MEASURING CULTURAL VALUE - A DEVELOPMENTAL PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

Over the past ten years, scholars from a variety of fields have attempted to develop a framework which is appropriate for establishing the value of the outcomes and impacts of arts and cultural activities, programs and policies. These attempts have frequently been inconclusive or remain incomplete. This paper will suggest how this deficiency might be corrected. It observes that since the 1970s, previously stand-alone arts policies have become embedded within a wider cultural policy framework. It enquires whether an evaluation model might be devised to measure how arts activity contributes to cultural development, drawing on a series of anthropological concepts which have not previously been applied in a policy context. It finds that these concepts can be used for developing indices capable of measuring the contribution of the arts to cultural development; and it demonstrates how these indices may be connected with a strategy and policy framework which can provide a fresh approach to arts and cultural policy.
Keywords: Cultural policy; cultural theory; policy evaluation

Simply by sailing in a new direction
You could enlarge the world ....

Allen Curnow. 'Landfall in Unknown Seas'

1: APPROACHES TO THE EVALUATION OF CULTURE

Over the past ten years, scholars from a variety of fields have attempted to develop a framework which is appropriate for establishing the value of the outcomes and impacts of arts and cultural activities, programs and policies. These attempts have frequently been inconclusive or remain incomplete.
Belfiore and Bennett (2008), for example, focus on social impact and attempt 'to trace historically the evolution of commonly held beliefs on the effects of the arts on individuals and societies' (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008: 13). Their intention is to produce a taxonomy of the impact of the arts ... based on a review of European intellectual tradition' (*op cit*, 2008: 16). What they in fact manage to reveal is not a conclusive summation but rather an unresolved and continuing debate between a 'negative tradition ... that the arts have a negative influence on individuals and society as a whole' and 'a positive tradition which maintains that the arts are good for you' (*op cit,* 2008: 191). They comment, that
...there has never been a time in the West when discussions of the role of the arts in society have not been at the centre of a heated debate' (*op cit*, 2008, 193).
While this may be true, it is not necessarily useful for arts and cultural administrators who are obliged to 'articulate and evidence multiple forms of public value, a mix of intrinsic cultural values, plus appeal to myriad corporate and commercial agendas (from corporate social responsibility to the bottom line), to prove their worth' (Fleming 2009: 3).

In his report to DCMS, O'Brien (2010) attempts to find some new economic measure of the value of the arts. He explores the debates around cultural value, considering the meaning of culture and the reasons why valuation of culture is such a difficult task. The report considers several solutions to the problem of how to value culture, giving an overview of techniques from environmental and health economics, arts and humanities research and recent studies on subjective wellbeing. Overall the report fails to identify any new valuation methodology, and instead settles for the 'willingness-to-pay' approach recommended in Treasury's *Green Book*. DCMS, reportedly, is continuing to seek a more appropriate economic framework.

In 2004, the BBC, following Moore (1995,) attempted to construct an evaluation framework for its activities based on the concept of 'public value'. They suggested that this public value comprised a series of components: democratic value, cultural and creative value, educational value, social and community value and global value. They noted that 'while no single numerical calculation is either possible or desirable ... public value should be seen as a practical test that can be applied by the BBC itself, by its Governors and by the public, to decide what it should do – and how well it does it.' External commentators, however, (Thompson, 2007) do not agree. Thompson concluded that the Moorean core concepts were 'of limited applicability to the BBC' and that the BBC's distinctive status and scale' limited 'the relevance of public value management to other parts of the UK's public cultural sector' (Thompson, 2007:npn). Attempts to apply this sort of analysis to the Arts Council England have subsequently been dismissed as wrong-headed (O'Conner, 2012)
Finally, the RAND Corporation has financed an attempt to construct a framework for the evaluation of the 'intrinsic' impact of the arts (McCarthy et al, 2004). They argue for the central role of intrinsic benefits in generating all arts benefits. While enumerating a range of social, economic and public benefits such as those discussed above they focus on the intrinsic outcomes which they maintain include Improved academic performance, improved self-efficacy, better health and learning skills and the development of social capital. Despite this, Brown (2011), a primary exponent of intrinsic evaluation methods, regards this methodology as an unfinished project:
It is still early in the long arc of understanding of how intrinsic impacts and other benefits and values associated with arts engagement can be measured (Brown, 2011: npn).
So, while there has been a considerable amount of cultural enquiry, no universally acceptable evaluation model has resulted. This paper will suggest how this deficiency might be corrected. It observes that since the 1970s, previously stand-alone arts policies have become embedded within a wider cultural policy framework. It enquires whether an evaluation model might be devised to measure how arts activity contributes to cultural development, drawing on a series of anthropological concepts which have not previously been applied in a policy context. It finds that these concepts can be used for developing indices capable of measuring the contribution of the arts to cultural development; and it demonstrates how these indices may be connected with a strategy and policy framework which can provide a fresh approach to arts and cultural policy.

2: THE FOUNDATIONS OF CULTURE

Cultural theorists for whom anthropology provides a disciplinary base connect the human capacity for 'sociality ... complex social behaviour' (Carrithers, 1992:34) with the development of cultures. These cooperative human cultures share characteristics that distinguish them from those of other species: they are adaptable and employ pedagogy to transmit collective knowledge.
Godelier (1986) formulated the classic statement linking human sociality with the development of culture.
The fact is this: human beings, in contrast to other social animals, do not just live in relationships, they *produce relationships in order to live*. ... they invent new ways of thinking and of acting – both upon each other and upon nature... They therefore *produce culture* and *create history*. (Godelier, cited in Carrithers, 1992: 30).
His contention that human societies depend on cooperation for survival, economically, militarily and socially, has been widely accepted by subsequent theorists who also accept that culture, as a force for generating and sharing meaning within a community, creates the basis for this cooperation. The consensus is clear: 'Humans cooperate on a larger scale than any other species' [which] 'lack the social learning abilities that produce cultural evolution' (Heinrich, 2004, 30 . 'From hunter-gatherer societies to nation-states, cooperation is the decisive organizing principle of human society. No other life form on Earth is engaged in the same complex games of cooperation' (Nowak, 2004: 5). In all these contexts 'shared culture emerges from interaction' (Tedlock and Mannheim, 1995: 6).
This theoretical consensus persists despite the emphasis of Darwinian evolutionary theory on the importance of competition and 'the survival of the fittest'. Evolution, it seems, is 'constructive because of cooperation ...

