

WHAT IS CULTURAL POLICY?

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Liber, sonus, imago, ludus (book, sound, picture, play) are means of breadwinning, of cultivation, of delight or of indoctrination. One can not think about these means dissociating them from man (something like *ars gratia artis* – art for art's sake - does not exist, but is a mere Hollywood invention; see below). Instead there are four dimensions associating Muses and man:

- *Ars gratia culturae* – art for culture's sake: When we look to that field of culture which is inspired by the Muses, being the subject matter of the science of cultural policy, and when we choose a purely prosaic fiscal approach to artistic and humanistic activities, it turns out that in the Federal Republic of Germany this field contributes 44 billion euros (500 euros per inhabitant) resp. almost 2% of the GDP.

- *Ars gratia libertatis* – art for freedom's sake: Cultural expenditure constitutes 2% of private consumption.

- *Politia gratia artis* – policies for arts' sake: Current efforts of German politics to create a framework for art and culture are of exemplary character within Europe.

- *Ars gratia politiae* – art for the sake of living together: The significance of artistic and humanistic activities for the common good is considerable, albeit it may be difficult to provide numerical estimation of their contribution.

The following text aims to explain the situation taking examples from Germany and its specific positive law system. In all four dimensions, cultural policy is a genuine field for scientific research and debates.

1. A budget orientated approach

In a pragmatic first approach, cultural policy is what politics understands under this term when it appropriates funds in the budget.

Our political system assumes that, within a nation, the populace is the sovereign, that its representative is the Parliament, and that the latter's 'royal' privilege is the right to establish the budget. In a democratic system, the budget of a territorial entity constitutes the material substrate of the struggling for a fair order – within the frame of available budgetary resources. Different basic political assumptions will be represented by different parties eligible by the people. Their power play is mirrored in the diversity of priorities for specific areas of politics. Numerically, this diversity figures as the diversity of amounts designated for specific titles.

2. Federation level, Länder level, Community level, Multicommunity level, Churches

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Our first pragmatic approach to the question 'What is cultural policy?' assumed the fiction of omniscience of the state. In reality, the state is only a subsystem of public-law entities and it should be differentiated by separating regions and federal level. In Switzerland they are called cantons and federation (Kantone and Bund, Art. 5 Item 4 of the Swiss Constitution from 1999 et passim), in Austria – federal states and federation (Bundesländer and Bund, Art. 1 Item 1 and Art. 5 Item 1 of the Austrian Constitution from 1929 et passim), in Germany – lands and federation (Länder and Bund, Art. 10 in the German Constitution from 1949 et passim – in Germany there are no 'federal states'). 'Federal' means in an American language use the proper level of a federal state (compare e.g. FBI); while 'föderal' in the European, not a fully logical language use, it means those entities which on a regional level are 'federating' and are partners of a federation, so the level of lands or federal states. Within this text, the translation uses Federation level for 'Bund' or top level, and Lands level for the 'Länder' or regional level of the state.

The question of superiority between these two state areas has remained open since the Nuremberg decree from 1356, later called the Golden Bull, when Charles IV could not go through with his plans to regulate the question of central power. Local territorial units (in the Golden Bull called 'communitates civitatum' – communities of citizens), below these two state levels, won over and preserved from the Middle Ages, beginning with Lombardy, the right to 'regulate all matters of local community in accordance with the acts on their own responsibility' (Art. 28 Item 2 of the German constitution; similarly the constitutions of all lands).

As far as the German cultural policy is concerned, public charges are split on all three levels:

- * a sum total of 1 billion euros at the state level of the federation
- * a sum total of 3,5 billion euros at the state level of lands
- * a sum total of 3,5 billion euros at the community level (both gemeindes and kreises; most of it on charge of cities with more than 100.000 inhabitants).

Subsidies of territorial legal entities for cultural policy annually amount to the total of 8 billion euros.

Public entities are however not necessarily linked to a territory (territorial bodies) or to a wealth (real body). A public entity can also be made by a body of people which form a corporation (a *corpus membrorum*). In the field of German cultural policy, these are especially the Catholic and the Evangelical churches. They spend 4 billion euros annually on cultural tasks.¹ These ecclesiastical subsidies are not included in the Financial Report on Cultural Issues of the Federal Statistical Office Wiesbaden and, consequently, they have to be added to the sum of 8 billion euros presented there. Thus, the total sum of expenses borne by German public institutions (territorial and corporation) is 12 billion euros annually.

3. The international union of states off the track?

The international union of states formulated a definition of culture which does not include any content functional from the point of view of politics, and thus remains fugitive. The World UNESCO Conference on cultural policy in 1982 in Mexico:

agrees: that in its widest sense, culture may now be said to be the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs;²

In a way it is absurd that a conference dominated by representatives from the so-called Third World, quoted Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917). The ethnographer in 1871 established an order of cultures arranged progressively with Europe being the centre that was quoted at the came:

On the basis of the comparative analysis ethnographers are able to define an outline of the development of our civilization [sic]. With high probability it can be stated that races are arranged in the order of the cultures: Australian, Tahitian, Aztec, Chinese, Italian³.

