"For cultural policy, the end of public sector growth must be seen as a starting point for change…"

CULTURE SHOCK

Samuel Jones

DEM⊙S

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Acknowledgements

This pamphlet is part of a year-long fellowship tasked with using evidence to contribute independently to policy thinking in relation to culture and sport. The fellowship is hosted by Demos and the Culture and Sports Evidence Programme (CASE) that the Department for Culture, Media and Sport runs jointly with Arts Council England, English Heritage, the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council and Sport England.

I am thankful to the DCMS and Demos for hosting the fellowship and allowing the independence from which it has benefited. In particular, I am grateful for the welcome and assistance provided by colleagues in the Evidence and Analysis Unit at DCMS. Particular thanks must go to Adam Cooper and Vivienne Avery, who have offered advice and knowledge throughout.

The ideas and opinions in this pamphlet have been developed using the DCMS' evidence base and, in particular, the work generated by the CASE Programme. The CASE board members – a full list of whom is included in the appendices to this pamphlet – have been kind in offering their time and comments throughout.

I would also like to thank everybody interviewed in the course of the research. All were generous with their time, knowledge and expertise. A full list is included in the appendix, alongside the members of the steering group for the work: I thank them for their time, kindness and expertise. At Demos, I have benefited from the support of Julia Margo in commenting on drafts and Richard Darlington in the later stages of the report. As always, my friends and long-time colleagues John Holden and Robert Hewison have offered consistent advice, support and mentorship.

Claire Coulier, Ralph Scott and Beatrice Karol Burks – the Demos Communications team – have seen the pamphlet through to production and launch with customary professionalism, for which, many thanks.

In developing this pamphlet, I have benefited from the expertise of all mentioned, both above and in the appendix. However, because the pamphlet is independent, the ideas that it contains cannot be taken to reflect the opinion of those

interviewed. As ever, all errors and omissions remain my own.
Overall this work has been written as a contribution to a debate
that will shape policy for the cultural realm. It is hoped that it
will be useful in developing that debate.

Samuel Jones
September 2010

Summary

This essay is part of a joint Demos and CASE (Culture and Sport Evidence Programme) fellowship examining the evidence currently available in relation to public participation in culture and sport. The purpose of the fellowship is to generate independent policy recommendations as to how policy might be developed. This document sets out some principles by which that might be done. It has been written independently and so cannot be taken either as a policy statement, or to reflect government opinion. It has also been written at a time at which the public sector as a whole is facing cuts on a scale unprecedented in recent history. However, with a more lasting view, it addresses a long-standing need to review the purposes and mechanisms of cultural policy. To this end, it proposes a series of provocations to prompt the thinking and change that policy-makers and the cultural sector alike will need to meet this need.

Cultural policy needs to be reviewed because social and technological changes have brought the importance of culture to the fore and because that has implications across governmental policy. Engagement and participation with cultural forms is at the heart of a new economy, both as products in themselves, and as stimuli to creativity and creative enterprise – the latest estimates put the DCMS sectors' contribution to GVA at 10 per cent. At the same time, participation in culture and sport is rising and, on the basis of curricular participation by young people today, this will increase in the future. Through technologies such as YouTube or as a result of increased travel or migration, people can now access, encounter, create and share the products of cultural creation on a scale previously unimaginable, and regardless of the publicly funded cultural sector. This brings the different opinions expressed in such cultural production and

activity into closer and more intense contact, which creates new challenges for society. Meeting these challenges will require new capabilities of individuals and means new responsibility for cultural policy. From a democratic perspective, cultural policy must focus on the equitable distribution of the capabilities by which individuals can take part in shaping the culture around them and interpret the expression of others. This will require thinking anew about what form the government agencies responsible for culture take, and how they are run. Because the DCMS is the governmental arm that responds to this environment, its role and relationship to policy concerns across Whitehall departments must also be reconsidered.

The changing nature of people's attitudes and behaviours in relation to culture also demands change in cultural institutions and professions. Recognising and making the most of the social importance of culture is not incommensurate with creating work and providing people with experiences that are both great and rewarding. Many examples from the cultural sector demonstrate that, by adapting to new circumstances, institutions and individual professionals have not only been able to operate more successful enterprises but, importantly, have been able to do so in innovative ways that retain integrity to their practice (examples cited in this essay range in size from The Royal Shakespeare Company to the small theatre group, The Red Room). Such enterprise opens new opportunities and demonstrates the reach that cultural practice can have into policy areas across government. This paper therefore calls for change in cultural policy and its function and delivery, seeing the work of cultural professionals in new light in relation to the social, technological and cultural contexts in which they now operate.

Wider change in cultural activity and practice will be catalysed by the financial crisis and the austerity measures put in place to reduce public expenditure. In the immediate term, cuts of the scale proposed will change the operating environment of public agencies in all sectors, irrevocably. Tinkering around the edges of public policy delivery and sticking with current assumptions about what needs to be funded, to what extent and how, will not suffice. The cuts will be too severe for many

organisations, institutions and individuals who currently receive public funding to survive if they rely on extant models. The cumulative effects for those that do not are likely to be equally significant as markets are disrupted, the public's cultural education and awareness is affected and, in the long-term, skills-bases are diminished. However, the cuts must also be seen as a starting point for change. A period of public sector growth is over, and policy-makers across government need to review and prioritise what policy in their sectors is for and what it seeks to achieve. Culture will be a part of that, and this paper sets a framework within which that long-term change can be tackled. As well as making specific recommendations, it poses questions that must be answered as cultural policy is reinvented and redefined.

A change of understanding

Governmental involvement in culture has long been a contentious issue. Why should the state get involved in culture, and if so, how? Traditionally, government has funded certain forms of culture on the basis that they are a public good, with intervention justified by the principle of market failure. However, that involves an assertion of what type of culture should be available to whom. A new concept of legitimacy in public policy relative to culture is needed. From the basis of evidence gathered in the CASE programme and elsewhere, this paper puts in place an understanding with which policy-makers and cultural professionals can form it. It distinguishes between two connected meanings of 'culture'.

· *'Culture' in a wider sense as being an elemental and fundamental part of social and public lives*; culture is not synonymous with the traditional definition of culture as 'the arts'. It is the result of cultural choices and activities and the sum of attitudes, heritages and histories, beliefs and opinions expressed in cultural and sporting activity. This more anthropological understanding of culture emphasises the wide and deep-seated significance of activity in what can be termed 'the cultural realm'. As the means

to consume, produce and create culture becomes more widespread, the impact of cultural activity is becoming far more evident in other areas of policy. Localism, in particular, places new emphasis on people's expressions of commonality and autonomy, and these are made manifest in culture. Culture is a formative part of society: it is therefore the concern of a government to be sensitive to it, and provide the means by which people can access and take part in its manifestation.

· *The 'forms' and 'institutions' that constitute culture*; activities, such as making videos, viewing clips online, playing cricket, skateboarding, visiting museums or football matches are the means by which members of society shape and access 'culture'. As this list shows, these activities can be those that are currently seen as being cultural as well as those that are seen as being sporting: an individual's decision to play a given sport is ultimately social and cultural. These activities also cut across outmoded distinctions of 'high' and 'low' culture. Exclusion from and failure to represent these forms in the culture that is displayed and promoted can be detrimental to society and can also detract from individuals' sense of well-being. Cultural policy itself is a statement about culture and must equally be considered a cultural form. A government should see cultural forms – both those it currently funds and those that it does not – not as being culture in and of themselves, but as providing people with access to the cultural realm.

By distinguishing between these two concepts – culture as a basic and inalienable continuum of human life from which society is continually refreshed and regenerated, and the forms that provide the manifestations and touchpoints of beliefs and opinions about culture – it is possible to articulate a rationale for governmental intervention in relation to culture that is more legitimate than one based on a pre-determined association of certain forms with culture. More widely, a capabilities-based approach, espoused among others by the Nobel laureate Amartya Sen, argues that a just society and well-being depends upon giving people the capabilities to lead the lives that they want to lead. This has strong implications for culture. Cultural

policy must be seen as providing members of society with a logical framework and the capabilities by which to approach, understand and participate in the changes around them and this is why cultural forms are important. People get a sense of society, a sense of place and a sense of identity by interpreting and participating in the culture around them. Cultural forms and institutions provide them with an environment within which to do so and the skills with which people can act with confidence as citizens of the cultural realm. However, when the cultural realm is prescribed according to certain forms, this sense of fairness and society is diminished.

Not only does this offer a new rationale for intervention, but it also suggests new reasons as to why policy-makers in other government departments should concern themselves with culture and the ways in which it is accessed, especially at local level – cultural policy is not just about funding a museum or sports club, it is about something that is foundational to society. The more an individual participates in cultural activity, the more benefit he or she will accrue. The more individuals participate, the greater the benefit of overall participation to society. The wider a cultural institution reaches by connecting what it does to the public, the greater its role in society. However, with cuts looming, there is a real risk that cultural activity will be forced to draw back from reaching so widely. At the same time, it should be remembered that not all within the cultural realm can be considered beneficial to society: cultural content can sometimes offend and distance. This makes both the capabilities by which people can read and respond to the cultural stimuli around them, and also the importance of policy-makers taking cultural effects into consideration, paramount. Culture can impact on a range of areas, from communities to foreign policy, and so policy-makers from the Departments of Education or Communities and Local Government to the Foreign Office take into account the need for cultural capabilities and the impact of activity in the cultural realm.

The problem is that, hitherto, policy has conflated culture and its forms and it has proved difficult to meet the need to provide cultural capabilities without imposing set ideas about

what forms represent culture. The end result is that cultural policy has sought to ensure the survival of forms and institutions, and not support the wider importance of culture in society and this extends to the machinery of cultural policy itself. Cultural policy must move away from so institutional a definition of culture. Doing so will strengthen the role of culture in policy-making more widely, focusing it on cultural capabilities. This does *not* diminish the importance of cultural expertise and the merits of individual practice, but rather sets it in a new context in which public funding can be justified without resorting to the fraught need to prioritise one cultural form over another.

The implications for cultural policy

At the moment, the DCMS is among the smallest of government departments, both in terms of budget and also the importance attached to it. Cuts will make it smaller still and threaten to make what power and influence it has, hollow. However, because culture has bearing on areas of policy far beyond what is currently thought of as the DCMS domain, its importance must be reflected. CASE, for instance, has demonstrated the connection between cultural and sporting activity and well-being and has shown the potential effect of sporting activity in diminishing government expenditure on healthcare. Policy must be based on the understanding of culture as being elemental to social and public lives. As cultural policy seeks to respond to both the changing role of culture in society and a restricted funding environment become clearer, several questions will have to be answered:

· What should cultural policy set out to achieve and, ultimately, what is the rationale for a cultural department of government and what should it look like?
· What is the nature of funding for culture, how should it be allocated and by whom?
· What are the conditions and objectives of receiving cultural funding?

The principles outlined above will be important in answering these questions. Changes to culture and the public spending environment mean that policy-makers and cultural professionals are about to enter a period of long-term change. The settlement at which they arrive must be developed and refined through a process of debate that includes the public too. Below, a number of provocations are proposed to stimulate that debate.

· *Provocation 1 – Reinventing the DCMS:* DCMS could be reinvented, ultimately as a smaller department, to focus on the importance of expression in the cultural realm and how culture relates to different policy areas. It would be empowered to represent culture across government, identifying areas in which other government departments could beneficially spend on culture and championed as such by the Secretary of State at Cabinet level. It would be responsible for and further supported by the allocation of cultural responsibilities to ministerial briefs in other, relevant departments, such as Education, Business, Innovation and Skills or Communities and Local Government, and Work and Pensions. The ministers would be tasked with representing the importance of culture in other areas of government and with working with the Treasury to secure allocations of funding, maintaining the integrity of publicly-funded cultural practice. Central government's concern should be with the cultural realm as a whole and this should be the responsibility of the Secretary of State as a voice and champion for cultural concerns at Cabinet and public levels. The new department could be tasked with identifying areas of concern to government departments – including both those with ministerial representation for culture and others on an ad hoc basis – in which culture must be taken into account, negotiating funding from them accordingly. Critically, this would require that other government departments recognise the importance of the cultural dimension to their policy area. At the moment, they do not, and it would be essential that the cultural department provide the evidence and arguments to persuade them to do so and that the Secretary of State leads it in doing so. A further task

of the central department would be to communicate to the sector policy concerns across Whitehall, identifying further areas in which the work of the sector contributes to policy concerns. In the long run, this department would be smaller than the existing DCMS, introducing some of the efficiencies that the current financial situation requires. Functions could be divided between relevant ministries (an example might be cultural diplomacy and the Foreign Office), and a Council for Cultural Expression (see Provocation 2); an example might be the management of such issues as the import and export of cultural goods. It should be the objective of policy to support the cultural sector while developing a position in which this is possible. However, in the short term, government should not dramatically reduce the DCMS in size and leave a vacuum for cultural policy. To this end, there should be a transition period during which the profile and importance of culture is raised in other departments and, as a result, cultural functions can effectively be transferred to the new briefs of cultural ministers in other departments. This process could be monitored independently by an appointed commissioner, working in tandem with the National Audit Office.

· *Provocation 2 – Establishing a Council for Cultural Expression*: the rationale and mechanism for centralised public funding for culture should be reconsidered. As it stands, the arm's-length principle by which cultural forms are managed is designed to ensure both integrity of practice, sporting, artistic, cultural or otherwise, and accountability. In principle, this is an important failsafe, ensuring that political concerns do not interfere with culture, and hence the authenticity of cultural activity and its legitimacy as a constituent part of the public realm. It is important that a wide array of cultural forms is championed as providing for the expression achieved through people's cultural choices and cultural practices: certain forms cannot be privileged over others. The arm's-length bodies as they currently stand could be combined to form one organisation with a remit to ensure the delivery of cultural and expressive capabilities and opportunities throughout the country and represent the value and narrative of that expression to government: The Council for

Cultural Expression. It would focus on forms as providing such capabilities within the public realm, rather than forms in and of themselves. The Council would be responsible for the allocation of the funding negotiated by the central governmental department. This model would diminish neither individual forms nor expertise, but would emphasise the need to relate them more directly to the public. Equally, it would underscore the need for policy-makers to recognise and take into account the relationship of cultural forms to society more generally. The Council would allow for independent expertise to be brought into the decision-making process and, for this reason, would be necessarily separate from the central government department and with an independent status that would allow them to act publicly as a cultural body, rather than an arm of government. Via the National Audit Office, the Council could be answerable to the Secretary of State and ministers in relation to its management and the efficiency of its business in managing the resources allocated to it.

· *Provocation 3 – Seed-Funding Cultural Activity*: Cultural funding from the Council could be delivered as seed-funding. Freeing cultural institutions and professionals from a regime of targets would allow them to respond to the cultural realm and generate it anew. This entails accepting the element of risk that is inherent to cultural practice and would require that the basics of their operations (fixed capital and running costs) are secured, enabling them to concentrate on developing innovative practice and allowing them to cater to and generate markets afresh. In seeking to make savings, government must first ascertain the basic running costs of cultural activity that it needs to fund, and free professionals and organisations from targets in undertaking their work. To this end, the seed-funding would be oriented to achieving outcomes, agreed with the Council according to its remit that cultural operators feel confident that they can identify, meet and track for themselves. This funding should provide for a set number of years, after which it could be either renewed, renegotiated or, if necessary, withdrawn. The Council for Cultural Expression could also be tasked with researching and developing different models of funding (such as crowd-sourced

funding) on a small scale that can act as a test-bed for the future. At the same time, it would be necessary to keep checks on the expenditure of public money. Accountability would be achieved by smaller organisations and cultural practitioners bidding for funding from the executive body, which could be tasked with fixing the duration of funding allocations, decided according to its remit. In turn, the executive body could be held accountable to the central government department, parliament and the public by being required to produce a regular (biennial or triennial) report on 'Culture and Expression in the UK'. Based on the model of the Equalities and Human Rights Commission, this could follow a period of public and professional consultation. It could be accompanied by a concomitant review, commissioned and managed by the National Audit Office that would examine both the efficiency of the body's activities, its distribution of public moneys and its management and public service.

Overall, this would differ from the current system of funding because it would encourage social innovation on the part of cultural professionals by virtue of responding to cultural consumers, with the vital caveat that that innovation is achieved in accordance with integrity to the institution or practitioner's sense of practice. Of course, a cultural professional or institution might wish to be exempt from this and hence public funding, but that would be their individual choice and the success and sustainability of their contribution to the cultural realm would be determined within a market to which they would have to respond.

· *Provocation 4 – National Cultural Organisations*: Large-scale, national institutions should be gathered in one body within the Council for Cultural Expression. They occupy a different role in society – similar in many respects to smaller cultural organisations and practice – but different in scale and representative responsibility. Because they are national, they have a responsibility to serve the interests of people in the UK as a whole; in the case of national museums, they also have unique statutory responsibilities in relation to collections. National institutions provide a logic to the cultural realm, providing paradigms of excellence, representation to different cultural

forms and a framework for the delivery of capabilities, either by their own practice, or by supporting smaller institutions through providing additional representation to their work, programmes of collaboration or loans and, in many cases, resource provision that already exist. The separate body would be similarly constituted to the Council for Cultural Expression with the aim of securing opportunity for expression, ensuring a network of practice between large museums, theatres, concert halls, sporting institutions and other organisations. This group could be accountable through a board of trustees, representing the public, the specific policy interests of different government departments and cultural experts, tasked with judging the performance of the nationals and distributing moneys accordingly. The group could report publicly and in a similar fashion to the Council to the Secretary of State and also be subject to an independent review by the National Audit Office.

Specific recommendations

Alongside the above provocations, this paper also makes some specific recommendations for cultural policy that will help policy-makers answer some of the questions above. Change in the perception of culture on the part of both policy-makers and professionals would bring a revolution in the way that the sector works. Government has the obligation and, in terms of the important role that culture will have in the future, the necessity of supporting the sector in reforming itself. For their part, cultural professionals must take on a new agenda, reconceptualising the relationship between culture and society, putting in place the structures that can support a cultural realm. To bring this about, this paper makes the following recommendations:

- *Taking the Cultural Pulse of a Nation* - Government should monitor cultural activity, taking the cultural pulse of the nation in a way that gives both regional specificity and a national overview. The legitimacy of cultural policy can only be ensured by a continuous understanding of cultural activity and its outcomes. Evidence

should also be gathered that demonstrates the relevance of cultural activity in different policy areas. *Taking Part* must be continued, asking a broader set of questions relating to the cultural realm, covering activity that is both publicly and privately funded and gathering longitudinal data about the effects of cultural participation. The data should distinguish between publicly funded and private cultural enterprise and so provide evidence about the efficacy of cultural policy in representing and serving cultural activity as a whole. Networks of practice must also be formed that collate information at the local level that will allow local authorities to commission them in strategic ways (the example of Manchester's Magpie project [see p.37], shows how this can be effective). This should be collated to generate uniform data that can contribute to a national body of evidence. At the same time, the market and social research that larger institutions gather individually should also be collated to contribute to an overall body of knowledge about cultural activity. Part of the funding requirement for cultural organisations should be that they collect and contribute information relevant to and commensurate with their practice and mission to the executive body. This should contribute to the establishment of social return on investment (SROI - see below) data for the cultural sector, which will help in encouraging philanthropic and CSR investment in the future.

· *Developing new organisational structures* – user- and employee-led organisational models, constituted to draw on non-users as well as users of cultural services as currently perceived, could have the potential to provide ways of managing the cultural sector that are both more efficient and more democratic. This could be achieved by focusing on the wider role of such organisations in the cultural realm, rather than on the values of the cultural forms in which they specialise. Successful examples from the sector – particularly around fundraising for specific projects – demonstrate that the potential of these models should be investigated, especially in relation to smaller organisations, notably crowd-sourced funding. In order to understand the wider market of non-users, these organisations should be able to draw on the wider knowledge-base provided by *Taking Part*.

- *Thinking anew of the relationship between culture and a sense of place and working with local government accordingly* – culture has a significant part to play in localism and the Big Society championed by the coalition administration. Cultural organisations and local government should partner to realise this value. This should be coupled with a concerted effort on the part of the central government department to support the role of culture in place-shaping, and coordinate the development of an evidence base that will promote the importance of culture to local authorities, demonstrating the potential and importance of cultural activity from the point of view of business cases. To this end, a minister within the Department for Communities and Local Government should be tasked specifically with representing the role of culture in society and supporting partnerships between local government and cultural practice.
- *Championing culture in relation to corporate social responsibility (CSR)* – because culture is so important to society, it should be an integral part of the CSR activities of organisations. A task of the new central government body should therefore be to make the social case for culture more strongly and ensure that culture is represented to these organisations. In particular, the department should relate more closely to the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS) in relation to CSR and ensure that culture is represented in the advice given to organisations in this respect.
- Establishing measures of social value for the cultural sector – in wider public policy, funders and commissioners are turning to measures of social return on investment (SROI). In the cultural sector, these should be developed in line with the description of culture outlined in this report, and in ways that are commensurate with the missions of different sized organisations. The central government department and the executive body should collaborate to form a set of measures that would allow for comparison between different funding bids. In turn, this would help the central government department to champion cultural causes in relation to CSR.

1 Introduction

A growing body of knowledge demonstrates the importance of culture to society and the benefits it brings. The fellowship of which this paper is a part continues this. It looks at policy in the cultural and sporting sectors in the very particular context of a change of government and severe budgetary cuts, but with a view to the longer term looks at the role of the cultural sector in the future. Now is not a time for tinkering around the edges or simple retrenchment, but a fundamental reassessment of how and why government should relate to culture.

Culture and sport are elemental to human society. The forms that they take and the media through which they are channelled – the visual arts, playing football, going to the theatre or museum, watching the Olympics and so on – are valuable because they contribute to the development of a common set of goods. The more people participate in them, the more important culture and sports become. The more individuals participate, the more adept they become as cultural consumers and as cultural agents.