Cooperation is the secret behind the open-endedness of the evolutionary process (Nowak, 2004:.32). '[W]hen everyone's fate becomes linked, natural selection can powerfully favour cooperation and mutual acts of altruism over competition ' (Pagel, 2012: 184). The influence of the 'selfish gene' (Dawkins, 1989) is balanced by the cultural transmission function which occurs 'via "memes", which are (roughly speaking) the cultural analogues of genes' (Wadwahan, 2010: npn). As a consequence, '[c]ulture rather than genes provides greater scope for the evolution of large-scale human prosociality' (Bell *et al*, 2001).

The outcomes of humankind's cooperative sociality are evidenced in many aspects of social life we take for granted. It has driven the form and scope of dominant cooperative structures among human societies which have varied over time in response to differing environmental circumstances. One can therefore distinguish in different eras the 'kinship-based tribe', the' hierarchical institution', the 'market', and the 'collaborative network '– all structures that enjoy periods of stability interrupted by fundamental social reorganisation (Ronfeldt, 1996).
This same adaptability is also evident at the micro level in 'the incessant mutability of human experience, the temporality woven into all human institutions and relationships' (Carrithers, 1992: 29). These 'metamorphic' qualities stem from the capacity for 'observational learning '(Bandura, 1986: 136), a higher order ability than the imitative behaviour which is common among other species. This ability to introduce change and improvements to current practices is matched by a capacity to share this information through processes of ' intersubjective pattern recognition' (Carrithers, 1992: 155) which are again uniquely human. This has a number of consequences. The first is that advances achieved individually may quickly become available to a community as a whole as a result of 'perceptual consensibility' (Ziman, 1978: 12).

... the most distinctive characteristic of human cultural evolution as a process is the way that modifications to an artifact or a social practice made by one individual or group of individuals often spread within the group, and then stay in place until some future individual or individuals make further modifications and these then stay in place until still further modifications are made (Tomasello, 1992: 71).
Second, these sociocultural creative processes are facilitated by humankind's commitment to 'pedagogy: the disposition to invest time in training without any immediate return' (Carrithers 1992: 63).

... pedagogy involves a sophisticated aesthetic judgment of what constitutes a good performance, whether in using social or technical skills ... it involves representing the difference between the pedagogue's own ability and that of the novice and therefore [invokes] higher order intentionality (*op cit*, 1992: 63).

Third, observational learning also 'allows information to accumulate: that is, it allows history' (Alvard, 2003: 142). Defined broadly, history is a body of information about events that occurred in the past. Defined this way, even nonliterate societies have history consisting of information relating to a wide variety of areas, including ecology, social organization, technology, resource management, and medicine. The selective advantages are great as culture lets individuals access a corpus of information about events never personally experienced (Alvard, 2003: 142) .

In the case of human societies, however, such bodies of information are susceptible to transformation and interpretation as a result of humankind's most critical cultural capacity: the power of narrative.
Narrative thinking is the 'very process we use to understand the social life around us' Carrithers, *op cit*, 78). It is the vehicle for semiosis – the process of signification in language and literature. It draws on the capacities already discussed – intersubjective pattern recognition, and perceptual consensibility - to ascribe intention, impute causality and 'enable humans to interact with complexity' (*op cit:* 91)
Narrative thinking allows humans to situate themselves in time: 'to grasp a longer past and a more intricately conceived future' (*op cit,* 77). It also allows individuals and communities to distinguish place from space, connecting 'atomic abilities with their living setting (*op cit:* 78).
Long before the advent of literacy ... places served humankind as durable symbols of distant events and as indispensable aids for remembering and imagining them... [T]hrough a vigorous conflation of attentive subject and geographical object, places come to generate their own fields of meaning. So, too, they give rise to their own aesthetic immediacies, their shifting moods and relevancies, their character and spirit. Even in total stillness, places may seem to speak.... Human constructions par excellence, places consist in what gets made of them—in anything and everything they are taken to be—and their disembodied voices, immanent though inaudible, are merely those of people speaking silently to themselves (Basso, 2003: 108-9)
To summarise, the distinctive human qualities of sociality, adaptability, pedagogy and meaning-making structure for humankind the experience of life 'as an animal suspended in webs of significance they themselves have spun'

and where the totality of these webs constitute culture (Geertz, 1973: 16).

3: POLICY CONTEXT

If sociality, adaptability, pedgagogy and meaning-making are the foundations of human culture, how are they reflected in a contemporary policy context?

According to current theories of policy formulation, 'narrativity' ,'rhetoric' and 'semiosis ... the intersubjective production of meaning' are essential resources for determining that 'imagined economies are discursively constituted and materially reproduced' (Jessop, 2006: 161, 162).

Table 1: Some representative terms linked to the KBE in different functional systems and the wider society

Technology	Smart machines – intelligent products – expert systems- new materials- demataerialization- welfare – netware – information and communication technologies – information superhighway – innovation systems
Economy	Knowledge creation – knowledge management – knowledge - embedded knowledge networks – e-commerce – learning economy – reflexive accumulation
Capital	Knowledge capital – intellectual capital – intellectual property rights – informational capitalism – technocapitalism – digital capitalism – virtual capital\ism – biocapitalism
Labour	Teleworking – intellectual labour – knowledge workers – symbolic analysis – immaterial labour – tacit knowledge – human capital – expert intellectuals – cyborgs
Science	Knowledge-base = innovation – scientific and technical revolution – life sciences – technology foresight – triple helix
Education	Lifelong learning – learning society – corporate universities – knowledge factories – advanced educational technologies
Culture	Creative industries – culture industries – cultural commodities – cyberculture – technoculture
Law	Iintellectual property rights – rights to information – immaterial objects - biopiracy
State	Virtual state – e-government – science policy – innovation policy – high technology policy – evidence-based policy
Politics	Electronic democracy – cyberpolitics – 'hactivism'

Source; Jessop, 2006, 169

It is argued that Western nations in particular are currently engaged in a discursive program to endorse and justify 'the rise of the knowledge-based economy (KBE) as a provisional, partial, and unstable semiotic-material solution to the crisis of Atlantic Fordism' initiated by the oil shocks of the 1970s (Jessop, 2006, 160). A new lexicon has been developed to consolidate a new 'economic imaginary': a 'master economic narrative ... oriented towards the development of a new mode of regulation that can potentially stabilize accumulation after the crisis of Fordism' (Van Heur 2010: 14). The knowledge-based economy (KBE) is represented as capable of promoting 'a new accumulation strategy that sees knowledge as a major source for economic development' (Van Heur, *op cit*: 15). Supporting this strategy is the 'state project' of the 'creative industries ... designed to give culture an economic agenda' (Van Heur, *op cit,* 71) Under this scenario, new networked forms of economic, social and cultural organisation have assumed greater significance than the monopolistic institutions of the 1950s and 1960s 'due to their assumed flexibility, constant modulation and innovatory capacity' (Van Heur, *op cit,* 13).

