until 1997, only on central level, without consultancy from the social partners' part⁴⁰, this being a heritage of communism nationalisation-centralisation.

What cultural policy should have immediately constructed, and it had not done this, would have been “thinking liberation”. This liberation should have been made in three phases: “to reinvent the civil society, to reconstruct the faith and to accept the co-existence of different opinions in the same cultural community framework, (...) that is the authority of non governmental sector vis-à-vis public authorities and legislative ones.”⁴¹ Very late, the third sector participation and the private one start to be sketched out and to be aware as being necessary and indispensable in cultural policy defining. Hardly, nowadays it is going to be constructed a real dialogue between central power and citizens, which is known as cultural democracy. This supposes not only citizens' involvement in the formulation of cultural demand and offer, which happens in a real market economy, but also citizens' involvement in decisional process being in organized structures, as cultural associations or economical associations, being individually⁴².

2.3. Cultural Policy and the Ministry of Culture

As I showed in the first chapter, the culture is firstly under state responsibility, represented by the Ministry of Culture. The Ministry of Culture in Romania was created in 1989 – instead of State Committee for Culture and Art (afterwards the Committee of Socialist Culture and Art) – through law decree number 12/28 December 1989, emitted by the Committee of National Salvation Front. Even if it was one of the first ministries after 1989, it had structured very hard a coherent policy. The Romanian cultural policy way after 1989 started in 1996, as the Council

⁴⁰ ERICarts și Consiliul Europei, *Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe. A Compendium of Basic Facts and Trends. Country profile-Romania*, <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/> (accessed on 24th July 2006)

⁴¹ Corina Șuteu, *Cultural policies in transition. The issue of participation and the challenge of democracy*, in Hanneloes Weeda, Corina Șuteu și Cas Smithunijsen (editori), *The arts, politics and change- Participative cultural policy-making in South East Europe*, European Cultural Foundation, Ecumest Association, Bookmanstudies, Amsterdam, 2005, p. 28

⁴² See also the chapter *Involved Actors – Central Authority and Third Sector*, in this paper.

of Europe group of experts study shows⁴³. Until that moment Romania had not a cultural policy. As the study made by the Romanian experts characterize this period, the Ministry of Culture had been “a veritable bastion of resistance to change and to reform; that is why, culture represents, indubitably, the field where took place the smallest transformations.”⁴⁴ The same study shows that the cultural field had known a decentralization period made under the society pressure, but it was a forced decentralization, irrationally made because neither the way of thinking was changed, nor the institutions were ready for this step. Afterwards there was a period, after 1993, when a new recentralization of the system was put in practice: theatres, libraries, museums, publishing houses entered once again under the central authority subordination.⁴⁵

Politically speaking, the Ministry was characterized, during the years 1990 – 1996, by a huge instability on governmental level, having in this time gap 8 ministries. From 1996 on, with the ministry Ion Caramitru, the cultural policy started a new era, having a certain strategically orientation and organization. Concomitantly, there took place a redefinition of the Ministry, where the new structure permitted the general application of general Ministerial strategy, the realisation of sector strategies and the development of national programmes⁴⁶. The Ministry conducted by Ion Caramitru concentrated its attention more on patrimony, what had determined a relative ignorance towards the other cultural fields.

After Ion Caramitru, starting with December 2000, Răzvan Theodorescu was the minister, and the Ministry changed its name into Ministry of Culture and Religion Affairs. In February 2000 it had been already made the first step towards a cultural policy, when the Ministry of Culture together with the Council of Europe, through PHARE Programme, had defined together a cultural policy, the first one for Romania – named *Cultural Strategy* – for a

⁴³ Jacques Renard, Council of Europe, Council for Cultural co-operation, *European Programme of National Cultural Policy Reviews, Cultural Policy in Romania, Report of a European Group of Experts*

⁴⁴ Conseil de l'Europe, Conseil de la coopération culturelle, *Programme européen d'examen des politiques culturelles nationales. La politique culturelle en Roumanie, Rapport national*, octobre 1999, p. 17

⁴⁵ *ibidem*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

period of 10 years. This one was continued by the cultural policy of the Ministry of Cultures and Cults, under the management of Mona Muscă. In this period there has been defined a structured political culture, through the strategy of the Ministry of Culture and Cults in the governance plan 2005 – 2008, in the chapter 22 – *The policy in cultural matters* – and the chapter 23 – *The Policy in cults matters*. Concerning the Ministry perspective upon cultural policies, more than the fact that “these represent the general and coherent orientation set regarding the cultural sector development”⁴⁷, definitive is the cultural policy frame in the broader one of the public policies. “Public policy is the exercise of the state authorities in the definition, delimitation and penalization of life areas.” Including the cultural policies into public policies, the cultural policy is correlated with social, educational policies and even with the economical policy. Concomitantly, the cultural policy comes as a response to the national level identified problem, and the conception in fact of the policy is made following a well organized range, and in the same time a supervised one.

Therefore, beginning with 1990 until 2006, during 16 years, the Ministry of Culture had 12 ministries, in 5 presidential reprises and 2 coherent cultural policies. One can integrate the Ministry of Culture and the cultural policies routes, more or less, during these 16 years in the Romanian Manoles Myth, as described Adrian Marino the whole Romanian history, nowadays and before. “Out of all Romanian myths, maybe the most adequate one and the more actual one, in this sense, is the myth of Manole Craftsman. Maybe this one expresses something essential in Romanian people drama. We build, we pull down, we kill (ourselves), we take it over again, and have to accept this destiny of eternal constructors who see their building vanishing to remake it from the basement. I have already said this. This is what happens in Romania, and not only in the nowadays Romania, but in the whole historical Romania. Maybe

⁴⁷ Romanian Ministry of Culture and Cults, development strategy 2004-2007, chap. 1- *Politici Culturale. Strategii culturale- Precizări Conceptuale. Dezideratul armonizării / Cultural policies. Cultural strategies – conceptual explanations. Harmonization willingness*
<http://www.cultura.ro/Files/GenericFiles/cap%20I%20Politici%20culturale.doc> (read in July 2006)

this myth is the most exemplary, more specific and definitive for Romanian people.”⁴⁸ The incoherence in the political programme and the inconsequence in the political approach influenced directly the cultural activity development in Romania.

2.4. The Romanian Cultural and Cultural policy levers – the Council of Europe and the European Union

We have seen that, concerning the cultural policy construction, it was very much influenced the know-how import from the Council of Europe and from the European Union part. Concerning European Union article 128⁴⁹ of Maastricht Treaty, where is said that the “Community must take into consideration the cultural aspects of its activity, conform to the Treaty rules, particularly it must to respect and to promote the cultural diversity”, conferred to culture some competencies in cultural policies. The EU objectives in cultural field are the strengthening of the affiliation to a European community, respecting in the same time the national and regional cultural diversity, and the facilitation of European citizen access to culture. For reaching these goals, European Union developed programmes that directly sustain cultural projects, as Culture 2000, Media Plus, programmes that sustain indirectly cultural activities, as SOCRATES, Youth, but also programmes for infrastructure financing, as PHARE. Romania, as candidate state to EU, was one of the beneficiaries of these programmes until 2006.

Council of Europe⁵⁰ has oriented its policy starting from its principles in cultural field – respect for cultural identity and diversity, respect for freedom of speaking and expression, freedom of associating, encouragement of creativity and the development of the involvement in cultural domain and cultural democratization. On political level, has focused its policies on

⁴⁸ Adrian Marino în dialog cu Sorin Antohi, *Al treilea discurs. Cultură, ideologie și politică în România*, Ed. Polirom, 2001, p. 137

⁴⁹ Modified in 1997 through Amsterdam Treaty, in article 151.

⁵⁰ Information from the Council of Europe official site, http://www.coe.int/T/E/Cultural_Co-operation/culture/

identifying democratic policies that assure the access and the participation of the public to culture, through a better understanding of other cultures, encouraging intercultural dialogue. On culture level, the Council of Europe has as objectives the identification of the cause effect relation between the past and the future, assurance of the access to culture and the creativity encouragement and the sustenance of Europe, in its identities and diversities opulence. Concerning the former communist countries, “Council of Europe is the main political institution that has the role to welcome, on equality foot and in permanent structures, the European democracies got free from communist oppression. That is why these countries accession to Council of Europe is a central factor in European construction process based on our Organization value. We confirm once again the policy of openness and of cooperation vis-à-vis all Central Eastern European countries that opted for democracy. The programmes established by the Council of Europe for democratic transition supervision should develop and to be constantly adapted to the needs of our new partners.”⁵¹

To have a full overview on culture and cultural policies in different member countries, the Council of Europe has initiated in 1986⁵² an assistance programme that proposed to analyse the cultural policies. Romania had become member of Council of Europe and it was one of the 26th countries that had made an appeal to this assistance programme. As the State Secretary in the Ministry of Culture and Cults, Mr. Virgil Nițulescu, underlines the turn over moment in the Romanian cultural policy was when Romania entered in the Council of Europe, respectively in 1993⁵³. Until that moment, the cultural policy was inexistent. The assistance programme of Council of Europe was put in application in 1994. Virgil Nițulescu observes in *Why do we need a cultural policy (strategy)?* This first attempt was a failure. “In 1994 – when the first attempt of programme start for our country took place -, one registered a failure (it was evident that it

⁵¹ Declaration of the 1st Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Council of Europe, Vienna, 1993

⁵² Council of Europe, The Europe of cultural cooperation, http://www.coe.int/T/E/Cultural_Co-operation/Culture/Policies/Reviews/

⁵³ In 1993, Romania, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovenia, Czech Republic and Slovakia became Council of Europe member states.

did not exist, at that time, sufficient coherence to support a national strategy in cultural domain.)”⁵⁴

The analysis was repeated in 1998, on Romanian Ministry of Culture demand. The two experts group, one Romanian, and one foreign, as the evaluation mechanism supposes, have accomplished one report each, respectively *European Programme of National Cultural Policy Reviews. Cultural Policy in Romania. Report of a European group of experts*, compiled by Jacques Renard⁵⁵ from the European group, and the report of Romanian one: *La politique culturelle en Roumanie. Rapport National*⁵⁶. The Romanian report is descriptive, making an evaluation, being a balance sheet of Romanian evolution in cultural field, from the point of view of legislative evolution, sectors development, and international projects and relationships that Romania had within the interval 1990-1998. The European report comes, instead, with recommendations, constructive criticism on the policy adopted by the Ministry of Culture under Ion Caramitru. For example, the experts criticized the cultural policy focus on patrimony. “It is clear that the patrimony must be a priority. But should it be the only one? (...) The experts have some reserves on Romanian concept on putting all the cultural eggs in the patrimony’s basket.”⁵⁷, proposing directions for cultural policy reorientation on other cultural regions, as the contemporary art. “Surely the creativity and the education deserve as much attention as the patrimony. (...) And surely the contemporary art can be as useful as the patrimony in helping Romanians to give a sense to their society and to construct a future free from our recent cruel history.”⁵⁸

The European Union involvement in Romanian cultural policy definition was initiated in 1997, with the implementation of the plan “Cultural dimension of democracy”. This programme was part of PHARE financing programmes. Out of the two parts of the

⁵⁴ Virgil Nițulescu, *De ce avem nevoie de o politică (strategie) culturală ?*, 1999, Alianța Națională a Uniunilor de Creatori din România, http://www.anuc.ro/cultpol_r.html (in 1999, Virgil Nițulescu was expert in Culture and Arts and Mass media Commission in Deputies Room).

⁵⁵ Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 11 October 1999.

