UNESCO and the coining of cultural policy

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Abstract Cultural policy has been seen by scholars as a XXth century, post world-war II, phenomena, and some authors recognize that the coining, use and diffusion of the term, both globally and in the case of individual countries, was neither fast, nor obvious. In order to assume center stage, cultural policy had to be disputed, advocated and coordinated in various arenas and at different points along the XXth century. In 1967 UNESCO produced what became known as the first definition of cultural policy, assuming an important role in the fostering or cultural policies during the seventies and beginning of the eighties. Based on extensive fieldwork in the central archives of UNESCO I follow the internal dossiers and files concerning the meeting where this early definition was coined and describe the associations inscribed in its letters, notes, memos, reports, tables and contracts, showing how UNESCO transformed ideas, discussions, letters and events into worldwide accredited principles, contributing to the stabilization and diffusion of cultural policy.

Keywords (5 to 8): Cultural policy, UNESCO, category-making, public action, social languages.

INTRODUCTION

There has been, recently, a growing awareness of the importance of language and discourse for public administration. Both scholars and practitioners recognize that certain activities require the use of specific idioms and that to communicate and bridge between different groups these languages may have to be learned, translated, adapted or, sometimes, radically transformed. These languages often center themselves on key categories, broad labels that confer sense and enable action of many people, in different settings, and sometimes they create specific and clustered codes, confined to small groups or networks. If we were to label public actions related to the broad and yet fluid area of culture, today we would probably use the expression "cultural policies". Public departments concerned with culture often propose themselves to and are expected to develop cultural policies. And when something goes wrong with culture, in Brazil we hear that this is due to the absence or because of misguided cultural policies. Something should have been thought of beforehand and/or differently - something should have been done to prevent such and such consequences -, something should have been included or excluded in order to achieve comprehensive goals. Today it is common to expect that culture should be planned, delivered and measured in accordance with bigger goals, often tied to principles such as diversity or development.

The same happens to public policies. Currently a widely used expression to deal with public affairs, ascribing them predictability, objectivity and problem-solving attributes. Some of the criticisms to approaches within this instrumental logic draw attention to the importance of public policy language. Murray Edelman (1985) claims that political action is about the creation and dispute over meanings, for not only does

language fit people and public measures into narratives, but it is actually capable of helping to maintain or change "established inequalities in resources, status and power". Jobert and Muller (1987) worked on the notion of policy referentials: representations, composed by cognitive, normative and instrumental dimensions - whose perception would guide collective action. The "argumentative turn", developed in the 1990s, *"illuminates the ways policy analysts make practical arguments to diverse professional and political audiences. Employing concepts from rhetoric and communications theory, it examines how such arguments can be compelling in ways that can potentially generate new capacity-giving consenses."* (Fischer, 2003: 183). These are only a few examples of a growing and fecund interest in the role played by language and discourse in public matters, but most of them draw on constructivist approaches and keep representation and reality apart.

Rather than start from a closed and predefined concept of public policy, the anthropological approaches prefer to consider it open and complex: the questions "what is policy?" and "how it works?" are no longer previous assumptions, they are the core research questions to be made (Wedel et al, 2005: 34; Shore and Wright, 1997: 3). This indeterminate character makes policy rather than a discrete object, something dynamic, heterogeneously composed (Shore et al, 2011: 20) and performative in the sense that it defines itself from the continuous rearrangement of these elements. Anthropological studies highlight the role of locality and materiality of practices, knowledge and techniques of both government and of those being ruled, the production of meaning and of individual and collective subjects for which such knowledge is necessary, and the non-linearity of policy processes.

Apart from the realities these categories produce when they interact with each other in daily languages – eg. the language of law, of medicine, or of civil rights – these repertoires are also produced in relatively long periods of time Terms such as public or cultural policy do not appear or change radically from one day to another, language changes tend to be slow. Pascale Laborier considers that the historical development of a repertoire of action defines and regulates the space of possible actions, but this repertoire is not registered in a unified rhetoric that guides public action: it will be the connection between the temporality of public action, the itineraries the concrete actors and their definition modes and resolution of problematic situations (Laborier, 2003). To follow these connections, it is necessary to widen up the viewpoint and look to a broader set of things, reason why I prefer the notion of public action to public policy, even in order to better understand public policy. Laborier defines it as:

> *"toute activité articulée sur un espace public et nécessitant une référence à un bien commun. Cette définition extensive permet de reunir dans une même cadre des activités directement liées à l'exercice de la puissance publique et celles qui ressortissent d'activités ordinaires de citoyens lorsqu'ils manifestent des pretentions relatives à vie du collectif"* (2003 : 11)

I follow some actor-network-theorists to suggest that public action is performative and heterogeneous and categories such as cultural policy are produced by and produce realities. Categories and domains of action are not passive objects confined to the functions of representation and meaning: they are active agents who participate, connected to different sorts of actors, of the disputes that occur in the generation of realities, becoming effects of these realities (Mol, 1999).

At the Center for Public Administration and Government Studies (CEAPG) of the Getulio Vargas Foundation, in Sao Paulo, colleagues and I have been using these broadening principles to study the different processes that make public action languages comes into use, how they come to be in good currency and how each specific type of language performatively interacts and relates to others, affecting the way public actions are put into practice[1]. We consider that each of these languages enacts its own organization of public life through the relations proposed between different actors, socialities and institutionalities. This standpoint supposes the denaturalization of everyday languages and its operational categories to illuminate how these bound up categories come to appear as such and how different publics connect to public affairs in a diversity of manners.

In a recent paper, Peter Spink and I showed that public policy, although often present in public arenas, only became a central and authoritative way to talk and do public affairs as result of a slow and complex process: *"The drift to public policy started to take effect shortly before, during and largely after the events of the Second World War when a number of the more senior democracies were advancing to consolidate a new kind of state-society-citizen-government relationship. Public policy may be the language used today when talking about the actions of governments in many different fields, but it certainly wasn't the language or languages that set them in motion, many of which are still around enacting every-day affairs. They are just as performative (Austin, 1962) as public policy."*(Spink and Silva, 2014: 2). Drawing on Bakhtin's notion of speech genres, we argued that public policy is a social language among others, and it works because "*it provides the idea of a moral high ground, that governments are serious and have intentions and that people can hold governments to their word; in practice most people get on with trying to make sure that resources and attention go to where they think it matters*" (Spink, 2014).

From this background, I ask cultural policy the question we posed to public policy: when, how and with whom the term grew to be a good way to address simultaneously cultural and public affairs in different places? The drift of a category from sporadic, incidental or vague uses to more central and authoritative arenas where it plays key roles within longer periods of time, is a result of successive negotiations concerning not only their meaning, but also the languages and publics they engage. The process of coining, diffusion, stabilization and, at times, centrality of a term, depends on the association of spokespersons, mediators, contexts and concepts that, when collectively mobilized, make language fluctuations inseparable from practice, for it enables the operation of specific types of action. Cultural policy is thus a way to both talk about and do something in a certain manner, according to certain principles. The trajectory of a language is not, therefore, an evolutionary line, it is better seen as a narrative of fluctuations that reflect simultaneous transformations of concepts, its places and its publics: translations (Latour, 2005). Inspired by ANT, I take cultural policy as an actant, that acts associated to others and gains or loses force precisely when used and disputed by actors interested or affected by them.

The coining of the category of cultural policy is, therefore, inseparable from the origins of cultural policy itself and is commonly associated with the period right after the end of World War II. For certain authors, its "invention", even being slow and

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[1] See Spink and Silva, 2014; Bittencout, 2014; Bittencourt et Al, 2014, and Spink, 2014.

heteroclite, gives rise to a new way to think and do public cultural actions (Urfalino, 2004, Fernandez, 2007; Bennett, 1997). Oliver Bennett places the idea of cultural policy historically as an European concept which came to be widely used after the Second World War including some activities "worthy of support by public authorities" (Bennett, 1997). One of the most remembered experiences is the creation of the French Ministry of Cultural Affairs, in 1959 (Urfalino, 2004; Dubois, 1999; Rubim, 2003; Dubois and Laborier, 2003 ; Poirrier, 2011). For Urfalino, it was the mark of a triple rupture: (1) ideological, since cultural action was affirmed inside the state; (2) artistic, for a new subsidized professional artistic sector was induced by the ministry; (3) administrative, for budget became autonomous, an administrative apparatus was formed and specific modes of action were thus invented (2004: 19). For Vincent Dubois, the French experience was not a direct response to a new social problem, for it involved no "public controversy, no appeals from cultural or political authorities, no transactions between mobilised groups and high-ranking officials", it was the result of sociohistorical conditions like the increase of the relative importance of cultural capital within social relationships, the rise of the middle class, the crystallization of the cultural production area and the emergence of an increasingly technical public administration (1998:13). Successive efforts to undertake comparative studies in the last decades have shown that the history of cultural policies are deeply connected to the construction of nation states and it is important to relativize the idea of a French model (Poirrier, 2011). From the perspective of Brazil and some other Latin American countries, the subject burst into public debate under military regimes during the cold war. Even if the term was already packed with democratic references, its acceptance and adoption would have to deal with ambiguous conceptions of government intervention and a potential rejection among cultural and artistic publics (Silva, 2015).