In the introduction to the same volume *Primitive Culture* it is written:

Culture or civilisation, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that whole complex which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society.

The UNESCO definition quote Tylor without his reference to ethnography and without Tylor's equation of the notion of culture with the notion of civilization. This twin of terms was to make career within the western European languages, leading to severe conflicts⁵ 'When the goal is achieved, [...] all of a sudden culture comes to a halt, it becomes [...] civilization' – according to Spengler, who claimed that Occident would have expired⁶. The development of both notions was extraordinarily complex and it proceeded differently in every European language. In 1952 Kroeber and Kluckhohn made a catalogue containing over 200 definitions of the notion of culture⁷ – in the 19th century 'culture and civilization became the criterion of Europe's leading position in the world'⁸. One of the most original definitions of culture was formulated by Bismarck: 'It was only this means of transport [i.e. railway] that initiated the whole modern development, thus it is the railway, its executives and clerks – they are the proper subjects of culture.'⁹ From the historical standpoint, one may support Jörg Fisch's statement¹⁰, that 'man defines his/her own actions, his/her own achievements and their results [...] as opposed to what one possesses naturally' – using for this purpose a pair of notions: 'culture' and 'civilization' 'in the broadest sense of the issue'. 'From this perspective the issue itself constitutes an element of the human existence'¹¹ (It would be nice if we could also trust yet another statement: 'Similarly, consciousness of the above may be presumed as part of human conscience'¹²). When everything becomes culture, the notion of cultural policy ceases to be comprehensible.

The 'United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization' was to be first called 'United Nations Organization for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction' (which would have been more appropriate in the linguistic sense: being a legal person, it cannot be cultural itself, but it can work for culture). However, upon suggestion of the United States of America, and also in the interest of science it was established in 1945 under the name UNESCO. Its predecessor was on the one hand a Genevian 'Bureau international d'éducation' (its head 1929-1967 was Jean Piaget), first and foremost subordinated to the League of Nations' 'Commission internationale de la coopération intellectuelle' (later: 'Organisation'; 1921-46; e.g. Henri Bergson, Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud, Thomas Mann, Paul Valéry, Jules Romains). The organization worked for international peace. Similarly, also the UNESCO founding fathers wanted to maintain the organization 'destinée à instituer une véritable culture de la paix' whose goal was to 'établir solidarité intellectuelle et morale de l'humanité et, ainsi, empêcher le déclenchement d'une nouvelle guerre mondiale'¹³. Humanitas means here mankind, not humanitarianism; the notion 'culture' is one of the thousands of hyphenation one, namely culture of peace. Arts are a means to achieve the higher purpose of peace, they play the role of a 'bastion of peace'. This is what UNESCO wants to achieve according to its mission:

That since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed. // Que, les guerres prenant naissance dans l'esprit des hommes, c'est dans l'esprit des hommes que doivent être élevées les défenses de la paix. (Preamble: Introduction).¹⁴ // [The German translation translates erroneously: '[...]it is in the minds of men that peace must be constructed.]

The statement that arts serve peace expresses hopes which may be respectable, but this is an incomplete description. Young people's aggression is purposefully stirred by the latest types of arts such as TV games; early Hollywood guised patriotic mobilization under the veil of modern form of art, a bit later Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer followed suit under the guise of neo-Latin dictum 'ars gratia artis' (1924); opera of the 19th century is primarily based on the idea of the march; heroic epics did never serve, nor do they now serve, pacifism. Man is not a lamb, how could his/her art be like that, and why should they?

However, the fact that 'ars gratia politicae'¹⁵, that by means of arts and languages normative,

affirmative and at the same time pacifist policy can be implemented and that they indeed constitute 'the third pillar' of politics (according to Willy Brandt recognizing interdependence of art and foreign policy)¹⁶, was obvious at least for the UNESCO founders. There is no data available concerning the sums which on the national, supranational and international scale were spent and are still being spent for these purposes.

4. The shaping of frameworks for the arts through the elaborating of legal norms

You may remember that up to here we have been argued within a most pragmatic approach based on budget figures. We discussed the question 'What is cultural policy?', so far for the level of public territorial legal entities (lands, federation, gemeindes, gemeindeverbände), for the inter-national level, for legal bodies constituted by a group of people (Catholic and evangelical churches).