⁵⁶ Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 7 October 1999

⁵⁷ Op. cit., p. 10

⁵⁸ Ibidem

programme, *Institutional consolidation and European Cultural Fund for Romania / euro art* (named in the reference terms: *Fund for arts and civil society development*), the bigger part of the budget, respectively 1 150 000 euro, from a total budget of 2 millions euro, were dedicated to institutional consolidation. In this section of the programme one of the two general objectives⁵⁹ was the cultural institutions development, with a focus on legislation, Ministry reform, local and regional authorities support, having as specific objectives, on the one hand the modernization and decentralization of governmental cultural structures and legislative development, and on the other hand, strategic development incentive and planning capacities development. The expected result after the implementation of the programme (contracted for two years 1997 – 1999) was the elaboration of a strategy on medium term for the cultural sector development and reform⁶⁰. In February 2000, the Ministry of Culture and the European Union have drawn up the final report for a cultural strategy for 10 years⁶¹. The declared mission of the first strategy for cultural Romania was focused, mainly, on the Romania's integration in the European Union. "Romania, taking into consideration the patrimony, traditions, and social contributions on the all social and ethnic groups, also the infrastructure and the monuments that it has, will develop and support the cultural life and art and cultural creators, focusing on the European Union integration, in the context of a democratic and open society, oriented towards market economy. That is why the culture must be seen not only as a fund consumer, but also as a generator of social cohesion and lasting economic development."⁶² Starting from this idea of culture as basis for social and economic

⁵⁹ The second general objective was "the establishment of a Fund for arts and civil society development, including projects related to the industrial activities through which are underlined the cultures role in inert communitarian relationships", Infoeuropa Centre, Centre for information of the European Commission Delegation in Romania, <http://www.infoeuropa.ro/jsp/page.jsp?lid=1&cid=198&id=530>

⁶⁰ Infoeuropa Centre, Centre for information of the European Commission Delegation in Romania, <http://www.infoeuropa.ro/jsp/page.jsp?lid=1&cid=198&id=530>

⁶¹ Ministry of Culture and European Union – PHARE programme, CULTURAL STRATEGY Final Report Project RO9709-01 February 2000

⁶² Ministry of Culture and European Union – PHARE programme, CULTURAL STRATEGY Final Report Project RO9709-01 February 2000, "Mission statement: Romania, taking as a starting point in heritage, traditions and cultural contributions from all social and ethnic groups as well as its infrastructure and monuments, will develop and support cultural life and creators of arts and culture focusing in joining the EU in the context of a democratic and open society geared to a market – oriented economy. For this reason, culture is to be regarded not

development, the culture had get out from the post communist marginalization and the cultural policy had a contour.

After we have seen the convalescence in which the Ministry of Culture and the cultural policy were, after we have seen which were the actors who gave the director lines for a coherent cultural policy, we can give an answer to the question why the development of culture and of cultural activities are put in those three time periods, before 1997, 1997 – 2001, after 2001. These three moments can be explained from the point of view of the context created by the cultural policy. In the first stage, respectively until 1997, even if Romania did not have a proper cultural policy, what determined the major development of culture were, firstly, the enthusiasm and the ecstasy existent immediately after the fall of the communist regime, secondly was the privatization process, where old structures, institutions which were in the state propriety, entered in private propriety. The second period, 1997 – 2001, as we have seen, was characterized by a cultural policy oriented almost exclusively towards patrimony; this fact determined a lack of cultural initiative, mostly because of the weak funds direction from the Ministry for other cultural sectors, non patrimony ones. The third stage, where the cultural actions and the cultural project initiatives become more and more numerous and of bigger proportions, is situated under the “auspices” of the cultural policy realized by the European Union in partnership with Romanian experts in the year 2000.

3. Cultural Policy Building

I will present in this chapter the actors involved in the cultural policy sketching, from the initial stage to the implementation one, and the element that one should take into consideration in this process. I have already shown that the public authority, represented by the Ministry of Culture, has the central role in cultural policy conception, but the third sector plays, or should play an

as a consumer of funds, but as a generator of economic sustainable development and social cohesion.”
http://www.cultura2000.ro/en/programmes/ro9709-01/Cultural_strategy.doc

important role too. Therefore, what is or should be the third sector role in the equation central authority – cultural policy? Concerning the elements taken into consideration in cultural policy conception, the most important one is, without no doubt, the culture. But also other variables intervene in what is, at the end of this process, cultural policy.

3.1. Involved Actors – Central Authority and Third Sector⁶³

In cultural policy conception, formulation, implementation and evaluation are involved two actors, respectively public authority, represented by the Ministry of Culture and local authorities, and the third sector, represented by the non governmental organizations and professional associations. As Vjeran Katunaric observed, „the state, in association with professional associations, is the only guardian of cultural public goods.”⁶⁴ But, Romania, as almost all former communist countries, confronted to communist passivity and inertia. „One can say that for the former in transformation civil society, the big issue was the reconnection of broken links and the reinvention of a freedom social dynamic, as a precondition for democracy. And this should and could be on cultural action level, before reaching the decisional levels.”⁶⁵

Extensive and excessive state control over all social areas, here being included especially the culture, determined the absence of this important pawn on the chess table of democracy – the civil society. The trends that existed immediately after 1989 are also explained by the closed mentality of communist type. Corina Şuteu remarked, in *Overview of developments in Central and Eastern Europe between 1990-2003*, that these „heritages”, reminiscences of communist past, in the cultural development sphere and in the non governmental sector in this field of activity, could be understood on macro level too, meaning

⁶³ Other synonymous terms for „third sector” are civil society, non governmental sector, non profit sector, independent sector.

⁶⁴ Vjeran Katunaric, *New public culture as an objective of the decentralisation process*, in Hanneloes Weeda, Corina Şuteu și Cas Smithunijsen (editori), *The arts, politics and change- Participative cultural policy-making in South East Europe*, European Cultural Foundation, Ecumest Association, Bookmanstudies, Amsterdam, 2005, p. 37

⁶⁵ Corina Şuteu, *Cultural policies in transition. The issue of participation and the challenge of democracy*, in Hanneloes Weeda, Corina Şuteu și Cas Smithunijsen (editori), *The arts, politics and change- Participative cultural policy-making in South East Europe*, European Cultural Foundation, Ecumest Association, Bookmanstudies, Amsterdam, 2005, p. 28

in the entire civil society. She stresses that, on the one hand, there was inertia at the level of the concept „third sector”, of its introduction in the vocabulary, and on the other hand, nobody recognized the necessity of encouraging these entities. Concomitantly, because of the communist „paternalism”, the cultural agents did not know neither the authority that third sector could had had, nor the manners in which they could use the non governmental organization.”⁶⁶

Adrian Marino insists over the necessity of non governmental entities formation, as milieus for the rediscovering of civic conscience and citizens’ responsibilities vis-à-vis from his own destiny, but also for the creation of a contra balance for the state authority. „First, it is about the creation of some social groups, associations and autonomous society, independent from the state, together with, eventually even against any governmental structures. What supposes the radical and decisive jump from the conscience of an individual amorphous, isolated, disarmed, to the one of a citizen fully aware of his rights, of his power and, also, of his social responsibility. He has, in principle, the law and justice sense, „the state of law”, the sense of constitutional and legal possibilities to defend himself even against the government. Civic attitude, legality and involvement in a wide range of social activities are the most direct signs of civil awareness. Absence, non interest, passivity, non politic attitude are not indices of a great evolution and development of spiritual, cultural and social life.”⁶⁷ Therefore, after the

⁶⁶ “These results in a space of cultural existence where there is no counterbalance and a “hegemonic” approach to creation takes over (see the paternalistic refusal of the new forms, the cultural stagnation, and the lack of innovative spaces). Consequences will prove dramatic: The idea of a third sector or of small legal bodies managing cultural goods is absent from the cultural community vocabulary; Legislation for the funding and the creation of thirds sector juridical entities does not exist. Public bodies do not imagine support for autonomous cultural operators and difficultly imagine they can be allowed without state permission and validation of content of activities. Artists themselves from older generations despise as petty and irrelevant for the “good culture” the third sector potential operators. Young and more flexible cultural mediators do not understand how to use NGOs and what are the legal instruments capable to make this work; last but not least, they do not understand the real space of empowerment of these civil society structures, because they have not learnt to deal with autonomy. Liberal market regulation is understood in absolute terms, thing which will engender after the fall of communism a misuse of the market logic and the instalment of a “savage” liberal attitude, the complete opposite of centralized, state regulated cultural reality. Huge inertia, so characteristic for all top down post communist societies, finds its root in this aspect.” Corina Șuteu, *Overview of developments in Central and Eastern Europe between 1990-2003, Policy Warning and Forecast Report* edited by Romanian Academic Society and ECUMEST Association *Special issue on Cultural Policies in CEE*, August 2005, p. 11-12

⁶⁷ Adrian Marino, *Pentru Europa. Integrarea României. Aspecte ideologice și culturale*, Polirom, 2005, p. 55 / *For Europe. Romania integration. Ideological and cultural aspects*

communism period, the individual role in society, generally, and in cultural life, particularly, must have been redefined. One of the recommendations formulated by the Declaration from Arc-et-Senans, in 1972, „the creation of conditions for a cultural democracy decentralized and pluralist where the individual can play an active role”⁶⁸, must become directory line in the case of former communist countries. The citizen active role could be played only in the moment where the citizen become responsible towards the state, where he does not let be conducted, but he involves himself directly, being aware of his position towards the authorities. But the state must, at his turn, redefine its attitude towards the citizen. The *European Declaration on cultural objectives* in 1984 called the member states to make a common cause in the promotion of participation through „to give the possibility to all to contribute to ideas formation and to participate in elections that determine the future, and consequently to offer all of them maximum access to relevant information; to assure that the community action – or the action taken in the name of community – is clearly explicated, debated publicly and decided in a democratic way and it is implemented.”⁶⁹

As Milena Dragicevic-Sesic and Branomir Stojkovic characterized the transitional model⁷⁰, the new entities in the cultural system, as the foundations and professional associations, non profit organizations, have been formed and started the process of cultural democracy formation. But, these one should have become aware and to define its role that should have played in cultural sphere, in front of culture, and vis-à-vis the authorities. This stage represents, finally, the process of the formation of cultural non governmental sector identity. On the one hand, the new entities had to take a position towards culture, as object of their activity, and on the other hand, had to project themselves for another entity of the system, respectively towards the public authorities. Corina Șuteu characterizes this formation process as „retaking the sense of responsibility inside the cultural community: where should finish the

⁶⁸ Arc-et-Senans Declaration, adopted by the Colloquim on the Future of Cultural Development, April 1972, p. 2

⁶⁹ Council of Europe, *European Declaration on Cultural Objectives*, Berlin, 1984

⁷⁰ Milena Dragicevic-Sesic and Branomir Stojkovic, *Cultura. Management, mediere, marketing*, Fundația Interart TRIADE, 2002, p. 33

dissatisfaction and where should start the constructive criticism and what values protect and promote the civil cultural actors? (...) and (which is) the authority had by the non governmental sector in front of the public authority and the legislature.”⁷¹ This is the stage of definition of the relationship between public authority and the third sector, which had developed very hard in Romania.

