

CULTURAL CAPITAL AND CAPABILITIES: Defining and measuring the cultural field

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1.0 THE CULTURAL INDICATOR SETS

We identify in this paper four sets or clusters of indicators that will, in principle, enable us to move towards a more conceptually unified - if not yet (or ever) watertight - framework for policy-enabling analysis of the cultural field.

These four indicators sets are based on research, consultation and on the arguments concerning social and cultural capital assessment and cultural citizenship developed so far. They are also designed to enable a process of reconciliation, matching or testing of newly produced knowledge and data available at national and international levels. Some indicators, especially objective economic data relating to production, consumption and expenditure, etc can be derived from existing national and international data sets but the great majority of the information required will need to be derived from other quantitative and qualitative sources

The four sets and the areas of 'measurement' to which they refer are as follows:

1. CULTURAL VITALITY, DIVERSITY AND CONVIVIALITY

Measuring both the health and sustainability of the cultural economy and the ways in which the circulation and diversity of cultural resources and experiences can contribute to quality of life.

Indicators in this set should evaluate the following elements:

The strength and dynamics of the cultural economy

The diversity of the forms of cultural production and consumption

The sustainability of the cultural ecology including relationships and flows between commercial, public funded and community sectors

The extent to which these factors contribute to overall quality of life and the capacity to 'live together' (convivability)

The existence, or otherwise, of policy settings, measures and instruments to enable and evaluate the above.

2. CULTURAL ACCESS, PARTICIPATION AND CONSUMPTION

Measuring, from the point of view of users/consumers/participants opportunities for and constraints to active cultural engagement.

Indicators in this set should evaluate the following elements

Access to opportunities for creation through to consumption

Evaluation by demographics of uses and users, non-uses and non-users of cultural resources.

The ends to which cultural resources are used

The existence, or otherwise, of policy settings, measures and instruments to enable and evaluate the above

3. CULTURE, LIFESTYLE AND IDENTITY

Evaluating the extent to which cultural resources and capital are used to constitute specific lifestyles and identities.

Indicators in this set should evaluate the following elements:

The extent, diversity and sustainability of uses and non-uses of cultural resources for lifestyle and identity purposes

A recognition and assessment of the reality of sub-cultures that are currently below or beyond the policy purview including ethnic, gender, regional/local and age-based sub-cultural forms.

Inequalities by demographics, location, income, etc., of access to these opportunities.

The existence, or otherwise, of policy settings, measures and instruments to enable and evaluate the above

4. CULTURE, ETHICS, GOVERNANCE AND CONDUCT

Evaluating the extent to which cultural resources and capital can contribute to and shape forms of behaviour by both individuals and collectivities.

Indicators in this set should evaluate the following elements:

Evaluation of the role of culture and cultural resources in personal and community development.

The contribution of culture and cultural resources to community cohesion, social inclusion and exclusion.

The contribution of culture and cultural resources to the understanding of diversity and diversities

The existence, or otherwise, of policy settings, measures and instruments to enable and evaluate the above

These sets of indicators form a matrix or analytical grid that can assist in the evaluation and assessment of cultural policies for human development and, importantly, provide a sufficiently 'open architecture' for strategic connection with macro policy agendas such as quality of life, sustainable development and human rights while retaining a necessary level of context-sensitivity.

2.0 CONCEPTUAL BEARINGS

Before looking into the detail, however, it is necessary to establish some conceptual bearings, which justify this particular selection of indicator sets and point towards some of the ways in which the knowledge base necessary for their interpretation and application may be established.

Here we propose four approaches - *the cultural ecology*, *the value production chain*, *convivability and quality of life* and *value circulation analysis* - that provide a conceptual architecture for developing the indicators sets in ways that are commensurate with the tools identified in this report.

2.1 THE CULTURAL 'ECOLOGY'

To define the cultural field as an 'ecology' means being attentive to the diversity and richness of the elements that constitute culture in any given social formation and, importantly, the *relations between the elements* (and the relative robustness and health of those relations) rather than a rigid separation and demarcation of, for example, the publicly funded and community sectors from the commercial sector.

In many areas of both the developed and the developing worlds the subsidised and community sectors are absolutely crucial to the health of the commercial sector and the latter, in turn, feeds back resources to the former. Film, broadcast television, theatre, publishing and the music industry are all crucially reliant on the creative talent pools generated by the community sector for example. Collecting and heritage institutions are also increasingly reliant on the subsidised, independent and community sectors for inputs of expertise to 'add value' (in much more than the purely commercial sense) to their own work. This is the delicate nature of the cultural ecology, which, like all ecologies, requires an appropriate strategy for research, evaluation, intervention and management.

Another virtue of this concept of ecology is that it does not presuppose that 'culture' in one country means the same as 'culture' in another: *ecologies have similar logics of connection and equilibrium between elements but those elements themselves vary widely from one context to another.*

The received statistical classifications (often derived from the UNESCO *Framework for Cultural Statistics*), immensely useful as they are, are not context-sensitive enough to, for example, recognise and chart the immensely important

flows and 'osmosis' between, for example, culture and religion, culture and kinship relations, culture and tolerance, culture and rights which are, quite properly, absolutely central to any proper understanding of the ecology of the cultural field North, South, East and West. While we need quantitative statistical data as part of the work of indication, they have to be supplemented by a great deal more work on the dynamics and character of the ecology of culture *in its specific contexts*.