However, apart from budget statistics, politics affects the sphere of artistic activity and cultural services, also by means of a variety of legal norms, exerting influence not by means of the budget, yet having a direct pecuniary influence. Here is the second, in fact a truly political perspective for the analysis of the question 'What is cultural policy?' Designing these norms constitutes the central task of politics, which does not yet say anything about the purpose as such. Here we can leave alone the widely debated, and insofar questionable 'cultural independence of lands'. This second perspective is primarily the task of the central government, the Federation. Unique among the EU countries was the establishment of a research commission 'Culture in Germany' (2003-05 and 2006-07; Gitta Connemann – the president) by the German Bundestag. In his foreword to the commission's final report, Norbert Lammert, the president of Bundestag explains in some kind of 'politia gratia artis' (policies for arts' sake), and in a nearly too elegant reticence:

The state is not, in our understanding of the state and of culture, responsible for art and culture, but for the conditions under which they are created. It has no material competence regarding the forms and contents, in which art and culture unfold within a society. However, the state holds a cultural policy responsibility for the frameworks, which make such unfolding possible.¹⁷

Indeed, the commission devotes less than 10% of its 625-page main text, i.e. pp. 285-291, to the issue of 'Supporting culture through the joint responsibility of state, civil society and enterprises' and pp. 292-321 to the issue of 'Selected 'areas of special significance requiring support', e.g. the issue of supporting indigenous minorities.

For social affairs all legal norms are collected within a Federal Social Security Statute Book. For building affairs, legal norms are collected within a Federal Building Code Book. A similar Federal Culture Code in which legal norms concerning culture and art would be collected has not been created yet.¹⁸

5. Culture as an economic phenomenon

In order to capture the production in the field of art, beginning with preceding fields (e.g. musical instruments manufacturers) up to succeeding fields (organizers, users, distributors), one may refer to the instrumentarium of the European Union 'Nomenclature statistique des Activites economiques dans la Communaute Europeenne / The Statistical Classification of Economic Activities in the European Community / NACE Rev. 2, edition 2008'. The German classification of economic branches, in the current version 'WZ 2008', is based on this statistical classification. Upon request of the working group Cultural Economy of the Conference of Ministers of Economy, Michael Söndermann from the Cologne based Office of the Research on Cultural Economy, published at the end of 2009 a Manual to the establishment of a statistical database for Cultural Economy and of an international evaluation of Cultural Economy data.

The classification presented by Söndermann does not convince if one follows the notion of culture given in this article. A rubrication 'Art and Entertainment related Economy' seems more reasonable. It may be found adding 12 subbranches of the Söndermann Cultural and Creative Economy sector. Key data for Germany are: 72.904 enterprises and self-employed persons; achieving a cumulated turnover

of 40.204 mln euros; 247.502 persons being employed, 174.599 employed persons obligatory subjects to social insurance; 162.000 euros of turnover per employed person.

The term 'art and entertainment sector' accepted above, makes it possible to define art in a more narrow sense and to define culture in a more broaden understanding, including even zoological gardens (on the world scale the most cherished communal field of culture with some 600 millions visitors a year), as well as circus and carnies, dance schools and the whole sector of radio and television. In comparison to this, the British term 'creative industries' comprises the communication branch (the Press, advertising, design), architectural offices except for underground construction, and particularly software / game industry. 'Creative industries' bundles all this into an artificial whole. The term creative is politically positive, but one its numerous problems is that from a logical point of view all other, necessarily 'non-creative' industries must be considered as 'non-creative'. But this is obviously not true even for the British motor industry, not to mention British financial sector services.

From the point of view of economy, the term's appeal is that the branches of economy gathered here, mark Europe's biggest growth indicators. They caught up with the car construction sector or the chemical industry and, consequently, they are the focal point of politics. At the German conference of ministers of economy in 2008 the following definition appeared: 'The Culture and Creative Economy sector comprises those cultural and creative enterprises, which are predominantly income-oriented and deal with planning, production, distribution and / or medial distribution of cultural / creative goods and services.' The Federal commission 'Culture in Germany' attempted to use as a key the term 'creative act'. However, as anthropological constant, it does constitute a basis for all human artefacts. Therefore it cannot be used in this isolated context.

Be this as it stands. The debate around 'Creative Industries' has a side effect which is important for culture also in its narrower understanding, as well for the economy in general. Söndermann says: 'It is [...] absolutely necessary to draw attention to the fact that the notion of the creative act in the concept of Cultural and Creative Economy must be interpreted as an economic category, too. The production of aesthetic contents must proceed parallelly to an economic process or lead to it. The economic process should not be seen here as simple fiscal estimation, but in a much broader sense'. In Peter Bendixen's argument there is bipolarity of it: every economic process has also a cultural dimension, and every cultural process has an economic dimension.

From the point of view of cultural policy, the notion of economy in the field of culture will not lead far if it is confused with the artificial term of creative economy. In order to get away from this debate, the term 'Art and entertainment economic sectors' was coined (see above). It comprises hardly one per cent of the national economic turnover and hardly one per cent of employed population. However, because of the small scale of most of the initiatives, there is almost a three times higher share of the number of enterprises and self-employed persons. Its core is the production and distribution of literary, musical, dramatical, fine art and film activities. This comprises a turnover of 29,8 billion of euros. Because of the dense interweaving within this sector, the ratio between turnover and GDP contribution to GDP might be 2:1. In economic and political respect, a noteworthy profitability of public expenditure on culture may be observed.