The relationship between public authority, being it central or local, and the civil society, concerning the cultural policy, had changed, but it is not yet what it wants to be, in the civil society vision. If until 1997, the conception of cultural policies was made exclusively by public functionaries and responsible people of the Ministry, beginning with 1997 it was creates a Consultancy Council, under the Ministry tutelage, for administrating the relation with the non governmental organizations.⁷² The activity of this council was very criticized by the representatives of the civil society.⁷³ They sustain that, because the state considers that is hard to find representative partners in cultural issues, the Council has as partners for dialogue the syndicates and creators unions, but the civil society is not resumed only at those two actors. Only in a context, where each part had changed its attitude and vision about the other, giving him a credit for a real partnership, could be realized a viable dialogue between partners: public authority and civil society, in its totality. „The participation of the third sector to cultural policy becomes more and more evident and brings cultural policy directly in the cultural citizenship domain, an approach that we will sustain, taking it into consideration in every future cultural policy. The cultural policy that we will treat, or the one that we would want to treat, can stimulate society activity in a broader sense of the word and can consolidate democracy. (...) Cultural policy activities should promote the creation of a tolerant and diversified society, through creativity support and through the development of the third sector in cultural field.”⁷⁴

⁷¹ Corina Șuteu, *Cultural policies in transition. The issue of participation and the challenge of democracy*, p. 28

⁷² Cultural Policies and Trends In Europe: a Compendium of Basic Facts and Trends, <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/> (27 iulie 2006)

⁷³ Mara Galaty, Raportul seminarului *Legislația și dezvoltarea politicii culturale*, Sinaia, 2000, p. 4

⁷⁴ Landry, apud. Hanneloes Weeda, Corina Șuteu, and Cas Smithuijsen- *The arts, politics and change- Participative cultural policy-making in South East Europe*, European Cultural Foundation, Ecumest Association, *Bookmanstudies*, Amsterdam, 2005, p. 17

Cultural policies must start from this partnership and freely dialogue between civil society and state organisms. „The dialogue becomes the constitutive principle in cultural policy. The dialogue creates the mutual openness of the horizons and the respect for other concepts; evaluates the value concepts and objectives as common possession, through weighting one argument against the other.”⁷⁵ Even if the Ministry sees the cultural policy that is „always a reference system for cultural action”⁷⁶, these policies are often criticised as being „anachronisms”⁷⁷, giving priority to commemorative activities, being oriented towards past, neglecting contemporary culture. That is why consultations with the third sector and its effective participation to legislative process and in policy implementation should be intensified, just for culture policy to be correlated to reality. „A realist cultural policy represents the fiancée with things that our society makes, not with the things that we feel that our society should do.”⁷⁸, and just the active involvement of the third sector makes these policies to be connected to reality and to be oriented towards democratic state construction. „Participative policy-making is utile as long as it brings a positive contribution; it brings quality in new governance sketching and is a catalyser for democratic procedures.”⁷⁹

In another characterization of public policy, this one could be seen as the answer of political system to restrictive forces from the environment. The role of „restrictive force”, but also of partner in issue identification and in cultural policy realization, is played, as I have already showed, the third sector, the civil society representatives, more exact the organizations that have their activity in cultural field. These organizations are, on the one hand, the representatives of artists, of cultural creators, and on the other hand they are the mediator elements between the political decision and action, and the artist and the public. The involvement of this third sector in cultural policy definition is very important because only like

⁷⁵ Max Peter Baumann, *Traditional Music in the Focus of Cultural Policy*, in *Music in the Dialogue of Cultures: Traditional Music and Cultural Policy*, Florian Noetzel Verlag, Wilhelmshaven, p. 25

⁷⁶ Ministerul Culturii și Cultelor din România, *Strategia de dezvoltare 2004-2007*, cap. 1- *Politici Culturale. Strategii culturale- Precizări Conceptuale. Dezideratul armonizării*

<http://www.cultura.ro/Files/GenericFiles/cap%20I%20Politici%20culturale.doc> (accesat la data de 23 iulie 2006)

⁷⁷ István Szakáts, *Fundația AltArt, Rolul și poziția artistului în societatea românească*

⁷⁸ Justin Lewis, apud. Robin Trotter, *Cultural Policy.pdf, oxfordjournals, 1997*, p. 207

⁷⁹ Corina Șuteu, *Cultural policies in transition. The issue of participation and the challenge of democracy*, p. 29

this the politics could answer rapidly, efficiently and concretely to expectancies of cultural actors, avoiding dissonances between politic strategy and cultural reality of the society. „Such a dialogue is used in misunderstanding solving process and in reaching equilibrium in divergent interests, and, finally, it would raise an approach of regulation that reunites, in the same time, the expressed needs and the expectancies of different cultural shareholders and the politics objectives.”⁸⁰

This participation in cultural policy conception brings a real value in the political agenda. First of all, the necessities of cultural sector are better identified, that conducting to a better formulation and directing of cultural policies in the areas where culture needs more attention from the central authorities. Secondly, paraphrasing the way in which Baumann describes the manner in which cultural policy in music is created, broadening it to all cultural fields, the approach down-up in cultural policy conception is necessary as long as the society is defined by a continuous changing. Cultural policy administrators, public one or from non profit organizations, must evaluate the cultures needs and the necessities for promotion (or not promotion) society and artistic values, workshops, programmes and researches. As long as all society and cultural values are dynamic and under a permanent change, it is one of cultural professionals to directly confront and to apply their technical knowledge and their intuitions to all cultural sectors.”⁸¹

The third sector involvement in cultural policies, not only in conception stage, but also in application and implementation one, is very important. The representatives of these organisations have stressed this role through a greater success of cultural policies, mostly on the impact upon society. „Policy creation through a real partnership between the Culture ministry, its electors and the large public offers major advantages. A policy that was developed

⁸⁰ Delia Mucică, *From government to governance. Evolving South East European cultural regulation*, in Hanneloes Weeda, Corina Şuteu and Cas Smithunijzen (editors), *The arts, politics and change- Participative cultural policy-making in South East Europe*, European Cultural Foundation, Ecumest Association, Bookmanstudies, Amsterdam, 2005, p. 104

⁸¹ Max Peter Baumann, *Traditional Music in the Focus of Cultural Policy*, in Max Peter Baumann (Editor) *Music in the Dialogue of Cultures: Traditional Music and Cultural Policy*, Florian Noetzel Verlag, Wilhelmshaven, p. 25

in partnership with the sector on which depends its implementation, it is more than evident that has much more chances to be successful in practice, as long as it reflects the experience and individuals interest who work in all sectors. Also, it can be more creative and imaginary, as long as it is the result of open thinking and of dialogue, reflecting a wide range of visions, instead of an internal planning. The political aims and the success standards that are developed in such a partnership will be closer to the much many people necessities. Finally, the process itself is an element important of the civil society, giving the possibility and encouraging citizens to assume their responsibility in an area where many people have an opinion and they are not afraid, in proper circumstances, to express it!"⁸² Through active participation in a partnership between central power and civil society one can constitute a viable cultural policy, and its implementation will bring many more benefits to all involved in the cultural process, from artist to public. Third sector can determine before if the implementation of a certain law is realistic on cultural field and can demonstrate, grace to its experience that it has, how the legal provision has chances to be applied successfully.

The sustenance of a real partnership comes not only from the non governmental organizations, but also from the part of politics parties and the Ministry, as one can notice in the responses that the Romanian political parties had on the questionnaire proposed by Romanian Academic Society and Cultural Association Ecumest⁸³, before the 2004 elections, and also in the actual governance programme of the Ministry of Culture and Cults. One can notice the tendency of political parties to initiate cultural policies where third sector has an important role. In the vision of Peasants National Christian Democratic Party „non governmental organisms must play an important role in cultural strategy and objectives

⁸² Matarasso and Landry, 1999, apud. Hanneloes Weeda, Corina Şuteu, and Cas Smithuijsen- *The arts, politics and change- Participative cultural policy-making in South East Europe*, European Cultural Foundation, Ecumest Association, *Bookmansstudies*, Amsterdam, 2005, p. 17

⁸³ Politici culturale: Propuneri alternative în vederea alegerilor parlamentare 2004, Răspunsuri sinteză- partide politice http://www.ecumest.ro/pdf/raspunsuri_sinteza.pdf

establishment.”⁸⁴ Other political groups go till the total charge of cultural policies in non governmental organization responsibility. One example comes from the part of the Union for Romania Reconstruction, through Liviu Antonesei voice, who says „cultural policies are not Ministry or Government business, therefore they are not a state business, but they should come from the interior of cultural guild, which are autonomously organized. Or, at least, they are apparently autonomous. The idea that the national cultural policy, and differential cultural policies, should be made by the ministry – government – state is profoundly a mistake and is vicious; it is a reminiscence of totalitarian system through which our country had passed starting with 1938 until today. The state business is totally another, to assure the resources necessary for the good working of culture in all its dimensions.”⁸⁵ But this is not a realistic view on cultural policies, especially in Romania, where the independent sector even is not consolidated, not well organized.

The third sector participation in cultural policy conception is sustained by the political class, the only issue being the constitution of this partnership between non governmental sector and the public authorities. The governance programme 2005 – 2008, chapter 22 – The policy in cultural domain –, treats this collaboration between Ministry of Culture and Cults and the third sector. The non governmental sector is seen as an associate of the Ministry in many action areas, from the cultural policy conception and formulation, until the project performance in partnership with public authorities. „Civil society will be associated to: strategy and public policies elaboration; legislative and institutional frame elaboration, as well to necessary economical financial mechanism; to the initiation and coordination of some programmes, national or sector in priority domains for the national cultural interest or for some local communities, as also for the promotion of Romanian culture and image worldwide; to co-

⁸⁴ Politici culturale: propuneri alternative în vederea alegerilor parlamentare 2004- Răspunsuri din partea Partidului Național Țărănesc Creștin Democrat, Zoe Rădulescu, http://www.ecumest.ro/pdf/raspunsuri_PNTCD_final.pdf

⁸⁵ Politici culturale: propuneri alternative în vederea alegerilor parlamentare 2004- Răspunsuri din partea: Uniunii pentru Reconstrucția României (URR), Liviu Antonesei, http://www.ecumest.ro/pdf/raspunsuri_URR_final.pdf

financing of some cultural-artistic activities and projects in partnership with local public administrative authorities and private sector.”⁸⁶

To have a real contribution to cultural policy conception, the representatives of cultural civil society have identified some elements that one should take into consideration in the relationship civil society – state. On the one hand, it has been identified⁸⁷ the necessity of a better organization of third sector, to have a better relation with the authorities. More than the dialogue that the authorities must have with civil society before formulating a law, the representatives of third sector must be present in parliamentary debates and to be involved in the moment where a law is emitted to debating in special, professional committees. In the same time, the civil society could intervene through pressure exercise on parliamentary commissions for priorities settlement on work parliamentary agenda, in some law formulation. Lobbying is one of the civil society „responsibilities”. The development of relations with diverse parliament representatives and their conviction on the necessity of taking certain measures in cultural domain is in the charge of civil society representatives too. Lobbying activity is seen by the Parliament, out of the negative connotations that they give to lobbying, for example „traffic of influence”, „corruption”, „group interest or party interest”, as being „a helpful hand in taking the correct decision”, as Mihai Mălaimare appreciated, or as „a legal way to persuade, with arguments, the ones who take the decisions (at any level)”, in Marton Arpad vision⁸⁸. Virgil Nițulescu starts in his definition of the concept of *lobby* from the word „antechamber” as noun, *stricto sensus*, and as a verb, „to influence”. „The organizations that are interested must influence the Government and the Parliament, but their only chance to succeed in this action is

⁸⁶ Programul de guvernare 2005-2008, cap. 22- Politica în domeniul culturii, componenta 3- Instituționalizarea unui sistem de consultări periodice și de cooperare cu societatea civilă, / Governance Programme 2005 – 2008, Chap. 22 – Policy in cultural domain, 3rd component – Institution of a periodical consultation system and of civil society cooperation; <http://www.cultura.ro/Documents.aspx?ID=39>

⁸⁷ Mara Galaty, Report on the workshop *Legislația și dezvoltarea politicii culturale*, Sinaia, 2000

⁸⁸ Oana Radu, *Lobby pentru cultură. Vedere din interior*, p. 1 (Published in English in “Policies for Culture”, November 2002, Romanian version accessible at the address http://www.ecumest.ro/pdf/2003_radu_lobby_pentru_cultura.pdf)

– as long as they cannot be parts involved in the legislative process – to make *antechamber*, using all kind of influence.”⁸⁹