2.2 VALUE PRODUCTION CHAIN ANALYSIS

Value Production Chain Analysis enables the identification of strengths and weaknesses at every stage of product and service - and value - development from the moment of conception or creation through the production process, marketing and distribution to the moment of demand and consumption. It assesses strengths and weaknesses, that is, from 'supply-side' to 'demand side' and provides a diagnostic framework for policy and intervention as appropriate. It is, in principle, as attentive to the enabling conditions for actual creativity and production in the cultural field (the supply side - including infrastructure, training, funding) as it is to the opportunities for participation and consumption of cultural products and experiences (the demand side). For purposes of evaluation and indication for policy and planning the value production chain also provides the basis for an analysis of the input-throughput-output process for performance assessment.

While initially formulated to address mainstream industry concerns this model has been successfully applied, in Australia for example, in the ways indicated in the following box.

APPLICATION OF VALUE PRODUCTION CHAIN ANALYSIS

The objective is to:

Develop measures for evaluating the impact and potentially distorting effects of intervention in selected sectors of the cultural industry.

Address policy and funding imbalances between support for creation/production/performance (historically strong) and support for distribution, marketing, audience development and 'demand stimulation' (historically weak).

Identify training and developmental needs for cultural sector employees

Recognise the importance of movements of knowledge, workers and expertise between community, commercial and subsidised sectors.

Stress the importance of knowledge of, and training in, intellectual property regimes.

Address distribution and promotion weaknesses and bottlenecks.

Encourage knowledge of consumption patterns for cultural products and services.

Encourage integrated and strategic approaches to strongly emergent sub sectors such as new media.

Chart the connections and tensions between traditional and indigenous cultural practices and mainstream cultural industries.

These are some of the outputs and policy 'pay-offs', which can be attributed to value production chain analysis applied to the cultural ecology. The model has also been applied, in Australia and the UK, to specific sectors such as publicly funded libraries, visual arts and crafts, publishing, history and art museums, performing arts and the specific dynamics of urban cultural economies. The approach is 'neutral' with regard to sector, content and scope and is not purely concerned with either 'products or services' or with commercially oriented value-adding activities. *It is equally applicable to non-tangible outcomes and to non-commercial human and developmental values.*

In some local area studies, for example, this model has enabled the identification of the crucial - but 'statistically invisible' - networks of social support, reciprocity and trust which distinguish and characterise the innovative milieus necessary for cultural production, exchange and consumption. That is to say, it enable the identification, at micro level, of the sorts of *social and cultural capital inputs* which fall below the horizon of more traditional macro-economic forms of calculation and assessment that work on a more restricted spectrum of 'inputs' and 'outputs' from supply to demand stages.

In short, and of direct relevance to this project, value production chain analysis provides both a co-ordinated and strategic approach to research and *a framework for policy enabling knowledge management* by way of targeted, structured and environment responsive data collection and analysis. It would enable, for example, sustained data, information and knowledge relating to the following areas:

POLICY OUTPUTS AND IMPLICATIONS OF VALUE PRODUCTION CHAIN ANALYSIS (1)

- Which areas and processes benefit from or are disadvantaged by connection to/engagement with market mechanisms and processes.
- How policy and planning can be improved and/or modified at various stages of the value chain from 'creativity' through to 'consumption' or 're/co-creation'
- How links between agencies in all sectors can be improved and/or modified at various stages of the value chain.
- How links - of knowledge, operational policy, good and bad practice - can be established between the commercial cultural industry, public and community sectors.
- The development of strategic linkages with mainstream industry that can take advantage of the technology, production, marketing and distribution opportunities offered by them.
- Awareness of gaps and weaknesses in education, training and other human resource inputs along the value chain.

The approach is therefore well geared to address - and organise research and knowledge for - the various areas of 'macro' policy priority - globalisation, sustainable and ethical development, intersectoral and interdisciplinary co-operation, intercultural dialogue, cultural and creative diversity - which comprise international agendas. It is also well geared to address issues at micro levels of the cultural ecology. It is, in the first instance, a framework for evaluation of *economic*

vitality and diversity but is a sufficiently comprehensive framework to enable doors to open to other more qualitative values of vitality and diversity.

Because this model adopts a 'whole of ecology' approach and draws on both quantitative and qualitative data sources it does not prioritise economic growth and development as the lead factor and indicator. As the Council of Europe report, *In from the Margins*, puts it,

'...[t]his emphasis on economic growth ignored the holistic idea of cultural ecology, namely an awareness that the future of any civilised community depends on a recognition of the interrelatedness of different actions within a larger environment, whether physical, cognitive or cultural.' (Council of Europe, 1997:30)

The approach involves a mapping of the ecology of culture that is more attentive to flows, networks and relations than to discreet entities such as art forms, sectors and sub-sectors.

Let us take an example of how this model makes us attentive to the connections between cultural and other forms of 'capital'. The example is from the world's oldest existing civilisation: Australian Aborigines. In a major survey of Aboriginal Arts and Crafts undertaken in 1987, and using a value production chain model, it was discovered, at the first point of the chain - origination or pre-creation - that one of the most important resources for Aboriginal visual artists in remote desert areas, was access to a -four-wheel drive vehicle (a 'Toyota Troupie') which would enable them to visit their special tribal 'Dreaming' sites (sites of special significance in their foundation law). Without a visit to this site it would be impossible for them to develop the thematic inspiration for the distinctive 'dot paintings' which translate that Dreaming for the artwork. The Toyota vehicle, in turn, also figures in some of these representations as a newly appropriated icon in the Dreaming. The vehicle (built capital) is thus transformed into a form of cultural capital that is central to the 'production chain' for Aboriginal art. It is possible to see, therefore, that, this model of analysis enables us to open up the field of culture and to trace its connections with other co-ordinates and fields in a more complex and holistic understanding.

