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eCulture: The European Perspective
Cultural Policy, Creative Industries, Information Lag

*Proceedings from the Round Table Meeting
Zagreb, 24-27 April 2003*

**Edited by
Sanjin Dragojević
Diane Dodd
Biserka Cvjetičanin
Cas Smithuijsen**

CULTURELINK
Network of Networks for Research and Co-operation in Cultural Development was established by UNESCO and the Council of Europe in 1989.

Focal point of the Network is the Institute for International Relations, Zagreb, Croatia.

Members
Networks, associations, foundations, institutions and individuals engaged in cultural development and cooperation.

Aims of the Network
To strengthen communication among its members; to collect, process and disseminate information on culture and cultural development in the world; to encourage joint research projects and cultural cooperation.

Philosophy
Promotion and support for dialogue, questioning and debating cultural practices and policies for cultural development.

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Editorial

eCulture: The European Perspective was the title of a round table meeting jointly organised by Culturelink, the Network of Networks for Research and Cooperation in Cultural Development, and Circle, the Cultural Information and Research Centres Liaison in Europe, which was held in Zagreb, Croatia, on 24-27 April 2003. The meeting brought together 81 researchers, policy-makers and practitioners from 19 European countries, Canada, Korea and Australia.

During the past ten-odd years, Culturelink and Circle have enjoyed close cooperation in numerous activities, ranging from research projects on topics of vital importance to the global cultural development, and the creation of cultural policy databases, to the joint publication of books and periodicals, and the exchange of information and expertise in intercultural dialogue. This cooperation is, perhaps, the best indicator of networks functioning as dynamic systems of communication, exchange and partnership, characterized by openness and flexibility.

Digital technologies and the network environment have faced us with new possibilities and challenges. Thus, the eCulture conference brought into focus topics that are vital for ensuring the future of our freedom of choice, our creative freedoms and our insight into existing knowledge recorded through the cultural heritage. New forms of cultural expression, new contexts and new contents call for rethinking (national) cultural policy and international communication. As Ritva Mitchell stresses in her Introduction, "the articles in this volume show the way to new thinking and research on the concepts of information society and eCulture".

This volume comprises 14 papers, reflecting the richness of ideas and thoughts about our world in a time of change and a search for new solutions. Our thanks go to all contributors of this volume for their dedication and effort in the attempt to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

The Editors

Foreword

Biserka Cvjetičanin
Director of Culturelink Network

eCulture: The European Perspective is a topic of great importance at the time of rapid change. Modern societies are facing serious challenges and undergoing a real metamorphosis. The transformational changes at work today affect all aspects of our lives: spread of knowledge, forms of social interaction, education, economic practices, culture and the media. Cultural diversity is one of the dominant themes in present-day communication. Therefore, the greatest value of networks is the possibility they offer for an interactive cultural dialogue, the "networking of cultures", such that each culture can preserve and promote its specific character, its identity, and have equal access to artistic and cultural expression.

eCulture should be viewed in the light of cultural changes and new developments in information and communication technologies. In fact, the ICTs are now becoming a part of culture, a cultural domain. In this light, eCulture appears as a multilayered, complex phenomenon which needs to be studied from a variety of aspects - cultural policy, new economy, online resources.

eCulture is increasingly understood as a new media culture, which forces one to think again about cultural and artistic policies. There is increasing awareness of the importance of the role that the new media culture can play in civil society, primarily thanks to its openness and broad access to communication. Rapid changes in media culture present new challenges, old and new media forms intertwine, and interdisciplinary links hold together media culture, science, and information and communications technologies. This interdependence raises numerous questions for media cultural policy, which needs to broaden and deepen its research and analyses. Therefore, we need to rethink cultural policies and to form specific eCulture policy.

Cultural habits and participation in cultural life are changing. Sources of information are multiplying; some traditional habits are disappearing, but at the same time some other neglected activities are being revived; books and journals that were hardly read in the past are now becoming interesting for many people thanks to the stimuli from the Internet. Thus, the Internet users spend

more time reading than the non-users. We are indeed witnessing the birth of a new culture, characterized by interactive communication, or as the well-known Polish information science scholar and writer Janusz L. Wisniewski puts it in his novel *Loneliness in the Network*: the Internet is "a romantic place" because it is where culture happens and because it has become a place for an exchange of ideas and emotions.

I am sure that such topics will attract the attention of the participants to this conference and that they will give a new impetus to the ongoing debate on virtual reality and real cultural life, which will find its place in the World Summit on the Information Society (Geneva, December 2003 and Tunis, December 2005).

I wish the two networks, Circle and Culturelink, much success in their future cooperation. To the participants of this conference I wish a warm welcome, fruitful deliberations, and a pleasant stay in Zagreb, Culturelink's headquarters.

Foreword

Dorota Ilczuk
President of Circle

In the present-day world, communication takes place under the sign of the huge influence of synergic market effects, the product of freedom and new technologies. We deal now with two types of participation in culture: first, the analog culture (still surviving in large parts of our planet), and second, the new web culture. At the same time, we are living in a period of *transition* from the dominant analog culture to digitised culture. Digitisation creates potential opportunities for active life for everyone, but for a long time to come, possibly forever, there will be a clear distinction between active and passive consumers.

According to some estimates, three quarters of the present generations of people in the countries saturated with computers will be spending 80 per cent of their free time in the cyberspace. And where people want to be, there will soon be an offer to meet the demand. But the question is: what is it going to be like?

It seems to be a foregone conclusion that the world will become not a global village but a linkage of villages on the globe. At present, a similar process is already under way on the Internet, where English language is slowly but systematically shrinking in relation to other languages, even though it may remain its most important language. Increasingly often, the "internauts" wish to surf in their "own village" rather than a global one.

It will depend on the Europeans themselves to decide how much of the territory they wish to stock, tame and stamp with their own cultural code. It is now known for certain that no one will remain solely analog - everyone will become, to a larger or smaller extent, a member of the web world.

For the generations born after 1985, the Internet and mobile phones are not just media: they have become a social environment in which one settles and lets out his/her energies. It is a parallel world. How does one share one's life between these two worlds?

The Internet is not only sesame but also a rubbish pile of culture. This cannot be otherwise, for it is like a flooding river which can be deep only in its bed. So

much for reflection on the subject to which the Circle's 16th Round Table is devoted. Surely, the debates which will take place will concern these issues and will come up with at least partial answers to pressing questions. This year we have the privilege of co-organizing the Round Table with Culturelink. We have enjoyed fruitful cooperation with Culturelink for several years now, and the Round Table is the crowning achievement of that cooperation. We at Circle consider the Round Table our key activity. I wish to thank Biserka and Sanjin for their contribution to its success.

I would like to thank those who responded to our call for papers and the members of the organizing committee. I hope that - like in the case of the very successful Rome Round Table conference on financing culture from state lottery funds - the materials gathered here will enable us to publish not only the conference proceedings but also a separate volume of texts.

I wish you all productive discussions in beautiful Zagreb.

INTRODUCTION

Information Society and eCulture:
On the Rise and Popularity of the Concepts

Introduction

Information Society and eCulture:
On the Rise and Popularity of the Concepts

by Ritva Mitchell

During the last ten years the concept of information society has become central in all analysis of social and cultural development[1]. The analyses of modernisation and emergence of post-modern (or late modern) condition have been pushed aside, remaining largely confined to the domains of thought for social problem solvers and academic philosophers. At the same time the emergence of a new eCulture, based on the interactive digital applications of the ICT, is taken more or less for granted.

It is not difficult to understand the reasons for the popularity of the latter concepts. First, in contrast to the ideas of modernisation and post/late modernity, the ideas of an information society and eCulture are intuitively more easily perceived. More information, or better access to information, is easier to understand than more modernity. Also, information has positive connotations which link it with such terms as knowledge, creativity, innovations and democratic participation. Secondly the ideas of an information society and eCulture have been closely linked to the progress of one definite form of technology, the ICT, and its applications contribute to a better organisation of our everyday life. Consequently, these applications are usually perceived as being more positive than those of other technologies[2].

The positive approval of the concepts of information society and eCulture are reflected in the keenness with which political decision-makers have taken them over on all levels - local, regional, national and transnational. More accessible and transparent information is an easy expression, something that is unequivocally good. It is good both from the point of view of social resources

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[1] The speech on the creation of a Global Information Infrastructure by U.S. Vice President, Al Gore, at the World Telecommunication Development Conference, Buenos Aires, Monday, 21 March, 1994, and the "European response", the Report: Europe and the global information society, July 1994 ("Bangemann report") by the EC Industry and Telecommunications Commissioner Martin Bangemann are generally considered as landmarks that started the new wave of information society analyses, discussions and debates.

[2] Cf. the contribution by Jos de Haan and Frank Huysmans, "Revolution or Evolution?".

(human capital, intangible assets) and democracy (active, well-informed citizens). Furthermore, the ideas of an information society and eCulture have also implied or, at least to start with, did imply expectations of economic growth and stability, opening up of new sectors of production, increased productivity and the advent of a new, fluctuation-proof economy. In the background of these expectations lurk, however, national, trade bloc and corporate interests and related attempts to gain competitive advantage in the world trade.

The articles in this volume identify, analyse and point out the problems with the generally accepted truths that have been attached to the ideas of an information society and eCulture. Some of them also question the straightforward policies that have been used to promote the good causes supposed to be achievable alongside the information society and eCulture. The articles do not, however, engage in criticism for criticism's sake. Their intention is to deconstruct simplicities and point out complex parallel and alternative lines of development.

It would be foolish to try and synthesize the richness of ideas and analyses of the contributions in this volume of Culturelink. The summaries that follow are formulated as questions and answers. They pertain first to different interpretations of demand and supply of the new applications of the ICT, and then return to review the contributions to the more basic issues concerning the impact of these applications on creativity and cultural diversity in Western and non-Western societies.

On demand and supply

Is there such a demand for new applications of the ICT that already supports a new eCulture?

Jos de Haan and Frank Huysmans focus their contribution on rich empirical evidence that provides some interesting answers to this question. Their Dutch data support the idea that the impact of the new applications is by no means revolutionary but gradual. There is no denying that, for example, the ubiquity of computers and Internet connections has altered the everyday activities that are now performed in a different and digital manner. Yet, if we look at social interactions, people's daily time schedules and the use of the media as information sources, it turns out that in practice the new ICT applications function mostly as mediators of old interpersonal contacts-based relations and as supplementary sources of entertainment and information. One reason for that is the 24-hour limit on our daily time budget. Although videotext, computers and Internet have replaced some more traditional activities like reading and listening to the radio, the replacement effects are still rather modest. It seems, furthermore, that, when other background variables are controlled, Internet users spend more time on reading than non-users. If we look at the consequences on

the level of contents, for example the diversity (number) of sources for different types of information, the effects are still rather incidental and small.

Josef Langer, in turn, suggests that the applications of the new ICT will make a difference as to the formation of our identities, and the changes in identities explain the adoption of the applications and also the potential emergence of the digital divide. There is, for example, a distinction between the mobile phone and the Internet. The mobile phone is a situational medium and its adoption and use is to a large extent determined by the social definition of acceptable situations for its use, while the Internet is a medium for an individual and the formation of his/her identity, his/her work on the Self. In comparison with the line phone, the mobile phone expands the number of possible situations practically indefinitely and its impact on cultural contents depends on how a given society defines the new acceptable situations and how individuals interpret these definitions. The Internet, in turn, offers to its users a new space, the cyber space, to work on his/her Self, to find for the Self new memberships, roles, emotions, partners, etc. The adoption and use of the Internet depends to a large extent on the "demand of the Self for virtuality" in a given society. The more deficient the society appears to an individual and his/her Self "in RL (=real life) the more demand there will be for virtual alternatives.

Thus, Langer suggests that the demand, for example, for the new 3 G applications of mobile telephone technology will depend on their potential to turn mobile telephones from a situational medium into a medium that offers virtual space for identity formation. To what extent and how this will happen will depend on people's definitions of their situation and the way they construct their identities (organise their selves) in any given society.

Both of the contributions seem to suggest that it might still be too early to speak about a new eCulture in any other sense than as a potential longer-term end. To what extent and when this end is reached will depend on how well the supply meets the diverse and still fragmented demand.

What strategies should be used to create an effective supply of cultural contents for the new applications of the ICT?

In comparison with the above analyses, most supply-side papers in this volume seem to take it for granted that a new and more cohesive clientele for the new applications of the ICT and their contents is emerging, or that these applications can be individualised both in respect of technology and contents to respond to culturally diversified demand. Some papers, however, take a more pessimistic stance and present critical views as to the business concentration that might hide behind the ideas of the new eCulture. They also contrast the different strategies of the European and US policies and assess what the EU could and should do better. Many of the analyses focus on two EU pro-

grammes, eEurope and eContent, which were created to enhance the European role in global ICT developments and in producing the contents for increasingly digitised culture industries. Doubts are expressed that these programmes and other EU efforts have not only been inefficient but also insufficient to respond to the *défi américain*.

Dona Kolar-Panov's somewhat optimistic contribution offers a well-balanced look at the situation in Europe. It explores how well the new applications of the ICT are used to improve the access of European consumers and citizens to Europe's intellectual heritage and how well aimed are the present and planned future EU policy measures and action plans in this respect. Although the results of these measures and plans seem to be positive within the EU on the average, Kolar-Panov points out great differences within the Union and even more marked differences between the old and new EU-Europe. The author also points out some pressing issues such as the failure of national governments, even the EU member countries, to define clear-cut digitisation policies. Their lack can easily lead to incompatibilities of the storing systems, waste of resources and, in the absence of clear priorities, to loss of valuable heritage items. Language is often an obstacle to effective digitisation even within one country, and the new emphasis on the effective economic use of heritage as a market service may undermine the traditional ideas of people's free and uncharged access to their historical heritage.

Kazimierz Krzysztofek takes a longer-term perspective on eContent supply. He questions the uncritical claims concerning the benefits accruing from the new applications of the ICT and indicates that they are basically "content blind". Educational and cultural policies should develop standards that at the same time safeguard people's access to global culture and let them maintain their national regional and local cultures that give them anchorage and identity in the globalising world. The fight against the "McWorldisation" is, however, less important than identifying and maintaining what is important and culturally lasting in national, regional and local cultures from the point of view of cultural diversity and multiplicity. To do that and, at the same time, expand the stored stock of heritage through digitisation, are challenges that we will face throughout the whole of the 21st century.

On the role of creativity in information society and in the new eCulture

Is the relationship between the new ICT applications and creativity changing in the new eCulture?

Colin Mercer's contribution provides at the same time a critical perspective ("reality test") on the overoptimistic approach to creative industries and an interesting look at the creative use of the new ICT applications in the innovative use of old and new cultural contents. On the one hand, despite all the hype, the firms having as their principal function the production of cultural goods and services are still rather small in scale in comparison with such giant companies as Exxon Mobile, WalMart, General Motors, etc.; and yet, on the other hand, there is accruing empirical evidence that these applications are used not only for routine administrative purposes but also for more effective and innovative use of cultural contents in actual cultural production processes.

Mercer uses a cameo of his meeting with a young Australian aboriginal boy to explain how the skills in using new applications of the ICT can or could be used to impute new creative contents to value production chains, not only to enhance economic values but also to render in digital form the basic skills and techniques of "...memory, association, gestures..." of an oral culture without loosing its unique non-linear nature. Mercer argues that if this kind of potential is researched and explicated for practical use without the constraints set up by traditional epistemologies, disciplinary practices and economic ideologies, new vistas would be opened in respect to the three C's: Convergence, Creative industries and Civil society. Convergence presupposes new ways of seeing and treating the contents and linking them to telecommunications and computing industries for more effective "value chains". This also means that in the culture industries the role of creators, producers and intermediators as content providers, brokers, curators and navigators becomes increasingly more important at national, regional and local levels. At the same time, we need more research on the economic significance of the creative industries, their impact on the formation of cultural capital and their effects on people's local, regional, national and global identities. Promoting identity and a sense of place, strengthening affiliations and generally accepted forms of conduct, the creative industries can enhance culture as a "capillary structure for democracy, autonomy and self-expression" and become a prime mover of *civil society*. Yet culture in all its forms, including creative industries, can also be the opposite, a maker of criteria for inclusion and exclusion.

Mercer's analyses provide an analytical point of reference for several other contributions in the present volume that provide information on research and development in creativity policies and case studies on the organisation of

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"creative milieus". These contributions are gathered under the title of Cultural Challenges.

How can we maintain creativity and save its products for posterity in the new eCulture?

While Mercer opens up positive vistas to creativity in the new eCulture, Delia Ruxandra Mucica questions this assumption. Basing her analysis on Schumpeter's idea of the "eternal battle" between old monopolies and the forces destroying them in order to establish new monopolies, she suggests that eCulture might produce similar "gales of creative destruction". Competition, advent of new technologies, new modes of management and new markets may destroy whole sub-sectors of creative industries. Furthermore, some sub-sectors may "commit a suicide", by promoting such cultural products and preferences that, in the last analysis, make their stock of creative ideas and visions obsolete.

All in all, Mucica suggests that the culture industries tend to emphasise the need for new ideas and visions that replace and destroy the "old ones". Yet this approach, which may be appropriate in the case of technologies, can lead to losses of important cultural values in "content industries". This is, of course, recognized and the recognition is reflected in policies protecting these ideas and visions. This is done, for instance, through copyright and archiving legislation or regulations of trade in antiquities. Yet, the old forms of protection may not suffice in the new eCulture, which fails to protect the rights of authors or to preserve the digital products that often deteriorate faster than the analogous traditional products. Mucica's look at "creative destruction" opens up an interesting perspective on the "lasting value" of the products of eCulture and the lasting value of eCulture itself.

The issues taken up by Mucica are further elaborated in several other contributions in this volume. The protection of the products of creativity in the new eCulture are taken up by Daniela Živković ("Old Contents, New Industries"), Olga van Oost, An Lavens and Caroline Pauwels ("Online Art Museums and Virtual Museum Participation"), and Aleksandra Horvat ("Libraries as Protectors of Copyright and Providers of Free Access to Information").

Inclusion and exclusion, cultural diversity and cultural capital in the information society and in the new eCulture

What are the reasons for exclusion from the eCulture, and what motivates people to participate?

Several papers which I have already reviewed above take up the issues of cultural diversity and inclusion/exclusion - for instance, in the guise of equal access to new applications of the ICT and as the problem of the "digital di-

vide". The diversity issue is dealt with more directly in two papers: "eCitizenship and Civic Participation in Canada" by Maureen Doody, Amanda Aizlewood and Jean-Pierre Bourdeau and "Cultural Conflict in the Information Society" by Jesse B.T. Marsh.

The first of the two papers uses Canadian data to explore the obstacles to Internet use, the effects of its use on social, political and "commercial" participation ("empowerment" vs. e-trade) and the nature and effects of a special user motivation, i.e., the formation of Internet groups based on shared ethno-cultural identity. The data is also used to assess the successes and failures of the Canadian eCulture policies in motivating citizens in general and enabling the new ICT services to reach the marginalised groups.

The Canadian interview data is used in the paper to explore the obstacles to eCulture participation that is measured by questions concerning the reasons for non-use of the Internet. The four main obstacles were cost, lack of access to computers/Internet, lack of time and lack of skills. It is not surprising that the Internet is used more for practical and entertainment purposes (search for goods and services, accessing government programmes/services, finding specific information, playing games) than for exchange of political opinions or other forms of political participation. It is worth while to underline two observations. First, much of the practical use took place at work, and a fair share of the non-users were planning to become users during the year in which the interviews were carried out. These results indicate that the integration of people into the new eCulture is still an on-going process and it is by no means a simple result of personal motivation but depends to a large extent on the employment situation of people.

The data confirms our general expectation that Internet use still has only minor consequences for the political orientations and opinions of people, or these consequences cannot be detected by simple interview questions. On the other hand, the second study, which focused on the use of the Internet by ethno-cultural communities and recent immigrants, indicated that the Internet offered to the members of these communities and groups was the only source where they could find information from their native culture or news from their country of origin.

These Canadian studies bear witness to the fact that public policies cannot bridge the "digital divide" by focusing solely on the provision of good ICT infrastructure. There is a need for special measures to level inequalities due to geographical location, gender, age, education and position in the labour market; there is also a need to take into account special groups such as ethnic minorities, immigrants and refugees. Yet the interest of the government in making eCulture economically viable, developing "knowledge-based society and en-

hancing the formation of new "social and cultural capital" tends to overshadow the specific social and cultural ends in the public effort to develop information society and eCulture.

Jesse Marsh begins his paper by examining the arguments of cultural homogenisation resulting from globalisation and contrasting the interests in pure economic, financial and market driven consequences ("narronomics") with a broader and more thorough analysis of the social, technological and cultural impacts of globalisation and the new ICTs. He contrasts in particular two analytical perspectives: one that sees cultural diversity as an obstacle on our road to the information society and the other that perceives cultural diversity as a potential intellectual resource and asset. Expanding the "narronomics" to cover also the latter perspective presupposes, however, that the new applications of the ICT's are harnessed in the right way to support "networked interculturality" and/or "subtle differentiation" instead of strategies that aim at "compliant homogenisation" and/or defensive entrenchment of cultural diversity as an obstacle. This expansion presupposes strategies that aim at enhancing technical literacy, which enhances competence and facilitates access and cultural literacy, helping people to relate critically (and also self-critically) to other cultures and collective creativity, which in contrast to the sheer construction of the state-of-the-art infrastructures leads to the formation of free "civil networks" and "creative milieus" that combine local innovations with artistic creativity and non-programmatic encounters in the public spaces and communication channels.

Marsh provides stimulating listings of concrete initiatives that would enhance technical and cultural literacy and collective creativity, and help to overcome the purely industrial approach to the new applications of the ICT. When we compare these listings of initiatives with the planned and implemented public policies (national as well as transnational), we can notice deficiencies in the latter. The difference is not only the direction of initiatives and influence in the traditional sense that contrasts top-down and bottom-up processes. Marsh's initiatives aim at enhancing the free combination of technical and managerial innovation with cultural and human capital possessed by creative minds. He also proposes initiatives that would abolish barriers to this combination. Unfortunately, his initiatives will be hard pressed to find funding, because they do not promise economic profit and can even be considered contrary or inimical to industrial interests.

What is the role of copyright legislation and international agreements on intellectual property rights and world trade in the provision of culturally diverse contents and in preserving equal access to "virtualised" cultural contents?

The above question has been taken up in the papers of Aleksandra Uzelac and Joost Smiers. The former writer asks whether copyright protection is changing in such a manner that it restricts the scope of knowledge and cultural contents in the public domain and jeopardises people's equal access to the new "virtual space". The effective use of virtual space presupposes three things: adoption of network organisation, resources to acquire and use new applications of the digital ICT, and unrestricted access to stocks of cultural resources, which can be reused in the new media. Large companies of the culture industries have an advantage in all these respects and copyright legislation tends to reaffirm their position and dominance in the virtualisation of cultural products.

According to Uzelac, the dominance by the firms undermines an important element in the evolving of the information society - that of knowledge sharing. The latter is maintained by free and voluntary networking, providing that it has stable structures and sufficient resources. Yet, cultural institutions working mainly in public domain often have only limited resources to develop their mutual networking, maintain public domain and diversity of contents. All of this leads to a vicious circle, where the lessening of knowledge and cultural contents in the public domain feeds negatively to creativity, generation of new knowledge and new cultural contents. This, in turn, restricts social participation in cultural production and slows down innovations throughout the economy. Referring to Besser's analyses, Uzelac argues that the copyright changes in the 1990s have undermined the robustness of the public domain, enhanced monopolistic accumulation of the ownership of intellectual property, and endangered the principles of fair use and first sale. There is a need to alleviate these developments by providing Internet users and users of other new channels with free software and effective information filtering systems and by reforming copyright legislation along the lines suggested by the Open Source proponents and the Copyleft movement.

Joost Smiers follows the same lines of argument, but broadens the scope to cover the inequalities between Western and non-Western countries in the global setting. He, too, criticises the present copyright systems for giving the right-owners unrestricted private ownership, which big culture industrial enterprises can take over for their monopolistic uses and utilise recklessly by investing in blockbusters, stars, best selling products, and all sorts of secondary and promotional products. The non-Western countries are forced to adopt the very same copyright legislation and they are obliged to pay copyright payments to Western right-owners.

At the same time, Western artists and culture industrial enterprises are looking for and adopting the creative ideas generated in non-Western native cultures and using them as primary products in their own works and cultural

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productions without paying any intellectual property right compensations. In non-Western countries individual artists also appropriate collective creative ideas and cultural products and copyright them as intellectual property of their own. This tends to stifle the traditional processes of collective creativity and communal cultural development. The international copyright regimes and regimes of international trade in tangible assets have failed to alleviate these developments. Smiers ends his presentation with an appeal for more research on the way we can protect creativity in the non-Western countries. Such research would also help us to understand better why the Western copyright system is no longer suitable for promoting creativity.

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Do the papers in this volume provide components for a more general formula for developing information society and a more equitable and integrated European eCulture? Yes, they do, but the formula is still very loose and can at best be couched in very general terms.

If we are aiming at a sustainable information society that is supported by a cohesive eCulture, the balancing of the supply and demand for the new applications of the ICT and related cultural contents is a necessary but not sufficient condition for that. There is a need to overcome the narrow economic and industrial interests and the Western style copyright systems, which are supposed to support creativity, innovativeness and cultural diversity, but which, instead, tend to monopolise the utilisation of the products of creativity and stifle their sustainability. These interests and systems allow the Western culture industries to exploit the non-Western traditional cultures and their collective creative ideas, to stifle their creativity and endanger the sustainable development of information society and eCulture on the global scale. The sustainability of European and global culture will increasingly depend on the competencies of policy makers to conceive such technology, copyright and trade policies which will strike the right balance between private intellectual property ownership and maintaining the results of creativity within the public domain. The restrictions of free access to these results will not only jeopardise sustainability of creativity, it will also endanger what Colin Mercer calls "capillary structures" for democracy, autonomy and self-expression, that is, the pillars of *civil society*.

The articles in this volume show the way to new thinking and research on the concepts of information society and eCulture. I hope that they will also lead to discussions and debates on a new agenda setting in the field of technology, copyright and international trade policies.

SECTION 1: ACCESS DENIED!

The general public's attitude, ownership, access and use of Internet technologies

Cultural Conflict in the Information Society

by Jesse B.T. Marsh

This paper examines the very broad question of the role of culture - intended in the anthropological sense - in the new social, economic and political "order" of things that is rapidly moving us towards an uncertain future. The entry point of the analysis is one of the main accelerators of change: information and communication technologies and the new societal structures they enable.

The paper is structured according to two parts. The first is based on work carried out by Atelier Studio Association and a trans-European research team for the European Parliament's STOA (Scientific and Technological Options Assessment) Unit over a period from 2000 to 2002, dealing with the role of cultural diversity in the information society. It sets forth a theoretical working framework that was presented and discussed in the round table "*eCulture: The European Perspective*" held in Zagreb on 24-27 April 2003.

Other presentations at the Zagreb round table and the ensuing discussions highlighted and enriched understanding of some of the key issues we had identified. Furthermore, events in the very dense 14 months from then until this writing have shown the urgency of finding a way for different cultures to at least co-exist peacefully, if not work together towards a sustainable future. The second part thus sets forth some personal reflections based on these trends, whereby a technical policy analysis of cultural diversity shifts, by necessity, to a political analysis of the cultural conflicts that by now dominate both the evening news and the advertising that interrupts it.

Cultural identity and the crisis of consensus

Citizens around the world are becoming increasingly concerned about the way accelerating processes of globalisation and technological innovation are leading to cultural homogenisation and immense concentrations of financial power. As the opportunity gap between the top and bottom 20% at every geographical scale widens, the message seems to be "learn English and buy a computer or you're out". In Europe, this concern takes a particular dimension given the richness of its cultural heritage and diversity: the first seems to become increasingly commercialised while the second lives under a growing threat.

Despite policy efforts to counter-balance these trends, the crisis of consensus is growing, fuelled by a series of events that have unfolded in the period since 1999, from the dot com bubble to the Y2K non-event, September 11th, the collapse of WorldCom, Vivendi, etc., and the rise of xenophobic parties throughout Europe. These events have led to a generalised political impact on all the dimensions that invest the question of cultural diversity: economic, social, technical and cultural.

Economic impact - there is by now a realization that globalisation does not necessarily have to be a purely economical, financial and market-driven phenomenon. People are searching for new possible - and more positive - value-based dimensions of globalisation. This in turn calls into question the narrow view of economics ("narronomics") that only sees monetised transactions countable through GNP and similar instruments as being significant indicators of progress, quality of life, etc.

Social impact - the main social impact has been the emergence of self-organised communities of interest, partly as a reflection of growing distrust in the ability of established political structures to interpret needs. The early online communities (including the first green movements of the 1970s) provided a model that has been adopted at both the global level (e.g., Attac) and the local level.

Technical impact - here, there is a paradoxical trend occurring. On the one hand, the first response to generalised fear is an increase in technology: satellites, airport controls, and monitors are all supposed to reassure us. On the other, the fragility of technology, or more properly human-technical systems, is increasingly apparent: we depend too much on technological systems that will never be 100% secure.

Cultural impact - that cultural dominance is both a tool for and an expression of power has moved from backstage financial manoeuvring to front-page bombing attacks. If the first was leading to a gradual reduction of cultural "bio-diversity", the second is simply increasing fanaticism on all sides with no apparent counter-balancing mechanism.

The dynamics relating cultural diversity and the information society, often viewed from a top-down perspective, are perhaps better understood starting from the standpoint of a single individual or community. As an example, one could proudly refer to European cultural diversity by pointing to, say, the specific regional characteristics of Lapland, Flanders or Sicily. From a bottom-up perspective, however, cultural diversity only occurs when someone from Flanders *engages in communication* with another culture (for better or worse), be it Lapland or Turkey. Such an approach is indeed appropriate when the other half

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of the equation is the information society, which introduces radical changes in the way we communicate.

What has to be addressed is thus not only how cultural diversity can be an obstacle in the information society, but also *how new technologies can transform cultural diversity into an asset rather than a barrier as a function of how people act creatively in response to current conditions and opportunities*.

Cultural diversity as an asset

As discussed above, the prevailing perception by now is that the economic forces of globalisation pose a serious threat to cultural identity. Information technologies are not only the tools that accelerate the pace of globalisation, they are also becoming the key means of access to any product or service. One could thus argue that cultural diversity - meaning any characteristic that does not conform to the homogenised target of the marketing experts (despite claims of "glocalised customisation") - is an obstacle, particularly if that diversity includes the 97% of the world population with no access to the Internet. What is needed is thus to examine the relationship between cultural diversity and the information society, in order to identify the potential conditions for a more sustainable future with "cultural bio-diversity" as a key dimension of sustainability.

As a first step, a simple matrix can be used to define our basic problem space along two axes: *cultural diversity* seen as an *obstacle* and/or an *asset* in the *information society*; conversely, the information society seen as a *threat* and/or an *opportunity* for cultural diversity. This gives rise to four non-exclusive stances:

Defensive entrenchment - a neo-Luddite position leading to isolation and communicational breakdown: information society "drop-outs".

Compliant homogeneity - the "learn English and buy a computer" stance characterising at least part of most national information society action plans.

Subtle differentiation - a critical stance aware of the potential drawbacks of new technologies even as they valorise cultural diversity.

Networked interculturality - the position essentially coinciding with the desired outcome.

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Figure 1. Cultural diversity and the information society
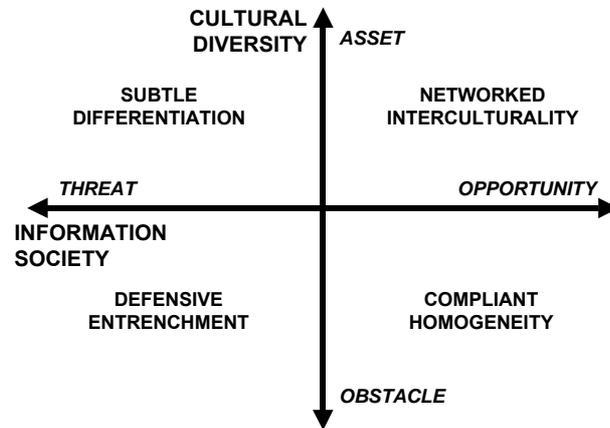
Using this framework as a reference, the Atelier STOA study incorporated an evaluation of the two axes into an expert interview questionnaire; we also asked the experts to express an opinion concerning "what you think people think". The outcome was surprising: for each axis, experts tended to provide a relatively optimistic view (asset/opportunity) for themselves, and then sustain that people think the opposite (obstacle/threat).

One asks then: what do the experts have that "people" don't? The answer is actually quite simple: being "experts" in the field of cultural diversity and/or the information society, our interviewees were generally a) knowledgeable about other cultures if not multicultural and b) well-versed in the evaluation and usage of information and communication technologies. In short, they are confident about their cultural position and able to communicate effectively with peoples from other cultures. They are also aware that most people are not so fortunate.

Cultural diversity and communicational capability

A central issue that emerges is thus not only access to new information and communication technologies, but also the capability - for peoples of different cultures - to manipulate new media in order to participate actively in communicational exchange. Marja-Liisa Viheraa of Sonera describes communicational capability as combining *access, motivation* and *competence*. In any exchange, if one of these elements is lacking communication can not take place.

Figure 2. Elements of communicational capability
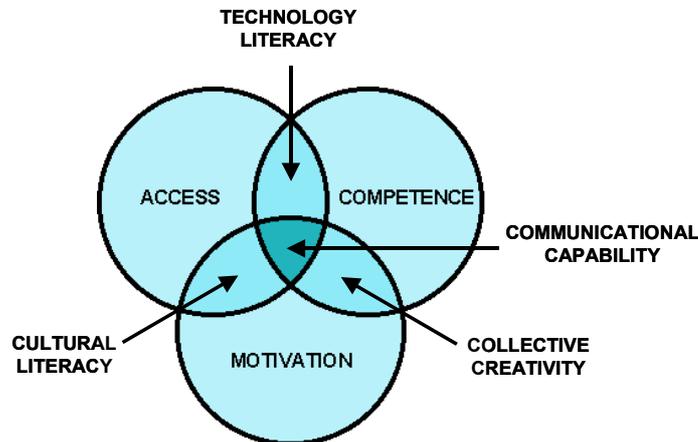
Each of the three components is thus essential, although policy actions primarily tend to target access (the main thrust of eEurope), with competence as a second priority and little attention paid to motivation. We argue not only that each requires equal attention, but that *policy can more fruitfully act on the correlations between the three pairs rather than on the single components*. As illustrated in Figure 2 above, we have defined these as: technology literacy, cultural literacy and collective creativity.