It is interesting to consider the extent to which cultural policy has been nested within the frameworks consolidated by these successive accumulation regimes. The Fordist 1950s and 1960s are the decades when are current arts policy settings were formulated. Fordism was predicated on mass production articulated with mass consumption complemented by the influence of the Welfare State in sustaining demand. The cultural institutions founded at that time were similarly sustained (and continue to be) by state subvention intended to encourage the mass consumption of a limited range of canonically endorsed products.

This contrasts with the configuration of arts organisations designed for the 21st century. Of the many examples which could be cited, MASS MoCA in the small (pop 13,000) former industrial town of North Adams Massachusetts is perhaps the best documented. Mass MoCA is the largest centre for contemporary arts in the United States which is housed, perhaps symbolically, in an abandoned Fordist industrial factory. It presents a program embracing dance, music, theatre, education, technology and the visual arts .

In the late 20th century, North Adams was in economic decline and subject to numerous social stresses **(1).** MASS MoCA opened to the public on May 30, 1999 and has played a vital role in 'revitalizing North Adams' (Oehler, 2006: 21) (**2.).** This is due in part to the 'increasing linkages with neighboring towns [that] have lessened the hard socio-economic divide that once contributed to the sense of isolation and dysfunction pervading North Adams in its pre-MASS MoCA period' (Oehler, 2006: 22).
These linkages have to a large extent been effected by MASS MoCA. A social network analysis carried out in 2007 (Oehler, 2007) revealed that MASS MoCA is 'more heavily linked to the most central organizations in the community' than any other organisation in the area. 'Its Primary Network ... has direct ties to the Educational sector; Social Services sector; the Leisure sector; the Public sector; and the Professional sector, as well as ties within the Cultural sector' (Oehler *et al*, 2006: 14). The consolidation of these networks facilitates MASS MoCA's role as 'a more active participant in the community' (Oehler *et al*, 2007: 116) and constitutes an indicator of sustainability. These networks also reconfigure the hierarachy of significance. In contrast to the Fordist model, they 'reclaim the regulative power of communal dialogue freed from the cognitive closure of the market and the social rigidity of authority-mediated relationships' (Kallinikos,, 1995: 123).
In the new cultural economy, networks are also vital to artists. A distinctive feature of the operation of this new economy is that some 20-30% of its workforce comprises
independent artists working within radically new relatively self-determined informal networks and mutual support systems. These independent artistic networks are composed of freelancers, the temporarily employed, sole traders and micro-businesses and those who occupy a fluid position in relation to formal cultural economy organisations and jobs (Shorthose and Strange, 2004: 4).

They are not institutionalised like earlier generations of cultural workers but operate through networks because

... of their particular set of circumstances: (1) the collective nature of creative practice; (2) the lack of an institutionally organized work environment; (3) the intersection of private and professional networks due to the nature of creative and cultural work; and (4) the uncertainty of employment... Artists therefore function as "nodes" where different networks intersect and thus have the potential to serve a bridging role within urban communities and metropolitan regions. (Stern and Seifert, 2005(b): 9).

This is confirmed by British research.

Artistic labour is organised through networks rather than firms ... Cultural production typically occurs in flexible networks and temporary, project-based collaborations. Creative labour markets are also extremely flexible and volatile (Benhamou, 2002). Most cultural product life-cycles tend to be short, and creative industries exhibit intensive user-producer interaction (Bakhshi, 2008: 4,5). **(3.)**

Cultural work is therefore project-driven and sustained by a variety of employers and sponsors. One US study establishes that 74% of artists choose to work in contexts other than the subsidized non-profit sector.

Artists move among sectors far more fluidly than we had thought, and if money were not an issue, most would cross over even more than they presently do. They report that each sector provides distinctive channels and support for artistic development.... Overall, these responses confirm a strong desire for cross-sectoral work. The small share of artists preferring to specialize in any one sector – 26% in commercial, 16% in nonprofit, 7% in

community – is particularly remarkable (Markusen et al, 2007: 89).

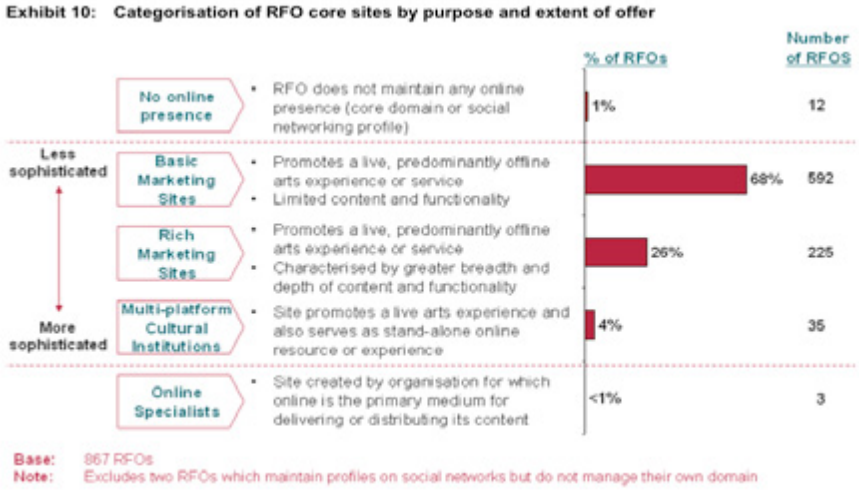
Similarly, British research finds that nearly 40% of fine arts graduates engage in 'multi-jobbing' which is seen as potentially beneficial: 'artists gain through access to a new audience, a sense of making a political or social contribution, or material that informs their art work (Bakhshi, 2008: 6, 41).

There is also a more diverse range of 'arts places' where arts experiences are available. A longitudinal study of the arts in Philadelphia (SIAP) found that 35% of the projects they tracked involved performing or displaying work in a nonprofit setting and 10 % involved commercial settings. Public spaces, live/work space, and other informal settings accounted for the remainder of work sites.

The rapid proliferation of digital technologies since the 1990s has facilitated the development of networks by both arts organisations and individual cultural workers though its impact has not been consistent across the cultural sector. Individuals have quickly taken up digital technologies for both the production and distribution of their work. In Australia, for example, between 2004 and 2007 those involved in 'creating artworks with a computer' increased by 98% to constitute almost 52% (552,500) of the total paid cultural workforce (ABS, 2007). The collective result of these developments has been to create a third site for the technologically enabled social production of culture which complements and interacts with subsidised and commercial activity:
Creative production now navigates three territories, not two. Publicly-funded culture and online social spaces both feed commercial activity. Both social production and funded culture ... are experimental spaces and testing grounds ... The policy implications for publicly-funded culture in relation to new types of real and virtual social space need to be interrogated and developed (Holden, 2007: 15-16).