This model of economic analysis does, we stress, open doors to more qualitative issues is so far as it enables researchers, through both quantitative and qualitative methods, (collecting available statistical data, interviews and focus groups, etc) to address issues such as:

**POLICY OUTPUTS AND IMPLICATIONS OF VALUE
PRODUCTION CHAIN ANALYSIS (2)**

- the employment participation and consumption rates of marginalised communities in the cultural ecology;
- the appropriateness of training and 'formation' strategies for both producers and consumers measured against demographic factors;
- the availability and appropriateness of infrastructure for cultural production, consumption and participation measured against demographic and locational criteria;
- intellectual and physical access and participation opportunities and constraints measured against demographic and locational criteria;
- the existence, success or otherwise of access and participation strategies; and,
- the identification of the forms and patterns of participation and consumption of culture and the ways in which these forms of appropriation are related to lifestyle, identity, values, community cohesion, etc.

A vital and diverse cultural ecology - assessable in these terms - should be providing the maximum (or optimum) *options* for discretionary cultural participation, for *access to cultural capital*. This does not, in the first instance, necessarily mean 'more culture' in the forms in which it is traditionally understood. It does mean more capacity for access and action and more capacity for both enabling and 'governing differences'. The *Australian Everyday Cultures* project, discussed above, offers many useful directions in which, at the

'consumption/participation' end of the value production chain, these issues might be mapped and their policy implications flagged.

Value production chain analysis, then, while based on a core economic logic, has the virtue of providing a framework for 'input-throughput-output' analysis for cultural processes where

- *inputs* would typically be those of funding or investment, training and skills, policy settings and measures, infrastructure, etc: the enabling conditions for cultural life
- *throughputs* would typically be the processes of creation and production, circulation, promotion, marketing, etc; and
- *outputs* would typically be levels and forms of access and participation, consumption, audience/market development, 'satisfaction levels', etc.

This model provides the 'horizontal' axis of our matrix for cultural indicators. The 'vertical' axis is more qualitatively complex and it to this area that we now turn starting with the ways in which cultural products, services, experiences and values make direct and special connections in the ways we live together and the quality of that life.

2.3 CONVIVIABILITY AND QUALITY OF LIFE

We need now to address the issue and concept of conviviability as a possible framework for cultural indication that, in its orientation and presuppositions, orients us to the dynamics of the cultural ecology and enables us to trace the connections with other domains and fields of activity relating to culture and development in sustainable contexts.

The concept of conviviability enables us to identify the ways in which the elements and the dynamics of the cultural 'ecology' described above can be identified as an important indicator of quality of life. Before going on to discuss the process of indication it may be useful to discuss the notion of well being itself. A way of discussing cultural well-being that is defined as the presence of something good, rather the absence of something bad is offered by Lourdes Arizpe with the notion of conviviability (*convivencia*), Her argument is outlined in the following way

*'There is consensus now that economic growth is not enough to improve the human condition; other factors are crucial for human development and must now be targeted in development policies. These include democratic government, civil society organization, poverty eradication and culture in development. Working with civil society, in fact, touches on all these aspects at the same time. Yet we lack an analytical concept that allows us to understand all of these factors together...I would like to put forward that of *conviviability*... for such a purpose'. (Arizpe 2000:1)*

Arizpe suggests that sustainability in development, both human and environmentally sensitive, cannot be achieved without human co-operation and civil society involvement, and therefore cannot be achieved without *conviviability* which she also defines as *'reorganizing cultural allegiances to enable human beings with different ideals of a good life to live compatibly in a living biosphere.'*

How does this argument enable us to conceptually frame 'cultural indicators'? By enabling us to ask questions about the role of culture in promoting, enhancing and sustaining quality of life. This *relational* approach to the *constitutive* role of culture in forming and circulating values and creating *options, opportunities* and *capabilities* for action enables us to position culture on a broader and more strategic quality of life agenda that is concerned with the following value categories:

**PRINCIPAL QUALITY OF LIFE CRITERION
CATEGORIES**

- PERSONAL GROWTH AND MASTERY
- QUALITY OF THE ENVIRONMENT
- HEALTH
- ECONOMIC STABILITY
- LIFE SATISFACTION
- PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING

(Source: Seed and Lloyd, 1997)

In so far as we are approaching these values from a socio-cultural capital point of view, it is plausible to suggest that, as with the *Social Capital Assessment Tool* (and the example of the Australian *Accounting for Tastes* project – Bennett et al, 1999), these values can be approached by means of an evaluation of the ways in which cultural capital contributes to the following key quality of life opportunities:

CULTURAL CAPITAL AND QUALITY OF LIFE OPPORTUNITIES

- Freedom from oppressive restraint (liberty to exercise cultural choice including non-participation)
- Real possibility (actual capacity for choice, action, participation)
- Knowledge of those possibilities (intellectual access)
- Confidence to act upon them (opportunities for the accumulation of cultural capital through education, the family, networks, etc)
- Physical access through distribution of infrastructure and capacities for such access
- Facilitative support from others (networks of sociality and governmental or community facilitation)

To assess and evaluate these options, it goes without saying, there will need to be a concerted expansion of research and policy horizons and efforts within the cultural field drawing lessons from - but not necessarily imitating - the methods of social and cultural capital assessment that we have identified and discussed above.

