THE CULTURAL INDUSTRIES: CREATIVE DEFINITIONS, QUANTIFICATION AND PRACTICE

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ABSTRACT

This submission is in five sections and includes my analysis of the New Labour Creative Industries Policy, including a discussion of definitional and data issues, followed by a summary of my contribution to the field through the cited public works and a conclusion.

The body of knowledge represented in the selected studies and published works contributes to two major activities: vocational learning and the cultural and creative industries. On first reading, these seem incompatible; however, vocational learning is a key component of creative industries development and to understand the issues in vocational learning, an industrial context - in my case, the creative industries - is helpful. However, this submission relies on my works in the creative and cultural industries, with supplementary references to my public contribution in the vocational learning arena. The particular focus of the earlier published works surrounds a groundbreaking project, the Artist in Industry scheme. This scheme was the first of its kind in the United Kingdom, and took public funding of the arts into uncharted territory by connecting artists, companies and employees in a structured and organised manner. It is the interaction between the artist as worker in the workplace and employees in the company that made the scheme important and thus provides a logical starting point for this submission. Consequently, there are few references to my work before 1980.

The overall contribution to professional practice in this submission can be summarised as breaking new ground in the relationship between the arts and industry, significantly influencing vocational education and training in the cultural field (particularly higher education) with a recognised contribution to a reappraisal of the creative industries' definitional frameworks, development of primary baseline methodology and provision of new data on the sector. This has required an understanding and critiquing of the concepts employed by government and related agencies, the suggestion of alternatives, and the development of work-based projects built around consultancy activities to test methodologies and provide new intelligence to inform practice.

SIMON ROODHOUSE BIOGRAPHY

I trained in fine art at Cardiff College of Art in the 1960s under the direction of Tom Hudson, a charismatic arts educator. Tom Hudson was Director of Studies at Cardiff College of Art, and worked on the creative potential of technology in education. At Cardiff he started a one-year preliminary course, which was of great significance for general education. In planning it, he deliberately limited the equipment necessary to a basic level so that he could refute the claim that "lack of facilities" makes this kind of approach impossible. At more advanced levels, fine art students studied in a workshop atmosphere, exploring techniques and materials in systematic and personal ways. The results were impressive, but Hudson denied that there was anything revolutionary about his approach - instead he said 'It's only what ought to be done in today's conditions'. This approach placed considerable importance on creativity and creative problem-solving, backed with a high level of skills, rather than the traditional approach to the discipline, which was based on a master/apprentice model aimed at meeting the needs of the London art market. This was my introduction to a way of thinking that has been at the heart of my career.

Subsequently, on completing my postgraduate teacher training qualification in arts education, I took the decision to engage in the contemporary visual arts, not as a practicing artist, but rather as a facilitator, as I could not understand why there were difficulties in others enjoying contemporary visual arts practice. This led to teaching appointments in Freetown, Sierra Leone and Lanark, Strathclyde from 1970 to 1973. The learning outcomes experienced in West Africa provided an understanding of minorities and of how much can be achieved by enthusiastic students with very few resources. In contrast, Scotland proved to be resource rich, with low student interest in learning.

My interests turned more to informal education associated with cultural institutions when I became the Education Officer at the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, now the National Museums on Merseyside. This position enabled me to work more creatively and responsively to meet the needs of visitors and support the schools, colleges and universities in the Liverpool area. In particular, during this period, I was able to work with teachers and advisers to devise workbooks linked to the primary curriculum in which could be used both in school and the Gallery. Lecture programmes in the Gallery proved popular, working closely with the adult education

departments of the local universities. Special exhibitions concerned with the history and geography of Liverpool, using contemporary photography linked to a heritage trail, provided extra curricular support for teachers and students in secondary schools. This combination of education and arts provided the initial basis for further developments later in my career. However, this period provided a useful insight into how museums function and the role of education services. It also introduced me to project work for the first time and met my interest in engaging people in the visual arts, not least because the Gallery hosted the biannual John Moores exhibitions (contemporary art exhibitions), which were of national significance. The Walker Art Gallery collection included both historical and contemporary works of art.

This experience led to an increasing desire to work more closely with artists and the public. The post in 1976 of Visual Arts Officer at Yorkshire Arts, a regional cultural agency, funded by local authorities and the Arts Council of Great Britain, provided just that opportunity.   This was probably one of the most formative periods of development, enabling several interests to coincide and was an exciting time for the arts in Yorkshire and Humber.   It was a period of expansion, and as such, imaginative solutions to the emerging issues were welcomed. Consequently, the establishment of the Artist in Industry scheme, which is discussed in greater detail later, was possible.   In addition, during this time I was able to support the establishment of the Yorkshire Sculpture Park, now a major international centre, and two artist studio cooperatives in Scarborough and Sheffield - the Crescent Arts Workshop and Yorkshire Arts Space Society respectively - as well as establishing the country's first feminist photographic gallery in Leeds.   I also worked with colleagues in other regions to establish the Artists Newsletter, the first of its kind in the country, which continues to publish today.   In effect during this period I was expected to negotiate resources from the Arts Council of Great Britain in London, to support creative activity in Yorkshire and Humber, and in addition, to attract local authority support. The requirement   to continually consider both the needs of the artist on the one hand and the public on the other led to me designing bridging schemes such as the Artist in Industry and Artists in Schools programmes. In the case of the Artist in Industry programme, it was more to do with encouraging artists to help themselves and engage with different audiences.

What became apparent during this period was that artists were generally badly trained to cope with the business of being an artist. It became glaringly obvious that universities with faculties of Art and Design provided excellent training in creativity

with little engagement in art as a business. This prompted an increasing interest in the role of universities, and consequently, I became Head of the School of Creative and Performing Arts at Newcastle Polytechnic (now Northumbria University) in 1989. During my time there, I established, with the approval of Dean Tom Bromley, the first arts management centre outside London, and introduced professional practice modules to the courses in the School of Creative and Performing Arts. An Arts Leadership programme was introduced in partnership with Northern Arts, a regional cultural agency for the Northeast in collaboration with North American colleagues, which proved to be ahead of its time and generated a considerable amount of positive interest. Apart from providing leadership in learning and in particular, professional practice, the University enabled me to engage in my own reflective practice, and I commenced writing as well as researching. During this time, I undertook research projects for the Museum and Galleries Commission and the Tyne and Wear Museums Service. Both projects were focused on audience research, which also linked to my earlier interests in the relationship between the arts and the public. I also undertook my first research supervision of a PhD student, and began to enjoy what university life could offer.

These activities led to an invitation by the Office of Arts and Libraries (now the Department for Culture, Media and Sport) to set up and operate the Museum Training Institute. The Institute came about as a result of the Sir John Hale Report into professional career development in the heritage sector in the United Kingdom. My previous experience of project management, initiating and realising ideas, provided a sound basis for taking on this project. For the first time, I was introduced to national occupational standards and the National Vocational Qualification (NVQ) system. I successfully developed a comprehensive set of standards from levels one to five, meeting the needs of all the identified occupations in the heritage sector in the United Kingdom. This approach was controversial, as it placed emphasis on assessment in the workplace, was learner led, and had very little to do with courses. Introducing such a challenging system encouraged me to reflect on my own learning and consequently I undertook a NVQ level 5 in management, which I succeeded in achieving. This process of reflective and practical learning has subsequently informed much of my later career. It also introduced me to the operation of government. I continued to write during this period, and undertook many presentations.

After five years of intensive work, I left the Museum Training Institute to concentrate on my university interests, taking a post as Dean of the School of Arts and Design at the University of Derby. This enabled me to re-engage with creative people, artists, craftspeople and students. During this period, I was instrumental in continuing to encourage interaction between artists and the public by working with the City Council to establish live/work spaces in the City centre as part of a regeneration project, and for the first time, I advised the City Council on the development of the cultural and creative industries in the City. This was largely focused on the desire of the City Council to retain graduates from the University. The International Journal of Arts Management invited me to join its editorial board and I became a visiting Fellow in the Department of Arts Management and Cultural Policy at City University. Papers were accepted for publication in recognised international journals, such as the Journal of Arts Management and Society, and I also received an increasing number of invitations to speak at conferences.

However, I recognised a conflict between my creative work and strategies as a researcher and my role as a senior manager in a large organisation such as the University of Derby. Consequently, I focused attention on research, writing, presenting, thought leadership, strategy and project delivery. As a result, this period of my career can be described as a portfolio of interests built around my work in vocational learning and the creative industries. This has led to professorships at Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia, Bolton University, the University of the Arts, London, Middlesex University, and recently, the University of Technology, Sydney, Australia. The flexibility generated as a result of these changes enabled me to establish the Creative Industries Journal at the University of the Arts London and direct the Creative Industries Observatory. It also enabled me to become the first part-time Chief Executive of the University Vocational Awards Council,(UVAC) which is dedicated to championing higher level vocational learning wherever it takes place. This was the first organisation of its kind, and has managed in nine years to influence government and establish vocational learning at the heart of higher education policy.

THE CULTURAL INDUSTRIES: CREATIVE DEFINITIONS, QUANTIFICATION AND PRACTICE

1.   GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This submission is in five sections and includes my analysis of the New Labour Creative Industries Policy, including a discussion of definitional and data issues, followed by a summary of my contribution to the field through the cited public works and a conclusion.

The overall contribution to professional practice in my field can be summarised as breaking new ground in the relationship between the arts and industry, significantly influencing vocational education and training in the cultural field (particularly higher education) with a recognised contribution to a reappraisal of the creative industries' definitional frameworks, development of primary baseline methodology and provision of new data on the sector. This has required an understanding and critiquing of the concepts employed by government and related agencies, the suggestion of alternatives, and the development of work-based projects built around consultancy activities to test methodologies and provide new intelligence to inform practice.

My role as Visual Arts Officer at Yorkshire Arts, in formulating a regional visual arts policy (including crafts and photography) to reflect the Arts Council's national developments, led me to engagements with alternative grant funding solutions such as the Artist in Industry scheme and artist-led cooperatives, as well as major initiatives such as the Yorkshire Sculpture Park. On the other hand, as Head of the School of Creative Arts at Northumbria University, I was able to respond to my criticism of the poor training of young visual arts graduates by establishing the Arts Management Centre, which in turn provided a platform to engage in regional and national professional development debates (all within a framework of the arts as business). Start-ups at the Museum Training Institute and recently the University Vocational Awards Council continued the interest in the arts as business or professional practice; however, the understanding and engagement was expanded through deep immersion in the museum and university world as places of work and learning. These roles introduced me to the competency movement and provided

another useful insight into the workplace, which was applicable to the arts as a business concept. These interests have been built upon in my roles in higher education. The contributions referred to were recognised by the University of Derby with the awarding of a professorship in Cultural Industries, subsequently endorsed by the University of Greenwich and the University of the Arts, London. Internationally, Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane and the University of Technology, Sydney have conferred adjunct professorships in recognition of my contribution to the creative industries.

The body of knowledge represented in the selected studies and published works contributes to two major activities: vocational learning and the cultural and creative industries. On first reading, these seem incompatible; however, vocational learning is a key component of creative industries development and to understand the issues in vocational learning, an industrial context - in my case, the creative industries - is helpful. However, this submission relies on my works in the creative and cultural industries, with supplementary references to my public contribution in the vocational learning arena. The particular focus of the earlier published works surrounds a groundbreaking project, the Artist in Industry scheme. This scheme was the first of its kind in the United Kingdom, and took public funding of the arts into uncharted territory by connecting artists, companies and employees in a structured and organised manner. It is the interaction between the artist as worker in the workplace and employees in the company that made the scheme important and thus provides a logical starting point for this submission. Consequently, there are few references to my work before 1980.

Following the Artist in Industry experience, the introduction of the Creative Industries Policy in the late 1990s, with a national focus on creativity and the arts as businesses, was naturally of interest and welcomed. However, the definitional frameworks to collect evidence used to support this Policy and the subsequent claims made with regard to the size of the industry and its contribution to the national economy were difficult to understand and have confidence in, particularly as previous government agencies had made similar claims without a reliable evidential base. The questions that arose for me as a committed regionalist were:

- How does this Policy definition and quantification work at regional and sub-regional level?
- Does it make sense for a town or city, for example, Barnsley?

- Has anyone carried out work at this level to inform policy and practice, and if so, what methods have been employed?
- Can the Policy be delivered at regional and local level?'

As a result, the public works cited critique the UK government definition, provide an alternative and explain the methodology developed to generate new primary data. Some of the literature takes this further by focusing on sub-sectors of the creative industries and teasing out the implications of the work for policy and practice.

The overall contribution of the public works described in detail in sections 2 and 4 is to provide for the first time primary data on the creative and cultural industries at regional level using revised definitional frameworks reflecting practice. This builds on the earlier work, which provided a methodology for artists to engage with industry and industry to engage with artists. In total, it adds up to a unique contribution to a better understanding of the arts, industry and the creative industries in a geographical context, recognising the importance of vocational learning as a critical component of practice.