In his first speech as Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport Jeremy Hunt said that:

For me culture is not just about the economic value of our creative industries – it is what defines us as a civilisation. Culture helps us understand the world around us, explain it, and sometimes escape from it.[1]

David Throsby, one of the world's leading cultural policy specialists has written that:

The distinctive characteristic of cultural policy lies in the sometimes overlooked fact that it actually deals with culture, an aspect of society and its functioning that transcends the purely economic.[2]

Like most countries in the world, the UK is going through a period of dramatic change and culture is central to people's efforts to understand that. Financial crisis has combined with political change to provide a very different context for government. In the DCMS sector, current levels of public and private funding and raised income have been threatened – public funding is due to be restricted, endowments are less profitable and individual and corporate giving is harder to come by.

These changes are happening against the backdrop of social, technological and environmental shifts that bring different perspectives, approaches and challenges. These are made manifest and palpable in culture in its widest sense, and so the importance of culture has risen to greater prominence. As Throsby explains:

No longer are the goods and services that comprise the output of the cultural sector confined to the arts; rather new definitions are required of cultural or creative goods and services and the industries that produce them.[3]

New definitions and understandings must reflect the new public realm in which different cultural attitudes and beliefs are visible on computer screens, televisions and the streets every second of every day. Foods that once seemed exotic are now taken for granted and arrive in mixtures people never before thought possible – in London, there is even a Polish–Mexican restaurant with a French name. Such cultural difference is no longer confined to the world's metropolitan cities like London or New York: through the media and new technologies, it is a part of daily life in towns and cities throughout the UK and elsewhere. At the same time, different cultural forms from Indian folk dance to graffiti have become fused with others that were once thought 'high art', throwing the falsity of such designation into stark light. Bhangra is performed at Sadler's Wells and Banksy exhibits at Bristol Museum and Art Gallery.

It is not just that culture helps people understand and explain the world: policy-makers and the public alike need to understand culture and its flux. Activity in the cultural realm will be a vital part of society and politics in the future, especially at local level.

A growing body of knowledge

Policy-makers have long sought to capture the value of culture. In 1988, John Myerscough wrote *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain*, which examined the direct benefits that the arts brought to the economy. Myerscough identified these benefits in such areas as employment, tourism and earnings.[4] Since then, much work has demonstrated the economic and later the social benefits of the arts and hence their public value, a trend that has been paralleled in the sports sector, where social impact has been demonstrated alongside benefits to health.[5] Collectively, this work amounts to a growing body of knowledge that examines and demonstrates the relationship between culture and sports participation and wider policy concerns. CASE itself represents a new step forward, enabling policy-makers to look at evidence relating to the DCMS sector in new ways. First, bodies that deal with different cultural forms – from museums through to sport, and from the arts to heritage – have come together to look at elements common to them all. Second, it has demonstrated a clear connection between activity in these areas and well-being, which speaks of the cumulative impact across an individual's life.

Measuring the impact of participation in activities that are often driven by the emotions and feelings is difficult, and the process of doing so in the cultural sector has not been without controversy.[6] However, one effect of measurement has been that professionals within the cultural and sports sector and government alike have become more aware that participation brings value alongside entertainment and luxury.[7] This more sophisticated understanding of the role that culture and sport play in people's lives has led organisations to see social drivers and outcomes as being integral to their work and be more confident in asserting that role as being part of their purpose. It is argued that what can be seen as additional benefits are part of the whole experience that culture and sport offer. People get a sense of community from participation in a theatrical group or a sports team, and this is part of why they choose to do it. Organisations like the Youth Sport Trust, for instance, see sport not just as a means of deriving health benefits, but also as a medium through which values and behaviours like competition,

the balance between rules and individuality, teamwork, discipline and so on can be learned.

Such social aspects to participation bring a new imperative to include more people. This is not just a matter of increasing the numbers with opportunities to participate in what is considered a desired good, but of ensuring access to what is considered a basic human need: the UN Declaration of Human Rights says, very simply, that people have 'the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts'.[8]

The effects of this drive to open participation to larger numbers of people have been examined in the DCMS' rolling annual survey *Taking Part*, which demonstrates the reach of cultural and sporting institutions to young people and the sense of social efficacy that people who do participate in culture and sport feel.[9] Such growing awareness has brought about more efforts not only to measure, but also and more importantly to bring additional value to the fore and spread the benefits more equitably among the citizens of the UK. Technologies have been used to draw people into the creation as well as the consumption of culture. At the same time, the sector has developed a more inclusive attitude to participation, which enables professionals to explore new potential for collaboration and generate private funding. The wider the benefits of culture and sport reach, the greater their appeal to a wider range of people. As a result, funders and private sponsors alike have seen benefit in providing for participation because it reaches greater numbers and this is good for policy ends, as well as commercial reach.

Collectively, these developments have raised cultural and sporting activities and forms to a more prominent position in society, and have led people to think of them anew. At the most commercial extreme, football has become a global enterprise that would have been unimaginable in the late 1970s. Television programmes such as *Strictly Come Dancing* have seen a comeback, reincarnating ballroom dancing from being a niche interest to mainstream viewing. Equally, cultural activity is playing a decisive part in foreign policy and yet was dismissed as being 'soft' as recently as five years ago.[10]

It is a fallacy to think that the measurement of recent years

has been of culture – culture cannot be measured. Instead, what has been measured is the impact and use of cultural services and provision. This is an important shift in policy. It moves from the belief – still held by many – that cultural policy is about the delivery of benefits, to the basic principle and understanding that culture is part of what defines society. Policy that seeks to derive value from culture and sport will achieve its ends only if it proceeds from that basis.

The policy fellowship

This pamphlet has been written at the half-way point of a year-long fellowship, hosted jointly by the Culture and Sports Evidence programme (CASE) and the think tank, Demos.[11] As the fellow, I am tasked with drawing independent policy conclusions from the evidence available via CASE and other DCMS data. Working closely with the Evidence and Analysis Unit (EAU) at DCMS and colleagues at the CASE partner organisations gives me access to data on participation that is both the latest available and, almost uniquely, speaks across cultural and sporting sectors.[12] The ideas in this paper are also based on discussion with professionals and experts in the cultural and sporting sectors and other areas, a list of whom is provided in appendix 2.

The cross-sectoral perspective provided by the CASE evidence gives an opportunity to think afresh of what culture and sports participation mean in the wider context of society and UK governmental policy. Policy has conventionally approached 'culture' or 'sports' on the basis of domains – for example, the visual arts, museums, sports or dance and, within that, specific forms like theatre, rugby and so on. This has had the effect of losing sight of the connections between these areas and the overall part that they play in people's lives and in society as a whole. For example, while policy might distinguish between heritage and museums, they are in reality very closely related because each deals with the connections, expressions, beliefs and ideas that comprise issues like identity, community and nationhood.

Looking at these activities collectively challenges assumptions that underlie what policy in the culture and sports sectors should aim to achieve, how it is determined and implemented and the evidence that is gathered as a result. Activities such as swimming and viewing or practising the visual arts are part of forming an overall culture, and their significance in relation to wider policy concerns is diminished when they are judged solely on the basis of the benefits that they can bring in areas like the financial economy, health or education.

The fellowship sets out a new theoretical basis for cultural and sports policy, telling a story of potential and of its close relationship to society. It works from the fundamental belief that culture and sports participation is not an addition to human life, but a basic means by which society is constructed.[13] In this way, it proposes a different approach and, accordingly, makes the recommendations that it will require. Ultimately, it also provides a rationale for rethinking the role and value attached to public cultural policy and DCMS.

The recession and a change of government

The summer of 2010 brings two specific contexts that will affect any consideration of public policy. The first is the ongoing effect of the financial crash of 2008. As this pamphlet was written, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Osborne, announced cuts to expenditure that would begin forthwith.[14] All DCMS-funded organisations have been required to cut at least 3 per cent of their budget by the end of March 2011; for its part, Arts Council England was told to cut a further £5 million, which would mean that, in total, its cuts totalled 4 per cent.[15] These cuts will be followed by a comprehensive spending review, scheduled for late 2010, in which the government will 'consider how to deliver a step change in public sector productivity and value for money' and the expectation is that cuts will be in the order of between 20 and 40 per cent.[16] With the UK Film Council and the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council already abolished in an effort to meet these figures, the measures taken look set to have lasting effect.

Osborne's responsibility has come with the second policy context to this fellowship: the change of government and outlook brought by the coalition administration following the general election of May 2010. A significant part of this is a renewed focus on the local and, in particular, society. Government believes that citizens should have the right and opportunity to be involved in shaping the society of which they are a part and that the state's role should be to facilitate and not direct this. Developing the idea of the Big Society, the coalition has pledged to 'end the era of top-down government by giving new powers to local councils, communities, neighbourhoods and individuals'.[17] In a speech to the Civil Service in July 2010, Prime Minister David Cameron spelled out what this means:

with the revolution we've had in communications and technology, we can move into the post-bureaucratic age, where information and power are held not locally or centrally but personally, by people in their homes. And the consequences for government – and the way our whole country is run – are incredibly exciting. It means we can abandon the old bureaucratic levers that we know have failed and instead improve public services and get value for money with new approaches that put power in people's hands.[18]

Both the recession and the change of government mark a new point of departure. With straitened financial circumstance, public policy-makers have to think differently. With ideological change, new rationales and theoretical bases must be found. In particular, the potential of new funding mechanisms and organisational forms are being examined. As the Chief Executive of Mutuo, the representative organisation of the mutual sector, has put it: 'the nature of this recession means that more fundamental questions are now being asked about the way our economy relies on the health of proprietary business'.[19] In a recent article, citing the evolutionary economist Carlota Perez, Geoff Mulgan has suggested that out of 'periods of turmoil, the potential of new technologies and infrastructures is realised, but only once new institutions come into being which are better aligned with the characteristics of the new economy'.[20] While the recession and a change of government have brought about a

need for change, the means by which that change can come about and the direction that it will follow are still being negotiated.

The need to make a rational argument

As with many other sectors, the cultural and sporting sectors must take the lead in articulating an argument as to how savings might sensibly be made with minimal damage to areas of social life that have already demonstrated their importance and, as we shall see, will be of critical importance in the future. However, this will be difficult because the importance of culture is missed in policy more widely, not least on the part of the current Secretary of State for Education who, rather than championing the need for future capabilities, has referred to dance as a 'soft subject'.[21]

Making the argument for culture will require a change of tack but, importantly, one that continues a course already set and responds to the changing winds of society. It will also be an important step in preparing for the future. As Alan Davey, Chief Executive of Arts Council England, has said:

we have to keep [making the case for the arts] and justifying it, and given that spending overall is so tight, it's going to get harder and more important to do it. The way the sector can help is to help us make rational arguments and make the arguments themselves.[22]

Even well-disposed critics of cultural policy doubt arguments that depend either on an 'art for art's sake' approach or claiming additional benefits that the Swiss economist Bruno Frey points out 'could reasonably be adduced for many other areas beyond culture'.[23] Culture and sports need to assert their centrality to society more confidently. The problem of an 'art for art's sake' or 'sports for sport's sake' approach is that they lose sight of how arts and sports fit into a wider context. Art and sport always have had, and always will have, a social function. When we look back to the past, we find out about it through its cultural forms, its products, and the evidence we have of people's

activities and the culture that they collectively shaped. The same logic must be applied to the world today. Cultural signs, symbols and artefacts are the means by which people make sense of the world and each other, even when – as the avant-garde so often is – these are challenging.[24] Similarly, a generation's social bequest to its descendants is through cultural forms, be they tangible like artworks or architecture, or intangible like the rules of cricket or a dance. In policy terms, culture should be seen as having parallels with healthcare. Nobody doubts that public health is a good that society needs: the question is how efficiently to *provide for* health. The same should be the case for culture and sport and the relationship that citizens have with them. The policy focus must be on the role of culture in society; the policy action must be about the infrastructural framework that relates to culture.

Geoff Mulgan concluded the article mentioned above as follows:

Skylines provide the simplest test of what a society values, and where its surpluses are controlled. A few centuries ago the greatest buildings in the world's cities were forts, churches and temples; then for a time they became palaces. Briefly in the 19th century civic buildings, railway stations and museums overshadowed them. And then in the late 20th century everywhere they were banks. Few believe that they will be for much longer. But what will come next – great leisure palaces and sports stadiums; universities and art galleries; water towers and hanging gardens; or perhaps biotech empires?[25]

His point is that new institutions will emerge that reflect the new values of society and these will help visualise the public realm, much as the towers of Canary Wharf and the finials of Westminster express power today. Society's values are developed in and determined by culture. In the future, the skyline might be dominated by sports stadia and art galleries, but they will be new forms of institution. The question facing policy-makers now is that, as people turn to cultural institutions in the present, how can those institutions – the DCMS included – best be supported in evolving new forms that will suit the future?

2 Society and the cultural realm

Social and technological change has thrown the importance of culture to the fore in a wide range of policy areas. It has also changed the potential that individuals have within the cultural realm, forcing a reconsideration of the relationship between professional and amateur, and the expert and the public. In the cultural and sporting sectors, institutions and professionals have responded to these changes, taking on new functions in the public realm and opening new opportunities for cultural policy.

The Big Society and the cultural realm

On the first day of Parliament after the general election in 2010, the new coalition unveiled plans to bring about public sector reform that will support the Big Society that 'isn't just the responsibility of just one or two departments. It is the responsibility of every department of Government, and the responsibility of every citizen too.'[26]

The Big Society will depend on people being confident, comfortable and capable of acting within the public realm. The public realm can only be public if people take part in shaping and forming it, and so it not only comprises but is also based on the values that people hold. It is a foundational concept of democratic society, comprising the common set of assets to which people can relate and contribute. As a result, it is a space in which different values meet, merge and mingle and in which the development of society is negotiated. Culture is the expression of these values and so the forms in which it is manifest are the currency of the public realm and society itself.

Social and technological change

Social and technological changes have complicated this relationship, making the cultural range available far wider and open to

many more values than in the past. They also mean that different cultures combine in different ways. The clashing and merging of values is rendered tangible and visible in cultural forms. Outlets for the consumption and production of cultural media have multiplied and will continue to do so. Assumptions that have long been held and are the foundations of many of the structures of society are being challenged. Identities are shifting and sources of authority, from governments and banks to cultural institutions, no longer seem to carry as much weight as in the past.[27] On the streets and online, people both encounter and actively seek out new and different cultural experiences, be it through the foods they eat, the films, television programmes and YouTube clips they watch or the games and sports they play.

Responding to cultural change is one of the most critical challenges of our time and it is important that governments address it. Individual citizens must be equipped with the capabilities – the skills, attitudes and opportunities – to respond to the changes around them. As with other big challenges of today, like obesity, terrorism and climate change, policy must support people to make effective choices and decisions in relation to culture and the different cultural forms that they encounter. It must provide the opportunities by which people can recognise that efficacy and feel that their actions and beliefs have had some impact.

It is commonly assumed that globalisation encourages similarity of values. And, sometimes, it does. Coca-Cola and US films are drunk, sold and consumed the world round. However globalisation also brings radically different values and beliefs together, and – in some cases – can be seen as hegemonic. Coca-Cola and US films are in some parts of the world resented and seen as encapsulating the very worst of capitalist and consumerist morality. Furthermore, as the controversy caused by the play *Behzti* in 2004, or the film *300* in 2007 shows, cultural intermingling is not always benign: the effects can be unexpected and this can change the course of politics as well as the profits of global corporations that had thought their balance sheets unassailable.[28]

It is not just the case that people can now encounter

different cultural stimuli more freely. Using new technologies, they can shape and create culture, too, and their responses to cultural differences are amplified. The lines between consumption and production have been blurred.

Digital media provide a striking example. In 1997, the UK had only just acquired its fifth terrestrial broadcaster. In 2010, the moving image is no longer confined to television and cinema. 5.5 billion videos were viewed online in the UK, up 37 per cent on the previous year. Of these, 226 million – only 4.1 per cent – were watched via the websites of leading TV broadcasters: the BBC, ITV, Channel 4, Five and Sky. The rest were created and posted by individuals and organisations.[29] In late 2009, Ofcom – the UK's media watchdog – reported that the use of social networking websites had risen markedly since 2007 (38 per cent, up from 22 per cent) and that the number of people contributing comments to someone else's blog had also increased (26 per cent, up from 19 per cent).[30] The means to communicate, in other words to create culture, has moved into the hands of the masses as well as conventional cultural producers, be they publicly – funded or commercial. For a generation, this has become the norm and it carries through to the expectations that people have of other forms of culture. It also raises significant questions about the responsibilities and sensitivities required in this new environment in which individuals have greater and more untrammelled expressive power than ever before.

Case study: *Big Brother*
In 2007, furore surrounded the celebrity version of the TV show, Big Brother. *The story of the argument between Jade Goody, two other members of the house and the Bollywood actress Shilpa Shetty is an example of how social and technological change has catapulted cultural issues to the fore of politics and how policy-makers must think anew of the skills people need to be citizens of the cultural realm.*

First, it shows that culture and mass media have global reach. The producers of the programme had realised that by putting Shetty in the house, they could access vast audiences in

India. What had not been expected were the new ramifications that that could have.

Second, it reveals that concepts of the professional, the expert and the public and citizen have been blurred. Jade Goody had, herself, first come to prominence as a member of the public in an earlier version of the show.

Third, cultural conflict caused a clash. Tensions between Shetty and Goody rose throughout the series. Ultimately, these were probably personal, but the flashpoints were cultural. The row between Goody and Shetty was sparked by how Shetty had cooked chicken, itself a cultural form. In the controversy that followed, Goody played on the word 'papadum', another cultural form, in a way that caused racial offence.

Finally, relayed on television and broadcast around the world, the furore impacted directly on politics. In the couple of hours it took for the story to break and spread, Gordon Brown, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, was flying out to India for economic talks. When he landed, he did not face questions about the economy, but a sea of protest about what was going on in the Big Brother *house. Talks on grand political and economic issues were stalled by a lack of readiness on the part of a few individuals, catapulted into the limelight, to respond to cultural difference. Conventional assumptions about power had been completely overturned, and all within the DCMS domain.*

Policy for culture and sport

The changes described above bring a new, educational context for the cultural and sporting sectors. These can be traditional, with cultural and sporting activity contributing to learning, for instance in imparting facts and approaches in subjects like history or through the numeracy skills necessary to sport, benefits that are demonstrated in a systematic review of nearly 70,000 studies, conducted within the CASE programme.[31] They can also be deeper-seated, developing new approaches and outlooks such as the healthy competitiveness on which the Youth Sport Trust focuses, or the more

anthropological outlook engendered by thinking about the arts or creative production.

David Throsby believes that 'in some respects cultural policy and educational policy could be seen as almost synonymous, so pervasive are the interconnections between education and society'.[32] There are many examples of how. In Manchester and the North West, museums have come together to champion the benefits of museum participation in relation to literacy, and work with the council and schools in bringing it about. Combining practice between institutions, they have not only developed tools that help teachers and museum educators use collections to inspire learning and create links between ideas and values that are difficult to make in the classroom, but also market the importance of museum-learning to schools. The network – or, Magpie, (Manchester Museums and Galleries Pilot Project), as the Manchester project is called – also enables evidence of improvement to be gathered and generates innovation that can be transferred from individual projects to the programme as a whole.[33]

However, learning in museums, galleries or theatres and participation in sport can be about more than just acquiring information, enjoying oneself or getting fit.[34] It is also about developing an approach and an attitude. Whatever the Secretary of State for Education might think, dance is *not* a soft subject: say that to an American Indian, whose entire belief system, outlook and history is expressed through dance. Say it, too, to the cast of *StreetDance 3D*, which topped the UK box office in May 2010, overshadowing the Hollywood blockbusters *Robin Hood* and *Prince of Persia* in the process. Among others, *StreetDance 3D* starred the dance group Diversity and 16-year-old George Sampson, both of whom came to public attention by winning the reality TV show, *Britain's Got Talent*. Just as new public phenomena such as reality TV has catapulted individuals to the national and international stage, so the distinction between the expert and the public has been blurred, creating a very different operating environment for professionals in the cultural sector.

As well as having the potential for commercial success, cultural forms are central to expressing values and opinions, and

understanding the beliefs and attitudes of others, which will be critically important as people encounter others and the cultural forms they cherish or produce with greater intensity. Exposure to and interaction with the forms and institutions of the cultural and sporting sector are central means of developing the skills by which people get a sense of the world around them and relate to different points of view. This is essential to how people adapt to change, forming the relationships that allow a concept of society to continue and a sense of identity, place and community to be developed. It is also the source of their creativity as people bring individual experience and values to bear in finding solutions to challenges that can be social, professional or otherwise. As many more cultural stimuli become a part of everyday life, people will need both the skills to accommodate and respond to them, and to feel confident in doing so. Cultural and sporting institutions provide the logic on which that will depend and that has implications across policy areas, from communities to foreign policy. As people interact with others around the world, their cultural behaviour and skills will be of paramount importance in wider inter-national relations.