The European Cultural Convention of the Council of Europe (1954) did not have binding consequences for the self-image of its signatory countries and for their economic processes. Therefore it did not cause misunderstandings or resistance. The GATS negotiations showed a different behaviour. A strong opposition of all EU member states as well as of the EU formed itself against the American position. On October 20th, 2005, during the UNESCO general assembly, the UNESCO Cultural Diversity convention was adopted. It initiated a range of activities both on national as well as on international levels.¹⁹ It can be stated that since that day cultural policy gained recognition as a constituent of economically significant politics, in the international arena, too.

6. Civil society

'Cultural education' is a current catchphrase of cultural policy. However, from a logical point it is nothing but a hendiadys. When Cultura appeared in history for the first time (Cicero: *disputationes tusculane*, 45 B.C.), it targeted at the education of (young) people: Education is always a cultivating phenomenon specific for the place of its occurrence. With reference to the regularly intended connotation with Word and Art., it would be more appropriate to talk rather about 'Muse-born education' (or, more precise, about 'camenalic education').

The nine Muses are far less emphatically marked than the notion of 'culture'. The latter may be used to ennoble jurisprudence, turning it into the Culture of Law, or the craft of hairdressing, transforming it into the Culture of the Head, or to call the second lowest need in the Maslow's hierarchy of needs²⁰ a Culture of Eating. According to Peez, the notion of 'Muse-born education' has a complex history.²¹ In the first place, it refers to a formalized process of training: 'Its key characteristics is the principle of holistic education of man, in which stress is put on the critical attitude to culture and appealing to the creative powers [note the plural] of man'.²²

The plural form of the expression 'creative powers' indicates that cultural or Muse-born education of man, initially does not focus on studying thoroughly the arts as an aim in itself. Instead, it focuses on the ability to develop the creative potentials of an individual and to help him/her achieve the ultimate Maslow self-realization ('What a man can be, he must be'²³). A piano and a violin have been proven milestones on this road. According to recent research results²⁴, several hours of mathematics less at school and several hours of music more help score better marks in mathematics. We can note at first a non-mediated function 'ars gratia culturae' (cultura understood as an individual process of maturation in the sense of Cicero,²⁵ which always goes hand in hand with an enculturation into the beliefs of the surrounding society). Beyond this function, again it is not about the arts bearing an aim in themselves 'ars gratia artis', but it is about the anthropologically fundamental function 'ars gratia libertatis'; when the arts stimulate the development of man as homo ludens²⁶. According to Schiller, a man is fully a man only there where he or she plays.²⁷ That sphere is the exact opposite of the middle-high-German notion of 'arbeit', the toil and the worries for to satisfy man's physiologic needs. Since the Greek era, the Muses have been at the core of the European self-conception of civil society, either by ascending through the arts as understood by the late burgher's, or by being entertained by them, in a general social meaning, be it in a creative or a receptive way.

The most recent research of Swiss scholars²⁸ concerning cultural behavior of adults, indicate that 2/3 of the members of the society regularly (from one to six times a year) attend concerts, visit historic landmarks or go to the movies; half of the society goes to the museum, to the circus or to the theater; 1/3 takes part in festivals or goes to the library. Research conducted in other countries, shows similar results.²⁹ Differences in age do not matter – contrary to the differences in education and income. Among the main obstacles to realization of cultural activity, the researchers list lack of time (depending on a field between 50% and 70%), whereas the cost is an obstacle only in 15% of cases.

CULTURAL BEHAVIOR (Switzerland 2008; % of adult population)

Attending concerts

Visiting national monuments
and historic landmarks

Going to the movies

Visiting historic museums,
technical exhibitions etc.

Attending other types of performances
(circus etc.)

Visiting art galleries, and art museums

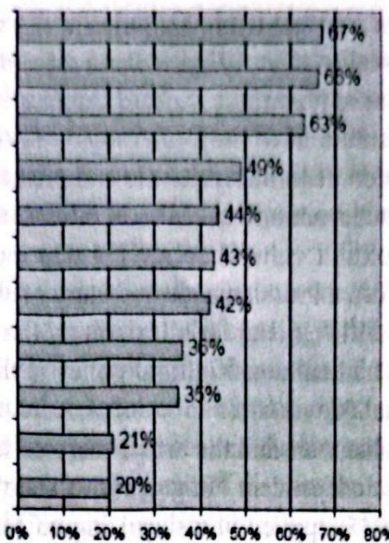
Going to the theater

Going to the library (in free time)

Festivals (all types)

Going to the library (work, education)

Ballet/dance performances



Source: Schweizerisches Bundesamt für Statistik (2009): *Kulturverhalten in der Schweiz. Erhebung 2008*.

The single German's expenses of for literature or the other forms of art – for cultural services or products to use the terminology of the 'basket of products' compiled by the Federal Statistical Office – amount to 344 euros per year; giving a total of 28 billion euros.

The Beotian original trias of Muses³⁰ – Melete, Mneme and Aoidē – was translated by Burckhardt³¹ as Zeal (which is also the original meaning of studium), Memory and Singing. Indeed is μελετάω the central term which was available for the ancient Greeks for to define scientific practice, comprising quite a group of notions: consider, study, practice. Contemporary apprentices devote to these notions half of their time each week. In the era of lifelong learning these notions provide for Europe the decisive chance to develop its economic potential. The art of recollection Mneme characterises the integration of historic thinking. Since the success of the national exhibition on Stauff (Stuttgart 1976), one can see that Mneme interests broader and broader parts of the society. Finally, Aoidē is metonymic with the creative use of all that has been well thought-out and memorized, giving an artistic or humanistic form to the results of thinking and the historic reflection.