If we consider technology from an anthropological standpoint, i.e., as a social construction of practice and usage, rather than as a mere set of functional artefacts, what is required is to *balance the prevailing industrial policy approach to both culture and the information society with one based on social innovation*. How to do so is not entirely clear for anyone, although some recent developments point to possible directions for action. As an example, we develop approaches for each of the three components identified above - technical literacy, cultural literacy and collective creativity - in a comparison between the industrial policy stance and one based on social innovation.

Technical literacy - this stands at the intersection of access and competence, which currently constitute (separately) the two main information society priorities in Europe. From an industrial policy stance, the main concern is to close "gaps" in individual opportunities for access and skills in the most technically efficient manner. Specific policy recommendations within this logic include:

- an emphasis on vocational skills and individual development in educational policy (e.g., the European Computer Driving Licence);
- equipping all institutions with the required infrastructures and providing public access in appropriate contexts;

- placing specific information society decisions in the hands of industry "experts".

From a social innovation stance, the emphasis would rather be on building human capital by taking advantage of existing competencies and facilities in order to focus on technology as a means of socialisation. Here, policy recommendation might include:

- encouraging "shared interaction spaces", where devices are used by groups of people who learn from each other (e.g., university students coaching the elderly);
- promoting coached public access to infrastructures where they already exist (schools, public offices, social centres, etc.) through programmes at the local level;
- local programmes for citizen participation in defining information society strategies, in parallel with inter-regional co-operation and knowledge sharing.

Cultural literacy (alphabétisme culturelle) - this is a term appearing ever more frequently, and refers to the ability of an individual (or perhaps community) to critically relate to another culture in a positive way. This means learning from both similarities and differences, being able to reject some aspects and accept others. Prevailing policy approaches, however, seem to emphasise the production and distribution of information about a given culture ("content"), without asking whether anybody understands or learns from it (human capital formation). Indeed, the industrial policy orientation depends on incentives and legal constraints to influence culture industry markets, with initiatives such as:

- responding to citizens' needs for cultural identity/security with "protection": options range from broadcasting quotas to immigration quotas to airport security control;
- financing local and linguistic "cultural industries", from regional TV broadcasters to decentralised multimedia production centres;
- digitisation of culturally-specific content and heritage as a means of preserving and distributing collective cultural "memories" through new media.

The social innovation stance, by contrast, aims to promote inter-cultural interaction and mutual understanding and respect. It might respond to the above issues with the following strategies:

- responding to identity/security needs through reciprocal trust-building, from promoting cultural "imports" to opening "awareness centres" for immigrants to "tell their story";

- promoting nomadic open access as a means of supporting inter-cultural communication: multilingual local WAP services, open Wireless LAN services, etc;
- supporting the development of new dynamic cultural memories (e.g., Algerian-French pop music) and inter-lingual support for peer-to-peer exchanges of cultural expressions.

Collective Creativity - this is of great importance if we are aiming for a shift towards a policy of social innovation. Particularly if we consider technologies as socially constructed, then the building of an information society most appropriate to a given community will depend more on the collective creativity of its social and economic individuals and organisations than on the actual availability of state-of-the-art infrastructures.

In a study for the City of Helsinki, Charles Landry of Comedia identifies *creativity of milieu* as a multi-dimensional attribute of a physical place such as a region, a city or a neighbourhood. A causal link is identified between the vitality of creative and artistic activity, the availability of public spaces for interaction and non-programmed encounters, and the degree of innovativeness of local enterprises. Similar concepts can be applied to Internet-based networked communities - "civil networks" - and the practice and principles of the Open Source movement. In this context, there is a rather stark contrast between the industrial policy stance and strategies based on social innovation. The former tends to promote creativity by protecting intellectual and artistic rights as well as opportunities for commercial exploitation. Initiatives include:

- defining new legal frameworks (technical standards included) for each emerging technology, to insure copyright protection;
- subsidised "art centres" with a specific mono-functional orientation towards local cultural industries, especially multimedia;
- adoption, within all European Union structures, of software systems that are bound by copyright laws.

A social innovation stance would instead start with a critical review of the role of copyright in contributing to human capital, in parallel with a serious reassessment of the potential of Copyleft, Open Source and similar approaches. Specific measures might include:

- provision of legal and operational support for Open Source collaboration, and the extension of Copyleft principles to other fields of creative activity (arts, patents, etc.);
- integration of creative activities in local development initiatives, including cross-fertilisation of social creativity in practice and daily life;

- legislation requiring public institutions at all levels to utilise Open Source products where feasible and competitive.

Reflections on recent developments

Discussions at the Zagreb round table continuously returned to copyright as one of the main problems facing cultural developments in the information society. The issue arises from a series of standpoints, from the publishing and software industries that have given it significant publicity, to areas such as collective music composition or the future role of museums and libraries, where the issues are perhaps less evident. While the debate on copyright normally focuses on new legal frameworks and their technical implementation, here I would like to use it as a starting point for some broader reflections.

Media and property

Just as information society technologies allow for the free exchange of cultural materials and even the experimentation of new scenarios for collective expression, the very same tools can be utilised to track usage and control access. The issue is not so much the tools themselves but the social (legal, commercial, etc.) framework within which they are employed. Evidence of the importance of this is Microsoft's attempt to dominate the standards war for new audio and video file formats, by imposing its Media Player software over competitors such as RealMedia and Quicktime. Why? Because the new formats (unlike the publicly developed MP3) have access keys embedded in them. Whoever owns a file format is able to "unlock" the content for selected users, e.g., those who have paid for access, and thus effectively controls the collection of revenue.

It is odd that those challenging current and future copyright proposals - even the very principle of copyright - are those that the laws are purported to protect: inventors, writers, musicians, artists, software developers, etc. Those most aggressively pursuing enforcement are instead the global industries for the distribution and commercialisation of cultural products. Examples of the extremes being reached include a recent proposal for a European directive imposing a fee on the consultation of publications in public libraries or the Italian 70% tax on blank CDs to compensate for piracy.

The real question then becomes whether what is being distributed - the *casus belli*, neutrally referred to as "multimedia content" by the technical community - has anything to do with culture anymore. The suspicion increasingly arising is that individual or community artistic expression is not at issue as much as the control over multi-channel consumption patterns. It is by now well known that a Hollywood movie makes far more money from the merchandising of DVDs, T-shirts, calendars, video games etc. than from box office receipts. Indeed, this

is the logic that drove the consolidation of the media industry in the late 1990s, with, for example, Sony buying Universal Studios.

Lifestyles and power

The shift that accompanies this passage is from the artistic to the anthropological definition of culture, namely from the distribution of products to the diffusion of "lifestyles". Copyright is thus a necessity not for protecting the integrity of the artist (who has by now lost any central role in the equation through the commoditisation of the artistic product) but rather for controlling global lifestyle markets: the arena is purely financial and commercial.

The next shift - from the commercial to the political - is arguably under way right now. Historically, world powers have based their empires on the control of raw materials, shipping routes, and capital flows. Increasingly, the struggle is over the ability to spread lifestyles - coherent ethical systems reflected in co-ordinated product portfolios - that facilitate global markets by creating communities motivated to consume. The ability to shape global lifestyles relies on the ability to show how their adoption makes people happy, and this in turn depends on the domination of global media and its "content".

The fact that these lifestyles are in general inherently unsustainable (especially from the social and environmental points of view), has transformed a process of political and economic expansion into a global war. Under siege is not so much any nation or religion but rather a way of life that is alien to those who happen to find themselves on the other side of digital and cultural divides. The attack on the World Trade Center was carried out by a competing lifestyle purveyor, and targeted symbols perhaps even more than the innocent lives lost.

The technologies and media that are the vehicle for projecting and controlling lifestyle markets thus become important battlegrounds for the conflict. In the immediate aftermath of September 11th, CNN's "iconised" video clip style dominated the telling of the story. Then Al Jazeera emerged as a competing force by first obtaining Osama Bin Laden's videos. Shortly after, the BBC was under investigation for trying to tell yet another story.

As European politicians gradually realise that anything they say to their local TV reporters can be immediately re-broadcast in Arabic, the production of amateur videos has entered into a gruesome competition between beheaded hostages and tortured prisoners.

Little did Bill Gates suspect that the file formats he was attempting to monopolise would end up enabling one of the more disgusting chapters of human history. Yet with the fundamental role of art excluded from the dynamics of power, both industrial interests and social innovation seem to be locked into a vicious circle.

Back to culture

Perhaps the time has come for the people and organisations that make and promote culture to reclaim their role in a dynamics that has escaped the confines of galleries and performing arts centres. The policy directions suggested at the round table can at best provide an operational framework for positive developments to occur. They will not actually take place, though, if the arts community is unable to gain a firm grip on the broader dynamics of the context they are operating in.

The Zagreb round table provided the opportunity to raise some important questions as well as some promising avenues to be integrated: a new role for libraries as suggested by Aleksandra Horvat may indeed allow people to produce and not just consume, and to have their say alongside CNN and Al Jazeera; the de-construction of music as demonstrated in the MaMa project goes beyond art as product or process to introduce art as practice (and lifestyle?); Mary Ann DeVlieg's on-the-move.org suggests opportunities for nomadic, inter-cultural artists and art communities; the MARCEL project illustrated by Don Foresta takes artistic action directly into the research laboratories (before CNN gets there).

This paper provides an analytical framework and some preliminary reflections to initiate a debate, but defining the right strategies will require a joint consciousness of working towards a common goal. Let us hope that Zagreb was just a first step in a forward-looking collective effort.

Author: Jesse B.T. Marsh

Jesse Marsh obtained his BA in Fine Arts at Williams College (USA) in 1975; with the Hubbard Hutchinson Fellowship he moved to Milan to work in the studio of Marco Zanuso, one of the fathers of the Italian school of industrial design, and later as a freelance designer. In the late 1980s his interest shifted to information and communication technologies, participating since then in the research teams of over 25 collaborative international projects funded by the European Union. This work has covered a range of areas including distance learning, tele-work, social and organisational technology impact, small business networks and local development. His more recent research focuses on policy issues related to the information society, including sustainable development, cultural diversity and participatory democracy.

eCulture: Cultural Goods
Between Public Domain and Private Property

by Aleksandra Uzelac

Introduction

The information and communication technology (ICT) revolution started some decades ago but its development towards network logic that was brought about by the Internet gave it an extra push. The concept of an information society suggests universal and free access to information services (thus knowledge) for all citizens/users/consumers and possibility for an active participation in knowledge sharing. Rapid growth of the Internet, in number of its users and available information and services that can be accessed through it, indicate the importance of activities taking place in the virtual domain.

The Internet potentials are not limited by its organisation network logic, but its limits are set mostly by existing infrastructure, as well as financial limits and interests of commercial enterprises, and of course "industrial society" legislation. Don Foresta distinguishes between "cyberspace" that he describes as cosmopolitan and liberal universe, myth, and vision of a virtual and "information superhighway" that he describes as an industrial project and a powerful instrument in the advanced marketing of audio-visual products and other pay services (Foresta, Mergier, Serexhe, 1995). What kind of information society we shall live in depends largely on balance achieved between money-driven, for-profit initiatives and public domain services that ensure that everyone can participate and use available knowledge to their own benefit.

The fast development of the Internet and ICT sector in general is affecting the work of the cultural sector. Digitisation of existing cultural goods, e-born cultural goods and documents and their accessibility through the Internet network present a new context that cultural institutions must take into account in the information society. This new context affects the way the cultural sector operates, and opens new possibilities for the distribution and consumption of cultural goods. The new ways of communication and knowledge organisation in the networked environment are the result of the trend of digitisation and technological convergence - the merging of the computer industry, communica-

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tions, broadcasting and publishing that enabled fast and easy ways of information storage, reproduction and distribution of information.

Impact of digitisation on culture

Modern society is characterised by the abundance of different media where content of a new media is always a previous media. "Photography is nice, but film moves. Film is nice, but television is live. Television is nice, but the Web is interactive. Every new medium attempts to deny itself as medium and at the same time show up all other media as medium and nothing but medium" (Mulder, 1999). We can understand what is new about new media only if we are familiar with the old one first. Every media represents in a way a new cultural form, with its particular codes (e.g., we expect to find advertisements in newspapers but not in books, etc.). Converting continuous (analogue) data into a numerical representation is called digitisation. All existing media are being converted to "new media" by being pulled into the digital domain by processes of digitisation. Any kind of information can be digitised if it can be described and measured.

Lev Manovich identified some main differences between old and new media (Manovich, 2001). There are five main characteristics of the new media, according to Lev Manovich:

- *the numerical representation* of the object, i.e., its digital code that enables algorithmic manipulation of the digital object - media becomes programmable;
- *modularity* of the object - media elements (images, sounds, etc.) are represented as collections of discrete samples. These elements are assembled into larger-scale objects but they continue to maintain their separate identity.

These two more material characteristics enable *automatisation* of many operations with new media, as well as the possibility that many different versions of the same "media object" exist, i.e., its *variability*, which has more deep characteristics with a far reaching consequences. *Transcoding* is the last characteristic that Manovich describes - to transcode is to translate something into another format. Thus new media becomes unrelated to a particular hardware and it also means that a computer layer and its logic and cultural/content layer influence each other creating new media logic that the cultural sector must take into account. The described characteristics of the media and cultural objects change our understanding of them.

The digitisation processes have introduced another characteristic that influences the changed experience of culture in a modern society - virtualisation.

Pierre Lévy analyses this concept and says that the word virtual has at least three meanings: a technical meaning associated with information technology, a contemporary meaning and a philosophical meaning. In its philosophical sense, the virtual is that which exists potentially rather than actually. Lévy uses an example of a word as a virtual entity; it exists as an abstract element of language and is actualised every time it is used - written or spoken. As it is currently employed, i.e., in its contemporary meaning, the word "virtual" often signifies unreality - reality implying a tangible presence (as in virtual reality). In its technical meaning, related with ICT, virtual means the possibility of generating information based on existing digital data and users' instructions. As Lévy says "within digital networks, information is obviously physically present somewhere, on a given medium, but it is also virtually present at each point of the network where it is requested" (Lévy, 2001: 29-32). This has a far-reaching consequence on the cultural field, on production, distribution and consumption of cultural goods and especially on the changes related with copyright.

The cultural sector in the information society

The concept of an information society suggests universal and free access to information services and knowledge for all citizens and the possibility for their active participation in knowledge sharing. But in reality there are many divisions and obstacles for users. Public access policy measures try to compensate for the information gap between the information haves and have-nots, trying to ensure universal access and democratic information society. Existing cultural policies and strategies are changing slowly to adapt to the new context and are dealing with issues such as a changed environment for copyright, new services and new relationships with users, issues related to new ways of organisation of knowledge, complex dynamic information structures and issues of protection and efficient management of information, etc.

   Knowledge and free access to information is the basis of an information society and the cultural sector must adapt its aims accordingly. In the new context it is not enough to ensure access to the "raw" information, but it is necessary to provide users with methods and services through which they can obtain available recorded knowledge. The Internet provides users with communication tools and rich available content. Digitised cultural goods, such as written documents, images, video records and music are today accessible through the Internet, and cultural institutions are more and more oriented to managing knowledge recorded in digital, as well as analogue resources. The most valuable asset of cultural institutions is the content that they possess: not only physical artefacts, but also the related knowledge that exists in many documents and information resources. So, it is logical that cultural institutions are

trying to use advantages that ICT brings in order to ensure efficient ways of communication of the existing content to their users.

ICT enables cultural institutions to develop new services and ways of access to the content they possess. In the virtual domain it is no longer easy to distinguish content from the technological infrastructure on which it is recorded, as only the combination of both tells us what a particular information resource can do. Depending on the technological and software base different versions can exist and with the systematic use of standards it is possible to ensure a multiple use of digital elements.

Another issue that is relevant to both cultural institutions, as providers of content, and to users, is how to ensure that users reach the content that is available online. Strategies for attention getting and filtering are important elements in developing any eCulture service. Online search engines, e-newsletters, specialised portals and virtual networks are existing mechanisms through which users receive information that interests them. Mechanisms for information filtering are important because of the large amount of information existing on the Web, but if these mechanisms are not transparent to the users the situation can change from information filtering to information censoring.

Organisation of knowledge has become an important part of cultural work. The cultural heritage sector, such as libraries, museums and archives, has always ensured open access to information and knowledge for the general public and they form an important infrastructure for knowledge preservation and dissemination in the information society. An issue that cultural institutions, especially libraries and archives, must resolve is how to ensure access and preservation of numerous documents existing online. The growing number of online documents poses the problem of establishing criteria for deciding what is relevant for preservation for future use, but also of finding an efficient model for searching existing collections. Ensuring free access to digital archives of online documents is in the long run an important element of preservation of our common public domain. Creativity, communication and knowledge sharing is immanent to culture, and the cultural field should ensure that the knowledge recorded in our cultural resources remains available to the public and serves as a source of inspiration for further creation. Legislation and especially copyright is crucial in determining what new services can be provided to users and commoditisation of culture could pose a threat to free exchange and sharing of information and knowledge.

Public domain information, copyright and commodification of culture and knowledge

Copyright issues are crucial for the development of services on the Internet and they are extremely relevant to the public, to the artist and to the cultural field. Digitisation and the development of computer networks have changed the context of copyright, as it is no longer necessary to have physical copies of most works. Users can simultaneously access the same resource and can make perfect copies of the document or other creations, e.g., music. They can store it on their own disk, send it to someone else, or modify or edit it in any manner they choose. It is difficult to control access rights in many situations involving the Internet. This has changed situation from the previous one where physical documents (e.g., books, journals) have been sold, to the new one where information goods/services are "leased", and they never stop being the property of the author who can remove it whenever he/she wishes. This is significant because it introduces problems as to the limits of the "public domain".

The preservation of the public domain is very important, and the changing context for library services and other cultural heritage services, such as museums and archives, must be carefully examined in order to make sure that they can continue developing their services for all citizens (regardless of their financial situation). The cultural industry field, on the other hand, is trying to build a business based on creativity and for them it is very important to protect authors' rights and ensure that they are adequately compensated for their work. Most legal systems recognise that copyright is essential to promote innovation and creativity. Copyright should provide a balance between creators/authors and the users of these materials. Copyright issues are crucial in determining whether users will have a right to freely access information in the public domain or if the information society will be available only to those that can afford it.

Copyright laws are strong tools that big businesses and media conglomerates are using to protect their business and maximise profit of their products, and the cultural sector is voicing its concern on the impact that this has on cultural diversity and artists' and citizens' possibilities for choice.

In the words of Shalini Venturelli "without an enriched and expanding public domain the new knowledge will not lead to more new knowledge, thus restricting social participation in the production and distribution of ideas and inexorably slowing the pace of innovation throughout the economy" (Venturelli, http://www.culturalpolicy.org/pdf/venturelli.pdf). This is an issue that is being discussed through many civil forums but an acceptable solution has not been found so far, as the logic of civil society and the business sector are starting from opposite premises. As Konrad Becker said "a society shaped by technological systems and digital communication should keep a perspective where

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cultural freedom can be actively pursued and in which use and value are not exclusively determined by profits" (Becker, 2002).

Throughout history, the richness of public content has inspired creativity and creators have used pre-existing materials in developing new works. This shows that cultural heritage and open access to its resources are important in the creative process that keeps our culture alive. Copyright legislation is turning a bigger part of our cultural heritage into a commodity, meaning goods that are owned and controlled, and this trend will have significant implications for creators and for civil society. The legal mechanisms that permitted access, reinterpretation and recontextualisation of pre-existing works were protected by principles such as a *robust public domain, time limits for copyright monopoly, fair use and first sale* (Besser, 2002). Howard Besser claims that the changes in copyright legislation brought about in the 1990s by the new Internet context are affecting these principles and that this could have serious effects on the future information society where creators may not be permitted to make free use of pre-existing materials, nor make critical remarks on them or recontextualise them, or even such extremes where users would not be permitted to freely sing copyrighted songs.

The fight for the rich public domain does not want to ensure that cultural goods would be available to the public for free, but it wants to ensure that copyright laws do not disturb the balance between authors and users and become a means for maximising profits, without ensuring broader social benefits. Often holders of copyright on many cultural or artistic goods are not individual authors, but corporations that are using ICT possibilities to have greater control over the market of cultural goods.

All these trends are affecting the position of citizens in the virtual sphere. Will they be information producers/providers or information consumers in this new space? And through which kind of mechanisms can they actively participate and effectively voice their opinions and concerns? At this point free sharing of information is becoming more and more an exception, although there are examples of free sharing in Open Source projects and in established cultural networks which are trying to enhance opportunities for cultural co-operation. It seems that businesses are taking over the Internet and are trying to impose their logic as well as restrictive copyright legislation that will bring them most profit. Knowledge sharing is what culture is all about and the cultural field as a keeper of knowledge recorded in our cultural resources has an important role to play in ensuring that this knowledge remains available to the public and serves as a source of inspiration for further creation as well as a content basis for development projects. This does not mean that the cultural sector has no interest in making profit from its activities but making profit is not their exclusive pur-

pose, and, besides, the process of contemporary artistic creation is based on communication and interaction as well as on previous creations, so competition rules do not always apply.

Virtual cultural networks and the Open Source movement

The Internet has the potential to be more than just a distribution channel for established cultural industries. Its two-way communication provides new opportunities for involving users. In order to give a stronger voice to small, independent players, it is necessary to build some common mechanisms through which they can be more visible, such as virtual networks or portals. In order to make the Internet work for cultural sectors, clear objectives should be set by cultural institutions, networks and NGOs and a regulatory framework should be put in place by implementing cultural and other policies related to ICT.

The future shape of the information society depends on achieving a balance between commercial and non-commercial initiatives. Within the cultural sector it is especially difficult. The significance of cultural heritage goes far beyond its commercial use and it is important to preserve it as well as communicate those cultural elements which are not necessarily commercially profitable. On the other hand, the cultural sector must ensure sustainability of its services, which means having a sound financial base but also well targeted and profiled virtual products that are intended for specific users. Joint efforts in building such services could also be achieved through virtual networks, both as a structural platform for building common projects and as a communication tool that enhances co-operation possibilities by providing opportunities for information exchange, knowledge sharing and voicing particular issues of network members.

According to the DigiCULT Report, 95% of all cultural institutions in the European Union are small cultural institutions with limited resources and for them it is particularly difficult to position themselves on equal terms with big media houses and even big cultural institutions with rich resources and an established reputation (the DigiCULT Report, 2002). Still, those numerous small museums, archives, libraries and other types of cultural institution hold a significant amount of recorded knowledge about our heritage, especially local or regional heritage. In most ICT development strategies it is emphasised that the development of more individual educational resources would be an important asset in the information society and that culture should be an important learning resource for education projects. This will not happen just because cultural institutions have web pages with basic information, but targeted virtual products must be developed. Such projects would not always have mass audiences and

judging by the business criteria they might be considered as not important and not successful. Still, such projects would greatly contribute to the diversity of choice and should be considered as an important element for knowledge sharing in the information society.

Cultural networks are an organisational form through which independent cultural professionals, NGOs and cultural institutions try to influence national and international cultural policies and, in fact, they can be looked at as a way that civil society organises itself in the cultural field and in its diverse segments. Networks also provide more visibility to their members as they provide opportunities for members to find partners within a network that share their interests or concerns and then provide them with an opportunity to communicate their joint concerns outside of a network. Free sharing of information is a basis of cultural networking and unlike different discussion groups, networks have more diverse activities and they often have joint projects, meetings, and different exchanges. In order to ensure the continuous activities, networks, unlike online discussion groups, have some basic structure that keeps in place their resources and ensures continuation of activities even if the members in the network change.

Cultural networks, as well as Open Source projects, have recognised the fact that free sharing of information is not a threat to their work and it has nothing to do with altruism either. To describe logic behind networking we could describe it with same logic by which Stadler and Hirsh describe the collaboration principles of Open Source projects. "It is motivated by the fact that in the complex collaborative processes it is difficult or impossible to differentiate between raw material that goes into creative process and the product that comes out" (Stadler, Hirsh, 2002), As long as they are pursuing the same goals and objectives, the sharing of knowledge contributes to everyone's work in achieving joint goals. "Even the greatest innovators stand on the shoulders of giants. All new creations are built on previous creations and provide inspiration for future ones. The ability to freely use and refine those previous creations increases the possibilities for future creativity" (Stadler, Hirsh, 2002). As long as the involvement of members is flexible and focused they will give and receive the optimum from this free collaboration. Networking principles are based on similar principles to Open Source projects and a lot could be learned from them.

The Open Source or Copyleft movement for free software is based on principles of openness and co-operation in which software code is available to anyone for use and further modification, as long as they make new versions available to others under the same conditions. Kieran Healy emphasises that we should not underestimate the importance of free software for cultural goods. "At the most practical level, software that is free of charge is of great benefit to

organisations and artists. If artists are to incorporate new technologies in their work they must be able to afford the tools. But free software's main virtue is not that it comes free of charge, but that it gives users the opportunity to develop it further" (Healy, 2002). Healy further clarifies the two meanings of the word "free" by quoting Richard Stallman who made this distinction between free as in free beer and free as in free speech and she emphasises that its real value lies in the later meaning of the word free.

Knowledge sharing was the basic idea that triggered the development of the Internet. Stadler and Hirsh claim that the spirit of free sharing that characterised the early days of the Internet is increasingly being challenged by commodity-oriented control structures that have traditionally dominated content industries (Stadler, Hirsh, 2002). Values that are hoped to be achieved in the information society, at a global level, like democracy, tolerance, cultural diversity, pluralism, etc., must be ensured by planning the concrete structures that support knowledge dissemination and allow participation of users. Open Source and the above described virtual networks in the cultural field are one of the tools for organising available information to targeted users and for voicing new initiatives and ideas.

According to Manuel Castells, networking principles seem to work well for the business sector and can be recognised in "the network enterprise" where the traditional vertically-oriented enterprise structure changed to fully grasp benefits and opportunities that was brought by ICT and its diverse applications that resulted in the information technology paradigm. The cultural sector could use similar principles to ensure preservation of many small cultural organisations that are working in the preservation of the public domain of our heritage and developing new creative elements that will constitute the heritage of our future, contributing with their work to the cultural diversity that is today under threat from big media industries that operate under strictly profit terms.

Although the networking principles could contribute to solving some organisational problems of many small cultural organisations, still this is just a part of a problem that civil society is recognising when looking at the information society that is currently being shaped at the global level. If we want a free, democratic and participatory society that will bring benefits to all its citizens we must make sure that the voices of the small can be heard and that cultural freedom does not get limited by lack of choice or the impossibility to have insight into our common heritage in the virtual or the real sphere. This is why copyright issues are so significant, as they directly influence all segments of our creativity, and why the public domain must be preserved. Otherwise, we might end up being silent users whose voices will not be heard. We must agree with Jim Bower who claims that "if one assumes that the arts are a cornerstone of

civil society, then access to information about the broadest spectrum of those arts is essential" (cited in the study Access and the Cultural Infrastructure, 2002), and we could broaden this to culture in a more general sense as well.

Conclusions

Networks and new media are changing the working context of the cultural sector and virtuality introduces some new issues in the organisation of knowledge. Digitisation and the Internet with its network structure have changed the way of production, distribution and consumption of cultural goods. They have allowed the easy movement of digital cultural goods across the network, which is not always in harmony with established business or legislative practices. For users, the Internet is synonym for content, so for them cultural goods in the network environment are becoming interesting elements in the information society. Easy access to eCultural goods attracts users and ICT enables new possibilities for communication with them. The question is whether this will change established ways of working in the cultural sector and ways through which users can access cultural goods.

A large amount of dynamic information that is accessible through the Internet presents the problem of efficient methods of finding it, as well as archiving relevant online documents. All mentioned issues are connected with citizens' right on information, creative freedom, freedom of speech and other political issues. Digital technologies and the network environment have made us face new possibilities and challenges. The choices that we are making through different policies and the legislative framework will affect the architecture of the Internet and consequently the way in which culture will be consumed in the networked society. It will affect citizens' freedom of choice. The network infrastructure can enforce more efficient corporate control over distribution of digital cultural goods or it can be a free communication channel for information exchange and free co-operation. Which possibility will be realised depends very much on choices that we are making now.

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Revolution or Evolution? An Empirical Approach to eCulture

by Jos de Haan and Frank Huysmans

Culture in a world of digitisation

ICT may be regarded as a catalyst in a process of cultural change. The advent of information and communication technology (ICT) goes hand in hand with changes in attitudes, skills and behaviour that play a central role in daily life. The Internet, in particular, is expected to bring about a fundamental and also lasting cultural transformation. The development of technological knowledge has made the advent of "multimedia" possible. In addition, broadband technology will replace the existing media infrastructure in the near future, thereby permitting the more rapid transfer of information. This paper presents the results of the emergence of an eCulture. Using empirical data from large-scale surveys it has been possible to indicate to what extent the lives of Dutch people have changed due to the rise of ICT.

The focus of this study is not on ICTs and cultural industries but rather on culture that binds people together. The study describes culture at the individual level and not at the level of society, which enables us to describe cultural change empirically.

The term *eCulture* refers to the diffusion of new technology, its application for various purposes (especially information and communication) and shifts in related attitudes, values, norms and behaviour. In the exploration of this eCulture it needs to be borne in mind that this may be the start of a long-term process of change taking place at a global level. Cultural achievements in the Netherlands do not change by leaps and bounds; they also depend in part on international developments. This means that the survey is not just tentative but also provisional in nature.

Research questions

The *conditions* for the emergence of an eCulture are described as four different types of access to ICT: motivation, possession, use and skills (Van Dijk, 2001). Motivation concerns psychical access to ICT: the interest in it, the will to use it and the lack of fear of new technology. Possession means in this context the availability of equipment and an Internet connection at home or at work, school

or university. The third component of access is the actual use that people make of available possibilities. Here a distinction can be drawn between the scale and diversity of the use. The use depends in part on the fourth form of access, namely the possession of digital skills.

The *consequences* of ICT use for everyday activity and the interaction of people are empirically investigated in three fields, namely the maintenance of social contacts, patterns of daily activity and use of the media as sources of information.

Conditions for eCulture

More positive attitudes towards digital technology

The fact that people assess technology positively - possibly because of its practical utility in various areas - does not necessarily mean that people approve of the use of that technology in all domains. Between 1985 and 2000 the Dutch population began to assess technological innovations more positively. In this regard ICT played a pioneering role as there was a particular increase in appreciation of the Internet and e-mail. A majority of the Dutch (68%) have positive views about digital technology (and environmental technology), but hold varying views about biotechnology, nuclear energy and military technology. In the case of the latter two there has been little if any growth in appreciation over time. Therefore, the appreciation of ICT is not part of a more general positive attitude towards technology.

Possession of ICT

The growing appreciation of digital technology is lowering the psychical thresholds for the acquirement and use of this technology. PC ownership rose from 18% of the Dutch population in 1985 to 70% in 2000. The number of people with access to the Internet at home rose from 21% in 1998 to 59% in 2001 (De Haan, 2003). This diffusion process has its frontrunners and laggards with males and young people leading the way, while women and older people bring up the rear. Further distribution of PCs among the Dutch population will go hand in hand with a decline in inequality in ownership.

The use of ICT

The computer with Internet connection is on the way towards becoming a virtually standard element in Dutch people's leisure time. In 2000, 45% of the population spent at least a quarter of an hour of their weekly leisure time at their computer and 25% at Internet. Five years before the figure was just 23%. In contrast to the ownership patterns, the differences in the use of PCs among

population groups are widening: males and young people have increased their PC use (in amount of time) to a greater extent than women and older people have.

Table A: use of personal computers among persons of 12 years and older, 1985-2000 (in percentages and hours per week)

	1985	1990	1995	2000
a. has a personal computer at home	18	30	51	70
b. has used the computer during the research week	4	13	23	45
c. use of computer (see B) among people who possess a PC	18	33	40	60
d. average number of hours of computer use among the users (in research week)	3.5	3.7	4.0	3.9

Source: SCP (Time Use Survey)

Infrastructure

Access to the Internet and its use depends in part on the type of infrastructure being used. Broadband access (cable, ADSL and fibre-optic) provides greater opportunities than does narrowband access (modem and ISDN). Internet use among people with a broadband connection may provide an indication of future use by broader layers of the population. At the end of 2001 approximately 6% of Dutch households had a broadband Internet connection (Dialogic, 2002). It is possible that broadband connection will follow a similar process of frontrunners and followers as was the case with PCs and narrowband access. In this case the way in which a small group is now operating on the electronic superhighway will provide an indication of the use that larger groups will make of the Internet in the future. Broadband users are online more days per week and more times per day than narrowband users. The added value of broadband is best reflected in the use of entertainment applications.

Broadband users more frequently download films and music, and they watch and listen to them more frequently. "Film" in this respect varies from isolated fragments to full feature films. Similarly, in collecting information broadband users download files more frequently, make greater use of streaming media and seek information more frequently via portals. There are also minor differences with regard to chatting and the use of messenger services. These communication applications benefit from the *permanent connection* principle of broadband.

Digital skills

The groups taking the lead in the distribution of ICT are also those at the forefront in acquiring digital skills, namely young people, males and those with higher education. Research among young people provides indications of the nature of the process of acquiring digital skills (De Haan and Huysmans, 2002a). Young people learn how to handle their computer at home with playful ease. Support from the direct social environment - especially the father - is a supplementary factor in acquiring skills, whereas older people make greater use of formal learning pathways.