There is no shortage of evidence of the connections between quality of life and access to cultural resources in both 'instrumental' and more complex terms. As general as the expression 'quality of life' may sound, it is worth registering that it is a very real factor in the hard-nosed world of business decisions. As the authors of a

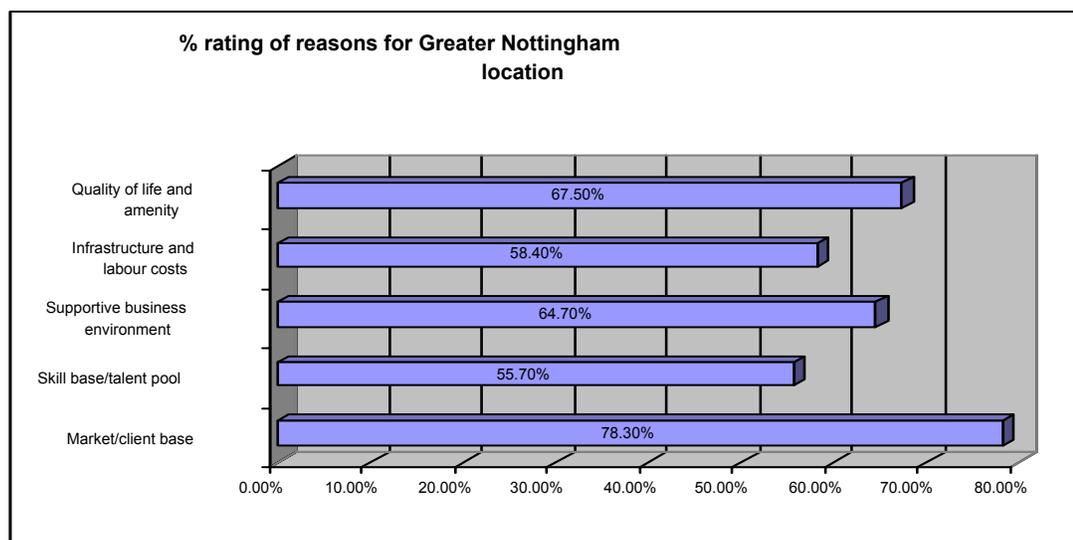
major US report for the Office of Business and Economic Development of the District of Columbia put it,

Quality of life and local amenities, including the arts, have long been counted among the factors that contribute to an area's potential for economic development. In recent years, however, changes in the structure and composition of the economy have made them more significant relative to other investment influences. Often unrecognised and untapped, amenities are being given a central role in the development strategies of some cities that are stressing the characteristics that make them distinctively attractive as places to live, work, visit and invest. With imagination, determination and co-operation, most cities can link amenities and development in strategies that contribute to both economic strength and quality of life improvements

A survey of 1,290 firms carried out in 1980 by the Joint Economic Committee of the US Congress came up with similar findings:

A city's quality of life is more important than business related factors...The results of this survey suggest that individual programmes and policies which respond to a particular business need will probably be of limited success in encouraging firms to expand or attract new firms if they are not part of a comprehensive effort to improve the quality of life in the city

More recently, a local area study in Nottingham, England, has come up with similar findings from a business location point of view and from the point of view of the street and community level consumers of culture. A telephone survey of 226 cultural sector businesses in the Nottingham Metropolitan area asking them to rate the reasons for their location in the area came up with the following findings where businesses rated quality of life and amenity factors as the second most important reason for their location in the area. This comes after, naturally, the 'market and client base' reason but ahead of 'Supportive business environment', 'Infrastructure and labour costs', and 'Skill-base/talent pool'. The responses are presented in the following chart.



While this may be rated, perhaps, as an 'instrumentalist' connection between culture and quality of life a slightly more complex picture emerges from the 'other end' of the value chain: from the consumers and users of culture.

Based on street and telephone interviews with respondents from all demographics and all areas, the following evaluative ratings were given to a series of propositions and questions:

COMMUNITY VALUATIONS OF CULTURE AND THE ARTS IN NOTTINGHAM (2001)

- 68% placed a 'fairly high' to 'high' value on culture and the arts
- 71% agreed that culture and the arts 'help me to understand the world and its people'
- 56% agreed that culture and the arts are 'important for my personal development'
- 55% agreed that culture and the arts 'encourage a sense of community'
- 47% agreed that culture and the arts encourage a 'sense of local identity'

Source: *Greater Nottingham Area Cultural Audit and Strategy*, 2001

These are more complex and qualitative evaluations of the role of culture in contributing to the categories of quality of life identified above. In these formulations the respondents clearly identified that issues of cultural diversity, identity and personal development are high on individual and community agendas..

What we are witnessing here, from both an economic and broader qualitative point of view is the fact that these domains (economic and social) are closely connected within the cultural field. That is to say that from the 'end-user' point of view, whether business or person in the street, there is little distinction to be sustained between these spheres of 'value' and that in our research and consultation agendas and in our policy settings we need to be aware of the essentially 'joined up' nature

of the cultural field itself and, most importantly, of the linkages between the cultural field and others: the economic, the social, the political, the environmental.

The much noted 'exceptionality' of culture - as commodity, service, experience - that has been well-registered in international policy circles from UNESCO to the WTO resides precisely in the special relationship that it sustains with the qualitative dimensions of lifestyle, identity and the resources for 'living together'. Cultural policy in this context must be about how to enable that 'living together': about, that is to say, quality of life. This is the first building block in the vertical axis of our matrix. We come next to the second building block that links us directly to issues of culture and development in widely varying contexts.

2.4 VALUE CIRCULATION ANALYSIS

The final conceptual ingredient that we need to add is more important in the cultural field than in any other: *value circulation analysis*. This is an analytical framework developed by the Norwegian social anthropologist Fredrik Barth and further elaborated by Arne Martin Klausen in *Socio-Cultural Factors in Development Assistance* referred to above. It is an approach to culture and development targeted (like social capital assessment) at 'more micro-oriented planning.' The approach is summarised by Klausen in the following terms:

FEATURES AND PRINCIPLES OF *VALUE CIRCULATION ANALYSIS*

- It commences with a survey of people's values and is followed by a determination of how these may, or may not, be 'converted' (towards, for example, tolerance, recognition of diversity)
- In all societies, especially but not exclusively, traditional ones, values tend to circulate in separate spheres (the spiritual, the physical, the economic, etc)
- Where values cannot be converted from one sphere to another (from the 'cultural' sphere to the 'economic' sphere, for example in many European societies or the 'sale' of land according to market principles in many traditional societies), there is recognition of a 'conversion barrier'.