The group of civil society's activities referring to art may be treated in this sense as 'Muse-born culture'. Its definition is sharp enough for to become a subject of study in cultural policy, being the segment of cultural policy outlined by the first actor of politics, namely the civil society. Πολιτεία means first of all an interaction of "more than two" (πολύ) people and does not inescapably limit the art of common good merely to the constituted state or burgh. Understanding culture as a bastion of community has some tradition in Germany. Ernst Wolfgang Böckenförde, who became later a lecturer in Freiburg, formulated in 1967 the question: 'What does a nation live on, where does it find the power which elevates it, guarantees unity, and where does it find the strength of regulating the freedom, which it needs?' and he answered openly: 'A free, secularized state lives on premises which it cannot provide on its own.'³²

Tying in with 19th century workers associations, in nowadays Germany the so-called A lands (traditionally governed by left-wing SPD) call their administration 'Ministries of Education and Culture'. In the so-called B lands (traditionally governed by right-wing CDU), the corresponding structures are called 'Ministries of Education and Art'. In reality both ideas denote the same 'Muse-born culture' and the same function of arts in self-unfolding of society and of its members (ars gratia culturae).

7. Cultural policy as a subject of a science of cultural policy

Not the practice itself but the German term "Kulturpolitik" ('cultural policy') is relatively young. After the change of the political system 1918/19 from an empire into a presidential-democratic republic, Germany built 'shrines of honor' (as Richard Wagner said on another occasion).³³ On the one hand, it nationalized the institutions of the former royal or princely courts, and on the other hand, in the wave of a communalization of formerly private and privately financed theatres, museums and educational institutions, it created a nationwide cultural infrastructure.

The now so-called Kulturpolitik ('cultural policy')³⁴ was included in the party programs of the early Weimar Republic.³⁵ Becker, a Prussian undersecretary of state and the later minister of culture, devoted to it a publication in 1919.³⁶ Herder's lexicon of the state defined in 1929 in a strange division between spirit (Geist) and culture: 'Cultural policy is the use of intellectual [geistiger] and cultural instruments by the state'.³⁷

In the era of National Socialism, art and the artists were called-up to serve the totalitarian state. After its fall, the two partially independent 'fragments of state'³⁸ in the east and in the west, at least after the 'hour zero' in 1945, applied in a surprising unison the national-bourgeois models of interpretation of cultural life. Cultural policy attained almost a constitutional rank on October 3, 1990, in the unification treaty proclaiming in article 35, section 1:

In the times of division, culture and art, in spite of differences in the development of both countries in Germany, constituted the basis for maintaining unity of the German nation. They gave an invaluable and independent contribution to the process of the national unification of the Germans on its way to European unification. Apart from political aspects and its economic power, the position and recognition of the united Germany worldwide will depend on its importance as a state of culture.

We may refer to the Federal Republic of Germany as to a "state of culture" in two meanings of the term. Firstly, in a legal sense, due to not honoring the obligation to adopt a constitution according to article 146 of the old version of the fundamental law (Grundgesetz), the Einigungsvertrag of 1990 has acquired a constitutional status and is a foundation for all further legal acts.³⁹ The Bundesverfassungsgericht (the German Supreme Court) already at many earlier occasions had stated and confirmed 'culture as a basic policy objective of the national state'. According to some experts in state law, this means that the proposition of the German Bundestag's Research Commission Culture in Germany to adopt an article 20b into the constitution becomes redundant (it was proposed to refer to the National Assembly at St. Paul's Church in Frankfurt and to the Weimar Republic and to introduce a statement "the state guards and supports culture").⁴⁰ On the other hand, we have the financial point of view: as has been pointed out, the communities and states, as well as on the sidelines the federal government spend 8 billion euro of public means a year financing German culture. There are also public-law institutions of the two churches which spend estimated 4 billion euros, as well as exemption of taxes for the amount of 1,5 billion euros.⁴¹ Altogether, this sums up to 13,5 billion euros or 165 euros of public subsidies per capita. Private expenditure of citizens on cultural services or products (e.g. radio and TV subscription) amount to 344 euros per person, which gives a total of additional 28 billion euros. This sum can be added directly to the total given above (whereas the economical turnover of the cultural economy is a parallel calculation, which can not be additionally included here). The humanities in the narrow sense of the term obtain 2,4 billion euros. The sector of culture in the narrow sense publicly and privately financed, thus comprises ca. 44 billion euros per annum, which is the equivalent of about 500 euros per capita.

This cultural sector is the subject matter of the studies of the politics of culture. If we understand culture as a sum of evaluating decisions, which is the typical definition in the cultural studies programs, our pragmatic way of understanding culture is in line with that in the sense that the 44 billion euros are a central evaluating decision of the Sovereign, the citizens, and their representative, the constituted policy.