Virtually all of the approximately 1200 young people interviewed in the spring of 2001 (aged 15-18 years) had domestic access to a computer. More and more households have two or more computers. New generations will grow up with the computer from an early age, acquire digital skills effortlessly and naturally gear its use to their interests and purposes.

Towards full access

The four forms of ICT access (motivation, ownership, use, skills) are becoming less and less of a barrier for more and more Dutch people. It may safely be assumed that we are heading towards a fully digitised society in which the non-possession and non-use of ICT is more by way of choice than under-privilege (Schnabel, 2000). If access becomes less of a problem it becomes interesting to direct the attention of study from diffusion to the consequences of ICT use.

Consequences of ICT use

Ever more time is devoted to new ICT and that time is at the expense of other matters. The shift of priorities is discernible in the changes in leisure activities. Everyday activities are ever more frequently performed in a different and digital way. The word processor is for example replacing the typewriter and the CD phone guide the telephone book. ICT use is therefore changing the daily life of Dutch people. Information is sought and produced in a different way and communication more frequently takes place through digital technology. The codes and habits of, and interaction between people are consequently changing. ICT provides opportunities to influence the smallest activities, but does it also fundamentally alter people's view of life and collective rhythms? The consequences of ICT for daily life were therefore studied in three fields, namely social interaction, the planning of activities (daily schedules) and the use of media as information sources.

From direct to mediated social interaction

The Internet provides possibilities for interacting differently with others than before (e.g., by e-mail, chat boxes and discussion lists). Since the time devoted to direct (face-to-face) contacts has been declining for some time now, it may be asked whether social interaction via the Internet does indeed constitute a replacement of unmediated contacts or whether other factors are (also) at work. Communication via digital networks appears to be supplementing face-to-face contacts rather than undermining them, as was also the case previously with the telephone.

The people with whom the Dutch exchange e-mails are largely the same as those they meet face-to-face. Research in a new suburb in Rijswijk indicates that at least three-quarters of the respondents exchange e-mails solely with people they know. The remaining quarter has built up new social contacts through e-mail as well. Generally speaking people exchange e-mails with acquaintances not living in the same locality. The Internet provides the convenience of shrinking distances but at the same time builds on existing social networks. Most e-mail contacts transcend the local level but seldom cross national borders. The Internet is more inclined to be integrated into existing behavioural and communication patterns than to change them.

Decreased leisure time and increased travelling time

General values such as efficiency and autonomy seem to have become more dominant in our culture with the advent of ICT. ICT is said to offer opportunities to organise labour processes more efficiently, from the viewpoint of both employer and employee. However, during the period that computers arrived in Dutch households the volume of leisure time has decreased, travelling time has increased and people's daily patterns of activity have generally remained stable. Contrary to the expectation that working more efficiently with PCs would result in time gains, the average Dutch person's working hours have increased. Despite the growing possibilities for tele-working, travelling times have increased and, despite the promise of flexible daily schedules, working, eating and sleeping patterns have remained fairly constant. In these cases the growing dominance of values such as efficiency and autonomy does not therefore lead to the behaviour changes that might have been expected.

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Table B: time use in five main categories, including travelling time, 1980-
2000, in hours per week, Dutch population of 12 years and older

	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
work	14.0	14.1	16.6	17.3	19.4
education	7.3	7.2	6.9	6.4	5.5
care/household	19.5	19.4	18.5	18.9	19.0
total obligations	40.8	40.7	42.0	42.6	43.9
sleeping, eating, personal care	80.2	78.3	78.8	78.1	79.3
leisure	47.0	49.0	47.2	47.3	44.8

Source: SCP (Time Use Survey)

Table C: travelling time, by subcategory, 1980-2000, in hours per week, Dutch
population of 12 years and older

	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
total travelling time	6.9	7.3	8.0	8.6	8.5
for work	1.2	1.3	1.6	1.6	2.0
for education	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.8
for household work and care	2.7	2.2	2.6	2.9	2.6
for leisure	2.3	2.9	2.9	3.2	3.0

Source: SCP (Time Use Survey)

Apart from computerisation there are other major trends affecting everyday practice, such as internationalisation and individualisation (see Schnabel, 2000). The favourable state of the economy in the 1990s meant that a greater proportion of the population was in employment than had been for a long time. Those who already had jobs have not reduced the volume of their working hours. It is possible that ICT spurred on the period of economic boom, but the reduced importance of national borders may also have contributed to this, together with the greater drive for economic independence among women. On the basis of the analyses it is not possible to make any statement about causal relationships. For the time being it appears that the efficiency gains due to the application of ICT in the labour process have been used in particular to enhance production capacity and increase the range of products and services, and little, if at all, to generate more leisure time (cf. Schor, 1991; Peters, 2001). Technology can therefore be used not just by individuals in order to increase their behavioural opportunities but also by others in order to restrict those opportunities.

One can not disregard that, in a consumer culture, the Dutch may be more inclined to opt for higher pay than for more free time.

Stable daily patterns of activity

The increased use of ICT has barely led to an increase in the flexibility of working hours. In comparison with previous decades the amount of work conducted in "office hours" has if anything increased. People turn out to have little if any inducement to sit at their PC at night or in the early morning. Technology may change rapidly, but people's daily patterns of activity have remained highly stable. What Frissen (1999) already concluded for the impact of ICT on employment also applies to the organisation of daily life. ICT is gradually obtaining a place in everyday practices and routines but it is doing so by largely fitting into existing rhythms.

Figure 1. Labour, per quarter of the day, Tuesday, 1980 and 2000, population of 12 years and older
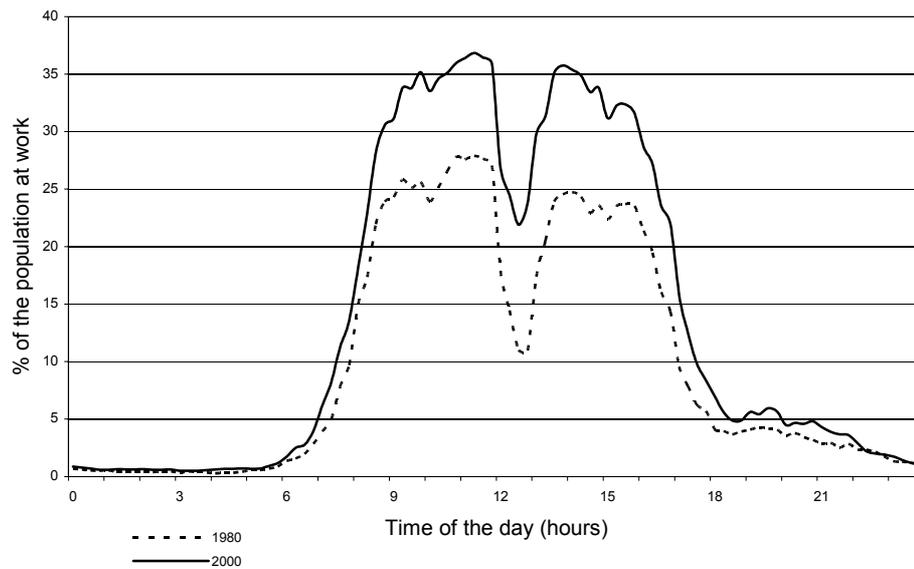
Computer use as a leisure time activity

Within the fixed "budget" of 168 hours per week, more work and more sleep inevitably meant that less time was available for free-time activities. Especially since 1995 this reduction has affected all population groups (Breedveld and Van den Broek, 2001). Generally speaking, people had two and half hours less free time in 2000 than in 1995 (Table D). Within this shrinking free-time budget the use of electronic media increased. This increase was no longer due to the growing popularity of television, but was accounted for by growing computer use. This rise in computer use coincided with a decline in reading and domestic social contacts. Furthermore leisure activities outside the home have been cut back, varying from visiting others and participation in the community to practising sport and walking or cycling trips. As a result, the number of different leisure activities in which people participated during the survey week had also reduced. Within this general picture of declining leisure activity outside the home, going out (especially cultural visits) stood out by losing hardly any ground.

Table D: use of free time, population aged 12 years and older, 1975-2000 (in hours per week and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
total free time	47.9	47.0	49.0	47.2	47.3	44.8
printed media	6.1	5.7	5.3	5.1	4.6	3.9
electronic media	12.4	12.1	13.6	13.7	14.2	14.8
of which computer use			0.1	0.5	0.9	1.8
social contacts	12.7	12.5	11.5	11.4	10.9	10.1
social participation	2.0	2.0	2.2	2.1	2.2	1.8
going out	2.4	2.2	2.4	2.6	2.6	2.5
sport and exercise	1.5	1.6	2.1	1.8	2.1	1.8
other hobbies	8.2	8.7	9.0	7.7	7.5	6.8
free-time mobility	2.6	2.3	2.9	2.9	3.2	3.0

Source: SCP (Time Use Survey)

The Internet as a replacement and/or supplementary source of information

Since 1975 the "media-time budget" of the Dutch has remained stable at 18-19 hours per week. While the reduction in the amount of free time between 1995 and 2000 did not affect this media budget, shifts did take place within that budget in the type of media used. These changing preferences reflected the emergence of new media at the expense of old, with PCs (with or without Internet connection) acquiring a place in the media budget since 1985 (Huysmans and De Haan, 2001). The advent of ICT has been associated with shifts in the use of printed and audiovisual media. Between 1980 and 2000 there was a gradual decline in the time devoted to reading printed media and listening to the radio. By contrast videotext and the Internet have gained in popularity among the public since 1995. Television viewing has remained virtually constant. The proportion of weekly Internet users rose from 23% in 1995 to 45% in 2000. In 2000 the Dutch spent on average 1.8 hours of leisure time at their PC each week, of which 0.5 hours were spent on the Internet. Compared with the total media time (including the PC and Internet) of nearly 19 hours a week, the time devoted to the Internet in 2000 could therefore still be regarded as modest.

Given the advent of Internet and the constant media budget, one might expect differences between Internet users and non-users in the use of other media (De Haan and Huysmans, 2002b). After controlling for background characteristics (i.e., gender, age, education, family status and labour market position) with multiple classification analysis (MCA) in ANOVA, Internet users turn out to spend more time on printed media than non-users.

The printed and audiovisual media have also lost ground as information-providers (Table E). Between 1995 and 2000 the use of both videotext and the Internet as sources of information increased. However, in a wide range of topics (with the exception of "new media") the use of the Internet remains on the back burner. It is certainly not possible to say at this stage (in 2000) that the Internet is replacing the use of older media in the gathering of information. The population groups taking the lead in the use of the Internet consult other sources of information more intensively as well. This rule does however have one exception, namely young people aged below 20, who combine relatively intensive Internet use with low-intensity use of the other sources.

Searching for information on the Internet appears to be guided by the interests that Internet users already have. After all, it would perhaps be going too far to expect the existence of a new medium to give rise to increased interest in politics or the arts.

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Table E: average number of subjects (out of 18 subjects) that are used per source of information, Dutch population of 12 years and older, 1995-2000

	1995	2000
newspaper	7.3	6.9
opinion magazine	0.6	0.5
other magazines/journals	1.7	1.5
radio	2.3	1.9
television	7.3	7.1
videotext/cable newspaper	0.8	0.9
Internet	–	0.4
total of all sources	20.1	19.3

- = not measured
Source: SCP (Time Use Survey)

The Internet revolution has not as yet had major consequences for the way in which the Dutch use the media to inform themselves on matters of interest to them. As a source of information the Internet in 2000 still lagged heavily behind the most commonly used sources of information, namely television and newspapers. However, in relation to the other printed media - radio and videotext/cable newspaper - the Internet did not compare unfavourably, although it is still too early to speak of a replacement source of information. But with continuing diffusion, an improvement of the infrastructure and a widening of the range on offer there could be a further increase in interest in the Internet as a provider of information and the Internet could possibly eat into some of the time spent on "old" media. Just as happened in the past, this could lead to a re-orientation of these media on the functions they fulfil for the users and the way in which they put those functions into practice. It is also possible that the integration of existing distribution and reception technology into a single system could in due course mean the virtual elimination of separate media types. Here again the pace of change is not determined by what is technically feasible but by what is accepted by the users at a certain point.

Conclusion: an evolving culture

This paper has discussed developments during the final two decades of the 20th century. This period may be characterised as that of the advent of ICT and even of a new type of society, the information society. The Dutch have come to view information technology more positively, have devoted more time to it and use the available possibilities to communicate digitally. The attractiveness of new ICT is largely based on its direct practical utility and comfort. More deeply based value orientations and fixed daily patterns have so far remained fairly robust. Values associated with technology such as efficiency, autonomy and flexibility do not always give way to behaviour that might be expected on the basis of technical possibilities. It is possible that other values such as permanent accessibility or being fully informed are becoming more dominant as a result of the available possibilities. The research into the use of information sources indicates however that Dutch people do not want new information but want to inform themselves about topics in which they are already interested.

It would be consistent with thinking about the diffusion of innovations for the influence of ICT on cultural life to follow the path of gradualism as well. The process is more one of an evolution than a revolution. A period of 20 years then, is short in order to assess whether cultural transformations have taken place. The social significance of communication by the Internet remains unclear. What is clear is that the "cultural revolution" predicted when optimism about the Internet was at its height has not taken place and neither will it take place. Taking the five millennia from the introduction of writing until the start of widespread distribution of the PC and Internet as the measure, the spread of the PC and the Internet is indeed taking place at dizzying speed.

This introduction of new ways of interpersonal contact satisfies an important condition for cultural change. But five thousand years of cultural development have given thinking and behaviour patterns a more solid basis and a stronger frame of reference for cognition and communication than we are apt to realise. On the basis of a number of indicators this survey reveals that human thinking and behaviour are changing only very gradually as a result of the information and communication technology available. But changing they are. ICT may not be gnawing at the roots of our culture, but it is gradually being absorbed by those roots. This is not a process that can be described as a revolution. At best we may speak of a cultural evolution.

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eCitizenship and Civic Participation in Canada

by Maureen Doody, Amanda Aizlewood and Jean-Pierre Bourdeau

Canada in the late 1990s voiced its commitment to establish universal access by declaring its intention to "make the information and knowledge infrastructure accessible to all Canadians by the year 2000, thereby making Canada the most connected nation in the world" (IHAC, 1997: 1).[1]

In 1999, the federal Department of Canadian Heritage co-hosted an international conference entitled "Citizens at the Crossroads: Whose Information Society?"[2] Flowing from the conference were two interrelated concepts concerning electronic citizenship: access to information communication technologies (ICTs) and the way in which they are actually used. The conference concluded that while ICTs may in some ways act to threaten traditional communities and civic connectedness, they also offer powerful tools to reinforce and express diversity by connecting Canadians to each other, to Canadian social life, and across national and cultural divides in a virtual trans-national space. Ideally, electronic media provide for new forms of citizen participation to emerge: a new public space that empowers citizens and provides them with new ways to express their rights and obligations, and influence government and their own lives (Balka and Peterson, 2002). However, in reality, the benefits of electronic citizenship may not be realized simply by increasing access and community penetration in absolute terms.

In its 2001 *Speech From the Throne*, the Government of Canada promised to make "broadband access widely available to citizens, businesses, public institutions and to all communities in Canada by 2004" (Minister of Public Works and Government Services, 2001). Yet, despite the broad and ambitious goals of the Canadian government and the promise of electronic citizenship as a new forum for public engagement and participation, individuals with access to ICTs may not actually use them as citizenship tools (Bourdeau, 2001). The Internet is a place for individuals to seek out information on any topic, it is a place of

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[1] Source for all data cited in the paper is Statistics Canada, 2000 General Social Survey, Cycle 14: Access to and Use of Information Communication Technology (2001), (unless otherwise noted). Analysis is by the authors.

[2] Held October 21-24, 1999 at the University of Western Ontario in London, Ontario, Canada.

business, and it is a place of entertainment. The Internet is also a personal communication tool with which individuals can connect in real time while bridging geographic and cultural distances with friends, family, and strangers - a role that is particularly salient among Canada's newest citizens and among ethno-cultural minority groups (Aizlewood and Doody, 2000, 2002). Given the myriad temptations for personal entertainment, is the Internet fulfilling its role as a constructive tool with which individuals are practising civic participation via eCitizenship, or is it a toy used mainly for interests and entertainment?

Using research conducted by the Department of Canadian Heritage since 2000 and using data from Statistics Canada's *General Social Survey (GSS Cycle 14): Access to and Use of Information Communication Technology* (2000), this paper explores Internet access and use in four ways.[3] First, it identifies who are the "connected" and "unconnected" in Canada. Secondly, it investigates whether "connected" Canadians are using the Internet as a tool for political empowerment or whether they are behaving primarily as consumers of goods and services. Thirdly, this study examines what non-users perceive as barriers to their Internet access and use, as well as their general political and civic interest and active participation as compared with Internet user groups. Fourthly, it examines Internet behaviour by ethno-cultural minority groups as an example of the communicative power of electronic media. Finally, the paper concludes with a review of various critical perspectives on these issues.

Internet access and use

The GSS data indicates that in 2000, 42% of Canadians had never used the Internet (Bourdeau, 2001). Among these non-users, only 26% reported having access to a computer at home and 10% reported that their households were connected to the Internet. Furthermore, 67% of non-users reported having never used a computer before, 74% indicated that they did not have access to a computer either at home, work, school or other location, and 32% revealed that they were not aware of the existence of public access points such as a public library or an Internet café, where they could access a personal computer.

The four most commonly reported barriers to personal Internet use among non-users who were interested in using the Internet were: cost, access to a computer or the Internet, not having enough time and lack of skills or training. Despite restrictions to Internet access, responses indicated that at least some non-users expected to use the Internet at several locations that year. While it is

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[3] Data were collected monthly between January and December 2000 among persons 15 years of age and older. The sample size was 25,090.

not known what proportion of the Canadian population used the Internet regularly, we know that 42% had never used it up until 2000.

Electronic citizenship or electronic entertainment?

Is the Internet being used as a citizenship tool or for the purposes of personal entertainment? Our 2000 data showed that Internet users are not taking full advantage of their rights to digitally express their opinions and/or to influence government. The data showed that only a minor portion of users had ever corresponded with government departments to express their views (*ibid*.).

The data revealed that users tended to access the Internet for more personal and entertainment reasons such as to access news sites (55%) and to play games (35%). Only 7% of Internet users had ever used the Internet to correspond with government departments in Canada to express their personal views or concerns and less than the majority (41%) had ever used the Internet to access government programmes or services in Canada. In addition, only 3% had subscribed to a newsgroup or list server dedicated to discussions on politics and only 23% had used the Internet in the month preceding the survey to search for local community services or activities.

E-commerce seemed to hold greater appeal among users. Seventy-five percent (75%) had used the Internet to search for information on goods and services, 24% to purchase goods and services and 23% for Internet banking. However, the data also showed that users were not active consumers outside the realm of their employment obligations. In each case, these Internet activities were performed for work-related reasons as opposed to personal interest or need (62%, 72% and 84% respectively). Neither users nor non-users displayed confidence in personal e-commerce transactions.

Non-users did not differ greatly from users in exercising their citizenship rights and responsibilities, social participation, and interest in politics. However, users volunteered somewhat more than non-users through a group or an organisation (39% versus 21% respectively) and talked proportionately more about politics with other people (69% versus 48% respectively).

Foreign-born Internet users and non-users have a similar distribution of on- and-offline behaviours as the general Canadian user and non-user population. With regard to "online use" foreign-born and general population users were virtually identical with the exception of the indicator "subscription to a politics newsgroup or list server". In this instance, foreign-born users doubled that of the general user population. Foreign-born users reported playing games much less (8% points) than the general population users but accessed news sites much more (7% points); otherwise, both groups were very similar in their use of the Internet.

Table 1: Civic participation among foreign-born Internet users and non-users (%)

	Foreign-born non-users	Foreign-born us-ers
Voted in last election	71	68
Volunteered with a political party	2	4
Volunteered - general	14	35
Wrote a letter or called a phone-in show	7	12
Talked about politics	40	63
Searched for information on a political issue	19	31

Ethno-cultural use of the Internet

Within the user population, we were interested in the personal and cultural linkages that arise from the use of the Internet; in particular, the growing popularity of web-based groups founded on shared ethno-cultural identity. In order to gain a better understanding of identity-related use of the Internet, Aizlewood and Doody (2000; 2002) asked the following questions: Are individuals using the Internet to communicate with other members of their ethno-cultural group? If so, how are they doing so, how often, and for what purpose? What are the implications of electronic (as opposed to geographic) community building in the new information society?

Two indicators were chosen for analysis for the present study: participation in newsgroups and production of personal web pages, and the use of online news sources and the relative importance of this source as compared to other news sources. These activities were chosen as representative of online activity relevant to electronic citizenship and engagement. Ethnic identification was the most important indicator of this kind of online activity (see Table 2). Overall figures for those individuals identifying a non-European ancestry showed slight increases. High counts among Chinese and South Asians in the GSS allowed us to explore their online behaviour in greater detail. Among Chinese and South Asian groups, online activity of this kind was particularly popular, with a full 17% of each user group participating in newsgroups. Five percent of South Asian users maintained a web page with an ethno-cultural focus.

Table 2: Newsgroups and personal web pages with a focus on ethno-cultural community: ethnic groups (users only)

	Newsgroups		Personal web pages	
All users	1.4%		1.0%	
	Actual	% difference from all users	Actual	% difference from all users
Ethnicity is non-European	3.5%	+2.1	2.4%	+1.4
Chinese	17	+15.6	1.7	+1
South Asian	17	+15.6	5	+4

Qualitative analysis of ethno-cultural Internet use hypothesised that ethno-cultural minority groups, especially recent immigrants, depend on the Internet as a source of news because it is the only place they can find that gives them access to the news from their country of origin. Data show results from two indicators: a reporting of "high frequency use" of the Internet as a source of news and the rating of the Internet as a source of news relative to other more traditional news sources such as television, radio and newspapers. Fifty-five (55%) percent of users reported using the Internet as a source of news, and 29% report a rating "high" as a measure of its importance relative to other sources.

Linguistic groups showed higher use of online news sources and much higher ratings of its relative importance (Table 3). A full sixty percent of users who spoke a language at home other than English or French reported a high frequency of use with regards to online news sources, and 45% of this group rated the Internet as their most important source for news. Fifty-three (53%) percent of immigrants who spoke a non-official language at home rated the Internet as their most important news source, a full 24% higher than the average user group.

Table 3: Use of the Internet as a source of news, and its relative importance to other news sources: linguistic influences (users only)

	Uses Internet to read news		Internet is most important news source	
All users	55%		29%	
	Actual	% difference from all users	Actual	% difference from all users
Language spoken at home is other than English or French	60%	+5	45%	+16
Adult respondent still speaks mother tongue other than English or French	59	+4	42	+13
Immigrant with home language other than English or French	63	+8	53	+24

Table 4 shows the results based on ethnicity groupings. Similar patterns were seen in these data: 59% of those reporting non-European ancestry read their news on the Internet, and 39% of this group rated the Internet as their most important news source. These rates were seen to be even higher among Chinese and South Asian groups.

Table 4: Use of the Internet as a source of news and its relative importance to other news sources: ethnic groups (users only)

	Uses Internet to read news		Internet is most important news source	
All users	55%		29%	
	Actual	% difference from all users	Actual	% difference from all users
Ethnicity is non-European	59%	+4	39%	+10
Chinese	64	+9	47	+18
South Asian	60	+5	48	+19

Overall, analysis of identity-related use of the Internet revealed that ethno-cultural groups were using the Internet as a tool to aid them in community building and maintaining and exploring ethno-cultural identity (Aizlewood and Doody, 2000, 2002). The Internet has introduced a broad range of interpersonal and group communication processes and activities. It has permitted individuals to custom-design their information and communication environments and has allowed for a higher degree of interactivity than has been the case with other forms of media. As a consequence, individuals and groups are creating new public spaces in order to maintain existing community ties, or to establish new ones based on personal interest. When the defining feature of the space is that of shared ethno-cultural identification, these groups can be considered "virtual ethno-cultural communities" (Elkins, 1997: 140-141; Aizlewood and Doody, 2000; Patel, 1999). The proliferation of virtual communities and the ease of their creation across national borders promise to have profound implications for domestic civic participation and expanding notions of electronic citizenship.

Critical perspectives on the issue

General access and use

What government initiatives exist for reaching groups affected by inequality? It is not enough that citizens have physical access to and use of information, it is crucial to examine whether citizens are able to transform this information into knowledge; and what they do with this knowledge beyond initial communication. Academic literature on these issues pose similar questions: how effectively are the present ICT services reaching Canada's marginalised groups? As government takes the leap into the knowledge-based economy and society (KBES), what will that mean for citizens who fall behind or choose not to use the Internet? Will those citizens be denied service or will they be forced to accept an inferior level of service? What will this mean for this population as participants in civil society? In recent years, the Canadian government has implemented numerous community-based networks and technology projects and government initiatives such as *SchoolNet*, CAP, Urban CAP, *LibraryNet*, and *VolNet*. Yet, thus far, government initiatives relating to the access strategy have predominantly concentrated on the development of technological infrastructure, without taking into account that Internet access and use is not equally distributed among societal members.

We have seen over the last few decades that Canada's aging population has developed an ability to have their collective voice heard through traditional methods of lobbying government. However, as this population's income becomes less disposable and its health diminishes, the traditional communication methods will become increasingly less viable relative to electronic access to

banking, news, community activities, travel, medical and government information in the safety of their own homes. Furthermore, access to Internet communication methods in order to stay in touch with family and friends would reduce the levels of isolation felt by those confined to their homes due to physical and/or other limitations. However, increased availability of government, consumer and other information and services on the Internet, and the will to get connected, cannot in and of themselves empower citizens because of inaccessibility, be it physical, financial, social or otherwise.

eCitizenship and civic communication

Balka proposes that the "value of our infrastructure would be greater if we directed more resources toward citizenship skills..." (Simpson et al, 2002). In addition, the academic literature agrees that government directives need to encourage the formation of civic engagement through the sharing of community, shared cultural values and goals. It is important as a prerequisite to the policy process to analyse in what context or conditions does ICT play a "supportive or connective role" in maintaining and strengthening community ties" (Mosco, 1998: 16). For example, what kinds of policies can government develop and implement to ensure that ICTs do not erode rural communities but foster their growth and enhancement.

Academic discourse proposes that in order to achieve democracy, "the strategies used by community organisations to build civic participation, cross socio-cultural barriers, encounter one another as real people, foster reciprocity and social trust, need to be built into the networked society" (Wilson, 1999: 21). Technologies that "solely provide information, improve lateral access, and give access to government documents will not enhance participation in the political process" (ibid.: 10). Citizens require "equal access to the information networks that facilitate the exchange of ideas, sustain relationships, provide meaningful information, and cross cultural linkages" (ibid.: 21-22). Whether we can achieve this or not depends on how successful "we can alter the political system so that it is responsive to participatory action" (ibid.: 22). Consequently, as long as these barriers (be it government, economic, cultural, language, interest, knowledge, training, infrastructure, etc.) to Internet access and use exist, these limitations will continue to prevent Canadians from participating fully in and benefiting from all aspects of Canadian economic, social, cultural and democratic life.

Access and use vs. eCitizenship

While the Internet constitutes one of, if not the richest sources of information on government policies and programmes, this medium of citizen participation is eluding a large population base. While some population segments appear to

have multiple access to the information highway, other Canadians are relatively "disconnected" and their entitlement to equal access to information and to full citizen participation is being thwarted by what has been referred to as a "prevailing ideology of information technology which calls for passive citizens but active consumers" (Birdsall and Rasmussen, 1999: 7). When talking about issues of eCitizenship and civic participation how important is it that individuals understand the information they are accessing? Is it enough that citizens are utilising the Internet for personal interests or perhaps without the appropriate knowledge? It is important that all members of society are able to access information, understand this information, exchange political messages, and to think about and process these messages in a pro-active manner. It is about civic engagement amongst a society's members resulting in diverse and accessible choices for Canadians, as well as full and equal participation in the democratic society. However, as the data have revealed, this kind of civic dialogue or exchange of information is not necessarily the reality for Canadian users. How can government promote the Internet as a tool for eCitizenship as opposed to citizens solely utilising the Internet as a toy for personal interests/entertainment?

Conclusions

The findings revealed that some Canadians are practising civic participation via eCitizenship and that ethno-cultural groups are using the Internet for the purposes of maintaining their ties to their ethno-cultural group. The findings also suggest, however, that a significant proportion of the Canadian population remains "disconnected" from electronic avenues of participation. Further, among those who are connected, many are using the Internet mainly for personal interest and entertainment reasons as opposed to civic and participatory ones. Whether this type of use by individuals is detracting from civic goods or not is still a subject of debate among scholars.

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SECTION 2: BE(A)WARE!

Discussion on what the future holds:
3G phones, mass/elite culture, cultural industries
and copyright

About the Cultural Texture of the Digital Divide

by Josef Langer

Currently one of the most severe problems of the information technology industry seems to be the uncertainty about the available markets for 3rd generation mobile phones (3G) - the Universal Mobile Telecommunication System, the official name for 3G. The risk is particularly high for those companies that made high investments in government concession fees during a first wave of bidding. Under such circumstances they should be highly interested in discovering the factors which could guide the adoption of 3G technologies. The usual approach is to emphasise the necessity of *deregulation* and *market prices*. Connected with this is aggressive marketing and the hope that eventually the customer will be persuaded. However, more and more actors seem to have become aware that there are also more tacit factors at work in influencing information technology (IT) absorption rates in general and the fate of 3G appliances in particular.

This is becoming visible in the European Union, where despite converging market regimes certain IT penetration rates between countries have remained remarkably different[1]. Hence, it is plausible to assume that it is not sufficient to look at economic or legal factors, as factors from the *cultural* and *social* realm are increasingly attracting more attention. But here, interestingly, questions such as what impact IT has on society are much more common than those looking the other way round: what impact do culture and certain social fabrics have on the diffusion of certain IT products (Porter, 1996; Shields, 1996)?

An approach suggested here is to investigate the *socio-cultural affinity* of technologies such as the *mobile phone* and the *Internet* which are central for the definition of *information society* (IS) (Castells, 1996). After all, at the Lisbon European Council meeting in March 2000 the European Union set itself the ambitious goal not only "to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world" by 2010, but also a full fledged "information society". The latter can be understood as a society based on "telecommunication and the Internet".

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[1] http://europa.eu.int/information_society

Situation versus identity-based technologies

For the purpose of this paper, particular attention will be paid to the organisation of the *social Self* which varies according to different cultures from society to society (Hall/Hall, 1990; Goffman, 1969).

If in a first attempt the "information society" (IS) is defined by the presence of *mobile phones* and the *Internet* respectively, and computer mediated communication (CMC) in a wider sense, it would be necessary to ask what concepts besides economics could be the key to understanding the different success of these technologies in individual societies. One possibility suggested here is to look at the organisation of the *social Self* and how this is related to key IS technologies (Amato, 1997; Joinson, 2003). After having inquired into this relationship it is possible to develop as a next step some ideas of how members of individual societies might respond to the commercial effort to position technologies like the 3G mobile phone. As a working hypothesis, it can be assumed that in general companies implicitly have the picture of a rather homogeneous *social Self* across countries and explain statistical differences in IT absorption rates mainly with economic factors. Other than that, the basic question as to how different IT are related to the *social Self* is widely ignored.

However, comparing the *mobile phone* and the *Internet* as key IS technologies from a sociological point of view, one will immediately realise that the two have a completely different social quality or *aura*. The mobile phone is first of all a telephone which can be used independently of the local position of the individual. It has the traditional functions of a telephone: enabling voice-based communication with people (organisations) whose address (phone number) we can identify or who can identify our address. As a rule these will be first of all people whom we already know (e.g., family, friends) or who are of a professional (e.g., customers, colleagues, clients) or practical (e.g., physicians, bureaucrats) importance for us. The technical ability of the mobile phone to transmit text (e.g., SMS) or to apply simple programmes does not significantly change its character as a telephone. SMS could be seen as the endeavour to incorporate the functions of the old telegraph. How much this will change with the third generation mobile phones and the planned convergence with the Internet remains to be seen. Having said this, I suggest defining the mobile phone as a *situation-based* technology similar to the fixed telephone. This means that it derives its social significance first of all from the situation (Goffman, 1966) in which it is used. For the fixed telephone, typical situations are those in the office, the private home or the telephone booth at the street corner. In the case of the mobile phone, the situations are theoretically infinite. Hence, the main sociological questions with respect to the mobile phone must concern the social regulations of the situation in their impact on the assimilation of this

technology. Or the other way round: how does the Self perceive the situation and in what ways does it incorporate the mobile phone?

When reflecting the convergence of mobile phone and the Internet in 3G technologies, it is important to recognise that the *Internet* has a rather different social characteristic or *aura* than the mobile phone. To understand this, it is useful to remember the personal computer before the introduction of the Internet. It was a more or less sophisticated combination of a typewriter and a calculator. In contrast to the telephone it had barely any interactive dimensions in the social sense. With the introduction of the Internet this has fundamentally changed. Now the screen of a computer provides the individual with access to a complete new space and society - we get used to calling this *cyber space* and *cyber society*. Anybody who enters this *virtual* world can expect an almost infinite number of possibilities to retrieve information, engage in social interactions and build up lasting relations. There, with the exception of the physical body, the individual can encounter almost everything which can also be found in "real" society: membership, role playing, emotions, work, commodities, discussions etc. No doubt, like the conventional reality the cyber experience can also form identity (Jones, 1997; Jordan, 2000). But also vice versa: it is the existing identity which determines whether or not the offers of the Internet have a chance to be accepted in a society. Hence, I suggest defining the Internet in contrast to the mobile phone as an *identity-based* technology.