When the history of cultural policy is put in an international perspective there are national, local and regional viewpoints, but there are also transnational forums that take upon themselves the task to collect, organize and reframe local experiences, creating "meso-spaces", places that confer materiality to a horizon of links, of meaning production and conflicts that mesh heterogeneous connections (Spink, 2001; 2014). The boundaries of the operational spaces where public actions and their languages take place – national states, international organizations, local governments and so on – and their respective jurisdictions are also performed by heterogeneous entities. This is why my approach to UNESCO is not necessarily from international perspective, nor it aims at a global history of cultural policy. Culture has been treated publicly in such diversity of ways by governments, artists, students, intellectuals and others. Consequently, its coining is the result of a collective and heterogeneous – but not necessarily consensual nor centralized – work. It was produced slowly, in different discussions and occasions, involving small and big groups and institutionalities, inside and outside national boundaries, along different durations of time that, at some point, began to reverberate as something meaningful to those advocating for it. Even if it starts from an international endeavor, it is the story of one place where the work to define cultural policy and its connections to a series of other people, places, categories and languages was more visible.

UNESCO has been widely acknowledged for its efforts and accomplishments in the field of cultural policies and the United Nations has been a central domain for discourse over culture (Arizpe, 2004). From the mid-sixties onwards, the projects, statements, recommendations and declarations of the organization were increasingly recognized as legitimate principles in the field of public cultural action. Publications

and reports produced by the organization became pivotal sources for cultural action in different spheres of government, for they undertook pioneer experiences in the gathering and diffusing of comparative information among countries. Besides this, UNESCO became strongly committed to promote and encourage cultural policies around the world. I believe that this effort, which will be detailed along this text, enabled UNESCO to significantly help moving cultural policy from its early controversies and uncertainties to become a meaningful operational category beyond the activities linked to UNESCO itself. But what exactly has been this work? How has UNESCO transformed ideas, discussions, letters and events into worldwide accredited principles, contributing to the stabilization and diffusion of cultural policy?

Cultural policy was not on UNESCO´s radar until 1966, when the first meeting related to cultural policies began to be discussed. This meeting, known as the Round-Table of Monaco (hereafter Round Table), occurred in 1967 and was the first documented effort to shed light on a still opaque question. Its conclusions and connections led to the conformation of a clearer programme that would mobilize issues, people, governments, organizations and places throughout almost two decades. The 1967 event was the result of previous efforts in order to frame earlier discussions in a new category and marks the starting point of new possibilities of articulation for UNESCO in this field. Thus, it connects to other duration layers and places where cultural policy began to mean a new form of action towards culture, inside and outside governments, putting the relation between culture, state and other interested parties into light.

The Round-Table was then a sort of sketch point in the coining of cultural policy. It was a situation in which uncertainties were allowed, definitions were meant to be provisional and outlines exhaustively discussed. This makes the Round Table a good starting point to observe what was at stake when cultural policy emerged. Based on extensive fieldwork in the central archives of UNESCO, I follow the internal dossiers and files concerning this event and describe the associations present in its letters, notes, memos, reports, tables and contracts. Assuming that documents inscribe actions both textually and materially as actants capable of translating actions themselves, I aim to show how cultural policy was performed in its early uses.

The article is organized in five parts after this introduction. In the first, the nature of UNESCO´s work will be discussed. General aspects are presented, along with testimonies and studies on its everyday functioning, focus will be given to how discursive and documentary practices mediate the organization´s institutional role. Next, the presence of culture in UNESCO´s activities before 1967 will be presented, emphasizing the discussions of the events that preceded the Round-Table to show how the idea of its attainment was being crafted. The third part will describe how the "3.312 Project" was launched and continuously modified by the different parts involved in the course of its making, moving cultural policy from a marginal position to finally entitle UNESCO´s endeavor. The results and further actions after the Round-Table are discussed in the fourth section. To conclude, I show how the crafting of the cultural policy way to talk and do is connected to other actants to discuss the importance of the retrospective look on language for today's cultural policy professionals and researchers.

THE WORK OF UNESCO

UNESCO is an specialized agency of the United Nations system created in 1946. Its objective was to achieve peace among nations through education, culture and science, based on the principle that *"war begins in the minds of men"*[2]. But what does UNESCO do? How does it work? People working with culture are more familiar with conventions regarding cultural heritage sites and, more recently, recommendations on cultural diversity. The most visible part of the work of the organization consists of international normative instruments associated with the political regulation of matters concerning its fields of activity. Each type of instrument requires a different level of support, commitment or adhesion from member-state. But conventions, recommendations and declarations are the formal, public and institutional product of a long chain of procedures involving different and complex instances of decision and execution, and constitute only one part of UNESCO´s work. UNESCO has a variety of methods to execute its projects: publications, seminars, missions by experts, creation or partnership with international or regional institutes, field studies, surveys, contracts with member-states or "experts", statistical abstracts, comparative studies, scholarly meetings amongst others. For a preliminary study to become a convention or a recommendation, it must be submitted to, commented and, occasionally, accepted, detailed and re-drafted by, respectively, the Executive Board, the General Conference, the Director-General, the Member States, the Director-General again, then again the Member States, if decided so a committee of governmental experts and finally the General Conference, who decides for its adoption[3].

The General Conference meets every two years and it is the higher decision organ of the organization, where member-states approve policies, biennial and long-term programmes and budgets, elect members of the Executive Board and, every 4 years, the director general, who is in charge of the corpus of international civil servants known as the secretariat. Apart from those formally tied to the organization, former director Richard Hoggart identifies a third group of actors directly implicated in the activities of UNESCO: National Comissions, International NGOs and an "enormous number" of experts and consultants. According to Hoggart, they constitute intellectual communities upon which UNESCO relies on to execute its activities with technical and intellectual legitimacy (Hoggart, 1978).

To produce external regulation, UNESCO works hard to regulate itself and operates by a detailed framework of procedures and rules. Each of its governing bodies produces a large amount of documents, in which discussions, decisions and actions are registered, each in a different type of document involving different protocols, schemes of distribution and access. The documents of the General Conference, for instance, are the basis for the operation of the organization in the following two years, not only as action plans, but also as mandatory reference for future documents and speeches (Nielsen, 2011). This bureaucratic work requires, also, specific forms of expressing ideas. Both during the meetings and in the documents, there is a proper way to proceed and frame problems, there are appropriate actions to be registered and words to be used – and those not to be used at all. Chikh Bekri, former official at UNESCO, reports that the organization has developed an "elegant

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[2] UNESCO Constitution, 1946 . Available at http://portal.UNESCO.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=15244&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html. Acessed in 30/05/2015.
[3] UNESCO, Rules of Procedure concerning recommendations to Member States and international conventions covered by the terms of Article IV, paragraph 4, of the Constitution. Basic Texts. 2014.

way" to resolve conflicts, failing to register in official proceedings certain events; René Ochs, another employee, says that the use of wooden language (langue de bois) in UNESCO, apart from euphemisms and deliberate ambiguities, functions to develop a common language between people from very different backgrounds:

> *"À l'UNESCO, elle [la Langue de Bois] revêt naturellement un caractère quasi institutionnel, qui trouve peutêtre son origine dans la recherche d'une spécificité, et aussi dans le souci de trouver une langue commune à des utilisateurs issus de cultures différentes. Si elle a pu créer ainsi un lien entre ceux qui la pratiquaient, elle est vite apparue comme un langage d'initiés, comparable à celui des clubs, des confréries et d'autres groupes fermés, avec ce que cela peut comporter de snobisme et d'arrogance technocratique : langue hermétique, ennuyeuse, conventionnelle, qui a rendu difficile la communication avec le grand public et même avec les partenaires naturels de l'UNESCO, politiques ou intellectuels."(UNESCO, 2006)*

This would be no different in the treatment of the concepts related to culture. For Bjarke Nielsen, the bureaucratic procedures within UNESCO are ruled in such a way that they produce the "right kind of culture". In an ethnographic study Nielsen displaces what could be a purely ideological issue to the level of daily practices: *"Like most practices inside UNESCO, deciding which priorities and keywords to work for and against is hierarchically structured; people occupying censorship positions have the authority to dismiss proposals, which do not fit their interpretations."* For him, *"Valuable knowledge, besides knowing or learning how to write UNESCO style, is to know which documents to cut and paste from, and who to ask to find these."* (Nielsen, 2011: 282-3).

The production of consensus is also a concern to anthropologist Susan Wright. For her, the disembodiment of voices leads to the depolitization of the notion of culture in UNESCO´s reports (1998). This consensus is manufactured and dealt with in daily work, as former employee Boisson suggests:

> *"Ma tâche était de prendre des notes lorsque des références étaient faites dans les interventions des délégués au programme d'égalité d'accès à l'éducation, puis d'em résumer le contenu à l'intention de mes supérieurs hiérarchiques. Ce n'était pas simple. Les points de vue et les jugements étaient loin d'être concordants. L'on pouvait parfois percevoir, dans un même discours, des positions qui semblaient s'opposer, voire s'annuler. Je faisais de mon mieux, mais mon mieux ne suffisait pas toujours. J'apprenais, au jour le jour, à améliorer ma technique et à m'adapter à la nature de ma tâche, tout en découvrant l'ambiguïté du rôle du fonctionnaire international qui doit associer la diplomatie à toutes ses démarches même celles supposées de caractère technique."* (UNESCO, 2006: 19)

Nielsen's study confirms the testimony of former employees in his more recent interviews: UNESCO's language tends to have a positive tone, to be a bit vague or ambiguous, it includes many references connecting each new statement to preceding ones, in a way that they mutually ratify each other, forming a large self-reference system based on documents whose authority makes them incontrovertible. One of UNESCO's most important mechanisms of institutionalization and knowledge production is the meticulous production of documents, with their series and numbers, each instance being entrusted of the production of a documentary type according to each step of the biennial calendar, that references another, weaving a dense network

of versions, comments, summaries, draft resolutions, minutes, proceedings, all of which follows detailed indexing procedures according to the themes of work and the different functions that each document is attached to.