Culture and sport: clearing up some categorical confusions

Before looking at this in greater detail, it is necessary to clarify terminology. Writing in 2000, at the outset of the current generation of thinking on cultural policy, Robert Hewison observed that 'we have to recognise that the arts carry values that are not communicable in commodity form'.[35] In 2010, David Halpern, who for six years was chief analyst at the Prime Minister's Strategy Unit, echoed this, writing:

The spreading of cultural capital is perhaps the most difficult and controversial to get a policy handle on. This is partly because it feels much more inherently value and preference based. Who is to say what constitutes the basic cultural needs of the typical citizen? Do we all need to have a basic working knowledge of opera, football, and the main TV soaps? Isn't it

enough to equip citizens with the other types of capital and leave them to decide what aspects of culture to acquire or consume?[36]

Halpern's answer is that, ultimately, cultural capital arises as a matter of choice: the cultural breadth available to an individual depends on what he or she chooses to do. However, Halpern does make two significant assumptions. First, he discerns that the provision and safeguarding of access to sufficient resources and opportunity to make that choice *is* a matter of public policy. Second, he also brings pursuits as diverse as opera, football and television viewing together under the single bracket 'culture', a point of view shared by Dave Boyle, Chief Executive of Supporters Direct, who underlines the role of sports clubs as 'cultural institutions'.[37]

The problems of defining culture in policy terms are well-rehearsed.[38] In some instances, the term 'culture' is used to mean the wider, anthropological definition of a cohesive spirit or guiding set of beliefs. People's aspirations and expectations are rooted in this diffuse, complex and elusive space of culture.[39] Cultural influences shape our responses to events, ideas, beliefs, situations, challenges and other people, and one of the ways in which the calculus of these responses is expressed is economics. As Sir Partha Dasgupta, Professor of Economics at the University of Cambridge, notes, 'culture helps to shape preferences, expectations and our notion of what constitutes fairness'.[40] Culture is therefore very important in times of financial pressure.

An important distinction for public policy is that the cultural realm is rendered in what can be called 'cultural forms' and these – much as the metaphor of the skyline mentioned above – make the cultural realm tangible. They are the activities or practical realisations of culture, such as opera, football and TV soaps to which Halpern refers. Cultural forms both reflect and reinforce the beliefs of society.[41] The complication is that this more specific range of forms is also referred to as 'culture' or 'the cultural sector'. It comprises activities such as visual arts, theatre, dance, video-gaming, music in all its forms and so on. These are the creative forms by which people express the tastes, preferences

and opinions that comprise culture and through which people find expression: the cultural realm. Bill Ivey, the former chair of the National Endowment for the Arts in the US, has called this 'expressive life'.[42] This distinction, between 'culture' in its anthropological sense and the media and forms through which it is manifest, is important and has pivotal bearing on cultural policy and also the relationship between public and commercial culture and new and more traditional media.

The academics Tak Win Chan and John Goldthorpe conclude that cultural consumption 'may be directed chiefly towards confirming an individual's membership of a particular status group or network, characterised by a valued lifestyle in which cultural activity has some particular importance'.[43] From the perspective of an anthropological view of culture and the broadened idea of cultural forms that the idea of expressive life implies, it becomes clear that cultural choices are part of how people relate to society and its constituent groups, and this gives a very different perspective on cultural policy. Cultural institutions can help make sense of that in relation to both the past and the present.

Case study: A History of the World in 100 Objects

The British Museum and the BBC have collaborated to use one 100 objects from the Museum's collections to talk about the cultural beliefs and attitudes that they symbolise, providing an illumination and point of comparison with beliefs held today. These have been narrated on Radio 4 by the British Museum's Director, Neil MacGregor.

As well as illustrating how cultural forms represent beliefs and attitudes, A History of the World *is also an example of innovation. It combines traditional museum learning with new and broadcast media to respond to the challenges brought about by globalisation, using objects to introduce ideas and perspectives from around the world.*

Alongside the British Museum's collections, A History of the World *also marks collaboration with local museums across the country. These have chosen over 600 objects from*

their own collections that reflect world history from the perspective of their particular area. Members of the public also have the opportunity to upload images of objects of their choice to the project website, adding personal inflection to a mounting archive of responses and opinions on cultural forms.[44]

On the surface, it may seem easier to arrive at a policy position on sport than on culture. It is possible to 'do' sport, in a way in which it isn't quite possible to 'do' culture and this is reflected in the current policy approach to participation. With defined and predominantly health-oriented goals in mind, it is a more tangible and delineated area of activity. Playing football or cricket would seem a good and measurable indicator of the physical activity that counteracts such health problems as obesity. Studies conducted within the CASE programme show that the healthcare cost saving generated by doing sport varies between £1,750 per person (badminton) and £6,900 per person (health and fitness), and that the total economic value generated by doing sport varies between £11,400 per person (badminton) and £45,800 per person (health and fitness).[45]

Nevertheless, as David Halpern observed and as organisations like Supporters Direct and FC United of Manchester recognise, sport also comprises part of cultural capital. David Throsby is clear that 'there can be little doubt that sport is an element of culture…, that is as a ritual or custom expressing shared values and as a means of affirming and consolidating a group identity'.[46] As a result, while participation in sport can have demonstrable benefits, policy has yet to get a grip on how to respond to their full range and distinguish sufficiently between playing and supporting sport as a social activity, and the effects of sporting activity on health. Similarly, sports bodies tend to focus pragmatically on health outcomes because the budgets currently available are so much larger than those for culture, and so the effect is that the cultural elements of sport are often sidelined. However, health outcomes only come about because of a decision that is ultimately cultural. The

outcome might be better health, the decision as to *how* that is achieved – to play cricket, badminton, or to swim or go to the gym – is a cultural one, and will be driven by cultural considerations, such as the desire to join a club, to take part in a modern, gym-going lifestyle, or otherwise.

The confusions discussed above have a very significant bearing on public policy. If public money is to be spent on culture and sport, then a clearer understanding is needed of why they are a good and how policy-makers can ensure that money is well spent. By separating them from the overarching concept of the cultural realm in its anthropological sense, it becomes easier to see why cultural forms might be funded in terms that go beyond existence for their own sake. Policy can no longer define culture in terms of its institutions. In the end, this results in policy concerning itself with the survival of those institutions and the structures of cultural policy, from the Arm's Length Bodies to the DCMS itself, and missing the wider question of the importance of culture.

Institutions and professionals should be funded to relate to something that is at the very heart of our being: culture. A theatre, for instance, comprises part of the generation and sustenance of culture just as a hospital is part of a wider health service. By consequence, cultural institutions like football clubs or theatres can legitimately be asked to respond to the needs they see in the public and audiences that they serve, and to find opportunity and alternative sources of private and public funding by extending their reach beyond that, rather than being subject to superimposed targets.

Cultural capabilities

A capabilities-based understanding of cultural policy helps avoid the pitfalls just described. In the field of development, Amartya Sen has written of the capabilities 'of persons to lead the kinds of lives they value – and have reason to value'. People should have the right to choose to lead their lives as they will, and they should also have maximum opportunity to access the maximum number of choices. Together, these comprise capabilities, and

they relate directly to public policy and the continued flow of the public realm:

capabilities can be enhanced by public policy, but also, on the other side, the direction of public policy can be influenced by the effective use of participatory capabilities by the public… Having greater freedom to do the things one has reason to value is (1) significant in itself for the person's overall freedom, and (2) important in fostering the person's opportunity to have valuable outcomes. [47]

Much can be drawn from the theory of capabilities in relation to cultural policy. In order to be effective and empowered citizens of the cultural realm, people need a set of cultural capabilities by which to act responsibly and as individuals in relation to the cultural opportunities and stimuli by which they are surrounded.

It will only be possible to develop a society that is fully culturally capable if culture is seen as an essential part of it. People need to be informed not only about the choices before them and the implications that they will have, but also have the confidence and awareness of the structures by which their actions can become effective. Cultural capabilities include:

· a broad education in the cultures of others and the opportunities by which to experience the forms in which they are manifest
· the skills by which to read, access and create different cultural forms
· the opportunity to access the fora in which those forms are available, from YouTube to universities and from museums to MySpace
· more generally, a stronger awareness of the cultural realm and the values that cultural participation can bring

Case study: Making Good Work
The Demos pamphlet Making Good Work *looked at creative partnership projects in Durham, Sunderland.* [48] *Building on work done in these projects, it examined the process of*

empowerment through which young people went in working with creative practitioners. By recognising that, in creating work, they were able to articulate a point of view or opinion, young people were able to recognise similar expressions in the work of others. In this way, they realised that material objects created by hand or by dint of imagination are part of a conversation between values. This is central to the development of capabilities in reading the signs and symbols of the world around them.

Similarly, the young participants were able to see the significance of exhibiting or showing work as a means of communication. This stimulated a sense of audience, prompting learners to take into consideration the way that others would view their work, developing responsibilities and sensibilities as a result. Vitally for commercial futures, young people were also given the opportunity to create work that members of the public would pay to see. In this way, they were able to recognise that their individual creative impulse could generate careers and other opportunities.

From a capabilities perspective, teachers, parents and professional practitioners also came to realise the importance of validating work through exhibition and response. The beliefs and values expressed demand response and recognition. An important part of providing capabilities is therefore providing the means to be seen and heard. It is important that people feel that their expressions are reflected. However, the corollary is the need for new sensibilities and new norms of behaviour.

Cultural capabilities are vital to a further element of Sen's thinking, the importance of 'public reasoning' and the consideration of public interests in public fora.[49] Public reasoning is the consideration 'not only of one's self-interest, but also how the lives of others can be strongly affected by one's own actions', which is the foundation of society and the public realm. This requires a set of capabilities – language, awareness, attitude, confidence, voice, information and desire – and it also requires the provision of spaces in which public reasoning can occur.

Here the insights of marketing are useful. As one former advertiser has written:

You cannot control your people, your customers or your competition, so stop trying. Too much time and energy is spent in the wrong place, in 'managing'. 'Managing' relationships, customers, people, accounts, journalists and so on. Managing is a polite way to say 'controlling'. Banish this idea and you're off to a start. Equally, stop pretending you can make a specific thing happen in the future. Recognize you are the coach and not the team; coach *them in how to interact with each other…*[50]

Cultural capabilities are important because they allow people to interact within the cultural realm of their own accord. As Deputy Prime Minister, Nick Clegg has put it, 'liberal societies, populated by powerful citizens, must attend to the production and distribution not only of cash, but more importantly to the production and distribution of capabilities'.[51] Cultural institutions are part of this distribution. As well as distributing the communicative awareness and methods of approach described in the case study above, they also impart the information by which people can relate to different viewpoints. The British Museum, for instance, has confronted different concepts of power and society in a series of exhibitions on world leaders, a theme continued in other areas of its programming such as *A History of the World in 100 Objects*. Work of this nature reaches beyond institutions and into the public consciousness through the media, and the attention it gathers and the activity that supports it. In the sports sector, organisations like the Youth Sports Trust see sport as being a medium through which values like teamwork, discipline, the balance between individuality and authority and others can be learned and become habit. Similarly, fairplay awards in national and international sports are designed not just to enforce the rules of individual games, but also to reinforce socially held values and beliefs.

Realising the full potential of such activity in the sector as a whole will require a new compact between cultural institutions and organisations and policy-makers in education. It will also require a fuller understanding of how the state can provide for

behaviour in the cultural realm legitimately and without impinging on personal freedoms and damaging the integrity of cultural production.

Case study: The Red Room

The Red Room theatre group is a small enterprise based in London, but working across the UK. Throughout 2010, The Red Room has worked on Oikos, *a project based in Southwark using theatre to examine the implications of climate change and, in particular, how communities might relate to so large and abstract a concept. The project is based on a sense of thrift that is sustainable both financially and environmentally. Three playwrights have been commissioned to respond to the challenges of climate change in new ways, raising questions about what it means for communities and working with local groups on the production of their work.*

The project also depends on innovation and artists working in new ways that both meet the challenge in hand and respond creatively to the theme of the work. The Red Room has collaborated with the Berlin-based architects Martin Kaltwasser and Folke Kobberling, who specialise in creating buildings from reclaimed materials to build a theatre from wood and glass that is sourced by donation from local building sites, found in skips and given by the general public. In this way, Oikos *represents a new approach to issues such as philanthropy, social responsibility and involvement that is sustainable both financially and environmentally.[52] It uses creative principles, that its authors see as being part and parcel of their practice, to tackle issues that are of interest to a range of government departments beyond DCMS and that span from the Ministry of Justice to the Department for Energy and Climate Change and even the Foreign Office.*

Now, and because of the social and technological change outlined above, people need cultural capabilities more than ever. Close working between the DCMS, cultural professionals and

other government departments, in particular the Department for Education, will be essential in developing them. This points to a role for cultural institutions that is far more than that allotted to them at the present with policy. Learning in culture is not just nice to have, it is a basic component of social life.

In the current financial circumstances, it would be easy to ignore the need for cultural capabilities. This would be reckless. If people do not have the capabilities to participate in shaping the culture around them, then there is a serious flaw in the society in which they live. The concept of cultural capabilities connects the different meanings of the culture outlined earlier in this chapter. The forms, media, institutions and channels of culture make the cultural realm manifest. They are expressions of particular approaches to culture and, in responding to them, people create culture anew, be it an adoption or an adaptation of the principles within it. Access – ranging from the opportunity to participate to the education and skills that provide competence and confidence in approaching cultural forms and the representation of new cultural forms in conventional institutions – must therefore be seen as a necessary part of capabilities. It is from the perspective of ensuring capabilities that the government has legitimate grounds for intervention in order to ensure a fair society.

3 Evidence of potential

Research in the cultural and sporting sectors reveals both an avidity of participation and the growing importance of these areas in people's lives. Culture and sport are almost unique in policy terms because they deal with things that people choose to do of their own free will. This gives them democratic and expressive significance. The evidence also shows that these areas will be important in the future as young people grow up with cultural participation as the norm and the means to participate both on and offline a basic part of life, and so underlines the need for cultural capabilities.

A new potential

If predictions had been made 15 years ago about the role that cultural institutions would play by 2010, they would have been a long way off what has been achieved today. In just one example, the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC) has come to play a dramatically different public role, with actors working in schools and amateur dramatic groups performing on stage.[53] It sees part of its remit as being to contribute to the public realm, to learn and, in the process, develop the skills of both its staff and the public that they serve, and has reinvented itself and its commercial success as a result.

Organisations have only been able to take on such challenges through innovation and by responding to the many new demands that the public bring. For example, the National Theatre and Tate have experimented by extending their programming online and have attracted new audiences as a result.[54] Such enterprise can only bring further changes. Inured in the ways of digital participation, audiences expect to become involved and have their say, and this has forced a change in the self-concept of the professional and the idea of the expert. As television programmes like *Britain's Got Talent* and other

phenomena such as social software have blurred conventional hierarchies of professional, amateur and public, thrusting individual cultural and creative talent like that of George Sampson onto the public stage, so cultural institutions and providers have responded to change by developing more open ways of working and repositioning their expertise in relation to wider society.
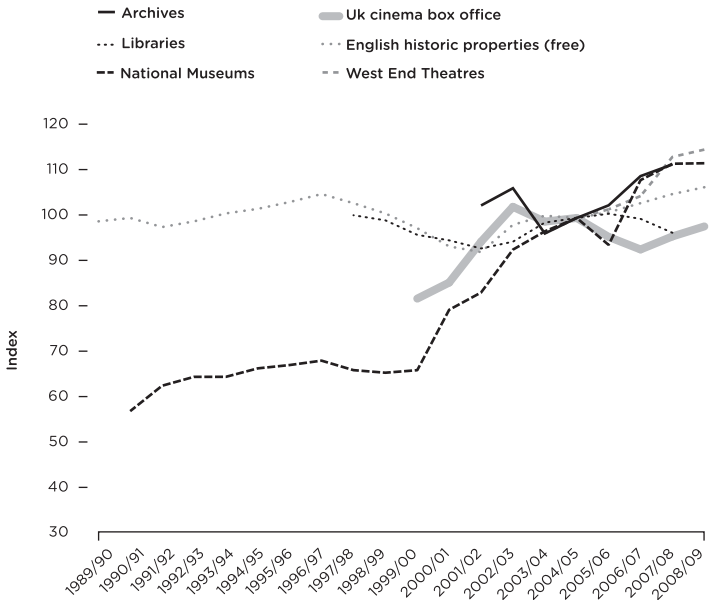
Evidence of avidity

The DCMS' annual survey, *Taking Part*, tells us that, in the 12 months to December 2009, 67.3 per cent of adults participated in two or more different cultural or sporting sectors.[55] The DCMS sectors are almost unique in policy terms in that they depend on people's active choice. By consequence, the levels of participation represent an avid population. Put another way: two-thirds of the UK population *want* to participate in cultural and sporting activities – and 94 per cent participate in *either* cultural or sporting activities. Furthermore, as the list of activities covered by *Taking Part* shows (appendix 1), these figures relate to certain forms of culture. However, as the number of videos viewed or posted online demonstrates, when activity beyond this is taken into account, the evidence for the demand for cultural activity is even stronger.

Such demand implies that people value the kind of experiences that cultural activity or institutions offer.[56] At the same time, visitor numbers to museums and historic properties have risen in recent years, particularly to sponsored museums and galleries where entry to national institutions has been made free.

People also value cultural experiences for educational reasons. 87 per cent of parents say that it is important for their children to take part in cultural activities regularly and 93 per cent consider it important that schools offer children access to cultural activities. Foremost among the reasons were that cultural activities give children 'a better understanding of the world' (40 per cent), and 'help in developing imagination' (32 per cent).[57] It would not be too much to infer from this a public awareness for the need for cultural capabilities.

Figure 1 **Long term trends in visitor numbers (Index based on 2004/05 baseline figure)**

— Archives ▬ Uk cinema box office
··· Libraries ··· English historic properties (free)
-- National Museums -- West End Theatres

Sources: Visit England, Visits to Visitor Attractions survey; CIPFA, Libraries and Archives; Department for Culture, Media and Sport, Free Museums; English Heritage, England historic properties

Cultural and sporting activities are also outlets for social action. They allow people to share interests and get involved in producing a common good – in effect, they comprise a Big Society already thriving in activities connected with the cultural realm. 40 per cent of people (24.6 million) people in the UK take part in formal volunteering once a year, with one in four doing so once a month. The sectors in which they are most likely to do so are sports and exercise (52 per cent), hobbies, recreation, arts and social clubs (40 per cent).[58] Over 2 million people chose to volunteer in sports in 2008/09.[59] In heritage, the National Trust works with volunteers not only to provide people with an opportunity to learn more about the heritage that has

Figure 2   **Trust and cultural and sporting participation**
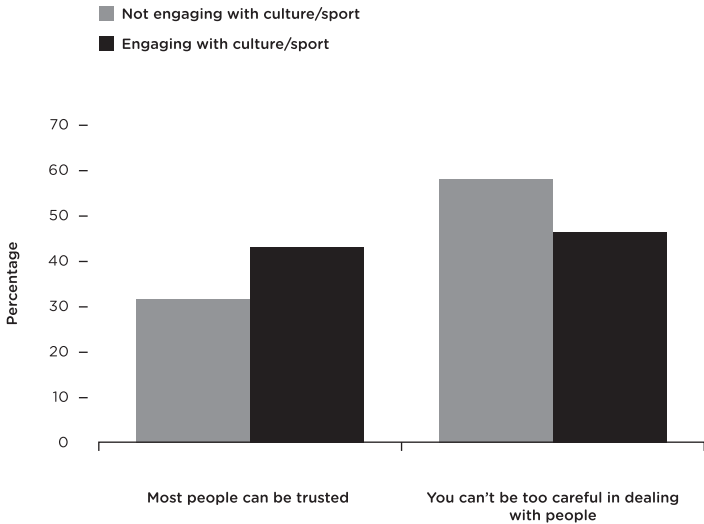
Source: *Taking Part*

shaped the society in which they live, but also by getting involved in it to contribute their values and shape heritage anew: in 2008/09 the Trust saw an increase in volunteering of 6 per cent on the previous year and 45 per cent since 2001/02.[60] Overall, 1.1 per cent of the population volunteers in heritage and the heritage workforce of the UK numbers about 57,350[61]; thus almost ten times as many volunteer in the sector as work in it, making it a powerful vehicle by which people achieve social good.

Such goods have significant implications for society because those who volunteer in the cultural sector are also more likely to trust people in their neighbourhood.

Volunteering amounts to more than community spirit. As well as being a means of offering people the chance to become involved for social reasons, volunteering can also impact beneficially on an organisation's capacity and financial potential. In

Figure 3   **Trust and volunteering in cultural and sporting activities**

What proportion of your neighbourhood can be trusted?
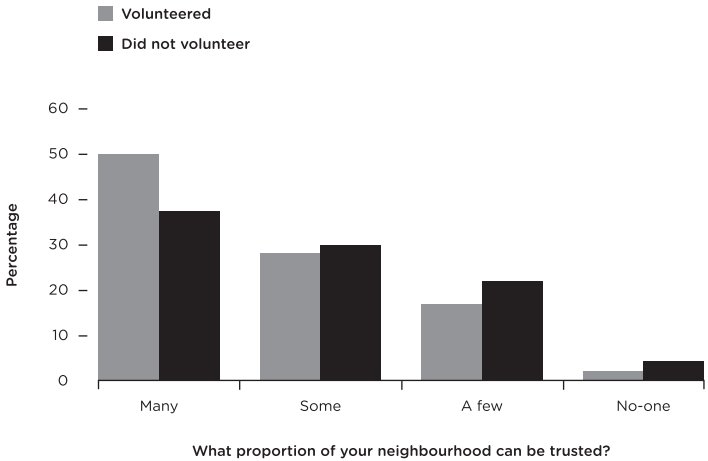
Source: *Taking Part*

cultural and sporting activities, the most common forms of volunteering are organising and running events, and raising money.

Professional innovation, such as that demonstrated in working with volunteers, reveals a sector that is learning to meet a demand that it can see growing. It also opens new opportunities. The social motivation behind it suggests that organisational forms such as mutuals, cooperative societies and other user and employee-led structures might usefully be explored. As will be discussed below, this could have significant policy implications in thinking about how the sector could relate more closely to culture in its anthropological sense, and in how the threat facing the sector in the current financial crisis might be avoided in the future.

There are also further social benefits. On the one hand, engagement declines with age.