Now, what can be concluded from this for the question about the future of the *information society* in general and the 3G *technologies* in particular? From what has been said about the mobile phone and the Internet, two propositions can be drawn:

a. Due to its conventional social character the adoption of the mobile phone in a society is mainly a question of *affordability* and *availability*. Like the fixed telephone it easily assimilates into existing social structures. Therefore the distribution of the mobile phone in a society will first of all depend on its availability and affordability for the individual. Apart from this, the adoption of the mobile phone can be influenced by social norms, in particular those which regulate situations. But these situational norms will have more impact on the use of the mobile phone than on its distribution. Values and norms (Engel et al., 2000) might have a limited influence on the latter in the introductory phase (e.g., conspicuous consumption) and for smaller groups (e.g., techno-critics).

b. The adoption of the Internet is significantly related to the character of the *Self* in the respective society. The more a society individualises and mobilises the *Self* the more it will be ready to assimilate this technology. The more detached the individual is from space, family, kinship, relatives and

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friends the more it is prone to associate with the Internet. The main achievement of the Internet is its potential to replace conventional social relations by virtual relations. As most of the communication which constitutes the Self is symbolic anyway the virtual reality of the Internet can potentially substitute conventional relations. Therefore, given the availability and affordability of the Internet in a society its assimilation will strongly depend on the demand of the *Self for virtuality*. The more deficient the social reality appears to the *Self* the more it will grasp offers of virtual alternatives.

Digital divide and the Self

What conclusions can be drawn from this about the adoption of 3G technologies? Before turning to this, a few words about what is meant by "digital divide". In a first understanding the term simply means that there are two groups in society: the one which has access to the new information technologies and the other which has not. In every day use, however, it rests on a number of more or less hidden assumptions. One is the conviction that having access to IT is better than not having it, that IT is such an essential part of life that nobody should be excluded. In the extreme case even the political right to have access is deduced from this conviction. This can lead to a situation where, for example, the status of homelessness remains unquestioned as long as the individual has guaranteed access to public Internet stations. Here the right to information gets more appreciation than the right not to starve. Another implicit assumption is the idea that the digital divide is simply an economic question: the rich have, the poor have not. Hence the demand that the state should provide free IT infrastructure to everybody and, at a global level, the demand for special programmes to make IT and particularly the Internet available in Third World countries (Norris, 2001).

However, scrutiny of empirical distributions of IT point to a reality where the adoption of devices like the mobile phone or the Internet is much more than only a question of affordability or progress. Whereas purchasing power is without doubt important, the mode and degree of adoption of different IT seem to be highly dependent on specific cultures of communication inside as well as between societies. Otherwise it could not be explained why the digital divide exists not only between the economically developed and underdeveloped societies but why significant deviations exist inside the developed world as well. Who is not familiar with statements about the difference in Internet adoption between the European Union and the US, two quite similar economic units compared in total GDP. A closer look shows that this divide is in no way homogenous but diverges inside the respective societies. Scandinavia, for example, surpasses the US average in Internet penetration. Again, inside the US

there are considerable differences of Internet use between the races/ethnicities - for example among children of Caucasian descent it is twice as common as among African American children (eMarketer, 2003). Inside Europe experts speak of a "digital divide" between the North and the South which is in no way unequivocally related to income level (ESIS report). Finland and Italy are good examples. Whereas both countries have a comparable per capita income, the latter has a much lower Internet penetration rate. However, when we take the mobile phone - another key information society technology - we get a completely different picture. Finland and Italy are both world leaders in this technology whereas the US is lagging behind.

It is obvious that anybody wanting to figure out the prospects of 3G technologies will first have to recognise these complicated absorption patterns of modern IT in general. Then it is necessary to look for theoretical tools to interpret and explain the differences. The suggested approach to borrow from a sociological theory of the *Self* and assume for each technology a characteristic *social affinity* can help to discover important questions and answers. Take the claim of the promoter of 3G technologies to converge the mobile phone with the Internet. The suggested distinction between *situation*-based and *identity*-based technologies should help to generate questions as to how and to what extent a convergence of two technologies so differently grounded in the social is possible. Although both the mobile phone and the Internet respond to three central values of modern society - the values of *mobility, communication* and *individualisation* - their potential to do so is not the same across the three values. Recognising this difference is probably vital when trying to assess the likelihood of the success of the two technologies in 3G mobile phones.

Communication and definition of situation

Here we have to recall that the classical *situation of human communication* combines *social* and *physical* elements in a holistic way. In this situation, the physical co-presence of those who wanted to communicate was a necessary precondition for communication. To leave the physical situation had to result inevitably in interrupting communication or at least a considerable time lag when trying to bridge it by voyagers or mail. Even the introduction of the *fixed phone* lead to a time-space convergence in communication, at the same time separating *social space* (interacting over distance) and *physical location* (including the human body). What remained were certain *situational restrictions* given by the location of the fixed phone (at home, in the office or public places). The main achievement of the mobile phone is that it did away with these remaining spatial restrictions in favour of a *universal mobility*. Theoretically, the individual can now initiate communication or be reached by others anywhere at any time. The restrictions which remained are those of the social

and cultural *definition of the situation*. Although in practice the number of situations where mobile phones could be used is not infinite, there are many more than with the fixed telephone. Hence, to understand the *distribution* and *use* of mobile phones in a society it is necessary to investigate the respective definitions of situations. This leads to two general questions: 1. How do different societies define situations relevant for the use of mobile phones? and 2. How does an identity-based technology like the Internet comply with definitions of situations of actual or potential mobile phone use - something which appears to be a precondition for 3G?

To proceed with the latter question it seems to be useful to build a typology of situations for conventional mobile phone use and then to look for possible restrictions for 3G applications. A first distinction could be between *home, office* and *public* situations. Although each of these categories of situations has its own definitions and regulations, it is the situations in the *public space* that from the point of mobility should attract the greatest attention (Burkart, 2000). It is here, that the mobile phone on the one hand has its specific potentials (mobility of the individual) but on the other hand meets significant risks for disturbance by breaking conventional rules of communication. A rough classification of such situations could be to distinguish between a) *specific situations* like concerts, seminars, elegant restaurants etc. which are usually strongly regulated, b) situations of waiting, transport and transition (*mobility corridors*) like train compartment, waiting room, airport check-in etc., which are less regulated and c) *multifunctional situations* like town square, railway station, university campus etc., with a low degree of regulation. Each of these situations will already respond differently to the conventional mobile phone not to mention their potentials for 3G applications. Last, but not least, this also depends on the kind of society in which the situations are embedded.

3G - from utility to identity

From this point of view, the question is not so much how the mobile phone and the Internet can converge technically but rather under which circumstances socially and culturally acceptable solutions can be achieved. It appears that the "market" is slowly responding in a more appropriate way to the ambiguities rooted in the different socio-cultural characteristics (situation- versus identity-based) of the two technologies that are supposed to converge. Whereas until recently the response was preferably to escape towards one of two competing philosophies: the one imagines 3G still as primarily a mobile phone with some Internet functions and the other is trying to realise the idea of a wireless online computer (e.g., personal communicator) rather than that of a mobile phone. Both strategies practically surrender to the challenge of converging two technologies of a different social shape. However, recently the emergence of a new

strategy could be observed, where the ambition to enrich the mobile phone with as many Internet functions as possible is being replaced by changing it more and more from a *utilitarian device* to a *cultural object* promising social identity. Not only is the industry trying to rediscover the *status function* of the early era of the mobile phone by differentiating the products and improving their artistic design, making it prone to *conspicuous consumption*, but the mobile phone is also being developed to become a technology for producing (and sending) pictures (*Multimedia Messaging Service* - MMS), enjoying music and playing games (see the products displayed at the latest CeBIT exhibition in Hanover, Germany).

All this turns the 3G mobile phone into something much more than a device for wireless voice communication but not yet a wireless Internet station. It is obvious that the industry has opted for an *intermediary phase* in which the mobile phone is supposed to be armed with elements appealing to the *Self* more in its desire for identity than for utility. In Germany these new mobile phones are already called "*Spass-Handys*" which defines them as a source of fun and joy. Nokia has even announced that making phone calls is not the main function of their mobiles anymore. As most of these new functions have the characteristics of being usable online as well as offline they can be considered as something to lure customers into the age of wireless Internet (UMTS). In this way "pay-for" and "free" interactions with the device will become blurred for the individual. Instead, its potential to serve as a "partner" for interaction will move into the foreground (Katz/Rice, 2002). It is at this point where it meets the identity enabling functions of the Internet without needing to provide the full capacity of that technology. The little thing of a mobile phone will turn into a permanently available artificial "other" for the individual, something obviously unavoidable in the long-term trend of capitalist society - to replace face-to-face with virtual relations. Still, although business is pushing hard, many questions remain open as to whether 3G really can succeed in becoming a *life-style* normality.

First, it is necessary to remember that like the fixed telephone the mobile phone has so far not been able to substitute face-to-face communication but to bridge the time-space gap created by mobility demands of modern society. Its central function is to keep people in touch who are spatially separated mainly due to an extreme division of labour, whereas the attractiveness of the Internet comes from its ability to offer virtual communication. This is underlined by the observation that pornography is the number one business in the World Wide Web, a key element of the Internet. Although the Internet has of course many practical advantages (data transfer, retrieving information, mail etc.) for the individual it has first of all the potential to compensate for a lack of "real" communication. This leads, secondly, to the conclusion that the diffusion of 3G technologies will depend on the demand for virtual communication in a society.

Therefore, existing digital divides as measured in proportion of Internet rather than mobile phone users can provide rough information on the chances for 3G penetration.

Thirdly, 3G technologies will have to cope with the heritage that mobile phones are a situation-based technology. It can be assumed that definitions of situations which accept conventional mobile phones will not necessarily do the same with 3G technologies. On the other hand, 3G could give the mobile phone an edge in situations where it is in competition with other media (e.g., the fixed phone). Generally speaking, fully-fledged 3G mobile phones certainly belong to the most fascinating media technology projects in history, although their dissemination, due to the reasons given, remain restricted to circles of population much smaller than those which adopted the conventional mobile phone.

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Will the www.e-culture be more edu or com?

by Kazimierz Krzysztofek

It is a matter of a few years before the problem of the "last mile" will be re-solved and most households in Europe will be connected to the broadband in-frastructure. The effect will be a permanent tele-presence of people, events and realities. A new concept will emerge of the "home digital entertainment centre" allowing "cultural *prosumption*" (production and consumption of culture indus-tries: home e-music, e-photography and even e-cinematography). Within the coming decade 80-90% of consumer electronics will be replaced by digital ones owing to the digital convergence of computers, media and telecommuni-cation - which means the biggest market in history. This culture/industrial revo-lution is likely to be a little bit delayed in some countries, such as Poland, due to the poor purchasing power of ordinary people but nevertheless it will take place.

Digitisation and globalisation of culture has other more serious conse-quences for countries like Poland, which are today rather receivers than provid-ers of cultural services. Desai noted that it is hard to understand the nature and developmental tendencies of the information society without knowing its socio-cultural context, which plays a functional role for society and is co-produced by it (Desai, 2002).

A closer look at participation in culture emphasises the growing role of in-teractive technologies in the process of individualising culture consumption patterns. Indeed, there is a trend in culture to orientate oneself towards the in-dividual needs of the customers. We also observe the processes of media and culture capital concentration. Huge tycoons integrating old and new media fo-cus on responding to more diversified needs on a global scale. We might say that it is not about individuals who are a part of masses, but rather about indi-vidualised masses. The diversification of the offer and the growing number of options to choose from are, however, accompanied by the diversification of the consumer, determined by economic status. The offer of niche media including satellite, cable TV packages and digital platform thematic channels is becom-ing more attractive and comprehensive.

Competition between the Internet and other analogue media seems to favour the first medium, which is also true in Poland. It especially concerns young

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people (being the most important target group for marketing purposes), which results in an even more severe competition to attract the attention of the viewer.

Mass culture not necessarily a synonym of trash

Even taking into account all the advantages of the digital culture, mass culture cannot be associated with only the negative and digital culture with only positive evaluations. Mass culture does not necessarily have to be the synonym of trash. The Internet is full of interactive trash as well. Information technology divides culture not so much into positive and negative, high and low (the elite and mass) but rather into the digital and analogue. Elite culture or the culture claiming to be one can today be accessed by the masses (a good example is the famous concert of the three tenors watched on TV by a few hundred million people all over the world). This is why it would be an oversimplification to say that people who constitute the target group for a mass offer belong only to the analogue entertainment society (implying poorer quality), and that the "internauts" belong to the digital knowledge society, where continuous learning is a way of life. Nevertheless, based on the research conducted in many countries, including Poland, people who seek knowledge and information indeed use the Internet more often than television.

There is a danger that as a result of current tendencies of electronic media development, Europeans will be divided into two "clusters". The first - "the analogue proletariat" - which will consist of consumers of cheap programmes filled with commercials. The second, the richer one - "the digital aristocracy" - will consist of receivers of coded programming, cable packages, digital platforms, consumed by those who can afford them. The economy determines the speed of cultural change. Audience fragmentation and addressing messages to many different social groups result in a disintegration of society. Only widespread digital TV and radio platforms may improve such an undesirable situation. One can hope that this is only the first impact of a technological change dividing society and the second one will lead the diffusion of ICTs to its completion, embracing the whole of all society.

Commercial TV stations do not rest in their effort to keep their viewers interested in their mass offer. They do it in many ways; one of them is not too sophisticated and is based on man's innate drive towards voyeurism and exhibitionism. This is exploited by such programmes as Big Brother, also accessible on the Internet.

The number of educated people in Europe is rapidly growing. Thousands of private educators compete to lure new students by offering many attractive course possibilities. The same is true with respect to entertainment and ways of spending leisure time. A growing number of people have more individualised

needs, which cannot be satisfied by one or two content providers who only offer one entertainment model. They constitute the target group for the aforementioned digital platforms and formatted channels and, in future, for the providers of interactive television. The progress of interactive television, particularly in Western Europe, suggests that it will also sooner or later occur in Poland and other countries of the region.

A new medium in an old way

The dualism of popular culture reception is expected to continue for approximately 10 years. The *man-computer-Internet* model is rather unlikely to be the dominant one for providing entertainment on a mass scale. The computer in such a model is a kind of an omni-medium being also used as a TV set. We know that only a tiny minority use computers for entertainment and can do it effectively. Therefore, it seems more probable that the bi-medium model, where one uses a TV screen instead of a computer, will prevail. It would not be in fact a TV set plus the Internet but rather a TV set which will be occasionally used for the purpose of accessing the Internet. Such a model is becoming increasingly popular in Europe, which is more developed than the USA as far as interactive TV programmes are concerned. Everything seems to indicate that we will use a new medium in an old way.

Economic conditions will determine how soon we will enjoy widespread and cheap digital radio and television offering various cultural and educational services. The digital culture understood in such a way will play a major role in the development of an information society and will be a powerful tool for popularising the Internet, much more powerful than the network computer. It is difficult to predict, however, the share of the market and the number of private and public companies that will offer digital services.

Nonetheless, it is still difficult to say whether we are dealing with a transition from analogue culture to digital culture. In Poland, permanent or irregular access to the Internet is declared by less than 4.5 million citizens (which accounts for c. 20% of the population over 15 years of age). Digitisation of terrestrial TV or broadcasting which would provide access to the Internet to most European households will take place no sooner than a dozen or so years from now. Obviously, digitisation provides all people with the tools enabling active participation in the information society. However, the society will still be divided into interactive and passive receivers.

Emergence of the e-environment will be accelerated by the setting up of terrestrial digital (interactive) TV and broadcasting, which in most countries of the EU is to be carried out within the current decade. It is expected that WebTV and broadcasting will be a more effective way to popularise the Internet in

Europe than the traditional way via Internet computers. Digital content providers claim that the ATM broadband will transform TV so radically that it will become a new medium. Of course, millions of people will still be attached to the old formula of TV reception and seek the mass offer (old uses of the new medium) but they will have a choice and one that at least younger viewers can willingly benefit from.

Promoting values and culture among mass consumers

Another concern is the quality of the offer. Television and multimedia are "blind" - they can be used for good and bad purposes. Poland does not invest in education of people that would teach them respect for values and the ability to organise those values in a hierarchy (higher and lower culture). Insufficient efforts are made to promote values and culture among mass consumers. Given this one can say that the elite evade their social role as an authority to make judgments as to what is good and what is bad for people. They are replaced by entertainment providers who deem it best to give the people what they want and demand. Obviously, "what the people want" sells best and brings the highest profits. Therefore, this model is purely commercial and is the most profitable for private media. They are only restricted by specific legal regulations and they do not feel obliged to promote non-commercial culture at all.

Today we are witnessing the development of such a model in Poland. The intellectuals, with their educational and cultural mission, yield to a group of professionals providing the society with products which do not fulfil spiritual needs and play no educative role. It is the model of culture where one is not a participant but just a consumer.

There is an ongoing dispute in Poland as to whether national identity and social uniformity can be preserved just by the intensification of efforts to transplant the old, traditional set of national values (which was the task of the intellectuals) or whether Poland should try to find its way towards a broader - European, or even universal identity. In both cases efforts are made to preserve the literary culture in which generations of educated men and women were brought up. The younger generation should be offered high culture using a new language. There are voices saying that the domination of audiovisual language, which can be understood by any illiterate person, lowers the level of pop culture even more. Others claim that "iconisation" of communication codes will enable future generations to use humans' natural skill for multimedia perception to create a new language which may allow men and women to develop their ideas, creativity and emotionality more than with the use of a traditional, linear and alphabetic language.

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The second opinion is most popular among new generations of Polish intellectuals when considering the future of Polish culture, politics and cultural education. According to them every medium, including the Internet, may be used to promote important values for the national culture. They advise improving "the image" of computer games - a powerful segment of culture industries outgrowing the share of the motion picture industry on the global market of entertainment - so popular among children and teenagers, by introducing an alternative, more attractive offer which could employ, for instance, Polish and European historic events, geographic discoveries, etc. (Godzic, 2000). Younger generations should not be deprived of the means to express and receive high culture. The problem of culture and media education is a crucial one in the context of the information society.

To sum up, we will be able to talk about a breakthrough in access to culture, provided that the model of the terrestrial digital radio and television is implemented. Today more than 60% of radio listeners and television watchers, particularly in small villages know only generally accessible channels and programmes. A breakthrough may be provided with the digitisation of cultural heritage not only for the purpose of facilitating access to the national culture in the information society but also for the purpose of promoting local and regional cultures. Without it European societies will not be able to keep pace and co-operate with the world on a cultural level and it will become an analogue enclave far away from rapidly changing civilisation.

If information society is built on the substrate of the national states, does it mean that there will be many information societies and each of them will have its own cultural characteristics? In other words, will the global information society be an aggregate of the national, regional or local societies or will it form a brand new quality? After an initial period of fascination with the global reach of information, more and more people are trying to get in touch with members of their own local communities. Some researchers predict that after the phase of Internet "universalisation" it will gain a national character in a similar way to Christianity, which originated as one, universal religion, but later evolved into many national ones.

Two cultural levels - universal and national/regional

It is likely, however, that there will be two layers of culture: the first - universal - implementing a common code for the global information society, and the second - unique - preserving local codes (national, regional). It creates a chance for countries like Poland to preserve their individual identity and the ability to perceive oneself through the perspective of one's national culture using the new media with which it can be transferred.

The aim of cultural and educational policies should be to provide people within the reach of the global culture with all the necessary means to fully participate in national, ethnic, regional or local cultures. The role of the global digital culture should involve creation of a universal code of communication, used particularly in business and intellectual exchange in the multicultural world. At the same time, the people must not deteriorate their own culture, because thanks to it, they will not feel themselves to be alien in the global world. The role of the English language is very important. Its popularity should not be treated as a threat but rather as an opportunity to use the new lingua franca of the global era for dialogue between civilisations and the promotion of respective cultures. A general good command of the English language should be regarded as an important element for participation in the processes of internationalisation.

It can be legitimately stated that the vitality of national and regional cultures, as well as European culture, depends on the ability to produce and promote cultures and their creators, through the Internet and related culture and knowledge industries. Therefore, the involvement of the state, aimed at protecting national identity, securing a high quality and diversity of cultural offer, as well as focusing on the reduction of the price barrier to accessing cultural goods by the average consumer, is fully justified.

It seems that most European countries will face the biggest challenge as an integral part of the global information society in trying to include their own culture into world culture exchanges. This process must avoid any extremes. The first would be a situation where one's own culture is absorbed by the global one, the second being a temptation to protect the national culture from foreign influences. In the open society the second threat seems unlikely; however, the first one is possible. If it comes true, it would deteriorate the conditions for national creation. Thus, the best solution seems not to oppose the global culture, called metaphorically "McWorld" but to find a niche which could be used to preserve individual cultural diversity and multiplicity and that would stand the test of time. Any European society with all its capabilities and ambitions may, provided that appropriate actions are taken by the government, citizens and cul-

ture creators, contribute to the creation of models of culture, globalisation free from the above extremes. The extremes result either in a monotonous homogenisation of the world, or in its "re-tribalisation", which may produce national, ethnical or local conflicts. It is in Europe's own interest to support the process of the globalisation of diversity.

The Internet as the said new environment produces an enormous societal space. We do not know - and will probably never know exactly - what percentage of information (written texts, images, sounds) is registered on analogous carriers. And yet, we have problems in managing this space. Some problems will be resolved by intelligent software, but far from all. Such a huge e-environment needs guides, intermediaries who search, integrate, authenticate and integrate the information and knowledge. This creates a big challenge for Internet technology creators, policy makers, legislators, educators, artists etc. - a challenge they will be facing throughout the whole 21st century.

For centuries people themselves created their own cultures which grew out of individual and group experience, strife, beliefs, etc. In the industrial age there emerged an elite of professional culture producers and distributors who started to provide masses of people with entertainment and popular culture. Nowadays, in the digital age we are witnessing once again that millions of people all over the world produce cultures for themselves. A cycle has been closed. It remains to be seen what this new culture will be like. To know this we need a deeper insight into this process.

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Knowing Ourselves: eCulture in the Value Production Chain

by Colin Mercer

At both ends of the value production chain - cultural production and cultural consumption - there is a long way to go and lots of divides and chasms to be crossed before we can seriously talk about and confront the concept and realities of eCulture. It's important to present two "reality checks" to enable us to position and partly know ourselves in, at this stage, largely quantitative terms, in the value chain.

Reality check (i): cultural industry production

Call them what you will, the cultural, creative, content or copyright industries are big but not that big. On 2001 figures, extractive, manufacturing and retail industries still command the lion's share of the global economy:

- Exxon Mobil remains the world's largest company and, in terms of annual revenues at US$ 210 billion is about 6 times larger than AOL-Time Warner, the world's largest cultural industry corporation.
- This, in turn, is larger than Disney Corporation (US$ 25 billion), Microsoft (US$ 23 billion), Bertelsmann (US$ 17 billion) and News Corporation (US$ 14 billion).
- The second largest company in the world is the retailer WalMart followed by General Motors, Ford, Daimler-Chrysler, Shell, BP, Toyota and Mitsui.
- There is no company whose *principal* function is that of a cultural industry in the top 100 of the world's 500 largest companies.

(*Source*: Fortune Global 500 list for 2001 in Hesmondhalgh, 2002: 139).

Reality check (ii): eCulture access and consumption

- By the end of 2000 the Internet was used by only 7% of the world's population.
- 67% of Internet host computers were located in the USA and Canada with a further 24% in Europe. That leaves 9% for the rest of the world!
- There are more Internet host computers in New York than in the whole of Africa.

- 78% of Internet web pages are in a language - English - which is spoken by only 15% of the world's population.
- The average person from Sierra Leone would have to pay 118% of his or her salary for a month of Internet access.
- In Southern Europe only 8% of homes had Internet access in 1999 according to Eurobarometer.
- In the UK 60 % of households in the professional and managerial classes own computers but this declines steeply to 25% for skilled worker households and 12% for semi-skilled workers

(*Source*: Raphael, 2001 in Hesmondhalgh, 2002: 215).

Even assuming that ICT-availability and Internet access provide opportunities for production and consumption of eCulture (and in many circumstances this has to be doubtful) these numbers provide an important corrective to many over-optimistic assumptions about the digital "new world order". But this is not intended to throw a wet blanket over the subject of this book. Where the pessimist sees a divide, a chasm or a gulf, the cultural geographer, the cultural mapper, the cultural planner sees the opportunity to devise a new sort of bridge, other technology or form of transport to cross that divide.

It appears that for people working in the cultural and creative industries in developed countries such as the UK, access to and use of ICTs has significantly transformed their working practices along the value production chain from creation and production, through marketing and distribution to acting as a point of sale and consumption for the cultural product or service. For example, this has become clear in two research projects in England. In a survey of some 230 commercial creative industry businesses which we undertook in and around Nottingham in the East Midlands, in 2001, for example, we discovered that 67% of these companies (mostly small and micro-businesses) rated the Internet and ICTs as "important to crucial" for their business. In the more remote County of Cornwall (which has no major urban centre) in the far South West of England, we discovered, on a sample of about 400 organisations, both commercial and government-funded, that the response to the same question was for about 73% of businesses and organisations in 2002 (*Creative Value*, 2003).

On the Nottingham sample we asked respondents to rate the relative importance of ICTs for various functions along the value chain. The responses are shown in the following chart.

Figure 1.

Nottingham Creative Industry Businesses: % rating ICTs/Internet as 'important to crucial' by function
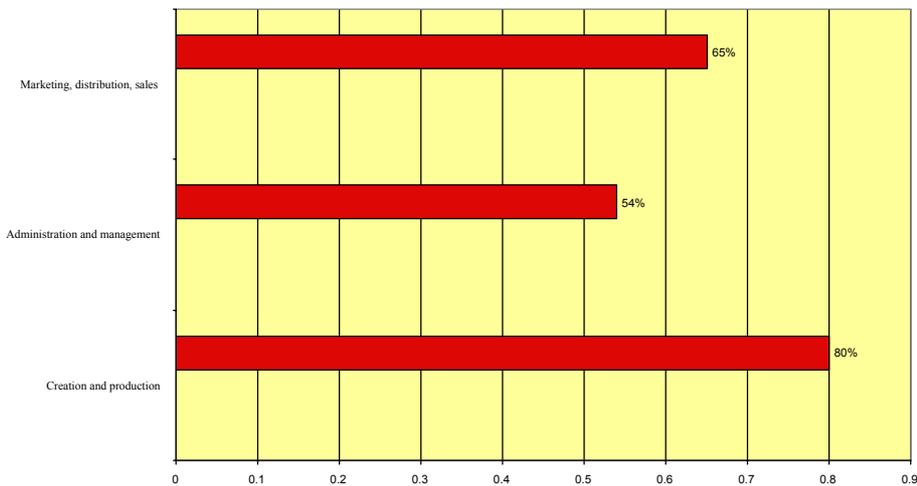
Source: Broadway Media Centre and the Nottingham Trent University (2000) Cluster-
ing....Incubating....Networking: The Nottingham Lace Market as a Creative Indus-
tries Cluster.

The largest number of respondents (80%) identified ICTs and the Internet as most important for their functions in the *actual processes of creation and production* followed by their importance in marketing, distribution and sales (65%) and, finally, in business administration and management (58%). We do not have historical data but it is probably fair to assume that, just 10 years ago, the principal function of ICTs, in the form of the office computer, was the "inward-looking" one of business administration and management with minimal Internet usage and little new media capacity. At that stage, and for the majority of these companies, prior to the development of multimedia capacity and enhanced online access including broadband capacity, the idea of using a computer for creation and production and for marketing and sales (the "outward-looking function") would have been a strange one. Now it is increasingly natural and normal for cultural and creative industry companies to use ICTs as a creative tool.

In Cornwall, some parts of which have comprehensive broadband access thanks to EC Objective One funding, we discovered that small cultural companies and organisations are benefiting enormously from enhanced access to ICTs. The local owner of one small film and video production company based in Penzance in the far South West of Cornwall said:

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> *"We used to have to do all our online editing in London [six hours by fast train]. Then it was Bristol [4 hours by train]. Then Plymouth [2 hours by train]. Now, because of broadband access, we do it all in our production studios here in Penzance".*

This is a micro-business with 2 full-time employees, and the production studios are, in fact, a converted Victorian terrace house near the sea front in the town. On a fairly regular basis this company also employs a further 10-15 freelance creatives - camera operators, editors, scriptwriters, digital renderers and animators - from the local area. They specialise in both Cornish and wider Celtic content and have won two prizes for productions presented at the annual Celtic Film Festival.

What do these findings suggest on the optimistic side of our equation?

- They would seem to indicate that the take up of ICTs and the "eCulture challenge" is most pronounced in those industries - the cultural and creative industries - which have a special relationship to "content" and a special interest, both artistic and market-oriented, in *content generation and innovation*. They have an interest, that is to say, in telling and showing new and old "stories" in different ways and they are doing this along the value production chain from the moment of creation to the moment of consumption.

- The more locally you can engage what Manuel Castells has called the "global space of flows" on a basis of both industry *and* cultural self-sufficiency, the more likely it is that you will be able to create and produce "content" which is locally and regionally distinctive and, because of the nature of the digital value production chain, provides more opportunities (through enhanced marketing, distribution and point of sale opportunities) to get your "local" product, experience, value, story, service into the "global" cultural economy and marketplace. If you want to that is. But at least the choice is there in ways and at costs that it never was before. When the Microsoft corporate advertisement asks "Where do you want to go today?" it might be possible to respond assertively by saying "*come here and see, read, hear this - we think it is interesting, distinctive and important.*"

- The "global space of flows" which is managed "technologically" and in business terms by the Microsofts, AOL Time Warners, News Corporations, telecommunications carriers, etc., will not disappear through gestures or, indeed, concerted actions of anti-globalisation protest. But it will be significantly enriched and made more complex by the more chaotic, unmanaged (and unmanageable) noise and murmur of new creative content, narratives and stories. Technological and business dominance of a

marketplace - or marketspace - does not lead ineluctably to content dominance. In content generation - if not in distribution - we all have strategic and competitive advantage. In principle, that is.

eCulture - be in it? The three "Cs"

An example from Australia would be useful to draw these strands together:

It's a sticky, hot and fly-blown day in 1996. I am in a town in the central coastal region of Western Australia, about an hour's flight north of the state capital of Perth. This is a small coastal town with a declining rural industrial base, some remarkable ecclesiastical built heritage and a fairly sizeable Aboriginal population largely displaced from their traditional rural homelands. I am in this town at the invitation of the local Arts Council to talk to council officers, local community and business leaders and cultural organisations about cultural planning and multimedia and how these things might help them to build new communities, new industries, a new sense of place and identity, to provide jobs and activities for their young people - the town's biggest "social problem". But that is not the central point of this cameo - to talk about taking cultural studies and cultural policy "into the field" - much as that informs most of what I now do. The real point is to one side of - and in a relationship of actual tension - to the civic ambitions and purpose.

I walk into a place called the *Yamaji* Language Centre - an organisation funded by the Australian federal government to provide skill development opportunities for the local Aboriginal population (Yamaji is the dominant language, family and skin-group in this area). In this centre - a little air-conditioned oasis of high technology and young people - there are several high end and multimedia-capable computers. One of these is being used by a young Aboriginal boy, perhaps 14 or 15 years old. He is using *Geographical Information System* (GIS) software combined with multimedia authoring and visualisation packages both to discover and reconstruct the language, culture, families and social memories of his own tribal group. Using GIS he can "zoom in" on his geographical region of origin on a digital map and by clicking a few times can call up recorded fragments of a lost language, scanned pictures of elders and family members, anthropological accounts of the white "discovery" of his people, tribal and clan boundaries, secret and sacred sites and representations of his natural and cultural heritage. He is piecing together (and editing through his own knowledge and experience) these various elements in a multimedia narrative in order to tell a story: possibly, or possibly not, with an audience in mind. The story is a rich and compelling one that it would not be possible to render in linear written narrative.

The boy should be at school but he doesn't like it much. His reading and writing skills are not too good and the curriculum and teachers are apparently not helping them to get any better. But he's very good at the non-linear, interactive, spatial and often intuitive "linkage" skills that are needed for the new interactive media: *layers and trellises*, not "lines of communication" and meaning. The skills and techniques - of memory, association, gesture - of an oral culture are rendered into digital form.

These are precisely the skills and techniques developed in understanding the indigenous *Dreaming* (the foundation law or "myth" that informs Australian Aboriginal societies); in understanding the nature of *Songlines* - the spatio-spiritual tracks of meaning and communication that secure a relationship between land and culture and define not ownership but *custodianship and belonging*. These are the conceptual and cognitive "mapping" skills of a non-print culture - skills that those trained exclusively in a print culture have forgotten or never acquired.

What is the point of this cameo? To suggest, quite simply, that there are important and enabling connections in eCulture with its capacities and potential that are currently, for epistemological, disciplinary or ideological reasons not being made where they should - or might - be. This seems to me to be disabling in the context of three opportunities for some negotiation and handshakes between a knowledge and research base on the one side and a set of both ethical and operational exigencies on the other.

These three opportunities are provided by the three "Cs" of Convergence, Creative Industries, and Civil Society. Let me now take these, briefly, one by one to sketch out some possible scenarios for negotiation and knowledge-transfer - if not yet collaboration.

The Yamaji boy was *doing* convergence, albeit undoubtedly without knowing or caring about it. He was using the resources of three converging industry sectors - computing, communications and content - in order to reconstruct the layers of combined narratives that, in their *ensemble*, his peers and elders had never seen. Positioning himself precariously, and certainly temporarily, within the "global space of flows", this young Aborigine was using some of the newest technologies in the world in order to find a way of locating parts of the oldest civilisation in the world *in its place* and for others potentially to witness.

At the same time, the Yamaji boy was, however informally, an "apprentice" in the creative industries if we take the definition of these as "...those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property". (DCMS, 1998: 003) He was *doing* creative industries - or new and exploitable content generation.

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Finally, the Yamaji boy was engaged in the work of elaboration and representation of a complex network of forms of affiliation and communication, of reciprocity and interdependency, that can properly be called civil society both in the sense of a community of citizens and the sense of a public sphere in which the networks of relations and dependencies between citizens can be constructed, elaborated and consolidated through "stories" that can be *shared*. This is an example of what Arjun Appadurai calls "...the micro-narratives of film, television, music, and other expressive forms which allow modernity to be re-written more as vernacular globalisation and less as a concession to large-scale national and international policies." (Appadurai, 1996: 10). The Yamaji boy was *doing* civil society in this sense.