For arts institutions, the take-up of digital products and services has been slower and less comprehensive. 'As new ICTs became an increasing part of social and economic life within advanced economies throughout the 1990s', ... the major arts organisations 'continued on oblivious to this social-technical transformation' (Rossiter, 2006: 105). Even as recently as 2010, those organisations regularly funded by the Arts Council England (RFOs) tended to use digital services largely for marketing purposes.

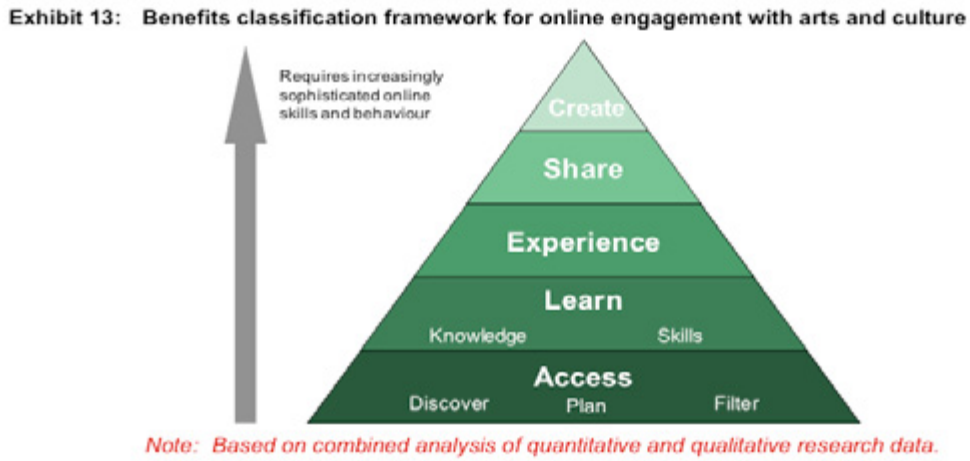
Figure 1: RPO On-line Presence



This is likely to change in the future. *Building Digital Capacity for the Arts* is a new program developed in partnership with BBC Academy to assist organizations in the ACE's National Portfolio to develop knowledge and skills in the delivery of high-quality digital content. The initiative aims to encourage partnerships between arts organizations and the media sector. New initiatives such as the Digital R&D Fund for Arts and Culture (supported by the ACE, AHRC and NESTA) has introduced a fund of £500,000 to support arts and arts organizations that want to work with digital technology to expand audiences and build new business models (Wong, 2012: 61, 62).

There are many opportunities to do so, as Wong (2012: 64) suggests in **Figure 2** below:

Figure 2: Classification Framework for Online Engagement with arts and Culture



- ***Access:*** *discovering what's on, filtering opportunities and planning attendance or participation*
- ***Learn:*** *acquiring new skills and knowledge (for example, finding out more about the life of an artist)*
- ***Experience:*** *experiencing the full creative or artistic work online*
- ***Sharing:*** *using the internet to share content, experiences and opinions*
- ***Create:*** *use of the internet to assist with the creative process itself.*

Indeed, some commentators suggest that it is through the application of digital technologies that struggling Fordist arts organisations may be able to reinvent themselves. They envisage theatres, orchestras, dance and opera companies reconstituting themselves as

... seamlessly digital and physical, operating as a broker of flows and experiences, a facilitator that allows audiences, practitioners and businesses to encounter excellent art, co-create the meaning of that art, and collaborate to create new art. ... They should be intimately tied to place – expressive of the cultural identities of their town or city and helping to re-imagine and reframe those identities as senses of the local shift over time (Fleming and Erskine, 2011: 27).

We will have more to say about this prospect in the concluding section of the paper.

Much current policy commentary regarding the cultural sector is based on a loosely defined concept of creativity. Originally conceived on the micro level as an individual trait, creativity was valued as 'a prized feature of the human mind' (Boden, 1994:1) and was regarded as 'one of the highest level performances and accomplishments to which humankind can aspire' (Taylor, 1988: 99). Current conceptualisations, however, favour a consensual definition of creativity' which is grounded in social process rather than just individual talent (Amabile, 1982: 1001):

A product or response is creative to the extent that appropriate observers independently agree it is creative. Appropriate observers are those familiar with the domain in which the product was created or the response articulated. Thus, creativity can be regarded as the quality of products or responses judged to be creative by appropriate observers, and it can also be regarded as the process by which something so judged is produce (Amabile, 1996: 33)

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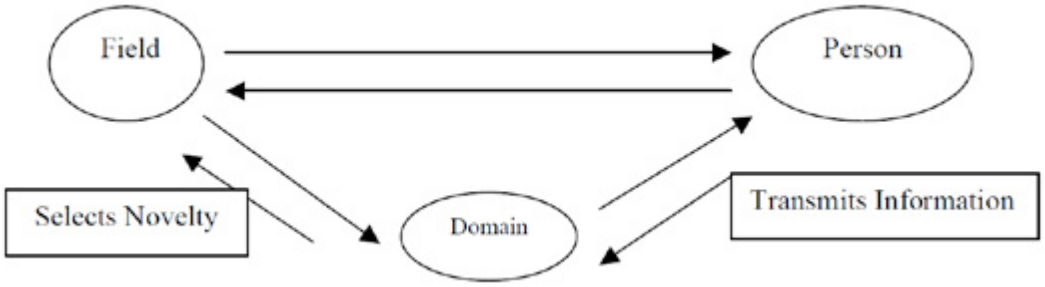
This consensual concept of creativity was subsequently expressed in the following model (Csikszentmihalyi, 1999: 316):

Figure 3: Csikszentmihalyi's Model of the Creative Process



This suggests that while an individual remains the source of innovation, a field of experts makes a judgment about its value and it must achieve a positive valuation if it is to be retained in a domain which incorporates 'the previous patterns, rules, conventions, language, and symbols of a particular discipline' (Lee, 2007: 4). Each domain such as arts, crafts, and sciences therefore regulates their own body of disciplined knowledge accessible to those with specialized skills and training (Gardner, 2001). As in anthropological theory, the capacity to innovate is also represented in evolutionary terms

Evolution occurs when an individual organism produces a variation which is selected by an environment and transmitted to the next generation. The variation that occurs on the individual level corresponds to the contribution that a person makes to creativity; the selection is the contribution of the field, and the transmission is the contribution of the domain (Csikszentmihalyi, 1999: 316).