However, on the other, volunteering in culture *increases* with age.[62]

Figure 4   **Volunteer involvement**
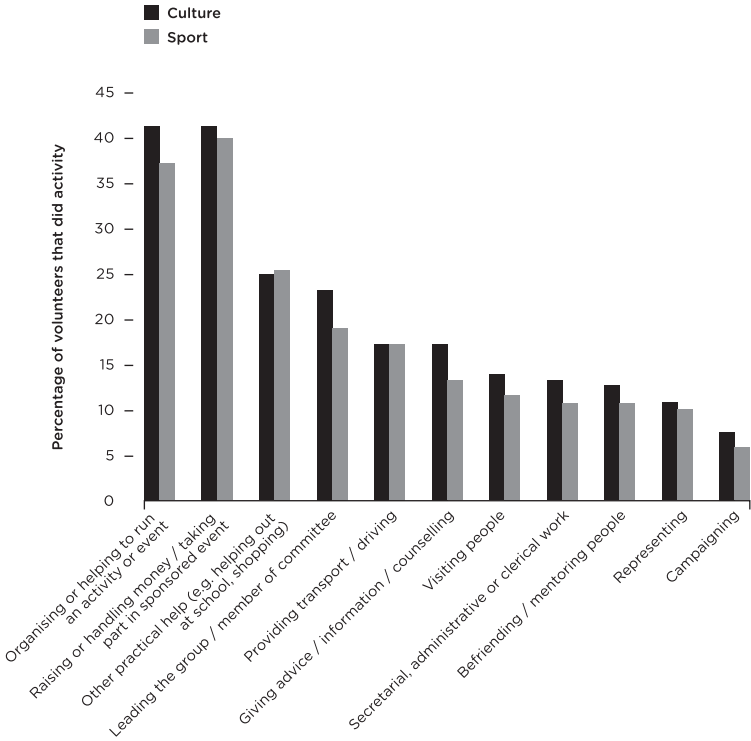
Source: The Citizenship Survey

If participation in culture and sports is to be desired, then innovation already under way in the sector around volunteering might well provide ways of sustaining and enhancing it. The ageing population is set to be a dominant policy issue of the coming years. According to the Office for National Statistics, the percentage of the UK population aged 65 and over increased from 15 per cent in 1984 to 16 per cent in 2009 – an increase of 1.7 million people. At the same time, the number of those aged

Figure 5

Engagement in cultural and sporting activities drops off with age

- Library
- ··· Museum/gallery
- -- Arts participation
- Arts attendance
- ·· Heritage
- - - Active sport
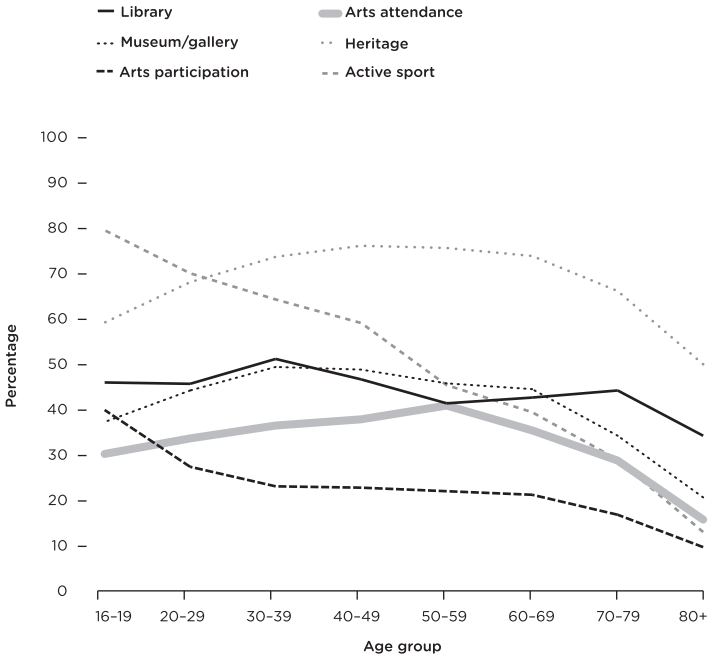
Source: *Taking Part*

under 16 decreased from 21 per cent to 19 per cent. By 2034, 23 per cent of the population will be over 65 compared with 18 per cent aged under 16.[63] An ageing population brings with it the need to provide people with the means to keep active, but also the opportunity to learn from the experience that people bring, be it as contributors to learning and memory in a museum or heritage institution, or through the coaching experience that older members of communities can offer. Cultural and sporting activities offer people the means by which to contribute to society more widely, and to leave a social bequest to subsequent

Figure 6   **Propensity to volunteer related to age**
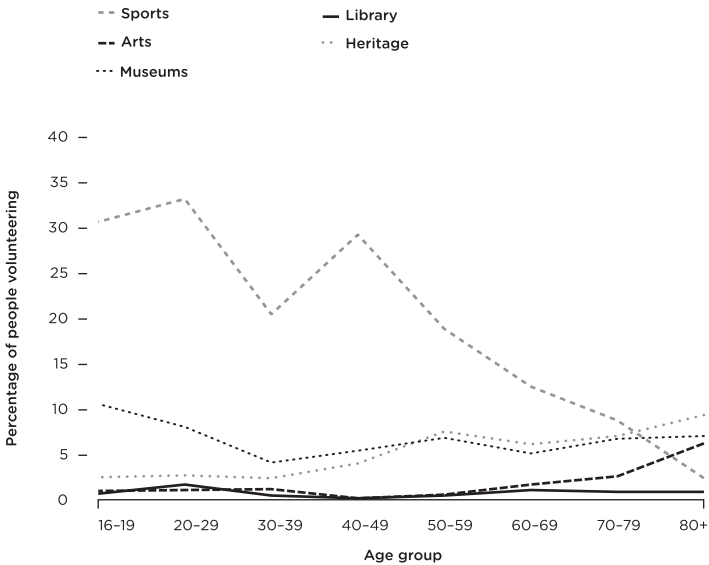
Source: *Taking Part*

generations. In this way, activity in the cultural realm has real bearing on the Department for Work and Pension's concern with the ageing population and, in particular, the Active at 60 programme launched in 2009.[64]

The dividends of the cultural realm
John Maynard Keynes who, as well as being the towering voice of modern economics, founded the Arts Council wrote:

We are capable of shutting off the sun and the stars because they do not pay a dividend. London is one of the richest cities in the history of civilization, but it cannot 'afford' the highest standards of achievement of which its own living citizens are capable, because they do not 'pay'.[65]

Figure 7 **Household final consumption spend (in real terms, 2006 constant prices)**

☐ Culture
☐ Sport
☐ Games
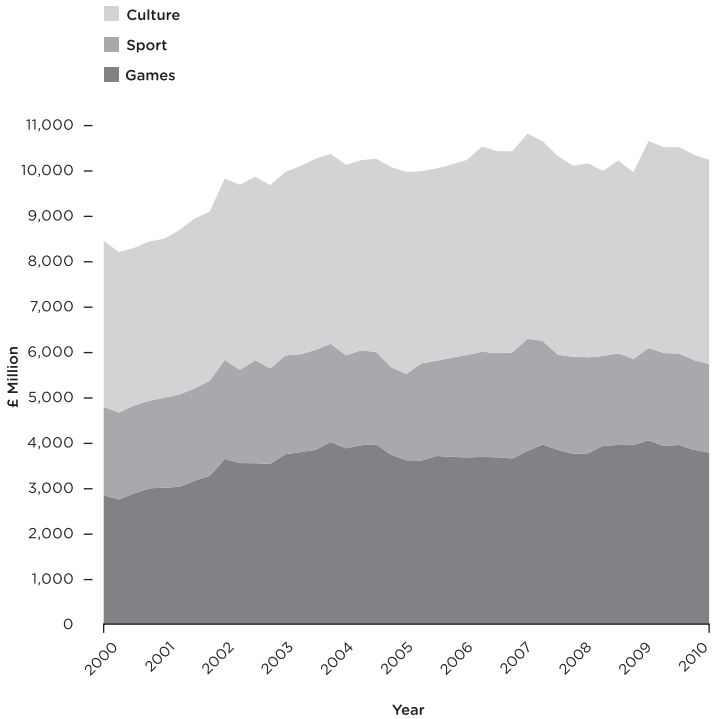
Source: ONS Consumer Trends Data

Keynes' point was that monetary assessments of the 'worth' of culture will not suffice, and that the benefits that cultural activities bring about will not necessarily be provided for by a market.

However, Keynes would be pleasantly surprised to see that the demand described in this chapter is reflected in people's spending choices: people *do* place high value on cultural and sporting opportunity. In Bolton, research into local museums and libraries revealed that users and non-users collectively valued

its service at £10.4 million, where its actual cost to the local authority was £6.5 million.[66] It is further testimony to the appeal of the sectors and the degree to which the public at large value them that, as the gravity of the current economic crisis set in, spending on cultural services actually rose.

Such demand gives cultural production economic significance.[67] Overall, the most reliable estimates of the DCMS sector indicate that it contributes about 10 per cent to the UK's GVA each year, and that excludes the part played by museums and heritage.[68] Furthermore, cultural education and experience stimulate the creativity that drives the knowledge and creative economy.[69] However, as the new Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport recognises, culture has value that goes well beyond this. The shift needed is from seeing willingness to pay – be it manifest in people's choices as consumers or in explicit surveys such as that in Bolton – as a demonstration of policy output and a substitute for public funding, to seeing it as representing a growing appetite that needs meeting, and as evidence from which further policy innovation might be developed.

This value is evident in small scale philanthropic activity, which must be seen not simply as a means of financing cultural activity, but primarily as a vehicle by which individuals and groups can contribute to the cultural realm. For years, major institutions from the British Museum and the Royal Opera House and sports such as cricket and football have proved among the most adept at generating income from large-scale private and corporate sponsorship and gifts from foundations. In the sports sector, this is demonstrated by the sponsorship logos on sports strips or of spaces in grounds around the country. In the arts, the Royal Opera House has the 'Paul Hamlyn Floral Hall', the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra is sponsored by, among others, Barclays and the brewers Mitchell and Butler, and the RSC in nearby Stratford owes its foundation to another brewer, Flowers.

However, as belts tighten, sponsorship on this scale will be even harder to come by. Recent closures of museums and other cultural institutions in the USA are a salient warning that large-scale philanthropy can be a part of, but cannot be the foundation stone for, a funding settlement in the future. There, arts funders

reduced their budgets by between 10 and 80 per cent in the recession.[70] Nevertheless, smaller scale examples show that individual citizens can be keen to spend their money, as well as their time contributing to culture overall. The Red Knights, the supporters who clubbed together in an attempt to buy Manchester United Football Club in 2010, demonstrated their care for the club as a social, rather than financial asset.[71] In the same city, FC United, a club set up in opposition to the take-over of Manchester United by the Glazer family, has used a mutual structure to fund operating costs of £125,000 that have supported the club's sporting success. As a spokesman for the club said:

It's very pleasing to hit our cash target, but the success of the campaign cannot be measured in purely monetary terms. Success in this instance is measured by the fact that we have fulfilled our commitment to providing affordable and accessible football. And it is measured by the fact supporters have been empowered to be able to influence the future of their club.[72]

Similarly, in August 2010, Arsenal FC launched its Fanshare scheme, which is intended to support a similar feeling that the club is more than a business or investment, and has social value besides.[73] Such enterprise is ambitious, but it can also help fill gaps for which public money cannot provide. It has prompted new methods of fundraising and new business models, based ultimately on people's willingness to contribute to an overall sense of culture. In the case of larger, business sponsor-ship, this drives corporate responsibility, the practice whereby companies can contribute to the environment in which they operate by giving to societal causes. In so doing, they benefit both in terms of reputation, and by nurturing the common resources from which they draw for employment and business. By presenting themselves as a means by which people can access the cultural realm, and underlining their importance to society, cultural organisations and practitioners could be a part of this.

At the level of individual giving, and drawing on the impact of mass innovation and internet phenomena such as Wikipedia, there have been experiments in 'crowd-sourced'

funding in the cultural sector. In 2009, the report *Digital Britain* advocated micro-payments as a means of monetising digital content and similar innovation could apply in the cultural sector.[74] The principle has also worked in relation to non-digital content and in many ways continues a tradition of subscriptions for public statuary and other projects in the cultural domain. During the renovation of the South Bank Centre, a £300 gift bought people a plaque on a seat, bearing either their name or that of a friend or family member. In 2007, £4.95 million was raised to buy Turner's watercolour *The Blue Rigi* for the nation. Alongside money from Tate, the Art Fund and charitable trusts, members of the public contributed by 'buying a brushstroke': this was visualised on Tate's website as each £5 gift bought an extra pixel, until eventually, through collective effort and widespread charity, the image of *The Blue Rigi* was complete.[75]

Case study: The Staffordshire Hoard

In 2009, a lone metal detectorist discovered approximately 5kg of gold and 1.3kg of silver in a field in Staffordshire. It was the single biggest find of Anglo-Saxon treasure in history. In size, it eclipsed the Sutton Hoo find, which amounted to 1.6kg of precious metals.

In material terms, the find is worth £100,000, but its social, cultural and historical importance is far greater. To keep it in the public domain as part of the cultural realm accessible to the people of Staffordshire and the UK as a whole, a total of £3.3 million was needed. This was reached in May 2010, with a grant of £1.3 million from the National Heritage Memorial Fund.

The rest of the money was raised by grants from the Art Fund and local authorities in Staffordshire and Birmingham. Importantly, however, a large number of individual donors contributed what they could and what they wanted. When the hoard was exhibited in Stoke, more than 52,000 people visited the museum in three weeks, contributing more than £120,000: one anonymous donor contributed £50,000. As significantly, one nine-year-old girl from Devon, pledged £10 from her own

piggy bank to help 'save the treasure'. The social will of individuals, manifest in gifts small and large, has enabled a coalition of funders, heritage agencies and local authorities to secure a significant heritage asset as part of the cultural realm. [76]

One of the recommendations of this pamphlet is that, because culture is so important to society, it could be an integral part of the CSR activities of organisations. For this to happen, government and cultural professionals need to build on the avidity and appeal described in this chapter to make the social case for culture more strongly, ensuring that culture is represented in terms that will allow for investment from businesses as well as individuals. In particular, the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS) should ensure that culture is represented in the advice given to organisations in this respect.

To support this, a further recommendation is that policy-makers and cultural professionals could collaborate to develop measures of social return on investment (SROI) in the cultural sector. [77] More widely, third sector organisations have come to play an important role in policy delivery – for example in working with vulnerable groups such as the homeless or children in care – and governmental investment in the sector has risen. This brings with it responsibilities to the tax-payer and the need to demonstrate real impact and an increased interest from the sector itself on SROI. Experts recognise that SROI is still very much an idea in development, and that the measures of SROI will need to be far more standardised and fitted to the sectors that they serve. Nevertheless, as SROI grows in profile, the expectation among policy-makers is that it will be an important element in determining public and private investment in the future. Given the role that culture plays in society, it must be a part of this debate.

Cultural participation and the future

Alongside financial contributions in the present, the cultural and sporting sectors play an important role in educating generations that, in a matter of years, will grow up to be productive citizens. Evidence from the CASE programme shows that young sporting participants have improved their test scores by 29 per cent, while participation in arts results in a positive impact on attainment (by 1–2 per cent improvement in test scores), cognitive skills (by a 16–19 per cent improvement in test scores) and transferable skills (by a 10–17 per cent improvement in test scores).[78] This is encouraging because participation by young people in particular is extraordinarily high (over 90 per cent in the arts and sports).[79]

It could be argued that much of this is down to the curriculum, but the fact remains that more young people are participating in cultural and sporting activities and this is significant. There is a good chance that these young people will grow up to be cultural citizens. Participation in the arts when young has been shown to result in participation when older, and so a strong demand for cultural and sporting activities in the future can be expected, especially if the legacy of the Olympics works as planned. CASE research enables policy-makers to predict that greater engagement in culture when young is likely to drive greater engagement as an adult. It shows that those who visit museums and attended art events as children are more likely to do so when older, and that this effect is maintained throughout their lifetime.[80]

If the avidity of the current generation is matched by that of a generation still to grow up, and for whom opportunity, education and technology have combined to make cultural activity a basic part of life, then demand will be high and the structures must be in place to meet that need. Even by the time of the Olympics in 2012, there will have been significant increases in demand across the DCMS sectors.[81] As participation grows, that will grow further and, if people do not have the opportunity to participate, then it will be the country as a whole that is missing an opportunity.

Figure 8   **Young people's participation**

■ Arts   ▫ Heritage
▫ Library   ■ Sports
▫ Museums
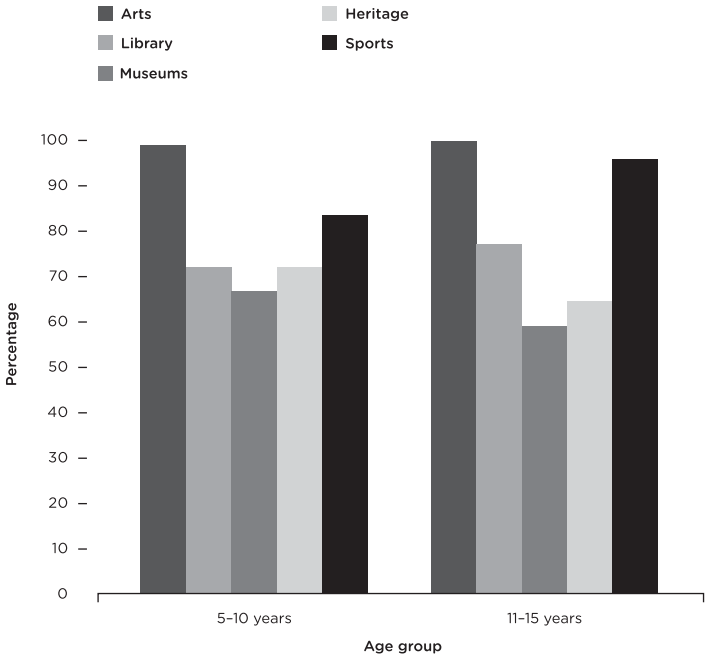
Source: *Taking Part*

Evidence of potential

The evidence discussed in this chapter tells a story not just of value for money, but of potential. By reconsidering what the terms 'culture' and 'sport' actually mean in society, it is possible to rethink what participating in them might mean from a governmental perspective. Importantly in the current fiscal context, it also provides an opportunity to take a serious look at how policy might take a more user and demand-led approach more efficiently to support a commercial audience – or market – for culture and sport in which providers generate goods in

Figure 9   **Probability of engaging in culture by childhood experience**

A. Visiting a museum

··· High childhood experience

— Low childhood experience
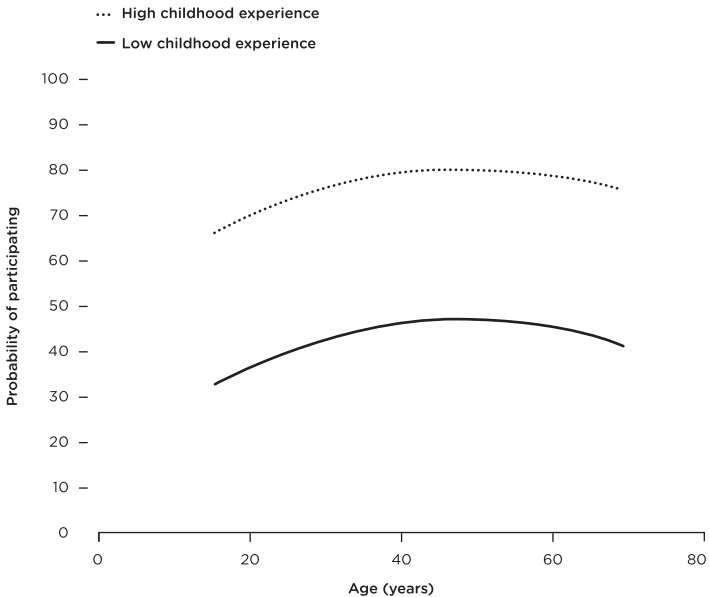
response to emergent and identified need, rather than superimposed expectations.

For professionals within the sector, changes in society and technology allow innovation. As the Minister for Culture, Ed Vaizey, has written:

Far from government seeking to put in place a new compact for the digital age, it is incumbent on government to set arts organisations free from regulation and bureaucracy, while maintaining a firm financial commitment to the best that the country has to offer.[82]

B. Attending an art event
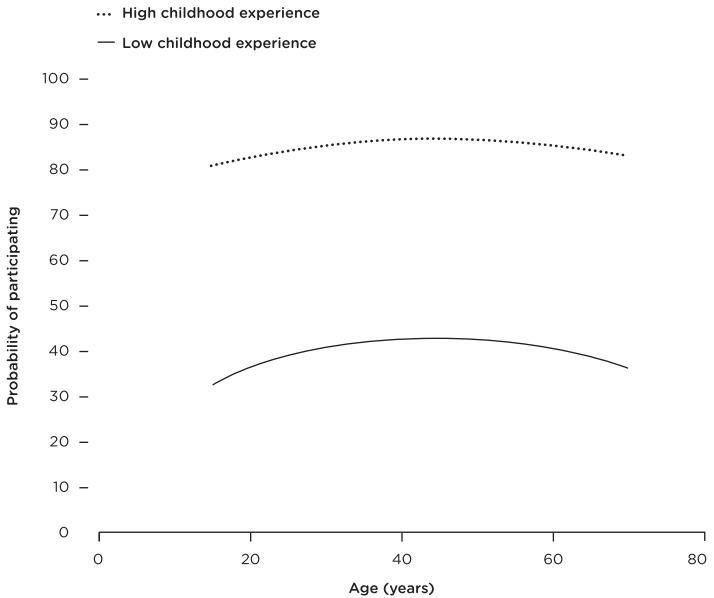
Source: These graphs have been adapted from CASE research, *Understanding the drivers of engagement in culture and sport – Summary Report*, p 20

From the basis of the avidity, enthusiasm and support that has been outlined in this chapter, those that follow outline a different way of approaching the policy relevance of 'culture' and 'sport' in the context of changes in policy-making more widely, and further supporting 'the best that this country has to offer'.