It is not only the production of documents that requires proper methods. Their handling, reading and, most of all, public sharing and discussion in the different types of meeting also have their own set of norms and regular practices. The duration of the General Conference, for instance, varies from fifteen days to a month of plenary meetings and is a ritual spot for nations to expose their needs and reinforce ties with the organization, delivering and listening to long official speeches. It is also, in the corridors, *"a swirling parade"* of important and not-so-important people among which some are *"much happier with the opportunities for corridor diplomacy than with the openness of the main debating chambers; they are true to the instincts of national diplomats". For the organization as a whole, both types of diplomacy are important and should work in reasonably effective conjunction."* (Hoggart, 1978:100-101).

To bring up the less visible work of UNESCO helps to better characterize the complexity of the production of categories within an organization such as UNESCO. It becomes clear that documents are not mere representations; they perform institutional practices invested with legitimacy, joining distinct types of actors in a common language. The documentary practices therefore constitute the core of what UNESCO does and their materiality crystalizes the incongruities of the active engagement of conflicting views, acting as artifacts of institutional knowledge and power (Riles, 2006).

UNESCO AND CULTURE UNTIL 1967

In the first years of operation the UNESCO cultural activities sector comprised the preservation and protection of works of art, heritage and artists; international cooperation and the diffusion of culture. In the fifties, subtle links between culture and human rights, education and international solidarity begin to appear in the documents (UNESCO/Moulinier, 1994). The inclusion of the USSR in 1954 marks the beginning of a period of changes in which Asian, African and Latin American countries were admitted to the organization, contributing to significant change in its priorities and programmes (UNESCO/Evangelista, 2003). According to Chloe Maurel (2006) the period from 1953 to 1959 corresponds to a process of intense politicization of UNESCO in the context of the Cold War and of African and Asian countries decolonization. It is in this setting that UNESCO cultural programs during this period spring, the most important of them being the Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values (1957-1966). For Laura Wong, the project, *"represented an unprecedented intergovernmental effort to engage states in dialogue around cultural identities in the midst of redefinition and rising ambiguity about the meaning of East and West"* (2008: 350) and resulted in pressure for recognition and consideration of the problems of the increasingly influential non-European members.

The sixties are marked by the continuity and the deepening of the role played by these countries in the consolidation of the block and the idea of "third world" (Maurel, 2006) and the pressure for reorientation of UNESCO towards development-related programmes. In the approved budget for the biennium 1965-66, the Natural Sciences sector is transformed into *"Natural Sciences and their application for development"*. Although the East-West Major Project had significantly linkages between culture and

politics, it was only between 1966 and 1968, between the 14th and the 15th General Conferences, that the relationship between culture and development has gained more precise contours, in the form of cultural policies.

The 14th General Conference, held from October 25 to November 30, 1966, coincided with the 20th anniversary of UNESCO. As part of the celebration, the Declaration of Principles of International Cooperation was thereupon approved (UNESCO, 1966, 14C/31). To Maurel, such an instrument crystallized the intent to promote respect for the originality of each culture, emphasizing the spirit of reciprocity and peace that should permeate cultural relations. However, there seemed to circulate the impression that UNESCO's action in the field of culture was far from practical purposes (Bustamante Fajardo, 2014). During the Conference, Assistent Director-General for Social Sciences, Human Sciences and Culture (ADG/SHC) Mahdi Elmandjra's recollection of previous actions of his department is concluded with the prominent "need for UNESCO to help member states to draw up a cultural policy "(UNESCO, 1966, 14C/92). Elmandjra's evaluation emphasized that *"it was extremely difficult to define what culture was and, in speaking of culture, to precisely know what was meant. (…) If the programme for culture appeared – and would doubtless continue to appear – static and sometimes less coherent than the programmes for other sectors, that might also be due to the fact that in most cases it was reflecting the absence of a cultural policy in Member States."* (UNESCO, 1966, 14C/92). He then drew a clear distinction between critical studies of academic nature that had been entitled cultural and what these should be, according to the programme advocated for the next biennium: to incite Member-States to reflect on their cultural policies. The construction of Elmandjra's statement reflects at the same time the pressure for change within the organization, derived from the new configurations and needs of the UNESCO system, and also the incipient emergence of a new form to frame culture and public action, a tentative category that was being discussed in some of the Member States and experts linked to UNESCO.

The proposal of the ADG/SHC received a number of comments from delegates in the Programme Comission, whose task was to discuss the proposed budget for the subsequent biennium programmes. According to the minutes, the main obstacle to the achievement of any plan for the area was the very concept of culture. The two main axes of concern - the fluid character of the concept of culture and the need to operationalize it - reappear when comments on the plan for the biennium 1967-68 are made*:*

> *"in the first place, the development of cultural life in a given country or region was a specific phenomenon and UNESCO, simply by reason of its international nature and its universal function, could not completely and faithfully reflect it; in the second place, there was not a prescribed cultural policy in all Member States, particularly the developing countries, but each country lived according to its own culture, and consequently all UNESCO could do was to try bring out the diverse characteristics of these many cultures for subsequent synthesis."* (UNESCO, 1966, 14C/92).

As a conclusion to debates of the Programme Comission, resolution 3.331 authorizes the Director-General *"to prepare, with the assistance of interested States and non-governmental organizations, a list of the problems involved in assisting artistic creation in the modern world, with a view to presenting to the General Conference, at its fifteenth session, a study which will take account of the cultural and social*

changes that have taken place since the International Conference of Artists held in Venice in 1952" (UNESCO, 1966, 14C/5)

The problem of cultural policy had firstly arisen not as a main concern, but as a subsidiary item of the study on the conditions of assistance to artistic creation. The Project 3.331.2 / 1966, entitled *"Assistance to artistic creation in the modern world,"* assumed that people's cultural requirements have transformed radically and cultural development is as important as educational or scientific development, but there were no comparative data available to deal with the "*new problems of cultural policy, institutional financial and administrative"* (UNESCO, 1966, 14C/5). The secretariat intended to prepare, as recommended in the resolution, a list of problems and a plan to study the cultural policy measures used in eight member-states. In the project narrative, the problem of cultural policy was new and resulted from social factors. Institutionally, it might also have addressed the need of the organization to find a new operating space within the context of the new pressure groups.

PROJECT 3.331.2: FROM ARTISTIC ASSISTANCE TO CULTURAL POLICY

Following the decision of the fourteenth General Conference, a team was designated to carry out the project, with the collaboration of NGOs, experts, consultants and stakeholders from member states their national commissions. From the beginning, the initiative was based on a very broad actor network. Two main activities were provided for in the project: an international survey and a meeting. The letter that would be sent to the national commissions should consider *"le contenu theorique et ideologique du rapport qui sera demandé par l'UNESCO, pour éviter le danger de recevoir une serie d'elements quantitatifs et statistiques qui ne seraient que d'une aide partielle à l'effort de synthèse et surtout de prise de conscience qui veut être le notre"[4]* .The effort of synthesis was, to Bustamante Fajardo (2014), the main feature of this initial effort, however the ideological content and to 'take into conscience' show that the project is also about the spread of principles and ideas.

The first step was the preparation of a restricted meeting of experts, whose function would be to prepare a plan for the national studies to be carried out. The request for cooperation was entitled *"Survey on cultural policy in the modern world"*, and expressed the delegates´ concern *"that would therefore be useful to define some concepts and a methodology with which to tackle the new problems of cultural policy with respect to the institutions as well as financial and administrative structures"* [5]. In a working document to be shared with participants, it was asserted that the General Conference *"agreed that high priority should be given to assisting Member States in the formulation of Cultural Policy"* and *"UNESCO should spotlight the cultural needs of Member States at various levels of development"*[6]. The questions revised by the expert committee would be sent to experts of 22 countries[7] whose studies were

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[4] Letter from Enrico Funchignoni to Mahdi Elmandjra. 27/02/1967. File 307 A 064 (449.49) "67", Table-Ronde de Monaco - Décembre 1967 "L'Action et la Politique Culturelle", 1966-67, (Part 1).

[5] Letter from A. Vrioni to Mr. Tahar Cherisa. 22/03/1967. File 307 A 064 (449.49) "67", Table-Ronde de Monaco - Décembre 1967 "L'Action et la Politique Culturelle", 1966-67, (Part 1).

[6] Working Document UNESCO /POL. CLT /INF. 2, 30/03/1967. File 307 A 064 (449.49) "67", Table-Ronde de Monaco - Décembre 1967 "L'Action et la Politique Culturelle", 1966-67, (Part 1).

[7] Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, France, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Italy, Ivory-Coast, japan, Malaysia, Mexico, Poland, Sweden, Tunisia, United Arab republic, United Kingdom, United States and U.S.S.R.

expected to constitute the basis for a comprehensive report to be drawn up by UNESCO secretariat and presented at the fifteenth General Conference.