The overriding rationale for pursuing this work over the last 25 years is as follows:

I. The continual failure to recognise the centrality of the workplace;
II. The need for an alternative paradigm that recognises arts practice as business and creativity in business;
III. The lack of interest by educators in seriously engaging in supporting the industry;
IV. The failure to deliver a credible evidence base since the 1970s in the cultural field;
V. The failure to establish shared definitional frameworks that facilitate comparative study and intelligently inform advocacy.

Consequently, the purpose for much of the recent work is to understand and clarify the creative industries as the new arts as business phenomenon at a regional and sub-regional level through:

I. An original contribution of an alternative definitional paradigm and methodology to public cultural policy making, exposing the chaotic public sector organisational arrangements at national and regional levels, and in

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particular the role of cultural agencies with a direct interest in developing the industry;

II. A contribution to the knowledge base through the development of a methodology for primary data collection for the cultural and creative industries;

III. The collection of accurate, measurable primary information to provide detailed "snapshots" of the industry and sub-sectors comprising employment patterns, turnover, longevity, markets, clustering, location investment priorities, sources of finance and training requirements, which have served as baselines to increase knowledge;

IV. The generation of intelligence that has a practical value to those working in the sector.

The submission builds on my earlier work at Yorkshire Arts and examines the definitional and quantification dynamics of the New Labour Creative Industries Policy from 1998 to 2007 (which replaced earlier Labour Party cultural industry interests, articulated in the 1980s by the Labour-controlled GLC). It also focuses attention on the lack of a reliable empirical understanding of the sector and specifically sub-sectors such as designer fashion and graphics, not least due to the definitional chaos located in this Policy. In this respect, consideration is given to the Creative Industries Policy's definitional framework and economic claims.

Secondly, as part of my professorial role, consideration is given to the sources of data collection that underpin the Policy, its reliability and relevance to local and regional economic cultural policy and practice. I demonstrate that collecting primary data at local and regional levels, employing a practitioner/business-led definitional framework related to the national SIC coding system[1], is an alternative means of

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[1] The national standard industrial classification is the mechanism used by the Office of National Statistics. The Office for National Statistics (ONS) states that a Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) was first introduced into the United Kingdom in 1948 for use in classifying business establishments and other statistical units by the type of economic activity in which they are engaged. The classification provides a framework for the collection, tabulation, presentation and analysis of data and its use promotes uniformity. In addition, it can be used for administrative purposes and by non-government bodies as a convenient way of classifying industrial activities into a common structure. The UK SIC system is identical to the EUROSTAT system NACE at the four-digit class level and the United Nations system ISIC at the two-digit divisional level.

building a realistic analysis of the sector which is recognisable by those in the industry.

Thirdly, I propose that the Creative Industries Policy is exclusive and not inclusive, and that the definition is pragmatic, with no justifiable rationale. Furthermore, the data used as evidence to support the Policy are unreliable and flawed when placed in the context of sub-sectors, localities and regions.

Finally, the public works suggest that the introduction of a Creative Industries Policy has inadvertently encouraged an emerging re-conceptualisation of the cultural industries, particularly arts practice: culture as business, not the "Tate" effect; aesthetic, peer group determined public culture. As a result of this conceptual repositioning, Arts Institutions can be seen as creative businesses engaging with customers, developing markets, and providing services and products which contribute to the development of local, national and regional culture. This may, for example, require a re-examination of the role of local authorities or Arts Councils towards acting as contract and risk managers with a wider understanding of business development. Many local authorities see a long-term future for the cultural services and arts in contributing to regeneration, quality of life, social cohesion and economic development. What may be needed is the freedom to develop alternative strategies through the creative industries paradigm to recognise people's innate creativity, then capturing and building it into the creative businesses of the future.

The weakness of this work, however, can be summarised as the limitations of the survey instrument and the lower-than-expected return rate; additionally, the methodology has not been applied to all individual sub-sectors of the creative industries or a sufficient number of regions to determine what variables may be significant. Secondly, the question of whether it is more appropriate to use standard occupational classifications or the emerging product classifications as the defining framework, as opposed to standard industrial classifications, has yet to be tested. As there are currently no coherent theoretical frameworks that explain the creative industries as a concept, it has proved difficult to ground the definitional debate. There is an argument, however, that the application of network analysis theory[2] may

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[2] Social network analysis [SNA] is the mapping and measurement of relationships and flows between people, groups, organisations, computers or other information/knowledge processing entities. The nodes in the network are the people and groups, while the links

be more productive and provide a better understanding of the industry. I have not yet been able to evaluate this approach. Finally, the chaotic national and regional cultural infrastructure continues.

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show relationships or flows between the nodes. SNA provides both a visual and mathematical analysis of human relationships. For example, two nodes are connected if they regularly talk to each other, or interact in some way (Krebs V. *Introduction to Social Network Analysis,* Sourced 2003).

2.   BREAKING NEW GROUND IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ARTS AND INDUSTRY

2.1   Background

In particular, the submission investigates the definitional and quantification dynamics of the New Labour Creative Industries Policy from l998 to 2007, including definitional "creep" and consequent data collection confusion[3]. It focuses attention on the over-reliance on secondary data to substantiate policy and what appears to be confused, uninformed definitional frameworks employed by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) for measuring activity and allocating resources.

The interest in these issues stems from an earlier period as Visual Arts Officer for the Yorkshire Regional Arts Agency and the introduction of the UK's first Artist in Industry scheme:

> *'Placing artists in industries is now a well-established process, seen as one method of restoring the last relationship between artist and the public. The theory is that everyone benefits: the artist in gaining access to new material, the workers in having their perceptions challenged, the company in terms of prestige, publicity and the opportunity to acquire original works of art, reflecting their industrial processes'* (Hercombe 1986, p.4).

This was an innovative programme that introduced artists to the workplace and employees to artists over a sixth month period. Perhaps more importantly the

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[3] Definitional creep in this context refers to the interchangeability and inconsistent application of terms such as culture, creativity, arts, heritage and industry. An example of this is that the Department of Education and Employment, through the National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education report "All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture and Education" (1999), does not restrict itself to associating creativity with "the professional and associated fields known as the creative industries" but rather views it as a process of "imaginative activity fashioned so as to produce outcomes that are both original and of value". It is suggested that this requires imagination, purpose, originality and value, all of which can be applied to any "advances in mathematics, sciences, technology, in politics, business and in all areas of everyday life". However, this has not been adopted as a working definition across all its divisions by the DCMS.

Similarly the same department has adopted a definition of culture which is inconsistently applied: it encompasses, "both a material and a value dimension and includes a wide range of activities such as arts, media, sports, parks, museums, libraries, the built heritage, the countryside, playgrounds and tourism"(Local Cultural Strategies, Draft Guidance for Local Authorities in England, DCMS, 1999).

If the definitional frameworks employed are inconsistent, then data collection becomes more pragmatic.

scheme required matched funds (in cash or kind) and a willingness from the companies to buy the art work which they did. This enabled the public funds available to support artists stretch further with the added benefit to the artist of work purchased which overcame some of the concerns:

> *'Simon Roodhouse has become increasingly gloomy about the way in which public money was being distributed to artists in the form of grants, bursaries, and awards, largely for the development of studio work. He found himself questioning how effective such awards were and whether they went in any way towards ending the estrangement that seemed to exist between the artist and the wider community. His understanding was that they did not. He believed that the Policy led to an unsatisfactory use of the tiny resources available and resolved to find ways in which they could involve other organisations in supporting artists by creating opportunities rather than looking for straightforward financial help. It occurred to him that industry was a valuable source of visual stimulation and potential financial support that lay largely untapped'* (Hercombe 1986, p.6).
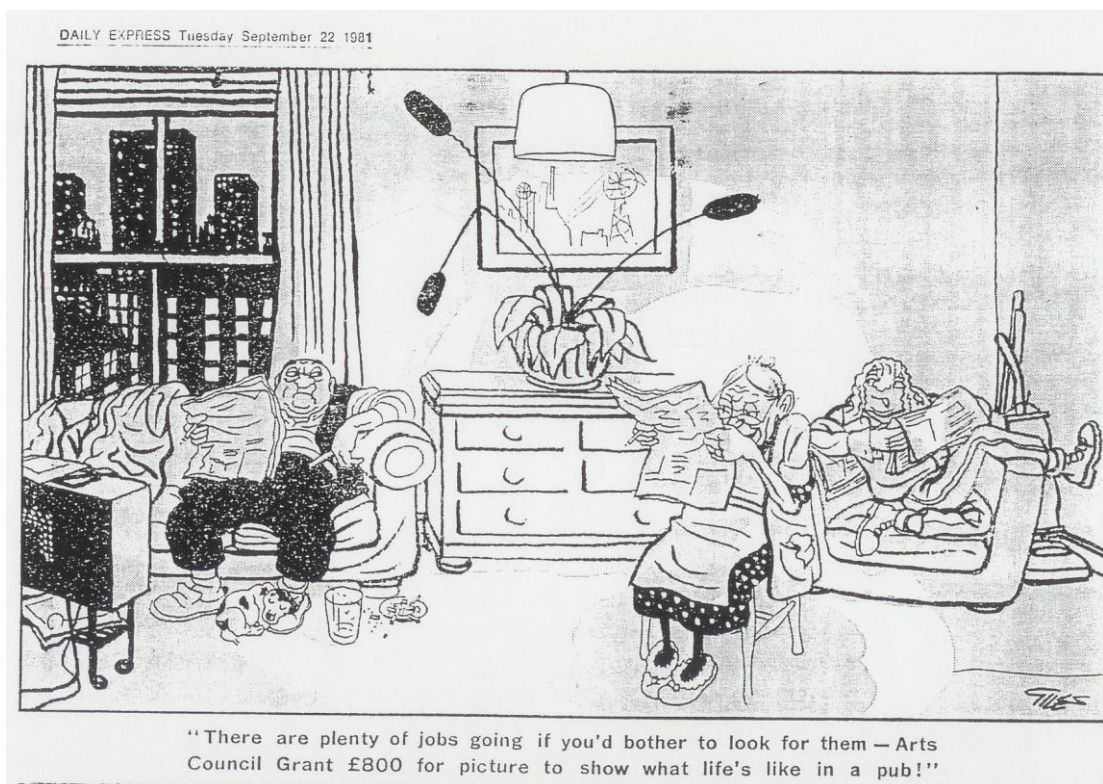
As a consequence the scheme required the development of an understanding of industry, artist requirements and cultural policy. These successful and innovative schemes supported the Bogdanor view of *'joined- up government'* and demonstrated how little attention had been paid in policy terms to connecting cultural practice with the workplace. Acting as a consultant, the scheme was subsequently introduced by colleagues in the West Midlands and Scotland:

> *'My thanks also go to Simon Roodhouse, who initially devised the (Artist in Industry) concept for Yorkshire Arts, and who acted as a consultant for setting up the Scottish placements. His experience and support were invaluable*' (Scottish Arts Council 1987).

This work on the interaction of artists and the workplace led to citations in several publications – *'Simon Roodhouse, [is] one of the original pioneers of this promising new movement to create a new public art'* (Roodhouse1984 and see also Van Riel 1991*;* Grant 1988; Pick & Anderton 1999) - and in turn exposed the low levels of professionalisation found in creative practice. The Giles cartoon in Figure 1 demonstrated the high levels of national interest in the scheme and its innovative nature. In this case, Giles illustrates the artist Helen Chadwick, who worked in John

Smith pubs and clubs, recording the characters she found there. This work was translated into a unique set of beer mats (used in all John Smith pubs and clubs) and included in a major exhibition. This naturally generated an engagement with higher education (the major provider of qualified artists in the UK) as a means of influencing the education and training of arts and design graduates through the introduction of professional practice in undergraduate programmes, including key skills (Roodhouse 1998) and competencies. Engaging in changing higher education to introduce competencies as part of the vocational agenda provided me with the knowledge and skills to establish (as the founding Director) the UK's first Museum Training Institute (now the Creative and Cultural Skills Sector Skills Council) for the Office of Arts and Libraries (now DCMS) in 1989, as a result of the Hale Report (Museums and Galleries Commission, 1987). The culmination of these experiences was my appointment as the first Chief Executive of the University Vocational Awards Council, an independent University-led membership body which champions higher level vocational learning wherever it takes place.

Figure 1 Giles Cartoon of the Artist in Industry Scheme, Daily Express, 1981

DAILY EXPRESS Tuesday September 22 1981

"There are plenty of jobs going if you'd bother to look for them — Arts Council Grant £800 for picture to show what life's like in a pub!"

It is perhaps the combination of a consistent professional engagement in the visual arts, the arts generally, museums and heritage, combined with a longstanding engagement with education and training, which has provided the first-hand experience and breadth necessary to make a sustained professional and intellectual contribution to the development of the creative and cultural industries

Influencing this period of my development was the work of Professor John Pick, who established the UK's first arts policy and management department at City University and has been an independent and often outspoken champion for professionalism in the arts for at least the last 20 years. Of his many books, the most important is Arts Administration, a combination of theory and practice which has been reissued several times. It was his willingness to critically analyse the national cultural establishment and conventions at a time of conformity that made him such an important cultural policy thinker. His willingness to pose questions that challenged the established cultural status quo and the liberating of alternative, less popular arguments provided a refreshing reappraisal of ideologies. An example of such a question is provided below.