Figure 10

Change in the number of people engaging in culture and sport as a result of demographic changes by 2012 (thousands)
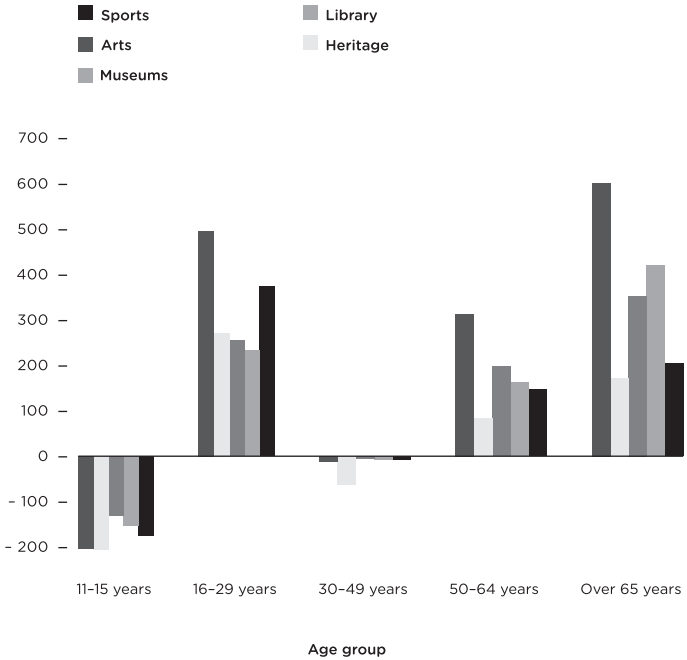
- ■ Sports
- ■ Arts
- ■ Museums
- ■ Library
- ■ Heritage

Age group

Source: Matrix Knowledge Group, *Understanding the drivers of engagement in culture and sport - Summary report*, p 30

4 Culture, sport and policy

Separating the idea of the cultural realm from the forms by which it is accessed and made manifest allows a different approach to cultural policy. The questions asked in making cuts and as determined in the government's plans for the comprehensive spending review can only be answered on this basis. The full value of the sector to society can only be realised with this understanding in place alongside a fundamental change of approach from within the sector itself.

Cutting from the right cloth

If capabilities are a rationale for the state's involvement with cultural activity, the question remains as to what cultural institutions the public sector *should* provide for. David Throsby's observation in relation to arts policy that it has traditionally 'tended to focus on the so-called serious arts, allowing the inclusion of artforms such as grand opera and the exclusion of others such as soap opera' has wider relevance.[83] If both opera and soap opera can function as media by which culture as the lifeblood of society is circulated, then the rationale by which governments decide what cultural forms to support has to change.

Policy decisions are often made on the basis of market failure. If people's access to something considered a public good is occluded, be it through the failure of a market mechanism to produce it, information required to access it or a privileging of certain groups in its consumption and manifestation, then government's intervention is considered legitimate. A market failure approach to public policy more generally is well established and remains one of the most commonly used means of balancing competing policy interests. This logic has critical implications for cultural policy. There can be no market failure

in culture because it is something that we create, generate and respond to through human interaction, whether institutions are in place or not. However, because culture is so important a determinant of society, it is vitally important that people have access to its full range and diversity and that the institutions in place for them to do so reflect their opinions and beliefs and the changes to which they are subject. There *can* be market failure in the provision of the forms that provide opportunity for them to do so.

The implications of this argument are worth spelling out in detail because they are foundational to how professionals and policy-makers alike can rethink the importance of cultural activity. Policy should concern itself with cultural forms and institutions as giving people the spaces, opportunities and skills by which to participate in shaping, taking part in and responding to the culture of which society is comprised. This means that policy decisions should be based on questions that relate to people's capabilities in relation to the cultural realm. Do people within society have equitable access to it? Are different cultural beliefs represented within it? Is there sufficient opportunity for people to express themselves within it? Answering these questions will require a new evidence base to be put into practice and this poses challenges not only to government, but also to the cultural and sporting sectors themselves.

How institutions relate to culture

Judgements as to what to fund based on a crude equation between cultural institutions and culture will not suffice because they leave some activities out, and some voices become more equal than others. For instance, a specific institution such as a boxing club or concert hall might not provide for all cultural needs and wishes, and the cultural voice of some members of society will go unrepresented if there is no provision for it. Culture does not necessary mean a theatre, just as sport does not necessarily mean football. As it stands, there is no particular reason why an area might need a cinema rather than a theatre

and, when funds do not allow for them both, there is little way of deciding between the two.

A new way forward will depend on a new vision and sense of purpose within the cultural and sporting sector. Professionals in the sector must consider how they relate to the wider concept of the cultural realm. Cultural and sporting institutions must become more responsive to their audiences and publics and spot different needs that they can meet at community, local and national levels. From this basis, it will be possible to arrive at a clearer, more needs-driven rationale for the allocation of public funding. It also enables policy-makers and grant-givers a clearer sense of what they are funding and why, and, because cultural and sporting activities fulfil basic communicative and social needs this does not diminish their integrity as cultural forms.

The cultural sector as a whole is already well advanced in using public funds as a basis from which to generate further support in this way. Many institutions are innovative and creative, seeing their work as being driven by emergent needs and changes in society. As a result, they have flourished and many have proven the timeworn assumption, reiterated in recent articles in the press, that the cultural sector cannot run a good business to be completely and unfairly false.[84] Their example provides a way forward for cultural policy. Coupled with a more sophisticated understanding of why policy should be concerned with culture, funding based on the principle of seed-funding institutions and cultural professionals to generate social goods on their own terms could make the system both far more efficient and, importantly, give it greater integrity in relation to the ambitions and work of the sector itself.

Case study: The RSC

After a period of organisational and financial crisis, the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC) undertook a process of organisational change. This change was led according to the organisation's foundational principle, the idea of 'ensemble'. Ensemble refers to the management of a rehearsal room in such a way that actors work in equity for the good of the whole.

However, the change process at the RSC has also been driven by the response to the changing environment of the organisation's business and operations.

In this way, the RSC required staff at all levels of the organisation, from areas that range from finance through the acting company, to consider their work in relation to the organisation as a whole and its audiences. This process entailed opening the theatre and its operations, to the extent that the redesign of the new Royal Shakespeare Theatre in Stratford-upon-Avon brings about greater interaction between the theatre and its staff, and the audiences. In particular, it is built around a thrust stage that enables actors to occupy the same space as the public.

A further change came with the greater involvement of the acting company in the educational work of the organisation. Actors now undertake postgraduate training in education, and – working with Creative and Cultural Education (CCE) – the RSC is at the hub of a learning network of schools, similar to that described in Manchester above (p 37). Importantly, the RSC now also works with local amateur dramatic groups, giving them the chance to perform their work on stage in Stratford.

Far from detracting from or diluting the professional work of the acting company, the process of opening the organisation has enabled the RSC to go from strength to strength. In a survey, members of staff and actors reported remarkably high levels of satisfaction with the organisation: 82 per cent said that they would recommend the RSC as a place to work, compared with averages of 55 per cent and 64 per cent in the public and private sectors respectively. Critically, the RSC's work has recovered to receive rave reviews and numerous awards. Financially, the company's fortunes have been turned around, eliminating the deficit it had incurred, and stabilising its finances of its own accord, all within a matter of four financial years.[85]

5 Taking the cultural pulse of a nation

Policy-makers have begun to recognise the inadequacy of current approaches in making decisions intended to contribute to good governance and people's well-being. At the same time, measurement in the cultural and sporting sectors has led to a growing realisation on the part of both policy-makers and cultural professionals that participation brings benefits in relation to society more widely that are part of cultural experience itself, and do not come at the expense of integrity. Combined with a capabilities-based approach, this creates more legitimate grounds for identifying areas for policy intervention.

While culture and sports professionals have charted a new course, seeding a growing awareness of what role they play in society as a whole, policy more widely is changing. In 2009, the French president Nicolas Sarkozy asked Jean-Paul Fitoussi to convene a team of fellow economists, among them the Nobel Prize-winners Amartya Sen and Joseph Stiglitz, to assess the effectiveness of market-driven theory as a means of assessing public policy. They concluded that:

What we measure affects what we do; and if our measurements are flawed, decisions may be distorted… we often draw inferences about what are good policies by looking at what policies have promoted economic growth; but if our metrics of performance are flawed, so too may be the inferences that we draw.[86]

In cultural policy, measurement has on occasion missed the point, but it has also contributed momentum to the realisation that cultural experiences have significant relevance to society as a whole.

Taking the cultural pulse of a nation

The social aspects of cultural participation are more than simply outputs. They are part of the experience of participation itself, and reflect an individual's involvement in the cultural realm. This means that policy-makers need to understand participation in cultural activity across the population better. Because cultural and sporting policy has hitherto focused on *creating* social goods, rather than responding to the wider flow of culture, the evidence base will have to be developed to meet new needs.

Taking Part provides a good starting point. It has the potential to be a vital way of understanding society in Britain as a whole. If, as it should, culture is to play a significant a role in policy-making more widely, then the evidence base needs to be developed accordingly and become a means of taking the cultural pulse of a nation.

Currently, the evidence for participation in *Taking Part* is aggregated and includes those who have:

· used a public library service at least once in the past 12 months
· attended a museum, gallery or archive at least once in the past 12 months
· engaged in the arts at least three times in the past 12 months
· visited at least two historic environment sites in the past 12 months
· participated in 30 minutes of moderate intensity level sport and active recreation on three or more days in the past week[87]

Although *Taking Part* comprises a rich dataset beyond this, and is one of the most vital tools that sectoral bodies have of understanding participation, examination of these measures reveals a great deal. First, because policy has sought to use it as a measure of efficacy, *Taking Part* necessarily focuses on the four prime domains of culture and sport participation as determined by the structures of cultural policy as it stands. These are: arts and culture (including domains that are Arts Council England's and – at the moment – the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council's responsibilities), heritage (English Heritage) and sport (Sport England). Second, they reveal the nature of what interest government has in the past had in participation in culture and

sport. Culture and the arts are valued for more cerebral and social reasons and sport for reasons more associated with health, which reflects the availability of public funding for health as compared to culture. A visit to the gallery is of interest in relation to lasting memories and learning; a game of football is of interest because it impacts on health.

As its domain-based approach reveals, *Taking Part* is also used as the basis for making decisions with regard to public funding: the information it gathers reflects the way that UK policy is structured in relation to the cultural sector. However, in the public mind, the distinction between heritage and a museum, or the visual arts and a gallery, is less clear-cut than the participation guidelines described above imply. People might prefer football to rugby, or the visual arts to music, but they would not reasonably deny that each is important: it is more that – consciously or not – one is their preferred outlet for attaining some of the benefits of cultural participation either in general or at a given time. Equally, a visit to a museum or gallery can contribute to a person's experience of the cultural realm in much the same way as heritage.

This means that the rationale of the government's current measurement does not equate to the rationale for people's behaviour. A judgement of whether or not to fund a museum cannot be based on people's attendance at museums alone because what the government should value is people's participation in the wider concept of culture and not a museum *per se*. In the future, *Taking Part* should include motivational questions that provide evidence that can be used to target policy interventions more precisely. What is at issue is the way that a museum, theatre or sports club serves the people and how it allows them to access and participate fully in the culture around them.

A further complication that arises from current policy assumptions is the relationship between private and publicly funded culture. In many regards, this is a false distinction. The publicly funded institutional infrastructure of culture combines with a wide array of other media of consumption and production to form culture as a whole.[88] An individual can enjoy or learn from a film whether it takes the form of an Arts Council funded

screening in a regional arts cinema, or a two-minute clip posted on YouTube by a seven-year-old in South America. However, from the strict perspective of public policy, George Osborne and his new team at HM Treasury have a duty to assess the impact of the public pound, just as the taxpayer has a right to accountability. In the future, measurement must seek both to assess cultural participation as a whole and *within that* examine participation in the publicly funded sector and so build a picture of how the public formulation of culture is reflecting the cultural realm more widely.

Nevertheless, the evidence gathered in the cultural and sporting sectors already demonstrates that cultural and sporting activity has implications way beyond what are conventionally thought of as cultural and sporting domains. These impacts – on education, on society, on awareness of contemporary issues and peoples – are not the final word on the impact of activities, but a position from which to step back and think anew of what the relationship between government and culture might be.

Taking Part shows that participants in sports and cultural activities are more likely to feel satisfied with their local area. While it is possible that those who are more likely to be participants in sports or culture are also more likely to be active in social activities, it is clear that sports and culture provide outlets for societal behaviours that others are not accessing. More particularly, *Taking Part* also reveals that those who feel they had a lot of influence over the quality and variety of culture and sporting facilities in their area are also more likely to be satisfied with the area in general. (This data is included in appendix 3.)

The overwhelming impression is that culture and sports participation does not just help social agendas, it contributes to the formation of society itself. Cultural and sports institutions provide people with the chance to encounter others with the same cultural outlook and, when they encounter those with different perspectives, negotiate positions from which they can form new bonds. In this way, they are vital organs in society. From this perspective, it is no coincidence that the canonical text on the formation and sustenance of societies, *Bowling Alone*, takes as its title a cultural and sporting activity.[89]

Case study: The Museum of East Anglian Life

The Museum of East Anglian Life is an 80-acre museum in Stowmarket, Suffolk. It is dedicated to preserving agricultural skills, equipment and buildings, and hence the heritage and identity of the area.

The museum is also run as a social enterprise. Working from the basis of its collections and values, it works to redress inequalities in the local labour market and support people in meaningful, work-based activity. In addition, it draws on the will of local people as volunteers who not only provide a source of labour that can sustain the organisation, but also bring knowledge and stories about the subject of the museum, giving people a chance to connect with their heritage and participate in its sustenance.

Alongside providing opportunities for volunteering, the museum also offers a variety of accredited training from National Vocational Qualifications to basic skills certificates in topics that range from horticulture, to land management and museum based operations. In this way, the museum can not only generate income, but act as a valuable educational provider to the local area and as a host organisation for educational bodies from City and Guilds to Lantra, the Sector Skills Council for environmental and land-based industries. At the same time, it sustains interest and awareness in the themes and industries that it represents.

The museum has also developed a second strand of enterprise that raises funds that can be reinvested in the museum. The training courses and work with volunteers generate products, like plants and other horticultural goods. These are then sold to raise funds for the museum and its operations. In the spring and autumn, for example, the museum sells hanging baskets grown and planted by the trainees on the programme. These baskets are available to the public, but the museum has also branched out and won contracts to supply local pubs and the town council. Demand has been such that the museum has recently needed to negotiate a pro bono deal with a local nursery to use some of its empty greenhouses.[90]

Focusing on capabilities

Measurement of the cultural sector has suffered by taking too retrospective a focus. The assumption is that a visit to a museum, participating in the arts or taking part in a sporting activity will have imparted some benefit to the individual or group. In effect, the foundational principle has been that impact, even if it is learning, is bought with the expenditure of a set amount of money and is a sealed deal. This principle must change. By funding such enterprises, public funding should seek to ensure the basic existence of a good in the sense that institutions provide access and opportunity in relation to culture: it is *not* a means of purchasing social outcomes, which are additional benefits.

By seeing cultural participation in generative terms and the provision of institutions and other cultural forms as putting opportunities in place by which to participate in the cultural realm and, ultimately, the formation of society, policy-makers can think in terms of potential. Participation brings about exposure that in turn accrues and feeds greater participation. The important qualification is that participants are not just learning more about a given cultural or sporting form, they are participating in the creation of culture anew. This means that they must also be given greater say and ownership in the formation of the culture of which they are a part.

Cultural capabilities require that people be given the chance to participate in the cultural realm as a basic right and responsibility of a citizen. From this basis, policy-makers can act with new legitimacy. Policy should not promote a certain kind of culture because it is perceived to be good for people. Rather, cultural provision should be seen as providing spaces and opportunity for expression. As the next chapter demonstrates, this makes gaps in provision significant. It also provides a stronger position from which the case for culture can be argued in policy debates in the future.

The concept of capabilities does not provide clear-cut answers as to what should be funded, how and where, but it does provide a means by which such decisions can be made. As will be discussed in chapter 7, larger institutions provide a logic and validation to the cultural realm. The ability of smaller

institutions and individual professionals to identify and provide for the needs of citizens enables them to develop people's cultural capabilities.

6   The evidence for change

A capabilities-based approach to culture, and the growing importance of cultural skills brought about by social and technological change, mean that gaps in cultural provision take on new significance. More generally, twin trends in research and policy-making have led to a reconsideration of governmental 'success', and a new focus on the idea of 'well-being'. New CASE research demonstrates that cultural and sporting activity makes demonstrable contributions to this agenda. However, research in the DCMS sector also reveals that there are geographic and social inequalities in provision and opportunities, which pose significant challenges for society, and specific policy agenda such as localism and the Big Society. At the same time, the new thinking for cultural policy outlined in this pamphlet points to the need for greater and different knowledge about participation.

Well-being

Twin developments in research and policy-making set a new context for cultural policy. Recent research has demonstrated the detrimental effects of inequality to society and individuals within it. In policy-making, this has sharpened a focus on well-being. Together, these trends reflect wider social changes as the capitalist values represented by the chrome and glass of corporate towers are challenged by values rooted in other concerns, such as ecology or the knowledge economy. David Cameron has expressed this, and its implications on politics, succinctly:

It's time we admitted that there's more to life than money, and it's time we focused not just on GDP, but on GWB – general well-being. Well-being can't be measured by money or traded in markets. It can't be required by law or delivered by government. It's about the beauty of our surroundings, the quality of our culture, and above all the strength of our relationships.

Improving our society's sense of well-being is, I believe, the central political challenge of our times.[91]

In the 1970s, the economist Richard Easterlin identified a paradox that confounded the growth-driven assumptions of modern economics.[92] Beyond a basic threshold, increases in material wealth seem to make neither people nor societies happier. Recent research confirms this and more: it is not simply that, beyond the lower echelons of earning, wealth does not increase individual happiness; increasing inequality between individuals that arises from a culture of pursuing wealth leads to demonstrable and ultimately costly social ills.[93]

At the same time, research into the benefits of happiness suggests that happier individuals are more successful in a number of areas of their lives including marriage, friendship, income, work performance and health. The conventional assumption is that well-being is the result of such success, but it also precedes it. Well-being may in fact 'be the cause of many of the desirable characteristics, resources and successes correlated with happiness'.[94] Alongside a government's duty to enhance the well-being of citizens, aspects of society that enhance well-being are therefore also likely to have additional benefits in relation to productivity and health.

The British Household Panel Survey has been collecting data on well-being since the early 1990s. More recently, a number of UK government departments have also turned to measures of well-being. The National Institute for Health and Clinical Excellence (NICE) has long used Quality Adjusted Life Years (QALYs) to assess the merits of different policies, establishing how much benefit in terms of years of healthy life a treatment will bring: QALYs allow treatments for the same conditions to be compared, so a treatment that extends healthy life by a year can be weighed against one that extends life by four years but at aquarter the benefit to health. This then allows an assessment of cost-effectiveness – in other words, what the cost of using different drugs will be in seeking to provide a year of the best quality of life available.[95] Well-being has also been a particular focus in relation to the environment. In 2006, the Department

for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs published a set of indicators for sustainable development, which specifically incorporated well-being.[96] More centrally, a 2008 working paper published by HM Treasury recognised the significance of well-being, and identified it as an area in which further longitudinal economic research was needed.[97] At the same time, commercial surveys such as Eurobarometer have begun to include assessments of well-being in the data they gather.

Culture, sport and well-being

The UK's new government recognises the relationship between cultural activity and well-being. The coalition document states that 'a vibrant cultural, media and sporting sector is crucial for our well-being and quality of life'.[98] Until now, it has been difficult to prove this beyond common sense, and hence difficult to judge the effects of different policies. Evidence gathered by the CASE programme now enables policy-makers to do so.

Initial estimates – generated by CASE research – of the gain in subjective well-being (SWB) associated with playing sport or attending a live cultural event is equivalent to a rise in household annual income of between £5,000 and £11,000, depending on frequency and activity. Comparison with other aspects of life that have an impact on well-being also reveals the significance of cultural and sporting participation, which equates in the domains considered to generate about a third of the gain in SWB that is lost with unemployment (for further details, see appendix 4). However, there is a double-edge to this story. While, in itself, participation in cultural and sporting activity brings such benefits, at the same time, it can also bring about new forms of inequality.

Policy implications

It is clear from the research into well-being undertaken by the CASE programme that those who *do* participate in cultural and sporting activities – the 67.3 per cent mentioned above – gain

significant benefit. What, then, of the other third of citizens, whose taxes are spent on cultural and sporting provision?
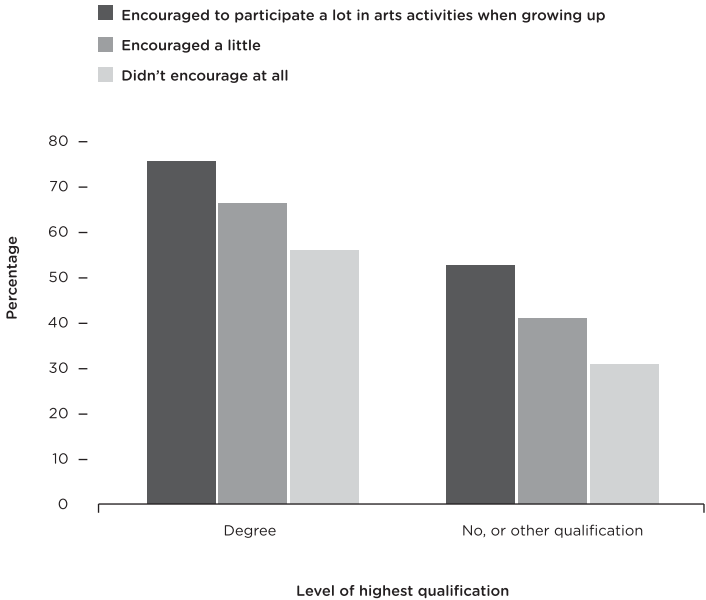
Taking Part tells us that, of those who did not participate in two or more cultural or sporting sectors, 18.9 per cent had participated in only one sector and 13.8 per cent had not participated in any sectors.[99] Distinctions also appear within participation. As we have seen, across society, those encouraged to participate in arts activities when young are more likely to participate when older; however, within that, there remain differences according to educational background.