Although there was no precise definition of what was meant by cultural policy, the items submitted for the appreciation of the experts committee indicated associated themes: administrative and financial structures, evolution of cultural needs, studies of the relations between the cultural sector and the economic and technical system, the "most effective" institutions for cultural action, the people concerned (e.g. artists, cultural leaders) and the establishment of a long-term programs for each nation[8]. The sub-topics ranged from expenditure and public charts to methods to tackle broad transversal questions such as the relation *"between the level of economic development and the level of cultural development"* and the *"role of cultural action in the vitalization of underdeveloped areas or underpriviledged social groups"*. Throughout all topics it is established a causal relation between cultural policy and *cultural needs*: cultural policies are necessary because society has cultural needs, which must be identified, quantified and synthesized to guide planning and action. *"A study of needs makes it possible to draw up an ideal programme"* – states the Introductory Note – *"but the task of those responsible for cultural policy is to reduce this ideal programme to a real one"*. The document however ends with a question: *"the planning of cultural development: is this desirable? Is it possible? With what methods?"*.[9].

The restrict meeting of experts took place in April 1967, gathering ten participants, among which six were representatives of cultural institutions in their countries (United Kingdom, Czechoslovakia, France, Peru, Indonesia, U.R.S.S) and four representatives of cultural NGOs (International Council of Music, International Union of Architects, International Council of Museums, International Theatre Institute). Their remarks were subsequently considered for the document sent to the national experts indicated by the 22 national commissions for them to present their reports in a larger meeting later in 1967.

Even after that, the stated aim of the meeting was still *"formuler des recommendations qui serviraient de base à une action de plus grande envergure en 1969-70, en ce qui concerne l´aide a la creation artistique dans le monde moderne"* [10]. This, however, no longer seemed to reflect the real substance of the project. Augustin Girard, consultant, in a letter to ADG/SHC Elmandjra, asked whether the Round Table would be about the aid of artistic creation or cultural policies, and the answer was the change of the official title of the meeting to "Table ronde sur les politiques culturelles dans le monde moderne"[11]. The modification of the title reflected the institutional drift to e new theme.

Lists of potential invitees included Hannah Arendt, Octavio Paz, Alejo Carpentier, Marshal Mc Luhan, Pierre Bourdieu, Joffre Dumazedier, Richard Hoggart and Theodor Adorno among a considerable number of poets, artists, critics, social

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Draft letter from J. Ulrik to International Relations Minister of Monaco. 31/05/1967. File 307 A 064 (449.49) "67", Table-Ronde de Monaco - Décembre 1967 "L'Action et la Politique Culturelle", 1966-67, (Part 1).

[11] Minute sheet from Augustin Girard to Mahdi Elmandjra, commented by Elmandjra. 09/06/1967. . File 307 A 064 (449.49) "67", Table-Ronde de Monaco - Décembre 1967 "L'Action et la Politique Culturelle", 1966-67, (Part 1).

scientists, heads of cultural institutions from different countries and international cultural organizations. The organization team was also building historical and theoretical backgrounds for working documents and managing answers to the national study requests, many of which were late or considered inadequate. One month before the meeting, fourteen studies were received, three were late, two remained without notice and two had the contract cancelled.

Director General René Maheu expressed hesitation towards the ambition of synthesis expected to be achieved with the report to be made by the secretariat. The studies sent by national commissions were very different in size, style, depth and adequacy to expectations; they were not comparable at all. Augustin Girard strongly recommended that the reports were not published. For him, most of the pages did not have information value and their language was not suitable for publication. Additionally, he recalls that the letters to the experts asked for personal opinions and not official presentations. He finally suggested that the reports that met minimum requirements should be printed to be available only to the participants at the round table[12]. The meeting itself, as reiterated in its official working document, reunited invitees for their personal capacities and not as representatives of their governments and institutions.

Finally, the Round Table took place in Monaco from December 18 until 22, 1967. The objectives of the meeting were to confront the main problems perceived by governments for the elaboration of cultural policies; to identify which of these problems UNESCO could help treating and to establish priorities and recommendations for the elaboration of the programme and budget for the 1969-1970 biennial. The first topic of the provisional agenda was the very notion of cultural policy: *"la notion de politique culturelle est encore neuve et elle demande á être élucidée tant dans les pays industrialisés où l´action culturelle est discutée et dispersée, que dans les pays nouveaux où des principes d´action efficacies peuvent être mis en place rapidement."[13]* . This statement is followed by questions such as "Is there a new demand?", "What is the use in transforming the action in favor of the arts in cultural policies?", "How to integrate science and cultural action?". It is therefore part of the meeting to define what cultural policy was and to what extent it was really reflecting a new demand or a new solution to an old problem, or even if it changed anything at all. We could call it a meta-meeting, in which the validity, pertinence, definition and scope of its theme would be subject to collective scrutiny.

The final report outline was orally approved at Monaco and the writing was left to rapporteur general Mr. Rafik Said with the assistance of the Secretariat. The draft was then submitted to the appreciation of some participants and members of the secretariat. Some of them, including Mr. Said, regretted the short deadline, but considered a fairly adequate account of the meeting. Most of them made punctual remarks and ADG/SHC Elmandjra replied that substantive changes were not recommended because they would have to be re-submitted to participants since the original draft had already been approved in Monaco and, foremost, it was agreed that the report had better reflect the most accordingly debates at the Round Table. By

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[12] Memo from A. Girard to M. Elmandjra , 17/10/1967. File 307 A 064 (449.49) "67", « Table-Ronde de Monaco - Décembre 1967 "L'Action et la Politique Culturelle" », 1967, (Part 3).

[13] Working document. 1967. File 307 A 064 (449.49) "67", « Table-Ronde de Monaco - Décembre 1967 "L'Action et la Politique Culturelle" », 1967, (Part 4).

April 1968 the report was sent to participants and was being prepared to be published alongside a selection of the national studies.

FROM EVENT TO LONG-TERM PROJECT: THE ROUND-TABLE AND AFTER

The published final report was a very particular type of account, carefully treated to articulate UNESCO´s official discourse and the legitimacy provided by the contribution of participants, even if it was agreed that it should reflect debates accordingly. It is thus an interesting locus to observe how UNESCO produces its official language, creating precisely the appearance of consensus Susan Wright referred to (1999).

A note in the end of the report registered that *"while the atmosphere of mutual understanding and co-operation persisted throughout the meeting, there were certain divergences of view"* (UNESCO, 1969: 49), but those who have joined this group in their individual capacity were only treated individually in the list of participants at the end of the publication; along the document they were evocated without names. Their expertise, technical contribution and political background were deeply valued in the meticulous process of selecting, inviting, proposing and revising questions to be addressed, but all of this was melted into the form of a narrative of generalizations (eg "in most countries…", "mutual understanding") made by a henceforth united actor: the round-table. Still, national experiences are mentioned, examples are given and a lot of kindred concerns are arisen, so it is worth to highlight how the report displayed questions related to the definition of public policy.

Although participants contended that culture could not be reduced to numbers, the claim for objectivity was systematic and assumed a multitude of forms: from the organization of administrative structures, budgets and plans to the identification of cultural needs, facts, expenditures, indicators, statistics etc. The approaches defining cultural policy themselves assumed the possibility and desirability of calculated action in the field of culture, provided that the freedom of the artist and of cultural expressions could be preserved. According to the final report, cultural policy should apportion tasks among cultural institutions and government bodies by integrating planning policies and prevent discontinuity. It was defined as:

> *"the sum total of the conscious and deliberate usages, action or lack of action in a society, aimed at meeting certain cultural needs through the optimum utilization of all the physical and human resources available to that society at a given time; (b) that certain criteria for cultural development should be defined, and that culture should be linked to the fulfilment of personality and to economic and social development."* (UNESCO, 1969:10)

The issue of cultural needs was explored at length:

> "*In working out a cultural policy it is necessary to evaluate needs and to know what exists to meet them. In most countries very little is known concerning either of these aspects: people do not even know what methods can be used to discover the facts of cultural activity and what are the needs of the public." (…) "Answering these questions means approaching cultural problems objectively. A philosophy of culture is not a sufficient basis for action; the facts that we are trying to change must be exactly known"* (…) *"Cultural needs are not a fact; they are discovered by sociological research, using as a basis certain data (e.g., the difference between the cultural models of two societies or*

two groups), bearing in mind desirable and possible objectives. People can only desire something that they know of." (UNESCO, 1969: 12-13)

Whist emphasizing the need of objectification, participants recognized that, further than conceptual problems, methods of investigation were still unusual and unfamiliar to them. Nonetheless, they considered useful the study of behavioral patterns by analysis of time-budgets, attendance and expenditure and desirable that these studies were carried out by specialized institutes and coordinated by a government body.

Cultural budget, in their view, could also avoid *"a flood of empty rethoric often released by cultural matters"*. This indicator was looked upon as of great importance to assess how much effort is being made by public authorities, but it depended on the possibility to (re)group all cultural expenditure items and develop methods to compare it to other national budgets and to cultural budgets of other countries. It was raised that most countries feel the need for statistical frameworks to evaluate the attainment of its cultural objectives and compare with other countries. It would be desirable to have a world survey on cultural policies, yet attendants deemed more profitable that UNESCO, with the help of an expert committee, defined criteria and terminology to undertake national surveys and publish them in individual booklets for comparison. Still on this matter, they recommended the establishment of an international documentation center *"on the cultural institutions, policies and needs of different Member States"* and that *"in States where this does not yet exist, a government office or an independent body should be set up to co-ordinate cultural action at the national level and to ensure liaison with UNESCO in this field"* (UNESCO, 1969: 47). With regard to the organization of cultural policy, it was said that different sates defended the advantages centralizing cultural services under a single department, for they enabled the coordination of measures at national level, the adoption of a consistent concept of cultural action which would guarantee continuity and better use of public funds; the establishment of priorities. Centralization is considered a pre-requisite for decentralization and democratization, processes seen by all countries as both as essential and interdependent.