> *'If large and expensive ensemble companies have acted as transmitters of the high arts in the past, must they necessarily continue to do so? Is it inevitable that our highest experiences in music theatre must come from grand opera – an entertainment which was uneasily grafted on to the cultured Londoner's taste in the eighteenth century – and must our mediocrity or otherwise be judged solely by its health? After all, many of the most tyrannical and bloodthirsty regimes of the twentieth century have been noble patrons of the great Opera Houses of the State*' (Pick 1980, p.13).

More recently, Zohar and Marshall's book "Spiritual Capital" has provided a useful paradigm in considering how businesses can reorganise and refocus, incorporating creativity to benefit themselves and the world. The present business environment requires employees to perform tasks which add up to corporate wealth making; however, this culture

> *'is highly competitive, often dog eat dog, and competitive people reap most of the rewards. Anger builds because people feel a sense of injustice, a lack of fairness and representation, that they are just pawns in a larger game. The greed needs no explanation; it is the primary driving force of big*

business today. The fear comes from a fear of making mistakes, a fear of being told off, a fear of getting fired' (Zohar & Marshall 2004, p.54).

The suggested alternative is *'a vision and model for organisational and cultural sustainability within a wider framework of community and global concern'* (Zohar &Marshall 2004, p. 4) which is based on spiritual capital. Spiritual capital in this context is not just monetary wealth but provides a mechanism for making a profit by doing business in a wider context of meaning and value. It can as a result generate profit that draws on and adds to the wealth of the human spirit and to general human well-being. The spiritual capital conceptual framework is conducive to creativity, with companies being ready to be *"spontaneous"* and *"positively responding to adversity"*[4]. It suggests that the values often found in creative businesses (creative industries) are increasingly important in today's globally competitive world. So this work has helped me to move from investigating the implications and interactions of the artist as a creative to understanding the potential of the creative business paradigm. Engaging with these issues in a professional context has led me to develop learning opportunities for those in the field by establishing, for example, the Arts Management Centre at Northumbria University, the first in the UK outside London, followed by the Museum Training Institute referred to earlier.

Much of the work cited, as suggested earlier, is based on a long-standing interest in the until recently much neglected interaction between the arts and industry, now captured in the New Labour government's Creative Industries Policy, and how this provides a useful mechanism for re-evaluating established public sector cultural practices. It also questions the increasingly complex bureaucratic delivery system needed to distribute diminishing public funds. and the continual claims made by successive governments and their agencies regarding the social and economic importance of the arts, typified in a succession of public documents published by the Arts Council of Great Britain in the 1980s, such as "An Invitation to the Nation to

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[4] Zohar and Marshall (2004) argue that the current concept of capital is material capital - capital that can be measured in financial terms - and that there have been recent attempts to expand on this notion. For example, companies today incorporate notions of intellectual capital and human capital, but these simply extend the idea of material wealth to ideas and people. In other words, they attempt to put a price on employees' creativity and skills. On the other hand, companies that have built spiritual capital seek a positive response to adversity. Business downturns, market fluctuations, changes in customer demand and recognition of internal mistakes or miscalculations are all seen as opportunities to be creative.

Invest in the Arts, A Great British Success Story" (1985). This publication claims that;

> *'the arts industry as a whole directly employs some 175,000 people, with many more in catering, transport, marketing etc. living indirectly off the arts'* (p.4)

It fails to cite the sources or methodologies employed to arrive at such a claim. In addition, there is a compulsion to justify some of these activities, which has led to an obsession with advocacy and "constructed" impact needed to support "the case" rather than establishing an evidential and verifiable empirical baseline as other industries have done[5]. It is also continually trying to promote a publicly approved aesthetic that is good art at the expense of other public and private sector cultural activity, an elite that we should all be prepared to accept. If we do not comprehend this phenomenon, then it is probably down to our poor education (Scruton 1998). As a result, the public works cited in this submission address structural, definitional, and quantitative issues and how these impact on practice through the New Labour Creative Industries Policy (1998 -2007), the contemporary culture and business policy model.

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[5] The Economic Importance of the Arts (Policy Studies Institute, Myerscough 1998), commissioned by the Arts Council of Great Britain, attempted for the first time to quantify the economic impact of the arts and to provide verifiable data to be used by the arts funding structure to argue for additional resources. Economic impact studies have continued as a favoured means of arguing for financial resources with government, although the methodology has been severely criticised as misleading, particularly the multiplier effect.

Similarly, the contribution of the arts to tourism and the export effort as part of the economic (described as business) case for an increased slice of the public purse was also developed. This is evidenced in the Arts Council of Great Britain's "A Great British Success Story". It claimed that tourists in 1984 brought £5,319m to Britain, and 60% of those in a survey that year confirmed that they were attracted to the country by the galleries and museums, with 35% by theatre and a further 22% by music, and this continues today. These statistics are only as good as the sources from which they are derived and the ways in which they are collected.

2.2   The "Definitional" Discourse

In order to understand and locate my contribution to the field, it is essential to demonstrate my understanding of the historical definitional discourse. This section explains and analyses the discourse, with references throughout to my work.

Successive United Kingdom (UK) national governments and their agencies have defined and redrawn boundaries, resulting in continuous public cultural policy and practice turbulence since 1945, commencing with the establishment of the Arts Council of Great Britain (Pick & Anderton 1999). The pragmatic determination of these boundaries - that is, definitions with no obvious rationale for inclusion or exclusion - lends itself to an interpretation of a public sector domain engaged in restrictive cultural practice, wherein boundaries are constrained enough to match the level of available resources at any given time. It is the government administrative machinery responding to national policy by providing manageable and controllable categories, classifications and frameworks for the allocation of public funds, rather than a rational, inclusive and empirically informed (and hence measurable) system that conforms to the requirements of evidence-based policy (Solesbury 2001). Urban regeneration (Roodhouse and Roodhouse 1997) and the creative industries policy (Roodhouse 2003) by the New Labour administration exemplify this practice.

The impact of this obsession with continuous boundary redefinition through national government machinery and by political parties for the arts, creativity and culture (which commenced with the Department of Education, followed by the Office of Arts and Libraries, then the Department of Heritage and now the Department for Culture, Media and Sport) works against cohesion, interaction and connectivity; although much is said by politicians about joined-up policy and action.

> *'Joined- up government' is a key theme of modern government. The Labour government, first elected in 1997, decided that intractable problems such as social exclusion, drug addiction and crime could not be resolved by any single department of government. Instead, such problems had to be made the object of a concerted attack using all the arms of government - central and local government and public agencies, as well as the private and voluntary sectors'* (Bogdanor 2005, p. 1).

In particular, it encourages isolationism between national, regional and local government and agencies by relying on departmentalisation and compartmentalisation as the organisational means of delivery. As an illustration, culture resides within the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and is also found in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, who fund the British Council (British Council 1998, 2004), the Ministry of Defence, which resources a substantial number of museums, galleries and musical bands, the Department of Trade and Industry, which supports creative industries through the Small Business Service, including the export effort of these businesses, the Department for Education and Skills (DfES; Allen & Shaw 2001) and the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) which provides entry to work and workforce development in the cultural field (North West Universities Association 2004). This incidentally excludes all the devolved cultural arrangements for Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales, which are another area of chaos, as the studies referred to are focussed on England.

This chaotic organisational pattern is replicated at regional level with DCMS-sponsored Cultural Consortia, the Arts Council, the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA), the Sports Council, the Tourist Boards, Sector Skills Councils (SSCs) and local authorities, along with the Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) and the Small Business Service, including Business Link, not to mention the plethora of sub-regional intermediaries funded from the public purse, all pursuing differing cultural agendas and definitional frameworks (Hamilton & Scullion 2002). Although attempts are made at overarching regional strategies, there is not as yet a shared understanding of an agreement to a definitional framework to operate and evaluate the effectiveness of these strategies. This leads, for example, to data collection replication, which requires additional resource allocation for coordination. Selwood has recognised this, and suggests,

> *'If the lure of cross domain data remains attractive to DCMS and its agencies, there is a case to be made for a better relationship to be forged between the requirements of cultural policy and the collection of evidence. In short we should replace our reliance on the sometimes random data sets which already exist, and which are collated in a piecemeal fashion, with a coherent data framework.'* (Selwood, no date, p. 6)

These issues were fore-grounded by the 1997 "New Labour" government engagement in the creative industries concept, which claimed to be a significant contributor to the UK knowledge economy (DCMS 1998, 2001). This concept, generated by Leadbetter and Oakley (1999), is a contemporary reinvention of the "Old Labour" GLC-oriented cultural model. The Labour-controlled Greater London Council (GLC) provided a significant challenge to the definitional status quo in the early 1980s, at a time of high unemployment, significant industrial decline and diminishing public funds for the arts, by re-introducing the cultural industries model derived from popular culture theorists such as Bourdieu and reinvented by Walpole and Comedia in the 1980s. The introduction of the cultural and creative industries exemplars gave rise to a re-appraisal of the role and function of the "traditional" arts in economic terms (Myerscough 1988), and in relation to new technologies such as instant printing, cassette recording and video making (O'Connor 1999). So, the concept of culture as an industry in a public policy context was introduced. The arts, described by the GLC as the "traditional arts", were subsumed into a broader definitional framework, which included

> '*the electronic forms of cultural production and distribution – radio, television, records and video – and the diverse range of popular cultures which exist in London*' (Greater London Industrial Strategy 1985, p.11).

The eventual successor body, the London Assembly, and the executive Mayor of London have rekindled the theme (London Development Agency 2003), this time with a focus on intervention in the creative industry networks and linkages. However, creative industries development is derived from a longer history associated with defining and redefining the arts as an industry sector (Roodhouse 1997; Calhoun, Lupuma & Postone 1993) and the relationship of the arts and media as cultural industries, for example, which others have addressed (O'Connor 1999; Throsby 2001; Pratt 1997; Garnham 1987).

The cultural industries' replacement creative industry concept, generated by DEMOS (Leadbetter & Oakley 1999) and constructed as a component of the knowledge economy model, can be found in one (Cunningham 2002) of four key policy themes for the DCMS: that is, economic value. It is argued that the theme of economic value is a maturing of the Thatcherite ethos of efficiency, effectiveness, value for money and market forces. Smith, the first New Labour Secretary of State

for Culture, Media and Sport, reinforced this interpretation in his attempts to promote 'Cool Britannia';

> '- ensuring that the full economic and employment impact of the whole range of creative industries is acknowledged and assisted by government' (Smith 1998, p. 2).

It was, after all, a continuation of the cultural economic rationale developed earlier by Ken Walpole (Greater London Council, Industry and Employment Branch, 1985). In my keynote paper for the Australian Institute of Arts Management Annual Conference, Brisbane, Australia, 2002, I elaborated on this;

> '*For the first time, the concept of culture as an industry in a public policy context was introduced. The arts, described by the GLC as the 'traditional arts', were subsumed into a broader definitional framework which included 'the electronic forms of cultural production and distribution – radio, television, records and video – and the diverse range of popular cultures which exist in London" (Greater London Industrial Strategy 1985, p. 11). The GLC, a Labour-controlled metropolitan council for London, recognised at an early stage that there was a 'strong and deep-rooted antagonism towards any attempt to analyse culture as part of the economy'. It subsequently required a move away from the traditional approaches to cultural analysis, which has tended to separate culture from 'material production and economic activity'. The London Industrial Strategy, The Cultural Industries, argued strongly that 'What is available for cultural consumption and what opportunities there are for employment in cultural production are, for better or for worse, clearly determined by economics'. Given the high levels of unemployment at the time, March 1985, (over 400,000 people were officially unemployed and there were a further 120,000 people wanting work in London), it is not surprising that the role of 'cultural industries' as an employment vehicle within London's economy was recognised. For example, London's biggest manufacturing sector, printing and publishing, employed 112,000 people, and the University of Warwick's Institute of Employment Research indicated at the time that literary, artistic and sports employment would grow by 30% nationally between 1980 and 1990*' (Roodhouse 2000a).

Here I have drawn attention to a continuum of development, thus suggesting that the creative industries concept is evolutionary and certainly not radical. The connection with the knowledge economy provides a new dimension. These thoughts have been cited by others such as Caust (2003).

The government, through the Creative Industries Taskforce, chaired by Smith, defined the creative industries boundaries. The definition employed is largely pragmatic, with little in the way of a rationale (Roodhouse 2003):

> *'those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent, and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property'* (DCMS 1998b).

The industrial activity sub-sectors within which this activity primarily takes place are:

> *'advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software, television and radio'* (DCMS 1998b).