In cultural field, which is seen as marginal in parliamentary agendas, a hobby, lobbying activity becomes a necessity for the legislative process. As some parliamentarians declared in 2002, I would mention here Mona Muscă or Mihai Mălaimare⁹⁰, the partnership with civil society is a basic element, necessary in the parliamentary activity. Both Mona Muscă and Mihai Mălaimare remarked the necessity of expertise to have the basis from which one starts in the realization of any legislative acts. „To receive information and expertise upon different problems that appear not only that is very useful, but it is absolutely necessary in parliamentary activity. Any political decision or legislative decision must be based on serious analyses and on solid arguments that could not happen if the necessary information is not available.”⁹¹ „When we conceive and discuss a legislative proposition, I must have on the table as many elements as possible in this puzzle – opinions, points of view, suggestions –, to have an image as clear as I can upon the issues that should be regulated.”⁹²

But lobby activity does not mean only the proposition of a measure to be taken, but much more. As Virgil Nițulescu⁹³ emphasized, once a proposition had taken the road to become a legislative document, it must be followed by the end of the road. Those who had the proposition are in measure to be involved in the correct formulation of the future law, in concordance with the identified necessities. Lobby activity brings beneficiaries for both parts, as Mona Muscă declared: „Actions of this type (discussions and personal consultancies with the representatives of the civil society) have proved to be productive, for both sites. On the one hand, I was the beneficiary on the expertise and on the support of civil society organizations in

⁸⁹ Virgil Nițulescu, *Ghid al procesului legislativ în România*, 2001, p. 12 / Guide of the legislative process in Romania

⁹⁰ Oana Radu, *Lobby pentru cultură. Vedere din interior*, p. 2 / Lobby for Culture. Inside view

⁹¹ Mona Muscă, în Oana Radu, *Lobby pentru cultură. Vedere din interior*, p. 2

⁹² Mihai Mălaimare, în Oana Radu, *Lobby pentru cultură. Vedere din interior*, p. 3

⁹³ Virgil Nițulescu, *Ghid al procesului legislativ în România*, 2001, p. 13-14

personal projects promotion, and on the other hand, the civil society could present to the Parliament, through me, its own points of view and amendments.”⁹⁴

Even if the contribution that the civil society can have on the legislative conception is recognized, the partnerships between public authorities, political representatives and third sector organizations are very few. This phenomenon was clearly⁹⁵ on one hand, by the „personal pride” of parliamentary representatives, who believe themselves as „all knowing”, and, on the other hand, through weak organization of third sector and the difficulty on which public authority „smashes“ when trying to find dialogue partners who have enough knowledge in the field. Also, the absence of a proactive activity from the civil society part was also identified by the parliamentary representatives. Civil society is more reactive than proactive. It gets involved in the legislative process too late, after a law project is sent to parliamentary debate. „Governmental programme development is not sufficient.”⁹⁶ The parliamentarians’ expectations in this direction are to see initiative coming from the third sector part.

To exemplify the third sector involvement in cultural legislative conception, the initiative to form „the fund for cultural mobility” could be taken into consideration. This initiative came in February 2005. A group formed of representatives of professional associations and non governmental organizations⁹⁷ presented and gave to the Ministry of Culture and Cults the documents *Priorities for a cultural strategy development in order to give support to cultural NGOs activity, artistic contemporary creation and to independent artists*. In the propositions of this initiative group was the creation of a mobility fund that would facilitate the collaboration between different Romanian cultural operators (artists, cultural managers) with international cultural organizations and, therefore, that would facilitate the Romanian cultural goods circulation in European and international space. As a response to this initiative,

⁹⁴ Mona Muscă, în Oana Radu, *Lobby pentru cultură. Vedere din interior*, p. 3

⁹⁵ Oana Radu, *Lobby pentru cultură. Vedere din interior*

⁹⁶ Virgil Nițulescu, *Ghid al procesului legislativ în România*, 2001, p. 12

⁹⁷ The initiative group of cultural NGOs and of independent artists: Cosmin Manolescu, Cultural Foundation Proiect DCM; Luigi Gageos, Jeunesses Musicales Romania; Vlad Nancă, visual artist, Galeria 2020; Romelo Pervolovici, META Foundation; Irina Cios, International Centre for Contemporary Art; Rarița Szakats, AltArt Foundation; Mihai Mihalcea, Solitude Project Association; Vava Ștefănescu, Multi-Art-Dans Association; Irinel Anghel, Pro Contemporania Association.

it was approved by the state to give study and travel grants for students, artists and cultural researchers⁹⁸. These grants are given for the following cultural fields: national mobile cultural patrimony, historical monuments and archaeology; immaterial patrimony; museums and collections; visual arts and architecture; libraries; literature and drama; dance and choreography; theatre and theatre studies; music and musicology; cultural management; institutional capacity strengthening. Therefore, one of the initiatives came from the third sector was taken into consideration and transformed by the public authority in a normative document.

Therefore, the collaboration between the third sector, public authorities, and political representatives should become more and more accessed, for a better correlation of the politics to society. Adrian Marino synthesized the relation between the authorities and the civil society: „Finally, the fundamental rapport must be inversed: the centralized state, that conducts, coordinates and distributes, makes space to the state that stimulates and protects. Its function is only a subsidiary one. As long as the civil society develops, its (state’s) role restrains progressively: minimal state – European state, as a product of historical evolution. That imposes a profound change in ideological optic, politically and socially.”⁹⁹ We can say that the Romanian civil society and Romanian political structures – the Ministry and the political class – have become aware of the role that the third sector must play in politics, and the civil sector has more and more weight in cultural policy field.

3.2. Elements that One Should Take into Consideration in Cultural Policy Construction

I have shown that cultural policy represents those measures that are taken, in this case by the state, for permitting cultural goods protection and the promotion of new artistic and cultural trends, but also to assure for the citizen, the politics target, a cultural framework good for

⁹⁸ Order no 2.199 of 14.07.2005 regarding the Norms for study and travel grants in cultural domain, from the Ministry of Culture and Cults budget, with the modificationa and the supplement brought through the Ministry order no 2.249 from 19.08.2005, <http://www.cultura.ro/Documents.aspx?ID=151>

⁹⁹ Adrian Marino, *Pentru Europa. Integrarea României. Aspecte ideologice și culturale*, Polirom, 2005, p. 56

personal and societal development. In cultural policy conception one starts from the cultural parameters definition. These parameters can nominate exclusively how the „culture” is interpreted, as way of life or as arts, but also the whole cultural system, from the creator to consumer of culture, passing through economical sphere. „Our first objective must be the extension of cultural centre, more than arts and patrimony. In other words, we must split the traditional static notion of a fixed given culture and to direct ourselves towards the acceptance of a dynamic diversity of individual and collective attitudes. These wider cultural policies should include operative objectives as the human development (the individual and community empowerment – access to culture, active participation and total involvement, significant citizenship), pluralism (a greater knowledge of cultural and linguistic diversity, of cultural rights, gender equality, fight against exclusion), daily creativity: innovation and issue solving, creativity in governance and in decision taking process, community arts, specialized education and specialized programmes that encourage the creativity; to find a balance between culture and free market (to find modalities to solve inevitable tensions between the free play of commercial forces and the need to satisfy, which reflects the cultural diversity), finding of new alliances for financing (identification of mix sources and measures based on new partnerships between governs, market forces and civil society, for example foundations and corporations).”¹⁰⁰

When we speak about cultural policy we must analyse to whom they are addressed. Mostly, cultural policy is addressed to whole society, but the accents in policy construction are put in certain segments of cultural space. Cultural policy must focus on culture creator and the public, patrimony and contemporary art, third sector with activity in cultural field and private sector, respectively cultural industries. National cultural policies must take into consideration the cultural needs of the population, but also the cultural capital that could be exploited for cultural identity promotion on international level. In the same time, cultural policy must cover the whole society, with variations in concordance with the demographic and ethnographic

¹⁰⁰ UNESCO, *Our creative diversity*, cap. 9 *Rethinking cultural policies*

structure. Also it has to take into consideration the differences concerning the cultural infrastructure level in rural and urban spaces, and the educational level of the public, that conducts to a different public receptivity of culture. Orientation and conception of cultural policies differences are identified between local-regional and national level, but also between national and international levels. Also, international trends in national cultural policies orientation influence the cultural policy of a state. The economic element is very important also, this one determining the ways in which is made the culture financing coming from the state.

I will stop to the culture creator and to the culture consumer. Cultural policy reflects on the artist and on the public through the legislative framework and through subventions, the state being the main cultural financer.

Regarding the legislative framework for the public, the Romanian set guarantees the access to culture only beginning with 2003. The Romanian Constitution from 1991 does not specify clearly that the art and the culture, generally, are guaranteed by the state. The culture does not appear distinctively in 1991 Romanian Constitution, culture being understood in article 30, which expressed the guarantees for free expression: „ (1) Free expression of thoughts, of opinions or faiths and the free creations of any type, spoken, in images, through sounds or other public communication manners, are inviolable.”¹⁰¹ In 2003, it was introduced in the Constitutional text, a special article for culture, where the access to culture is guaranteed by the national fundamental law. Article 33 says „Access to culture (1) Access to culture is guaranteed, in law conditions. (2) The individual freedom to spiritual development and to the accession to cultural values, national or international, cannot be restrained. (3) The state must assure the spiritual identity conservation, support to national culture, arts stimulation, protection and conservation of cultural heritage, contemporary creativity development, and cultural and artistic Romanian values promotion worldwide.”¹⁰² This article recognizes

¹⁰¹ Romanian Constitution in 1991, Art. 30- Libertatea de expresie / Free expression right.

¹⁰² Romanian Constitution in 2003, http://legislatie.resurse-pentru-democratie.org/const_2003.php#033

explicitly the citizens' rights to culture, guaranteeing this right. The right to culture, to cultural life is recognized on international level through article 27 of Universal Human Rights Declaration that guarantees individuals cultural life: „Any person has the right to take part freely to collective cultural life, to enjoy the arts and to participate to scientific progress and its bless.”¹⁰³

The support must be offered to the public through cultural policies from the financing point of view, represented by the subvention of cultural action, to make it accessible to a bigger part of the population. In the same time, cultural policy must focus on population education, to raise the level of cultural participation and of cultural consumption. The education of the population, especially the young generations, is one of the arguments for culture subventions from the state, as Frederick van der Ploeg emphasises: „to invest in cultural conscience and in cultural education of children, especially to develop the taste for cultural goods that leaves a longer impression than the instant entertainment.”¹⁰⁴ The same researcher shows that „the main reason to finance cultural education is that the culture is an added taste, formed and it represents an investment in the future social resource of cultural capital.”¹⁰⁵ This reasoning can be identified in Romanian strategy of the Ministry of Culture and Cults, the first objective named by the ministry Mona Muscă in 2005 being „amelioration of access and participation to culture, with a special accent dedicated to young people.”¹⁰⁶

Regarding the artist, the art creator, cultural policy offers an adequate legislative framework and financing sources. In legislative frame, the state must guarantee the copyright and the rights that derivate from it. In Romania, the law number 8/1996 concerning copyright

¹⁰³ Art. 27 „(1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits. (2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.” Universal Declaration of Human Rights (adopted by the General Assembly ONU on 10th September 1948)

¹⁰⁴ Frederick van der Ploeg, *The making of Cultural Policy: A European Perspective*, CESifo Working Paper no. 1524, august 2005, p. 19

¹⁰⁵ ibidem

¹⁰⁶ Speech of Mrs Ministry Mona Muscă in the Culture Commissions from Deputies Chambre and Senate between 7th-11th March 2005, www.cultura.ro

and the correlated rights, with modification in the law number 285/2004, both law constitute the legal frame for recognizing and guaranteeing this right of art creator: „Art.1 – (1) The copyright on a literary, artistic or scientific work, as well as other intellectual creation works is recognized and guaranteed in the conditions of the present law. This right is reinforced by the author’s persona and comports moral and patrimonial attributes. (2) Intellectual creation work is recognized and protected, independently of public exposure, by the simple fact that it is realized, even unfinished. Art.2 – The recognized rights in this law does not prejudice and do not exclude the protection given by other legal dispositions.”¹⁰⁷ Regarding the cultural creator financing, the problem is if one has to finance the artist who is already known, on national or maybe international level, or must be encouraged „the young talents”. Even if the artists financing is made on the basis of projects, one of the evaluation criteria of the project application file is still his/hers portfolio. Therefore, the trend in financing policy is towards the known and recognized artist, and not towards the young talents.