When it came to the possible types of cultural policies, the report stated that It *"Should not be defined by UNESCO since each country has its different concept"* and at the same time condemned authoritarian cultural policies which disrespect the freedom of the artist. This ambiguous position reflects a tension that would accompany UNESCOs activities during the cold war and an issue which grounded, by contrast, the emergence cultural policies as proposed by UNESCO. The technical aspects the proposed mode of action are emphasized to counteract the authoritarian type of cultural policy*: "The firm belief that any set line of policy, in particular cultural policy, may easily become authoritarian and runs the risk of embarking on utopian schemes is a decisive element in the growing importance attached to the necessity for scientific analyses as a condition of effective action."* (UNESCO, 1969: 14). Throughout the report, this issue was addressed in different forms. It was observed that state intervention could have a harmful effect on the freedom to create; and that assistance to artistic creation should above all secure the freedom of the artist, should it be based on "indisputable facts" (UNESCO, 1969:18).

The participants concluded that (1) Cultural policy should be as dynamic as culture;(2) Democratization is no longer to promote wider access to "high-class culture", it is to promote active participation and stimulating powers of creations; (3)

Financial resources are not enough: professional personnel is required; (4) Developing countries are subject to cultural distortion promoted by mass media penetration; (5) Centralization of a public body responsible for cultural affairs at national level is desirable; and (6) NGOs play an important part in cultural development. Finally, the round table expressed the hope that UNESCO would ask the National Commissions to undertake an extensive campaign in order to arouse public opinion on this subject and various studies should be carried out (UNESCO,1969:48).

With this report in hands, the Programme Commission of the fifteenth general conference, held in 1968, devoted considerable time to the discussion about the relation between culture and different spheres of human activity, such as economy, development, youth and peace, drawing specific attention to the role of cultural policies: *"Several delegates stressed the importance of cultural policy in cultural development. They recognized that Member States needed a cultural policy and that UNESCO had an immense role to play in that regard – something new in the Organization's programme."* (UNESCO, 1968, 15C/88: 196). New also was the ten-year (1969-1978) programme launched at the same conference. The project aimed to help Member States *"to put cultural policies into effect"* establishing guidelines, principles, methods and means to assess cultural needs: *"During the first phase, the main task will be to facilitate exchanges of information and experience between persons responsible for cultural action and to provide them with documentation on the problems encountered and the results obtained in the various countries, through assembling, comparing and analyzing the cultural policies that already exist in Member States"* (UNESCO, 1968, 15C/5 :359).

One of the most important actions undertaken in this project was a series of publications entitled "Studies and Documents on Cultural Policies". The final report of the Round Table was the first publication and the national studies then requested would be at that point considered for individual issues, as long as they were revised and completed by their authors. Many other countries were after invited to revise or produce national studies and the series issued 51 studies until 1987 (see Table 1):

Table 1: National studies in "Studies and Documents on Cultural Policy" series		
Year of publication	N.	Countries
1969	1	United States
1970	7	France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, Japan, U.S.S.R. and Tunisia
1971	3	Cuba, Finland and Yugoslavia
1972	4	Bulgary, Egypt, Sri Lanka and India
1973	5	Iran, Nigeria, Poland, Senegal and New Zealand
1974	1	Liberia
1975	6	Afghanistan, Ghana, Kenya, Romenia, Democratic Republic of Germany, Tanzania
1976	5	Canadá, Korea, Zaire, Camaroon and Togo
1977	6	Colombia, Costa Rica, Jamaica, Equador, Guiana and Peru
1978	7	Alger, Argentina, Bolívia, Serra Leone, Panamá, Cuba and Honduras
1979	2	Guinea and Bielorussia
1980	3	Australia, Yugoslavia and Democratic republic of Korea
1987	1	Hungary
Total	**51**	

The production of new national studies was undertaken on the same footing as the conferences and meetings planned for the decade. Thematic studies were also ordered to experts and groups of experts, which often reunited to discuss topics such as cultural centers, training of cultural administrators, financing of culture, cultural development, conditions of the artist among others. The matter of cultural information and statistics grew from a concern of the cultural policy program to become a programme in itself: as recommended in the conclusions of the Round-table of Monaco and reinforced in subsequent meetings, the departments of culture and statistics engaged in a joint endeavor to develop a cultural thesaurus and international categories for assessing and comparing cultural data. Among the 175 meetings related to cultural development listed for the 1967-1989 period, 42 were devoted to cultural statistics and indicators, 31 to cultural development, 24 to training of cultural action professionals and 19 to cultural policies. The number of meetings also increased significantly along the years: 11 from 1967 until 1969, 53 from 1970 until 1979 and 113 from 1980 until 1989[14].

The nineteen meetings on cultural policies of the period included both reunions of representative and non-representative character. The round-table of Monaco, with its 35 participants, had been a Category VI meeting, which means it should submit suggestions or advice to the Organization in the form of a report to the Director-General, who decides what use shall be made of them. In 1970, The Intergovernmental Conference on Institutional, Administrative and Financial Aspects of Cultural Policies (Venice, 24 august – 2 september 1970), was both larger and institutionally stronger: it was a Category II meeting of representative character, with 85 Member-States, 2 international NGOs and 2 foundations, whose conclusions and recommendations were to be followed both by UNESCO and Member States after being approved by the next General Conference[15]. During the 70s, regional intergovernmental encounters were also organized. The first of them took place in Europe, in Helsinki (1972), and was followed by conferences in Asia (Yogyakarta, 1973), in Africa (Accra, 1975) and Latin America (Bogota, 1978). This series of meetings found their culmination in the World Conference on Cultural Policies in Mexico City in 1982, MONDIACULT, attended by 960 participants from 126 States. The non-representative meetings of the period were mostly expert meetings to prepare the intergovernmental meetings, according to Table 2 below:

Year	Event
1967	Comité d'experts sur la politique et l'action culturelle dans le monde moderne - Paris, 9-13 avril 1967.
1967	Table ronde sur les politiques culturelles - Monaco, 18-22 décembre 1967.
1969	Réunion d'experts en vue de préparer la Conférence intergouvernementale de 1970 sur les politiques culturelles - Paris, 16-19 juin 1969.
1969	Meeting of experts on problems of cultural policies in Africa - Dakar, 6-10 octobre 1969.
1970	Conférence intergouvernementale sur les aspects institutionnels, administratifs et financiers des politiques culturelles - Venise, 24 août - 2 septembre 1970.
1972	Conférence intergouvernementale sur les politiques culturelles en Europe Helsinki, 18-28 juin 1972.
1974	Conférence intergouvernementale sur les politiques culturelles en Asie Yogyakarta, 10-19 décembre 1973.
1975	Conférence intergouvernementale sur les politiques culturelles en Afrique Accra, 27 octobre-6 novembre 1975.
1976	Réunion d'experts sur l'ordre du jour provisoire de la Conférence intergouvernementale sur les politiques culturelles en Amérique latine et dans les Caraïbes - Panama, 2-5 février 1976.
1977	Consultation préparatoire à la Conférence intergouvernementale sur les politiques culturelles en Amérique latine et dans les Caraïbes - Paris, 24-25 mars 1977.
1978	Conférence intergouvernementale sur les politiques culturelles en Amérique latine et dans les Caraïbes - Bogota, 10-20 janvier 1978.

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[14] Based on events listed in UNESCO/Moulinier, 1994.

[15] UNESCO Constitution, Article IV, Paragraph 4.

1978	Comité d'experts préparatoire à la Conférence intergouvernementale sur les politiques culturelles dans les Etats arabes - Hammamet, Tunisie, 12-15 juin 1978.
1978	Réunion d'experts sur l'ordre du jour provisoire de la Conférence intergouvernementale sur les politiques culturelles dans les Etats arabes - Hammamet, Tunisie, 18-21 septembre 1978.
1980	Expert meeting on the development of cultural policies in Europe - Helsinki, 8-12 décembre 1980. First Meeting of Joint Study Group "C" for Category 5/Cinema/ and Category 6/Radio and Television/ of the Framework of cultural statistics - Ottawa, 9-12 décembre 1980.
1980	Groupe de réflexion en vue de la préparation de la deuxième Conférence mondiale sur les politiques culturelles - Paris, UNESCO, 15-19 décembre 1980.
1981	Groupe de réflexion en vue de la préparation de la deuxième Conférence mondiale sur les politiques culturelles - Paris, UNESCO, 22-25 juin 1981.
1981	Consultation des organisations non gouvernementales en vue de la préparation de la deuxième Conférence mondiale sur les politiques culturelles - Paris, UNESCO, 22-24 septembre 1981.
1982	Conférence mondiale sur les politiques culturelles - Mexico, 26 juillet 6 août 1982.
1989	Deuxième Table ronde est-ouest sur "Politiques culturelles régionales et emplois dans le secteur de la culture" - Dublin, Irlande, 28-29 septembre 1989.

This alternation between individual capacity and state representative meetings enabled UNESCO to play a crucial role in cultural policy development precisely by mediating two of the organization's main publics: international intellectual communities and national governments. In moving between these groups, UNESCO could take part on an underway discussion building bridges between different groups of actors and creating a language through which it became possible to discuss matters across groups and nations.