The representation of these activities as the UK creative industry sector generates structural and intellectual location tensions: for example, architecture relates to construction and marginally engages with the arts and antiques trade; similarly, the arts and antiques trade has little or nothing to do with interactive leisure software. It is an emerging policy constraint that the DCMS has yet to embed both intellectually and practically in the consciousness of those working in the field, not least because there has been little consultation with those affected. As a consequence, the concept has more in common with the developing global economic interest in the knowledge economy (Leadbetter & Oakley 1999; Howkins 2001; Caves 2000) than the DCMS-designated constituent activities (the sub-sectors). This is exacerbated by the DCMS's divisional structure, which does not attempt to reconcile the creative industries' sub-sectors.

Of particular note in this definitional discourse is the equitable inclusion of both public and private sector activity in public cultural policy which has led to a re-designation of cultural activity as creative industries and an engagement with convergence arguments generated through advances in technology (Flew 2002; Cunningham, Hearn, Cox, Ninan & Keane 2003*).* Fundamentally, this growing re-

conceptualisation facilitates a reassessment of the traditional forms of policy intervention in support of the arts and culture (Roodhouse 2002). As elaborated by Cunningham (2002), the term "creative industries" offers a workable solution that enables cultural industries and creative arts to become enshrined within a definition that breaks down the rigid sustainability of the long-standing definitions of culture and creative arts to create coherency through democratising culture in the context of commerce, whereby creativity can become coupled alongside enterprise and technology to become sectors of economic growth through the commercialisation of creative activity and intellectual property. Cunningham confirms this:

> ' "Creative Industries" is a term that suits the political, cultural and technological landscape of these times. It focuses on the twin truths that (i) the core of "culture" is still creativity, but (ii) creativity is produced, deployed, consumed and enjoyed quite differently in post-industrialised societies' (Cunningham 2002, p. 2).

This, then, is a move from the traditional arts definition established by the Arts Council of Great Britain and successor bodies, recently re-invented as "the value of the arts" argument (Jowell 2004), to an economic re-conceptualisation of the creative industries that implies a democratisation of the arts (Roodhouse 2002) and opens the door to seriously engaging with the arts as business. This reconceptualisation was presented as the keynote address to over 650 cultural managers, administrators and practitioners at a major international conference, culture@com.unity, the arts and cultural domain in New South Wales in Sydney, Australia, organised by the Museums and Galleries Foundation of NSW, Regional Arts, NSW, Community Cultural Development NSW and the Local Government and Shires Associations of NSW. Subsequently, these concepts were encompassed in an invited article for the Liberal Democrat policy journal, the Reformer, as a contribution to the arts policy debate.

> 'Such an alternative perspective allows us to consider a more sustainable future for the arts and heritage as creative businesses, with products, services and markets. Judgement of excellence is simple, and funding becomes based on a business model. The nature of public sector organisational roles can be re-evaluated in developing this industrial sector just like any other industrial activity. Large businesses and the education sector take over the role of research and development. Government should

ensure that risk and innovation is nurtured. No special pleading should be required, though, and a wider range of funding agencies can become involved in supporting and developing the businesses' (Roodhouse 2001a).

2.3.   Economic and Statistical Limitations

Attempts have been made by cultural economists, statisticians and cultural geographers, largely since the early 1980s (Myerscough 1988, O'Brien and Feist 1995, Pratt 1997, Jeffcut 2004, NESTA 2006), to arrive at suitable categorisations for the sector. A National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts (NESTA) report argued:

> *'The definition does not focus on how economic value is created. Most significantly, it does not recognise differences in market structures, distribution mechanisms and consumption patterns between the creative sectors.'* (NESTA, research report, 2006, p. 2)

Pratt endorses this by suggesting that value chain and domain categorisation is a useful mechanism. This approach generalises the problem and reduces the importance of sub-sectors and of specifying the activities within them. Meanwhile Jeffcut (2004), from a knowledge management perspective, suggests that the only way to understand the industry is as a cultural ecology. This relationship and interaction approach side-steps the key issue, which is a detailed explanation of the sub-sector activity categories. Cunningham and particularly Hearn (Hearn, Pace & Roodhouse 2005) take this further by engaging with a value chain ecology, which relies on a thorough understanding of networks and shared detailed classifications developed by the author. What seems to have emerged from this work is a recognition that the Office for National Statistics (ONS: a UK government agency) the Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) and the Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) provide a common, imperfect, but nevertheless verifiable structure to collect and analyse data, which corresponds with European, North American and Australasian systems. For example, Table 1 provides an integrated definitional model based on the Australian SIC and SOC system used to collect primary baseline data on the music sub-sector of the creative industries in Queensland, Australia (Cox, Ninan, Hearn, Roodhouse, & Cunningham 2004). There are in addition arguments that suggest that a product classificatory approach may prove to be the solution to these issues, so Jacobs and O'Neil (2003) suggest that it is possible to avoid some of the problems associated with SIC by using

databases (such as Kompass or Dash), which allow searches to be carried out on particular products or services. Others such as Kahle and Walking (1996) provide an alternative approach, namely the use of large-scale market research surveys such as those organised by the UK ONS, for example, the Annual Business Inquiry Survey. However, economists and statisticians who are expected to quantify the creative and cultural industry and/or arts activity to provide informed data for policy evaluation and development continue to be dogged by this tortuous and contorted definitional history (Barrière & Santagata 1997; Evans 1997*). In other words, it is difficult to provide the history with trend data.

Table 1: CIRAC, ACLC, ANZSIC and UKSIC Business Activity Concordance Table

CMIC (1)	ACLC (2) AND UKSIC EQUIVALENTS	ANZSIC (3)
1. Music Composition (incl. Composers & Songwriters)	231 Music Composition *92.31 Artistic and Literary creation and Interpretation*	9242 Creative Arts
5. Record Company or Label	233 Record Companies and Distributors *22.31 Reproduction of sound recording*	2430 Recorded Media Manufacturing and Publishing
		4799 Wholesaling n.e.c.

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The weakness and inconsistencies of the definitional frameworks become apparent when used to quantify and determine the value of artistic and/or aesthetic activity. I take this to an advanced level of analysis:

> *'The definitional chaos also illustrates a fundamental structural failure of the creative industries concept as defined generally by the UK's Department for Culture Media and Sport (DCMS) and others, the problem being that the visual arts are not represented, but are instead*

located in the arts and antiques trade as products. In other words, this "industrial activity" is referred to and classified as tangible output, such as sculpture, painting, prints and ceramics—that is, as product rather than as a creative activity or business or the creative process. This runs counter to the "creative individual" argument enshrined in the DCMS definition, which the UK government, through the Creative Industries Taskforce, defined as it developed and implemented the creative industries policy. The 'creative individual' concept was derived from an interest in the knowledge economy, and the definition employed was largely pragmatic.

It is hard to conceive of the creative industries without identifying individual artists as creative businesses, but after detailed examination of the task force's subsectors and of how they are defined, it becomes clear that artists are not defined this way. (Roodhouse 2006, p. 1064).

As a consequence, I argue that there is a need for a shift from generalised descriptors and categorisations such as advertising to specific analysis of its component parts. Authors such as Baumol (Baumol & Baumol 1994) and Heatherington (1992), who are interested in understanding the economics of the sector, with assertions that aesthetic pleasure has at least as much value as the difference in returns between works of art and financial assets, quickly find that there is no common understanding of art or aesthetics. This leads to the ultimate question - how to define a work of art. Another issue for economists studying the cultural industries is the differentiation between artistic and industrial goods. Part of the difficulty here is that the total assimilation of art into commodities creates serious problems because art goods escape the standard rules of utilitarian market exchange (Barrière & Santagata 1997). The consequence of this failure to engage in establishing common workable definitions is summed up by Towse in considering the visual arts,

'The main point is that whichever definition is used, it is bound to produce different research findings.' (Arts Council of England research report 31 1996, p.2)

This has led over time to

> '- *the paucity of alternative data sets with which to test the assertion(s) in practice*' (Arts Council of England research report 31 1996, p.2).

Consequently, even if the definitional jungle referred to can be avoided, there are difficulties in successfully locating cultural product within the accepted norms of economic practice. The fault line for cultural economists in delivering convincing economic analysis is the lack of clarity and consistency in defining cultural practice and therefore generating any useful data. The rationale, for example, for including designer fashion as a discrete creative sub-sector and excluding graphic design is hard to find. Similarly, evidence to support the exclusion of the heritage sector, inferring that it is not creative, is difficult to ascertain from published material such as the DCMS mapping documents. As a result of my contributions to this discourse in recognised international referred journals, such as the Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society and the International Journal of Applied Management, and the leading cultural management academic biannual conference, I was invited to become a member of the editorial board of the International Journal of Arts Management and advise the DCMS Creative Industries Unit.

2.4. New Labour Creative Industries Claims

Twenty-eight years after the UNESCO report (Green, Wilding and Hoggart 1970), the DCMS published an audit based on this secondary data in 1998, with a follow-up in 2001 - the Creative Industries Mapping Documents (1998 and 2001) - which claimed that these industries generated £57 billion (1998) and £112bn (2001) revenues and employment of circa 1 million (1998) and 1.3 million (2001), described in Table 2 by sub-sector:

Table 2: UK Creative Industries Headline Data, 1998 and 2001, and 2005

Activity	Revenues 1998 and 2001 (£Bn)	Employment 1998 and 2001 (Thousands)	Employment Estimates for 2005 (Thousands)
Advertising	4.0 *3.0*	96,000 *93,000*	89,100
Architecture	1.5 *1.7*	30,000 *21,000*	83,100
Arts and Antiques	2.2 *3.5*	39,700 *37,000*	22,900
Crafts	0.4 *0.4*	25,000 *24,000*	-
Design	12.0 *26.7*	23,000 *76,000*	-
Designer Fashion	0.6 *0.6*	11,500 *12,000*	3,400
Film/video	0.9 *3.6*	33,000 *45,000*	51,000
Interactive Leisure Software	1.2 *1.0*	27,000 *21,000*	341,600 (incl. software and computer services)
Music	3.6 *4.6*	160,000 *122,000*	185,300 (incl. performing arts)
Performing Arts	0.9 *0.5*	60,000 *74,000*	185,300 (incl. music)
Publishing	16.3 *18.5*	125,000 *141,000*	173,800
Software/ computer Services	7.5 *36.4*	272,000 *555,000*	341,600 (incl. leisure software)
Television and Radio	6.4 *12.1*	63,500 *102,000*	95,200
Total	**£57 bn** *112.5bn*	Circa **1,000,000** *1,322,000*	**1,045,400**

There are the usual health warnings associated with these statistics and recommendations for further work to be carried out in collecting and verifying the data underpinning the document. In particular, it recommends,

> *'Continuing to improve the collection of robust and timely data on the creative industries, based on a common understanding of coverage'* (DCMS 2001, p.14).

The data on the interactive leisure software, designer fashion (Roodhouse 2003) and crafts sub-sectors were identified as particularly weak. When considering this matter at the regional level, the position is dismal, with little information available (Department of Arts Policy and Management, City University 2000). Consequently, one of the key issues identified was;

> *'The need for more mapping to provide a better picture of what is happening on the ground and help inform policy development. The mapping also needs to be based on a common understanding of the coverage of the creative industries'* (DCMS 2001, p.17).

However, the DCMS has attempted to develop a regional cultural data framework (Wood 2004). This has not been accepted, because it does not universally conform to the national data collection classifications and relies on generalised notions of domains and a limited interpretation of value chains. Consequently, the DCMS has augmented it with a published guide (toolkit) to data collection;

> *'The main impetus behind the development of the toolkit was the urgent need, expressed by all the English Regional Cultural Consortia (RCCs), for a more robust and reliable evidence-base on which to develop future policies for culture, [however] there is currently no underlying taxonomic principle that guides whether certain activities fall within the realm of the DCMS or not. In turn, this is the result of the lack of a public definition of the area for which the Department has responsibility – that is, the 'Cultural Sector'. The only government definition that one could possibly identify is an operational, self-definition; that is, the Cultural Sector becomes defined solely as 'that for which the DCMS has responsibility' (*DCMS 2004, unpublished report).

This can only be perceived as a fundamental structural weakness, when increasing emphasis is placed on evidence-based cultural policy and comparative international benchmarking.

Despite sporadic attempts (O'Brien & Feist 1995, Davies & Lindley 2003), the paucity of empirical evidence available and the structural weakness of the definitional frameworks to inform cultural policy, management or practice, particularly in the fields of museums, galleries and the creative industries (Roodhouse 2003), to support the formulation and development of policy at local,

regional (Devlin, Gibson, Taylor & Roodhouse 1998; Devlin, Gibson, Taylor & Roodhouse 1999; Roodhouse & Taylor 2000[6]) and national levels continues.