Referring to Clausewitz, we should differentiate between purpose, aim, and means. The purpose of the 'ars gratia politiae', cultivating the arts for the benefit of the commonwealth, is the self-expression of the civic society and its members. For this we earlier spoke of 'artistic culture' (ars gratia culturae). The aim of 'politia gratia artis', of the direct and indirect support for the arts is the strengthening of the condition of the society internally and externally. It would be difficult to find 'ars gratia artis', art for art's sake, anywhere beyond the sphere of pure imagination. Books, sounds, images, plays serve professional work, education, entertainment and indoctrination; they cannot be understood in separation from man.

The assessment of the rationales, the motivational structures of cultural policy at the level of state, communities and civil society, the assessment of its goals and the criticism of the strategic means, have been insufficient so far. Cultural policy is often reduced to what the Americans call bluntly advocacy, that is to an instrumental repertoire for earning money and getting attention, seen from a company-like perspective. The disproportion between the amount of empirical data collected across Europe, and the lack of an inductive development of theories from these data is striking. Max Fuchs, president of the German Cultural Council and director of Remscheid Academy, noted in 2007 that "probably among all possible fields of political activity, cultural policy is the last in terms of developing (political-) scientific theories".⁴² Klaus von Beyme summed up concerning his domain of political studies: "The political sphere 'art and culture' plays [...] a marginal role".⁴³ The list of people employed in German academia, who within their core and additional professional duties deal with cultural policy and the accompanying issues, is short and comprises but hardly 15 names. Fuchs also notes:

This does not mean that the whole domain conducts its practical activity without thinking about it (although one can in fact notice a certain degree of thoughtless activism). Indeed there are many reflections on art, culture, politics and education. There are also discussions about the direction in which society is heading. What is missing is an identifiable scientific community, possessing its own scientific publishing organs, and maybe even opposing schools of thought and their respective followers. Now everybody who does research or writes in this field can immediately create his own tradition.⁴⁴

Ancient Rome in the course of its execution of power through beneficence used panem et circenses (Juvenal: Satires 10, 81) – bread for satisfying the physical needs and games for satisfying the symbolic needs of the masses. Our initial statement on cultural policy studies calls for that at the level of science the representatives of "bread" and the representatives of "word" should start a dialogue, to be able to commonly carry out a comprehensive analysis of the entity of cultural policy. Differentiation between a material substrate and an immaterial world of symbols was in the notions of 'bread' and 'word' already sketched out in the Old Testament and was picked up again in the New Testament (Dtn 8,3; comp. Mt 4,1-11): "man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God".⁴⁵

If we stick to the example of circenses (or ludi, the sphere of performing arts), then the striking fact is the overlapping of hard facts and soft values. On the one hand, theater requires a framework of complex legal, economic and technical issues, which can be summarized as the cultural infrastructure, and which can be analyzed in the social and economic sciences. Here at least partially we can operate with numerical data.

On the other hand, theater is an example of man's search for meaning in various societies. To understand this search for meaning and to be able to unlock its respective contexts, German studies evolved into the field of theater studies. Combined with philosophy, history and the multitude of studies investigating individual forms of art, they investigate texts and their interpretations and subject them to public discussion. That makes them part of the humanities. It is impossible to track here hidden numerical codes (comp. Paul Feyerabend⁴⁶ regarding the Parmenidean breakthrough);

nevertheless the impact of the search for meaning can be investigated in relation to other social evaluating decisions and that may contribute to optimizing allocations beyond all kinds of technical reductionism.

Almost a hundred years after the multiple emergence of the concept of cultural policy on the German language territory (1913; 1919), lately cultural policy studies have begun to develop as a fusion of the analysis of realia and imaginaria. Functionally, cultural policy studies are pragmatic not in the meaning of *πρᾶξις*, i.e. as a given fact, but in the meaning of *πρᾶγμα*, i.e. as a productive act in connecting the humaniora with the social sciences.

LITERATURE:

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11 Fisch 1978, *ibid*.

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13 UNESCO: [self-presentation]. www.unesco.org.

14 UNESCO: The presentation of the Statute. London – October 16th, 1945. The German translation was made later and is incorrect.

15 In the classical Latin the word *Politia* - as a foreign word derived from the Greek word *πολιτεία* - denotes the constitution and administration of the state (*politicus* is, just as in the Greek language, only an adjectival derivative). In the Romanian language the word *Politia* has been preserved until today; in the German language the word was transformed into *Polizey*. Since the substantive was used already, *Politik* was coined referring to the adjective.