The report of the Round-Table of Monaco and the other studies published in the series *"Documents and Studies on Cultural Policies"* had a growing number of printed copies and re-issues. These volumes were distributed not only to participants of subsequent meetings but also to libraries all over the world. With a quick research in some library catalogs – Library of Congress, USA, British National Library, UK, Biblioteca Nacional, Brazil - one can see that cultural policy´s first appearance in publication titles owes to this collection, representing the majority of titles until the mid-70s.

The Round Table report, published under the title "Cultural Policy: A Preliminary Study", became a frequent source for operational definitions of cultural policy. In Brazil, especially, it has been referred to in a number of academic studies (Rubim, 2003; Lima et al, 2013) and bureaucratic documents. The studies in this collection and their updates for MONDIACULT in 1982 are also considered the first step to international comparison of cultural policy information, and were the base for thereafter research in the field (Wiesand, 2002; Poirrier, 2011).

WAYS TO TALK AND DO CULTURAL POLICY

The idea of cultural policy emerged at different times in different countries, as a result of particular socio-historical processes, and sometimes under different names related to cultural action. Bustamante argues that UNESCO was responsible for the institutionalization of this idea at international level, facilitating its relatively sudden adoption in countries where this had not been a concern before (Bustamante, 2014). While officially the interaction net reaches at least three levels – with "experts", individually or as representatives of research groups or institutions; international cultural NGOs, doing both research and cultural action; and representatives of governments of member states -, if we consider the heterogeneity of these aggregates and their possible overlap, plus the influence of the secretariat, we have a much more complex picture. I propose thus to see UNESCO as a key mediator not only at international level but also articulating individuals, groups, spots, issues and

hybrid experiences involving countries and their representatives, individuals at governmental research institutes, related repertoires circulating in kindred themes and others. Mediation, for ANT theory, consists in the active transformation of a network and its central forces, they "transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning or the elements it is supposed to carry" (Latour, 2005:39). If UNESCO was a key mediator in the origins of cultural policy, who and what was it mediating?

In the post war period, innovation sprung in different fields and domains. Cold war induced different sectors, classes, groupings to take clearer political positions and to act differently towards their publics. The coining of the category of cultural policy was one little point of convergence among many others taking place at the time. The sixties were a time for great turmoil in the arts and humanities: theories, methods, languages and disciplines lived an intense renovation and cultural policy could be one of the channels by which these changes could move beyond their private clusters to reach new and diverse publics. The presence of discussants with different backgrounds at the Round Table shows that the language of cultural policy is related to a series of ongoing discussions in different places at the time. Some influences are easier to track down, while others we suppose based on the trajectory of the participant. One way or another, the repertoire of cultural policy distilled in the letters and reports analyzed through this text is composed by these related subjects and projects, often guided by the defense of ethical principles or political ideologies.

The Round table o was attended by 26 "experts", among which there were researchers, artists; 7 representatives of international NGOs, 7 members of the secretariat and 2 observers (See Annex I). Some of them were occasional contributors to UNESCO´s tasks, while others developed a close relationship with the organization, becoming key actors in the definition of certain projects. Of the 26 experts, 10 were involved in artistic creation – artists, writers, film-makers –, and at least 7 of them were simultaneously engaged in running culture by the assumption of functions of direction and presidency in cultural organizations, governmental or not. Alejo Carpentier, prominent Cuban novelist, essayist and musicologist was also cultural counselor of the Cuban embassy in Paris; Ivan Boldiszar, from Hungry, was a writer then president of Hungarian PEN International, an international organization of writers which advocates for freedom of expression and human rights; Pierre Moinot was both a writer and Director of Arts and Letters in the French Ministry of Cultural Affairs – just to mention a few examples. Some of them expressed political engagement in their creative production. Algerian writer Kateb Yacine, for example, was a member of the communist party and known for radical engagement against colonialism and dictatorship: "Notre théâtre est un théâtre de combat ; dans la lutte des classes, on ne choisit pas son arme. Le théâtre est la nôtre."[16] The novels and short stories by Mulk Raj Anand became notable by the portrayal of oppression, exploitation, and impoverishment in India[17], and he was, then, the president of the National Art Academy of India. South African film maker Ousmane Sembene also showed a strong commitment to social criticism in his work: "For us, African film-makers, it was then necessary to become political, to become involved in a struggle

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[16] Le monde diplomatique, November 31, 2009 p. 31. Available at http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2009/11/DA_SILVA/18424. Consulted in 19/05/2015.
[17] Enciclopedia Brittanica. Available in http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/22664/Mulk-Raj-Anand. Consulted in 19/05/2015.

against all the ills of man's cupidity, envy, individualism, the nouveau-riche mentality, and all the things we have inherited from the colonial and neo-colonial systems"[18]

Another seven experts were in charge of government bodies dedicated total or partially to culture in their countries. Such was the case of officials from the United States, United Kingdom, Sweden, Egypt and Tunisia. The last group was formed by researchers and social scientists, among which are Pierre Bourdieu and Joffre Dumazedier (France), Stefan Zolkiewsy (Poland) and Anatoly Zvorykin (URSS). The founder and director of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies University of Birmingham (United Kingdom), Richard Hoggart, participated as an observer, and Augustin Girard, researcher of the French Ministry of Cultural Affairs, as a consultant.

The NGOs themselves have been an important axe of dialogue for UNESCO. The organization, along with other UN bodies, had a significant role in the recognition and stimulation of their creation and formalization, as partners of governments in the execution of public affairs. Some of the NGOs present at the round-table were created by UNESCO itself. This was the case of the International Music Council, the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, the International Council of Museums and the International Theatre Institute. These organizations worked close to the secretariat, some as advisory boards on specific matters, but all of them with enduring connections with UNESCO activities.

The same happens with certain collaborators. Consultant Augustin Girard, for instance, worked in this project from the very beginning. Although not employed by UNESCO, his assistance was far more continuous than other experts that were enrolled for meetings, studies and missions. Like him, a few collaborators took part in more than one occasion or phase of the project. Some of them became authors of their countries´ national study, others engaged in more specialized studies, as presented in Annex I. It is a difficult task to address to what extent each of the participants of the round-table or the ones who took part at its previous idealization contributed to the conformation of the language that was being crafted along the discussions and documents. Carrasco and Saperas (2011, 2012) argue that the presence of representatives of three research institutes provided the most important theoretical inspiration to the round table. Such would be the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) of the Universidad de Birmingham, represented by Richard Hoggart, its founder and director; the Département des Études, de la Prospective et des Statistiques (DEPS) of the French Ministry of Cultural Affairs, directed by Augustin Girard, and the Centre d'Études des Communications de Masses (CECMAS) of the École Pratique des Hautes Études, represented by its director Pierre Bourdieu. According to Carrasco, these centers were developing approaches – culturalist theories of the CCCS, theory of mass culture and society in the CECMAS and the "cultural prospective" of the DEP - that would confer theoretical form to the institutional wish to develop practical knowledge on culture and to push up its value as an agent for social development. Bustamante Fajardo examined in detail a few trajectories and pointed that participants who attended to more than 2 of these meetings circulated in different international networks, moving to different - and sometime higher - positions still related to the theme inside and outside UNESCO. and he then uses Richard Hoggart as an example of how an individual can occupy

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[18] The Guardian, 12 June 2007. Obituary. Available at
http://www.theguardian.com/news/2007/jun/12/guardianobituaries.obituaries. Acessed in 19/05/2015.

different and ascending positions within the same network. Hoggart attended the round-table of Monaco as an observer and commissioned writer of the UK national study. He later became ADG/SHC. When he quit his post, in 1976, he turned into vice-president of the Arts Council of Great Britain, until 1981, when Margaret Thatcher becomes Prime-Minister. For him and Carrasco, researchers and social scientists have more political authority than artists and other professionals of culture in this type of forum. Despite I agree with them that it is most likely that some participants had more enduring connections with UNESCO I prefer to consider all contributions and participations as equally authoritative, for they are all enrolled, as much as the themes, categories and languages they mobilize, in the process.

The arguments employed to justify and implement the new project are constantly connected to the notion of *cultural development*. The aim of cultural policies is to achieve cultural development. Extensively mentioned as the ultimate objective for action, it functions also as justification for interference as well. But what would be this cultural development? At that moment, something vague tied to peace, economic development and democratization, only objectifiable through knowledge of the "cultural reality", of its "facts", and "cultural needs"[19]. In this logic, scientific methods of seeing and measuring provided by social sciences would be the most adequate to make this reality legible. Ultimately, cultural policy would be the means to link needs and wants. This logic seems quite obvious when Augustin Girard looks back at what he did at the DEP at the time:

> *"l'établissement de politiques culturelles rationnelles, consensuelles et opposables aux budgétaires, ne pouvait se déduire des définitions humanistes ou estliétiques de la culture. Ces définitions ne peuvent induire une politique en termes de moyens à gérer, de hiérarchies de besoins à satisfaire. On était plus fort dans la discussion avec les financeurs, si on pouvait prouver l'existence de besoins. La statistique permettait de délimiter des manques, des déserts — à l'époque on parlait de «déserts français» — et de monter un argumentaire objectif."* (Girard apud Dubois and Georgakakis, 1993).