- Conversion barriers, in mixed cultures and economies (especially the global ones in which we now exist) can be crossed by 'channels of conversion'
- These channels of conversion can be governed by principles of reciprocity (trading and bartering between value systems without breaching fundamental value baselines), of *redistribution* (exchanging or converting traditional values against the collective benefits produced by taxation and rebates) and, finally, by the modern *market principle* governed by laws of supply and demand and the common denominator of money as a universal medium of exchange. (Klausen, 1995:16-17)

It is not difficult to see that in the cultural field there are many 'conversion barriers' between different spheres of value (spiritual, religious, ethical, commercial, career and status-oriented and so on). What this approach enables us to do, in the cultural field, is to recognise, respect and even sometimes 'convert' those values (or link them together in a more culturally productive and context-sensitive way). As Klausen puts it:

...[v]alue circulation analysis does not merely provide information about barriers. It can also shed light on the possibilities of breaking through these barriers, and the most effective way of achieving growth spirals in the transformation of values, be they money, or, for instance, career paths.' (Klausen, 1995:17)

By way of a practical example that is relevant in all contexts, and which is rich in implications for the need for context and culturally sensitive forms of evaluations and indication, Klausen offers his use of this approach in the context of two fishing villages in Kerala, India. He elaborates as follows:

'...[i]n one of the two Indian fishing villages the value circulation was such that fishing profits were systematically ploughed back into the industry through a wide variety of channels. As a result, this village experienced tremendous economic growth. In the next village, fishing was considered an unclean occupation, and people's ambitions revolved around finding another occupation. If possible, therefore, profits were invested in land, a means of achieving higher status In this village, Norwegian development assistance

has not led to any significant growth in the fishing industry'. (Klausen, 1995:17)

There is possibly no clearer demonstration of Appadurai's argument that the 'megarhetoric' of developmental modernisation has to be constantly evaluated in the context of local cultural concerns and values (their 'micro-narratives'). But this is not just to do with the customs and rituals of so-called traditional societies.

This is an argument that is germane and relevant in all contexts: that unless we map and understand the cultural contours and byways of communities in their different value systems - from Nottingham to Kerala and many points in-between - we will have very little to work on, empirically or conceptually, to inform our cultural policy settings.

In a global context where appropriate and culturally sensitive expansion of the endogenous (and indigenous) cultural industry capacity of both developed and developing countries in order to counter the threat of homogenisation is high on the policy agenda, these points can be well taken.

But they point, again, in a direction that suggests a more thoroughgoing and holistic approach to the cultural field in which efforts to identify strengths and weaknesses need to proceed inductively from the 'bottom up' in order to meet those systems of evaluation, classification and indication that work from the 'top down'. That is to say, cultural vitality, diversity and conviviability - if they are to be linked both strategically and persuasively to broader quality of life, sustainability and human development agendas, need to be *grounded*.

There are only three net exporters of cultural product in the world (i.e., those countries that export more cultural content than they import) and these are the USA, Japan and the UK. This is a reality that will be in place for some time but, instead of the ethical declamation of this fact that characterises much cultural policy discourse, what is needed, 'from the ground up' so to speak is an approach guided by two key principles.

Firstly, there needs to be a more thoroughgoing analysis of the *actual ground and conditions for endogenous cultural development addressing economic, social and related values in a balanced and 'joined-up' way*.

Secondly, there needs to be *further micro-level attention to the actual uses and forms of appropriation of all forms of culture, whatever their origin, before proceeding to reflex denunciations of homogenisation, globalisation or, 'cultural*

pollution'. It may well be the case that traditional and indigenous communities of the South, North, East and West are *using, negotiating* and *transforming* the cultural products of the 'net exporters' in ways that we know little about.

These arguments are commensurate with the directions marked out in the Bennett and Mercer Preparatory Paper for the 1998 Stockholm *Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development - The Power of Culture*, that pointed to the urgent need for the development of strategic research agendas in the two key areas of: *Cultural Mapping*, and *Cultural Industry Intelligence* (Bennett and Mercer, 1998).

These principles inform the arguments that follow but let us first resume and summarise the arguments above linking value production chain analysis and value circulation analysis..

We can best do this by reminding ourselves that the concept and currency of the word 'economy' is not necessarily linked to financial, commercial or even monetary values. Rather, it is linked to the disposition and management of resources generally. *Economy* refers to the management of resources of a person, a household, a community, a society in the form of a 'regimen' or a 'line of conduct' (policy) and it is only in industrial societies that this form of knowledge became inextricably linked to monetary matters.

The 'economic' is therefore not separable from the cultural, the social, the personal in the ways that current disciplinary, departmental and policy rationales would suggest. We have seen that this is the case in many pre-industrial or 'traditional' societies and this fact is also being registered in the 'post-industrial' context.

That is to say that there is a growing recognition that economic *behaviour* is also and simultaneously *cultural behaviour* and *vice versa*. This fact is recognised in Amartya Sen's work where he puts culture and values at the heart of the (economic) development process. At the 'harder' end of contemporary economic and business theory, it is also there in the work of Michael Porter who defines economic development as the '*...long term process of building the array of interdependent microeconomic capabilities and incentives to support more advanced forms of competition*'.