At the same time, women show significantly higher rates of participation than men; people from white backgrounds show higher rates of participation (66.8 per cent) than those from BME backgrounds (57.4 per cent), especially among older populations; and people from upper socio-economic groups participate at a rate that is significantly higher than that of lower socio-economic groups (75.1 per cent compared with 52.5 per cent). *Taking Part* also reveals that there is geographical inequality (see appendix 5). The most socially deprived areas in the country also seem to be the ones with the lowest levels of cultural and sporting participation. Readers need only to think of *Billy Elliot* to realise the opportunities that are being missed.

There could be many reasons for differences between the rate of participation in different areas or by different kinds of person. In particular, just because 14 per cent of people did *not* participate in the cultural and sporting activities measured in *Taking Part*, it does not mean that they did not find other ways of attaining a sense of well-being, nor does it mean that they are inactive in the cultural realm. What it does tell us is that where some people are benefiting from participating in cultural and sporting activities, others are not. This is not to say that people *should* go to the museum or play tennis. Instead, there are clearly opportunities to gain well-being that some people are not taking and, more specifically, the culture that is supported by the state is leaving some people unrepresented.

In itself, this is a reason to examine the provision of equitable opportunity in the sector. However, if the provision of cultural opportunity is to be seen – as it must – as the basic right

Figure 11   **Probability of participating in arts activities,**
by qualification and level of parental encouragement

■ Encouraged to participate a lot in arts activities when growing up

■ Encouraged a little

□ Didn't encourage at all

Level of highest qualification

Source: Oskala, A and Bunting, C, *Arts Engagement in England from 2005/06 to 2007/08*.[100]

to access the cultural realm, then it becomes absolutely essential that people have that opportunity. Furthermore, if people can be seen to be gaining value from cultural experiences, then this will reinforce the inequalities that are so destructive within society. In this light, well-being must be seen less as a measurable outcome to be targeted by public funding, and more, as something that arises as a result of providing people with the capabilities to participate fully in the culture in which they live. It is not only the case that cultural and sporting activity contributes to people's well-being, but that statements of well-being reflect the

degree to which people feel themselves to be active and empowered participants in the cultural realm.

Cultural participation is an essential part of the capabilities and fulfilment of a cultural citizen and so an essential part of society. It is more than a means of imparting knowledge. It also helps develop the fluency, confidence and skills by which to respond to that knowledge and hence is important in enabling people to manage and take part in society, the public reasoning described by Amartya Sen.

In this light, and while socio-demographic groupings cannot necessarily be taken to relate to educational prepared-ness, evidence available about people's trust in media sources is revealing and offers an indication of the effect that inequality of cultural capabilities might have. Television dominates as a major source of information and news (figure 12).

As the *Taking Part* data shows, television is one of the most significant media of the cultural realm: it is the most frequently cited free-time activity, with 88.5 per cent of respondents mentioning it. As such, it must be a part of policy considerations in light of the arguments presented in this pamphlet.[101] More specifically, CASE research has demonstrated the complex relationship between television consumption and engagement in culture and sport, identifying a positive association between those who watch culture- and sport-related TV programmes and engagement in those activities. The authors of the CASE report conclude that,

while television-watching may generally be considered a substitute *for engagement, specific forms … are* complements *to engagement. It is, however, possible that this association is explained by an underlying interest in culture and sport, rather than TV watching having a causal effect on actual attendance at cultural events and sites or participation in sport' (my emphasis).*[102]

Therefore, television may be a source of cultural capabili-ties for some, and at the same time detract from the cultural breadth of others. In this way, and with public reasoning in mind, it is instructive to note that trust in television news content *declines* higher up the social scale (figure 13).

Figure 12 **Sources of information and news**
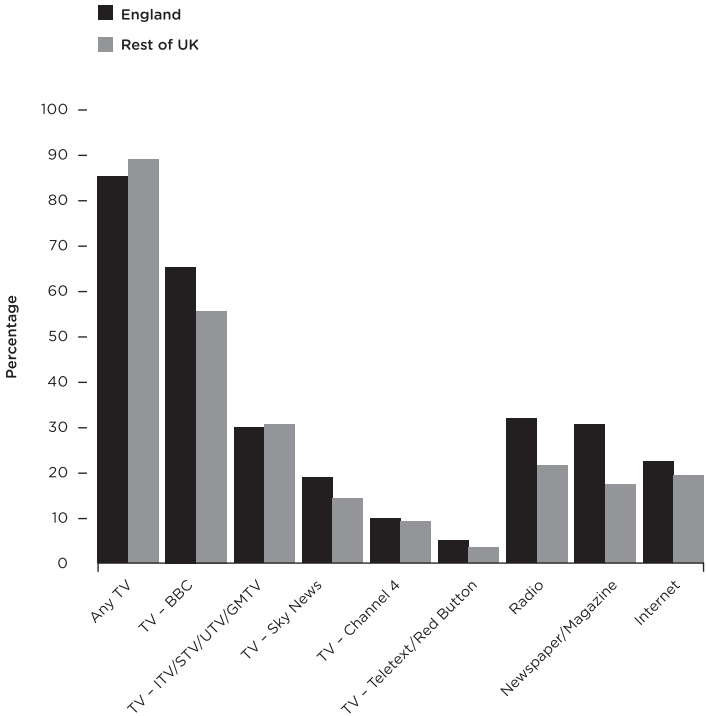
Source: Source: Ofcom, UK *Adults' Media Literacy: Research Document*, p 75

Public reasoning depends on plurality and debate; it also requires a healthy degree of scepticism. This observation could be instructive in relation to the cultural realm more widely. Cultural forms present and bring difference to life. While the data above cannot be transferred directly onto cultural forms other than television, they do offer insight into the effects of a possible disparity of capabilities between different social groups and its relationship to public reasoning.

Figure 13 **Agreement with statement:
'When I watch television news I tend to trust what I see'**
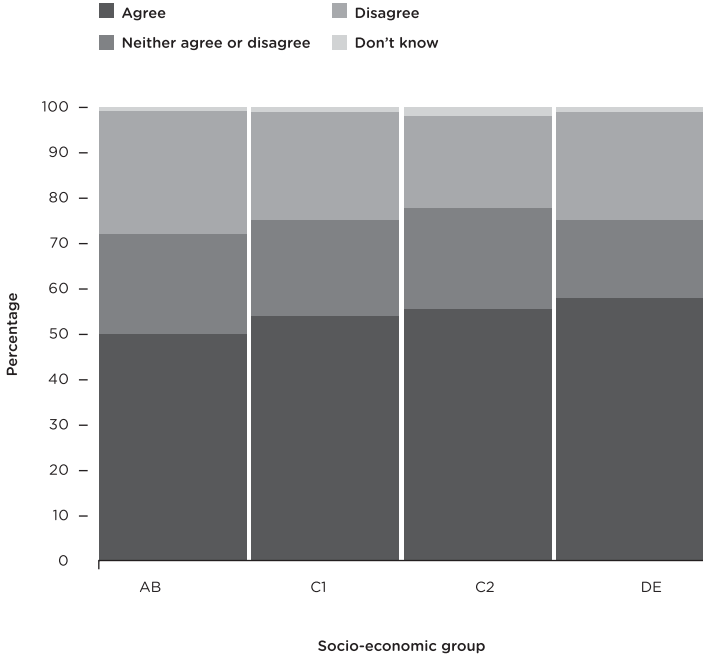
Source: Source: Ofcom, UK *Adults' Media Literacy: Research Document*, p 75

Developing the evidence base

A more comprehensive picture of the cultural and sporting sector is needed if policy is truly to reflect the wider importance of participation. While developing a picture of the well-being effects of cultural participation, it will also be necessary to examine the detrimental effects of participation. Culture is a neutral space in which effects can occur that are both positive and, as the examples of *Big Brother*, *Bhzhti* and *300* show,

negative. For better or for worse, the flux of the cultural realm shapes society around it. In this way, and to ensure the vitality of the cultural realm as a space for the public reasoning of which Sen writes, government must continually assess culture and how different opinions and outlooks are represented within it.

There is also a need for longitudinal data on cultural activity. At the moment, the evidence demonstrates the importance of cultural and sporting participation; the indications are that it will only become more important, and will define many of the challenges governments and societies face in years to come. As a result, only longitudinal evidence and cohort study data of the impact of participation will provide a secure understanding of how policy must respond to these challenges in the future and how effective measures taken to develop cultural capabilities will be.

A major recommendation of this paper is therefore that evidence is gathered in *Taking Part* that will enable policy-makers to respond to this need:

· Questions should be asked about motivation for participation. Why do people visit cultural attractions or play sport?
· How does participation in culture and sport make people feel?
· *Taking Part* should also seek to provide a fuller picture of the cultural realm. What do people choose to do with their time? How does this break down in relation to the publicly and privately funded sector? (Funding decisions in the future can only be based on a fuller picture of this relationship.)
· Why do people choose *not* to participate in culture or sport? What do they do instead?
· Building on the CASE work, *Taking Part* should seek to make a direct correlation between participation and well-being.
· As recommended in a recent study, *Taking Part* data 'needs to be supplemented with data on people's tastes, knowledge and cultural self-concepts'.[103]

7 The future of cultural policy

A Big Society will depend on policy that relates effectively to culture. At local level, institutions and cultural practitioners should work with local councils to meet specific and local needs. They are best placed to identify those needs, how best they can be provided for and monitor the success in so doing. This approach could contribute significantly to the agenda of localism, and models of funding should be devised with a mind to supporting them in this. At the same time, large scale national institutions are needed because they provide a logic to the cultural realm and an important way of providing touchpoints for culture and the validation and representation of the expression that it comprises. They also house goods, such as national collections, that are important to society, must be protected and preserved for citizens to access and, in many cases, are also statutory obligations. In each case, a capabilities-based approach to understanding the importance of culture provides new ways of approaching the government's response and responsibilities in relation to the cultural sector. This approach also has implications for the sector's management of itself and, overall, must be part of how government, the sector, and the public itself prepare for the needs society will face in the future.

Principles for the future

To date, much of the discussion of funding for the cultural and sporting sectors has focused on the legitimacy and ethics of the state's intervention in culture. In part, this is a reflection of the conflation of culture and its forms that was discussed earlier. By focusing on the forms that culture takes, a state – consciously or not – exerts a degree of control over expressive outputs, and this can be hotly contentious. Focusing instead on the right and capabilities by which to achieve that expression, and the significance of its outputs, a state deals instead with something of basic importance to society. In the past, policy has missed the

real importance of focusing on culture, and so its legitimacy has been flawed.

In part, cultural policy is about helping individuals respond to the change around them, and providing the means by which individual responses can combine to make society as a whole more adaptive to change. Government at both national and local levels needs to move from a model whereby outcomes are in practice 'bought', to one in which funding for the cultural sector is seen as enabling it to function in the more democratic ways outlined in this pamphlet. Although this has implications for expenditure on the sector, at heart it requires an attitudinal shift. Far from being the icing on the cake, cultural funding should be seen as supporting an elemental part of what makes up society. A more democratic understanding shows that an equitable sense of culture must also include representation of the choices that people make and the cultural forms with which they engage.

If policy is to do full justice to the role of culture in forming society, this leaves two distinct challenges:

· What models of cultural participation should be supported and how?
· And what capabilities do people need to make the most of opportunities, and how should the state provide for them?

These two questions need addressing at different levels. In many cases, it is at the small scale and local level that the cultural sector is most at risk in the current financial crisis: local cultural institutions will suffer as local government retrenches and individual cultural practitioners will have to fight harder for public money and their share of private markets. As the examples of the collaboration in Manchester between a network of museums and the city council show, there is real benefit to be gained by working with local government to maximise the awareness and potential of the role that the cultural sector plays. Equally, many other organisations have found ways to generate income besides public funding and to operate in ways that both bypass some elements of monetary input and serve the cultural

purpose of the enterprise in hand – good examples are The Red Room's use of salvaged material and the use of volunteering to achieve cultural ends.

If policy is fully to reflect the cultural composition of society as a whole, it must respond to culture that is generated outside the publicly funded sector. The ambitions of the Big Society mean that government must ensure that capabilities and outlets for participation in the cultural realm remain. The conundrum policy faces is that the intervention of the state can undermine the integrity and necessary independence of cultural forms. Ways must be found to ensure both opportunity and independence.

This is where the role of experts is important. Amateur dramatic groups want to work with the RSC because they respect the organisation and the professional values that it represents. The performance of elite sportsmen and women inspires the participation of thousands of Saturday footballers and Sunday cricketers. Public capabilities are not incommensurate with respect for and valuation of professionals. Society needs major institutions to provide representation to different forms of culture and recognition of them as being part of what comprises society as a whole. They are also repositories of the skills and expertise by which those cultural forms can be displayed and interpreted. This requires that cultural professionals take on the agenda outlined in this paper, fulfilling the socially responsible role of presenting their work and actions as being part of the cultural realm, providing people with the opportunity to participate in the continuous cultural conversation by which that is shaped.

Change in the perception of culture on the part of both policy-makers and professionals could bring a revolution in the way that the sector works, but this will be a process of development, rather than a sudden switch. More pressingly in the current economic climate, if cuts to public expenditure are made to the extent threatened, government has the obligation and, because of the important role that culture will have in the future, the necessity of supporting the sector in reforming itself. For their part, cultural professionals must take on new

agenda, reconceptualising the relationship between culture and society, putting in place the structures that can support a cultural realm. These include:

· developing new organisational structures
· thinking anew of the relationship between culture and a sense of place and working with local government accordingly
· taking the lead on helping people and society develop the cultural capabilities that they will need

Developing new organisational structures

Wider social change necessitates change in organisations and thinking about how and why they operate. This is driven by the evolution of social values, and the changing focus of economics described by Sen, Stiglitz and Fitoussi. In the policy world more widely and alongside a focus on new criteria such as SROI, this has resulted in a new focus on organisational models like that of employee ownership, cooperative structures and mutual organisations. Policy-makers and others have begun to recognise the potential of such organisational forms in relation to society and its governance, and have also begun to turn to them as a means of structuring the individual action necessary to meeting some of the big policy challenges of today. In relation to cultural policy, where people's will to participate must be considered from a social, rather than a financial point of view, organisations of this sort provide a set of opportunities and learning points. User and employee-led organisations are more than simply alternative means of finance: they are mechanisms and opportunities for people to participate in the cultural realm. Mutuo, the organisation representing the UK's mutual sector, defines the organisational form as follows:

A mutual organisation is one that is owned by and run for the benefit of its current and future members. The mutual business model ensures that the long-term interests of the organisation and the members themselves are always paramount in all decisions. This ensures that a culture of sensible and sustainable growth is one of the many advantages that mutuals enjoy.[104]

Such structures could have real advantages in the cultural sector for several reasons. First, they can play a vital role in giving people the power and capabilities by which to take a more active role in shaping society. This would support not only the policy needs of reflecting the culture of which society is formed, but also chime with general changes in people's working lives and desires. As Geoff Mulgan has noted, 'there has been a long-term trend towards more people wanting work to be an end as well as a means, a source of fulfilment as well as earnings'.[105] Certainly, this would reflect the motivations of many who work in and around the cultural realm.

Second, employee and user-led models have the potential to create a cultural sector that more truly reflects society in the UK today and is based on specific local needs. If people are more involved in orienting the direction that cultural and sporting institutions follow, then the sector can become a more organic representation of the cultural realm. The kind of responses generated by The Red Room in relation to climate change and organisations elsewhere are original, authentic and reflective of a community's beliefs and the solutions that they generate. Cultural practitioners work with people to generate responses to big problems that have integrity and relevance. In recent years, policy thinkers have become increasingly aware of the need to take into account public behaviour.[106] Meeting big challenges, like climate change and obesity, will depend on individual action. Cultural practitioners can help to make abstracted problems more relevant, and give people the chance to express and articulate their responses. At the same time, as the example of *Big Brother* shows, the cultural challenges that society faces and that are described in this pamphlet will require that individuals have the cultural capabilities by which to meet them.

Third, organisations set up around community and employee involvement can also be a significant financial force. In the UK in 2009, revenues from the mutual sector exceeded £98 billion, up from the £84 billion of 2008 and about the same as the entire annual budget of the National Health Service.[107] In the current financial climate this could be an important way of providing for the cultural sector in a way that meets both the

demands for austerity, and the long-term need to reform the sector in a way that reflects culture more widely. User and employee-led enterprise could therefore have a significant part to play in how cultural funding might be reconsidered in light of the wider policy demands of the Big Society. The avidity evident in cultural and sporting participation shows just how important activities are in providing meaning in people's lives. Volunteering and small scale philanthropy show that people are willing to give time and money to culture. Policy should value this, and the potential of crowd-sourced funding, not just as an alternative source of human and financial resource, but as an outlet and infrastructure for the social impetus necessary for the Big Society.

Small-scale enterprises, like the Museum of East Anglian Life, show that artistic and heritage ends can be pursued with integrity using practice that is driven by individuals, whether they act out of personal or social preference. However, such enterprise needs basic structures of support by which to flourish. At the moment, public funding for culture is determined very much by market failure. At the small scale of enterprise, this should be reversed and the democratic potential of user and employee-led models, and the social goods that they represent, should be harnessed to *create* markets. The evidence of cultural consumption and activity as it stands suggests that the opportunity is there. More work is needed to establish what tax structures and organisational assistance might help organisations run using community and employee ownership models to flourish in the cultural sector. Certainly, it would be unwise to see mutualisation or a large-scale conversion to community ownership as a quick fix for the immediate need to lessen public expenditure. However, in the long run and at the small scale, they could point the way to more democratic and efficient ways of providing for the cultural sector.

Case study: Wigan Leisure and Culture Trust

Wigan Leisure and Culture Trust (WLCT) was formed in 2003. It is a charitable trust that manages and supports the

leisure and cultural facilities, initiatives and events for over 300,000 residents across the Wigan borough. WLCT's budget comprises external funding, self-generated income and an annual grant from Wigan Council. It is set up as a charity and social enterprise, and so, like the Museum of East Anglian Life, surplus income is invested in improving facilities and services for local people and the users of the service. Because it is a social enterprise, WLCT also runs a trading arm for services that are deemed not to be charitable, such as catering.

Among other things, WLCT has championed the role of culture and sport in the life and society of Wigan from the perspective of those involved. Its cultural partnership comprises individuals from the public, private and voluntary sectors and focuses on developing recreational resources and enhancing cultural opportunities for the communities and people they serve. WCLT has also expanded its business in recent years. From the perspectives of both financial sustainability and service delivery, WCLT's enterprise wing won a £2 million contract with Ashton, Leigh and Wigan Primary Care Trust to deliver weight management services. In 2009, WCLT also won a contract to deliver leisure services for a council in North Yorkshire. In the financial year 2008/09, both WCLT's trading subsidiaries generated surpluses.[108]

Culture, sense of place and local government

The combined forces of ideology and the economy require significant change in the relationship between central and local government. In particular, there is a growing emphasis on the importance of the local and the individual contributing to the sum of a larger, national whole. In March 2010, HM Treasury and the Department for Communities and Local Government released *Total Place: A whole area approach to public services*.[109] In the context of the economic downturn, it seeks radical new solutions to provide more efficient and more effective local services, advocating a citizen-led approach and supporting partnerships with non-state actors.

Cultural practitioners have successfully worked with local

councils as suppliers and have done so without compromising integrity to their cultural cause, with wider social benefits springing from the cultural benefits that they bring. For example, in a very direct sense, the Museum of East Anglian Life has won the contract to supply the local council with flowers. However, cultural practitioners are more than simply providers of services. They provide for sense of place itself. Cultural services are too often seen as a cost at local level; instead, they are an opportunity and should be valued for their potential to play a central part in localism. As councils set about thinking how best to allocate resources, culture should play a large part in their thinking.

At the same time, just as separating the form from the idea of culture has influence on policy, cultural institutions and practitioners should also think in these terms to find ways in which the service that they offer contributes to a wider whole. Far from being a process of instrumentalisation, this would rely on the avidity that there is for cultural consumption in and of itself, and the realisation that the result of participation is the expression, encounter and consolidation of values that are integral to society.

In tandem with examining the potential of user and employee-led models, local government officers should look at different delivery methods in the cultural sector and beyond, developing networks of practice and learning like Magpie in Manchester. Local government needs to pay far greater attention to the role of culture and how it is delivered, because, as part of the basic formation of society, culture is an essential part of the place-shaping agenda. At the same time, budget cuts mean that, in the future, local council funding is likely to play a proportionally more important role in cultural funding. The real danger comes because at the moment culture and sport are, with notable exceptions, often undervalued at this level of government. For the cultural sector to play as significant a role in localism as is needed of it, councils must work with cultural practitioners to change and build capacity within the sector.

At the moment, it is highly improbable that local governments will be in a position to allocate more funding, to

cultural practitioners directly. There are opportunities, however, for different approaches that might provide proxy funding, and more thought must be given to this, both at a national and, especially, at local level. An example of one of these is the scheme of using empty shops and other 'slack spaces' to house ad hoc and short-term arts projects. In 2009, vacancy rates in town centres rose from nearly 10 per cent in the middle of the year to over 12 per cent at the end of December. High streets have atrophied in the recession, losing shops that were not only large spaces but also iconic, like Threshers, Borders or Woolworths. From the perspective of a council and the concept of place, shuttered windows are more than closed cells of productivity: they are signs of an ailing organism.[110] In response, schemes like the Empty Shops Network, a collective formed to populate vacant spaces with temporary arts projects, could prove an answer.[111] Rather than funding new cultural practitioners and enterprises directly, councils could give disused spaces under their control to cultural practitioners on a temporary basis. This would have the effect of ensuring that a space continued to be used and bringing new attitudes and opinions to bear on its use.