16 Brandt, Willy: Bedeutung und Aufgaben der Auswärtigen Kulturpolitik, in: Bulletin (the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government), No. 71, July 5th, 1967, pp. 613-614.- 'It was exactly Willy Brandt and Walter Scheel, who in 1967 spoke about the state support of international cultural relations as 'the third pillar' and 'the girder' of foreign policy. It would have an equivalent value beside the peace policy and the foreign trade policy.' Hoffmann, Hilmar: „Dritte Säule“ der Außenpolitik. Zur aktuellen Diskussion um die auswärtige Kulturpolitik. In: Internationale Politik,

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17 Lammert, Norbert: Vorwort. In: Deutscher Bundestag (ed.): Schlußbericht der Enquete-Kommission des Deutschen Bundestages. Regensburg 2008, p. 89 next. p. 7

18 Compare Vogt, Matthias Theodor: Was soll ein Bundeskulturminister tun? Perspektiven der Kulturpolitik in Deutschland. Dresden 1998 [special print], of the same author: Perspektiven der Kulturpolitik in Deutschland [additional print]. In: Netzwerk Kulturarbeit, Kognos-Verlag Augsburg 12/1998, pp. 561 – 574, of the same author: Perspektiven der Kulturpolitik in Deutschland [additional print]. In: Bühnengenossenschaft. Ed.: Hans Herdlein upon order of Genossenschaft der Deutschen Bühnengehörigen. Hamburg. Part I Booklet 6-7/1998, pp. 15 - 21; Part II Booklet 5/1999, pp. 16 - 18; Part III Booklet 6-7/1999, pp. 15 – 17, of the same author: Perspektiven der Kulturpolitik in Deutschland [additional print]. In: Kulturpolitische Umschau. Ed. Jörg-Dieter Gauger upon order of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. St. Augustin. Part I Booklet 2-3 / June 1998, pp. 74 - 84; Part II Booklet 4-5 / March 1990 pp. 90-105.

19 Compare www.unesco.de.

20 Maslow, Abraham H.: A Theory of Human Motivation. In: Psychological Review 50(4) (1943): 370-96.- The notion of the 'pyramid', quoted many times, does not appear here.

21 The notion was created within reformed pedagogy of the 20's; its roots reach also to the youth movement. [...] Since the late 60's [...] in the sphere of social work, where it was able to survive till that time due to the general deficit of theory, the notion has been considered outdated. Here, the concepts of aesthetic education were adopted. Based on the political directives, the notion of 'des Musischen' – artistic, has been used again first of all in cultural work with young people since the mid 80's – in such combination of words as „musisch-ästhetische Erziehung" (artistic-aesthetic education) or 'musische Bildung und Medienerziehung' (artistic education and upbringing in contact with the media) Peez, Georg: Musische Bildung. In: Fachlexikon der sozialen Arbeit. Frankfurt a. M. (Deutscher Verein für öffentliche und private Fürsorge) 6. Ed. 2007, p. 662-663.

22 Peetz (2007), a.a.O.

23 Maslow, Abraham. Motivation and personality. New York 1954, p. 91.

24 See. Bastian, Hans Günther: Musik(erziehung) und ihre Wirkung. Eine Langzeitstudie an Berliner Grundschulen. Mainz 2000.

25 Vgl. Vogt, Matthias Theodor: Beitrag der Kultur zur Wohlfahrt. In Vogt, Matthias Theodor (Hrsg.): Kultur im ländlichen Raum. Das Beispiel Mittelsachsen. Kulturelle Infrastruktur Band VIII. Leipzig, 2000.

26 Huizinga, Johan: Homo Ludens, proeve' eener bepaling van het spel-element' der cultuur. Haarlem, 1938.

27 Schiller, Friedrich [o]: Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen (1795).

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29 Compare France, Austria, European Union and other. Donnat, O.: Les Pratiques culturelles des Français. Enquete 1997, La documentation française, Paris 1998. IFES Institut für empirische Sozialforschung: Kultur-Monitoring. Bevölkerungsbefragung, Wien 2007. EUROSTAT: Participation of Europeans in cultural activities. Eurobarometer survey ordered by the European Commission, Brüssel 2002. Europäische Kommission: European cultural values. Special Eurobarometer 278, Brüssel 2007.

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31 Burckhardt, Jacob: Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Band 20. Griechische Kulturgeschichte.

Zweiter Band, Dritter Abschnitt: Religion und Kultus. II. Die Griechen und ihre Götter. München, Basel 2005. P. 67 column 24.

³² Böckenförde, Ernst Wolfgang: Die Entstehung des Staates als Vorgang der Säkularisation (1967), re-edited in: the same: Recht, Staat, Freiheit, Frankfurt am Main 1991, S. 111 bzw. 112.

³³ Wagner, Richard: Rede zur Grundsteinlegung des Bayreuther Festspielhauses (May 22, 1872). In: Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen. Vol. IX. Leipzig 1873, p. 392.

³⁴ Lepenies refers to Fontane 1871 and Bethmann Hollweg, who in 1913 in his famous letter to Lamprecht stressed the need for a 'cultural policy of the grand style'. Lepenies, Wolf: *Kultur und Politik*. Deutsche Geschichten. Bonn 22006. In particular Chapter III „Deutscher Geist und Deutsches Reich“, p. 24.- Some hints as to the early history of the concept in the form of 'Culturpolicey' compare Bernd Wagner: *Das Stichwort. Kulturpolitik* (1). Der Begriff. In: *Kulturpolitische Mitteilungen* no 110. III/2005.