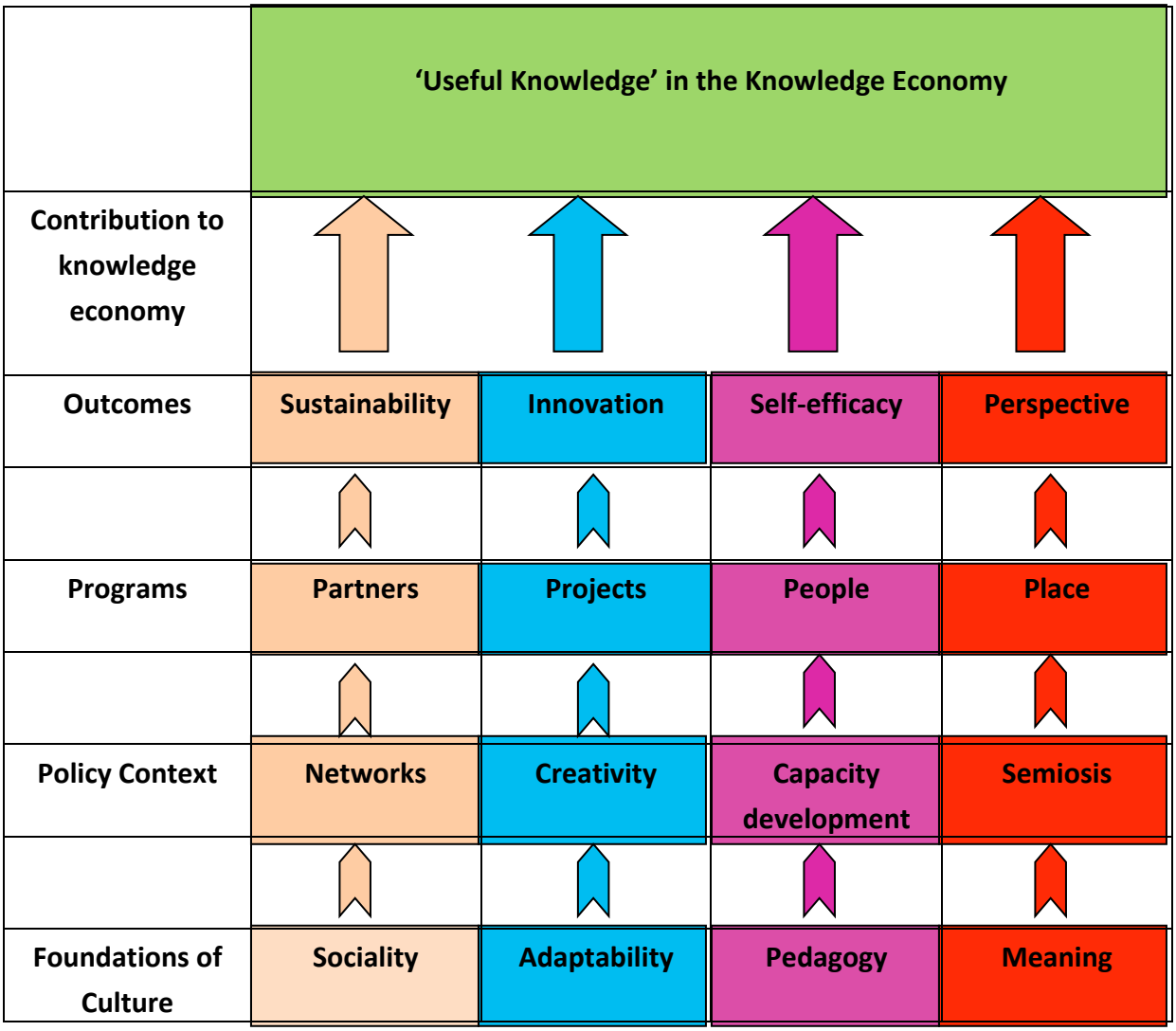
The maintenance and enhancement of innovation also depends on pedagogy. Tertiary arts schools and creative industry courses now abound. '[S]kills, knowledge and experience' are also transferred through 'participation in communities of practice'. Beyond the individual level, lifelong education strategies also offer opportunities for 'capacity building' through integrating capabilities 'to achieve a desired collective purpose'. **(4.)** All these pedagogical approaches are capable of both refining abilities, deepening knowledge and instilling an enhanced sense of self-efficacy.

4. CONSTRUCTING THE MODEL

Having demonstrated how the foundations of culture are expressed in a contemporary policy context, it is now possible to construct the policy model. The model may require some explanation (see **Figure 4**). At the base are grouped humankind's unique foundational cultural capabilities – sociality, adaptability, pedagogy and meaning-making. Since cultural policy is a subset of the prevailing Knowledge-based Economy (KBE), its ultimate contribution is shown at the apex where, to borrow a phrase from Gertrude Stein, 'useful knowledge' is accumulated. The nature of this useful knowledge is suggested by the enumerated outcomes –Sustainability, Innovation, Self-efficacy and Perspective. In terms of the preceding discussion, these outcomes proceed from four programs – Partners, Projects, People and Place - developed from elements within the current cultural policy context- networks, creativity, capacity development and semiosis.
The simple-minded proposition behind this model is that the purpose of cultural policy should be to develop the culture through deriving new value from its foundational elements; and that the arts are the vehicle for achieving this development. Because the arts are engaged with tradition, promote innovation, require a unique skills base and entail distinctive ways of working, their outcomes extend beyond the creation of new artifacts or the performance of novel productions. The 'useful knowledge' they generate also includes broadly-based contributions that speak to the enhancement of human capabilities.
This is apparent from the **Partners** program with its outcome of Sustainability. This program is based on human sociality as expressed through the development of cooperative networks which are a defining characteristic of economic social and cultural organisation in the KBE. A large and diverse range of interests converge in the cultural sector which need to be drawn together as a supportive network if the sustainability of an arts organisation or program is to be guaranteed. Apart from a myriad of cultural organisations, these stakeholders include tourism, diplomacy, education, health, social services, the corporate sector, the professions and the voluntary sector.

Consolidating relationships among these interests is essentially a strategic task, and the measures of an organisation's success in building a sustainable network will therefore include these program outputs:
Strategic Leadership. Articulating and communicating cultural development needs, opportunities and solutions in association with partners and stakeholders in the community.

Figure 4: Cultural Policy in the KBE



Synergies. Developing collaborative mechanisms for engaging stakeholders in the design and delivery of cultural programs.
Catalytic Activity. Coordinating and aligning partnership activity to enable stakeholders to work together and deliver a greater impact than if they had
Worked independently.
Social Cohesion. The extent to which such a network contributes to a strong community life can be confirmed through social network analysis (Oehler et al, 2007).

As far as 'useful knowledge' outcomes are concerned, this program will contribute to the KBE a robust working model of policymaking through a 'federated governance system' complemented by a 'joined up government' approach to its implementation' (ACAGC, 2003). For the past decade, it has been anticipated that 'whole of government approaches' to problem-solving in a policy context 'will increasingly become a common response.'