And, if 'competition' in these terms is not necessarily the crucial issue here, then perhaps we can agree - in terms pertinent to the directions of our argument, that there is such a thing as 'economic culture' that is centrally important to developing societies (and, indeed developed societies) and that while we have grasped a sort of

logic of the 'economic' side of this expression, we are a long way from engaging with what it means as a 'culture'. *'Economic culture,'* argues Daubon, paraphrasing Porter,

'...derives from a microeconomic context. Economic development is a behavior, regulated by an economic culture. As all cultures, it evolves, and it does so by experimentation in response to changing circumstances. And this experimentation happens in the micro level by countless individuals encouraged - rather than hindered by custom - to try out new solutions. This mandates the freedom to identify one's own problem and devise one's own solution.

'One's own' is probably not quite the correct phrasing here but nonetheless the emphasis on economic development as a 'behaviour' that is regulated by an economic 'culture' is an important one that allows us to find points of reconciliation and convergence between cultural and economic fields that does not subordinate one to the other. It enables us, that is, to think and therefore develop policies for culture that are also economic policies while respecting the specificities of each domain .

The emphasis is, once again, on culture as resource, culture as capital, culture as capacity and culture as a means to 'functioning'.

With those conceptual bearings in place we can now move directly to the four sets or clusters of indicators that we propose as a 'framework for knowledge' rather than as a rigid grid for assessment.

CLUSTER 1: CULTURAL VITALITY, DIVERSITY AND CONVIVIABILITY

In this category we are dealing with the following factors:

The strength and dynamics of the cultural economy

The diversity of the forms of cultural production and consumption

The sustainability of the cultural ecology including relationships and flows between commercial, public funded and community sectors

The extent to which these factors contribute to overall quality of life and the capacity to 'live together' (conviviability)

The existence, or otherwise, of policy settings, instruments and measures to enable the above

Using the concepts of 'cultural ecology', 'value production chain analysis', and 'value circulation analysis', we have attempted to stake out a more complex, dynamic and relational picture of the cultural field than current indicators will allow.

We have identified it as a field which can and should be connected to strategic quality of life evaluation which is, in principle, susceptible to evaluation - in a context and culture-sensitive way - through more localised forms of investigation and analysis that recognise the diverse valences and 'exchange values' of cultural capital.

We have also suggested that a more holistic approach to the cultural field is enabled if we include within our purview all points on the value chain from the moment of creation and production to the moment of consumption and participation and the 'permeability' that this allows to other domains of policy

We have identified *Cultural Vitality, Diversity and Conviviability* as our first and 'lead' indicator set here not because it is the most important but because it is the category that is most susceptible to standard forms of evaluation of economic health through measures such as employment numbers and growth, range of production sub-sectors, business registrations and de-registrations, training, funding and

investment inputs, public sector support, gross turnover, GDP by sector, by region and by nation, consumption and participation patterns, etc.

This is the case, at least, in relation to the first two terms - Vitality and Diversity - which can be understood as measures of the economic well-being of the cultural economy or the cultural sector in any given context.

The measurement of the third term - *conviviability* - will be the subject of more intensive quantitative and qualitative research on how the resources made available in the cultural economy are 'invested', that is to say used, appropriated, consumed and transformed into cultural capital for the purposes of 'living together'.

CLUSTER 2: CULTURAL ACCESS, PARTICIPATION AND CONSUMPTION

In this category we are dealing with the following factors:

Access to opportunities for creation through to consumption

Evaluation by demographics of uses and users, non-uses and non-users of cultural resources.

The ends to which cultural resources are used

The existence, or otherwise, of policy settings, instruments and measures to enable and evaluate the above

In this section (and the logic of this and the subsequent sections follows from the arguments outlined above) we focus more briefly on access, participation and consumption as an indicator category.

A minimum condition for this area of investment in the cultural field is the sort of aggregate data on participation in cultural activities, consumption of cultural products and services, that many national cultural ministries and agencies and many international agencies now collect and present.

We are probably familiar with the oft-quoted special pleading of the 'more people go to art galleries/the theatre than to football' type that simply reproduces (even if it

is correct), the hierarchies of the established cultural field and ignores the fact that you cannot (normally) watch an art gallery or a theatrical performance on that infinitely more powerful cultural machine of television in a home, pub, club or community centre (with the different spheres and systems of values that prevail in those very different contexts).

What we need to know most about access, participation and consumption are not just the aggregate numbers, watchers, listeners, consumers, participants, (crucial as these are) but also how people are *using* these cultural forms to various ends of, for example, identify affirmation, personal development, social distinction and demarcation, etc and how these various uses are articulated to socio-economic and other demographic variables.

Similarly, 'cultural infrastructure audits' which simply enumerate the presence or absence of specific cultural venues - or venues susceptible to cultural use - are of little use without a corresponding knowledge of *their actual or potential uses*. These may be cultural capital in a narrow sense of the word but they are, quite simply, 'dead' capital if they are not invested in some form in the life of the community.

The work of the *Accounting for Tastes* (Bennett et al, 1999) project has gone a long way towards engaging these issues - and identifying some methodological and policy responses - as has the work of Goran Nylof for the Swedish National Council for Cultural Affairs in identifying propensities to cultural consumption and participation (or non-consumption and non-participation) by different demographic clusters.

'Different lifestyles require different methods', Nylof argues, reinforcing the fact that the cultural field is marked by starkly different value systems which determine the 'terms of engagement' with that field. Similar work has been undertaken in the USA by Dimaggio and Useem and, to a more limited extent, by the *Eurobarometer* initiative in the EU. But the map - the cartography - of the cultural field, with a few exceptions, is radically incomplete. Research and conceptual work in this area are, as Karl Eric Knuttson has put it, 'pre-paradigmatic'.