On the one hand, through cultural policy, one must encourage cultural consumption, through a direction of the cultural policy towards the public, and, on the other hand, it must be encouraged cultural production, therefore a direction towards the artist. Cultural consumption stimulation and the demand of new cultural products are made through cultural education of the public. „The interest for the culture does not depend so much on the high culture or on the low culture, but on the participant (to the cultural act) – whether is cultural educated or not. This suggests that cultural education on young ages could cover some gaps between the interest for culture and cultural participation.”¹⁰⁸ Regarding the pending for culture in the Romanian space, this is very low. As the Euro barometer *New Europeans and Culture*¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Law no 8/1996 regarding the copyright and the connected rights, Legislation. Resources for democracy, http://legislatie.resurse-pentru-democratie.org/8_1996.php

¹⁰⁸ Frederick van der Ploeg, *The making of Cultural Policy: A European Perspective*, CESifo Working Paper no. 1524, august 2005, p. 12

¹⁰⁹ Gallup Intezet, Eurobarometer 2003.1, Public Opinion in the candidate countries, 2003, *New Europeans and Culture*

shows, Romania is the last, compared with the other evaluated countries¹¹⁰, on participation to cultural activities. This characteristic of non involvement in culture of the population is not restricted only to participation to cultural acts, but it is a general trend in cultural consumption¹¹¹, respectively very low. In this case, cultural policy must do something to stimulate the public, especially the young one, to reconsider the culture and cultural consumption. „This means new modalities to give the young generation a bigger role as the flag wearing of the future cultural generations.”¹¹²

4. Cultural Policy on Different Levels

Cultural policy perceived from a local, national or international perspective, presents different features. If the national policy has to have an overview on culture, local policy pays more attention to local specificity, and international cultural policy is characterized by a special highlight on cultural diversity and on national cultural promotion, in a culture puzzle. In this chapter I will present in detail the three levels at which the cultural policy emerges. At local level, the decentralization process represented one of the most important elements of cultural policy. National policy will be presented from two points of view: from the international trends perspective and from the perspective of two European models in cultural policy making, respectively English and French models, demonstrating the manner in which the Romanian one is more oriented towards the English one. Romanian cultural policy at international level is marked by the (re)positioning and (re)integration of Romanian culture in European and world cultural space.

¹¹⁰ Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia and Turkey.

¹¹¹ To give some examples: number of persons who: read - 46% (ranked 11/15), possess books: 75% (ranked 14/15), read daily the newspapers 20% (last position), listen to traditional-folk music 67% (ranked 3/15), listen to classic music 17% (ranked 13/15), go to concerts 15% (ranked 14/15). (data from Eurobarometer 2003.1, Public Opinion in the candidate countries, 2003, *New Europeans and Culture*)

¹¹² UNESCO, *Our creative diversity*, cap. 6, *Children and young people*

4.1. Cultural Policy on Local Level

Decentralization is the first step that central authorities must take in order to give the necessary liberty to municipal local authorities to configure a proper cultural policy. „Generally, it seems that the culture and cultural policy roles in periods of profound changes, as this one, could be precious, previewing the fact that not a reply of nationalistic or imperialistic type culture, for example, reactive trends, but previewing as culture decentralization could be really one of the measures for creation of the concept and of the practice of cultural policies, which gives the possibility to South-Eastern European states to live, to cooperate and to integrate in an European world where cultures are not anymore the appendices of power, of supremacies and of conflict strategies, but they are privileged modalities to communicate and to develop the best qualities of nations, communities and individuals having as basis the equality, freedom, creativity and solidarity. Can such a vision incorporated in decentralization agenda?“¹¹³

In the Council of Europe Declaration in 1983¹¹⁴, the participant countries „have considered as essential that each local authority must have the right and the capacity to formulate and to implement its own cultural policy in the light of cultural specific traditions, existent infrastructure, extension and nature of each reception basin and population cultural characteristics.“¹¹⁵ In the same time, the same international forum „asks the governments to follow a policy of cultural decentralization and to assure that the local and regional authorities have the powers and the proper resources to play their vital role in order to offer artistic and recreational facilities and in cultural activities promotion.“¹¹⁶ Therefore, the cultural policy realization on local level has started from the system decentralization, from the political point of view, administratively, but also fiscal and financial, the most important being, of course, political decentralization. „Political decentralization is the first part of the power play of

¹¹³ Vjeran Katunarić, *New Public Culture as an Objective of the Decentralisation Process*, p. 45

¹¹⁴ Council of Europe, Bremen Declaration (1983): Town and Culture- New responses to cultural problems

¹¹⁵ Op. cit., art. 8

¹¹⁶ Op. cit., art. 9

different collective actors: state, local politicians, experts and businessmen.”¹¹⁷ In some former communist countries, this decentralization was imposed by the ethnic-demographic structure, being one of the decisive factors in regional and local decentralization, as is the case of former Yugoslavia. This type of decentralization had as objective the recognition of the ethnical cultural identity.

In Romania, decentralization, or what was named like this immediately after 1989, was made on administrative and political backgrounds. The redirection of responsibility from central authority towards the local one could be framed as being part of the decentralizations category with „Titanic” objective, as Vjerman Katunaric characterizes in *New Public Culture as an Objective of the Decentralisation Process*. He describes this type of decentralization as being a decentralization that „conducts to a central competencies reduction in cultural policy, but where the local cultural administration and the cultural institutions and their activities remain unsure in future finances and competencies, or otherwise they are left to unpredictable results of local policies, on local budgets on a competitive market (for example through privatization). The objective of this kind of policy could be named *Titanic*, this meaning that not only certain national privileged institutions enjoy the state security and permanent protection, while the other institutions, associations or groups are let on destiny willing. (...) Though, the result can be a latent consequence of all decentralized policies that come from the old conception of culture as something that deserves the state patronage for the sick of *national interest*.”¹¹⁸

Decentralization as a process is very hard to be justified, for different reasons, as Vjerman Katunaric underlines in the same paper. The first reason is the one that the new social and political realities must be reflected into cultural policy. But, as long as these realities are not well determined, they are still ambiguous and confuse, on concept level, and on reception one,

¹¹⁷Vjerman Katunaric, *New Public Culture as an Objective of the Decentralisation Process*, în Hanneloes Weeda, Corina Şuteu și Cas Smithunijsen (editori), *The arts, politics and change- Participative cultural policy-making in South East Europe*, European Cultural Foundation, Ecumest Association, *Bookmanstudies*, Amsterdam, 2005, p. 35

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 39

neither the cultural policy can not have a specific shape, not having the necessary basis, an established starting point. „In the case of former communist countries it is difficult to justify the policy of centralization and the one of decentralization. Firstly, as the old central cultural policy fit the former system, the new cultural policy reflects the values of new social and political orders. Though, which are these values?”¹¹⁹ Therefore, a political and social priority should have been the identification of these values from which to start the public policies concepts, especially the cultural policy. This phenomenon of becoming aware about identities, definitive values, appeared, at least in Romania, very late, after more than 10 years, phenomenon known under the title of „nation brand definition”. And in this process of self conscience of identity through its formulation, culture plays the most important role; implicitly cultural policy has a major role too.

To come back to the decentralization justification instead of centralization, the same author brings in discussion the choice of decentralization as modality of response to the new values, as diversity, multiculturalism, identity, creativity, that were identified by the international instances, as Council of Europe, and not by the national ones, as it should have been natural, as a normal response to new realities. But, as I have already shown, the awareness of these was made very slowly; therefore they had to be first imported. „Secondly, if diversity and multiculturalism, identity, creativity and participation are such of new values – to name the Council of Europe principles that many countries are willing to reflect in their cultural policies – which one of these values can be achieved exactly through decentralization, and why not through centralization? (...) Again a clear definition of decentralization objectives seems to be missing together with the instruments that should operate these objectives for decentralization in order to be obtained in a predictable period of time.”¹²⁰ In this regard, the choice of decentralization instead of the maintenance of a centralized system must be

¹¹⁹ Vjerman Katunarić, *New Public Culture as an Objective of the Decentralisation Process*, în Hanneloes Weeda, Corina Şuteu și Cas Smithunijzen (editori), *The arts, politics and change- Participative cultural policy-making in South East Europe*, European Cultural Foundation, Ecumest Association, *Bookmansstudies*, Amsterdam, 2005, p. 45

¹²⁰ *ibidem*

supported with strong arguments. The answer to the question „why decentralization and why not centralization?” becomes a necessity for decentralization process justification. A possible answer to this question could be the one that in the case of decentralization of the system, as well as in all life structures, one had tried, on very superficial and „hypocrite” level a denial, a cancellation of the communism „heritage”, here being included the state organization mode after the ultra centralized one. Another answer, which came later, once with the Romanian candidature to European Union, starts from one of the main principles of EU – „subsidiary principle”, through which is searching the assurance of decision making as closer as possible to citizen. „Subsidiary is many times used as a code to decentralization (or retention of protection national barriers).”¹²¹ The state closeness as much as possible to the citizen is made through this delegation of central powers to the local ones.

Otherwise, the system of former communist countries could have been characterized through a combination between centralism and decentralization, fact that did not create just an unfavourable political space for cultural development. „Thirdly, maintaining a *status quo*, making the system of cultural policy neither completely centralized, nor decentralized to a level well determined, in this confusion one can not prevent the future erosion of cultural functions in post communist societies.”¹²² The Romanian example is relevant in this sense. Decentralization, in general, and the one in cultural field, particularly, were made by force, immediately after 1989, under pressure came from the part of society but also from the part of political sphere. In cultural field, after 1993, it was tried a re-centralization process¹²³, as superficial as the decentralization made after 1989. And, as the National Report on Romanian

¹²¹ Christophor Gordon , *Centralism or descentralisation? Finding the balance under changing conditions*, în Hanneloes Weeda, Corina Şuteu și Cas Smithunijsen (editori), *The arts, politics and change- Participative cultural policy-making in South East Europe*, European Cultural Foundation, Ecumest Association, Bookmanstudies, Amsterdam, 2005, p. 73

¹²² Vjeran Katunaric, *New Public Culture as an Objective of the Decentralisation Process*, în Hanneloes Weeda, Corina Şuteu și Cas Smithunijsen (editori), *The arts, politics and change- Participative cultural policy-making in South East Europe*, European Cultural Foundation, Ecumest Association, Bookmanstudies, Amsterdam, 2005, p. 45

¹²³ „As we know, in 1994, through Government Decision no. 442, public cultural institutions on county level: public libraries, museums, conservation and valorization centres of tradition and folk art, folklor groups – were transferred from the subordination of counties Councils under the Ministry subordination.” National Report, p. 29

cultural policies shows, what was named decentralization in that period, 1989 – 1994, it was just „a subtle form of centralism and control”¹²⁴, „a new centralization”¹²⁵. Both processes did not have good consequences for cultural development. „This decentralization had triggered a series of negative effects, as: the raise of financial pressure on state budget; dysfunctions in specialized activity of public local cultural institutions, because of the establishment by the state of budgetary allocations and a maximum number of employees; tensions between Ministry of Culture and public local authorities, transformed in some cases in litigious juridical cases; limitation, in some cases, of functional autonomy and institutional decision; impossibility of proper financial control concerning the management of public funds which are distributed.”¹²⁶

Therefore, the switch from communist system with a centralized policy, dictated and controlled by the political centre, together with the unique party, from the political-ideological engineering, to a decentralized system on local level was, on the one hand, a decentralization only by name, and on the other hand, it was made without taking into consideration the fact that the system was not prepared for this, local authorities did not have yet a conscience of themselves well developed. „In the absence of a local independent pre-existent authority after the fall of soviet system in 1989, decentralization can be seen as an unsure and dangerous policy. How can be obtained a constructive balance where could exist a heritage supra-extended of institutions nationally protected from the communist age, an undeveloped economy and a system still in infant stage of the autonomous and democratic local governance? From the time of former system where the cultural local infrastructure was assured by the socialist state, everything is now in risk, a solution could be found only if the