The most recent DCMS statement confirms this:

> *'As set out [above,] many of the calls for better evidence have focused on official statistics and the way DCMS uses these to estimate the economic importance of the creative industries. In particular, problems have been raised with the identification of creative industries within official classifications. Official statistics are drawn from ONS surveys which cover businesses that are registered for VAT and do not include those that are not registered or small businesses whose turnover is below the VAT threshold. This is problematic when trying to identify and measure the activity of the creative industries because many of the industries are very specific and small in terms of number of businesses, turnover and employment. There is concern therefore that official statistics are not totally representative of the whole creative industries sector. The only way to overcome this would be to carry out a separate survey of small creative firms and individuals but this would be a huge undertaking involving significant costs and potentially placing a considerable burden on the firms'* (DCMS 2006[7]).

This, in fact, is the work I pioneered in 2000 for the Yorkshire and Humber Government Office, with the support of Calvin Taylor, involving a survey of cultural industries businesses in the Yorkshire and the Humber region, referred to later in the submission and cited by the Arts Council of England (Hutton, Bridgwood and Dust 2004) and the University of Warwick, Institute of Employment Studies (Galloway 2002). The following table is an example of the primary data generated through baseline surveys of businesses:

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[6] These reports are available as supplementary evidence.

[7] See *http://headshift.com/dcms/mt/archives/blog_36/Evidence%20and%20Analysis%20-%20post%20cons%20final.doc accessed 15th April 2007*

Table 3: Comparative Yorkshire and Humber regional employment by selected sub-sectors, 1996 - 1998

	Architectural Activities	Advertising	Software	Publishing	Film	Radio Television	Photographic	A
■Annual Employment Survey 1996	5.8	3.8	9.6	26.2	1	2	2.1	
■Creative Industries (1996)	4.2	39	7.9	99	1.5	2		
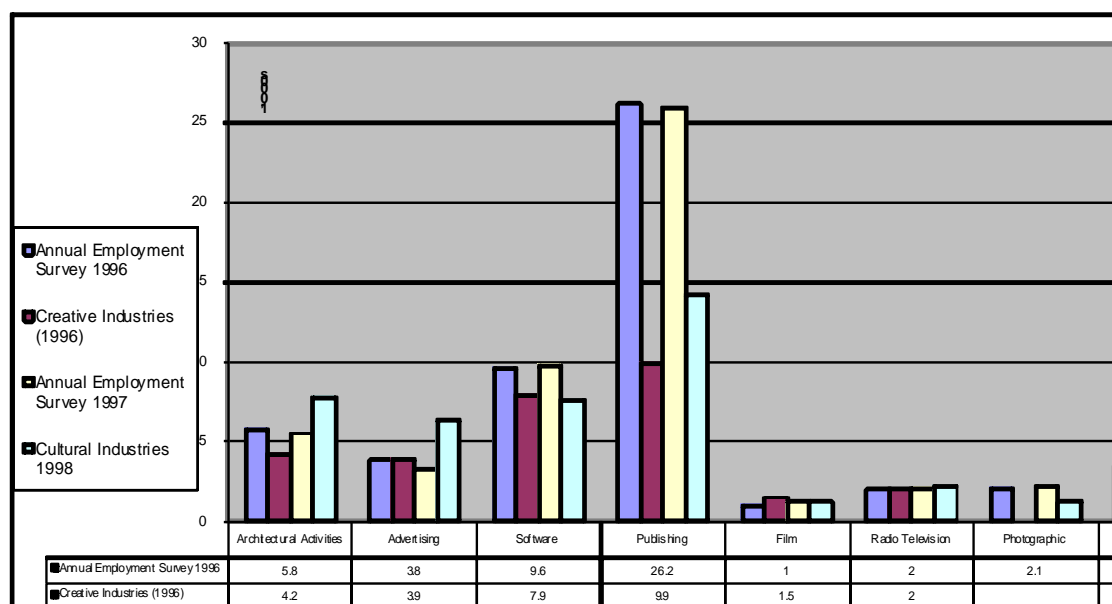
2.5. Questionable Sources of Data

Much of the statistical evidence used by the public sector agencies and government departments referred to earlier is traceable:

> *'National Statistics sources where possible – primarily the Annual Business Inquiry, the Inter-Departmental Business Register and the Labour Force Survey – meaning that the estimates are the best possible with the available data. Definitions are based on the UK Standard Industrial Classifications (SIC) and Standard Occupational Classifications (SOC); however, they do not accurately reflect the structure of the Creative Industries. As such, it is difficult to capture the full extent of the activity'* (DCMS 2006[8]).

 Eurostat, incorporating LEG (Leadership Group on Cultural Statistics) on behalf of the European Union, has also been generating information in this field. However, in reality it is secondary data when used in the context of the creative industries, with all the inherent weaknesses of such an approach (Department of Arts Policy and Management, City University, 2000). This becomes worse, when consideration is

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[8]See*http://headshift.com/dcms/mt/archives/blog_36/Evidence%20and%20Analysis%20-%20post%20cons%20final.doc accessed 15th April 2007*

given to the questionable sources, of data employed to support the DCMS creative industry mapping documents:

> *'Sources of data have included the Department of Trade and Industry, Antique Trades Gazette, Crafts Council, Design Council, Screen Finance, Arts Council of England, Sunday Times, Screen Digest, BPI Statistical Handbook, The Value of Music, Henley Centre, Association of British Sponsorship of the Arts, Society of London Theatres, Express Newspapers, Consumer Trends, Business Monitor and the UK Media Yearbook. Much of this information is unverifiable, collected over differing periods of time, using unrelated methodologies'* (Roodhouse, 2000a p3).

The Department has attempted to sift through these sources and select on the basis of compatibility. This process, however, reinforced the difficulties of using a variety of unverified sources that are not collecting data using a commonly defined framework. Smith confirmed, however, that collecting and analysing data to underpin creative industries policy is problematic, and past claims are difficult to substantiate (DCMS 1998):

> '*One of the problems in this whole area is that the precise figures (for the creative industries) are hard to come by. Many of these areas of activity are of course dominated by small and medium sized companies almost working on a cottage industry basis, with a handful of big players striding amongst them; it is a pattern that makes definition and accurate counting very difficult but even more essential if public policy is to be maintained*' (Smith 1998 p10-11).

Rather worryingly, a similar view was expressed as long ago as 1970 in the UNESCO report, Cultural Policy in Great Britain (Green, Wilding & Hoggart 1970).

What I identified and advised DCMS on as a critical friend was the chaotic nature of the cultural sector at regional and national levels, reflected in the *ad hoc* collection of data and not least in the inconsistent use of definitional frameworks. This observation has subsequently been picked up by the DCMS in developing the Regional Cultural Data Framework and its successor, the DCMS Evidence Toolkit, by arriving at a working definition of culture as a starting point:

'*Culture has both a 'material' and a non-material dimension. The definition of the Cultural Sector must focus upon material culture, and we understand this to be the sum of activities and necessary resources (tools, infrastructure and artefacts) involved in the whole 'cycle' of creation, making, dissemination, exhibition/reception, archiving/preservation, and education/understanding relating to cultural products and services. We recognise that the range of activities defined as 'cultural' is mobile and changing. However, at their most inclusive, we propose that the domains [sub sectors] of the Cultural Sector cover the following: Visual Art, Performance, Audio-Visual, Books and Press, Sport, Heritage, and Tourism'* (DCMS 2006[9]).

Although progress is being made in arriving at a commonly understood cultural definition, there remains a poor knowledge base: *'The evidence available is limited and patchy - more evidence needs to be collected to allow policy to be developed'* (DCMS Creative Economy Evidence and Analysis Group, 2006[10]).

Consequently, this submission represents a sustained contribution to an impoverished knowledge base needed for policy making and the advancement of professional practice; for example, graphic design has now been included in the 2007 SIC coding revisions and the discourse over the confusion in defining fashion design has been taken forward by others such as Creigh–Tyke (2005). In addition, DCMS commissioned me to undertake an empirical baseline analysis of the designer fashion sub-sector of the creative industries in two regions, Yorkshire and the Humber and the North West.

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[9]see*http://headshift.com/dcms/mt/archives/blog_36/Evidence%20and%20Analysis%20-%20post%20cons%20final.doc accessed 15th April 2007*

[10]see*http://headshift.com/dcms/mt/archives/blog_36/Evidence%20and%20Analysis%20-%20post%20cons%20final.doc accessed 15th April 2007*

3. INFLUENCING THE CULTURAL FIELD, PARTICULARLY HIGHER EDUCATION, WITH A RECOGNISED CONTRIBUTION TO A REAPPRAISAL OF THE CREATIVE INDUSTRIES' DEFINITIONAL FRAMEWORKS

The body of work cited has played a part in shaping professional practice in the field nationally and internationally: for example, it has influenced the work of the DCMS, cited in reports such as "The Contribution of Culture to Regeneration in the UK: A Review of Evidence (Evans and Shaw 2004); the Arts Council of England, with data cited in "Measuring the Economic and Social Impact of the Arts: A Review" (Reeves 2002); the British Council Creative Industries Unit, which has promoted the mapping approach to several countries developing the creative industries; Austrian interest in the creative industries and in particular, a major survey of this activity in Vienna by Mediacult. In addition, the first Yorkshire studies were recognised in Australia and taken up as a model for primary data collection. Apart from the contribution to professional practice by conceiving, developing and disseminating new data, this work has contributed to the continuing debate on definitions and more significantly, the paradigm shift from conventional public cultural funding regimes to a business-focussed approach.

Consequently, this section focuses on the contribution of the published work to the vocational education and creative industries professional discourse by examining in detail the fieldwork and methodology. It is, however, important to reiterate that there is little published material on the creative industries and consequently, the body of knowledge to draw from is embryonic. In particular, the paucity of primary information is evident and continues to be a barrier in understanding these industries and hence policy development, as the DCMS has indicated in its recent reports, quoted earlier. The public works are informed by project work conducted from 1998 to 2005 in respect of the following main issues:

  I.   Cultural or creative industries' definitional frameworks;
  II. Appropriate methodology for the collection of primary data;
  III. Primary data on the creative industries and its sub-sectors at regional level;

In answering these questions, the work has been located in national and regional cultural policy and practice, as this is where many of the issues of delivery rest.

Much of the work in this field relies on statistical theory and practice, supported by economic perspectives, with minimal cultural theory from writers such as Bourdieu or Williams. Unsurprisingly, the published reports rarely reference any theoretical underpinning, but rather provide conditions and assumptions affecting the data, definitions and interpretation of that material. However, the approach employed in the cited public works is informed by action theory. Basic action theory typically describes behaviour as the result of an interaction between an individual *agent* and a *situation.* This has been extended and developed to provide the conceptual underpinning to the work so that the collection of original quantitative data provides the information required to formulate concepts (Mele 1997). The author's engagement with an unfamiliar area of study has led to a re-engagement with the theoretical understanding of creativity and business, which originated in the successful Artist in Industry projects carried out in the 1980s at Yorkshire Arts. The literature surrounding creativity can be broken down into works concerned with defining and theorising the concept (Koestler 1964, Boden 1990); those engaged in the behavioural aspects of creativity (Sternberg 1999); others concerned with cognitive processes (Pesut 1990; De Bono 1996); the psychological dynamics of creativity (Bergum 1973 & 1975); the sociology of creativity (Florida 2002; Perry–Smith 2006); creative processes (Stackhouse 2006) and organisational and systems issues (Andriopoulos & Lowe 2000; Gilson, Mathieu, Shalley & Ruddy 2005, Handy 1995). It is, then, a well-rehearsed and extensively studied subject, analysed from several disciplinary perspectives. Thus much of the literature on creativity is concerned with understanding how the mind works (Armbuster 1989; De Bono 1971; Koestler 1989; Hayes 1978).

Organisational creativity[11] theory (Woodman, Sawyer & Griffin 1993) is also useful in this respect, as it provides a framework to understand explicit activities in complex social systems: large organisations. Boden, whose work has been influential in shaping the creativity discourse, suggests that creativity

> '- *is always mediated by conceptual development of some form. Any creative act is thus always founded on conceptualisation or the realisation of a point within a particular 'conceptual space'.*" She notes, "*there are two ways in which this might happen. If the conceptual space has an existing*

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[11] Woodman, Sawyer and Griffin suggest that organisational creativity is understood to be the creation of a valuable, useful new product, service, idea, procedure or process, by individuals working together, in a complex social system.

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mental representation, realisation of a new point is simply a matter of identifying a new location within that space. If no such representation exists, then realisation of a new point necessarily involves construction of the representation as a preliminary step.' (Boden, 1990, p. 78)

For Boden, this offers the means of distinguishing two forms of conceptualisation: a straightforward form, involving the identification of a new point in an existing space, and a more complex form which involves, as a preliminary step, the construction of the relevant conceptual space. The process of identifying a new point she terms "exploration"; the process of generating a new space she calls "transformation" (Boden 1990). Although subsequent writings have suggested that this theory is too vague (Ritchie 2006), it still underpins current creativity theoretical perspectives. I also consider it necessary to distinguish creativity from innovation. The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) has suggested creativity as the first stage in innovation (DTI 2005) and innovation as

'*product innovation – bringing to the market or into use by business process innovation; significant changes in the way that goods or services are produced or provided; categories of investment such as R&D, capital goods and software acquisition; design activity, for implementing current innovations or directed to future product or process changes; management related, such as strategic changes to the organisation of business or its functions, in order to achieve gains in competitiveness*' (DTI, 2006, pviii).