A further option would be for councils to incentivise cultural activity through tax credits or other such means and reducing the overheads of cultural practitioners. This would be in recognition of services that cultural activity can bring to councils and the concept of place. In the current financial climate, it would be difficult for councils to allocate funds from other areas, such as education, to cultural practice. However, this should not prevent them from recognising the value that cultural activity brings and enabling it to take place. Fostering activity now will be vital in preparing for a more conducive funding environment, gathering an evidence base that will allow for more focused investment in the future.

Providing for cultural capabilities

Different organisational and funding structures and local government support suggest new ways in which culture's role at the heart of society can be maintained and developed. However,

there remains a need for larger institutions that, on aggregate, require more significant levels of funding. These include major institutions like the National Theatre, the British Museum or The Sage Gateshead. It also includes larger institutions that are currently part of local government themselves, like Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, or its counterparts in Manchester, Newcastle and elsewhere, and also those that receive some funding from local authorities, like ehe RSC. To this list should be added heritage sites, like Stonehenge, that are of significance in relation to concepts of history and identity, and major sporting organisations, such as the Lawn Tennis Association, which has recently turned to UK Sport for help in developing performance.[112] Society and local areas need institutions of this sort. In the case of national museums, there is a statutory obligation to preserve collections for the benefit of future generations, and this means that the security, storage and care of the collection is a central responsibility, and the associated costs make up a very significant part of annual expenditure.

However, alongside the value of museum collections, major cultural institutions also provide a logic to the cultural realm. First, they provide centres of excellence where people can develop the capabilities by which to read and approach culture. As the critical success of the RSC shows, this is not incommensurate with excellence understood in traditional terms as art or sporting activity of the highest quality. Nor, as the National Theatre's collaboration with cinemas to show *Phèdre* reveals, is it incommensurate with broadening audiences.

A second way in which institutions provide logic to the cultural realm is in validation and recognition. In 2006/07, the Museum of London showed *Belonging*, an exhibition devoted to the voices of refugees who live or have lived in the capital. One of the first objects visitors saw as they entered the exhibition was a blanket. It was the sole possession of one refugee newly arrived in the UK. For visitors, it was eye-opening that so everyday an object could take on such significance, and it provided a way of bridging the gap between subject and audience, giving the museum visitor insight into the refugee's perspective. But this can be turned around. For the refugee himself, seeing his blanket

in a national institution in the country into which he is trying to assimilate himself was very significant.[113] Just as with the children working on the Creative Partnership schemes described earlier, validation and recognition of this sort is critical to the overall coherence of the cultural realm. Different cultural expressions need showcasing and recognising. In democratic terms, this is because they constitute the expression of a belief. From a capabilities perspective, because they provide the author or actor with an audience for his or her statements and the audience with the opportunity to access the beliefs of others, larger institutions are important because they can present a compendium of different cultural expressions, brought together in one place, be it in the collections of a major museum like the British Museum, the repertoire and programming of the RSC, or the sporting provision for an area, as at Wigan.

Third, they provide an infrastructure for the cultural sector. In practical terms, larger institutions can offer functional support to smaller institutions and cultural organisations. Such organisations as galleries and concert halls can provide display and performance spaces to individual producers. Larger museums, such as Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, provide hubs for services, such as conservation. Similarly, in the North East, The Sage Gateshead has grown to serve as a hub to a musical ecology that existed before it was built, providing resources and support to smaller producers. At the same time, large organisations can offer leadership to the sector, backed up by hosting collaborative schemes beyond the logistical reach of smaller organisations. As we have seen, *A History of the World in 100 Objects* uses collections from not just the British Museum, but a network of local institutions too.

The implications for cultural policy

The change in approach suggested in this paper would also require a change in the structures and machinery of cultural policy. The cuts proposed at the moment are likely to catalyse this process. However, they will also be a trigger to a process of development as the implications of decisions made at the

spending review become clear, and the sector responds to the new funding environment it faces. This process will be long term. It will require a period of negotiation, trial and experiment between the public and the cultural institutions and policy-makers that serve it. To this end, this paper concludes by making a series of provocations to stimulate and inform that debate.

At the moment, the DCMS is among the smallest of government departments, both in terms of budget and also the importance attached to it. However, it is clear that the impacts of events in the domains for which it is responsible spread across government as a whole. An overall recommendation is therefore that the importance of culture be recognised far more across government. To support this, the structures of cultural policy-making could be developed in a number of ways.

· *Provocation 1 – Reinvent the DCMS:* DCMS could be reinvented, ultimately as a smaller department, to focus on the importance of expression in the cultural realm and how culture relates to different policy areas. It would be empowered to represent culture across government, identifying areas in which other government departments could beneficially spend on culture and championed by the secretary of state at cabinet level. It would be responsible for and further supported by the allocation of cultural responsibilities to ministerial briefs in other relevant departments, such as Education, Business, Innovation and Skills, Communities and Local Government, and Work and Pensions. The ministers would be tasked with representing the importance of culture in other areas of government and with working with the Treasury to secure allocations of funding, maintaining the integrity of publicly funded cultural practice. Central government's concern should be with the cultural realm as a whole and this should be the responsibility of the secretary of state as a voice and champion for cultural concerns at cabinet and public levels. The new department could be tasked with identifying areas of concern to government departments – including both those with ministerial representation for culture and others on an ad hoc basis – in which culture must be taken into account, negotiating funding from them accordingly.

Critically, this would require that other government departments recognise the importance of the cultural dimension to their policy area. At the moment, they do not, and it would be essential that the cultural department provide the evidence and arguments to persuade them to do so and that the secretary of state leads it in doing so. A further task of the central department would be to communicate to the sector policy concerns across Whitehall, identifying further areas in which the work of the sector contributes to policy concerns. In the long run, this department would be smaller than the existing DCMS, introducing some of the efficiencies that the current financial situation requires. Functions could be divided between relevant ministries (an example might be cultural diplomacy and the Foreign Office), and a Council for Cultural Expression (see provocation 2); an example might be the management of such issues as the import and export of cultural goods. It should be the objective of policy to support the cultural sector while developing a position in which this is possible. However, in the short term, government should not dramatically reduce the DCMS in size and leave a vacuum for cultural policy. To this end, there should be a transition period during which the profile and importance of culture is raised in other departments; then cultural functions can effectively be transferred to the new briefs of cultural ministers in other departments. This process could be monitored independently by an appointed commissioner, working in tandem with the National Audit Office.

· *Provocation 2 – Establish a Council for Cultural Expression*: the rationale and mechanism for centralised public funding for culture should be reconsidered. As it stands, the arm's-length principle by which cultural forms are managed is designed to ensure both integrity of practice, sporting, artistic, cultural or otherwise, and accountability. In principle, this is an important failsafe, ensuring that political concerns do not interfere with culture, and hence the authenticity of cultural activity and its legitimacy as a constituent part of the public realm. It is important that a wide array of cultural forms is championed as providing for the expression achieved through people's cultural choices and cultural practices; certain forms cannot be privileged

over others. The arm's-length bodies as they currently stand could be combined to form one organisation with a remit to ensure the delivery of cultural and expressive capabilities and opportunities throughout the country and represent the value and narrative of that expression to government: the Council for Cultural Expression. It would focus on forms as providing such capabilities within the public realm, rather than forms in and of themselves. The Council would be responsible for the allocation of the funding negotiated by the central governmental department. This model would diminish neither individual forms nor expertise, but would emphasise the need to relate them more directly to the public. Equally, it would underscore the need for policy-makers to recognise and take into account the relationship of cultural forms to society more generally. The Council would allow for independent expertise to be brought into the decision-making process and, for this reason, would be necessarily separate from the central government department and with an independent status that would allow them to act publicly as a cultural body, rather than an arm of government. Via the National Audit Office, the Council could be answerable to the secretary of state and ministers in relation to its management and the efficiency of its business in managing the resources allocated to it.

· *Provocation 3 – Seed-Fund Cultural Activity*: Cultural funding from the Council could be delivered as seed-funding. Freeing cultural institutions and professionals from a regime of targets would allow them to respond to the cultural realm and generate it anew. This entails accepting the element of risk that is inherent to cultural practice and would require that the basics of their operations (fixed capital and running costs) are secured, enabling them to concentrate on developing innovative practice and allowing them to cater to and generate markets afresh. In seeking to make savings, government must first ascertain the basic running costs of cultural activity that it needs to fund, and free professionals and organisations from targets in undertaking their work. To this end, the seed-funding would be oriented to achieving outcomes, agreed with the Council according to its remit that cultural operators feel confident that they can identify,

meet and track for themselves. This funding should provide for a set number of years, after which it could be either renewed, renegotiated or, if necessary, withdrawn. The Council for Cultural Expression could also be tasked with researching and developing different models of funding (such as crowd-sourced funding) on a small scale that can act as a test-bed for the future. At the same time, it would be necessary to keep checks on the expenditure of public money. Accountability would be achieved by smaller organisations and cultural practitioners bidding for funding from the executive body, which could be tasked with fixing the duration of funding allocations, decided according to its remit. In turn, the executive body could be held accountable to the central government department, parliament and the public by being required to produce a regular (biennial or triennial) report on 'Culture and Expression in the UK'. Based on the model of the Equalities and Human Rights Commission, this could follow a period of public and professional consultation. It could be accompanied by a concomitant review, commissioned and managed by the National Audit Office that would examine both the efficiency of the body's activities, its distribution of public moneys and its management and public service.

Overall, this would differ from the current system of funding because it would encourage social innovation on the part of cultural professionals by virtue of responding to cultural consumers, with the vital caveat that that innovation is achieved in accordance with integrity to the institution or practitioner's sense of practice. Of course, a cultural professional or institution might wish to be exempt from this and hence public funding, but that would be their individual choice and the success and sustainability of their contribution to the cultural realm would be determined within a market to which they would have to respond.

· *Provocation 4 – Gather National Cultural Organisations Into One Body*: Large-scale, national institutions should be gathered in one body within the Council for Cultural Expression. They occupy a different role in society – similar in many respects to smaller cultural organisations and practice, but different in scale and representative responsibility. Because they are national, they have

a responsibility to serve the interests of people in the UK as a whole; in the case of national museums, they also have unique statutory responsibilities in relation to collections. National institutions provide a logic to the cultural realm, providing paradigms of excellence, representation to different cultural forms and a framework for the delivery of capabilities, either by their own practice, or by supporting smaller institutions through providing additional representation to their work, programmes of collaboration or loans and, in many cases, resource provision that already exist. The separate body would be similarly constituted to the Council for Cultural Expression with the aim of securing opportunity for expression, ensuring a network of practice between large museums, theatres, concert halls, sporting institutions and other organisations. This group could be accountable through a board of trustees, representing the public, the specific policy interests of different government departments and cultural experts, tasked with judging the performance of the nationals and distributing moneys accordingly. The group could report publicly and in a similar fashion to the Council to the Secretary of State and also be subject to an independent review by the National Audit Office.

Appendix 1 Definitions of specific terms and groups in Taking Part

Active sport

'Active sport' is defined as all forms of physical activity which, through casual or organised participation, aim at expressing or improving physical fitness and well-being, forming social relationships, or obtaining results in competition at all levels (Council of Europe's European Sports Charter 1993).

To count towards the active sport target the respondent must have participated in at least one active sport in the preceding month. The active sports measurement includes the following sports: swimming or diving; BMX, cyclo-cross, mountain biking; cycling; bowls; tenpin bowling; health, fitness, gym or conditioning activities; keep-fit, aerobics, dance exercise; judo; karate; taekwando; other martial arts; weight training; weightlifting; gymnastics; snooker, pool, billiards; darts; rugby league and union; American football; football; Gaelic sport; cricket; hockey; archery; baseball/softball; netball; tennis; badminton; squash; basketball; table tennis; track and field athletics; jogging, cross-country, road running; angling or fishing; yachting or dingy sailing; canoeing; windsurfing or boardsailing; ice skating; curling; golf, pitch and putt, putting; skiing; horse riding; climbing/mountaineering; hill trekking or backpacking; motor sports; shooting; volleyball; orienteering; rounders; rowing; triathlon; boxing; waterskiing; lacrosse; yoga; fencing; and other types of sport, for example, rollerblading, street hockey, skateboarding, water polo, surfing, scuba diving, gliding, hang/paragliding, parachuting or parascending.

Also included are the valid activities which are recorded in the 'other sports' category. Walking is excluded from the active sport target.

Archives

Places that keep archives are usually called a record office or archive centre. Archives are documents that have been created by families, individuals, businesses or organisations and have been specially chosen to but kept permanently. They can be written papers, such as letters or diaries, or maps, photographs, or film or sound recordings. Archives are historical documents but do not have to be very old.

Arts attendance – overall attendance and frequency of attendance

The arts attendance events that are included in the overall attendance and frequency measure are as follows:

· exhibition or collection of art, photography or sculpture
· craft exhibition (not crafts market)
· event including video or electronic art
· event connected with books or writing
· street arts
· carnival
· culturally specific festival
· play/drama
· other theatre performances (eg musical/pantomime)
· opera/operetta
· classical music concert
· jazz performance
· other live music event
· ballet
· contemporary dance
· african peoples' dance or South Asian and Chinese dance
· other live dance event

  Excludes:

  · film at a cinema or other venue

Arts attendance events included in the measure

· exhibition or collection of art, photography or sculpture
· event which included video or electronic arts
· play/drama
· other theatre performances (for example musical, pantomime)
· culturally specific festival
· opera/operetta
· classical music performance
· jazz performance
· other live music event
· ballet
· contemporary dance
· African peoples' dance, South Asian and Chinese dance
· other live dance event

Arts participation – overall participation and frequency of participation

The arts participation activities that are included in the overall participation measure are as follows:

· ballet
· other dance (not for fitness)
· sang (not karaoke) to an audience (or rehearsed)
· played a musical instrument for an audience (or rehearsed)
· playing a musical instrument for your own pleasure
· writing any music
· rehearsing or perform in play/drama
· rehearsing or perform in opera/operetta
· painting, drawing, printmaking or sculpture
· photography as an artistic activity
· made films or videos as an artistic activity
· using a computer to create original artworks or animation
· textile crafts such as embroidery, crocheting or knitting
· wood crafts
· other crafts
· bought any original works of art for yourself
· bought any original/handmade crafts

- written any stories or plays
- writing any poetry

    Excludes:

- dance (for fitness)
- reading for pleasure (not newspapers, magazines or comics)
- bought a novel, or book of stories, poetry or plays

    The frequency measure also excludes the following:

- bought any original works of art for yourself
- bought any original/handmade crafts

Arts participation activities included in the measure

- ballet
- other dance (not for fitness)
- played a musical instrument for your own pleasure, to an audience or rehearsed for a performance
- sang to an audience or rehearsed for a performance (not karaoke)
- written music
- rehearsed or performed in play/drama or opera/operetta
- painting, drawing, printmaking or sculpture
- used a computer to create original artworks or animation
- photography as an artistic activity (not family or holiday 'snaps')
- made films or videos as an artistic activity
- textile crafts such as embroidery, crocheting or knitting
- wood crafts such as wood turning, carving or furniture making
- other crafts such as calligraphy, pottery or jewellery making
- written any stories, plays or poetry

Heritage
This list covers a wide range of different types of buildings, structures, features and landscapes. It relies on a degree of self-

definition of what constitutes heritage sites, and is not meant to be comparable with statutory definitions of protection of the historic environment or any particular types of visitor attraction.

Historic environment sites included in the heritage measure

- a city or town with historic character
- a historic building open to the public
- a historic park, garden or landscape open to the public
- a place connected with industrial history or historic transport system
- a historic place of worship attended as a visitor
- a monument such as a castle, fort or ruin
- a site of archaeological interest
- a site connected with sports heritage

Moderate intensity level sport (MIS)

'Moderate intensity level sport' includes all of the activities listed under active sports except snooker, pool, billiards; darts; archery; angling or fishing; shooting; and yoga. This target also includes recreational walking. To count towards this target respondents must have participated in at least one 30-minute session of moderate intensity level sport at least three times a week, on separate days. Also, the effort put into the activity needs to be of moderate intensity, ie raises their breathing rate (or for walking it is done at a brisk or fast pace).

Overall sports definitions

The overall sports variables include all sports listed in the 'active sports' definition plus all sports or physical activity recorded in the 'other' sports category. Where possible, variations of these variables have also been provided to include walking (minimum of 30 minutes at moderate intensity). Different frequency measures are used for overall sports participation – at least once

a week, in the last month and in the last 12 months. To qualify as participating in a sport or physical activity 'at least once per week', the respondent had to take part in the activity a minimum of four times in the preceding month. Walking in 'the last 12 months' is not collected in the questionnaire.

Appendix 2 People interviewed for this report

In writing this document, I am grateful for conversations with many individuals in the cultural and sports sectors. They are listed below. The opinions and ideas expressed in this paper cannot be attributed to them; I list them only by way of thanking them for their time and generosity.

In particular, I am grateful for assistance from colleagues in the Evidence and Analysis Unit at the DCMS. I am also grateful for the time and expertise shared in conversations with colleagues on the CASE board. These are:

Vivienne Avery (DCMS)
Catherine Bunting (Arts Council England)
Laura Clayton (English Heritage)
Adam Cooper (DCMS)
John Davies (DCMS)
Marianne Law (DCMS)
Ailbhe MacNabola (Museums, Libraries and Archives Council)
Nick Rowe (Sport England)
Harman Sagger (DCMS)
Thanks must also go to the steering group for this project:
Kate Bellamy (Victoria and Albert Museum, and formerly
   National Museum Directors' Conference)
Topher Campbell (The Red Room)
Anita Charlesworth (DCMS)
Ben Cowell (National Trust)
Leon Feinstein (HM Treasury)
Subnum Hariff (Bolton Central Library)
John Holden (City University and Demos)
Barrie Houlihan (Loughborough University)
Julia Margo (Demos)
Paul Raynes (Local Government Association)

Others to whom I have spoken during the course of the fellowship include:

Martyn Allison (Improvement and Development Agency)
Hasan Bakhshi (NESTA)
Paul Bolt (DCMS)
Tony Butler (Museum of East Anglian Life)
Roy Clare (Museums, Libraries and Archiving Council)
Paul Collard (Creativity and Cultural Education)
Alan Davey (Arts Council England)
Will Davies (Oxford University)
Joe Edwards (British Museum)
Mick Elliot (DCMS)
Steve Grainger (Youth Sports Trust)
Tony Hall (Royal Opera House)
Robert Hewison
Vikki Heywood (Royal Shakespeare Company)
Jon Hoare (DCMS)
Natasha Innocent (Museums, Libraries and Archiving Council)
Ruth Jarratt (Royal Opera House)
Claudia Kenyatta (DCMS)
Paul Kirkman (DCMS)
Deborah Lamb (English Heritage)
Tris Lumley (Philanthropy Capital)
Sir Brian McMaster
Kevin Marsh (Matrix Economics)
Francois Matarasso
Dave Moutrey (The Cornerhouse)
Sandy Nairne (National Portrait Gallery)
Mark Newman (EPPI-Centre, Institute of Education)
Kate Oakley (City University)
David O'Brien (Leeds Metropolitan University and DCMS)
Anna Payne (DCMS)
Jennie Price (Sport England)
Richard Reeves (formerly Demos)
Sara Selwood
Chris Sharrock (HM Treasury)
James Stevens (DCMS)

Virginia Tandy (Manchester City Council)
David Throsby (Macquarie University)
Louise de Winter (National Campaign for the Arts)
Chris Yates (British Museum)

Appendix 3 Cultural participation and satisfaction with local area

Taking Part data representing the relationship between cultural participation and satisfaction with local area.