(Howard, 2002: npn). Given the complex coalitions brought together in the networks that support arts initiatives at a federal, state and community level, the cultural sector is in a position to set the standards for those processes in which 'independent agencies work together to achieve an optimal outcome for each other and government as a whole' (MAC, 2002: npn). The principal benefits of this will be to reduce the need for 'citizen, businesses and community organisations to understand the way in which government is structured in order to secure the services they need' (MAC, 2002). **(5.)**

The **Projects** program recognises the deinstitutionalised, networked character of cultural work in the current environment. It makes provision for support of creative outputs which are characteristically project-driven. The consensual model of innovation suggests how performance measures might be derived for this program drawing on familiar resources:

Creators – cultural workers are the source of innovation, where projects are invested through intellectual property protection with the uniqueness and value that patented products enjoy in the scientific sector.

The Field – the evaluative function performed by the field equates with widely used processes of peer review.

The Domain – retention of the innovative product in an appropriate domain is analogous to the gatekeeping function performed by cultural intermediaries such as curators, editors and collecting institutions.

The innovation outcomes contributed to the KBE's 'useful knowledge' are, on the one hand, the sum of these innovative processes. But there are also systemic contributions which may assist in clarifying best practice in the management and dissemination of innovation. Much of current theoretical literature concerning the management of innovation suggests that it is best encouraged by the operation of 'creative clusters' (Florida, 2002). However, empirical research in the cultural sector demonstrates that this is rarely the case: 'actual clustering is partial at most' (van Heur, 2010: 25). A study of the music industry in Berlin reveals that of the 'nodes' which represent the essential components of musical production, 'only 2.0 per cent' are located within the designated urban cluster (*op cit*, 2010: 101).
Some nodes ... are reliant on physical proximity for their economic survival, but this does not apply to other nodes. ... [For] many actors embedded in these networks of cultural production ... their actual interactions are highly flexible and transcalar and only partially take place within specific clusters. This questions the viability of regulatory attempts at promoting creative clusters since the spaces of accumulation are...much more networked than clustered (*op cit*., 2010: 192).
Similarly, Philippen and van der Knaap have established that 'most clusters are merely co-located firms' while only a minority represent 'networks of internal collaboration' (Phlippen and van der Knaap, 2007:26).
A more apt model for aesthetic production, and by implication, other innovative initiatives, appears to be the 'small world network'. Any knowledge network is

in an interconnected set of nodes that receive, store, process and/or transmit information. Nodes may be passive repositories or relays for information, or active agents that search for, integrate, process or broadcast information. Knowledge creation occurs when new information is integrated within the network, or when the existing information within the network is recombined in new ways (Schilling and Welch, 2004 :7).

A 'small world' network is constructed around a dense collection of interdependent nodes (perhaps confusingly referred to as a cluster, but one which has a virtual rather than a physical presence). These nodes are connected by short 'path length' a term which 'refers to the number of connections that separate people in a population' (Funk, 2009: 242). Where dense formations of diverse knowledge domains are connected by a short average path length

the diversity of information and knowledge ... provides requisite variety for recombination, while the .. short path length enables information to be exchanged at a higher rate, and with greater integrity. Furthermore, to the degree that different clusters contribute different kinds of information, connections between them should enable greater novelty of knowledge creation (Schilling and Welch, 2004 :8).

These principles are borne out in a study of the 'small world' network of creative artists who created original Broadway musicals from 1945 to 1989. Employing the criteria of financial success and artistic merit, the study

finds that such networks 'have a robust and novel impact on [creative] performance' (Uzzi and Spiro, 2005: 492). Other studies of the creation and dissemination of popular musical forms also reveal their genesis in 'interactions within a network'

in which dynamics of mutual stimulation and purposive response gave rise to innovations, some of which became subcultural conventions, being both reinforced and disseminated by way of further interactions in the network (Crossley, 2008: 102).

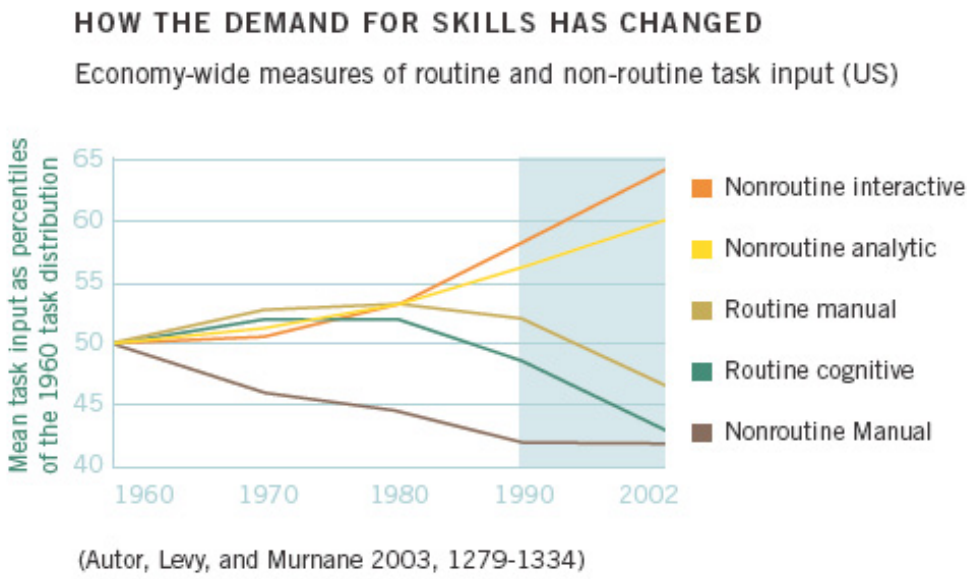
Thus British punk music originated from a dense network of 46 individuals (Crossley, 2008) and the subsequent Manchester sound was similarly the product of network dynamics. (Crossley, 2009). Knowledge of the innovative processes within the cultural sector therefore provide a corrective to theories concerning the management and dissemination of innovation in other fields. **(6.)**

The **Pedagogy** program with its outcome of Self-efficacy, recognises the strength of studio-based approaches to arts training. The particular character of the studio approach to creative education has been theorised by the American educationalist Donald Schon (1987). Schon considered that students exposed to 'practical work and coaching' in a studio context enter into an 'indeterminate zone of practice' where they are faced with situations of 'uncertainty, uniqueness and value conflict that escape the canons of technical rationality' (Schon, 1987: 6). Key techniques for problem-solving in this context are *reflection-in-action* (thinking and acting on your feet) and *reflection-on-action* (retrospective thinking). The advantage of reflective practice is that it 'releases and applies an individual's *tacit* knowledge to the task of innovative problem solving':
In this reflective conversation, the practitioner's effort to solve the reframed problem yields new discoveries which call for new reflection-in-action. The process spirals through stages of appreciation, action, and reappreciation. The unique and uncertain situation comes to be understood through the attempt to change it. (Schon, 1987: 26).
Studio experience therefore offers a site for professional practice 'where cognition is tacit but interactive with reality and methodology' (Moodyson, Coenen and Asheim, 2006: 6).
Building on this human capital, the People program is organised around lifelong capacity development initiatives directed towards the achievement of self-efficacy. The success of these initiatives may be measured according to the following proven outputs:

- increased confidence in mastering new domains
- increased willingness to experiment with new ideas
- higher expectations for future performances
- increased persistence and focus on a given task beyond previous levels
- Enhanced confidence when approaching challenging tasks (Pajares, 1996; Ormrod, 2008).