¹²⁴ Programme Européen d’Examen des politiques culturelles nationales la politique culturelle en Roumanie rapport national, octobre 1999, p. 17

¹²⁵ ibidem

¹²⁶ Conseil de l’Europe, Conseil de la coopération culturelle, Programme européen d’examen des politiques culturelles nationales. La politique culturelle en Roumanie, Rapport national, octobre 1999, p. 29

ones who are in responsibility positions, at the centre and at the periphery, can come with mature agreements on priorities.”¹²⁷

The next stage in decentralization was in 1998, once with the reformulation of Ministry of Culture organization and function¹²⁸. Now are reformulated the attributes and the competencies in cultural field that the local councils and the council of Bucharest city have, here being included the local cultural strategy elaboration in partnership with public local authorities, public institutions and non governmental organizations, participation in conception and cultural strategy application, incentives given and financial support for cultural projects proposed by public institutions or by non governmental organizations; evaluation in common with the local public authorities on the activity of public cultural institutions; evaluation of aspirations and cultural exigencies of different local communities, in order to establish coherent strategies to satisfy these aspirations¹²⁹. Nowadays cultural strategy of the Ministry of Culture and Cults has as one the priority objectives, the continuation and the consolidation of political decentralization process, administratively and financially. „Central authority will assure that it is enough will on local plan to support decentralized institutions.”¹³⁰

Reformulation of the local authorities' position towards culture offered the proper legal framework for freedom action of these authorities. In fact, the necessity of a new relationship between culture and central authorities was emphasized by the international forums, especially by the Council of Europe. In the report of experts of Council of Europe, *Inside the culture – a contribution to the debate on culture and on Europe development (1998)*, they underline that „the local and regional authorities should invest with the responsibility of establishing global

¹²⁷ Christophor Gordon, Centralism or decentralisation? Finding the balance under changing conditions, în Hanneloes Weeda, Corina Șuteu și Cas Smithunijsen (editori), *The arts, politics and change- Participative cultural policy-making in South East Europe*, European Cultural Foundation, Ecumest Association, Bookmanstudies, Amsterdam, 2005, p. 73

¹²⁸ Governmental Decision 134/1998

¹²⁹ Conseil de l'Europe, Conseil de la coopération culturelle, Programme européen d'examen des politiques culturelles nationales. La politique culturelle en Roumanie, Rapport national, octobre 1999, p. 24

¹³⁰ Programul de guvernare 2005, Politica în domeniul culturii (Governmental Programme 2005, The Policy in the Cultural Field)

cultural strategies taking into consideration their own programmes for development in economical, social, educative, and urban areas.”¹³¹

To relief the good consequences of decentralization and in order to demonstrate the importance of correlation of culture with local specific reality, as it was underlined in the Council of Europe report, two examples can be showed: the initiatives of Romanian counties Timiș and Arad to construct a local cultural policy. In the same time, these initiatives under the „tutelage” of local councils are coming after the recommendations of the Council of Europe, where the municipalities’ involvement in such projects must be seen as one of the local authorities attributes. „Authorities should support experiments with a stimulating vision and to reconsolidate the local participation in cultural affairs; in any case, they should show clearly why such experiments are going to take place, to define the limits of accessible support and to be engaged in opened evaluation and collaboration.”¹³²

These initiatives demonstrate a long term orientation, a proactive trend in local county authorities’ actions, instead the „subordination” to the centre decisions. These initiatives certify what Vesna Copic sustained: „local auto governance is the turning point of democracy; the decisions must be taken to a level as closer as possible to the citizen; centralization suffocates flexibility, receptivity and adaptability to human needs.”¹³³

Both initiatives were developed in a wider framework, a *Policies for culture*¹³⁴ programme for regions and localities in former communist countries as Bulgaria (Plovdiv), Bosnia and Herzegovina (Prijeedor), Croatia (Zagreb și Rijeka), Macedonia (Prilep), Serbia (Sombor, Sabac, Kragujevac, Uzice, Zlatibor, Obrenovac), and Romania (Arad and Timiș). In the case of both strategies, an important role has been played by the external factor, respectively European Union, not only as project financer, but especially as agent that

¹³¹ Op. Cit. p. 28

¹³² Council of Europe, Bremen Declaration (1983): Town and Culture- New responses to cultural problems, art. 14

¹³³ Vesna Copic, *Waiting for Godot. Legislation as a means to a achieve goals*, în Hanneloes Weeda, Corina Șuteu și Cas Smithunijsen (editori), *The arts, politics and change- Participative cultural policy-making in South East Europe*, European Cultural Foundation, Ecumest Association, Bookmanstudies, Amsterdam, 2005, p. 86

¹³⁴ Cultural Policy Resources In South East Europe, <http://www.policiesforculture.org/>

encouraged this kind of initiatives. If in the case of Timiș county, the accent was put on European procedures adoption in cultural policy conception, „cultural strategy was elaborated starting from the necessity of adaptation to European procedures used in a coherent and unitary cultural policy definition”¹³⁵, in the case of Arad, the accent was put more on the future utility of this policy, without being excluded „the European dimension” of the project: „the objective of *Cultural strategy of Arad county* is to offer to the county public authorities the framework and the instruments of a cultural modern and efficient initiative on counties level, in the perspective of Romanian integration to European Union.”¹³⁶

In the case of Romanian Western counties, in strategy definition for a cultural policy, it started from an analysis of the existent realities at that moment, through the identification of weak and strength points, from the sociologic, ethnographic, economic and cultural point of view, and cultural capital that could be exploited in the future. Starting from the identified necessities, the experts drew the main lines of the strategy objectives. In Arad county, the necessities of cultural domain were „firstly, the diminution of population participation in county cultural life, then, the absence of a partnership between non governmental organizations and public cultural authorities and local politicians; thirdly, the absence of a strategy to allocate public funds to culture.”¹³⁷ Therefore, the three elements of cultural system, public, non governmental sector and local authorities, all three were involved in conception and in further implementation of cultural policy. One can observe that not only culture *per se* entered in the interest area, but also the collaboration between cultural civil society and the financing problem were taken into consideration. In fact, the stages through which the conception project had passed, as Marius Lazurca, the initiator and the coordinator of the project, identify them, included three stages. The first stage was of research that offered starting points in policy

¹³⁵ Corina Răceanu (coord. de proiect), *Strategia culturală a județului Timiș- Model de dialog social. Sinteză*, Institutul Intercultural Timișoara, <http://www.intercultural.ro/carti/cultstrategy-ro.html>

¹³⁶ Marius Lazurca (coord.), *Strategia Culturală a județului Arad 2003-2007*, http://www.policiesforculture.org/administration/upload/Arad_County_Cultural_Strategy_RO.pdf

¹³⁷ Marius Lazurca, *Arad s Cultural Strategy. The Reformation of a Cultural system in Romania*, în Hanneloes Weeda, Corina Șuteu și Cas Smithunjsen (editori), *The arts, politics and change- Participative cultural policy-making in South East Europe*, European Cultural Foundation, Ecumest Association, Bookmanstudies, Amsterdam, 2005, p. 168

conception, followed by other two important stages. The second one was the consultation – promotion –information one, and the third was focused on lobby activity. If the consultation – promotion –information stage had as main role the raise of attention on the necessity of a reform in cultural field, trying to involve as many participants as possible, focusing on the public, but also on local political sphere and cultural agents¹³⁸, the next stage, the lobby, was considered as being the most important one for the future of this reform project. „The third activity, lobby, was considered very important, the success of the entire programme depending on its implementation. A cultural strategy that would have been not adopted by the County Council, and that would have not reformed the legislation and the procedures, would have remained only an academic exercise.”¹³⁹

I consider the first stage the research one as being the most important because it provided the starting points in cultural policy formulation. In the first stage was made an evaluation of the whole cultural system in the county. As Marius Lazurca showed, „research activity had the following three objectives: firstly to know the preferences of county citizens and the cultural taste variations; secondly, to evaluate the potential of the most important cultural institutions, and finally, to evaluate in detail the evolution of financing procedure of the County council in the last years.”¹⁴⁰

Regarding the public, the cultural policy that was to be conceived had to start mainly from the target, the county population. To identify the profile of this public, the cultural consumer and his relation with cultural field, have been developed sociologic studies. As the opinion barometers for the Arad County showed, even if the population considers culture as important and very important, respectively 71% in urban environment and 69% in rural

¹³⁸ The consultation-promotion-information stage had as main scopes: „to raise the attention of authorities, politicians and general public on the necessity of a reform in cultural domain; to establish a framework as wider as possible to assure the the relevance and the legitimacy of this initiative; to keep a constant dialogue with the civil society, to prepare the lobby activity necessary to approach the strategy of Arad County Council.”

¹³⁹ *ibidem*

¹⁴⁰ Marius Lazurca, *Arad's Cultural Strategy. The Reformation of a Cultural system in Romania*, în Hanneloes Weeda, Corina Șuteu și Cas Smithunijsen (editori), *The arts, politics and change- Participative cultural policy-making in South East Europe*, European Cultural Foundation, Ecumest Association, Bookmanstudies, Amsterdam, 2005, p. 165-173

environment, non participation in cultural activities was very high, more than 80%. Having in mind the orientation in which the sociological evaluation was made, „the engaged attitudinal model towards the cultural phenomenon”¹⁴¹ on criteria of gender, age groups, global income, residence environment and educational capital, relevant for the future cultural policy were the age groups and educational capital. Therefore, two zones where the policy had to be focused had been put in light. On the one hand, after age category, the policy had to be focused on young public, around the age of 25 years old – „ the target group that is characterized by indices of high knowledge of cultural phenomenon (under 25 years old) must become the main receiver of cultural policies, because it has the most consistent knowledge potential.”¹⁴², and on educational level, the policy had to be focused on „those with high-school accomplished”, at least, to value the potential of this public. „Sociologic study demonstrates that there is a direct relation between individual educational level and the interest for culture: as one person has a higher educational level, as he or she is more preoccupied for the cultural phenomenon in general. This fact conducts to the conclusion that the necessity of some educational programmes for public, mostly for the young public, programmes that would have as aim the enlargement of addressability sphere of cultural offer. As a consequence, the necessity of „investment in young people” proved to be not only a cliché of public life, but a sociological fact, which indicates the presence of an active social layer, with a more considerable potential.”¹⁴³ But not only must the young public be oriented towards culture. Adult public is also a potential culture consumer and culture producer, that has to be „exploited” in local communities. „Local authorities must be aware of the huge opportunities offered by local orientation of school aspects and adult education to develop a participative culture on local

¹⁴¹ Indicators of this model were information, knowledge, interest, faith, participation, expectancies, resources related to the cultural phenomenon.