	Very satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Slightly dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Don't know
All adults 16+	48.7	39.8	4.4	5	2.1	0
Spend time with friends/family	49.6	39.6	4	4.8	2	0
Read	51.8	37.6	3.9	4.8	1.8	0
Listen to music	48.8	39.4	4.8	4.9	2.1	0
Watch TV	49.3	39.5	4.3	4.9	2.1	0
Days out or visits to places	51.2	38.6	4.1	4.6	1.5	0
Eat out at restaurants	52.4	38.3	3.8	4.1	1.5	0
Go to pubs/ bars/clubs	48.6	40.8	4.8	4.1	1.7	0
DIY	52.6	37.8	3.5	4.3	1.7	0
Gardening	55.7	35	3.1	4.6	1.6	0
Shopping	49.3	39.4	4.3	5	2	0
Sport/exercise	51.5	38.9	4.2	3.9	1.5	0
Arts and crafts	53.3	36.7	3.5	5.2	1.3	0
Play a musical instrument	48.5	40.6	3.9	5	2	0.1
Go to cinema	48.8	40.9	4.8	4.2	1.2	0
Visit museums/ galleries	54.5	36.3	3.4	4.5	1.3	0.1
Theatre/music concerts	53.8	37.2	3.8	4.1	1.2	0
Play computer games	41.5	44.8	6.2	5.2	2.2	0.1
Internet/emailing	47.7	41.1	5.1	4.5	1.4	0
Academic study	38	42.1	8.1	11.8	0	0
Puzzles and games	64.4	31.5	0	4.1	0	0
	Very	Fairly	Neither	Slightly	Very	Don't

Taking Part data representing the relationship between cultural participation and satisfaction with local area *continued*

	satisfied	satisfied	satisfied	dissatisfied nor dissatisfied	dissatisfied	know
Attend/member of a society/ club	56.4	36.6	3	4.1	0	0
Gambling	58.4	32.3	0	3.6	5.6	0
Religious activities, going to place of worship, prayer	65	27.1	2.9	2.8	2.2	0
Voluntary work/ charity work	57.2	31	0	1.6	10.3	0
Other answers	56.5	33.4	3.8	4	2.3	0
Not stated	38.6	42.2	0	5.9	13.3	0

Source: *Taking Part*

Appendix 3   **Influence on quality and variety of local sporting facilities**
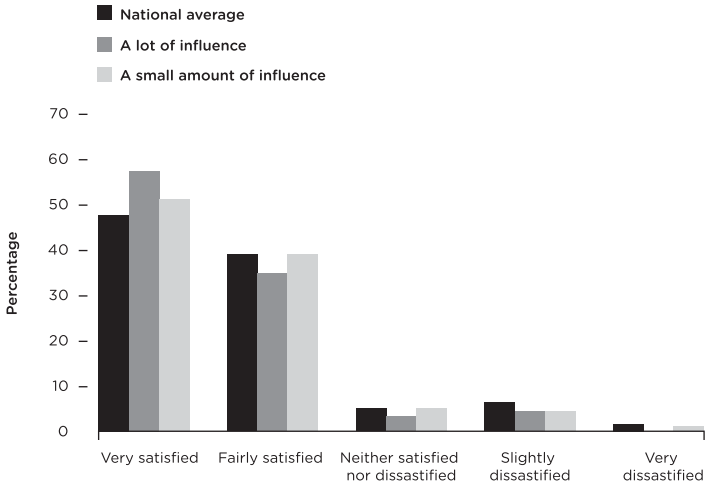
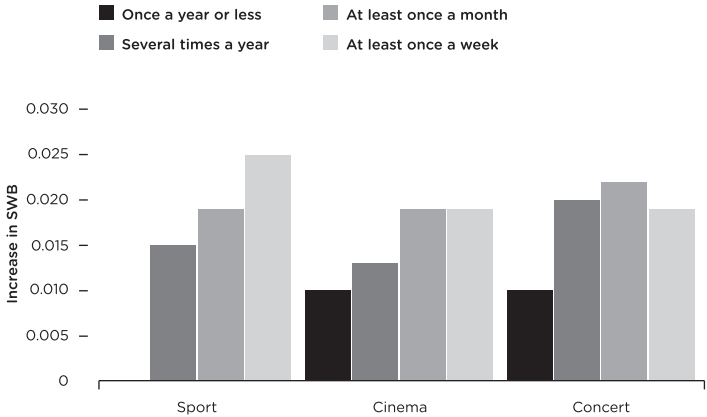Influence on quality and variety of local cultural facilities
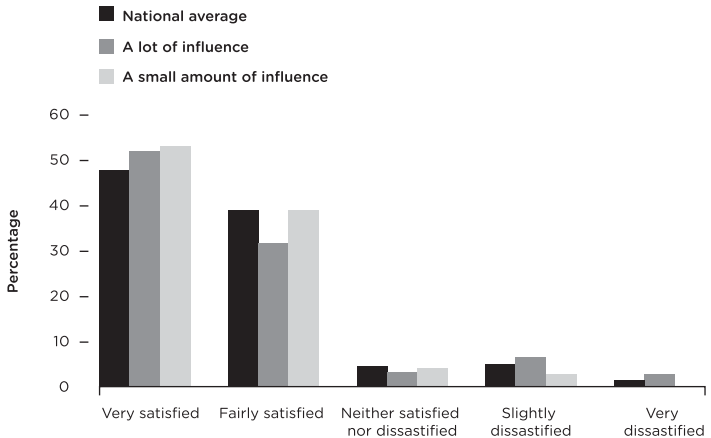
Source: *Taking Part*

Appendix 4 Well-being and cultural and sporting participation

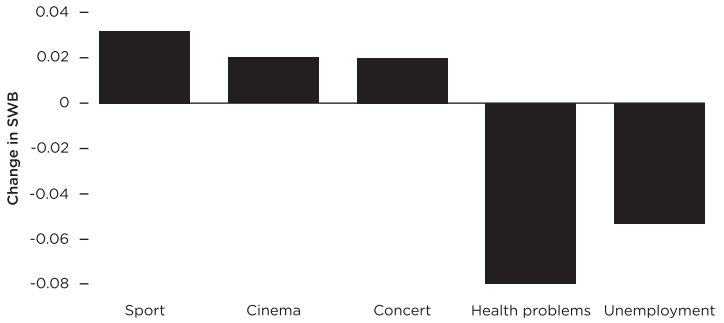**Well-being and cultural and sporting participation**

The SWB effect of engaging in culture and sport
— measures of actual engagement.

The subjective well-being (SWB) effect of engaging in culture and sport – measures of actual engagement.[114]

The SWB effect — comparison of engaging in culture and sport (at least once a week) and other policy outcomes

Source: Source: Matrix Knowledge Group, *Understanding the drivers of engagement in culture and sport* – Summary report, p 30

The SWB measures used are responses to the question: 'How dissatisfied or satisfied are you with your life overall?' The magnitude of the impact of engagement in culture and sport on SWB summarised in figure 3 is measured in increments on a scale of 1 (not satisfied at all) to 7 (completely satisfied).

Appendix 5 Geographic inequality of cultural and sporting opportunity

Appendix 5   **Sporting and cultural participation and deprivation levels for bottom 30 local authorities**

Number of culture/sport sectors for which local authority ranks in bottom 30 nationally

London

☐ 0   ◼ 2   ⊠ 30 most deprived

◼ 1   ◼ 3

Authorities are ranked according to the percentage of people engaging with sports, the arts, museums/galleries and libraries.

This map shows how many of these four sectors each local authority ranked in the bottom 30 in the country for, along with the 30 most deprived authorities.

16 of the 30 most deprived areas also had low engagement levels in one or more of cultural and sporting sectors

Sporting and cultural participation and deprivation levels for top 30 local authorities

Number of cultural and sporting sectors for which local authority ranks in top 30 nationally

- 0
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 30 least deprived

Authorities are ranked according to the percentage of people engaging with sports, the arts, museums/galleries and libraries.

This map shows how many of these four sectors each local authority ranked in the top 30 in the country for, along with the 30 least deprived authorities.

London
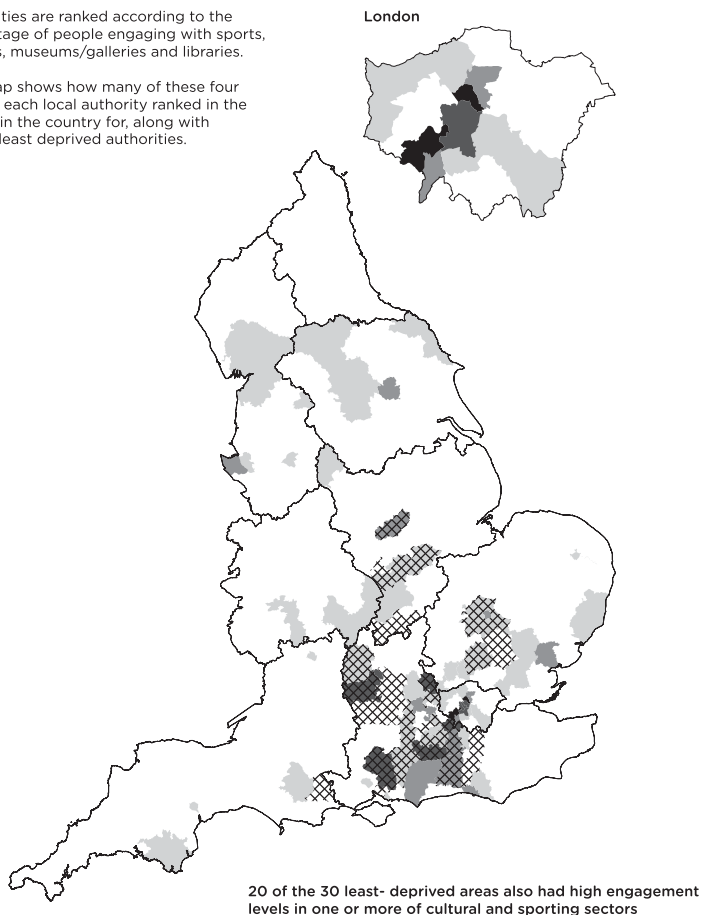
20 of the 30 least- deprived areas also had high engagement levels in one or more of cultural and sporting sectors

Source: Active People Survey and Index of Multiple Deprivation

Notes

1   Hunt, J, Speech at the Roundhouse, Camden.

2   Throsby, D, *The Economics of Cultural Policy*, p 7.

3   Ibid., p 14.

4   Myerscough, J., *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain*.

5   The development of this policy literature is well documented in Bunting, C, *Achieving Great Art for Everyone: A review of research and literature to inform the Arts Council's 10-year strategic framework*, and Coalter, F, *A Wider Social Role for Sport*, p 134f.

6   Most notoriously in the DCMS sector, the long-standing debate on the relationship between the intrinsic and instrumental benefits of culture.

7   Matarasso, F, *Use or Ornament*.

8   See United Nations, *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, Article 27 (1).

9   DCMS, *Taking Part*.

10 For further discussion, see Bound, K et al, *Cultural Diplomacy*.

11 For further details of the CASE programme, see www.culture.gov.uk/case/index.html.

12   The CASE partner organisations are Arts Council England, English Heritage, the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council and Sport England.

13   This pamphlet contributes to a well-established corpus of work and builds on arguments already made. With this in mind and where appropriate in the text, I will provide reference to these without rehearsing arguments well documented elsewhere. The bibliography therefore includes both works cited directly and those that have informed my thinking more generally. It is not intended to be comprehensive, rather to demonstrate a well-established field of debate and study.

14   Curtis, P and Allen, K, 'George Osborne starts to cut public spending'.

15   See Department for Culture, Media and Sport, *Our Contribution to Reducing the Government Deficit*.

16   HM Treasury, *The Spending Review Framework*, p 7.

17   HM Government, *The Coalition: Our programme for government*, p 11.

18   Cameron, D, speech at Civil Service Live.

19   Mutuo, *Mutuals Yearbook 2009*, p 2.

20   Mulgan, G, 'After capitalism'.

21   Gove, M, 'Academic rigour is the answer – not an A level in dance'.

22   Quoted in Smith, A, 'Davey demands "rational argument" for arts funding'.

23 Frey, B, *Economics and Culture*, p111; see also Halpern, D, *The Hidden Wealth of Nations*, p 169, and McCarthy et al, *Gifts of the Muse*, p xiv.

24 For a comprehensive discussion of the relationship between the avant-garde and democracy, see Levine, C, *Provoking Democracy*.

25 Mulgan, G, 'After capitalism'.

26 Cabinet Office, *Building the Big Society*.

27 For a representative selection of the wide literature on these changes, see Sen, A, *Identity and Violence*; Appiah, KA, *Cosmopolitanism*; Maalouf, A, *On Identity*; Cable, V, *Multiple Identities*; Bauman, Z, *Alone Again* and *Liquid Modernity*; and Beck, U, *Cosmopolitan Vision*.

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30 Ofcom, *Adult Media Literacy*, 2.

31 EPPI-Centre, *Understanding the impact of engagement in culture and sport – A systematic review of the learning impacts for young people*, 16 ff.

32 Throsby, D, *The Economics of Cultural Policy*, p 11.

33 Museums, Libraries and Archives Council and Manchester City Council, 'Write on: how to use museums and galleries to improve pupils' literacy'.

34 See Bellamy, K and Oppenheim, C, *Learning to Live*, and Jones, S and Wright, S, *Making Good Work*.

35 Hewison, R, *Towards 2010*, p 22.

36 Halpern, D, *The Hidden Wealth of Nations*, p 169.

37 Quoted in Mutuo, *Mutuals Yearbook 2009*, p 24.

38 For a selection, see Arnold, M, *Culture and Anarchy and Other Writings*; Shaw, R, *The Arts and the People*, p 17 ff.; Hewison, R, *Culture and Consensus*; Throsby, D, *Economics and Culture*, pp 141 ff, Holden, J, *Cultural Value and the Crisis of Legitimacy*, p 11; Holden, J, *Democratic Culture*; Ivey, B., *Arts Inc*; Jones, S, *Expressive Lives*.

39 Bourdieu, P, *Distinction*; see also Wilkinson, R and Pickett K, *The Spirit Level*, p 163 ff.

40 Dasgupta, P., *Economics: A very short introduction*, p 34.

41 For an academic discussion of the reflection and reinforcement of a society's beliefs in its cultural forms and people's engagement with them, see Baxandall, M, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*.

42 For further details of the importance of expression, see Ivey, B, *Arts Inc*; Ivey, B, 'Expressive life and the public interest'; and Jones, S, *Expressive Lives*.

43 Chan, TW, and Goldthorpe, JH, 'The social stratification of cultural consumption: some policy implications of a research project', p 382.

44 For further details, see www.bbc.co.uk/ ahistoryoftheworld/, accessed 24 May 2010.

45 Matrix, *Understanding the Value of Engagement in Culture and Sport*, p 21.

46 Throsby, D, *Economics and Culture*, p 5.

47 Sen, A, *Development as Freedom,* p 18.

48 For fuller discussion, see Jones, S and Wright, S, *Making Good Work*.

49 Sen, A, *The Idea of Justice*, particularly pp 31ff.

50 Herd, Earls, M, pp 366–7.

51 Clegg, N, 'Liberalism in government', 3.

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53 Hewison, R, Holden, J and Jones, S, *All Together.*

54 Bakhshi, H and Throsby, D, *Culture of Innovation.*

55 DCMS, *Taking Part.*

56 For the public support for culture, see Throsby, D, *Economics and Culture*, and Bakhshi et al, *Measuring Intrinsic Value.*

57 Ipsos-MORI, *Parents' Views on Creative and Cultural Education*, pp 2, 15.

58 See, www.communities.gov.uk/publications/corporate/ statistics/citizenshipsurveyq4200910, accessed 25 Aug 2010, and 2007-08 Citizenship Survey: Volunteering and charitable giving topic report, www.communities.gov.uk/publications/corporate/ statistics/citizenshipsurvey200809volunteer, accessed 25 Aug 2010.

59 DCMS, *Taking Part.*

60 English Heritage, *Heritage Counts*, p 22.

61 Creative and Cultural Skills, *Cultural Heritage Blueprin*t, p 13.

62 The decline in sport can be explained by a natural fall-off in more active pastimes, although coaching remains an important part of grass-roots sport.

63 See ONS data, www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?ID=949, accessed 17 Aug 2010.

64 For further details, see www.dwp.gov.uk/policy/ageing-society/strategy-and-publications/building-a-society-for-all/, accessed online 17 Aug 2010.

65 Keynes, JM, 'National self-sufficiency'.

66 Jura Consultants, *Bolton's Museum, Library and Archives Services.*

67 For fuller discussion of 'cultural trade' see Throsby, D, *The Economics of Cultural Policy*, pp 157ff

68 Measuring the economic value of these sectors is notoriously difficult. The figure quoted here is the sum of estimates for the sports and tourism sectors and creative industries, adjusted to take into account possible overlap and different methodologies. For further details, see the DCMS statistics page, www.culture.gov.uk/what_we_do/research_and_statistics/4824.aspx, accessed 26 Aug 2010.

69 David Throsby conceives of this relationship in a model of concentric circles, with cultural production at the centre, influencing circles which extend outwards from the centre 'as the cultural content falls relative to the commercial value of the commodities or services produced'; see Economics and Cultural Policy, p 26. The wider understanding of culture proposed in this

pamphlet does not distinguish between commercial and non-commercial culture. Rather, it would also include heritage to propose a more cyclical model in which heritage (the nexus of signs and symbols around us) generates culture. Using creativity, people respond to culture, generating it anew. Culture in this sense becomes tomorrow's heritage. For fuller discussion, see Jones, S, *Expressive Lives*, pp 9–19, and Jones, S and Mean, M, *Resilient Places*, pp 27–9.

70 Research quoted in Szanto, A, 'Funding: the state of the art'.

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72 Jules Spencer, quoted in Mutuo, *Mutuals Yearbook 2009*, p 25.

73 Conn, D, 'How can football clubs capture the social value of the beautiful game?'.

74 *Digital Britain*, pp 125–6.

75 Both these examples come from National Museums Directors' Conference, *Private Giving for the Public Good*.

76 For further details of the hoard, see www.staffordshirehoard.org.uk/, accessed 14 Jun 2010, and Kennedy, M, 'Anglo-Saxon hoard saved by £1.3 million heritage grant'.

77 For fuller discussion of SROI, see Wood, C and Leighton, D, *Measuring Social Value*.

78 See CASE, *Understanding the Drivers, Impact and Value of Engagement in Culture and Sport – An over-arching summary of the research*, p 27.

79 The definitions of arts and sports currently used in *Taking Part* are included in appendix 1. For further discussion of the implication of and suggested changes to these definitions, see above, p 105

80 Matrix Knowledge Group, *Understanding the Drivers of Engagement in Culture and Sport – Summary report*, p 20.

81 Ibid, p 30.

82 Vaizey, E, 'Cultural choices', p 43.

83 Throsby, *The Economics of Cultural Policy* 58; it should be noted that, in the UK, some soap operas do receive public funding by virtue of the public service agreement for broadcasters like the BBC. For that matter, it should equally be noted that Sir Ian McKellen has appeared on stage at the National Theatre and the RSC, and at the bar of the Rovers Return in *Coronation Street*.

84 A good example is the RSC, for fuller discussion, see Hewison, R, Holden, J and Jones, S, *All Together*. For an example of criticism of the cultural sector for lacking business sense, see Blackhurst, C, 'The arts should give up whingeing and start singing for its supper'.

85 The change process and its effects are documented fully in Hewison, R, Holden, J and Jones, S, *All Together*.

86 Sen, A, Stiglitz, J and Fitoussi, J-P, *Report by the Commission on Economic Performance and Social Progress*, p 7.

87 Department for Culture, Media and Sport*, Taking Part,* statistical release, 18 Mar 2010, p 3.

88 See for example, Holden, J, *Democratic Culture*, or Jones, S, *Expressive Lives*.

89 Putnam, R, *Bowling Alone*.

90 For further details, see www.eastanglianlife.org.uk/ community-involvement/, accessed 17 Jun 2010; I am also grateful to the director of the Museum of East Anglian Life, Tony Butler, for conversations around museums and social enterprise.

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92 For discussion of the Easterlin Paradox and responses to it, see Lepper, J and McAndrew, S, 'Developments in the economics of well-being', pp 23ff.

93 See, for example, Wilkinson, R, and Pickett, K, *The Spirit Level*.

94 Lyubomirsky, S, King, L and Diener, E, 'The benefits of frequent positive affect: does happiness lead to success?', p803.

95 For a fuller description of QALYs, see NICE's website, www.nice.org.uk/newsroom/features/measuringeffectivenessand costeffectivenesstheqaly.jsp, accessed 25 Aug 2010.

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97 Lepper, J and McAndrew, S, 'Developments in the economics of well-being', pp 6ff.

98 HM Government, *The Coalition: Our programme for government*, p 14.

99 DCMS, *Taking Part*, statistical release.

100 Oskala, A and Bunting, C, *Arts Engagement in England from 2005/06 to 2007/08*. CASE research has drawn similar conclusions; see Matrix Knowledge Group, *Understanding the Drivers of Engagement in Culture and Sport – Summary report*, pp 13ff.

101 Broadcasting policy is complex, and much debated at the moment. There would not be space in this paper to do those debates justice: it is mentioned here to flag up the importance of broader cultural considerations of the cultural realm in policy-making in this area.

102 Matrix Knowledge Group, *Understanding the Drivers of Engagement in Culture and Sport – Summary report*, p 14.

103 Miles, A and Sullivan, S, *Understanding the Relationship between Taste and Value in Culture and Sport*, p 25.

104 Mutuo, *Mutuals Yearbook 2009*, p 3.

105 Mulgan, G, 'After capitalism'.

106 See, for example, Thaler, R and Sunstein, C, *Nudge*, Dolan, P et al, *Mindspace: Influencing behaviour through policy*; and Halpern, D, *The Hidden Wealth of Nations.*

107 Mutuo, *Mutuals Yearbook 2009*, p 2.

108 For further details, see Wigan Leisure and Culture Trust, Annual Report, 2008/09, www.heckforddigital.co.uk/ ?id=wiganannualrep0809, accessed 30 Jun 2010.

109 HM Treasury and the Department for Communities and Local Government, *Total Place: A whole area approach to public services.*

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113 For discussion of *Belonging*, see Jones, S, 'Reframing difference'.

114 The exception is that doing sport once a year or less appears to generate no effect, which would support the belief that its benefits are exponential, both in terms of health and mental well-being, and social interaction. Across leisure participation more widely, a higher frequency of engagement is generally associated with a higher level of SWB.

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This pamphlet was sponsored by:

case: the culture and sport evidence programme

This essay is part of a joint Demos and CASE (Culture and Sport Evidence Programme) fellowship examining the evidence currently available in relation to public participation in culture and sport. It addresses the question: why should the state get involved in culture, and if it should, how?

At the moment, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) is among the smallest of government departments, both in terms of budget and the importance attached to it. Cuts will make it smaller still and threaten to hollow out what power and influence it has. However, culture has a bearing on areas of policy far beyond what is currently thought of as DCMS' domain and its importance must be reflected. By distinguishing two concepts – the cultural realm as a basic and inalienable continuum of human life and society, and the forms that provide the manifestations of beliefs and opinions about culture – this pamphlet puts in place a new rationale for government intervention in these areas of social life.

Culture Shock argues that cultural policy must focus on the equitable distribution of individuals' cultural capabilities, indicating that this will require thinking anew about what form the structures take, and how they are run. Social, political and economic developments have combined in ways that pose new challenges for policy-makers and the cultural sector alike. This pamphlet describes one way to meet those challenges.

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