Artistic skills and training are already in demand across the creative sector. For example, at Boston's original Media Lab and the new Media LabEurope (MLE), both progenitors of creative industry development, there is a conscious attempt to bring art and technology together:
One of the reasons we have such a focus on the arts is that Nicholas Negroponte...had the intuition that we'd come up with a completely different response to questions about technology because of that. The arts, which started out as the farthest, wackiest fringe, have become a central part and touch nearly everyone at the Media Lab ... you can't say that this person is an artist or a technologist. Many of these students think of these issues together (Machover, quoted in Lillington, 2000).
The cultural sector can contribute such skilled individuals to assume leadership roles throughout the KBE. The qualities exhibited by successful protagonists in the creative sector resemble the capacities frequently cited as essential skills for 21st century jobs. Research conducted by the US Department of Labor (2004) indicates that prospective employers today are seeking qualities quite unlike those that were appropriate for jobs last century. Above all they value non-routine interactive and analytic skills (see **Figure 6** below):

Figure 6: What Skills Do Employers Value?



.
These are the skills produced by tertiary arts training and experience and the self-efficacy which is the legacy of culturally-based capacity development programs.

The **Place** program is intended as a site for institutional transformation. While conflating within its scope the fundamental tasks of meaning-making, a rich and revealing semiosis needs to be contextualised. Cultural value today is too frequently equated with placeless universality. Excellence is represented as residing in 'knowledge whose value is embedded as self-evident or infrastructural, needing only maintenance and continuity' (AEA, 2008: 50). According to this formulation, a focus on the local is represented as 'backward looking and parochial'. An appropriate response to 'globalization' instead requires 'international consciousness and international connections' (AEA, 2008: 64).

In such perspectives, 'place has become under-conceptualised and inappropriately presented' (Fleming and Erskine, 2010: 37). Places are, in fact, sites of complexity. 'The conflation of material, social and cultural factors are acted out in place, renegotiated, expressed and traded upon' (Fleming, 2010: 38). Beyond their materiality, places are constituted through 'the interaction between people and environment' (Castello, 2010: 3). These interactions include responses to

socio-cultural stimuli (which would cover such sections as narrative, history, tradition); or *morphological-imaginary stimuli* (natural assets, beauty, reputation, representation of fantasy, among others) or finally, *enjoyment-functional stimuli* (services, utilities, sensory enjoyment, comfort, pleasure) (Castello, 2010:: 9-10).

Places subsume the synchronic, and the diachronic, embracing heritage whose meaning is profoundly symbolic: how and what a society values from the past says something about how it sees itself as a community today and how it projects itself into the future. .... heritage collectively constructs a meaningful relationship between past and present, between its history and its contemporary condition (Ang, 2001: 1). .
In this globalised and digitized era, places are also sites of complexity:
where disparate and diverse entities and processes are inescapably entangled in multiplying and ever-changing webs of relationality (Castells 2000). ... What these processes bring about is not the simple absorption of the local into the global, but the more complex and unavoidable enmeshment of the global in the local, and the local in the global, thus unsettling (though not dissolving) the very distinction between these two terms (Ang, 2011: 782).

Sophisticated perceptions are required to make sense of this complexity. For this reason, it is timely to think how our major cultural institutions might be repurposed to address this task. They need to be transformed into 'interdisciplinary, multi-platform, flexible, proactive and responsive, user-generated, open and porous' organisations while retaining 'a dutiful nod to their historic core qualities and values' (Fleming 2009: 12). At the level of program outputs, the performance of these transformed institutions is measurable through their capacity for

engaging people to explore and express their identity through a set of social, economic and cultural geographies revealing, stimulating, challenging and raising awareness of the multiple, often contested senses of place and acting as game-changers and catalysts for progressively transforming places – from their role in regeneration to their contribution to the creative economy (Fleming and Erskine 2012: 36).

The combined outcome of this and other intellectual work I have labelled Perspectives. As a contribution to the KBE's 'useful knowledge', these perspectives are perhaps better understood as the fruits of 'cultural intelligence':

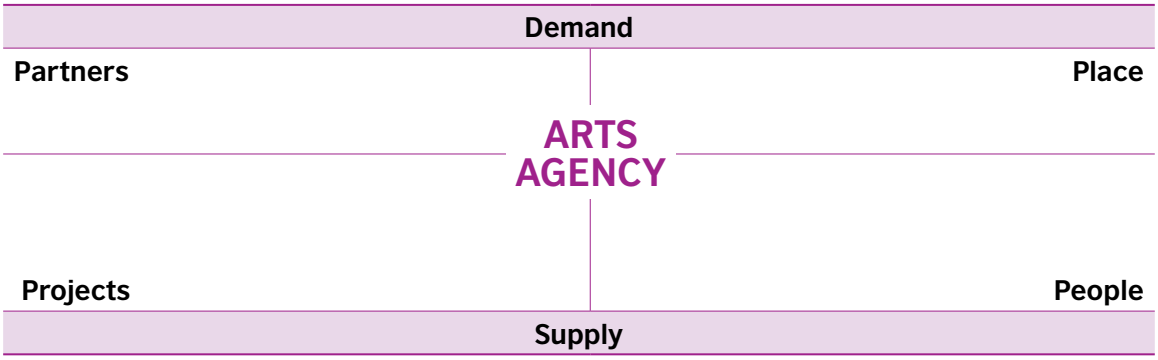
Cultural intelligence … proposes conceptual and strategic tools for navigating [complexity] … While cultural critique tends to be focused on the representation of complexity as such, cultural intelligence requires the adoption of a more heuristic approach, treating the complexity of the world not as the endpoint of analysis, but as the starting point for possible intervention within it (Ang, 2010: 790-1).