¹⁴² Marius Lazurca (coord.), Cultural Strategy of Arad County 2003-2007, http://www.policiesforculture.org/administration/upload/Arad_County_Cultural_Strategy_RO.pdf, p. 53

¹⁴³ idem, p. 63

level as an essential condition for public effective participation in conceiving, administrating and using cultural facilities.”¹⁴⁴

As a distinctive note compared to Arad county cultural policy, the one of Timiș County focused more on ethnic element. One of the strategic directions in its cultural policy is the conservation of multiculturalism aspect, as key element in social cohesion of Timiș area. This direction had two objectives, the first one being to support the associative cultural life of national minorities, the second proposed objective being the encouragement of initiation and development of intercultural projects.¹⁴⁵

But not only the public was in the centre of the attention, in this first stage of cultural reality evaluation, but also the cultural capital that could have been exploited in the future cultural policy, on the one hand the cultural institutions, which were under the subordination of County Council¹⁴⁶, and the promoters of cultural activities in rural environment, as cultural centres, schools, church, and on the other hand cultural manifestations, for example programmes, projects, and cultural events proposed by institutions or individuals. In this case, the identified development areas in cultural policy were a better promotion of these institutions and cultural programmes that they initiate and support. For a better visibility of the culture provided by these institutions, „public authority must stimulate the creation inside of subordinated institutions of some specialized information and promotion structures that would function on the basis of a proper policy in the relation with the public of each institution. Cultural institutions must enter in an active partnership relationship with mass-media, and the public reflection of its activity must become subject of managers’ evaluation.”¹⁴⁷

The reality from which cultural policy conception started in Arad County was not a positive one. After they have identified the premises from which they had to start the cultural

¹⁴⁴ Council of Europe, Bremen Declaration (1983): Town and Culture- New responses to cultural problems, art. 17. f

¹⁴⁵ Corina Răceanu (coord. de proiect), *Strategia culturală a județului Timiș- Model de dialog social. Sintează*, Institutul Intercultural Timișoara, <http://www.intercultural.ro/carti/cultstrategy-ro.html> / Cultural strategy of Timis County – Model for social dialogue. Synthesis.

¹⁴⁶ County Library “A.D. Xenopol”, County Cultural Centre Arad, Museums Complex Arad and Arts School

¹⁴⁷ Marius Lazurca (coord. de proiect), *Strategia Culturală a județului Arad 2003-2007*, http://www.policiesforculture.org/administration/upload/Arad_County_Cultural_Strategy_RO.pdf, p. 34

policy conception, the zones where cultural policy had to be focused with predilection were delimited, as the studies on public structure and the ones on accessible cultural capital had showed. The conclusions were that the cultural policy must be focused mainly on population attraction towards cultural act and its involvement in an active and participative manner to county cultural life. This orientation of cultural policy was also prescribed by the Council of Europe, in Bremen Declaration: „participation in cultural events, processes and decisions represent an important step in conscientious public involvement in social and political life. This happens in an efficient way on local level – the city, the village or the neighbourhood, this is the true *locus* of participation where people can be better presented one to another, as in aspirations as in actions.”¹⁴⁸ This mechanism of stimulation the cultural consumption and the population s participation in and at cultural activities, institutions providers of culture, libraries, museums, cultural centres, but also the schools, play a main role. „Stimulation programmes for citizens’ interest in culture must take into consideration the expectations and the public preferences. (...) To conclude: the investments in cultural policies ought to focus mostly on subjects interest and participation, and not necessarily on resources (inevitable, limited) and expectations (somehow, rose) towards the cultural phenomenon. (...) The public authority must encourage those cultural programmes that conduct the citizens to the idea that the participation brings them a symbolic win through valuation of social anchor of cultural importance, unanimously valued by all investigated layers. One must promote those programmes that encourage the subjects’ participation in activities that should be perceived as cultural activities, even if they are supported by modest means and are on smaller amplitude.”¹⁴⁹ Otherwise, this orientation of cultural policies towards the participative element of the population, through cultural production and through consumption, in order to consolidate the community, and to reach a profound social cohesion, was supported also in the Council of Europe study, Inside the culture. In this study appears the formula that „cultural policies must be projected in a way that

¹⁴⁸ Op. Cit., art. 14

¹⁴⁹ Marius Lazurca (coord. de proiect), Strategia Culturală a județului Arad 2003-2007, http://www.policiesforculture.org/administration/upload/Arad_County_Cultural_Strategy_RO.pdf

facilitates the launch of this dynamic (production stimulation and cultural consumption on local level) and to strength the affiliation sentiment to a local collective as a modality to combat the effects of centralist trends.”¹⁵⁰ But these cultural policies were oriented not only towards the local sphere, but they had a regional and international openness. In Arad county strategy, the integration in the international space was traced by the participation in programmes and projects developed in partnership. The international direction of Timis county cultural strategy was focused, as well as in Arad, on the development of international cooperation capacity, but also on the cultural and artistic regional values affirmation on international circuits.

Cultural policy conception delimited the prioritized areas where local authorities had to concentrate their attention, mostly through funds redirection. „The strategic plan represented the starting point, a set of directions for further action, from which the effective policies could have been developed to assure the most effective manner to spend the existent funds.”¹⁵¹

These initiatives came from the local authorities could have been taken only in the context of an effective decentralization from the central to the local level. The counties of Timiș and Arad demonstrated that the cultural policy has to become a central point in municipalities agenda, in order to develop the culture by determining the population to get involved and to participate to cultural life of the community, on the one hand, and on the other, in order to have a better relation between the authorities and the governance target, the population. If in many Romanian counties do not exist real cultural policies, where the culture is understood more as patrimony, the example given by Timiș and Arad should be taken and followed, even by the political centre. The local models can be considered examples on micro dimensions, which can be exposed on national level either. „The municipalities have

¹⁵⁰ *În miezul culturii- O contribuție la dezbateră asupra culturii și dezvoltării în Europa*, Versiune sintetică a unui raport pregătit pentru Consiliul Europei de Grupul european de acțiune culturală și dezvoltare, Versiunea în limba română apare sub egida Ministerului Culturii din România, (traducere de Vladimir Simon), 2000, p. 49

¹⁵¹ Philipp Dietachmair and Oana Radu, *To set Things moving. Cultural strategies for cities and counties in South East Europe*, în Hanneloes Weeda, Corina Șuteu și Cas Smithunijsen (editori), *The arts, politics and change-Participative cultural policy-making in South East Europe*, European Cultural Foundation, Ecumest Association, Bookmanstudies, Amsterdam, 2005, p .77

elaborated cultural policies that are inscribed on broader context of policies for economic development and become even sources of inspiration for national cultural policies.”¹⁵²

4.2. Cultural Policy on National Level

The international trends in cultural policy orientation influenced, directly or indirectly, national cultural policy. „Cultural policy of European countries develops and influences mutually.”¹⁵³

Cultural policy at European level has taken great amplitude immediately after the Second World War. Since then, cultural policy has passed through many development phases, where the accents varied from the civilization value of the arts to the role of culture in urban regeneration and in social cohesion consolidation. The years 1960 had been characterized by a „cultural democratization”, which put the accent more on the creation of the possibility for every citizen to participate in cultural act, through low prices for tickets, free entrance to museums, educational programmes. The institutions that were involved in these actions were cultural centres and cultural homes. After that, the years 1975 came with „cultural democracy”. „Cultural democracy is a political project that, starting from the cultural diversity more and more visible in the European societies, searches to give each individual and each group the ways to accede to the real cultural progress.”¹⁵⁴ Through cultural democracy, the culture has descended in every day life, in cultural centres in neighbourhoods and in villages. With the years 1980 appears the idea of European cultural identity, but one discusses also about the cultural activity value for social and economical vitality, contribution to the appearance of the concept culture as development instrument. Afterwards, the years 1990 came, characterized by an affirmative action or positive discrimination, when the cultural policy has been focused

¹⁵² *Inside Culture- A Contribution to Debates on Culture and Development in Europe*, Synthetic version of a report prepared for the Council of Europe by the European Group for Cultural Acts and Development, Romanian version is issued under the Romanian Culture Department, (translation by Vladimir Simon), 2000, p. 16

¹⁵³ Milena Dragicevic-Sesic, Branimir Stojkovic, *Cultura. Management, Mediere, Marketing*, Fundația Interart TRIADE, 2002, p. 33

¹⁵⁴ Antonio Perotti, *Migrations et société pluriculturelle en Europe*, 1996, p.

more on the border and marginalized artists promotion, as the immigrants, women, national minorities, but also the unemployed and the delinquencies. After 1995, the accent is put more on cultural cooperation, on partnership and cultural networks development, on pan European and collaborations between different sectors.¹⁵⁵ As a document of UNESCO shows, „21st century will find us in an urban world; the growth and the spread of cities are the most important cultural changes in the last century. While we are celebrating the creativity, innovation, variety, dynamism and we split „modernity”, implicitly in city life, there is a black part of the city life: chemical pollution, violence, crime, social alienation, poverty, and sickness.”¹⁵⁶ Therefore, culture becomes an efficient environment where the society can escape from this excessive and harmful urbanization. The nowadays trend is to recognize the culture’s role in urban regeneration.

Regarding the Romanian cultural policy, until 1989 we can not speak about a connection with the European trends, because of the communist glass globe. After 1989, once with the movement towards a unified European market and a united cultural area, with the will to collaborate with the former communist countries, after the major changes in political, social and economic scenes that happened in these countries, „Europe” had opened „her” arms and received „her prodigal sons”. Therefore, the former communist countries had reconnected to European culture, enriching it with their own national cultural values. In this demarche of former communist countries’ cultures integration in European culture and spirit, maybe in the global one, the importance of network in cultural landscape became bigger and bigger. Former communist countries felt the necessity of reconnection to European culture, but this one could not have been realized just through international cultural dialogue, through these countries involvement in European cultural projects. And like this has been created what was missing during the communist period: the cultural dialogue on individuals’ level, not only on

¹⁵⁵ Data are taken from Milena Dragicevic-Sestic, Branimir Stojkovic, *Culture, Management, Mediation, Marketing*, Interart Foundation TRIADE, p.34, and from Francois Matarasso and Charles Landry, *21 Strategic Dilemas of Cultural Policy, Research and Development Unit for Cultural Policies*, Romanian version under Romanian Culture Department, 2000, p. 13-20

¹⁵⁶ UNESCO, *Our Creative Diversity*, chap. 8 *Culture and Environment*

centralized institutions level. An example in this matter is the programme Culture 2000, communitarian programme established for 7 years (2000 – 2006), having as objective the common cultural space promotion for all European peoples. This programme supports the cooperation between artists, creators, cultural operators, public or private cultural promoters, cultural networks and other partners as cultural institutions of EU member states or participant countries in the programme.¹⁵⁷

In the international context, each state keeps its proper cultural policy, each country having its own characteristics in culture approach. After the model in which they assume the role in cultural life, as the state sees the relation towards the culture, and as it organizes the cultural financing, there were identified many models¹⁵⁸ of cultural policy. In Europe one can find the fully or partially state-owned model of cultural policy – *arm's length* – in Great Britain and Ireland. Characteristic to this model¹⁵⁹ is the fact that the government does not respond directly for cultural issues, mainly of financing, but the government transferred this responsibility to a specialized organ, an artistic council. “We (Department for Culture, Media, and Sport) do not offer directly financing to individuals. We give money to our agencies and sponsored organisms and we have responsibilities for National Lottery policy, establishing the policy and the financial framework where operates the organisms for fund distribution.” Therefore, the artistic council for culture financing is named by the government, but it remains an autonomous state organ, not being directly coordinated by the central authority, being in fact an independent agent of the government. “*The Council for Art of England* is the national agency for arts development in England, distributing the public money from Government and National Lottery.”¹⁶⁰ As can be observed, this council comes with an innovatory idea of culture

¹⁵⁷ Consultancy Centre for European Cultural Programs, Romania contact point for the European Union programme „ Culture 2000 “, <http://www.cultura2000.ro/mainro.htm>

¹⁵⁸ „The model is a logical construction, which does not exist in reality in pure form, but that describes the basic characteristics and the function of certain resorts that define cultural policy of a country.” Milena Dragicevic-Sesic, Branimir Stojkovic, *Cultura. Management, Mediere, Marketing*, Fundația Interart TRIADE, 2002, p. 28

¹⁵⁹ Information from the official website of the Arts Council of England and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/>, respectively http://www.culture.gov.uk/working_with_us/access_to_funding/

¹⁶⁰ Arts Council of England, <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/>

financing, not only from public money, but also from national lottery money. Through this method, England culture had to earn a considerable sum. From 1994, when the National Lottery started its action for cultural financing, almost 2 billion of pounds¹⁶¹ were redistributed to culture, in projects, cultural programmes, grants for artists etc. Through the slogan that this organ has for 2006 – 2008, respectively „to put the arts in the heart of national life and population in the heart of arts”, with the proposed objective to offer „all inhabitants the opportunity to develop a rich and diverse artistic life”, engaging itself in assurance that „high quality works will reach a great number of population, as public and participants”, we can say that the cultural policy of the Council is oriented towards a democratization of culture – artistic values are, in this way, made accessible to large public. Regarding the responsibilities on legislative, these remain on state charge. „We (Department for Culture, Media, and Sport) are responsible for Government policy on arts, sport, National Lottery, tourism, libraries, museums and galleries, radio casting, creative industries, including film and music industry, press freedom, and regulations, licenses, gambling and historical space.” In cultural space, this department proposes to support and to promote the access as larger as possible to the excellence in art – in art sphere, of museums and galleries, in architecture and in construction, but also in historical spaces and in libraries. The English model is, therefore, an elitist system, but which proposes a financing system independently from the effective policy of the state, through this extra-state organism – Arts Council.