As a result, innovation can be thought of as structured problem solving (Clegg 1999), unlike creativity, which may be described as '*A creator (who) is unlikely to stick in a mould, rather reshaping that mould, thereby extending the framework established for the field of endeavour.*' (Gardner 1993).

My conclusion from these observations is that there is as yet no workable creative industries theoretical construct, except that of pragmatism. This could explain, for example, the problems associated with conceptual "buy-in" by businesses from different sub-sectors and the failure to determine a shared definition of activity

Before embarking upon demonstrating the work's originality, the main elements of the methodology employed are discussed.

### 3.1. The Work-Based Projects and Fieldwork from 1998 to 2007

The main thrust of the fieldwork from 1998 to 2007 was to provide an alternative paradigm to the DCMS definition and categorisation, as well as to address the lack of primary data on the cultural and creative industries at a regional and local level. I conceived, structured and directed these projects; however, others were involved in the analysis and delivery:

- 1998: a study of the cultural industries in the Wakefield District for the Wakefield European Partnership;
- 1999: I conceived, structured and led a study of the cultural industries in Rotherham, South Yorkshire for the Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council;
- 2000: a study of the cultural industries in Yorkshire and Humber, which involved determining a definitional framework and establishing a workable methodology, database and sampling mechanisms;
- 2003: a study of the designer fashion sub-sector in the Northwest, Yorkshire and Humber, which was the first study to comprehensively quantify this sub-sector of the creative industries in the North of England using the methodology established in the 2000 study of the cultural industries in Yorkshire and Humber for the Department for Culture, Media and Sport;
- 2002/4: Queensland music sub-sector baseline analysis, utilising the methodology established in the 2000 and 2003 studies and testing international comparative definitional frameworks for Queensland State Development Department;
- 2002/5: three primary baseline analyses of the creative industries in Queensland, applying previous methodology and definitional frameworks, including the development of international benchmarking for Queensland State Development Department;
- 2004: a micro-primary data baseline analysis of the graphic design businesses which form part of the design sub-sector of the creative industries in a predetermined, restricted geographical urban area, applying the methodology established earlier at micro levels for the first time to generate an accurate analysis of this type of activity in the Metropolitan Borough for the purposes of assisting the development of a creative industries policy;

- 2004: micro-primary data baseline analysis of the visual arts activity in a restricted geographical urban area to determine levels of activity, employment, investment profiles, markets and development needs as a means of informing the Metropolitan Borough in developing the next stages of the creative industries policy;

- 2005: primary data analysis of the creative industries of Cardiff and its immediate environs, employing the DCMS definition, to assist the University of Glamorgan in assessing demand;

- 2007: primary data analysis of the creative industries in Winchester and Hampshire, employing the DCMS definition, to assist the University of Winchester in assessing supply and demand.

These studies were the first of their type in the sector, and as a result, broke new ground. They have been used to inform practice in the East Midlands, with the work carried out by Comedia for the East Midlands Regional Development Agency, and a major study of the creative industries in Queensland, carried out by Queensland University of Technology, Creative Industries Research and Applications Centre (CIRAC), funded by the Australian Research Council. Subsequently, the material generated has been used in evidence at the Australian House of Representatives Inquiry into the Future Opportunities for Australia's Film, Animation, Special Effects and Electronic Games Industries in 2006. In the case of the University of Glamorgan study, the report provided the evidential base to give the University confidence to establish a Faculty of Creative Industries in Cardiff. The following table provides an example of the type of primary data generated through this process:

Table 4: Annual income profile for graphic design companies in Bolton
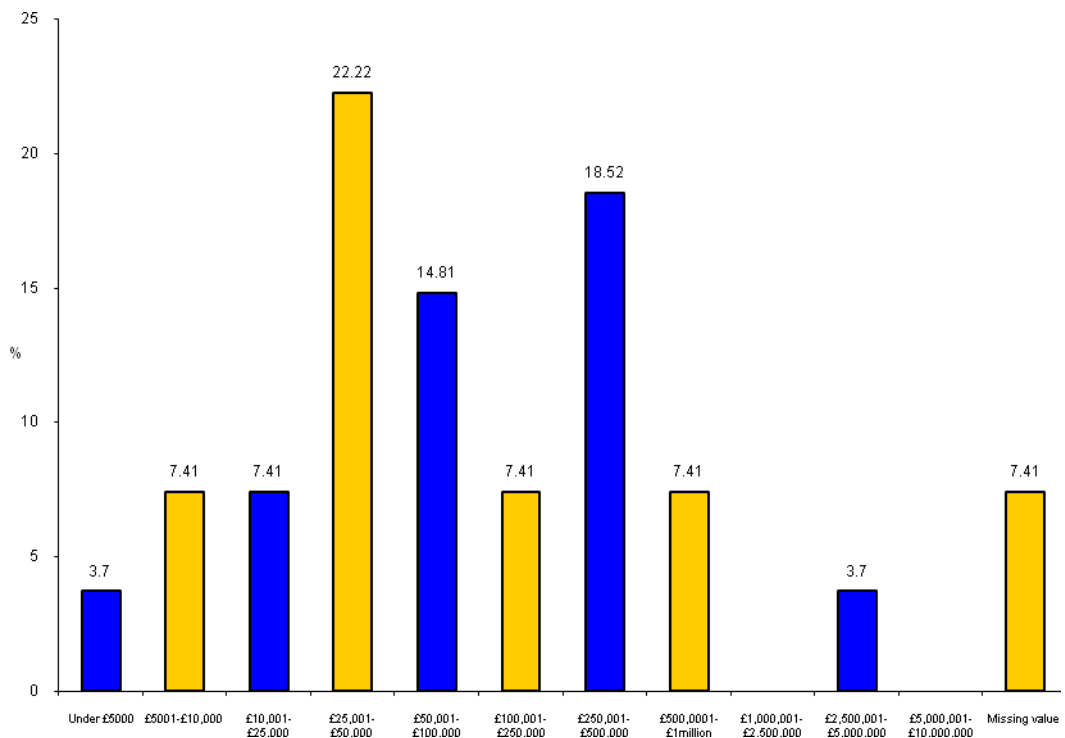
4. DEVELOPMENT OF PRIMARY BASELINE METHODOLOGY AND PROVISION OF NEW DATA ON THE SECTOR

The methodology chosen was determined by the desire to understand the creative industries within geographical boundaries by generating primary data derived from the businesses themselves as a means of overcoming the weaknesses referred to earlier. This led naturally to the consideration of a quantitative approach. This in turn required an approach to be developed to arrive at a workable and defendable definitional framework, explained in greater detail in 3.3.i. The assumptions are that the DCMS sub-sectoral definitions and SIC coding do not provide a sufficiently detailed framework to capture creative business activity, and as a consequence, the author has originated an alternative approach. This required me to acquire an understanding of SIC and SOC coding, creativity and quantitative data collection methodology.

A literature search provided the history leading up to the current New Labour creative industry definition. The definitions employed by the author in the research were derived from an analysis of existing frameworks and consultation with the sector, which is a significant departure from the methodology employed by DCMS. The digression from the DCMS position resulted from the inability to locate a theoretical concept, other than what seems to be pragmatism, which informs the definition of the creative industries. At least the structured, consultative approach, which incorporates existing definitions, is a recognised conventional methodology. There is, however, a paucity of precise theories for defining the creative industries. It seems that creativity, organisational and innovation theories may point the way forward. The research employed a combination of existing secondary data sources and the new primary data captured by postal survey and telephone inquiries. The results of these surveys were analysed using SPSS statistical analysis software. The primary data were achieved by compiling a database of cultural businesses. The resultant data sets ranged from 34 inputs for micro studies to 13,000 inputs for large-scale cultural industry surveys. These data sets provided in their own terms a major contribution to the understanding of the number and type of creative businesses in a geographically defined location.

The questionnaire I designed with reference to Oppenheim (1968, 1992) was piloted to meet the needs of the survey and consisted of primary, closed multiple-choice questions. Sampling returns from these studies ranged from 4% to 70%, with the lower returns associated with the larger data sets. This questionnaire model was subsequently adopted and adapted to be used in the Australian context for that country's first baseline analysis of the creative industries (Cox, Ninan, Hearn, Roodhouse & Cunningham 2004).

The result of this work is a snapshot of creative businesses in a sub-sector from a number of perspectives such as employment, investment, marketing and training patterns. So, for example, the designer fashion sector in the Northwest, Yorkshire and Humber regions can be characterised from the research as a complex sub-sector of activities from bridal wear to high fashion (couture), with convergent design and manufacturing interests. These businesses are to a large extent micro, small and medium-sized enterprises with annual incomes of less than £25,000: often a sole proprietor, the self-employed or limited companies. There are, however, a

significant number of very large businesses generating annual incomes in excess of £1 million.

It is noticeable that the sector shows no interest in clustering, works largely in isolation and is strongly regionally based, with customers primarily located in the region and throughout the United Kingdom. The businesses themselves are often located in leased or proprietor-owned premises; however, there is a significant level of home working (Roodhouse 2003b). The analysis was informed by Blaike (2003), the SPSS system capability and David and Sutton (2004). It is this level of detail which is a major contribution. There is, in addition, no international comparative data or definitional framework for the creative industries (Roodhouse 2003), although this is a global phenomenon; however, I have successfully utilised the methodological approach in a large-scale study of Queensland to arrive at comparable primary baseline data.

However, the snapshot method used has limitations, particularly as it relies on a survey questionnaire and a comprehensive database of creative businesses in a defined geographical area. The limitations to this approach have been found to be the low business responses across all sub-sectors, particularly the self-employed and micro-businesses. The problems of interpretation are exacerbated by the continuing incompatibility of the definitional framework employed and in particular, its lack of detail and differentiation. In effect, the primary data derived from this method has a limited life and must be revisited on a regular basis in a longitudinal study cycle. This has raised questions regarding how to efficiently construct the initial business database to accurately capture the self-employed and micro-businesses. This is particularly difficult if there is access to confidential data collected by the Office of National Statistics for PAYE, for example. In addition, it has been disappointing to discover that businesses in the sector do not respond to this type of survey. Consideration is now being given to using data in the public realm derived from Companies House, so that attention can be focused on micro-businesses and the self-employed. In the case of the definitional discourse, there is evidence to suggest that a five-digit coding system will be made available for researchers and practitioners by consumers in conjunction with ONS.

5.   CONCLUSIONS

My original contribution to the understanding and development of the New Labour Cultural and Creative Industries Policy, based on my earlier experiences and engagement with the arts and business, is demonstrated in the earlier sections of the submission by references to the relevant published material and fieldwork. They can be summarised as clarifying and deepening the policy concept through investigation and generation of prototypes and original data at local and regional levels where there is a very limited body of published knowledge and a recognised serious paucity of information. Consequently, this work represents:

I. An original contribution of an alternative, definitional paradigm and methodology;

II. A contribution to the knowledge base through the development of the primary data collection methodology;

III. The collection of accurate, measurable primary information to provide detailed "snapshots" of the industry and subsectors;

IV. The generation of intelligence that has a practical value to those working in the sector.

These contributions are explained in greater detail in the following sections.

5.1   Definitional Issues

The published work has provided a systematic understanding of national and international definitional issues in the creative industries (Devlin, Gibson, Taylor & Roodhouse 1998; Cox, Ninan, Hearn, Roodhouse & Cunningham 2004) by exposing the ungrounded nature of the concept and the lack of relevance for creative businesses. In this respect, the author suggests that public cultural policy and practice is restrictive and bound by a State view of acceptable aesthetics, determined by the government and its agencies (Roodhouse 2002). It is argued that these agencies are often complex, bureaucratic, decompartmentalised and uncoordinated (Roodhouse 2002). This in turn leads to an obsession with public sector cultural provision, self interest and constrained engagement in private sector creative businesses by public funding agencies, often with a limited empirical

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understanding of the sector and its sub-sectors and relationships (Roodhouse 1999b & 2000a). In particular, the lack of verifiable definitional detail associated with sub-sectors can only undermine what is already a questionable claim by New Labour, explained in section 2.3, Table 2. This weakness is addressed by the author through a comparison of existing definitional frameworks, working with the sub-sector businesses to arrive at a workable definition that realistically reflects actual activity, with clear linkages established to the UK SIC for comparative purposes (Roodhouse 2003b). The distinction between cultural and creative industries is exposed and explained in the progressive shift from an arts defined public policy world, represented by the Arts Council of Great Britain, to the GLC economic reconceptualisation and ultimately, the New Labour position (see section 2.1). The key issue here concerns boundaries: what is included and why other activities are excluded (discussed in section 2.1). It is, after all, recognised by Smith, amongst others, as an economic and business model. Inconsistency is rife, as the author has pointed out in the case of educational activity: as a sub-sector, it trains creatives for the industry, employs them as teachers and runs galleries (creative public businesses); however, it is excluded from the creative industry definition. A cultural industries categorisation would, on the other hand, readily include such activity, as demonstrated in the baseline analysis of the cultural industries in Yorkshire and the Humber (Roodhouse 2000). Consequently, the DCMS public position on sub-sectors, articulated in the mapping documents referred to in section 2.3, is rejected and the absurdity of exclusions such as the heritage sector highlighted. If further evidence were needed, inconsistencies are also fore-grounded with the comparisons between the DCMS creative industry framework and the organisations it funds, such as the National Skills Agency, the Cultural and Creative Industries Sector Skills Council (SSC), which by its very title covers all definitional eventualities. SSCs are government-funded, employer-led organisations, and are expected to resolve the UK skill and productivity gap. They replace the earlier National Training Organisations (NTOs), which in turn were born out of industry training organisations (Jones 2000), industry lead bodies and even earlier, industry training boards, established in 1964. There was also *a* recognition that the UK needed to raise levels of competence in the workforce in order to maintain and enhance competitiveness and its position as a highly skilled, innovative and technologically advanced nation state reinforced the requirement to reform an archaic 19th century training and qualification system which had lost touch with the needs of employers;

> *'By the 1970s, both the British and US economies faced strong competition from nations using similar production technologies but with much lower manufacturing costs, particularly labour. Government concern about falling competitiveness stimulated reviews by the then Manpower Services Commission (MSC 1981) which underlined the need for a flexible and skilled workforce that could respond to global economic changes'* (Swailes and Roodhouse 2003, p.86).