The chains and circulations of value produced by people's engagement with the cultural field - crucial as they are to policy for human development - remain uncharted. We can identify the 'peaks' of access, participation and consumption but below that level the contours fade and very little is known of what is happening on the ground. This has to be a priority area for new research that we develop in more detail below.

CLUSTER 3: CULTURE, LIFESTYLES AND IDENTITY

In this category we are dealing with the following factors:

The extent, diversity and sustainability of uses and non-uses of cultural resources for lifestyle and identity purposes

A recognition and assessment of the reality of sub-cultures that are currently below or beyond the policy purview including ethnic, gender, regional/local and age-based sub-cultural forms.

Inequalities by demographics, location, income, etc of inequalities of access to these opportunities.

The existence, or otherwise, of policy settings, instruments and measures to enable and evaluate the above

We follow the logic through now to stress that information on access, participation and consumption can offer invaluable knowledge about the ways in which cultural capital is actively appropriated to define lifestyles and identity. We take a little more time to elaborate this complex but policy-rich category of indicators.

We are moving up the scale, that is, from a descriptive and quantitative analysis of uses to a more conceptually rich analysis of *appropriations* and *negotiations* of cultural capital for the purposes of lifestyle and identity elaboration and affirmation.

This is an especially important issue in the context of what Arjun Appadurai calls the emergence of 'diasporic public spheres' where migrant and ethnic communities construct repertoires of cultural association and identity for themselves in - and often against - the official and dominant culture of the nation state in which they are resident. It is an important area, that is to say, for any affirmation and assessment of cultural citizenship

Diasporic communities in Australia (especially Vietnamese and Chinese Australians) *'organize to consume and produce media to dwell both within and outside the spaces of Asia, Australia and the West. These practices occur beside and around the regulatory provisions of national media and cultural policy...[and*

thus] a new take has to be developed on globalization, with the focus being on diasporic media serving global "narrowcast" audiences.' (Meredyth and Minson 2001: xxiv).

In engaging with the question of culture, lifestyles and identity then, we are touching on what has been called a new 'politics of behaviour' with which many of our national cultural institutions and agencies are very unfamiliar.

As Anthony Everitt has put it, in a critical comment on *Our Creative Diversity*:

'[t]he point is that today's culture is taking place messily on the streets, in under-funded schools, in video arcades, and in bleak suburbs and favelas from Cairo to the Caucasus. It is a million miles away from the committee rooms of the great and is not readily accessible to the application of reason, of sweetness and light.' (Everitt, 2001)

This being so there would seem to be an imperative to map in a great more detail the entire cultural field - light and dark sides - if we are to pursue the normative (and desirable) principle of convivability without falling prey to undue optimism.

The key issue here is that of how cultural policy, planning and assessment can enable us to work in culture in a way that enables us to '*act on the ethical self-government of human behaviour in this new plural field*'. This is what Nikolas Rose has called a '*new set of problems for the politics of conduct*', and it returns us to the points made at the beginning of this report on the necessity for the strategic re-invention and re-alignment of cultural policy to engage those issues.

In recognising this we must also register that much of where culture is now at 'escapes' the regimes and institutions originally established to manage it. To cite Rose again:

[w]ithin these new spaces of lifestyle and culture and no longer integrated in a total governmental field, it is possible for subjects to distance themselves from the cohesive discourses and strategies of the social state (schooling, public service broadcasting, etc...and access resources of subject formation in order to invent themselves as new kinds of political actors...This fragmentation of the social by the new commercial technologies of lifestyle-based identity formation has produced new kinds of collective existence lived out in milieus that are outside the control of coherent norms of civility or powers of political government (Rose, 2001:8).

This is a powerful argument that both recognises the 'lifestyle-forming' and constitutive role of culture in our identities but also the fact that most of this is happening beyond the purview and parameters of cultural policy (and of much public policy) in its received forms. Theatre and gallery attendance figures matter very little in this context and it is clear that in order to engage this agenda, cultural policy has to move beyond government and into the realm of *governance*.

This is not a purely a concern of the North and the West. As Penina Mlama points out in her report for this project from East Africa:

...we need to know much more about 'the new and emerging socialisation systems in the urban areas on which people construct their gender relations...Is it the beer clubs, the office, the sports club? What is the role of these new systems in the culture of a nation?' (Mlama, 2001)

Or we might take the examples of the explicit person and lifestyle-forming ambitions of Vietnamese cultural policy as identified in Carl Johan Kleberg's report for this project: '*[a]ll cultural activities are targeted at shaping the Vietnamese man who is comprehensively developed in politics, ideology, intellect, ethics, physical strength, creativity, the sense of community, benevolence, respect for humanity, a cultured lifestyle, a harmonious relationship with family, community and society.*' (Kleberg, 2001) .

There is a more *dirigiste* emphasis here, to be sure, that reflects the political system in which it is formulated but the difference between this and, Malaysian and Thai cultural policy ambitions, also demonstrated in Kleberg's report, is really one of scale rather than substance. The 'management of identities' and associated regimes of conduct in multiethnic Malaysia and the lifestyle and conduct orientation of the Thai national cultural policy (*[c]ulture is a lifestyle of the society, a code of conduct, a reflection of thoughts and reactions closely shared by members of society*) are pointing in the same direction: that access to, participation in, and consumption of culture are active and politically charged activities of great significance.

This last point is also made clear in Andrea Sanseverino Galan's report from Argentina for this project where she notes that many of the new cultural programmes developed in that country over recent years 'hold at their core a mission to engage and catalyze public participation in the democratic process: they aim to promote active citizenship' (Sanseverino Galan, 2001).