If policy was the selected mean to bridge alleged needs and wants, it was also because, as mentioned earlier, it had also been transformed from a more general and private use, in the 17th century, to be adopted by governments, referring mostly to international or diplomatic positions, in the 19th century, and only in the second half of the XXth century it became the notion we are familiar to, related to a posture assumed by a group of people publicly accountable and invested of legitimate institutional authority (eg a minister and his staff) in relation to something that is a public concern. The XXth century notion of policy brings the idea that something will be done in a coherent, continuous way, with planning efforts and a distribution or redistribution of resources. It bears the image of a solid and reliable relationship between people, their elected representatives, the people responsible for the actions of government, such as presidents, secretaries, governors and mayors (Spink e Silva, in print).

This meaning, considered by Colebatch as the dominant paradigm that consists in seeing the policy process as "an exercise in informed problem-solving" (2006: 309). It is also known as instrumental viewpoint, under which public policy is a "technical,

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[19] For a discussion about the trajectory of the notion of cultural development in international agencies, see Arizpe, 2004.

rational, action-oriented instrument that decision makers use to solve problems and affect change." (Shore and Wright, 1997:5), or else, as a *"rational problem solving – directy shaping the way in which development is done."* (Mosse, 2005: 2). It is also considered state-centric, focused on government as the main legitimate intervening authority in public affairs (Thoenig, 2005: 3). The notions of consistency, hierarchy, instrumentality, technicality and legitimacy are just the requirements for cultural policy to fulfill "cultural needs" and achieve "cultural development".

Another constant presence in UNESCO's papers is cultural action (*action culturelle*), but in a vague way: sometimes used as a synonym for cultural policy and others as a reference to any organized action towards culture, when it became known in some places as the cultural engagement based on the assumption of culture's power to change society through enhancement of class conscience. Various strands of leftist movements had an important role in cultural movements in the 60s, and even more during the cold war. Critical languages in cultural practice were likely to emerge, not only verbally but in the different areas of artistic creation. The will of artists to take part in the emergent cultural policy forums, both participating or criticizing them, was consistent with their previous political engagement and reveals a growing overlap between politics and culture. Sites such as UNESCO represented for some the adequate channel to mediate their positions, while others would be suspicious or critical of its interference in cultural matters, like Eugene Ionesco:

> *"Hundreds of delegates were present* [at UNESCO Intergovernmental Meeting of Helsinki, 1972]*, staff and administrators from all countries of Europe; there were plenary sessions and specialized studies; committees, subcommittees and other subcommittees met to draft reports and more reports and accumulate mountains of papers. (...) No one seemed to understand that the real living culture is about creation, disruption, change, evolution and even revolution. From north to south, from east to west. Officially, culture seems to be the daily bread of bureaucrats, monopoly and the baton of totalitarian governments. (...) It seems to set a new dangerous exploitation of man by man and a new alienation: the exploitation of artists by bureaucrats, which would be the employers, the bosses of the creators, distributors transformed in their thoughts, in their peddlers' ideologies. (...) I was outraged to see and hear those delegates in Helsinki discuss semicolons, with their collars and ties, full of arrogance and an unconscious mediocrity, dipped in paper, out of all truth and all love, wanting to discuss what they do not understand: the drama of existence, the human tragedy, the problem of ultimate ends. (...) Currently, we must distrust UNESCO: their ambitions and their pride have other requirements. We repel all cultural policies of all governments. "[20]*
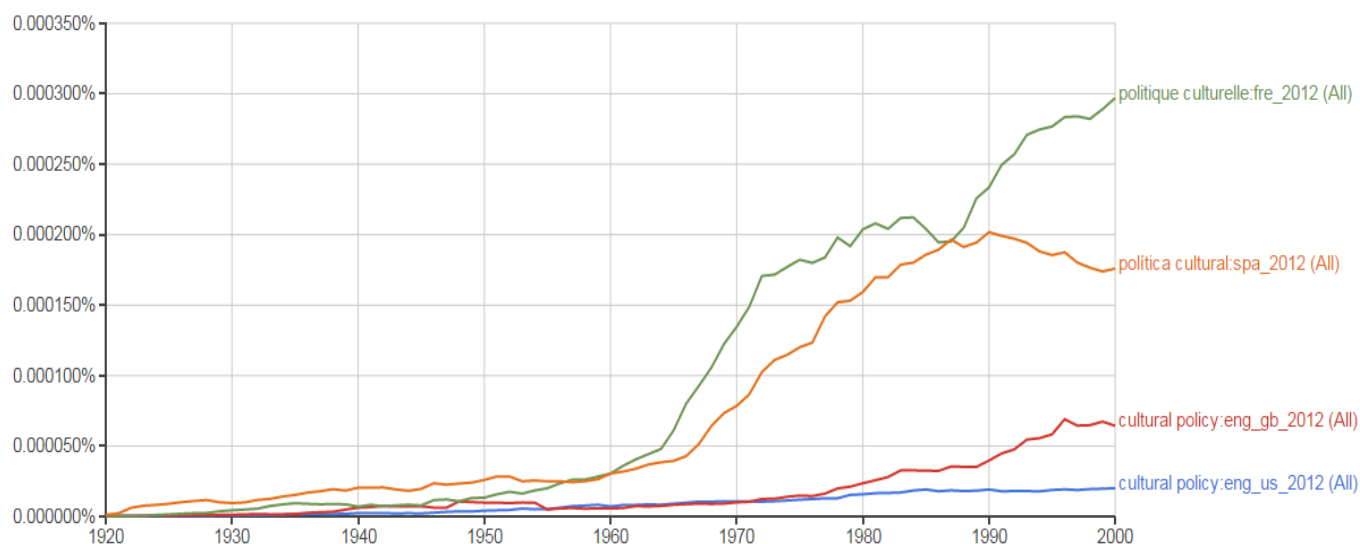
Lourde Arizpe recalls that foreign-assisted cultural development programs had perceived failures and uneven effects in developing countries (2004: 171). The sixties were also a time for institutional confrontation and culture would be a privileged field for anti-establishment actions of all sorts. In countries under authoritarian regimes, there was a constant suspiciousness when the subject was government intervention on culture. Cultural policy had to be narrowed and objectified by UNESCO's narrative to cope with the rejection of its undesired meaning by different publics and for different reasons.

Nevertheless, if we look backwards it is possible to affirm that cultural policy did succeed in becoming a central way to talk and put into practice cultural public actions and, additionally, that the crafting of meaning undertaken from the mid sixties until

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[20] *Folha de São Paulo, 07/21/1972. "UNESCO, a cultura contra a cultura". Folha Ilustrada.*

the eighties contributed a lot to this process. Its association with different social groups might have contributed to both its success and its vagueness, as it put by Vincent Dubois: *"From the political celebration of a popular culture in the 1950-1960s to the promotion of "middle classes" through the organisation of their access to cultural consumption in the 1960-1970s and to strategies of the "rehabilitation through culture" of "marginal" groups – immigrants, "young people living in suburban areas" – in the 1980-1990s, the public treatment of culture is regularly seen as way of representing different social groups.(2008:13).* Google has a huge database of books from which it is possible to search for sentence incidence, from the 1880s until 2012. Some users have criticized the level of accuracy for more precise searches, but if one wants to know about long-term broad tendencies, it may be a useful tool. I searched for the term cultural policy in four subsets (or "corpuses"), corresponding to different languages: French, English in British publications; English in American publications and Spanish. The result was displayed as follows:

Graphic 1: "Cultural Policy" incidence in books

Source: https://books.google.com/ngrams/

Even if the association of these categories in interrelated languages had a huge success if we look backwards – which makes it very difficult to trace back oppositions – no language keeps in good currency forever neither will it be completely consensual. UNESCO itself, after more than a decade investing in cultural policy, left it a bit aside to empower the notion of cultural diversity in the 1990s, bringing up another groundbreaking piece of international reference when it was launched the report "Our Creative Diversity", in 1996[21]. The retrospective look also allows us to associate the period between the mid-sixties and the early eighties with the creation of a series of national and local government bodies in charge of culture around the world (Poirrier, 2011). Even if not directly influenced by UNESCO, transformations within social categories unfold along changes within the practices associated to them.

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[21] The shift from cultural policy – tied to cultural development – to cultural diversity is also analyzed by Bustamante Fajardo, 2014.

The cultural policy way of talk and do can be hegemonic in certain times and places, but it is still just one among a multifarious diversity of categories performed in a less multiple but still diverse set of languages that interact and overlap in everyday practices. I described the diversity of agents and forms of involvement in one point of the process of the crafting of cultural policy. As a result of the articulation of the described process and others occurring simultaneously, the operational category started to comprise a clearer subset of activities and themes and to be performed as a social language connected to others and not so clearly distinct, in everyday usage, of related repertoires.

The analysis of the documentation practices and inscriptions related to the round-table of Monaco allowed us to pinpoint, with zoom lenses, a crucial translation: cultural policy was mobilized, even in the microscale, by agents with different interests and inputs and began to encompass not necessarily convergent worries, institutional plans, political wills, individuals, groups and organizations to transform its meaning but also the publics it was meaningful for: it was a transformation in content, form and position in the network of public action languages. This, in actor-network-theory language, is a translation; a transformation of meaning and place (Latour, 1987). We have seen, also, that UNESCO was not the only mediator in the cultural policy actor-network. This bundle of mediators came to be associated by the part they took in our story, but they also made cultural policy do something in a bigger scale and duration, they were connections that "transports transformations" (Latour, 2005) interlocking interests and enrolments in public action processes (Mosse and Lewis, 2006). The denaturalization of cultural policy is useful for both researches and practitioners to have a better understanding of the multiple and perhaps dissonant voices that may be carried in a category they use in everyday language, to understand that the very desirability of a cultural policy reflects the attribution of value of when it stars to be seen as a good in itself, for its value depends on the crafting of the notion of needs that justify it, and finally, that the coherence attributed to a successful public project and its operational categories is never predetermined; never a matter of design or of policy (Mosse and Lewis, 2006), it is always the result of multiple translations.