To summarise and link the three "Cs" in a broader context of research, analysis and policy:

Convergence of the "value chains" and the story-telling capacity of the content, telecommunications and computing industries - and digitisation, create a dramatic new context for the development of eCulture. New information and communication technologies are unprecedented in their scale and extent of market penetration and consumer take-up and their interactive nature is, as yet, uncharted territory but certainly, as the Yamaji boy shows, rich in potential. This offers enormous possibilities for the cultural field but also many potential threats. New research and policy development agendas are needed to respond to this context.

Creative industries have never been so strategic or important in local, regional and national economic development. They have become a mainstream policy concern in need of an appropriate response in research and analysis. As we move, very unevenly, into a "knowledge economy", the role and skill sets of creators, producers and cultural intermediaries - as content providers, brokers, curators, navigators - become more and more important. As industries with a special relationship to local, regional, national and global identity, they have a special place on research and policy agendas. And yet we know very little about them - quantitatively or qualitatively. New research into both the economic potential and the social significance of the creative industries is needed and this is especially the case in the forms and patterns of appropriation and consumption of cultural products and their transformation (investment) into forms of cultural capital.

Civil society: culture's special and often strained relationship to policy resides in its - often silent - relationship to civil society. In both historical and contemporary terms culture is about citizen-formation. It is about conduct and affiliation, identity and sense of place - *folk, work* and *place* as Patrick Geddes once put it. Culture is an important capillary structure for democracy, auton-

omy and self-expression - and, equally, their denial. Culture is about social exclusion *and* inclusion. We know these things both tacitly and theoretically but there has been little work to translate these forms of knowledge into the operational policy domain.

eCulture provides an opportunity and vector for bringing these factors and imperatives together in new ways and for that work of "translation", but as the statistics and indicators with which I started seem to show, we are not there yet.

Conclusion: I started with a "reality check" from the world's most developed economies. I have ended with a "reality check" from the world's oldest extant civilisation. There is not a massive discrepancy or contradiction between these checks. They meet and negotiate more fruitfully and productively than ever before in eCulture. But that is a meeting to be managed rather than simply acknowledged. That seems to be the fundamental challenge with which we are faced.

Author: Colin Mercer

Colin Mercer was the UK's first Professor of Cultural Policy and Director of the Cultural Policy and Planning Research Unit at the Nottingham Trent University from 1999 to 2003 and is now Director of Cultural Capital Ltd., a company specialising in strategic research and development for the cultural sector. From 1984-1998 he worked in Australia where he was Director of the Institute for Cultural Policy Studies and Associate Professor in Cultural Policy and History at Griffith University. He is co-author of *The Cultural Planning Handbook* and many other publications in the field of cultural policy and cultural studies and has been responsible for a number of urban, regional and community cultural mapping, policy and planning frame-works which repositioned the arts and cultural resources in strategic contexts. His most recent book, *Towards Cultural Citizenship: Tools for Cultural Policy and Development*, was published by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation and Gidlunds Forlag in 2002. He has worked with the European Commission, the Council of Europe and UNESCO on repositioning culture as a mainstream issue in the context of both globalisation and regionalisation.

Copyright and the Non-Western World

by Joost Smiers

Gradually, one starts to understand that the philosophy backing our present copyright system is less self-evident than has usually been accepted. At the same time it is possible to observe that copyright, on the whole, is not in favour of artists, the public domain and third world countries. In *Arts Under Pressure: promoting cultural diversity in the age of globalization*, an analysis is made that it is not possible to go on with a system that favours huge cultural industries over public interest (Smiers, 2003).

The background of the debate on copyright concerns the concept of private ownership (that dominates the beginning of the twenty-first century's ideology) versus the neglected notion that we need to have a broad public domain of knowledge and creativity. We know that, under such circumstances, discussing ownership questions is a thorny issue! Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to do so, because the Universal Declaration on Human Rights impresses on us that everybody should have access to a means of communication. This Declaration also mentions that artists should have the right to make a living from their work. Our present copyright system hinders both purposes and should be rethought accordingly.

This paper therefore presents the case for an alternative approach to copyright, one that could substitute the current system of copyright, by providing for a restricted and limited ownership right. This would include a time-span restriction i.e. a work that is very popular may fall back in the public domain after just a few months whereas for other works this may take up to ten years. Just as importantly, there would be a limit on amount or size of the copyright boundaries i.e. the owner has a right on the creative work itself but not on what the work looks like. The reason for this is that the current copyright system has an octopus-like character. It even includes all expressions that have a vague reference to a specific work, and it is nearly endless.

Creative adaptation

It would also be a gain for cultures if creative adaptation became widely accepted again. Hasn't creative adaptation been the practice and driving force of all cultures, everywhere in the world? In most cultures it is still a normal daily

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practice that creating and performing is an ongoing process of lending and adaptation; nobody thinks that someone can be the exclusive owner of a work of art.

Suppose that an extremely restricted "ownership right" for artists and their direct intermediaries is introduced. Consequently, there would be a broad public domain of artistic expressions that everybody could draw from. What would happen? The consequence would be that cultural industries would lose their monopolistic exclusivity and practically eternal right on works of art (which for the main part have their roots in the public domain; at least, cultural industries are not the creators!). One of the results would be that it would not make sense any longer for cultural industries to invest heavily in blockbusters, stars and best-selling authors and in all the gadgets, t-shirts and theme parks surrounding the books, films, and songs that refer to each other as endless publicity tools.

The change from copyright to a restricted ownership right, limits the time span in which creative works can be exploited and brings it back to more normal proportions. It makes the artistic work less sacrosanct as well. It may be adapted creatively and this should be encouraged. Nobody should have the right to freeze our cultures, as happens in the Western copyright system, nor to own their cultural products exclusively.

Exploitation of markets

It makes sense to use, for purposes of analysis[1], references to the way non-Western countries are all of a sudden being obliged to introduce a system of intellectual property rights that until very recently was strange to their cultures. Using this distance may also help us to obtain a deeper insight into what the system of copyrights really means. If we already doubt whether the copyright system serves the cultural fields in Western societies, there is even more reason to look at countries that did not have such system of intellectual property rights until recently. Do they need to introduce and enforce these systems when it is known that it will not benefit their cultures and that a part of the debt problem of non-Western countries has been caused by the huge amounts of money they have to pay for intellectual property rights to Western enterprises?

In the context of the World Trade Organization (WTO) treaties (specifically the treaty on Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights - TRIPs) poor and developing countries have been pushed aggressively to introduce systems of copyrights, patents, and related intellectual property rights (Drahos, 2002). What are the consequences to a society which is changing from one

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[1] The first draft of this article served as a research paper for a conference held on the 19 June 2003 in the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam.

where most of the artistic creations belong to the public domain to one where there is privatisation of cultural expressions? Hardly any systematic analysis has been done until now on this crucial question. This article categorises, on a local and a global level, the different situations in which the introduction of copyright and the privatisation of creativity transform local cultures in one way or another. This categorisation is introduced with an observation about the debt problem of Third World countries and its relation to intellectual property rights[2].

The fact that Western countries earn enormous amounts of money from intellectual property rights, which Third World countries must transfer to them, may be a thorn in their side. James Boyle illustrates with some well-chosen examples, which show how cynically this works out for poor and powerless countries. "The author's concept stands as a gate through which one must pass in order to acquire intellectual property rights. At the moment, this is a gate that tends disproportionately to favour the developed countries' contributions to world science and culture. Curare, batik, myths, and the dance 'lambada' flow out of developing countries, unprotected by intellectual property rights, while Prozac, Levis, Grisham, and the movie *Lambada*! flow in - protected by a suite of intellectual property laws, which in turn are backed by the threat of trade sanctions." (Boyle, 1996: 125).

This transformation of ideas and raw materials, and the exploitation of markets, are rewarded with intellectual rights; but raw materials, including music and images, are given very little consideration in the area of intellectual rights.

Noam Chomsky may not be far from the truth when he observes that American companies stand to gain $61 billion a year from the Third World in intellectual property rights, "at a cost to the South that will dwarf the huge current flow of debt services from South to North" (Chomsky, 1993: 3). This is a calculation from the beginning of the 1990s. Ten years later, in 2003, this amount of money will be considerably higher, certainly also when other Western rights holding companies are included in the calculation. A portion of this sum concerns (besides patents and trade marks) copyrights on cultural "products". Which part this is, however, is difficult to calculate due to the enormous differences in commercial statistics between countries. One may assume that the money poor countries must pay for copyrights is increasing, partly because Southern and Eastern countries feel pressure from the West to fight piracy. This places a drain on the already scarce resources of their police forces. More-

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[2] Both observations are adaptations pages (126-131) in the author's article "The abolition of copyrights: better for artists, Third World countries and the public domain", in Towse, 2002: 119-139.

over, trans-national cultural conglomerates penetrate those countries more effectively with their entertainment and other cultural products.

After this observation it makes sense to categorise, at a local and global level, the different situations in which the introduction of copyright and the privatisation of creativity transform or affect local cultures in one way or another. UNESCO, World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), WTO, TRIPs and all the scholars involved in questions of collective versus individual copyrights have failed, thus far, to make a concrete analysis based on the daily practice of cultural life in non-Western parts of the world.

Without being romantic, we may observe that in many parts of the world artistic creations, from the past and the present, belong to the common people. Of course, people may be jealous of each other's creations, or at the other end of the scale, someone may be considered a better artist and may be respected accordingly. However, the work of predecessors and contemporaries is always available to rewrite, and to reinterpret those creations and performances. Creating in such societies is an ongoing process of changing and adapting. In many cultures artistic expressions are even considered as being the external manifestations of the inner spiritual life.

Meanwhile, more and more often in non-Western societies the local artists privately appropriate an artistic idea, a melody or a cultural development originating from the collective tradition, and start to use it for their own commercial interests. They pretend it is theirs which starts the process of excluding others from those cultural resources. In this transformation the concept of copyright is introduced rather quickly. There is little known about the tensions that this brings about in different parts of the non-Western world. Are there counter movements that claim that the public cultural domain should not be allowed? What are their arguments? Where do they think a new balance should be found between the common people in the cultural field and the right of artists to make a living from their work?

What happens when a local record company produces cassettes or CDs of local artists? In a bigger country such a record company may also be active in a region. The distribution of this music/videos is local or regional as well. Assuming that the system of copyright does not yet exist in this situation, what kind of agreement is made between artist and producer? Are there any agreements at all? Does it deliver the artists an income, or mainly provide a platform for promotion that may generate performances? What are the optimal conditions that make artists, as well as producers, also distributors in a specific situation? What happens when an artist feels that he or she has been treated incorrectly? Would a well-regulated system of copyrights give him or her a

stronger position? When does the claim rise that another artist must refrain from using, for instance, a certain melody?

It is not only performing artists that play a role in accomplishing works of art. Little is known about the economic relations between the many people involved in cultural creation and performance. What are their mutual payments? What is the role of intermediaries? Do they control the financial assets underpinning the whole process? What are the changes that characterise the transformation processes of the last decades?

Another scenario: a tourist bus arrives, and its passengers occupy the space or the performance that they consider to be "exotic", or at least their travel agent has invented this dreamland, without providing a full context that might generate some respect. Cameras and small recorders are the tools to register the fascinating music, dances or images. Post cards are for sale, maybe even eroticising the local culture. This common phenomenon is the occasion for several reflections. First, it is undisputable that the photographer or the person that records takes more than just an image or a sound. In the Western world the belief is strong that a sanitary cordon exists between, for instance, event and photo, or between singer and recording. This belief helps in that there are no moral objections to infringing the personal or cultural sphere of other people. However, in many cultures such a distinction between image and reality does not exist. The image is the person and the recording *cannot* be distinguished from the real voice. Both are the same. Probably this conviction holds much truth. There is a direct link between, for example, a performer and the image. Taking a photo means taking something from someone. Who has the right to do this if the link is so close?[3]

Piracy?

Besides this philosophical reflection, there is also the material reality. If people in other cultures consent to their work being recorded or eternalised in images, then they are of course entitled to a due remuneration. This raises two questions. Who in the community is entitled, and how should a payment be effected? It would be a step forward if best practices considering these issues were collected.

It is important to realise that there cannot be piracy in societies where individual appropriation in the form of copyright does not exist. Why not? Because everybody in the community has the self-evident right to use and adapt all works from past and present creatively. If individual ownership has no cur-

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[3] The author wishes to thank Kwela Sabine Hermanns for drawing his attention to this aspect of moral rights.

rency then their ideas cannot be stolen either. Therefore, in most non-Western cultures piracy is an unknown phenomenon, at least until recently. Cultures have been characterised by their ongoing processes of creative adaptation. Otherwise those cultures would not exist.

The word piracy is top of the agenda in many non-Western cultures. This mostly concerns the piracy of Western stars and sometimes the piracy of work produced by extremely popular local artists. It is certain that this form of piracy makes Western cultural products immensely popular in many poorer countries. There are people who even claim that it pushes aside, for instance, locally made music from public attention and makes it less important in the eyes of several layers of the population.

Pirates make their money by doing something that is forbidden, they take a financial and legal risk, and they hope, and expect, that they have a more or less unique, exclusive position in the market of illegal ware. If everybody is allowed to copy, it is the end of the exclusivity for pirates. Then, it is not, or at least less, profitable to make the effort to pirate any longer. The open market drives out pirates. Culturally this might have an interesting side effect. If there is less piracy, it might be expected that Western stars will inundate fewer local markets in non-Western countries.

In the ongoing process of globalisation we see that Western cultural conglomerates, or their sub-labels, use artistic material from non-Western cultures on a huge scale. One could claim that this is creative adaptation that should be encouraged. Everybody should have the right to make even minor creative changes in a work. Does this mean that those forms of industrial creative adaptations do not have problematic aspects?

The main problem is that Western cultural conglomerates exploit the work being derived from non-Western cultures while controlling cultural markets all over the world. They determine the character, sphere and ambiance in which the work will be presented. This is no longer the normal kind of creative adaptation that takes place in an ongoing cycle of additions, changes, and cultural dynamics within a community; meaning that the cultural conglomerate alone decides what the work will be, now and in the future. This is completely opposite to the practice in all cultures where creative adaptations were the object of quarrels and enjoyment within a community where nobody could say: this work and all its possible adaptations belong forever to me. A problem as well is that cultural industries are not by definition respectful to the work they adapt.

Through the ownership of copyright the creative adaptation ends with the cultural conglomerate that has appropriated artistic material from non-Western countries. Copyright is the legal fence causing the final chapter of the creative adaptation process. Moreover, the price of the work that cultural industries

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have adapted and copyrighted is astronomic compared to what it costs and yields in non-Western local cultures. This is a discrepancy too great to be justifiable.

A major problem remains, to ensure that artists receive a fair remuneration if their work has been used in geographically far away contexts. It happens that the work of artists of non-Western countries pops up in Western publicity expressions or has been used otherwise, while the artist does not know anything about it. This is also the case when, for instance, Western ethnomusicologists use artistic materials they have gathered in other parts of the world. How can it be guaranteed, and organised, that artists will get a fair payment knowing at the same time that the present copyright system does not serve them? For the time being it can only be imagined that the different categories of users set up a code of conduct, facilitated by their branch organisations.

More and more artists from non-Western countries are getting contracts with one of the big five global operating record companies or with their sub-labels. If the work will be distributed only in their own local or regional market more or less the same questions will be under discussion, concerning the relation between local artists and locally operating record companies. The contract that makes an artist from a non-Western country a star with a global distribution will not differ much from his or her counterpart from the Western part of the world, including all the problems and objections that are inherent in the star system. It must not be excluded, however, that the negotiating position of an artist from Africa, Asia, Latin America or from one of the Arab countries is weaker than for artists from Western countries.

Around thirty years ago the process began that music, and of course also theatre and visual arts from non-Western countries began to receive interest from people living in the West. One of the factors that has facilitated this growth is the fact that some aficionados started small record companies. Their purpose was, and is, to make those recordings qualitatively as good as possible; to respect the work of artists without bringing it into contexts which harm its real intentions; and to pay them fairly and as directly as possible (without losing money for bank transfers, for instance). Economically this is a challenging task that culturally should be estimated highly.

The number of concert halls (small and large) where artists from non-Western countries perform has grown considerably during the last decades. What does this mean concerning copyright? Collecting societies are not the organisations who can ensure that artists from non-Western parts of the world will get their money. It is better to pay them as directly as possible.

Cultural privatisation

The recognition is growing that the public domain of creativity and knowledge is paying a high price for the cultural privatisation that is under way. From time to time the idea sprouts that something like a system of collective copyright for traditional knowledge and folklore should be developed. This sounds sympathetic, but it is not realistic, because the Western copyright system is directed to individual appropriation.

Basic principles and practices of the copyright system are contested in the Western world. It is not surprising that many people from non-Western countries put this system in even more doubt. More research and discussion are needed to get to grips with what really is at stake. Moreover, it must be possible to construct an adequate philosophy that combines the rights of artists to make a living; that stimulates creative adaptation; that recognises that much knowledge and creativity belongs to the common people; and that provides for respect of the public domain. A third task would be to translate this into a system adequate enough to replace the present and old fashioned copyright system.

By broadening the scope of study to non-Western countries we are aided in our understanding of why the Western copyright system is no longer sustainable.

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SECTION 3: CULTURAL CHALLENGES

Issues by sector: heritage, museums, book publishing, libraries and archives

Cautious Optimism for eCulture in Europe

by Dona Kolar-Panov

There seems to be a widespread consensus that new digital and networking technologies like the World Wide Web (WWW) and the Internet have the capacity to reorder the domains of everyday social and personal life by transforming work and knowledge forms, gender and body politics, health and science, domestic life and entertainment as well as transforming national economies and international relations, democracy and the distribution of power. As promises of techno-evolutionism (see Berland, 2000: 235-259) dominate the newspapers, magazines, TV documentaries, workplaces and various institutions of public discourse, these hyperbolic promises of a technological future have played an important role in pushing aside issues such as famine, homelessness, ecological destruction, urban chaos, spreading unemployment and the unimaginable growth of corporate and bio-technical power.

Both mainstream press and enthusiast subcultures celebrate digital communication as a self-evolving system that brings rapid change and poses challenges to government, industry and the individual consumer. Promises are made that the Internet will bring education into every home, and will link people around the globe.

Furthermore, the enormous possibilities brought about by the development of information and communication technologies for promoting cultural and linguistic diversity is stimulating intercultural dialogue and exchanges between diverse forms of artistic expression. Cultural industries have brought into focus the digitisation of cultural heritage and cultural memory resources. As a result of the information and cultural initiatives and policy introduced by the European Union's institutions and UNESCO, our cultural heritage is now taking a digital form, whether "born-digital" or "born-again" by conversion to digital from other media (Lyman and Kahle, 1998). And, in the emerging knowledge society, in which the increasing demand for high quality digital content is ever increasing, cultural institutions are in an ideal position to provide this kind of unique learning resource.

Thus, by providing public access to cultural heritage resources on the Internet and other forms of digitised materials like CD-ROMs and databases, users of cultural resources are able to open up a whole new universe in which they

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can enjoy a new interactive cultural heritage environment in which they are able, for example, not only to walk through virtual museums but, thanks to intelligent tools, to manipulate digital artefacts and participate in communities of interest.

Improving access to Europe's heritage

The Council of the European Union and the Commission of the European Communities are actively pursuing the e-Europe initiative (European Commission, 2000) to develop advanced systems and services that will help improve access to Europe's knowledge and educational resources, and improve accessibility, visibility and recognition of the commercial value of Europe's cultural and scientific resources.

Cultural heritage in the newest IST programme (European Commission, 2002a) calls for building a compelling and inclusive cultural landscape in Europe and providing access to scientific and cultural content through the networks of libraries and museums, which should result in advanced digital libraries with resource discovery, meta data, interoperability, new tools, new services and new business models for cross-domain content navigation.

In the field of cultural heritage this should result in intelligent heritage and artistic expression: 3D and VR visual representations, user interaction and content understanding, innovative web-based services, advanced learning and game-playing. In terms of preservation, new technologies for film preservation, digitisation techniques, and new business models for the exploitation of digitised assets should be developed.

The IST Sixth Framework Programme (*ibid.*) priorities are to address the major societal and economic challenges, to develop mobile and wireless communications and to push for *miniaturisation*. The aim is to bring the people to the foreground as a "centre of attention" and to build technologies for the background (almost invisible), which are trustworthy and embedded in everyday objects. This is referred to as increasing "ambient intelligence" (European Commission, 2002d). For the cultural sector this means a shift from "easy access to information" to "facilitated interaction with knowledge" (European Commission, 2002c: 258).

What is also important to mention here is that in the Sixth Framework Programme of the European Commission recommends that a good balance should be found between the funding of innovative, high risk projects and research and development programmes that will allow the smaller institutions to catch up.

Thus, eCulture objectives for 2010 (Smith, 2003) are the emergence of large scale, inclusive cultural landscapes where Europe's digital heritage is globally

visible, and interactive systems that interact intelligently with users and persist over time, as well as preventing loss and restoring access to Europe's essential cultural and scientific resources that are in obsolete formats or are too rare or fragile for regular physical access. For cultural heritage the effort will concentrate on intelligent systems for dynamic access to and preservation of tangible and intangible cultural and scientific resources.

However, there are still many areas(As identified by the DigiCULT Report, European Commission, 2002c) which need attention before we can take the next step towards the developments described in the Sixth Framework Programme. This paper will briefly present only the most critical questions which are equally faced by the member states of the EU and the countries of the larger Europe.

Some pressing issues

First of all there is a vital need for national visions and strategies for information communication technologies implementation and use in the scientific and cultural heritage sectors (European Commission, 2002c: 35). Most of the European Union member states have not yet defined their digitisation policies and the situation in other countries in Europe is likely to be the same. In the absence of clear policies and set methodologies, cultural heritage institutions such as museums, libraries and archives are doing their best - depending on funding and on human resources. However, there is always a risk of wasting resources, as work might be duplicated, or of materials being digitised without complying with any compatible standards. Because of this there is a need for a methodological and systematic approach to the creation of an adequate information and cultural policy which will allow national governments not only to create new methodologies but, equally importantly, to co-ordinate and synchronise the already-existing initiatives and projects. Such co-ordinated efforts are currently established in the EU as part of the e-Europe initiative (European Commission, 2000).

Furthermore, as in many European countries there is more than one official language, there is a need for cultural policies to acknowledge that fact and foster the development of a multilingual digital culture in order to provide multilingual access as a means to communicate to an increasingly pluralistic society as well as global community (European Commission, 2002c: 113). In addition to that, cultural heritage institutions within multicultural societies such as Macedonia need to find appropriate ways for allowing the participation of different communities in the digitisation of cultural record and memory.

As there is an argument that in the long run only the digital will survive in the memory of the nation, since it is more readily available and accessible than

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analogue cultural heritage resources (*ibid*.: 38 and 45), provocative as this might sound today, it makes it a responsibility of national governments to make the richness of their cultural heritage accessible to the coming generations by building a critical mass of digital resources that reflect the richness, diversity and plurality of society's memory. Thus, national governments are faced with the challenge to develop a sound methodology for digitisation, a methodology that will both offer transparent criteria for content selection of the existing material and develop criteria for the preservation of the "born-digital" content.

The concept of born-digital resources is a relatively new concept and reflects the difficulties cultural heritage institutions are faced with in managing these new kinds of cultural resources that have been created with the help of information and communication technologies (*ibid*.: 223). Their transient, dynamic character and the fact that the current legal situation does not properly take care of the exploding amount of born-digital material are the most pressing issues. Disappearing web resources are not only annoying (we are all familiar with the irritating "error 404" which appears every time another web resource has disappeared), they represent a serious obstacle to the management and preservation of the born-digital material. Given the fact that many web resources disappear within a very short time - it is estimated that the average web page has a life of only 70 days (*ibid*.) - there is an urgent need for the introduction of some mechanism that will allow cultural institutions to collect and preserve this data in order to prevent the loss of a vast amount of our present and future cultural heritage.

Presumably, the responsibility for preserving and archiving born-digital material should rest with the author (or creator), and if this responsibility is not met there is a need for intervention by an institution such as a library or an archive. However, as the copyright issues for born-digital material are not yet clearly defined, first and foremost there is a need for suitable legislation addressing intellectual property rights and ownership "as well as moral rights and needs to address the widespread uncertainty about the legal and organisational requirements for managing intellectual property of digital information" (*ibid*.: 225). As mentioned above, it is a matter of some urgency for national governments to establish comprehensive cultural policies such as national digitisation programmes with clear policies not only on digitisation of the existing content of cultural institutions but also on policies regarding the preservation of "born-digital" material.

A question of access

The two Action Plans, Action Plan 2002 endorsed by the EU leaders at the Fiera summit in June 2000 (Council of the European Union and Commission of

the European Communities, 2000), and Action Plan 2005 approved in Seville in June 2002 (Commission of European Communities, 2002), pursue the creation of an inclusive information society. Action Plan 2002 concentrates on effective access, usage and availability of the Internet. On the other hand, e-Europe 2005 puts the users at the centre, emphasising e-inclusion (digital inclusion) and e-accessibility for people with special needs. Digital inclusion does not mean that the key services must only be available by personal computer; it rather means the availability of key services via interactive digital television, third generation mobile phones and cable networks.

The positive results achieved by the implementation of Action Plan 2002 are already visible from the fact that by mid-2002, 40% of EU households had Internet access, in comparison to 18% in March 2000 (European Commission, 2002b: 10).

The question of access interlocks with the challenges of a larger framework of the information society policy, meaning that providing access to and keeping cultural heritage resources accessible is first and foremost a political matter and requires a clear commitment of national governments. It is important to state here that EU member states might have achieved great results in improving access to the Internet by their populations, but it has to be mentioned that the percentage of the population which has access to Internet varies inside the EU member states. For example, Denmark has 62.73% of the population online as of July 2002; the Netherlands has 60.83 % of the population online as of September 2002; Norway has 59.2% of the population online as of July 2002; Belgium has 36.62% of the population online as of August 2002, and Italy has 33.37% of the population online as of August 2001, while France has 28.39% of the population online as of May 2002. The smallest percent of the population online in the EU is in Greece, 13.5% as of December 2001 (NUA, 2003a).

The situation in other European countries that are not members of the EU is drastically worse, as statistics at NUA (2003a) show: in Albania only 0.34 % of the population has access to the Internet as of December 2000, in Bosnia 11.4% as of December 2001, and in Croatia 11.07% as of September 2001. According to the latest survey, in April 2002, 9.4% of the population in Macedonia has access to the Internet on home computers (IREX ProMedia, 2002). The percentage of the world population that has access to the Internet is very low at only 9.57% as of May 2002 (NUA, 2003b).

Given the significance of these statistics, it is no wonder that the Internet's potential for freedom of communication comes together with concerns about the difference of Internet "haves" and "have-nots", which most often mirrors the existing patterns of inequality and social exclusion. The gap between the

promise of the information age and the reality of social and other inequalities is one of the largest obstacles to fulfilling the promises of the information society.

In comparing countries, the rest of the world has considerably trailed the United States in the diffusion of the Internet, with the exception of Scandinavia, Canada and Australia, and if measured in terms of access the "digital divide" (see Castells, 2001: 248) is much broader in Europe than in America.

The question of the digital divide remains one of the most important issues surrounding the Internet, and with the increased diffusion of the Internet in most countries it will become more visible: while key urban centres and higher educated and higher income social groups will be included in the global network based on the Internet, the rest will remain excluded.

Promises of e-commerce

There are also high expectations that cultural institutions will play a significant role in the emerging information economy, this being true particularly of cultural industries such as publishing or media industries (European Commission, 2002c: 14). However, although free access to cultural heritage resources is expected by the majority of the population in the EU (*ibid*.: 50), the emerging digital cultural economy seems to be putting increased pressure on the cultural heritage institutions to charge for cultural services. This creates a conflict between a vision of free access and the politics of the free market economy. This in turn presents another challenge to national governments, which are faced with a decision to find the right balance between cultural services being charged for and those being offered free. The "valorisation" of expectation has been somewhat dampened by the "dot.com wipe out", the inglorious failure of so many commercial online ventures, some of which explored the potential for the "valorisation" of cultural heritage. As some European cultural institutions consider offering access to cultural heritage resources over the Internet as a universal service, along the lines of public service broadcasting, this might be a solution to the problem. It is also important to understand that the value of the creation of digital cultural heritage resources goes beyond their economic value, since such resources are first and foremost of an intellectual value that constitutes the cornerstone in a society's national and cultural identity. Thus, the creation of central, low-barrier access in the form of cultural portals and gateways should be another priority for national governments within the wider framework of their information and cultural policies.

Conclusion

Being digital today is no longer an option, but the reality that we live in. The conversion of all cultural contents from popular music to high art opens up

completely new dimensions in reaching traditional and new audiences. Even if the predictions of futurologists, technologists and media tycoons have not come true with regard to the wonderful things we were going to be able to do thanks to the convergence of computers, the Internet and the media (Castells, 2001: 190-205), and "In fact, what the people did was to accept TV and video as entertainment, keep radio as a companion, and use the Internet for their content-oriented interests" (*ibid*: 193), still what we have today is a flourishing cultural industry and art community on the Web.

However, cautious optimism has to be exercised when faced with report recommendations such as the *Report to the G-8 On Culture in a Worldwide Information Society* (Fink, 2001) that argue for "the value of the cultural agenda in the development" of information and communication technology as well as for the use of "the potential of information and communication technology to implement the cultural agenda by transforming information from a scarce, inequitably distributed and fragmented commodity into true public good" (*ibid*.). If "the intellectual and cultural heritage of society is an essential building block of sustainable development and an economic future" (*ibid*.) it requires much more attention from not only the European institutions but also from national governments worldwide.

Thus, the European Commission recommends that "[b]y boosting economic growth, information and communication technologies have a great potential for creating new and better jobs, and generating greater prosperity", and because of that European governments should "ensure that these benefits are available for all - not just a privileged minority". This should be done by "emphasising digital inclusion", by which "the European Commission aims to distinguish the European approach to the information society from other regions in the world" (European Commission, 2002b: 4).

In spite of all the cautious optimism, the fact remains that 90% to 95% of all cultural heritage institutions in Europe are not in a position to participate in any kind of digital venture (European Commission, 2002c: 47 and 257). This is not only for lack of financial resources but also for lack of skilled human resources and often the lack of adequate technologies. Also, less than 10% of the world population has access to the Internet (NUA, 2003b), while 75% of all available pages on the World Wide Web are in English (European Commission, 2002b: 13).

Thus, even if the Internet has been largely idealised as "the new technology that will unite the world via the magic of computers", it seems that it could "actually become the new form of apartheid, an electronic apartheid bigger than any other form of discrimination as it tries to cover the whole world" (Gumucio-Dagron, 2001). Nobody denies that the Internet represents a great ad-

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vance in human history and that it has enormous potential, but that potential can be seen as successful only when "it will work for the whole world and not just for the spear-tip of globalisation" (*ibid*.).

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Online Art Museums and Virtual Museum Participation

by Olga van Oost, An Lavens and Caroline Pauwels

The control and management of (private and government subsidised) cultural institutions are increasingly mediated, facilitated and possibly changed by information and communication technologies (ICTs). This paper aims to examine the relationship between ICTs, and in particular the Internet and art museums. This relationship will be questioned on two levels: first, looking at the supply side or the level of the cultural institutions, specifically focusing on the existence and use of websites by international and Belgian art museums. What do these online museums look like and what is their purpose? Can we speak of "virtual museums"? Secondly, the study looks at the user side or the level of the cultural participants. Who visits these websites? Are these participants the same people who visit real museums? Does the Internet offer opportunities for increased virtual museum participation and for bridging the cultural divide?

On the user-side

Interdisciplinary and international research highlights the fact that a major gap or divide is visible with regards to access and use of ICT on the one side and participation in cultural activities on the other. It appears highly debatable whether the introduction of ICT, access to digital networks and the corresponding increased range of alternative choices for cultural dissemination will themselves lead to higher economic, social and especially cultural participation, notwithstanding or actually despite the "potential" that these new technologies hold for (increased/altered) cultural participation.

At the same time, social divisions between various cultural activities have become more vague in what Schulze (2000) called the "experience market": higher classes are increasingly becoming interested in what was always ignored as popular culture, and wide-screen operas are attracting more people than theatres can handle (Mommaas, 2000). Cultural convergence and differentiation exist next to each other. At the same time, personal experience of pleasure in art and culture instead of emancipation through art and culture is becoming an increasingly accepted social objective within a post-modern society.

On the supply-side

"Content", in addition to the "established" well-known forms of cultural expression, hybrid mixed forms ("overall art") will develop within a networked (media) culture, where the real and virtual, local and global, popular and elitist, and the established and experimental merge with one another.

In parallel with the development of new forms of expression, cross-boundary forms of co-operation between disciplines, facilities and sectors develop spontaneously and by virtue of necessity. At the same time the local, international and global also mingle here. And, new forms of co-operation also mean new organisational forms.

As regards the above, not only existing (cultural) institutions will make use of ICT during the performance of their tasks; it will be used for administrative management, creating access, promotion, communication, information, attracting and influencing the public, etc. And new (virtual) facilities with no connection to existing facilities will possibly be established in the near future.

The Internet increases distribution facilities for culture, bridges geographical distances and makes participation (potentially) less expensive. At the same time, competition for the attention of the potential (culture) user is increased, along with the accompanying, potential division and fragmentation of the potential audience itself. Conversely, it may be argued that the Internet and ICT also establish a technological barrier to cultural participation, in addition to cultural, social or economic barriers (see above: the digital divide).

As is the case with other enterprises and facilities, cultural institutions will need competent educated ICT staff on a larger scale and with a more specific profile (European Council,1999).

These and other (potential) changes and paradoxes raise the question of whether the existing divide in terms of cultural participation and competence will be perpetuated, increased or removed by ICT within a networked cultural industry and its inherent explosion and resulting competition of alternatives (also see Van den Broeck and de Haan, 2000; Breemen, 1999). There is also a question of whether a new personal experience of culture and/or a substitute, complementary or comparable participation in cultural activities will arise within a networked society.