This focus on the ways to achieve active *cultural* citizenship brings us directly to questions of governance, ethics and conduct.

CLUSTER 4: CULTURE, GOVERNANCE, ETHICS AND CONDUCT.

In this category we are dealing with the following factors:

Evaluation of the role of culture and cultural resources in personal and community development.

The contribution of culture and cultural resources to community cohesion, social inclusion and exclusion.

The contribution of culture and cultural resources to the understanding of diversity and diversities.

The existence, or otherwise, of policy settings, instruments and measures to enable and evaluate the above

Culture is, then, 'conduct forming' and we need to be able to build this into our frameworks for assessment. Policy in this field needs to be enhanced greatly by returning to one of its meanings in both French and Italian - *lignes de conduite*, *linea de condotta* - or, in a now obsolete English usage 'in reference to conduct or action generally'. Taking it even further back we can trace a direct semantic equivalence in both Latin (*Politia*) and Greek (*Politeia*) with the concept of *citizenship*. This is a useful semantic linkage that is worth pursuing.

We can do this by referring to what Nikolas Rose calls a '*new ethopolitics*' of *community which is developing along four axes of government* [or we might substitute *governance* in this context] *that reconfigure the relationship between state, society and individual that once lay at the heart of the social politics of welfare*'.(Rose, 2001:14)

These axes - in principle effective vehicles for 'indicators' - are explained as follows as new 'rationalities of government' in which lifestyle, behaviour, conduct, community - strategic stakes in the field of cultural policy - are becoming more and more important in mainstream public policy considerations.

The four principal axes of this new 'ethopolitics' are explained in the following box.

THE AXES OF THE NEW 'ETHOPOLITICS'

- *Objects*: the 'emergence of community as an object of government'
- *Subjects*: 'new specifications of political subjects are involved in the framing of moral responsibility in terms of identities, values and belongingness in the new politics of conduct'
- *New explanatory regimes*: in the form of the new conceptions of economic and moral processes...entailed in the take up of the terms *human capital* and *social capital*...activating the responsibility of communities for their own well-being.
- *Techniques and technologies*: new 'techniques of subjectification are *being incorporated into technologies for the reactivation of civil society, for the management of risk and security, and the regulation of pathological conduct.*' (Rose, 2001:14-15)

Moving from the abstract to the concrete, what this means is that there is emerging a new logic of government (and governance) in which both the stakes and the stakeholders - community, identity, senses of 'belonging', human and social capital, civil society, the regulation and management of conduct - are now much more 'mainstream' issues.

From the point of view of cultural policy, broadly and strategically conceived as we advocate in this report, this means that many more doors are opening that will enable the positioning of cultural policy within mainstream public policy agendas. This is analogous to the ways in which the category, concept and 'policy object' of the environment has, over the past 30-40 years been positioned in relation to personal, familial, community, corporate and governmental 'behaviours'..

How can we relate these four axes meaningfully to the cultural field as a possible framework for assessment and indication? The following are possibilities:

APPLICATIONS OF 'ETHO-POLITICS' IN THE GOVERNANCE OF THE CULTURAL FIELD

- *Objects*: By posing questions as to what extent culture, the cultural field, cultural capital, assist in the development of a cohesive sense of community through community-based activities, community development initiatives, 'place-making', and encouraging community stewardship of its own assets.
- *Subjects*: to what extent does culture enable the consolidation (or challenging) of identities, foster a sense of belonging, engage with the 'politics of conduct', etc?
- *Explanatory regimes*: to what extent does culture function as a form of - and in relation to other forms of - *social and human capital* - and to what extent does it contribute to a community's well-being?
- *Techniques and technologies* which techniques and technologies does culture provide for the building of a robust civil society and for the regulation of conduct?

Those active in the field of community cultural development in the communities of the South and in the rural and especially the urban marginalised communities of the North will readily be able to answer these questions with a host of examples. They may not frame these responses in terms of a new logic of governance nor of 'ethopolitics' but that is precisely what they are about. The issue then is; how do we translate this 'tacit knowledge' into more explicit and measurable forms? That is the aim of the next section but let us first summarise the argument of this section and see where we are heading.

SUMMARY

We have identified, in this paper, four sets or clusters of indicators that, based on the conceptual bearings we outline, can make up a matrix or 'framework for knowledge' that enables the *translation* of conceptual and research-generated knowledge into the operational field of policy assessment.

The evaluative matrix that we propose has, as its 'horizontal axis' the model of value production chain analysis which enables, from the policy and planning perspective, forms of input-throughput-output evaluation that are now becoming central to public policy performance assessment regimes.

For the 'vertical axis' of the matrix we propose two key methodological 'building blocks': conviviability/quality of life and value circulation analysis in order to (i) strategically position and connect culture to mainstream policy agendas relating to sustainable development, globalisation, cultural diversity and 'living together' and (ii) enable an approach which takes the sheer difference and diversity of cultural systems as a starting point for analysis and evaluation.

To make this framework of knowledge operational in policy terms, we note that there is a good deal of work of reconciliation to be done between available systems of 'cultural indication' based on System of National Accounts type data and 'bottom up' work in cultural capital assessment at local and regional levels.

This argument is informed by certain propositions relating to the contemporary circumstances in which cultural citizenship needs to be understood and can, potentially, be achieved. These include the emergence of diasporic public spheres, the emergence and recognition of a new 'ethopolitics' based on lifestyle and identity in the polities of both North and South, and the implications of these developments for forms of governance - including the remit, ambitions and application of cultural policy in the 'politics of conduct'.

The 'framework for knowledge' is therefore constructed at the often-problematic point of translation between conceptual work and research and operational policy and planning considerations. It is intended to enable - but not provide a blueprint for - that process.

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