³⁵ Aufruf und Leitsätze der Deutschen Zentrumsparlei 1918; Görlitzer Programm of the SPD 1921, Heidelberger Programm of the SPD 1925, Deutsche Staatspartei Manifesto 1930. Issued by Wilhelm Mommsen: Deutsche Parteiprogramme. München 1960.- Only the extreme right wing parties did not follow this trend.

³⁶ Becker, Carl Heinrichs: Kulturpolitische Aufgaben des Reiches. Eine dem Verfassungsausschuß der Nationalversammlung vorgelegte Denkschrift. Leipzig 1919. Compare with the present context of differentiating between education and the church, the report in Ernst Troeltsch: Kritische Gesamtausgabe: Ed. v. Graf, Friedrich Wilhelm / Albrecht, Christian / Drehsen, Volker / Hübinger, Gangolf / Rendtorff, Trutz. Band 15: Schriften zur Politik und Kulturphilosophie (1918-1923). Ed. v. Gangolf Hübinger in cooperation with Johannes Mikuteit. Berlin, New York 2002. Proposition of Beckera regarding creation of the Reich's office of culture for both the internal and external policy including various internal reports, is still visible in the present federal policy.

³⁷ Herders Staatslexikon. ed. Based on the work of many specialists ordered by Görres-Gesellschaft on supporting science in the catholic Germany by Julius Bachem. Vol. III, 5. issue., Freiburg. Br. 1929, p. 693.

³⁸ Carlo Schmid in Parliamentary Council, 8 September 1948. Comp. Hertfelder, Thomas; Jürgen Hess (ed.), *Streiten um das Staatsfragment. Theodor Heuss und Thomas Dehler berichten von der Entstehung des Grundgesetzes*. With introduction by Michael F. Feldkamp, edited by Patrick Ostermann and Michael F. Feldkamp, (= foundation of the federal president -Theodor-Heuss-Haus, Wissenschaftliche Reihe, Vol. 1), Stuttgart 1999.

³⁹ Compare Vogt, Matthias Theodor (1998): Was soll ein Bundeskulturminister tun? Perspektiven der Kulturpolitik in Deutschland. Dresden 1998 et alt.

⁴⁰Deutscher Bundestag (ed.): Schlußbericht der Enquete-Kommission des Deutschen Bundestages. Regensburg 2008, p. 89next.

⁴¹ Estimate according to Söndermann, Michael: Öffentliche Kulturfinanzierung in Deutschland 2005. Ergebnisse aus der Kulturstatistik. In: Institut für Kulturpolitik (Hrsg.). Jahrbuch für Kulturpolitik 2006. Essen 2006.

⁴² Fuchs, Max: Kulturpolitik. Elemente der Politik, herausgegeben von Hans-Georg Ehrhardt u.a. Wiesbaden 2007, p. 22.

43 Beyme, Klaus von: Die Kunst der Macht und die Gegenmacht der Kunst. Studien zum Spannungsverhältnis von Kunst und Politik. Frankfurt am Main 1998. Here: Ch. 1: Outline of political science of art.

[illegible]

will let know, that man does not live by bread alone, but lives by all, which comes [= opinion] from

the mouth of Jehova.- I want to thank Wolfgang Schulze. Munich, for this comment.

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ДҮГНЭЛТ

Зохиогч энэхүү өгүүлэлийнхээ эхэнд зарим гол нэр томъёоны тухай тайлбар өгч, дараах асуудлуудад анхаарлаа хандуулсан байна. Тэрээр юуны түрүүнд соёлын бодлогыг төсөвт чиглэгдсэн хандлагын үүднээс авч үзэхийг зорьжээ. Тэгэхдээ түүнийг холбооны улс, улс, засаг захиргааны дараалсан нэгжүүд болон шашины байгууллагын түвшинүүдтэй холбож өгөх, тэрчлэн олон улсын хэмжээнд уялдуулан нийцүүлж авч үзэх асуудлыг хөндсөн байна. Түүнээс гадна соёлын бодлогыг онолын төдийгүй, эрх зүйн хэм хэмжээний хүрээнд нарийвчлан боловсруулах шаардлагатай болохыг тэмдэглэжээ. Мөн зохиогч соёлыг эдийн засгийн үзэгдэл гэдэг байр сууринаас авч үзэн энд иргэний нийгмийн оролцоо, ач холбогдол чухал болохыг гаргаж тавьсан байна. Үүнээс гадна энэ өгүүлэлд судалгааны тоо баримт хийгээд нэрт сэтгэгчид, нэр хүндтэй судлаачдын бүтээл, олон улсын чанартай эрх зүйн олон тооны баримт сэлтийг ашигласан нь уг бүтээлийн үнэ цэнэтэй болохыг харуулж байгаа юм. "Соёлын бодлого" нь соёлын онолын шинжлэгээ судалгааны чухал судлагдахуун мөн болохыг эл өгүүлэлд тодорхой тусгасан байна.