In this instance, the following observations must be taken into account:

- ICT will not drastically change cultural participation or control of cultural institutions. History has rather shown that initiatives usually co-exist and that they overlap rather than replace each other (Schwarz, 1999);

- the "divide" concept, whether relating to the digital divide or the cultural participation divide, suggests something static while empirical verification indicates that the reality is dynamic (Frissen, 2000);
- an implicit normative overtone is associated with the objective of increasing cultural participation, i.e. a person is only a complete member of society if he or she participates, culturally, politically and economically.

Website usability heuristics

A study of literature and websites enabled us to select examples of the different types of network museums. In order to analyse these websites systematically a methodological framework was necessary and more particularly testing the *website usability* seemed the most appropriate. When one says "usability", one also says *e-commerce* activities. It should be clear that the reason for web development and evaluation research is often of a commercial nature, especially when online shopping activities are present. To put it simplistically, the main concern in such cases is how to convince as many people as possible to navigate the site and to buy the products for sale. However, usability also relates to questions of how information is displayed, the type of content posted, the effort one has to use when navigating, etc. For example, the legibility of websites is an important issue in *usability heuristics*. Research from Nielsen shows that people read web pages in a different manner than they read printed pages (Nielsen, 1997; Morkes and Nielsen, 1997).

Crucial in *website usability heuristics* is audience research. The method consists of a certain set of "rules" which should be taken into account in the development and evaluation of sites, and these rules were established empirically, through questioning audiences. So, to test usability means to test it on an audience so that changes can be made in time. This study combined insights from Jakob Nielsen and Richard Waller to evaluate the chosen websites (Nielsen, 2002; Waller, 2002).

When dealing with *web usability*, both the evaluation of the *user context* and the *web or technical context* are of major importance. A seven-point checklist Waller developed and that takes into account these different contexts was the starting-point for the evaluation (http://www.waller.co.uk/usability.htm). The list is slightly extended so it would be more appropriate in a museum context.

Table 1 (international electronic art museums) and Table 2 (Belgian electronic art museums) display this checklist and the answers obtained to the different questions.

Especially when looking at the Belgian electronic museums, it is clear that a possible fear of a replacement of the real museums by these networked ones is

unfounded. Until now, the international examples do not threaten the real museums either. Virtual museums could however have great potential. If real museums develop their sites further and make them attractive for repeated visits - through setting up changing online exhibitions for example - a correlation between a real and a virtual visit - which can be doubtful today - might be possible in the future.

Further inquiries concerning the construction and reception of these virtual museums and the politics involved, are necessary to examine this hypothesis. A general problem is, however, that neither in the international nor in the Belgian cases do these kind of profound evaluations occur.

Virtual museum participation

Scarce data is available concerning virtual museum participation. In the discourse on online art museums a lot of emphasis is put on their potential to make cultural participation more democratic. These hopes can be understood in light of the striving and failing of the "physical" art museums to socially broaden their public and thus shed their elitist aura. During the past decennium, social exclusion has become a top priority and art museums have been called upon to become more inclusive because of their presupposed community-building capacity. A lot of research has been done on cultural participation in "physical" or real art museums, and regardless of the theoretical assumptions that are attributed to the reasons why people visit art museums, one cannot but acknowledge that the visitors share a specific socio-demographic profile. What is more, this profile has always been fairly consistent.

In order to develop a more diverse public, hopes are cast on the new technological possibilities to take down barriers that prevent certain groups from visiting art museums. But, the digital divide is a new barrier for art museums that yet again can exclude certain groups from its public. Before we can understand cultural participation to online art museums and compare it with cultural participation to physical art museums, we need more information on who visits online art museums and why? The way to obtain this information is through user research, but this type of data is very scarce and the data that exist are either outdated or not viable enough to make sound and scientifically correct conclusions. The amount of research on the visitors of the online art museums does not equal the amount of rhetoric on the democratisation possibilities of online museums. However, an impression of what the few studies on online art museums have concluded can be made.

First of all, online art museums are presupposed to stimulate their visitors to visit the physical site of the museum. Seeing the artworks online will tantalise them to see the real thing. This presumption is backed by research from Fry et

al.: half of the respondents expressed an interest in visiting the physical museum after visiting the online museum (Fry et al., 2002). But whether these expressed wishes are then followed up by an actual visit has not been researched.

Secondly, online art museums will be able to reach a public that would come to the physical art museum but is prevented from doing so because of one or more barriers. No data exists to back up this presumption.

Thirdly, online art museums will be able to reach a completely new public that would otherwise never consider a museum visit. When MORI researched the visitors of the new Tate Modern website, 38% of the respondents claimed to have never visited any of the physical Tate museums and 24% had done so only once (MORI, 2000). But this does not mean that these people have not visited any other art museum and therefore cannot really be considered as a "completely new public" to art museums.

And lastly, online art museums are trusted to reach a more diverse public. This is where the existing research shows the contrary. More women seem to visit online art museums and the age range has widened, but the rest of the profile had not. The visitor of an online art museum is still predominantly white, professional (or retired), highly educated, locates his or her income in the higher income scales and lives in a city. Reaching a more diverse public through online art museums is a goal that has not (yet?) been attained.

Table 1: international electronic art museums

Checklist	International Electronic Art Museums				
	MOMA	MET	Tate	Louvre	Hermitage
Good First Impression					
simple address URL	g	vg	vg	vg	vg
see title immediately	g	g	g	g	g
content in eight seconds	g	g	g	g	g
attractive	g	g	ok	ok	ok
Friendly Image					
key info above the fold	g	ok	ok	g	g
easy to read	ok	ok	g	ok	ok
images are useful	g	vg	vg	g	g
640-display friendly	vg	vg	vg	g	ok
technically sound	vg	vg	vg	vg	vg
Easy Navigation					

clear structure	g	g	g	ok	g
clear text links	g	g	g	g	g
consistent	g	g	g	g	g
search tool and sitemap	g	g	g	g	g
Useful Content					
clear objective	vg	vg	vg	g	g
clear target audience	g	vg	vg	ok	ok
clear target area	g	g	g	ok	ok
quality content	vg	vg	vg	g	g
organisation of content	vg	vg	vg	ok	g
regularly updated	vg	vg	vg	ok	ok
useful links	g	vg	vg	ok	ok
display of collection	ok	vg	vg	ok	ok/g
display of collection/target audience	ok	vg	vg	ok	ok/g
virtual tour	g	vg	vg	ok	ok/g
Appropriate for audience					
appropriate style and tone	g	vg	vg	ok	ok/g
if virtual tour, easy navigation	vg	vg	vg	b/ok	g
online shop	ok	g	g	g	ok
if online shop, easy order-processing	b/ok	g	vg	g	g
Clear Contact Information					
branding on every page	vg	vg	vg	vg	vg
contact on every page	vg	ok	ok	ok	ok
name, address, phone	vg	ok	ok	ok	ok
Good for Search Engines					
good META statements	g	ok/g	g	vg	vg
clear text with keywords	g	g	g	g	g
clear text links	g	g	g	g	g

v = very bad; b = bad; ok = ok; g = good; vg = very good
MOMA= Museum of Modern Art, NY, http://www.moma.org
MET= Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY, http://www.metmuseum.org
Tate, GB, http://www.tate.org.uk
Louvre, Paris, http://www.louvre.fr

Hermitage, St Petersburg, http://www.hermitagemuseum.org

Table 2: Belgian electronic art museums

Checklist	Belgian Electronic Art Museums					
	KMSKA	KMSKB	PMMK	MAC's	MSKGhent	SMAK
Good First Impression						
simple address URL	vb	vb	g	g	vg	vg
see title immediately	g	g	g	g	g	g
content in eight seconds	g	g	g	g	ok	ok
attractive	ok	g	ok	g	g	g
Friendly Image						
key info above the fold	g	ok	ok	ok	g	ok
easy to read	g	b	ok	ok	g	ok
images are useful	ok	ok	ok	b	g	g
640-display friendly	g	vb	vb	?	vb	b
technically sound	g	g	vb	b/ok	b	b/ok
Easy Navigation						
clear structure	g	g	b/ok	ok	g	g
clear text links	g	g	b/ok	ok	g	g
consistent	g	g	b/ok	ok	ok	g
search tool and sitemap	vb	b	vb	vb	b	b
Useful Content						
clear objective	vb	ok	b	ok	ok	ok
clear target audience	vb	b	b	b	ok	ok
clear target area	vb	b	b	b	ok	ok
quality content	vb	b	b	b	ok	g
organisation of content	vb	ok	b	b	ok	g
regularly updated	ok	ok	b	b/ok	g	g
useful links	b	ok	b	ok	b	g
display of collection	vb	b	b	vb	ok	g
display of collection/target audience	vb	b	b	vb	ok	ok
virtual tour	/	/	/	/	/	/
Appropriate for audience						
appropriate style and tone	vb	b	b	b	ok	ok
if virtual tour, easy navigation	/	/	/	/	/	/
online shop	/	/	/	/	/	/
if online shop, easy order-processing	/	/	/	/	/	/
Clear Contact Information						

branding on every page	vb	ok	b	vg	vg	vg
contact on every page	b	ok	g	b	b	vg
name, address, phone	ok	ok	g	ok	ok	vg
Good for Search Engines						
good META statements	ok	ok	vb	vg	g	g
clear text with keywords	b/ok	ok	b	g	g	g
clear text links	b/ok	ok	b	g	g	g

v = very bad; b = bad; ok = ok; g = good; vg = very good

* We did not include the Museum of Contemporary Arts, MUHKA, in Antwerp because this site
        is still under construction, http://www.muhka.be

* We did not include the two art museums in Bruges
        (Museum Groeninge, http://www.brugge.be/musea/nl/mgroen.htm;
        Museum Memling, http://www.brugge.be/musea/nl/mmemn.htm)
        because they merely consist of one page

* KMSKA= Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Antwerp, http://museum.antwerpen.be/kmska

* KMSKB= Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Brussels, http://www.fine-arts-museum.be

* PMMK= Museum of Contemporary Art in Ostend, http://www.pmmk.be

* MAC's= Museum of Contemporary Art in Hornu, http://www.mac-s.be

* MSKGhent= Museum of Fine Arts in Ghent, http://www.mskgent.be

* SMAK= Museum of Contemporary Art in Ghent, http://www.smak.be

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Author: Olga Van Oost

Olga Van Oost holds degrees in art history and media studies and is doing a PhD on Belgian museum policy. More specifically she questions museum policy issues in general, concepts underlying the institute of the museum and museum participation. Research on the virtual museum and eCulture are also important domains of interest.

Author: An Lavens

An Lavens carries out research on the possibilities and barriers for cultural participation through the case of online art museums. In collaboration with SMIT she has carried out other research on cultural participation and ICT.

Old Contents, New Industries

by Daniela Živković

Fairy tales belong to the category of "oldest literary contents". In 1916, the Croatian female author, Ivana Brlić-Mažuranić, wrote the most popular *Croatian Tales of Long Ago*. They can be found in our bookshops and libraries published in the finest print editions, as sound books and books on CD-ROM. Nicholas Da Silva, jury member of FlashForward 2002 said:

> *"Today Croatian Tales is by far one of the best Flash-animated interactive stories to date" (Brlić-Mažuranić, 2002).*

This cartoon adaptation of *Croatian Tales of Long Ago*, was a winner at FlashForward 2002 in San Francisco, story category, and at the NetFestival 2002 in Rio de Janeiro, also story category. The project to make the cartoon started a few years ago when the enthusiastic electronic publisher Bulaja Editions invited animators to co-operate via the Internet. The publisher sent eight stories to animators from different countries including Scotland, France, Russia and Germany. As their co-operation took place in the virtual world, they met for the first time at the showing of the cartoon in Zagreb. Most animators tried to add elements of their own folk tradition and a fascinating mixture of cultures appeared, though for some it may be difficult to recognise them as the childhood heroes of "old contents".

This is just an example which illustrates the message from the UNESCO Director General on the celebration of World Book and Copyright Day on 22 April 2002:

> *"Books represent a heritage that is specially rooted in distinct cultural traditions and which is continually evolving through interaction with other traditions, in relation to and in dialogue with the other" (Matsuura, 2002).*

How does today's publishing support this idea? According to the UNESCO *Charter of the Book*, good publishing is the basis of national development (*Charter of the Book*, 1972).

Traditional publishing is the business of issuing books, music, photographs, maps, and other printed materials for sale to the public, which includes negotiating contracts with authors and their literary agents, editing the author's manu-

script, designing the physical item (typography, layout, etc.), producing the finished product, marketing the work and making arrangements for its distribution through regular market channels (ODLIS, 2004).

But what happens to publishing at a time when its product stops being physical? Information and communication technology has enabled an almost unlimited reproduction and distribution of information all over the world.

With the systematic exchange and mediation of digitalised information, a rapidly increasing part of the gross national product is generated through the processing of information and this provides new opportunities for the economic, social and cultural development of modern society. Economists have introduced terms like "knowledge-based economy" and "information-intensive economy". The growth of the so-called immaterial economy which depends upon intellectual property rights and copyright is interesting from the cultural point of view, because it is based on the development and management of information sources.

The increasing focus on the content itself has produced the term "content industries", also often called cultural industries because it deals with culture.

Cultural industries are organisations whose system is oriented at the production and the marketing of music, film, radio and television programmes, books, journals and newspapers, new media and advertising. Their activities include the whole production chain from original production, through distribution and exchange. In the new electronic environment, cultural industries have usually digitised the production segment, whereas the distribution segment is partly conventional, partly digital. For most of them, the production and distribution of digital content is complementary to conventional activities (*Council of Europe Project Glossaries*, 2000).

The EU has set up support programmes for certain cultural industries to encourage them to develop a structure and to grasp the new opportunities offered by the single market and digital technologies. All the mentioned changes dealing with cultural contents have given rise to actions for the creation of new cultural policy at an international level.

Council of Europe initiated projects such as the *New Book Economy* and its follow-up the *New Book-Economy - Building up the Information Society (BIS)* were intended to accelerate the adaptation of the workforce to industrial change by anticipating the development of new jobs and activities and contrasting trends linked with possible loss of jobs in the conventional book industry and information institutions.

The traditional book sector and three basic professions - publishing, librarianship and the book trade - are based on the concept of the physical copy of a

book. The advent of electronic publications has therefore placed before them many issues in connection with how to organise basic functions. The draft paper "Cultural work in the information society: guidelines for a European cultural policy" was circulated for consultation to professional associations in the cultural sector and the audiovisual field, as well as to national cultural ministries, UNESCO and the European Commission, and the final version was adopted in 2001 (*Council of Europe Guidelines on Cultural Work, 2000*). Among other things the guidelines encourage the adoption of new professional profiles and competencies.

There is evidence that books are today the most widespread and empowering medium. Every year, more than 500,000 new titles are published in Europe. The notion of electronic publishing itself may be misleading. Primarily, it seems to be an extension of traditional book activities. In fact, as a result of the interlocked effect of electronic networking and the convergence phenomenon, electronic publishing today means the production and the distribution of any kind of digital content.

Electronic publishing is defined as any non-print material that is digitised - no matter whether based on a text, an image or sound or a combination of the three - and is commercially distributed after having been selected, arranged, prepared and published (ibid.), or as the publication of books, periodicals (e-journals, e-zines, etc.), bibliographic databases, and other information resources in digital format, usually on CD-ROM or online via the Internet, for in-house users, subscribers, and/or retail customers, with or without a print counterpart (ODLIS, 2004).

What is a book anyway?

Even at the end of the twentieth century a book was still defined in accordance with the 1985 UNESCO recommendation as a "non-periodic publication of at least 49 pages exclusive of the cover pages, published in a particular country and made available to the public" (*UNESCO Revised Recommendations*, 1985). This definition was adopted in the ISO 9707:1991 with a Note saying that "Within the ISBN system, books include microfilm and mixed media publications".

In the age of intensified standardisation it has become clear that the book, primarily a cultural asset, becomes a commodity when it receives its identifier ISBN (International Standard Book Number). Thus, it should be considered that the ISBN is the only practical parameter whose allocation defines the book not only in the practical but in the theoretical sense as well, leading us to a practical definition of the electronic book.

This is the first research into what the concept of a book covers in the above system[1]. There were several reasons for this approach. The ISBN is a distinct identifier that accompanies the book as a publishing product from its design until it reaches its reader. It was originally introduced in 1966 to identify the printed book and improve book management in an automated world, but in time it also began to be used for books that were not published on paper only. Its allocation is supervised by standardisation organisations and the ISO 2108 gives the principles and procedure for its use. The ISBN identifies a title or the edition of a title provided by a specific publisher at an international level, and it is unique to that particular edition (ISO 2108, 1992). One of the goals the system had to comply with was universality, and in 1974 it was clearly stated that the "International Standard Book Number is a universally accepted method of numerically designating books" (ISBN System, 1974). Although this only referred to printed books at that time, publishers soon began to put out books in media that were not exclusively paper. In 1978 the ISBN Advisory Panel proposed a revision of the ISO standard to define the book as "any medium intended to be read" (International ISBN Agency, 1978).

Various other forms of non-book material were officially included in the system in the following order: machine-readable tapes and multiple media (1975), video tapes, microfiche and films produced for educational purposes (1977), software (1983), audio books on cassettes (1986), machine-readable tapes and CD-ROM (1986). In 1993 the formulation began of *Guidelines for allocating ISBNs to non-book material*, and it was firmly decided that whereas ISBN allocation does not depend on the physical format of the book, the definition of electronic publications would have to include the requirement of public availability.

In 1999 a sample of 40 countries in four continents were researched to discover which publications in a particular country are allocated an ISBN[2]. The results showed that all the sample countries allocate an ISBN to printed books, as the most widespread book form. Some countries also mark pamphlets but in doing so they use additional criteria besides the size of the publication, such as the quality of the text and pictures and the purpose of the pamphlet. Out of 27

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[1] The author of this article carried this research out as a part of her PhD thesis defended at the Department of Library and Information Sciences at the Faculty of Philosophy, The University of Zagreb.

[2] The author used a research sample of forty countries because in 1999 the national ISBN agencies of those countries submitted an annual report to the International ISBN Agency. Respondents from 27 countries filled in a questionnaire: Australia, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Iran, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Macedonia, Netherlands, Norway, New Zealand, Portugal, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sri Lanka, Sweden and the USA.

countries, 20 allocate an ISBN to mixed media publications, which show that it has become customary to mark combinations of printed material and newer media. Fourteen countries mark educational videos and transparencies, 17 mark audio books on cassettes, 17 mark audio books on CDs, 16 mark software. Microfilm publications are allocated an ISBN in 16 countries, 21 countries mark CD-ROM and diskette publications, and 16 countries mark Internet publications (Živković, 2000: 144). These results show that the number of publications that are considered to be "books" has increased and that in three decades the ISBN has grown from an identifier for the printed book to an identifier for a product of monographic character published in any medium (Živković, 2001: 46-47). This is completely consistent with the view that:

> *"The medium is never of crucial importance. A product which by its content, periodical nature or purpose has the function of a book is suitable for being included in the system regardless of whether the medium is paper, fabric, animal skin, film, tape or disc" (Mollison, 1995: 87-92).*

The great spread of the ISBN system, which in 2001 had a membership of 560,000 publishers worldwide, affected the traditional parameters defining the book, such as size and medium. The firm boundary based on number of pages that differentiated between the book and the pamphlet has gradually disappeared and emphasis is now laid on a work of monographic character with the function of a book, published in any medium.

Electronic publishing began some fifteen years ago but it was not until 1999 that the electronic book began to gain more importance in the plans of publishers and in the holdings of libraries. Since then it has been an object of interest for publishers, librarians and book traders, and also of professionals outside the traditional book sector, information scientists and lawyers, who are trying to formulate the rules for its successful management. This has resulted in the pressing need to define the electronic book as precisely as possible.

At the end of the 20th century the electronic book was not present as a separate entry in reference works. Today's definitions mostly take into account the way of production and usage (e.g., electronic book: a book composed or typed on a computer, or converted from print to digital (machine-readable) format by scanning or some other process, for display on a computer screen (ODLIS, 2004). On the basis of the research described, it is possible to define the electronic book as one or more files of monographic character available to the public online or in physical form (on CD-ROM, diskette)[3]. In addition to text, it may include pictures and sounds, links with related online pages, and pro-

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[3] The author gave the definition of the electronic book and related concepts (e.g., book, edition, publication) based on the results of the research mentioned and had them published in her book Elektronička knjiga (The Electronic Book). Zagreb: Multigraf, 2001. p. 49.

grammes to change and supplement it. The electronic book should have an ISBN, either as its only identifier or as part of the DOI and URN[4] identifiers specific for electronic material. The electronic book may be available in various formats. The recommendation is for every format of the electronic book to have its own ISBN.

In the electronic environment it is even more important than in the traditional book sector to clearly define concepts such as publication, edition and publisher. Electronic trading demands standardised identification of items, especially those that are protected by copyright, and this includes the electronic book. Therefore the electronic book must clearly show who the publisher is, as the natural and legal person in charge of its publication and the investor in its production and distribution.

The speed with which electronic books can be electronically managed makes it important to recognise that a distributor becomes the publisher of a particular book, and may become part of the ISBN system, as soon as he acquires the copyright for that title. At the moment when an electronic book is identified as a publishing product the question necessarily arises of its edition.

An edition is a product of monographic character that includes sufficient contextual differences in relation to the same or similar contents with the same title, and it is the publisher who decides what these differences should consist of. A new edition is defined by: a) changes in format of the computer file, and/or b) changes of content exclusive of a new form of packaging and proof reading (Živković, 2001: 50). The online book is not associated with concepts such as copy, print and edition (in the sense of the total number of all the copies produced from one matrix) in the traditional meaning they have in publishing. On the other hand, for the electronic book in physical form these concepts have retained the same meaning as they have for the printed book.

Regulated legal relations between author and publisher are known to underpin traditional publishing, and when information technology was introduced it became necessary to establish such relations in electronic publishing as well.

The World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) took steps and in 1996 introduced the WIPO Copyright Treaty. This treaty protects electronic books as compilations of data or other material, in any form, which by reason of the selection or arrangement of their contents constitute intellectual creations (Article 5), and it also protects them as computer programmes, which are protected as literary works, whatever may be the mode of their expression (Article

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[4] The DOI (Digital Object Identifier) and URN (Uniform Resource Name) are identifiers used for managing electronic and other kinds of material on the Internet. Both include the ISBN as a composite part when they are being used to identify an electronic book.

4). The WIPO Performances and Phonograms Treaty protects electronic books and other contemporary book forms that contain audio recordings (WIPO Performances and Phonograms Treaty, 1996).

The right of reproduction and the right of distribution are crucial in publishing the printed book, whereas the basic right for the electronic book is the right of accessibility. An electronic book cannot be read unless it is accessed, and the conditions for access are contractually arranged between the publisher or distributor and the reader.

Publication is any procedure that makes a work available to the public:

> *"Authors of literary and artistic works shall enjoy the exclusive right of authorizing any communication to the public of their works, by wire or wireless means, including the making available to the public of their works in such a way that members of the public may access these works from a place and at a time individually chosen by them" (WIPO Copyright Treaty, 1996).*

This exclusive copyright enjoyed by authors protects the transfer and the act of communicating a work. Nevertheless the preamble to the Copyright Treaty recognises the need to maintain a balance between the rights of authors and the larger public interest, particularly education, research and access to information, as reflected in the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works. EU guidelines restrict authors' rights to the benefit of public libraries and other public institutions, and persons with special needs (Directive 2001/29/EC).

Conclusions

As early as the 3rd century, Ulpian, the Roman jurist, tried to explain to his contemporaries that a book is not exclusively a scroll of papyrus but any text of monographic character on whatever material it is written (Stipčević, 1985: 88). This idea heavily supported by ICT remained persistent even to the 21st century.

The book in the information age should be understood as a content of monographic character published in any medium. The electronic publication is one or more databases of monographic character, containing picture, sound and links. Electronic publishing means the production and distribution of any kind of digital content.

The basic principle of traditional publishing is first to publish a title and then distribute it, but the introduction of ICT has reversed this order because an electronic publication can first be distributed and then downloaded, printed out or even printed on demand. This has created a book to fit the reader or a content to fit the user.

What is actually distributed or printed on demand? Book on demand, serial on demand or content on demand? Obviously, old contents are successfully reproduced by new industries and distributed on demand. The world is heading towards a Culture on demand.

It is wondered whether the terms "books" and "serials" will vanish from our e-publishing and library scene one day. It is evident that the total identification of all possible fragments of e-content that is aimed at for commercial purposes may diminish or blur the need for traditional concepts like "book" and "serial". Yet, professionals such as librarians faced with many issues in connection with how to organise this content will then put these crumbs of e-content together into larger, seemingly traditional, entities in order to be able to collect, process, store and produce publications.

Who will collect, store and provide content? Libraries, but possibly also some other competent institutions. Ulrich Wegenast, programme curator, Stuttgart International Festival of Animated Film, stated:

> "Croatian Tales shows us that fairytales are alive and well today, as vital and vibrant as ever in this most modern retelling."

Old contents reproduced and distributed by new industries according to some new concepts are also as vital and vibrant as ever before.

Undoubtedly, new industries have brought about new concepts. Nowadays we may rather speak of *old contents - new industries - new concepts*. At the turn of the last century old industries and concepts seemed to be seriously endangered by the new ones. Over the last decade new concepts developed at the roots of traditional ones enabling new industries to flourish. The old concepts retained their stability and became even stronger by allowing new products to supplement them in the new world where both the old and the new struggle for survival.

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Libraries as Protectors of Copyright and Providers of Free Access to Information

by Aleksandra Horvat

The role of libraries in the information society

In the last decade the impact of the new information and communication technologies (ICT) on libraries has been enormous allowing these institutions to enlarge and improve their services for users in an unprecedented manner. The application of the ICT allowed libraries to display their collections on the Internet and thus multiply the number of their users worldwide. In other words complaints often heard in the second half of the 20th century that even national libraries, usually the richest in cultural heritage, are of little use to anyone living outside the capital have lost their pertinence. Libraries have mounted their catalogues and other bibliographic tools on the Internet, providing quick and reliable information on their collections and services to anyone interested. Also, for the first time in their history, libraries can offer to their users not only the material they possess, but also access to the material owned by other institutions, organisations and companies.

A number of international documents on libraries have been issued by the relevant international bodies, such as UNESCO, IFLA (International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions) and the Council of Europe in the last decade. These documents contain general principles upon which libraries should base their services in the technologically changed environment. They also define the mission and role of libraries in the new age often referred to as the "information society". Libraries are seen primarily as public institutions that have the responsibility to provide free access to various kinds of information on various media for different categories of population. This role of libraries is explicitly stated in, for instance, the UNESCO *Manifesto for Public Libraries* (1994), the IFLA *Statement on Libraries and Intellectual Freedom* (1999), the Council of Europe/European Bureau of Library, Information and Documentation Associations (EBLIDA) *Guidelines on Library Legislation and Policy in Europe* (2000), the IFLA *Internet Manifesto* (2002).

Free access to information for all citizens, irrespective of their age, sex, ethnic origin, educational background or status in the society is considered to be

necessary for fulfilling their right to freedom of expression. Freedom of expression is a value protected by the UN (Universal Declaration on Human Rights) and the European Union (European Convention on Human Rights) (Wyatt, 2000:205-221) and it is also a constitutional right guaranteed by all democratic countries to their citizens. The ability to speak freely about any topic presupposes that the speaker is well informed about the topic. This is why libraries are considered so important: they collect, process and put to use the information required by those who wish to speak.

Citizens who are prepared to speak freely about the various topics of their interest and who wish to speak in the interest of their communities contribute to an "active citizenship". This term appears in the Amsterdam Treaty and is referred to in another important document for libraries - the report on the "Role of Libraries in the Modern World", adopted by the European Parliament in 1998[1]. In this document the public library is seen as a place where members of the community meet to discuss the issues of their immediate concern and interest; it appears as a kind of social forum.

Another important role of the public library in modern society is to provide free access to information, since it is considered to be a powerful supporter of the concept of lifelong learning, upon which the information society is based. That is why, for instance, public libraries have been designated public access points - the places where open access to the Internet is provided for those citizens who do not have resources of their own to gain access to it[2].

Libraries as providers of free access to information

Traditionally libraries provide free services to citizens in the community. The range and quality of the services offered normally depend on the funding provided by local authorities. Since funding is not always adequate and there are always new services to be introduced, librarians have to search for other sources of financing. Sometimes they even have to make the decision to charge for some specific services, but basic library services should in principle be free. Also, librarians try to make their libraries visible to the public, and marketing of services has become a regular part of library activities.

Modern libraries have become organisations similar to business firms, and the only exception is that they are not profit-oriented. The cost of information and cultural products and services offered by libraries to the public is normally covered by tax money. However, recent developments in the international trade

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[1] The role of libraries in the modern world. Available:
http://www2.echo.lu/libraries/en/green-ryyn.html (31.10.1998)

[2] *Ibid.*

regime might harm libraries and change their present status of providers of free public services. As IFLA warns in one of its documents[3], librarians should be concerned with the recent decisions of the World Trade Organization (WTO) that might adversely affect the operations and future development of library services. In order to open up national economies to foreign competition and liberalise international trade, the WTO adopted an international agreement known as GATS (General Agreement on Trade in Services). The provisions of GATS require the application of the so-called national treatment to foreign business firms offering their services in the country. This means that firms providing the same kind of services as libraries, such as for instance online information retrieval, might require the same treatment as public libraries receive in the country, i. e., they might apply for government subsidies under the same conditions as libraries. This would certainly jeopardise the libraries position as providers of free access to information.

The library community and library professionals believe that information and works of culture should not be treated as commodities and exposed to the same trade regime. It is very unfortunate that the negotiations processes within WTO are governed exclusively by the views of large corporations and are often kept in secret (Shrybman, 2004). The international library community has to make alliances with other non-government associations in order that its voice is well heard.

One such alliance was made recently by IFLA on the occasion of another world event of significance - the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS), held in Geneva in December 2003[4]. The WSIS was initiated and organised by the International Telecommunications Union in co-operation with various UN agencies. The participants included both government and non-government sectors, as well as business corporations and various civil society organisations. Rather unsatisfied with the outcome of the WSIS, the participating civil society organisations, IFLA included, issued a special declaration asking that it be adopted as an official WSIS document[5]. The declaration begins with the warning that no technology is neutral with respect to its social impacts and that technology neutral decision-making is a fallacy. Rather than speaking about the information society the declaration prefers the use of the term information and communication societies, because it wishes to underline the cultural and linguistic plurality and diversity of the world. It emphasises the importance

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[3] The IFLA Position on the World Trade Organization. http://www.ifla.org/III/clm/p1/wto-ifla.htm (2004-04-30)
[4] World Summit on the Information Society. http://www.itu.int/wsis (2004-05-02)
[5] Civil Society Declaration to the World Summit on the Information Society. http://www.itu.int/wsis/docs/geneva/civil-society-declaration.pdf (2004-05-02)

of cultural and societal issues for the information society, such as the issue of the so-called digital divide - the unequal distribution of the information and communication technologies and the skills and knowledge needed for their use throughout the world. Equality in access to the world's knowledge and cultural heritage is considered imperative for the proper development of new information and communication societies. Freedom of expression, right to privacy, right to participate, women's and children's rights, rights of persons with disabilities and rights of indigenous peoples are to be respected. The declaration points clearly to the centrality of human rights in developing information and communication societies.

Libraries as protectors of copyright

The obligation of librarians to provide free access to information makes them protectors of a basic human right - freedom of expression. But freedom of expression is not the only human right. The right of individuals to their intellectual property is another basic right guaranteed in international conventions and national constitutions. Copyright, or author's right, as the literal translation from a number of European languages to English would read, includes the right of the author to be recognised as the creator of her/his work. Copyright is believed to serve the greater public interest, because apart from guaranteeing a just reward for the creator, it is also considered to be an incentive for further creativity.

Creativity in the larger sense of the word includes creativity in science and scholarship, as well as in literature and the arts, and is one of the most important resources of every society. Although at first sight it looks as if creativity, usually related to culture, has little to do with economy, this is not so, and income from sales of literary and artistic works, especially from music and visual arts, is an important part of many states' revenues.

Copyright is the exclusive right of the author to control the reproduction of her/his work. The word reproduction normally covers various acts performed on the work, such as translation, publication, performance, adaptation, digitising, etc. The right of the authors to obtain a fair economic return on their intellectual property has been confirmed by copyright legislation of most countries and has to be respected by libraries considering the fact that copyright law impacts on most of what libraries do. Lending, copying, scanning, digitising, reproducing, summarising, describing, informing, playing, performing, displaying, etc., of literary, artistic and scholarly works are all the acts performed in libraries and at least some of the works kept in libraries are still protected by copyright.

Copyright is indeed a special kind of right, because it does not last forever, but is of limited duration, usually the life of the author followed by a certain number of years. The present tendency to prolong the duration of copyright is noticeable[6], and the early copyright laws offered much shorter periods of protection than they do today, but nevertheless copyright has always been a right of limited duration.

The direct connection between libraries and copyright has been acknowledged in the Council of Europe/EBLIDA *Guidelines on library legislation and policy in Europe*, another international document of importance for modern libraries (Bohrer, 2000). The guidelines recommend that libraries should be recognised as public organisations in national laws dealing with copyright and neighbouring rights (*ibid.*). This, in fact, means that there is a potential conflict between the interests of library users to freely access all works deposited in libraries and the interests of the authors and copyright owners in obtaining remuneration for the use of their intellectual property. This apparent conflict has to be resolved in the national copyright legislation in the best interest of both parties.

For countries in transition like Croatia, such a recommendation is quite a novelty, because until 2003 when the new Copyright Law was enacted, there had been almost no limitations to the use of materials and information sources in libraries and libraries had not been specifically mentioned in the previous Copyright Law. The only limitation known of was imposed on public libraries in Zagreb a few years ago by the collective society, whose intervention stopped libraries from lending music material outside the library premises.