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Annex I: Table 3 – Participants at the Round Table of Monaco

UNESCO Secretariat			
Name	**Unesco Function**	**Activities outside Unesco**	**Country**
Mahdi ELMANDJRA	Assistant Director-General for Social Sciences, Human Sciences and Culture	Director General of the Moroccan Broadcasting Service (RTM); Counselor of the Moroccan Mission to the UN; Coordinator of the Conference on Technical Cooperation between Developing countries at the UNDP; President of the World Futures Studies Federation and of Futuribles International; founding President of the Moroccan Association of Future Studies and the Moroccan Organization of Human Rights.He has been a Visiting Professor to Tokyo University (1998) and a Visiting Scholar of the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) at the Tokyo Keizai University (1999).	Morocco
Roger CAILLOIS	Director of the Division for the Cultural Advancement of the Community	Literary critic, sociologist, anthropologist. Books: Man, Play and Games, 1961; The Mask of Medusa, 1964	France
Enrico FULCHIGNONI	Head of the Creative Arts and Literature Section	Film director and writer.	Italy
Augustin GIRARD	Consultant	Founder and director; the Département des Études, de la Prospective et des Statistiques (DEPS) of the French Ministry of Cultural Affairs	France
Jacques GUÉRIF	Head of Press Division		
Milan BABIC	Office of Statistics		
Adella KAY	Creative Arts and Literature Section		UK
Observers			
Name	**Function**	**Other Unesco Activities**	**Country**
Yves BRUNSVICK	French National Commission for Unesco and philosopher of education.	Publications: The Basic principles of education for international understanding (1947); Lexique de la vie culturelle (non-Unessco pub) (1987); Birth of a civilization: the shock of globalization (1999)	France
Richard HOGGART	Director of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies University of Birmingham (United Kingdom).	Became ADG/SHC from 1971 until 1975. Publications: Cultural policy in Great Britain (1970); Collective Consultation of Secretaries of National Commissions; Paris; (1972); Consultation on the Project for Establishing an International Fund for the Promotion of Culture (1973); Literacy and the crisis in Europe today (1992); The Watchful eye of democracy (1995)	United Kingdom

Name	Function	Other Unesco activities	Country
Raymond RAVAR	Founder and director of l'Institut national supérieur des arts du spectacle et techniques de diffusion (INSAS), Brussels	Meeting of Experts on Education of the Film-maker for Tomorrow's Cinema; Belgrade; 1972, Table ronde de Rome, avril 1966, organisée par l'UNESCO avec la collaboration du Centre européen de l'éducation (1966)	Belgium
Charles C. MARK	Director, States and Community Operations, National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, Washington D.C.	Publications: A Study of cultural policy in the United States (1969), Originality and tradition in American culture (1970), Cultural centres in the United States of America (1968)	United States
Nigel ABERCROMBIE	Secretary-General, Arts Council of Great Britain.	Publication: Artists and their public (1975); Cultural policy in the United Kingdom (1981)	United Kingdom
Carl-Johan KLEBERG	Administrateur au ministère de l'Éducation et des Affaires culturelles, Stockholm.	Publications: Cultural objectives: empty words or practical policy? (1983)	Sweden
Abdel Moneim EL SALAI	Sous-secrétaire d'État pour les antiquités au ministère de la Culture, Le Caire.		Égypte
Rafik SAID	Directeur de l'animation culturelle en Tunisie.	Mission: Politique culturelle: Brésil - (mission) 20 novembre-19 décembre 1968; Publications: The Role of the copyright in the promotion of development (1977); Cultural policy in Tunisia (1970)	Tunisie
Albert HOBA	Chargé des affaires culturelles au ministère de l'Éducation nationale.		Sénégal
Arthur CROVETTO	Ministre plénipotentiaire, président de la Commission nationale monégasque pour l'Unesco.		Monaco
Carlos CHAGAS	Ambassadeur, délégué permanent du Brésil auprès de l'Unesco.	Event: Round Table on Cultural and Intellectual Cooperation and the New International Economic Order; Paris; 1976; Meeting on the Diversity of Cultures as against the Universality of Science and Technology; Paris; 1968; Symposium on Technology and Artistic Creation in the Contemporary World; Tbilisi, USSR; 1968	Brésil
Ousmane SEMBENE	film director, producer and writer, Dakar.	Publication: Pour une culture aggressive (1984)	Sénégal
Roberto MATTA	Artist, painter.	E	Chili
Enrico PAULUCCI	Painter and president of the Italian Comittee of the International Association of Plastic Arts. Turin.		Italy
Sam Joseph NTIRO	Commissioner of Culture for the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, Min. of Local Government and Rural Development. Fine artist,painter, diplomat,public official, a civil servant, academic.	Event: Regional Seminar on the Role and Development of Museums in Africa; Lagos; 1973; Publication: The Village Museum of Tanzania: a handicraft centre (1981)	Tanzanie
Roger STEVENS	Executive Office of the President, Washington D.C.		United States
Antoine BATTAINI	Chef du Service des affaires culturelles au ministère d'État de la Principauté de Monaco.	Mission: Politique culturelle: Brésil - (mission) 20 novembre-19 décembre 1968	Monaco
Yoichi MAEDA	Professeur de littérature française à l'Université de Tokyo, président du Comité des affaires culturelles de la Commission nationale japonaise pour l'Unesco.		Japan
Pierre BOURDIEU	Directeur d'études à l'École pratique des hautes études, chargé du cours de soc. de la culture, Paris.		France
Joffre DUMAZEDIER	Maître de recherches au Conseil national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS), Paris.	Publications: L'Ecole et l'éducation permanente: quatre études (1972); Physical education, sport and sociology: Manila, December 1962; Retirement and leisure (1963)	France
Stefan ZOLKIEWSKI	Professeur à la Section des sciences sociales de l'Académie des sciences de Pologne.	Publication: La Difusión de la cultura literaria y artística en Polonia (1981)	Pologne
Anatoli A. ZVORYKIN	Professor of Sociology, Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences, Moscow	Publication: Cultural policy in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (1970); Organization of scientific work in the U.S.S.R. (1965); The Social sciences in the U.S.S.R.: achievements and trends (1964); Science as a direct productive force (1963)	URSS
Yacine KATEB	Auteur dramatique, Alger.		Algérie
Alejo CARPENTIER	Novelist, essayist, and musicologist. Conseiller culturel à l'Ambassade de Cuba à Paris.	Wrote arcticles in The Unesco Courier : a window open on the world (1972, 73, 7781, 86)	Cuba
Ivan BOLDIZSAR	Writer (novelist, screenwriter and editor), Budapest. President of Hungarian PEN International	Publication: Language barriers; Culture: from cosmos to daily life (1980)	Hungary
Mulk Raj ANAND	Writer and president of Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi.		Inde
Pierre MOINOT	Writer and director of Arts and Letter in the French Ministry of Cultural Affairs	Mission: Politique culturelle: Brésil - (mission) 20 novembre-19 décembre 1968	France

International Non-Governmental Organizations			
Name	Function	Other Unesco activities	
Jack BORNOFF	Executive Secretary, International Music Council (UNESCO's advisory body on matters of music. Paris)	Publications: Films for music education and opera films; an international selective catalogue (1962); Music theatre in a changing society: the influence of the technical media (1968); Music, musicians, and communication: five interviews (1973); Technology, techniques, music (1973)	United Kingdom
Maurice GASTAUD	Chairman, Non-Governmental Organizations Working Party on the Role of Culture in Leisure. de 1969 à 1974, le représentant permanent de la Fédération Syndicale Mondiale à l'UNESCO.		France
Hans Erling LANGKIL	International Union of Architects		
Jean d'ORMESSON	Writer, International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies (UNESCO)	Minutes of the Conference of International Non-governmental Organizations in Consultative Relations (1964); In the minds of men: UNESCO, 1946 to 1971 (1972); Culture and cultural development in our age: a debate (1975); Opening address by Jean d'Ormesson at the Round Table on Cultural and Intellectual Cooperation and the New International Economic Order held at Unesco from 23 to 25 June 1976 and other contributions to Unesco Courier	France
Arthur F. E. VAN SCHENDEL	President, International Council of Museums (UNESCO)	Publications: Some comments on the cleaning of the "Night Watch" (1950); The ICOM Commission for the Care of Paintings and the Problems of Cleaning (1951); The Care of paintings (1951); Museums and research in the Federal Republic of Germany: foreword and introduction (1968); L'Homme de l'eau; roman;Unesco-sponsored programmes and publications (1984)	Netherlands
Jean VILAR	Actor and researcher, International Theatre Institute (UNESCO)	Différents, pas indifférents; UNESCO-sponsored programmes and publications (1997)	France
Silvio ZAVALA	Historian and President, International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies (UNESCO)	Le Contact des cultures dans l'histoire mexicaine; enquête sur les relations entre les cultures (1949); The Museo Nacional de Historia Castillo de Chapultepec, México (1951); Historical museums and international understanding (1954); The Defence of human rights in Latin America (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries) (1963); Bartolomé de Las Casas: 'the apostle of the Indians' (1985); Mexico - history of Humanity (1999)	Mexico

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