The rationale for change seems remarkably similar to New Labour's justifications for their action.

The SSC definitional footprint is:

I. The Arts: encompassing performing arts, including drama, musicals, dance, opera, circus, street theatre, participatory arts; music, including producing, recording and publishing; visual arts and literary arts;
II. Crafts, including designer-makers of contemporary and traditional crafts;
III. Design, including spatial, product, graphics and communications design, textiles and fashion;
IV. Cultural heritage, including museums, galleries and heritage organisations, including archaeology and conservation.

Advertising, interactive leisure software, computer services and architecture, all of which are recognised sub-sectors of the DCMS creative industries definition, are missing. Again, these government-sponsored agencies seem to be more concerned with capturing and demarcating territory than with coordinating and rationalising the system. This body is expected to collect data on the employment patterns and skill needs of the "sector".

Turning to a sub-sector such as designer fashion, recognised by DCMS as "weak statistically" (see section 2.3), this sub-sector relies on a constrained and high couture definition excluding activities such as bridal wear and sportswear, all of which are designed by creatives who conform to the DCMS descriptors (see section 2.1). New definitional categories within the DCMS creative industry framework and UK SIC system have been developed for designer fashion, graphic design, music and the visual arts by the author and successfully employed in the United Kingdom and Australia to generate primary data (Roodhouse 2003a)

5.2   Data Collection and Sources

Public cultural policy economic and statistical data collection and analysis relies on verifiable definitions and includes significant interrogation of secondary data. Flaws in definitional classifications and the accuracy of secondary data on the creative industries are quickly exposed when applied to a local or regional context and consequently cannot be trusted (Roodhouse 2004a). This is because the secondary data employed from sources such as NOMIS and the Annual Employment Survey are designed to meet national requirements which have yet to capture the detail of the creative industry sub-sectors as defined by DCMS. As the author points out, this is a significant issue because it throws into doubt much of the data being used at local, regional and national levels to justify the New Labour Creative Industries Policy. In addition, the current SIC and SOC are inadequate, largely because they are based on "old industries" rather than the emerging creative businesses which form part of the knowledge economy This continuing "problem" is illustrated when attempting to locate designer fashion and graphic design in the SIC, with both activities lumped under one classification: 74.87/2 - specialist design activity.

I point out that there is a requirement within the UK system for additional coding, as is the case in Australia (Roodhouse, 2005). It is suggested that these issues are now being addressed by ONS, with a revision of the SIC and a five-digit code, which has yet to be placed in the public domain. The evidence base looks distinctly wobbly, with images of castles built on sand coming to mind, particularly when the definitional framework is highly questionable, as pointed out in section 2.1. In addition, there are serious doubts about the quality and reliability of the data sources used to justify New Labour claims, as outlined in section 2.4. I and others have responded by employing the new definitional prototypes, designing and applying a methodology for primary baseline data collection of creative and cultural industries practice through micro and macro studies at regional and local levels (Cox, Ninan, Hearn, Roodhouse, & Cunningham 2004, Roodhouse 2000b, Roodhouse 2003c). A description of the methodology can be found in section 3.2.

5.3   Policy and Practice Implications

The re-introduction of the creative business idea provides a platform for serious consideration of the current government cultural funding arrangements, with a move away from the present established Arts Council funding structure to a broader, more people responsive and sustainable model (Roodhouse 2002), relying more on business support mechanisms than cultural grants. It also recognises private

companies and the self-employed, thus describing a spectrum of creative activity rather than a singular focus on the arts. The definitional discourse does not seem to criticise the creative industry construct but rather what sub-sectors are included and how the selected sub-sectors are described:

> *'The term 'creative industries' includes a diverse range of businesses in sectors that are commonly thought of as being quite distinct from each other. The DCMS definition suggests that businesses in these sectors share a common foundation: they rely on individual creativity and imagination allied with skill and talent, and produce wealth and jobs through the generation and exploitation of new intellectual property and content. This definition has been useful in reinforcing the importance of these sectors for policymakers and others, especially their economic importance, and in challenging the traditional forms of policy intervention in support of arts and culture (typically, through subsidies and grants).* (NESTA, 2006, p.9).*

These observations are justified, as it is only by addressing them that the evidence required by government to support policy development and evaluation can be relied on. For example,

> *'-measurement of performance relies on a definitive baseline to start from; in other words, if we do not have a common understanding of what the visual arts are or what an artist is, [for example] how can we measure success as managers?'* (Roodhouse 2006, p.63).

The fractured nature of government and agents at all levels described in section 2.1 is a significant barrier to establishing shared understandings and common data. Each of the agencies involved and all levels of government have distinct missions and business priorities. This does not lend itself naturally to standardisation of definitions and data and a consequent "default" position of SIC classifications, however inaccurate and unsatisfactory, is adopted.

There is a need for a "whole" national, regional and local government creative industry evidence and analysis strategy which is evidence-based - and thus measurable - and overcomes the current structural isolationism with the inevitable wasted resources and duplication of effort involved in individual organisations collecting data with little or no reference to each other (Roodhouse 2004a). It is

thus particularly unsatisfactory that there is no shared definitional framework, although the DCMS is making attempts to address this (see section 2.3); nor is there a comprehensive primary baseline to allow the sector to monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of government interventions. Assuming that there is, for example, no common definition of graphic design at national level, comparisons between regional public financial interventions for the creative industries become at best generalised. This situation does not allow inter-regional objective comparison of performance, which for national government is an unsatisfactory position to be in (Roodhouse 2005). The author has, however, provided a proven model for systematic classification, comparability, national or locally coordinated collection and organisation of data using industry-derived definitions that are meaningful to practitioners, agencies and national government. The model requires the establishment of a comprehensive database of creative businesses reflecting the chosen definitional framework, which is geographically constrained. This is surveyed to attract information on the businesses as a snapshot in time. The approach provides reliable primary data, employing a detailed and grounded sub-sectoral definitional structure.

Amongst the government-sponsored cultural agencies at regional level with an interest in the creative industries, the Regional Development Agencies and, to a lesser extent, Cultural Consortia are dominant, although this remains a very confused field, with many players in the government team operating individually, as described in section 2.1. As a result, the economic imperatives of job generation and wealth creation remain the dominant ethos and the need for reliable comparable data has never been greater. For example, the data derived from the primary analysis of sub-sectors at local and regional level has questioned the assumptions made by regional policy makers that all creative industries cluster. It has illustrated market patterns, often demonstrating that these businesses are supported by local and regional customers with minimal penetration of international markets. This has implications for local and regional economic policy (Roodhouse 2003c).

Turning to research into the creative industries, for this to be taken seriously, the author suggests the need to be precise over the use of classification systems and move towards a common international standard. As Towse argues (see section 2.2) and the author agrees, research in this field requires agreed detailed definitional frameworks. This requires the sector and those involved in it to cooperate in

arriving at shared definitional frameworks, not least as the basis for ecological, chain and network analyses. Care also needs to be taken over the extensive application of value chain and ecology theoretical frameworks as a means of understanding the creative industries generally when; for example, we cannot yet quantify sculpture or sculpting or share a common understanding of what graphic design represents. The alternative definitional approach provided earlier by the author provides one answer to these fundamental questions and as a result, makes a serious contribution to the creative industries knowledge base and discourse (Cunningham 2002, DCMS 2001).

As quoted earlier but worth repeating Smith, the first New Labour political champion, made plain,

> ,'*One of the problems in this whole area is that the precise figures (for the creative industries) are hard to come by. Many of these areas of activity are of course dominated by small and medium sized companies almost working on a cottage industry basis, with a handful of big players striding amongst them; it is a pattern that makes definition and accurate counting very difficult but even more essential if public policy is to be maintained*' (Smith, 1998, p.10 -11).

His own Department reinforces this,

> '*Continuing to improve the collection of robust and timely data on the creative industries, based on a common understanding of coverage*' (DCMS 2001, p.14).

Subsequent New Labour culture ministers have failed to address this issue until recently, with Lammy's reinvention of the creative industries as the creative economy in 2006.

Questions remain over the reliability of the evidence base for current New Labour creative policy-making at regional, national and international levels when fundamental elements remain unresolved, such as an accurate record of the number of visual artists in the UK. My contribution is to provide an important mechanism for overcoming these issues, provide evidence, add key original data to significantly increase the knowledge of the sector and make a serious international

contribution to the discourse. As a consequence, the work has influenced data collection in the United Kingdom and Australia. Building on this, the Australian Research Council has recognised me as an international expert in the creative industries field, the University of Technology, Sydney, giving me an Adjunct Professorship in 2007. Much of the work has been used to inform a book published in 2006 - *Cultural Quarters: Principles and Practice* - which develops an argument that creative industries can be fostered through cultural quarters as they establish a sustainable model of production and consumption. In this respect, further research is now needed to map and evaluate the existence value of these businesses by quantifying the networks internally and externally to inform public policy and social and economic intervention at local and regional levels.

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In 1989 the Council of Gresham College generously agreed to sponsor my research into the historical relationship of the arts and private industry. At that time, I had no wider ambition than nailing a political lie. For several decades politicians of all hues had been saying that British industry had never been much involved with supporting the arts, and that the arts had only prospered when the state began to subsidise them in post-war Britain. Mrs Thatcher's Ministers had taken matters further, claiming that the state in the eighties was no longer capable of bearing 'the full burden' of supporting the arts, and therefore new ways must be found of bringing 'art' and private industry together, so they could fuse within a curious entity which they had already begun to call 'the arts industry'.

From the first this had seemed to be (at the least) a distortion of British history. Even a cursory study of our cultural past suggested that the relationship between art and industry in Britain is complex and of long standing, that the state has always played a comparatively minor role in the support of the arts, and that the links between art and private industry which the government was proposing were not new at all. So I and my fellow researchers simply set out to reclaim something of the real economic history of the arts in Britain.

The first step was to bring together a number of aspects which were then being forgotten (or deliberately hidden) by our state bureaucrats – including the long history of Royal and Church patronage, important cultural developments outside London and the plain fact that all of the arts in Britain had for long periods been run on a purely commercial basis, and had themselves often been profitable businesses. For their enthusiastic contributions to this basic work I was immediately indebted to Professor Simon Roodhouse (who also generously gave me sight of some of his papers on Industry and the Arts), Dr Ruth Bereson, Alexis Moustakis and Terri Palmer.

We collected evidence – all of it interesting, though much of it repetitious – from local history libraries and from local newspaper archives throughout Britain, including Bath, Birmingham, Blackpool, Bristol, Cardiff, Edinburgh, Exeter, Glasgow, Hull, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Nottingham, Otley, Plymouth, Sheffield, Skegness and Swansea. Valuable assistance was given in

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FROM VALUE CHAIN TO VALUE CREATING ECOLOGY
Implications for creative industries development policy

Greg Hearn, **Simon Roodhouse** and **Julie Blakey**

The metaphor of a "value creating ecology" is developed to describe the operation of the creative industries. This encapsulates three important trends, namely the shift from consumers to co-creators of value; the shift from thinking about product value to thinking about network value; and the shift from thinking about cooperation or competition to thinking about co-opetition. Underlying this metaphor is recognition of the need to consider both public mechanisms as well as the market when framing creative industries development policy. Policy implications for human capital, urban policy and sectoral infrastructure are described.