The need for libraries to secure a balance between respect for authors' rights and the need to provide free access to as many users as possible has been well expressed in *The IFLA Position on Copyright in the Digital Environment*, issued in 2000[7]. According to IFLA, libraries are equally committed to supporting the needs of their users to gain access to copyright work as to respecting the needs of authors and copyright owners to obtain a fair economic return. Libraries have to actively defend copyright works against piracy, unfair use and unauthorised exploitation and to educate their users about the importance of copyright law. But, there is a possibility that in future all access to and use of information in digital format might have to be paid for and in that case libraries' ability to provide access to their users would be severely limited. IFLA has de-

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[6] For the more detailed discussion on the terms of copyright duration see for instance: Limitations and exceptions to copyright and neighbouring rights in the digital environment: an international library perspective. Available: http://www.ifla.org/III/clm/p1/ilp.htm (2002-12-13)

[7] The IFLA Position on Copyright in the Digital Environment. Available: http://www.ifla.org/III/clm/p1/pos-dig.htm (2003-03-18)

veloped the set of exemptions to copyright protection that it considers reasonable and would like national legislation to take care of these. The use of copyright works for educational and research purposes should be allowed, as well as the reformatting of such material to satisfy the needs of visually, aurally or learning disabled persons. Libraries should be allowed to offer their users the opportunity to browse digital material free of charge and to use it for private reading, listening or viewing on site or remotely. Copying a reasonable proportion of a digital work in copyright for personal, educational or research use should be allowed. The lending of published digital material should not be restricted by legislation. Libraries and archives should be free to convert copyright protected materials into digital format for preservation and conservation purposes[8].

In the autumn of 2003 the new Croatian Copyright Law harmonised with the EU Directive on Copyright was adopted by the Parliament[9]. The interested public, including members of the library profession, was very little involved in the process of drafting the law. In spite of all efforts of the Croatian Library Association, the draft of the new law could not be obtained from the State Institute for Intellectual Property, whose lawyers prepared the draft.

For all candidate countries harmonisation with the directive meant a general rise in the level of copyright protection. The bitter fight that EBLIDA led in the years preceding the enactment of the EU Directive on Copyright should be taken as a warning[10]. The directive had offered several exemptions, but only one is obligatory and has to be incorporated in national legislation. It is the exception from the reproduction right for temporary or transient reproductions made during a technological process. Other exceptions mentioned in the directive are optional and left to individual countries to include them if they so wish in their national copyright legislation. Germany, for instance, has opted for only two of those exemptions (Lewinski, 2002). Among the optional exemptions included in the Directive there is also one related directly to libraries. Exceptions may be permitted "in respect of specific acts of reproduction made by publicly accessible libraries, educational establishments or museums, or by archives, which are not for direct or indirect economic or commercial advantage".

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[8] Ibid.
[9] Zakon o autorskom pravu i srodnim pravima. Narodne novine 167/2003 and the Directive 2001/29/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 22 May 2001 on the harmonisation of certain aspects of copyright and related rights in the information society.
[10] See for instance the EBLIDA's statements and comments related to the EU Directive available at: http://www.eblida.org (2003-03-18)

The new Croatian Copyright Law permits reproduction of works for personal study and research, but this permission does not comprise reproduction of the whole book, printed music, cartographic materials and electronic databases. Libraries, archives and educational and research institutions are allowed to reproduce works in their possession but in one copy only. Works can be reproduced for the special needs of disabled persons, for the official needs of tribunals and state administration and for teaching and informing the public. Also the public lending right has been introduced for the first time. It remains to be seen how this provision is going to be enforced and who is going to cover the cost of these extra expenses for public libraries in the country.

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Cultural Products in the eEconomy and the "Creative Destruction"

by Delia Ruxandra Mucica

"For the last twenty years, neither matter nor space nor time has been what it was from time immemorial. We must expect great innovations to transform the entire technique of the arts, thereby affecting artistic invention itself and perhaps even bringing about an amazing change in our very notion of art."
"Just as water, gas, and electricity are brought into our houses from far off to satisfy our needs in response to a minimal effort, so we shall be supplied with visual or auditory images, which will appear and disappear at a simple movement of the hand, hardly more than a sign."
        Paul Valéry, La Conquête de l'ubiquité, in "Pièces sur l'art", 1932

It is striking how well these words, written 70 years ago, capture the essence of the current transformations of our lives, of our societies and of our economies, where creativity and innovation have led to new perceptions and uses of matter, space and time.

Around the same time, the Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter was equally concerned with creativity and innovation, analysing their place and role in the capitalist economy.

How did Schumpeter view creativity?

His concept of creativity is quite broad, as it is not limited to those which fall in the realm of intellectual property protection (industrial property and copyright). He includes other activities which demand a creative and innovative approach, such as "*new combinations*" in organisation, the creation of new business organisations, the opening of new markets, etc. He stresses that innovation and creativity as such do not have economic value and therefore are not a force in economic development unless they produce consequences. It is these consequences that are the true force behind economic development. Consequences of innovation and creativity are, in Schumpeter's view, the construction of new factories, the creation of new firms which are founded for the purpose of capitalising on specific innovation or the rise to leadership of new men etc.

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According to Schumpeter, creativity/innovation is not an economic fact, but an economic conduct[1] in the sense that it consists of the various forms of activities and actions that make possible the commercial exploitation of new creations/inventions. But all these various forms of activities and actions are made possible by the "entrepreneur". Thus, *creativity and innovation are an economic force inasmuch as they produce consequences - leading from a static to a dynamic model.*

The incessant drive to create and innovate and the "creative destruction"

The entrepreneur invests in innovation and creativity, introducing new products, over the production of which he has a "monopoly", in the sense of owning/holding exclusive intellectual property rights for the exploitation of these products. This "monopolistic" position in the production and provision of a good or service enables the entrepreneur to reap the benefits of his investment. As a result, this "monopoly" is the driving factor for other "entrepreneurs" to create new products with which to capture new "monopoly" profits and thus destroy old monopolies. New products appear, replacing "*old goods and livelihoods*", and monopoly profits are short-lived.

This constant cycle of creating new products which will discard and displace old products has been described by Schumpeter as "*creative destruction*". In this paradigm of "creative destruction", not only old products are being discarded, but firms, companies and businesses are equally being displaced, to be replaced by new firms and businesses.

In Schumpeter's view monopolies are *short-termed*, as they last only until a better, newer product comes along driving out the old one. Were they long-termed, there would not be sufficient incentives for entrepreneurs to invest in new innovations and continuously develop creativity in order to be and to remain competitive. The same holds true if such monopolies did not exist at all, as creativity and innovation would not be rewarded (benefits would not be retained by the innovative firm and by the creator, which would be a de-incentive).

In Schumpeter's view, "*creative destruction*" is not only a necessary characteristic, but, moreover, a normal feature of a capitalist economy. These incessant changes, materialised in cycles of "creative destruction", are keeping the

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[1] In his Theory of Economic Development, Schumpeter gives the following definition: "social facts are the result of human conduct and economic facts result from economic conduct: the latter may be defined as conduct directed towards the acquisition of goods [...] through production and exchange" (translated by the author of this paper from the Romanian edition of 1976).

economic system healthy by discarding the weaklings, promoting efficiency and thus raising living standards. Thus, *the regulatory environment should encourage and protect these "temporary monopolies" as the driving force of economic development and societal progress.*

In the present times, the changes brought about by creativity are accelerating at an unprecedented pace, thus making Schumpeter's phrase "*gales of creative destruction*" a fitting description.

Schumpeter's all embracing view on "creativity" is, in some ways, consistent with some of the definitions of "creative industries" currently under discussion[2]. In a somewhat narrower perspective, the term "creative industries" could be considered to refer, on the one hand, to the modes of organisation characteristic to industrial firms and, on the other hand, to the characteristics of the actual goods and services produced - the cultural product. Thus, "creative industries" are using creativity and innovation both as a "tool" in their activity of industrially producing and reproducing cultural goods and services and as "raw material".

Like any other industry, creative industries are part of the "creative destruction" cycle: new technologies appear, as well as new modes of organisation. In the process, firms and businesses within the "creative industry" sector may disappear or, in order to cope with the pace of creative destruction, they need to "reinvent" themselves and their operations.

Equally important, creative industries are inducing, provoking and promoting changes in society's preferences for cultural goods and therefore are determining their own creative destruction.

Cultural products and the rapid changes in consumer tastes

As a result of the "creative destruction" paradigm, "new" cultural goods are produced, reproduced and in the process "old" cultural goods are discarded. And, unless creative industries continue to produce "new" cultural goods, they are doomed to be displaced.

An important characteristic of cultural products is that they are *prototypes* and thus their production/reproduction bears high costs as well as high risks, since their success in the market depends largely on consumers' tastes and preferences.

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[2] Stuart Cunningham, "From Cultural to Creative Industries. Theory, Industry, and Policy Implications", in Culturelink Special Issue 2001: pp. 19-32.

There is now an almost general consensus that cultural goods and services are not "like other form of merchandise"(Recommendation 3.12, UNESCO Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development, Stockholm, 1998), as well as creative industries are not like any other business.

There is a critical distinction between expressions of creativity that lead to technological and technical progress and those expressions of creativity that are embedded in cultural products. Thus, if not many people are likely to feel as a loss the disappearance of the old-fashioned typewriter, rejoicing in the facilities offered by the latest generation PC, the same does not hold true for cultural goods and services.

Cultural products are not only commodities; they also have symbolic value and social value, having a critical contribution in shaping human and societal development. Cultural goods and services are the materialisation of artistic creativity, thus expressing cultural identities, distinctiveness and diversity and therefore are seen as an "*essential contribution that can be made ... to improving the quality of life, to the development of society...*"(Final Declaration of the World Congress on the Status of the Artist, UNESCO, 1997.). Thus, their production and provision represent an issue to be addressed by cultural policies. Preserving, promoting and nurturing these cultural and social values requires quite a complex approach, in which regulatory and non-regulatory interventions should be combined.

Public policies and cultural products in the e-environment

What are the most important issues that national public policies are traditionally concerned with and for which regulatory instruments are necessary? In a rather historical order, these are: protection and dissemination of creativity (intellectual property protection, fundamental human rights of freedom of expression and of access and participation to culture), protection of works created/cultural products (legal deposit, archives, and cultural heritage), support to production and provision of those cultural products that are considered to be public goods or semi-public goods (subsidised arts, public cultural institutions) and protection of creators and cultural workers (labour and social protection). It is only quite recently that creative industries have emerged on the agenda of policy-makers, although the approaches differ greatly from country to country.

National public policies have traditionally addressed the issue of the protection and promotion of artistic creativity through copyright law. The aims of the legal protection granted by copyright law are threefold: first, it is the recognition of the moral and economic rights of creators over their creations and the implementation of a regulatory system to protect these rights; secondly, it es-

tablishes the rights of the public in relation to their access to those creations; thirdly, it is the expression of public policies of promotion and support of creativity, of its dissemination and application and of encouraging fair trade and thus contributing to economic and social development. As with all laws, copyright law is national; therefore, the necessity for that law to be effective within the international trade of cultural products has led to the harmonisation of copyright legislation across countries. Exclusive rights acquired by a "creative industry" firm as rights holder (via assignment or licensing of rights) enable it to exercise a "monopoly" on the market in the production, reproduction and provision of specific cultural goods or services.

In the e-economy, market size increases from national to global and thus the benefits derived from these monopolies increase accordingly.

In this perspective, and taking into account the accelerating pace of "creative destruction", the *breadth* of protection seems to be far more important than the *length* of protection. Within the "creative destruction" paradigm, it is expected that in a limited span of time new cultural products would destroy the market share of the former, outmoded, products.

Thus the breadth of protection - enabling the rights owner to wholly exploit in multiple ways an intellectual work - would generate larger profits in a given time span, compared to a narrower protection over the same period. The length of protection is important especially for those cultural products which outlast shifts in consumers' tastes and preferences, thus having a longer (commercial) life.

In the analogue world, national public policies have identified and implemented a multitude of instruments, many of which can be easily adapted to the new logic of the e-environment, while others require a rather radical change from the traditional approaches. Thus, financial and fiscal instruments such as grants (*aides à la création, aides à la traduction,* etc.), tax relief schemes, subsidised loans, financial support for the publishing of books and cultural magazines, state aid for cinema, support for the production of audiovisual services and of other cultural goods, may need only slight regulatory adjustments in order to cover both analogue and digital products. On the other hand, policy objectives, such as preservation of cultural products, access and participation, require in-depth modifications of the existing regulatory framework, as well as additional measures in order to identify the appropriate answers to a rather simple question: *what happens to cultural e-products when, following the paradigm of "creative destruction", they become obsolete and therefore are supposedly discarded and destroyed?*

In other words, what should be done so that cultural products, given their symbolic and social values, do not disappear completely, once the consumers' tastes have changed?

In the analogue world, the answers to these concerns have been offered by the cultural heritage approach with its system of heritage institutions (archives, museums, libraries etc.) and by the legal deposit scheme.

Legal deposit of offline and online cultural products

Since the days of Fran‡ois I, the French king who instituted it in 1537 through his "*Ordonnance de Montpellier*" legal deposit has broadened its scope, encompassing now not only printed material but also any type of "library material", so called in order to distinguish it from "archival material". In most countries, legal deposit applies now to all types of printed material (books, serials, pamphlets, maps, etc.), to most audio and audiovisual material (phonograms, films, videograms, multimedia kits, etc.), as long as this material is made available to the general public and produced in multiple copies.

Through the acquisition, collection, recording and preservation of all "library material" produced in a country legal deposit guarantees each citizen *freedom of expression* and *access to information and culture*, without making any judgement on the value of the materials collected. Legal deposit schemes serve therefore a clear national public interest by ensuring the preservation and the availability of a nation's cultural heritage. However, access to legal deposit collections requires not only storage facilities, trained personnel, financial resources, but also the compilation and the publication of a national bibliography in order to ensure bibliographic control, as well as clear rules of availability in accordance to copyright law.

In the analogue world, with respect to traditional library material, these requirements have generally been met by the legal deposit bodies, with perhaps the exception of *legal deposit of films* and *legal deposit of broadcasts* in archives, which tend to be very costly and complicated.

Legal deposit of electronic products that may constitute "library material" (floppy-disks, CD-ROMs, CDs, mini-disks, DVDs, online material, etc.) is regulated only in a few countries and these regulatory approaches vary greatly. Electronic books or monographs, electronic journals, photographs, maps, electronic phonograms, multimedia products, electronic videograms, etc. are now a reality, although some of them do not represent the big boom heralded some years ago. Thus, while at present most of the journals are available both in electronic and print form, only some journals and books are available exclusively in electronic format. On the other hand, phonograms and videograms as well as entertainment software have expanded at an extraordinarily rapid pace.

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One of the many questions policy-makers and regulators need to answer is related to *the purpose of legal deposit of cultural e-products*: is the legal deposit preserving the content of the e-product or its format as well? In the analogue world, the answer to this question was rather simple, as a given content was incorporated in a given product and modifications of content lead to the production of a new form, a new object, which could not be changed by the legal depository body. The e-products, whether delivered offline or online, can, however, be changed in format, without alterations of content: the content of a floppy-disk can be transferred on a CD-ROM or vice-versa, on a hard-drive, can be printed and bound, etc. If legal deposit applies primarily to the preservation of information/content, then no obligation of deposit should exist for the electronic versions of the physical products. On the other hand, if format is equally to be preserved, than the legal depository bodies are faced with the problem of obsolescence and of the "creative destruction" of the software and hardware necessary to access the content of these e-products.

Another issue that needs to be addressed is that of the *content to be preserved*. The traditional approach of legal deposit was that all cultural goods made available to the public, by whatever means, are subject to the obligation of deposit and that no value judgement should be made. However, the sheer amount of e-products made available to the public (offline and online) requires policy-makers to decide whether all such products should be preserved or, as for broadcasts, an *appraising, selecting or sampling system* should be implemented. If the latter solution is favoured, then the traditional definition of legal deposit is changing, as it implies that *value judgements are being made*.

Yet another issue is that of *technological equipment* and means of storage, preservation and access. It is generally agreed that the traditionally physical support (paper, vinyl discs, etc.) lasts longer than the digital format. In addition, technologies (both hardware and software) change, and some products which were produced relatively recently are already unusable on today's equipment. Thus, it can be said that the digital revolution has accelerated the pace of "creative destruction" and introduced new problems of obsolescence of software and hardware. In order to solve this problem, legal deposit bodies could either emulate software and/or hardware or could decide on the migration of content into a different format, which might imply its changing. Therefore, in order to keep the cultural heritage available for future generations of users, large-scale programmes must be developed for its preservation.

There is, also, in terms of legal deposit, a major difference between the offline electronic products (CD-ROMs, CDs, DVDs, floppy-disks, mini-disks, etc.) and the online material. Offline material could be subjected to the same procedures of collection as legal deposit as the traditional analogue material,

whereas online material poses some specific problems: will it be sent in directly by the publisher/producer or will it be downloaded by the legal deposit body? Since downloading is reproduction, this way of accessing material is raising serious questions concerning copyright protection.

Other issues that need to be taken into account are those of making available on demand and of interactive material and whether legal deposit applies to them. In addition, many electronic resources - databases, web sites - are valuable because they provide links to other material and because they are continuously updated. Here, again, a possible solution for legal deposit would be that of appraising, selecting and sampling.

Another question to consider is that of access to the legal deposit collections of e-products. The e-environment allows for access of an unlimited number of persons to this material, while in the analogue world, this access is limited by the number of physical copies deposited.

These new possibilities of unhindered and unlimited access may put at serious risk the commercialisation of e-products and therefore the economic viability of creative industries. The losses incurred both by creators and by creative industries may rise to alarming levels if legal deposit is extended to e-products without being balanced by a thorough implementation of public lending schemes. And, as is known, public lending schemes are yet to be implemented in the vast majority of countries.

Therefore, the impact of the extension of legal deposit to e-products should be carefully assessed, prior to its implementation. A transitory solution, in this respect, could be the setting up of voluntary deposit agreements, which could constitute an ex ante impact assessment exercise, providing useful information for further conduct both to policy-makers and to the creative industries.

Another type of digital divide

The already "classical" digital divide is primarily addressing the issue of the fracture caused by inequality of resources, skills and means for access by the general public to online services: the *haves* and the *have-nots*.

However, another divide might emerge, in terms of content accessible and made available by heritage institutions and especially by libraries, as principal legal depository bodies. It is true that the preservation of electronic products is much more complicated, difficult and expensive than it ever was for books and other analogue material. However, legal deposit, with its two-fold aim of preservation and availability, is, still, an ideal instrument for bridging this divide. The legal and financial issues that the e-environment raises in relation to the preservation and availability of cultural products, and especially of online ma-

terial may be overcome by a repositioning of the traditional approaches of public policies.

Cultural e-products have, generally, a limited commercial life. This does not mean that their apparent obsolescence is reason enough for letting them be swallowed by the "gales of creative destruction", thus destroying part of our cultural heritage.

Author: Delia Mucica

Delia Mucica is senior counsellor to the National Office for Cinema in Bucharest and associate professor at the Bucharest University of Theatre and Film, lecturing on copyright, cultural legislation and policy, and media regulation and policy. She has studied law at the University of Bucharest and holds a PhD in economics. She has worked for several years as deputy director of a publishing house, as legal expert with the Standing Committee for Culture and Media of the House of Deputies and from 1998 to 2000 she served as secretary general of the Ministry of Culture. She is associated as an independent expert with various programmes of the Council of Europe, participating in a number of experts' missions, mainly in Southeastern Europe and the Caucasus region. She is the author of two books on copyright and related rights and a book on state monopolies in Romania, and recently the Council of Europe has published her work *Cultural Legislation. Why? How? What?*

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Executive Summary[1]

eCulture: The European Perspective was the title of a round table organised by CIRCLE (Cultural Information and Research Centres Liaison in Europe) and CULTURELINK in April 2003. The meeting brought together 81 researchers, policy- makers and practitioners from eCulture initiatives from 19 European countries, as well as Canada, Korea and Australia.[2]

The meeting stemmed from the recognition of the fact that during the last ten years the concept of information society has become central in practically all analyses of social and cultural development.[3] At the same time the emergence of a new eCulture, based on interactive digital applications of ICT, has been taken more or less for granted.

The approval of the concept of information society and eCulture is reflected in the keenness with which political decision-makers have taken it up at all levels - local, regional, national and transnational. For policy- makers "better and more accessible information" is an easy expression, something that is unequivocally good. It is good both from the point of view of social resources (human capital, intangible assets) and democracy (active, well-informed citizens). Furthermore, the idea of an information society and eCulture also implies - or, at least, to start with, did imply - expectations of economic growth and stability: opening up new sectors of production, increased productivity and the advent of "new" fluctuation-proof economies. In the background to such

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[1] The executive summary has been written by Diane Dodd using extracts from the introduction to the conference papers written by Ritva Mitchell for the conference reader, and the rapporteur reports for each conference session prepared by: Jordi Pascual i Ruiz, Péter Inkei, Lidia Varbanova, Nina Obuljen and Pavle Schramadei. Also thanks are due to the authors of the original papers and speakers who have been quoted in this summary report and consulted on its final wording. This summary is intended to introduce the main ideas that were floated, analysed and debated during the round table meeting. It is not intended to be an analysis of the papers which were documented and introduced in the introductory paper written by Ritva Mitchell.

[2] The papers presented in the meeting and made available in the conference reader (downloadable at www.circle-network.org or www.culturelink.org) analyse and point out problems, confirm or deconstruct accepted statements, and provide the background for thought for policy-makers and researchers with regard to information society and eCulture.

[3] The speech on the creation of the Global Information Infrastructure by the U.S. Vice President Al Gore at the World Telecommunication Development Conference, Buenos Aires, Monday, 21 March 1994 and the "European response", the Report: Europe and the global information society of July 1994 ("Bangemann report") by the EC Industry and Telecommunications Commissioner Martin Bangemann are generally considered as landmarks that started the new wave of information society analyses, discussions and debates.

expectations there lurk, however, often also national, trade and corporate interests and related attempts to gain a competitive advantage in world trade.

It is a difficult task to synthesise the richness of the discussions deriving from the round table but as a synthesis is required it seems necessary to move away from the round table structure and instead concentrate on the main ideas that emerged. These can be summarised as:

1. Time to spare: a better quality of life?
2. Access to and use of ICTs
3. eConsumers or eCitizens? Motivations and use of ICTs
4. Cultural content in the information society
5. Application of ICTs in the field of culture - the arts and heritage
6. Copyright and intellectual property rights
7. Archives and depositories - problems and solutions
8. Creative industries development in Europe
9. Cultural information and communication - whose responsibility is it?
10. Cultural diversity: inclusion and exclusion.

Time to spare: a better quality of life?

Béla Mohácsi opened the meeting with two examples of how ICTs are established in our everyday lives. He produced a credit card and a mobile phone from his pocket. He pointed out that we take these items for granted and yet massive computers lie behind these "everyday items" in our lives. And, these computers are generating cultural stereotypes of the people we are and the interests we have in order to sell us what we might or might not want.

Béla Mohácsi wondered whether life is richer as a result of ICTs. He asked whether ICTs have introduced new competition for our time and asked the participants to question the lack of leisure time in our lives.

Jos de Haan confirmed what was suspected: the ICT technology applied in the workforce has mostly benefited the work place in the Netherlands rather than the worker. In fact statistical data show that most people have slightly less time than earlier, and flexible working was not something that impacted on the trends in our working lives.

Jos de Haan quoted his paper (co-written with Frank Huysmans) which provided rich empirical evidence from the Netherlands that supported the idea that the impact of the Internet is by no means revolutionary but gradual. There is no denying that the ubiquity of computers and Internet connections have altered everyday activities that are now performed in different and digitised manner. Yet, if we look at social interactions, people's daily time schedules and the use of the media as an information source, it turns out that in practice the new ap-

plication of ICTs function mostly as mediators of old interpersonal contact-based relations and as supplementary sources of entertainment and information. One reason for that is the 24-hour limit of our daily time budget and our desire to maintain normatively ordered daily patterns in our activities.

The Dutch data come unquestionably from a country that has had strong and successful ICT access policies. In the year 2000 already 45% of the population spent at least fifteen minutes of their weekly leisure time at their computer. This is a good example of life trends that may be followed by other countries.

Access to and use of ICTs

The round table also looked at data from Canada. Dick Stanley presented a research paper written by Maureen Doody, Amanda Aizlewood and Jean-Pierre Bourdeau on the links among citizenship, civic participation and ICTs. The paper draws on recent research and, especially on an analysis of statistics from Canada's General Social Survey (2000) which focused on "access to and use of information communication technologies" and what comes next.

Despite Canada being a highly connected nation, the Canadian data reveals many obstacles to eCulture participation, looking specifically at the reasons for the non-use of the Internet. The four main obstacles, perceived by the public, were identified as:

1. cost
2. lack of access to computers/Internet
3. lack of time
4. lack of skills.

However, Dick Stanley questioned his own research results, wondering whether cost, access and skills should be viewed as barriers, or whether people just don't want it. Because Canada is one of the most connected countries, the cost is less than a beer and help is available if skills are needed.

Does society want ICTs? This was the question also raised by Josef Langer. He took a futuristic view, looking at the possible use or uptake of 3G (third generation) mobile phones. He made a distinction between the mobile phone and the Internet and how both are used in different ways to reflect different areas of our life patterns. He argued that the mobile phone is a situational medium and its use is to a large extent determined by the social definition of acceptable situations for its use, while the Internet is a medium for an individual and the formation of his/her identity, his/her "work" on the Self. In comparison with the line phone, the mobile phone expands the number of possible situations and its impact on cultural contents depends on how society defines the new situations and how individuals interpret these definitions. The Internet,

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in turn, offers to its users a new space, the cyber space to work on his/her Self, to find for the self new memberships, roles, emotions, partners, etc. The adoption and use of the Internet depends to a large extent on the "demand for virtual self" in a given society. The more deficient a society appears to an individual and his/her self in real life, the more demand there will be for the virtual alternative.

Thus, Langer suggests that the demand - for example, for the new 3G applications of mobile telephone technology - will depend on its potential to turn mobile telephones from a situational medium into a medium that offers virtual space for identity formation. To what extent and how this will happen will depend on the definition of the situation and people's work on their identities (organisation of the Self) in any given society.

In both the Dutch and the Canadian case one could say that access policies have to a certain extent fulfilled their purpose and now more complicated policy issues loom with regard to motivations and intelligent use of ICTs. Josef Langer makes us aware that if new 3G technology phones become acceptable parts of everyday life, access policies will become even less of an issue in ICT developed countries.

As a final note, caution was raised that we should not forget that many countries remain unconnected and international calls for access policies for all should not wane in the light of these new discussions. Even though the Internet undoubtedly represents a great advance and has enormous potential, that potential can be seen as successful only when it works for the whole world and not just the spear-tip of globalisation.

eConsumers or eCitizens: Public access and use of ICTs

Given that access policies may not be the key question in ICT developed countries, the question remains - what happens next? Both the Canadian and Dutch presentations looked at what people are using the Internet for, and they steered the discussion to reflect on whether it would be necessary to provide policies to stimulate eCitizenship or intelligent use of the Internet?

Jos de Haan demonstrated that although videotext, computers and Internet have in the use of the media replaced some more traditional activities like reading and radio listening, the replacement effects are still rather modest. The other interesting conclusion was that TV viewing has not changed in order to fit the ICT use at all.

Internet users in the Netherlands spend more time reading than non-users. However, if we look at the consequences on the level of contents, for example, the diversity (number) of sources for various types of information, the effects

are still rather incidental and small, i.e., people are not developing new interests by having a new avenue of access to information, rather they use ICTs to develop their already existing interests.

Two further observations from the Dutch data indicate that much of the practical ICT use took place at work, as part and parcel of employment obligations, and a fair share of the non-users were planning to become users during the year the interviews were carried out. These results indicate that the integration of people into the new eCulture is still an on-going process and it is by no means a simple result of personal motivation but depends to a large extent on the employment situation of people.

The Canadian survey is exemplary of the will of the Canadian government to invest resources not only in implementing "the information society" but also in analysing its social dimension and especially enhancing civic participation and citizenship through ICTs use. The data showed that civic participation did not seem to be directly linked to ICTs use; although "users volunteered somewhat more than non-users through a group or an organization (39% versus 21% respectively) and talked proportionately more about politics with other people (69% versus 48% respectively)". However, education appears as the most relevant explanatory variable of current civic engagement.

The ensuing debate touched upon the intelligent use of ICTs. Mat, Kovacs identified a resistance to using available facilities for purposes of participation in civil society or, rather, using ICTs for consumption purposes, i.e., for buying information. He added that the intelligent use of ICTs is only possible when artistic skills, technological skills and cultural skills are sufficiently advanced. Jos de Haan agreed that cultural competence had some relevance for broader digital use.

It is not a surprise that the Internet is used more for practical and entertainment purposes (search for goods and services, accessing government programmes/services, finding specific information, playing games) than for exchange of political opinions or other forms of political participation.

In conclusion, policies need to find a way of addressing motivation and active use of ICTs for the purposes of civil society and intelligent use of the Internet. Civic, social and cultural education need to go hand in hand with technological skills development.

Cultural content in the information society

If we speak about the intelligent use of the Internet we also need to talk about the content on the Internet. Kazimierz Krzysztofek made a case for the autonomy of culture and for the cultural content on the Internet. Amongst other

things he called for a re-culturalization of the economy. He stated that technology is more and more visible, while arts and culture are less and less visible. Anthropologically speaking, there is a developed sense of consumerism and less life-style cultural changes reflected in Internet use. An eCulture would mean activity, choice and avoidance of the globalisation trends that promote trivial and shallow forms of entertainment. As policy-makers, he argued, we still have a responsibility to provide an alternative to market driven supply.

In her introduction, Ritva Mitchell asked whether the relationship between the new applications of ICT and creativity were changing in the new eCulture. Don Foresta raised certain issues with regard to the absence of arts and culture from the communication space. He felt that real artistic cultural practice could not but influence the communication space.

Inter-active bandwidth enables real time artistic collaboration over long (or short) distances, absorbing radio, television, film, etc. Artistic exploration, Don Foresta argues, is the cornerstone of development of the communication space, and he advocates a partnership between arts and science.

In conclusion, a strong call was made, and unanimously supported, for cultural development in ICTs. Multi-media applications used creatively across the Internet would not only stimulate new forms of using ICT but also change the way we view and use the communication space.

Application of ICTs in the field of culture: The arts and heritage

After making a case for the application of culture and creativity in the communication space, the report will now discuss the opposite situation - the application of ICTs in cultural initiatives.

Dona Kolar-Panov introduced the subject of European policies with regard to digitisation of culture and cultural heritage in particular. eEurope initiatives and recommendations have been formulated on the basis of DigiCULT and other reports which analyse the current state and possible developments in the larger European area. Dona highlighted some of the pressing issues that emerged from these reports and recommendations such as:

- the need for the development of national visions and strategies for ICT implementation and use in the scientific and cultural sector;
- the challenges of fostering multilingual digital culture;
- issues of access and/or e-commerce.

Dona Kolar-Panov added her concern that major gaps still exist. She pointed out that even in richer EU countries it is estimated that 90-95% of cultural heritage institutions were unable to embark on digital projects, as they lack not just money but often also skills. Dona Kolar-Panov called for governmental assis-

tance to help arts institutions to digitise their work. She cautioned against the danger of turning heritage into products, but welcomed the initiatives by arts institutions to digitise their heritage. Supporting the use of ICTs in venues may also bring ICTs closer to the people, she argued. On this premise, some key initiatives were discussed and commented upon.

The contribution entitled *Online art museums and virtual museum participation* written by Olga van Oost, An Lavens and Caroline Pauwels, and presented at the round table by An Lavens, stands out as a worthwhile example of innovative research on eCulture. It looks at the development of museums websites and virtual offers.

Museum websites are a recent and very significant phenomenon, of which there is much talk nowadays, but the kind of international comparison that we were presented with, is still a novelty. It is rarely analysed, and the relevance of the following questions is rarely taken into account:

- Can virtual museums increase the number of physical visitors or not?
- Can online museums reach new kinds of public?
- Could it be proved that online visitors would follow-up their visit with a "real" visit?
- Do virtual websites open up new access possibilities for those with physical disabilities?

An Lavens made us realise that among the new kinds of public reached via the Internet include distant visitors browsing online museum sites from different continents.

An interesting consequence of the research was that in preparing the digital versions of their museums, these institutions were forced to face the question of self definition and seek their own answers. The researchers claim that changes in the past several decades raised serious identity dilemmas in the museum community. A challenge, which - paradoxically - may be true, is posed by the explosive advances of museums worldwide, creating a phenomenon that Josef Langer called "museumisation" in the subsequent discussions.

Another interesting question that museums needed to ask was how to commit the visitor to its site - what advantage could be provided to the visitors to make them want to visit regularly?

Although the research is not yet complete, it could be concluded at least that digitisation efforts were valuable but in inconsistent ways. Research of this nature should be encouraged to explore valuable digitisation projects.

Another application of ICTs in the field of culture is that of digital publishing. Daniela Živković demonstrated the challenges which need to be overcome

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with the invention of digital publishing, not only for the publisher but for the book trade and librarianship. Even definitions of what constitutes a book need to be revised. Until now the ISBN code defined the book but it required the ISBN specialists to define "any medium to be read".

Daniela Živković, in her statement entitled *Old contents, new industries*, reminded us that the definition of the book, applied - among others - by ISBN agencies, used to elaborate on the physical properties of the object. Nowadays it is defined by its content and function, enabling virtual, digital books to be included as well. The digital age created technologies that rendered century-old concepts obsolete. For example the 'print on demand' process has changed the creation of books: instead of a one-shot action, copies are indeed produced on demand. Culture on demand, the speaker remarked, reminding us of Delia Mucica's presentation which began with Paul Valéry's prophesy, namely, that culture will be brought to people's homes - 'on demand' - like water or electricity.