Contrary, France comes with a paternalistic vision of the ministry to culture. The history of culture ministry in France begins with André Malraux (July 1959 – June 1969). At that date, the mission of the new ministry of cultural affairs was “to make accessible the fundamental art works of the humanity, and especially of France, to a greater number of French people; to assure a greater audience of French cultural patrimony and to favour the creation of art and spirit works creation.”, therefore a policy of cultural democratization. The next

¹⁶¹ Cum a beneficiat arta de fondurile Loteriei Naționale: valoarea totală- 1,86 bilioane lire, numărul total de proiecte finanțate- 20969 (în perioada noiembrie 1994- septembrie 2004)

important moment for French cultural policy was the years '80, under the ministry Jacques Lang (May 1981 – March 1986; May 1988 – March 1993). This ministry has reoriented the cultural policy towards contemporary society, through re-evaluation of culture from the economic point of view, through contemporary arts encouragement and through audio visual and cultural industries support. In the same period, the cultural education got a greater dimension, introducing in the school environment of new learning disciplines, as the theatre, cinematographic art studies, art history, and also patrimony studies. In the actual cultural policy, the ministry remains the organism responsible for cultural affairs, starting from the idea that “culture is a public service.”¹⁶² The state like model of France is characterized by the role that the state attributes to itself, as cultures protector – „The state must supervise the cultural and artistic patrimony protection, which is of the whole French people. The duty to encourage creation under all its forms is on state charge, also to preserve creations diversity, especially in a world that tends to uniform under the economical interest pressures more and more restrictive.” Also, „the ministry policy, far away of any partisan trend, must to be inspired from the conviction that the culture is not only a source of personal progress, but also a privileged way to reinforce social cohesion giving to each of us the sense of dialogue and the conscience to share with the other the fundamental values.”¹⁶³ Culture appears from this perspective as an environment for society consolidation, through dialogue. France has seen culture, from all the times, as a decisive factor of cultural identity. Regarding culture financing, this is also made from centre. The state is the one in measure to protect the culture from the „jungle” of free economy, the state being the one that offers financial support necessary to cultural development in a free market economy – „The economy of culture could not manage to be exclusively under the economy’s laws.”¹⁶⁴

Even if Romania is traditionally a country that had been oriented, from many points of view, towards French models, regarding the Romanian cultural policy in financing system, one

¹⁶² Ministry of Culture and Communication, France, <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/culture/historique/index.htm>

¹⁶³ Ibidem

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

can say that the French model was not followed in this case. The cultural policy in financing matters was oriented towards the English model. The Cultural National Fund of Romania was created in 1998¹⁶⁵ as a financial fund independent of the state budget, which was intended to be administrated by the Ministry of Culture. The objectives of this fund were to protect, to value the cultural values heritage, to develop and to promote the contemporary cultural values¹⁶⁶. In the article *The National Cultural Fund of Romania, a potentially effective alternative mechanism for public support to culture*, Oana Radu named this mechanism as being „an unimportant actor in the Romanian landscape in the public support for cultural and artistic activities”¹⁶⁷, because of the limited resources that the fund had at that time, namely in 2001. But, even if it was non operational, the Cultural National Fund of Romania was catalogued as representing “the possible engine in public money allocation system mechanism for culture.”¹⁶⁸ One of the suggestions made in order to make operational this „potential” culture financing organism was its transformation into a totally independent body from the state and the Ministry. Only after four years, namely in 2005, „a new” body which revived and reformed the Cultural National Fund after the model of “arms length”¹⁶⁹. It restrained the functions and competencies of the Ministry of Culture, through the separation of the financing function and the authority functions, as the policy making, regulation and control functions, on the one hand, and on the other hand, in the General Secretary vision, this mechanism did reduce, if not eliminated, political clientele and political pressures on the project selection financing process. In the same time, one must take into consideration that the projects selection is made by the

¹⁶⁵ Ordonance no. 79/1998 regarding the organization and the function of Cultural National Fund, approved with the later modifications by the law no 247/2001

¹⁶⁶ Art. 1. - (1) Cultural National Fund is constituted, named further the Fund, in order to protect, to put in value the cultural heritage, and to develop and promote contemporary cultural values. (2) The Fund is constituted on extra budgetary sources, it administrates itself in extra budgetary regime by the Ministry of Culture and contributes to the accomplishment of the objectives on line (1), ordonance no 79/1998 regarding the organization and the function of Cultural National Fund

¹⁶⁷ Oana Radu, *The National Cultural Fund of Romania, a potentially effective alternative mechanism for public support to culture*, p. 5, în *Policies for culture. News*, octombrie 2001, <http://www.policiesforculture.org/dld/PfCJournalOct2001.pdf>

¹⁶⁸ *ibidem*

¹⁶⁹ „Arm s length financial body” is the system on which is made the culture financing in many European countries. Out of *Arts Council* in Great Britain, this system is functioning in National Funds of Hungary, Esthonia, Bulgaria, and USA, *National Endowment for the Arts*.

independent experts; the accent is put like this on the cultural act value and stimulates the competition.

The road that this project had was very impetuous. In 2005 was established the Cultural National Fund Administration¹⁷⁰. This body had as objectives „the cultural heritage promotion” and „cultural act quality promotion”, supporting nine cultural fields – visual arts, architecture, written culture and libraries, museums activity, theatre, dance, music, cultural national patrimony, immaterial patrimony, cultural management and professional formation. The year 2005 – 2006 was a pilot year, where the viability of this financing mechanism was tested in Romanian cultural space. In this year, the strategically orientation was on “vast proportions, multidisciplinary and integrator projects”. What one must observe are the accents put on the young art and young artists’ generation encouragement through “contemporary creation support in all cultural fields, a special attention to creators at their professional carrier beginnings.”¹⁷¹ In the same time, the non refundable funds offered by this institution were direction towards international launch of Romanian cultural products, towards proposed projects for conservation and put in value the cultural patrimony, but also to fight against the Romanian language degradation.”¹⁷²

Also, in the year 2005 was established the Centre for Studies and Researches in Cultural Domain¹⁷³. This centre, subordinated to the Ministry of Culture and Cults, is an important provider for data in cultural development; also it identifies, evaluates, supervises and evaluates the public policies in cultural domain. „The cultural policies must be adapted to demographic, economic and social evolutions in the past years.” The cultural policy adaptation can not be done without knowing and without having analyses of social reality from the

¹⁷⁰ Government Decision no. 802 in 14/07/2005 regarding the organization and function of Cultural National Fund Administration

¹⁷¹ Cultural National Fund Administration , http://www.afcn.ro/main_ro/consiliul.html

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Government Decision no 67/2005 regarding the establishment of the Centre for Studies and Researches in Cultural Domain, modified through Decision no 896, in 4 august 2005, "Art. 1. - (1) The Centre for Studies and Researches in Cultural Domain is established, named further Centre, public institution with juridical personality, under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture and Cults.", http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis_pck.htm_act_text?id=66146

cultural trends point of view. Through statistical data, the sociological analyses and economical diagnoses that this institute makes and transmits to the Ministry, the cultural policies could be better correlated to the Romanian cultural reality. In the same time, the cultural policy implementation monitor and the observation of the receptivity of the cultural space towards these policies will determine, in time, the improvement of the future cultural policy conception and implementation.¹⁷⁴ The creation of such institute was recommended by the experts of Council of Europe since 1999, but only in 2005 its establishment became a reality. “Nowadays, though, cultural policy can not be applied exclusively to “culture” in its traditional mean, ignoring the major changes that happened in the mass production and in cultural consumption, especially for the young generation. The experts recommend the establishment of a think tank and of a committee of academicians, investors and cultural administrators who will conduct studies and who will make proposals in order to stimulate the debate in different issues and to find options for the transfer and the distribution of responsibilities between ministries.”¹⁷⁵ Even if the Centre for Studies and Researches in Cultural Domain does not have the dimensions and the role that the experts group preview in 1999 for such a body, its establishment represents, though, a forward step to a more realistic cultural policy.

One can observe that the Ministry of Culture and Cults in Romania, through the creation of an independent financing body, through the constitution of a monitor body, through analyse and prediction of cultural trends in Romania, pursues an improvement of the framework offered to cultural sector, represented by the cultural agents, and the public. Cultural policy, due of these new structures, will correlate better with the cultural necessities, in cultural production and in cultural consumption either.

¹⁷⁴ Centre for Studies and Researches in Cultural Domain, <http://www.culturamet.ro/>

¹⁷⁵ Council for Cultural Cooperation, European Programme of National Cultural Policy Reviews, Cultural Policy in Romania, Report of a European group of experts compiled by Jacques Renard, Strasbourg, 11 October 1999, p. 9

5. Conclusions

This paper has demonstrated that Romania after 1989 had known an ascending way in cultural policy. Not being able to make by itself this road, because of the lack of experts in the cultural management field, and the lack of knowledge in cultures exploitation, understood not only as patrimony, but also as element of the society, Romania needed an external help. Which were the levers, which were the helping elements in a coherent cultural policy definition? The most important external factors were Council of Europe and European Union. Both international organizations have assumed a very important role in bringing the former communist states to a compatible level with Europe. Through the analyses and the recommendations made by these international bodies, but also through their financial support, Romanian cultural policy could connect to international trends.

In Romania, after a transition period which marked not only the economy but also the politics' life, and the cultural sphere, I have showed that the state shares more and more its responsibilities, and the third cultural sector became more and more active. The state remains the legislator and the main financer for culture, to a certain degree, being a promoter of the cultural act and the facilitator of the access to culture, but in the equation policy, culture knows also a third dimension, the independent sector.

The transformations can be observed in the public authorities' approach of culture, in the cultural policy conception, and in their implementation on different levels, on national and international ones. On local level, I have shown that the decentralization process had positive effects on cultural field. One could see that this process had also positive effects on local cultural policy conception, as in the exemplified cases of Timis and Arad counties. Unfortunately, these are the only counties that realized the importance of the conception and the implementation of cultural policies, starting from the identified needs of the society. The other counties of Romania remained still closed in the idea that only the patrimony must be

protected, the local finances going only in the patrimony pocket, and the other cultural elements being ignored. On national level, Romania has oriented more to the English model in cultural policy approach, in financing system, through the autonomy of the National Cultural Fund on the model of arms length. Also, through the establishment of the Centre for studies and researches in Cultural Domain, Romanian cultural policy will be conceived on concrete basis, on statistics and recommendations that come from experts, after the analyse of the cultural demand of the public, of the population, and of the creators and artists. Culture becomes thus a larger space; culture is not reduced any more to patrimony conservation.

The Romanian cultural policy has met a new phase after 2007, when Romania became member of the EU. The analysis of this stage is the subject for another paper.

NOTE: The original paper was written in Romanian. This is the English translated version. The quotes used in this paper are not the original ones, but the translations of the Romanian version. I hope that the meaning was not lost in the translation and conversion processes.

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