The effectiveness of this ' culturally intelligent policy renewal' will be enhanced it 'usefully frames itself in contingent, localized and provisional terms rather than in categorical and all-embracing, macro-national terms' (Ang, 2011: 792).

5: AFTERWORD

This framework for assessing the cultural impacts of arts and cultural policy should provide more than enough justification for the continuing support of such programs. However, for those seeking more tangible measures, the framework is fully susceptible to economic evaluation.
Figure xx below places the model within an implementation framework based on the developmental approach known as Strategic Added Value (SAV). SAV is the added value that is realized by coordinating arts and cultural strategies and influencing others to help achieve common objectives and outcomes. The impact of this coordination results in key agencies addressing shared objectives in a cost-effective manner. Under this formulation, the redefined arts agency (or arts agencies) are positioned between the demand and supply side (rather than at present being focused principally on supply) (see **Figure xx** below).
Each of the four programs can be evaluated in economic terms.
Under the **Partners** program economic measures would include
the value of the reduced transaction costs arising from the successful implementation of integrated governance; and the value of the goods, services and resources leveraged from program partners.

Figure 7: SAV Arts Policy and Evaluation Framework



Under the **Place** program the transformed institutions could be subjected to an input-output economic analysis to determine the quantity and value of goods and services produced.

Under the **Projects** program, small world analysis would provide a guide for assessing the financial returns from innovative products.

The **People** program would focus on the value of new jobs created and trained personnel entering the workforce.
Finally, the strategy's Net Added Value (NAV) could be calculated by bringing together data from each program area.

Such an exercise would supplement this new approach to the valuation of culture which attempts to make sense of its fluid and evolving base in a policy context which has been fundamentally changed since the original policy settings were defined at the height of Atlantic Fordism.

An extensive search of policy literature confirms that the policy models and evaluation frameworks proposed here are without precedent. In no other field has a conceptually grounded policy model produced a typology which links outputs and outcomes with the NBE. We are genuinely sailing in a new direction. Is it likely that the Treasury officials will get on board?

As Sherlock Holmes would say, 'the improbable is not the impossible'. In 1981 I argued for the significance of the 'culture-based economy' – proposals that were met with polite scepticism (Volkerling, 1981). Through some slow osmotic process, this concept has since become a mainstay of cultural economics. If Treasury officials are not immediately biddable, perhaps we need to put our faith in morphic resonance (Sheldrake, 2009).

NOTES

- 'In the mid- to late-1980s, the unemployment rate in North Adams ran from 25 to 30 percent, the highest in Massachusetts. North Adams had been lambasted as the city with the most teenage pregnancies per capita in the nation and the highest reported rates of child sexual abuse and physical abuse of children in the state. Its high school dropout rates were more than five times the state average' (Oehler, 2006: 21)

- The town has not suffered the gentrification and displacement so often seen in cases of urban revitalization. Housing values have increased, but remain affordable. Artists have been attracted to town through two major mill conversion projects providing artist live/work space. The town has welcomed an exciting assortment of young knowledge-based businesses, most of them concentrated on the museum campus (Oehler, 2006: 21).

- Angela McRobbie (2002) has also reached the following conclusions:

  Those working in the creative sector cannot simply rely on old working patterns associated with art worlds, they have to find new ways of "working" the new cultural economy, which increasingly means holding down three or even four "projects" at once. In addition, since these projects are usually short term, there have to be other jobs to cover the short-fall when the project ends. The individual becomes his or her own enterprise, sometimes presiding over two separate companies at the same time. (McRobbie, 2002: 519).

- According to this framework, the five essential capabilities include:

  - *The capability to commit and engage*. Actors are able to: mobilize resources (financial, human, organizational); create space and autonomy for independent action; motivate unwilling or unresponsive partners; plan, decide, and engage collectively to exercise their other capabilities.
  - *The capability to carry out technical, service delivery, and logistical tasks*. Actors are able to: produce acceptable levels of performance; generate substantive outputs and outcomes (e.g., health or education services, employment opportunities, justice, and rule of law); sustain production over time; and add value for their clients, beneficiaries, citizens, etc.
  - *The capability to relate and attract support*. Actors can: establish and manage linkages, alliances, and/or partnerships with others to leverage resources and actions; build legitimacy in the eyes of key stakeholders; deal effectively with competition, politics, and power differentials.
  - *The capability to adapt and self-renew.* Actors are able to: adapt and modify plans and operations based on monitoring of progress and outcomes; proactively anticipate change and new challenges; learn by doing;

cope with changing contexts and develop resiliency.
- *The capability to balance diversity and coherence*. Actors can: develop shared short- and long-term strategies and visions; balance control, flexibility, and consistency; integrate and harmonize plans and actions in complex, multi-actor settings; and cope with cycles of stability and change.

- There are many other measurable benefits. They include building an organisational culture with the following features:

  - flexible, persistent, adaptable and open to innovation and creativity
  - team focused with the ability to think and act across agency boundaries, to tolerate mistakes and manage risks
  - Has the capacity for building strategic alliances, collaboration and trust and to negotiate to achieve joint outcomes
  - Encourages the expression of diverse views and different cultures and their strengths are appreciated
  - The tension between short and long term goals is balanced (Briggs, 2005: npn).

These features are reflected in the summary of best practice below.

(6.) Burt (2004, 349, 350),in a different but parallel analysis, maintains that 'people who stand near the holes in a social structure are at higher risk of having good ideas. The argument is that opinion and behavior are more homogeneous within than between groups, so people connected across groups are more familiar with alternative ways of thinking and behaving, which gives them more options'.
(7.) In addition, the cultural sector can contribute to the KBE exemplars of working processes which are likely to become widespread across the labour market. While the flexible work practices apparent in the cultural sector perhaps represent the casualization of labour taken to an extreme, it is forecast that this same flexibility will increasingly characterise the job market as a whole.

Table 8: Characteristics of the 21st Century Labour Market

	20TH CENTURY	21ST CENTURY
Number Jobs / Lifetime	1-2 jobs	10-15 jobs (US Department of Labor 2004)
Job Requirement	Mastery of one field	Simultaneous mastery of many rapidly changing fields
Job competition	Local	Global
Work Model	Routine; hands-on; fact based	Non-routine; technical; creative; interactive
Education Model	Institution centered; formal degree attainment is primary goal	Learner centered; self-directed, lifelong learning is primary goal
Organizational Culture	Top down	Multi-directional (bottom-up, top down, side to side, etc.)

As the current century evolves, it is suggested, there will be no 'jobs for life', rather Individuals will be expected to have many jobs, perhaps in different industries. Careers will tend to be non-linear, where employees may work for a variety of different employers across a range of industries. In other words, the conditions that made creative industry jobs atypical in the twentieth century will make them appear normative this century. There are lessons in this for the KBE.

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