Closely linked to the book theme is the issue of libraries. Aleksandra Horvat discussed the fundamental transformations in libraries and the profession of librarians which took place relatively recently. The problem is that libraries are not providing the documents that are no longer stored on their shelves, or in fact on anyone's shelves, having virtual appearances only. The new environment necessitates longer time and greater skills for training of the library users, which earlier used to take a few minutes at most.

In some instances of the application of ICTs in culture, the arts and heritage are exciting and challenging, innovative and reflective; in other cases, such as libraries, they bring with them more urgent practical problems that need to be solved. The question of copyright, archiving and deposits, are tackled in the subsequent chapters as the relevance of both deserve their own section.

Copyright and intellectual property rights

The session on the use and application of ICTs opened up a wide, problem-oriented discussion on copyright. We learned from Aleksandra Horvat that librarianship is concerned with copyright laws, which were difficult to manage against the obligation to give the public access to information. Her presentation clearly pin-pointed the problem that libraries are both the protectors of copyright and the providers of free access to information. The contradiction between the two duties of libraries, especially public ones, is evident.

The question of how to respond to these issues was discussed. Saskia Leef-sma talked about a period of civil disobedience from libraries and Aleksandra Horvat about the need for libraries to join together and be a stronger voice

against "rights" holders. However, the debate moved quickly to a more general acceptance statement that copyright laws need complete restructuring.

It was repeatedly stressed during the round table that concerns about more and more sophisticated means of charging library users (or other consumers of culture) were not formulated to provide more money for creators but to stem the overwhelming influence of large conglomerates. The participation of Joost Smiers in this session was acknowledged in appreciation of his renowned efforts to find new avenues for the solution of contradictions around copyright in culture.

Joost Smiers said that the digital world meant that it was unavoidable to talk about copyright. Corporate interest is stronger than that of individual artists, which meant that policies are all-important to help create a clear balance. The EU and the USA administrations do not do enough to support the public's right to information - it seems to be acceptable that "you have to buy to have the right". Joost suggested limited ownership rights for authors as a possible solution. Myriam Diocaretz spoke about the open archives initiative and the idea that publishers should be forced to publish after a six-month free period on the Internet. Everyone agreed that alternative systems were necessary and more discussion was needed. Don Foresta asked for the redefinition of authors' rights, to challenge the established laws on copyright and in doing so bring the creators into the discussion.

An introduction, given by the members of a local Multimedia Institute (mi2), Zagreb, focused on the issues of copyright and intellectual property rights. The presentation was held in the cultural club entitled 'mama', being a public interface of the mi2. The activities of mi2 embrace both theoretical and practical ways of interconnection between culture and ICT. The meeting was fortunate to have this workshop with young music artists who had their own experience to share. Copyright legislation imposes restrictions on their creative freedom and ability to offer their own works to be creatively adapted by others. The participants realized from first hand that many artists want their work to be copied and adapted and to have that same freedom with the work of others. Having your work copied and/or adapted can be an honour and is often a source of pride and reassurance for artists. However, the current copyright laws restrict that freedom.

The local artists reported the development of an alternative to copyright. They had developed their own solution by creating a signed contract that artists could adopt which works as an agreement to allow "creative adaptation" of their work. The project discussed at the meeting was a socio-cultural strategy of resistance against the globalising legal hegemony of intellectual property, starting the "copyleft" movement.

Other issues touched upon during the workshop demonstrated how local social action in a globalised technological environment could be achieved. The workshop produced a view of cyberspace utopia which offers a liberal unitary vision of social space.

The presentation of this local initiative enabled the participants to contextualise the discussions on copyright, ownership and freedom of "creative adaptation".

As a conclusion, Jesse Marsh strongly recommended CIRCLE, or some other organisation, should prepare and organise a conference fully dedicated to the issue of copyright. The session made it clear that libraries, as well as museums (and archives, as pointed out by Aleksandra Horvat) are institutions eminently affected by these questions.

Archives and depositories: Problems and solutions

Dona Kolar-Panov stated that the EU's lack of digitisation policies leads easily to incompatible storing systems, waste of resources, lack of clear priorities, and loss of valuable heritage items.

Delia Mucica's paper further discussed the increased speed and quantity with which cultural products are being created, brought into the market and then lost. Cultural industries strengthen the need for new ideas and visions to replace and destroy the "old ones". Yet this approach, which may be appropriate in the case of technologies, can lead to losses of important cultural values of "content industries". Mucica's look at "creative destruction" opens up an interesting perspective of the "lasting value" of the products of eCulture and the lasting value of eCulture itself.

Delia Mucica advocated a depository system, but this raised questions that need to be answered by policy-makers: How can we safeguard our cultural heritage in a constantly changing digitised setting? Should you safeguard the format of the product, as well as the content? And, most importantly - as it will be an impossible task to save everything - who will make value judgements on what to safeguard and what not. Lidia Varbanova added to these questions more practical issues, like who pays and why? And who benefits?

In conclusion, this area requires far more thinking and practical solutions. Those responsible need to be identified and their methodology questioned. However, the debate is urgent as heritage items are being lost forever.

Creative industries development in Europe

Jesse Marsh noted that while the cultural sector was readily available for use by the industrial sector, one should be aware of revenue models and economic rationale when embarking on new projects.

Geoffrey Brown presented a study commissioned by the EU. This study, once it is completed, will help us to understand better the complex picture of cultural industries in Europe and policies needed to assist them. The study starts by pointing out that there is an information deficit that seems to be felt by the EU institutions in respect of developing the European culture/creative industries. It moves on to take a closer look at the constraints and conditions for further progress in some key policy domains, and proceeds to identify the main themes which underlie the two main EU programmes, eEurope and eContent, which should be more explicitly emphasised in their future implementation. The authors have already identified a set of recommendations which include the following:

- creating model eCulture organizations;
- developing technology infrastructure services for rent or help;
- promoting eCulture education;
- dealing with challenges of relatively remote geographical and socio-economic areas, etc.

Joost Smiers felt that there was blurring of the discussion if one talked about cultural industry or creative industry. He felt it would clarify the discussion to talk about the development of small and medium-sized businesses and exploitation of creative resources. Supporting the industrial sector and SME's in remote areas may be a positive policy option, but he warned that this was clearly quite different from support for the cultural and creative sector.

Colin Mercer's contribution cast a critical look ("reality test") on the overoptimistic approach to creative industries and an interesting perspective on the creative use of the new applications of ICT in the innovative use of old and new cultural contents. On the one hand, despite all the hype, the firms having as their principal function the production of cultural goods and services are still rather small in scale in comparison with such giant companies as Exxon Mobile, WalMart, General Motors, etc., and yet, on the other hand, there is accruing empirical evidence that these ICT applications are used not only for routine administrative purposes but for a more effective and innovative use of cultural contents in actual cultural production processes.

Colin Mercer opens up with positive vistas on creativity in the new eCulture, although Delia Mucica's paper reminds us of Schumpeter's idea of the "eternal battle" between old monopolies and the forces destroying them for the purpose

of establishing new monopolies. Delia Mucica suggests that eCulture might introduce similar "gales of creative destruction". Competition, advent of new technologies, new modes of management and opening up of new markets may destroy whole sub-sectors of creative industries; furthermore, some sub-sectors may "commit a suicide", by promoting such cultural products and preferences that, in the final analysis, make their stock of creative ideas and visions obsolete.

Supporting content creation is a continuous job and it was reiterated that "creative content" and possibilities for "creative adaptation" were necessary for the inspiration of new products. Therefore, funding for the arts sector, independent of cultural industry objectives, was a must.

In conclusion, the European Union must project a stronger and more confident image and policies to support artistic creativity. The effective use of ICT to enhance cultural content is important but without the content there is no cultural industry.

Cultural information and communication: Whose responsibility is it?

A considerable financial and human effort has been invested in a variety of digital cultural information initiatives across Europe. These are happening in international, national and local bodies, as well as networks, libraries and other documentation centres. However, these activities are largely fragmented and there are many obstacles to making such initiatives successful, economical and sustainable over time.

Some of the challenges include the diversity of approaches to digitisation; the risks associated with the use of inappropriate technologies and inadequate standards; the challenges posed by long term preservation and access to digital objects and the lack of synergy between cultural and new technology programmes.

The following questions remain -

- What are we hoping to build, how, and for whom?
- What is needed for it to succeed?
- Can we ensure different perspectives and approaches?
- How multilingual should and can it be?
- Can we include existing resources (catalogues, documentation centres, etc.) to divide and carry all that work or should we start all over again?
- Can we unify the European cultural terminology?
- How much training and how many trainers and trainees do we need?

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- How can we gain discipline in information updating in order to avoid a data trash environment?
- Will our efforts contribute to a cohesive society and a successful knowledge-based economy in Europe?

Some exemplary initiatives were brought together in the round table on -eCulture to discuss these questions. The aim was to discuss challenges for the future, gaps and responsibilities. These included the following:

Cultural policies in Europe: A compendium of basic facts and trends

This is a trans-national project initiated by the Steering Committee for Culture of the Council of Europe. The project has been running as a joint venture with the European Research Institute for Comparative Cultural Policy and the Arts (ERICarts) since 1998. The compendium is a compilation of cultural policy country profiles.

Canadian eCulture strategies

The presentation highlighted the Canadian Culture Online Program and especially the gateway to Canadian Cultural Content Online (Culture.ca) and the Creative City Network of Canada.

Digital Culture in Barcelona

Various initiatives were highlighted which are being driven by the City Council of Barcelona, including the CD-card multimedia cultural agenda; the Barcelona Cultural Portal; the Internet in Barcelona's libraries; the WAP city festival and virtual theatre.

On-the-move.org: the performing arts traveller's toolkit

An initiative instigated by members of the Informal European Theatre Meeting, as a bottom up initiative responding to artists needs for information.

Thesaurus on Cultural Policies: Development and management

The paper reports an initiative of the Boekmanstichting study centre for arts, culture and related policy to create a thesaurus for the cultural policy sector. This initiative has been embraced by the RECAP network (resources for cultural policy), a network of documentation centres which hope to develop the thesaurus into a multi-lingual tool that could be applied to cultural policy documentation centres world-wide and used to standardise key search terminology.

Culturelink WWW Resource Centre

A portal to information including the *Culturelink review*; cultural policy database; cultural development database; world-wide cultural eResource; conference announcements; members and partners' databases. They discussed new plans to provide an interactive information service for research and co-operation in the field of cultural development.

CPRO - Cultural policy research on-line

This is an on-line database of research studies, conference reports and experts papers concerning the arts and culture in a political, social, educational, historical or management context. It is an initiative of the Boekmanstichting study centre for arts, culture and related policy and RECAP.

IFACCA on-line resources

A world-wide network of funding bodies for the arts with an on-line service including discussion forums, daily news updates, ACORNS (link centre) and D'Art survey research.

Culturenet portal, Croatia

The presentation of a local culture-oriented information Internet portal was an example of an independent national cultural portal in Europe. The site has national relevance and is supported by the government but it is run by a private holding.

In conclusion it was agreed that the current initiatives cover a wide range of cultural information which needed to be linked (and where possible standardised) to help the user steer through the information available on-line.

Despite huge amounts of available information, real co-operation could only work after face-to-face meetings and therefore opportunities for networking in Europe were increasingly important.

The Internet has sharpened people's awareness and interest in sharing information, promoting dialogue and developing co-operation projects. Unfortunately, resources to finance the hightened expectations to co-operate does not match the needs.

The discussion that followed looked at the variety of offers. In conclusion, the participants could not find immediate solutions to the question: What are we hoping to build? There was an identifiable common goal to provide the information infrastructure for the cultural sector, and models vary. It may be that we need a portal of portals?

One conclusion was that it is very difficult to maintain, upgrade and verify information without adequate resources. Money and research is needed to in-

vest in the existing infrastructures. As a practical policy recommendation it was suggested that webmasters from all identifiable eCultural information structures should be given an opportunity to work together and to share information. Encouraging initiatives to work together would minimise duplication and would have a positive effect through the sharing of technical skills.

Cultural diversity: Inclusion and exclusion

Some of the papers which have already been discussed, also took up the issue of cultural diversity and inclusion/exclusion. The Canadian data focussed on the use of the Internet by ethno-cultural communities and recent immigrants. It indicated that the Internet was for the members of these communities and groups sometimes the only source of information from their native culture or news from their country of origin.

The Canadian study showed that settler communities are some of the most connected and most diverse users of ICT. They use the Internet to develop and explore their own ethno-culture and identity and also to talk with other members of their family who may still be living abroad. For example, Chinese and Asian settlers are ten times more likely to use the Internet than the rest of the Canadian population.

The above is a positive trend, but at the same time other marginal groups showed other trends. Dick Stanley confirmed that the aboriginal population used ICTs only marginally and that resistance to use was strong, raising the issue of people's right to be excluded. Currently, people can elect not to be connected but, we asked, will that be the case in the future? In an increasingly digital age, where participation in civil society in future may be dependent on digital infrastructure and use - is it possible that those who are unconnected, will have no voice?

This resistance to use and participation was also explored by Jesse Marsh. He built a strong arguments for "cultural diversity as human capital", while deconstructing the narrow "information society" that financial and market globalisation is creating. He presented a frameworks of analysis, using four different stances or attitudes to ICT:

1. "networked inter-culturality", meaning that cultural diversity and information society is seen as opportunity and an asset;
2. "subtle differentiation", meaning that cultural diversity and information society is perceived as an asset but also as a possible threat;
3. "compliant homogeneity", meaning that cultural diversity and information society is seen as an opportunity but also an obstacle;
4. "defensive entrenchment", meaning that cultural diversity and information society is seen as an obstacle and a threat.

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His study was a test to see whether cultural diversity can be seen as an obstacle or an asset, and whether information society is an opportunity or a threat.

In conclusion he states that strategies aimed at enhancing technical literacy and cultural literacy will help people to relate critically (and, obviously, also self-critically) to other cultures and collective creativity, which - in contrast to the sheer construction of the state-of-the-art infrastructures - leads to the formation of free "civil networks" and "creative milieus" that combine local innovations with artistic creativity and non-programmatic encounters in the public spaces and communication channels.

Another challenging framework was based on geography, as topics such as heritage, culture, networks, technology and others are not the same in the centre of Europe, the European periphery, or the Mediterranean basin. Space still matters in digital societies.

Kazimierz Krzysztofek likewise questioned the Internet content and the uncritical claims about the benefits accruing from new applications of ICT. He also warned against "content blind" trends. Educational and cultural policies should develop standards that at the same time safeguard people's access to global culture and let them maintain their national, regional and local cultures that give them anchorage and identity in the globalising world. The fight against "McWorldisation" is, however, less important than identifying and maintaining what is important and culturally lasting in national, regional and local cultures from the point of view of cultural diversity and multiplicity.

If we aim at a sustainable information society that is supported by a cohesive eCulture, there is a need to overcome narrow economic and industrial interests and to introduce special policies to support "freewheeling" creativity, innovations and cultural diversity. The future of European culture may depend on the competencies of planners, administrators and managers to conceive such policies and the willingness of financiers to fund them. The conclusions from the round table suggest that the coincidence of these competencies with systematic and long-term funding is still rather incidental.

Colin Mercer tried to explain how the skills in using new applications of ICT can - or could - be used to impute new creative contents to value production chains, not only to enhance economic values but to render in digital form the basic skills and techniques of "...memory, association, gestures..." of an oral culture (for example Aboriginal one in Australia) without losing its unique non-linear nature. Mercer argues that if this kind of potential is researched and explicated for practical use without restraints set up by traditional epistemologies, disciplinary practices and economic ideologies, the new vistas would be opened in respect to the three C's: Convergence, Creative Industries and Civil Society.

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Convergence presupposes new ways of seeing and treating the contents and linking them to telecommunications and computing industries for more effective "value chains". This also means that in cultural industries the role of creators, producers and inter-mediators as content providers, brokers, curators and navigators becomes increasingly more important on national, regional and local levels. At the same time, we need more research on the economic significance of creative industries, their impact on the formation of cultural capital and their effects on people's local, regional, national and global identities. In promoting identities and the sense of place and in strengthening affiliations and generally accepted forms of conduct, creative industries can enhance culture as a "capillary structure for democracy, autonomy and self-expression", that is, as a prime mover of civil society. Yet culture in all its forms, including creative industries, can also be the opposite, a maker of criteria for inclusion and exclusion.

While focusing on rather different topics, many speakers mentioned in their papers the need to have truly effective strategies for further development of this field, both at the level of trans-national and national policies, as well as to work on developing inter-sectorial approaches. It is only through synchronized interaction of all these approaches and policies that it will be possible to find efficient and sustainable solutions to some pressing problems and needs of this field.

Conclusions and Recommendations

by Diane Dodd, Sanjin Dragojević and Cas Smithuijsen

The advent of eCulture has opened various prospects and many new issues to be discussed and researched. The round table has highlighted a number of such issues. In drawing up these conclusions the attention was focussed on the issues that have particular implications for policy deliverance. In the summing up, four clear areas of attention emerged:

- stimulating equal access and intelligent use of ICT
- creating greater opportunities for creativity
- promoting further digitisation
  (cultural heritage, books, various collections, etc.)
- coordinating free information supply.

Stimulating equal access and intelligent use of ICT

A number of countries have developed good access policies to enable their citizens access to and use of ICTs. Some of these policies are highlighted in this book. These initiatives are applauded, but there are still many countries that are drastically behind in technology stakes. Countries lagging behind need to be encouraged to take similar initiatives, and it would be a welcome development if advanced regions could share some responsibility for the less advanced ones in this respect.

Issues regarding access in the so-called "developed countries" have been discussed many times, but the authors in this publication go one step further. They discuss the post-access policy issues, i.e., not accessibility as such, since various studies indicate that the primary use of ICTs is directed towards entertainment and reconfirming the already existing social relations. This trend is accompanied by the tendency to avoid the active use of ICT to make stronger individual and group impacts on local social life and development. So, in order to help national societies and cultures to contribute to the development of 'a better Europe', policies have to be designed to support the 'intelligent use' of ICTs. This point is directed towards advanced nations and international organizations that could be said to have established successful 'access' policies. In these countries new policies are now needed to stimulate eCitizenship, civic participation and 'intelligent use' of the Internet.

A danger was detected in the seductive appeal of technology which often over-shadows the harder issue of 'quality in content'. One could argue that there

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needs to be a shift from the educational trend, where children are taught technological skills as an end in itself, rather than a vehicle to understand, create, learn and appreciate 'content'. 'Real' education needs to remain based in classical appreciation of art, history and science. It is widely acknowledged that 'cultural competence', and therefore 'intelligent use' of technology, has some relevance for broader choices related to cultural, civic and social education. Therefore, wider education, concentrating on cultural, civic and societal skills, is considered an important societal need which should not be inferior to technological skills development. Technical skills are still necessary, but as technology changes rapidly it is not essential for today's children to learn today's skills. Instead, they should learn how to think, appreciate, analyse and learn.

On another issue of use, we need also to consider the right to resist technology - for example, the resistance to ICT use by aboriginal populations. Currently, people can elect not to be connected, but will that be the case in the future or will this prove to be an unplanned and undesired form of social exclusion? In an increasingly digital age, where participation in civil society in future may be dependent on digital infrastructure and use, is it possible that those who are unconnected will have no voice? Will we have freedom to opt out?

International research is urgently needed to investigate how the use of ICT is keeping or transforming social and cultural patterns of communication within different social settings, particularly where marginalised groups or communities are concerned. At the same time, policies should be implemented that ensure that information remains available to unconnected citizens and that the voices of unconnected citizens can still be heard in civic and political debates.

Creating more opportunities for artistic creativity

Appropriate use requires intelligent choices and this is how the issue of content needs to be addressed. A true eCulture is related particularly to the intelligent choice on the Internet. The poor presence of arts and culture in the communication space remains to be addressed. Policies are needed so that real artistic cultural practice can influence the communication space. For example, multi-media applications used creatively across the Internet could not only stimulate new forms of using ICT but could also change the way we view and use the communication space. Policies are needed that could support and provide cultural content to counter-balance trivial and shallow forms of entertainment on the Internet. A partnership between arts and science is advocated, whereby the arts could be used to influence the communication space and science could open up new prospects for creative artists.

The question of creativity calls into question current copyright regulations. It has been argued that "creative content development" relies on inspiration from

current arts products, and yet copyright laws can restrict "creative adaptation". Arguably, copyright laws no longer serve the individual artist but support big business. For this reason, copyright laws urgently need to be completely revised and restructured taking into consideration the creative artists' property rights and the publics' right to free information.

It is recognised that entrepreneurship in the cultural field is valuable for job creation and economic impact. However, caution needs to be maintained. The cultural sector is readily available, but also sometimes vulnerable, for use by the industrial sector. Policies are needed to help guard against merciless exploitation, e.g., overuse of heritage sites, good practice examples need to be shared to avoid turning all culture or heritage into "products".

At the same time, cultural industry would be stagnant without new content. Funding should therefore prioritise experimental and creative arts, which in turn can foster entrepreneurship. A good balance between Culture and Art with cultural industries needs to be sought and policies that encourage new content creation should be implemented. This means supporting exploration and experimentation in the Arts, particularly those produced by NGO's, art tanks or laboratories.

At the European level many countries are perceived to be lagging behind where content and creative industries are concerned, particularly in comparison to the USA. The European answer is missing on how to co-ordinate numerous national, regional and local initiatives in this field, taking into account the multilingual and multicultural aspects of Europe and its cultures. An information deficit is felt by EU institutions with regard to developing the European creative industries. Information exchange and models of working need to be addressed to provide for education, technical infrastructure, information flow and, particularly, exchange amongst the existing cultural industry models.

Promoting further digitisation
(cultural heritage, books, various collections, etc.)

International, national and local visions and strategies are required for ICT implementation and use in the scientific and cultural sector. It is recognised that digitisation projects are still badly needed in many EU countries. Many cultural heritage projects cannot undertake such projects due to expense. Intergovernmental, governmental and local assistance is required to support arts institutions that wish to digitise their work. At the same time, inter-governmental bodies need to advocate universal digitisation and storage policies for heritage items. Equally, it is recommended that policies should be adopted that foster multilingual digital culture. The greatest need for digitisation undoubtedly lies in the field of cultural heritage but, unfortunately, funding for cultural indus-

tries and efficient use of ICT in the field of culture is usually directed to cultural entrepreneurship rather than heritage projects. National, regional and local cultural policies, as well as cultural funds and institutions in charge of cultural development, should be balanced to cover the broad field of eCulture equally, including the more traditional fields of culture, such as the arts and heritage.

For the collective memory of European cultures, collections have a broad social impact. They include museums and archives (which are also called public collections), institutional collections (such as documents and artefacts of theatres, galleries, NGOs), as well as private and individual collections. All of them give us the basic and background for cultural reconstruction and re-contextualisation of our common experiences and memories. It is therefore strongly recommended that the authorities dealing with national cultural policies define their long-term priorities, the necessary programmes and initiatives, legal and financial measures aimed at placing in an equal position all types of collections, especially as regards digitisation and public access.

Co-ordinating free information supply

There is a considerable financial and human effort invested in a variety of digital cultural information initiatives across Europe. These are taking place on international, national and local levels, as well as on the level of networks, libraries and other documentation centres. It is therefore strongly recommended that webmasters, editors and content providers from all identifiable eCultural information structures should be given the opportunity to work together, to share information, minimise duplication of effort, and exchange of technical skills.

A joint effort is needed to develop the European virtual collections and a collective awareness amongst all European citizens. Such efforts will substantially contribute to the development of a sense of European citizenship, as well as a common sense of responsibility for our collective memory and further cultural development. There are still substantial imbalances within and between the European countries and regions where the eCulture contents production is concerned, which need international action related to the establishment of new European programmes and projects aimed at making positive shifts in this respect. The new EU member-countries, as well as the candidates need to coordinate their efforts with other European countries in order to facilitate and develop their mutual cultural cooperation and exchange, as well as the mobility of artists and professionals in culture.

According to the above mentioned problem areas, twelve concrete **key recommendations** have been selected which pinpoint the main policy issues that

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arose during the discussions. They also highlight areas of work that policy-makers may be interested to pursue in their quest to develop an eCulture.

1. Author's rights, public's rights and policy rights and wrongs!

Copyright laws came under fire, three times. First, copyright laws no longer serve the individual artist but instead usually support large businesses. Secondly, "creative content development" relies on inspiration from current arts products and yet copyright laws can restrict "creative adaptation". Thirdly, concerns were highlighted about increasingly sophisticated means of charging library users (or other consumers of culture) for information that should be freely available to the public.

It is therefore strongly recommended that copyright laws be completely revised and restructured taking into consideration the creator's property rights and the public's right to free information.

2. Cultural industries development

It is recognised that entrepreneurship in the cultural field is valuable for both job creation and economic impacts. However, caution needs to be maintained. While the cultural sector is readily available for use by the industrial sector, policies should also be used to help guard against merciless exploitation e.g., overuse of heritage sites. At the same time, there is no cultural industry without content. Funding should therefore prioritise experimental and creative arts, which in turn can foster entrepreneurship. A good balance between Culture and Art and cultural industries needs to be sought.

It is therefore strongly recommended that good practice examples be shared in an attempt to avoid turning all culture or heritage into "products" and policies should be engaged to encourage new content creation. This means supporting exploration and experimentation in the arts particularly those produced by NGOs, art tanks or laboratories. Other means of support (rather than direct grants) could be given to some small/medium-size private businesses when they are capable of finding other avenues of funding, from say banks or business financiers.

3. European answer for the field of content and creative industries

At a European level many countries are perceived to be lagging behind from the point of view of productivity where content and creative industries are concerned, particularly in comparison to the USA. A European answer is missing as to how to co-ordinate numerous national, regional and local initiatives in this field particularly taking into account multilingual and multicultural aspects of Europe and their cultures. An information deficit is felt by EU institutions with

regard to developing European creative industries. Information exchange and models of working need to be addressed that provide education, technical infrastructure, information flow and, particularly, exchange of and amongst existing cultural industry models.

It is therefore strongly recommended that funding be made available to help support exchange of information in the cultural industry sector. This may mean undertaking special international programmes supported by the EU and other international, national and local institutions with the aim to make already existing sources in the field more available but also to establish new initiatives such as multilingual translation programmes to enforce better exchange and dialogue.

4. The cultural heritage versus cultural entrepreneurship

The biggest need for digitisation undoubtedly lies in the field of cultural heritage but, unfortunately, funding for cultural industries and efficient use of ICT in the field of culture is usually directed to cultural entrepreneurship rather than heritage projects.

It is therefore strongly recommended that national, regional and local cultural policies as well as most important cultural funds and institutions in charge of cultural development should balance their measures in the broad field of eCulture equally, thereby including more traditional fields of culture, such as heritage.

5. Digital cultural information and networking

There is considerable financial and human effort invested in a variety of digital cultural information initiatives across Europe. These are happening in international, national and local authorities, as well as in networks, libraries and other documentation centres.

It is therefore strongly recommended that webmasters, editors and content providers from all identifiable eCultural information structures should be given the opportunity to work together to share information, minimise double work and lend technical skills to each other. Policies to support networking and face-to-face meetings are needed.

6. Intelligent choice

A true eCulture would mean intelligent choice on the Internet. At the same time, the poor presence of arts and culture in the communication space needs to be addressed. Policies are needed so that real artistic cultural practice can influence the communication space. For example, multimedia applications used creatively across the Internet could not only stimulate new forms of using ICT but could also change how we view and use the communication space.

It is therefore strongly recommended that policies should aim to support and provide cultural content to counterbalance trivial and shallow forms of entertainment on the Internet. Partnership between arts and science is advocated whereby the arts could be used to influence the communication space.

7. Cultural co-ordination

A development of international, national and local visions and strategies for ICT implementation and use in the scientific and cultural sector is needed. It was recognised that digitisation projects were still heavily needed in many EU countries and that many cultural heritage projects could not embark on such projects due to expense.

It is therefore strongly recommended that inter-governmental, governmental and local aid be provided to support arts institutions that wish to digitise their work. At the same time inter-governmental bodies need to advocate universal digitisation and storage policies for heritage items and it is recommended that policies should be adopted that foster multilingual digital culture.

8. Which collections do we have to preserve and protect?

For the collective memory of European cultures, collections have a broad social impact: both those such as museums or archives (which can also be called public collections) and institutional collections (such as documents and artefacts of theatres, galleries, NGOs). All of them in unison give us base and background for cultural reconstruction and re-contextualisation of our common experiences and memories.

It is therefore strongly recommended that authorities dealing with national cultural policy define long-term priorities as well as necessary programmes and initiatives, legal and financial measures aimed to put all types of collections in an equal position particularly where matters of digitisation and public access are concerned.

9. Leisure time and the civil society

ICTs have benefited mainly the work place, rather than the worker, with many people having less leisure time than ever before. It is important to safeguard, maintain and respect the quantity of leisure time available to families and individuals.

It is therefore strongly recommended that information society programmes are implemented that encourage people to take advantage of new opportunities for flexible time management, while at the same time respecting people's social and cultural rhythms and daily time schedules. Flexible working should always benefit home and family life first and awareness programmes may help to slow

the process of excessive working, which has been speeded up by increased use of ICTs at work and home.

10. Patterns of communication and the use of ICTs

According to a number of communication research projects it can be seen that proportionately more people use the Internet, not to gather new knowledge or widen their social links and communicational skills. On the contrary, primary use is directed toward entertainment and maintaining existing social relations. That trend is accompanied by the tendency not to actively use ICT to make stronger individual and group impacts on local social life and development. Individual real-life contacts still remain more important not only from the point of view of social gathering but equally to establish and develop professional co-operation and make a contribution to community life.

At the same time, information regarding a resistance to ICT use by aboriginal populations stimulated the debate on the right to be excluded. Currently, people can elect not to be connected but will that be the case in the future? In an increasingly digital age, where participation in civil society in future may be dependent on digital infrastructure and use - is it possible that those who are unconnected will have no voice?

It is therefore strongly recommended that international research be undertaken to investigate how the use of ICT is keeping or transforming social and cultural patterns of communication within different social circumstances, particularly where marginalised groups or communities are concerned. Stress should be placed on issues such as cultural habits, cultural consumption, cultural creation, cultural access and cultural participation and also on social inclusion or exclusion. At the same time, policies should be implemented that ensure information can remain available to unconnected citizens and that unconnected citizens can still be heard in civic and political debates.

11. Digital citizenship

A number of countries have provided good access policies to enable citizens' access to and use of information communication technologies. These initiatives are applauded and countries lagging behind are encouraged to take similar initiatives. It is also recognised that advanced countries should share some responsibility for less advanced and struggling nations. Access policies still have a long way to go, to ensure that the globe is connected.

With regard to some advanced nations it could be said that access policies have to a certain extent fulfilled their purpose. More complicated policy issues now are needed with regard to stimulating eCitizenship, civic participation and intelligent use of the Internet. It was widely acknowledged that cultural competence had some relevance for broader digital use and therefore broader cultural,

civic and social education is considered a societal need which should go hand in hand with technological skills development.

It is therefore strongly recommended that educational policies concentrate on cultural, civic and social education as an essential background for technical skills development.

12. Knowledge is power: a case for more research

To have truly effective strategies to further eCulture development both at the level of trans-national, national, regional and local policies, as well as to work on developing inter-sectorial approaches, synchronised interaction and more research and more debate is necessary.

It is therefore strongly recommended that independent international associations be given funding to conduct research and debates that contribute to efficient and sustainable solutions for pressing problems and needs in the eCulture field.

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Introduction to the work of CIRCLE and CULTURELINK

CIRCLE

CIRCLE is an independent think-tank dedicated to developing cultural policy models for Europe.

CIRCLE is a network of people concerned with cultural policy, including researchers from many disciplines, scholars, documentalists, cultural practitioners, policy-makers and politicians. CIRCLE is also a forum for institutions such as university departments, arts institutions, research organisations, national ministries, arts councils, documentation centres and networks. In bringing together these different entities, CIRCLE acts as an intermediary, putting particular emphasis on ensuring that conclusions from its debates are disseminated among those in a position to benefit from them. CIRCLE identifies new issues and maps out what currently exists in terms of research and information, and is able to make this information available through on-line resources and databases.

CIRCLE's work crosses the whole of Europe (more than 35 countries), a variety of disciplines and a myriad of interested parties. For more than two decades, CIRCLE has maintained its reputation for being at the forefront of cultural policy debate and influencing current and future policy actions.

www.circle-network.org

CULTURELINK

Culturelink, the Network of Networks for Research and Cooperation in Cultural Development, was established by UNESCO and the Council of Europe in 1989. The Institute for International Relations in Zagreb, Croatia, has been the Network's focal point since its inception.

The Culturelink Network gathers 1200 networks and institutions from about 100 countries in all parts of the world which deal with and are interested in cultural research, cultural and artistic development, cultural policies and cooperation. The aim of the Network is to strengthen communication among its members; to collect, process and disseminate information on world-wide cultural development and cultural policies; and to encourage regional, interregional and international joint research projects and cultural cooperation. Besides research, the activities of the Culturelink network include the development of the Culturelink web resources and the publication of the Culturelink Review with its different thematic special issues as well as seminar and conference proceedings.

Serving as a resource centre for all of its members, Culturelink has established itself as an efficient and unique mechanism in the field of culture. The long-term objective is the development of a world-wide information system for the study of cultural development and cooperation.

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Cultural Conflict in the Information Society

The shift that accompanies this passage is from the artistic to the anthropological definition of culture, namely from the distribution of products to the diffusion of "lifestyles". Copyright is thus a necessity not for protecting the integrity of the artist (who has by now lost any central role in the equation through the commoditisation of the artistic product) but rather for controlling global lifestyle markets: the arena is purely financial and commercial.

The next shift - from the commercial to the political - is arguably under way right now. Historically, world powers have based their empires on the control of raw materials, shipping routes, and capital flows. Increasingly, the struggle is over the ability to spread lifestyles - coherent ethical systems reflected in coordinated product portfolios - that facilitate global markets by creating communities motivated to consume. The ability to shape global lifestyles relies on the ability to show how their adoption makes people happy, and this in turn depends on the domination of global media and its "content".

<div align="right">Jesse B.T. Marsh</div>