KEYWORDS   creative industries; value ecology

Introduction

The term creative industries was first articulated in 1997 as a way of integrating sectors of the British economy in which creative intangible inputs add significant economic and social value. It was introduced as a public sector policy by the first "New" Labour Government in 1998 and adopted in Europe, East Asia, and Australasia.[1] The term has also been taken up increasingly in the United States, typically resistant to such European and dominion trends.[2] It is a term which sometimes is read as code for a neo-liberal cultural policy agenda and as such is the subject of increasing academic debate (McNamara 2002; Hesmondhalgh & Pratt 2005; Garnham 2005). However, both critics and advocates agree that the internationalisation of the creative industries concept is predicated on its capacity to connect key contemporary policy drivers in high-tech information and communications technologies (ICT) based research and development (*production* in the new economy) with the "experience" economy, cultural identity, and social empowerment (*consumption* in the new economy).

It is not the purpose of this paper to engage these debates directly although we will speak to these issues in the final section of the paper. Indeed the primary policy provenance of the paper is industry development policy for the creative industries, rather than cultural policy in general. We take the term creative industries, for the moment at least, only as a descriptor of certain types of industry sectors. Whatever the debates around the

term, it can now be said that there is an emerging international body of empirical literature that allows for stronger and more critical assessment of some of the claims made about these sectors (Australian Creative Digital Industry National Mapping Project 2006) This literature confirms amongst other things that the creative industries are, in fact, above average in their growth rates and value adding and employment-producing multipliers. The sector is highly integrated with other sectors of the economy – producing intermediate inputs and outputs in just about all sectors. Analysis of occupational data shows that there are more creatives employed in other sectors of the economy than in those sectors designated as the creative industries. It can also be argued that the creative industries evidence higher rates of innovation (Potts 2006). In short, the sector is a highly dynamic sector and exemplifies the characteristics of the networked economy in general.

This has had the effect of changing the way the fundamental processes of creating "value" occurs – a shift from the idea of a value chain to a value creating ecology. This brings us to the purpose of this paper which is to describe this emerging fundamental shift in how we understand the creation of "value" and to examine implications of this for creative industries development policy. By creative industries policy we refer to policy which directs governments in attempts to stimulate or grow the creative industries regionally or nationally. Such efforts are often "whole of government" and involve agencies concerned with industry development and innovation as much as the arts and culture (O'Regan & Ryan 2004). As a secondary outcome, we also make some concluding comment about the implications of this shift for cultural policy more broadly conceived.

From Value Chain to Value Creating Ecology

The idea of a value chain is a very pervasive metaphor in both functional and critical descriptions of production and consumption. The term evolved conceptually from the idea of supply chain (Rainbird 2004) which describes the series of steps a product (usually a tangible one) takes from the manufacturer to the consumer. The word "value" was substituted for "supply" to suggest that each step in the chain should add value rather simply move the product along. That is, value chains are should achieve value optimization rather than cost minimization.

Many functional analyses of production and consumption (Hearn & Pace 2006) now question this basic metaphor and the leading edges of innovation in the creative industries (such as interactive software) evidence the breaking down of its warrant because it:

1. suggests a single linear process with one stage leading to the next;
2. does not analyse the fact that value chain creation may be a competitive as well as a cooperative process;
3. lends itself to mechanistic linear thinking and suggests static rather than dynamic processes;
4. suggests the chain exists in isolation and ignores the environment as well as the effect of processes or factors that are not strictly part of the chain but are important enablers, catalysts or context setters for the chain (Rainbird 2004); and
5. rests on a simplified notion of "value". For example, it assumes value remains "in the product" ignoring externalities (i.e. product value derived from the relationship of the product to a system or other products) (Walters & Lancaster 2000).

In response, several terms have been coined to overcome the limitations of the value chain metaphor. For example, Jeffcutt (2004, p. 81) prefers the term "value circuit", because it "foregrounds the dynamism and complexity of these, not necessarily linear, relationships in a knowledge economy". Moore (1996, p. 70) uses the concept of "value chaining" to emphasise the "active generation of new value chains". Stabell and Fjeldstad (1998) use the terms "value shop" and "value network" to emphasise firm-level value creation. Lorenzen and Frederiksen (2003, p. 15) suggest the term "value soup" where "the configuration of networks of specialised agents … are not stable value chains, but rather a value 'soup', floated with projects". In this paper we use the term "value creating ecology" to capture these ideas. Table 1 depicts the difference in conception between supply chains, value chains and value ecologies.

In a value creating ecology the constellation of firms are dynamic and value flow is multi-directional and works through clusters of networks. Network theorist Albert-Laszlo Barabási (2002) has described in detail the ubiquity of network structures. Of most relevance here is his description of the shift from chains and hierarchies in business to networks:

> The most visible element of this remaking is a shift from a tree to a web or a network organisation, flat with lots of cross-links between the nodes. As valuable resources shift from physical assets to bits and information, operations move from vertical to virtual integration, the reach of business expands from domestic to global, the lifetime of inventories decreases from months to hours, business strategy changes from top-down to bottom-up, and workers transform from employees to free agents. (Barabási 2002, p. 202)

From a network theory perspective, at least two reasons could be suggested for the growing importance of networks. Firstly, networks are ideal information resource allocation/ information flow mechanisms. Structurally, networks facilitate rapid information transfer by

TABLE 1
Comparing key strategy elements for different conceptions of value creation.

Strategy elements	Supply chain	Value chain	Value ecology
Customers	Consumers	Consumers	Consumers, suppliers, competitors etc
Environment	Static/stable	Static/stable	Chaotic/uncertain
Focus	Supply side OR demand side, not both	Supply and demand sides	Supply and demand sides
Value creation	Limited emphasis on value creation	Emphasises a value creation approach which adds value at every node	Emphasises a holistic approach to value creation throughout the ecosystem
Relationship type	Vertical integration	Timid teaming	Dynamic and evolving
Risk	Low	Medium	High
Profit focus	Increase own profits	Increase own profits	Increase ecosystem profits
Cost focus	Minimise own cost	Optimise own cost	Share costs
Knowledge leverage	Within the enterprise	Within the enterprise	Across the ecosystem
Knowledge approach	Storing	Hoarding	Sharing
Resource approach	Defending	Guarding	Sharing
Time orientation	Short term	Long term	Long term
Key driver	Cost	Revenue	Knowledge

Source: Andrews & Hahn 1998; Rainbird 2004.

providing horizontal links cutting across institutional boundaries to put people in direct contact with each other. Networks also help create information as well as transmit it. As each person in the network receives information, it is synthesised and new ideas may spring forth – information easily builds on information. Networks thus share new ideas and help create them.

Secondly, new value creation is achieved through manipulation of information and the characteristics of information are very different from ordinary goods. One of the economic characteristics of information, namely that the cost of information production is independent of its scale of use, implies increasing returns to the use of information. This factor has traditionally conferred benefits to the early movers in information intensive industries and as we will argue shortly it partially underlies the operation of value ecologies in the creative industries.

The language (and mathematics) of network theory is thus really indispensable to any analysis of the operation of the creative industries (Cross *et al.* 2002). For example, a large number of phenomena (ranging from the distribution of the internet traffic, to the popularity of film stars) can be described as scale free networks (Barabasi 2002; Watts 2003). Scale free networks are so-called because their fundamental properties do not change as more focal points of activity, nodes, are added. These types of networks have an important characteristic, namely, that the number of connections in the networks are not distributed evenly or as a normal curve, but as a power curve. That is, the number of nodes with a small number of links is very large and the number of nodes which may link is small. Scale free networks, when represented visually, look like a map of air routes (i.e. a few concentrated hubs with many sparse pathways).

The confluence of network theory and the "value ecology" metaphor arises because much of the development of network theory has been derived from analyses of bio-systems. Put simply an ecology is a web of life and a web is a network. In terms of analysing the operation of the creative industries as a sector, three important shifts are implicated more specifically in the shift from value chain to value ecology, namely the shift in thinking about

- consumers to co-creators of value;
- from product value to network value;
- from simple co-operation or competition to complex "co-opetition".

From Consumers to Co-Creators of Value

Value creation is not a simple one-way, linear process but involves processes of reiteration and feedback and co-creation on the part of "consumers". In marketing in general, Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2004) argue there has been a shift in the role of the customer from isolated, unaware, and passive to connected, informed, and active. They suggest the co-creation experience itself, and not the product *per se*, has become the very basis of value.

> Marketing inherited a model of exchange from economics, which had a dominant logic based on the exchange of "goods", which usually are manufactured output. The dominant logic focused on tangible resources, embedded value, and transactions. Over the past several decades, new perspectives have emerged that have a revised logic focused on intangible resources, the co-creation of value, and relationships. (Vargo & Lusch 2004, 1)

In this consumer-centric view of value creation, Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2002) suggest the consumer:

1.   is an integral part of the system for value creation;
2.   can influence where, when, and how value is generated;
3.   need not respect industry boundaries in the search for value;
4.   can compete with companies or leverage companies against each other for value extraction; and
5.   can co-create value with the company at multiple points of exchange.

What this means in practice might range from IKEA's co-option of customers in the construction of furniture or simply participating in focus groups that shape the development. However, there are more significant ways this trend establishes itself.

Emerging sectors of the creative industries such as the computer games industry in particular, exemplify these principles. Humphreys *et al.* (2005) focus on fan based or third party content creation in a case study of *Trainz*, a train simulation game released by Australian based games developer Auran. Game developers like Auran "routinely release sophisticated content creation and distribution tools as downloads from their websites and include them with their retail game software" (Humphreys *et al.* 2005, p. 18). In Auran's case their existing fan community was intensely involved throughout the development phases of *Trainz*. In essence the company outsourced value creation to consumers. Formal relationships with fans are created through the official *Trainz* third-party creators program which allows users to share ideas, know-how, and art content. The benefits of this type of approach are numerous. In particular, Auran facilitates innovation at a low cost and *Trainz* fans are provided with software they want and in which they have ownership, all of which enhance the value of the program (in other words, the willingness to purchase the product).

More generally, aspiring practitioners constitute a very significant sector of the creative industries characteristically operating as non-commercial content producers. Leadbeater (2004) has recently introduced the term "pro-am" to describe this practice. The increasingly vibrant sector of practitioners in the creative industries is making important and innovative contributions in broadband environments. Cunningham (2006) shows how many of the most creative spaces on the Internet generate innovative content and enterprises that relate to pro-am production, evaluation and exchange of content. Distinctions between consumption and production, labour and citizenship have blurred, allowing new commercial, public and training opportunities in such areas as user-led and pro-am innovation, open source, and broad-based consumer creativity, as a basis for lower-cost content generation and dissemination. There is great potential to move these non-commercial practitioners into more commercial industry environments if appropriate pathways can be developed. Cunningham (2005, p. 7) suggests "the culture that is emerging is as much about creativity invested in the distribution and aggregation possibilities and potential afforded by new communication platforms as about the text and the content".

Peer-to-peer architecture supports this shift allowing applications allow users to exchange content on a considerable scale. This has been made most famous with music-swapping software such as Napster, Gnutella, or the Australian-based Kazza, which are increasingly being brought into commercial models of operation. Such user cultures contest the strategy of former mass-delivery systems such as free-to-air and pay television, traditional radio broadcasting and even cinema distribution. The highly successful on-line

distribution of music with Apple i-tunes will soon be augmented with on-line video content through video i-pods as well.

It can also be argued that the idea of co-creation is being utilized more broadly in the creative industries, even in the traditional performing arts. For example, theatre has utilised this concept with pantomime. In public cultural policy terms, this development of customer interaction is to be welcomed as it plays into widening participation and extending access, the contemporary political "Holy Grail" for government in Australia and the UK. As Rifkin suggests,

> creative technologies offer the capacity for consumerist customisation of products and experiences in an increasingly open-ended way, so that the traditional distinction between production and consumption is itself breaking down. The act of consumption becomes the moment of production. (Rifkin 2000, cited in Shorthose 2004, p. 3)

From Product Value to Network Value

Value is thus created and extracted in a network of relationships, and value can best be understood holistically as a function of the entire network. Network "externalities" are thus a key feature of this approach to understanding value. Watts (2003) describes three types of externalities which are pertinent here:

1. information externalities;
2. coercive externalities; and
3. market externalities.

Information externalities occur when product choices are affected substantially by information outside the product. Coercive externalities result when a consumer is persuaded to make particular choices of products or suppliers. Market externalities operate when the value of a product increases in proportion to the number of people who use it, as in the telephone network. Implied in this shift is that value lies in the ability of the product to connect us to others. When connection happens early, through various externalities, a snowballing or increasing returns effect may be generated. Moreover, it becomes increasingly difficult for the system to change, even though individuals might prefer a different product or service. The cost of the disconnect to the individual, and the impossibility of collective opt-out, means certain product classes become *de facto* monopolies or at least are dominated by the large hubs in the network of connections.

In what sense do cultural products and services relate to this externalities typology? Clearly in a general sense the value of a cultural product or service depends on its ability to *connect* us to other people and our culture. This might implicitly be the case when we connect our identity to cultural themes explored and exploited in a cultural product or explicitly when we discuss movies or songs with others.

Connection and network externalities such as information cascades, demand queues, social contagion, bandwagons, herding, and path-dependence in the cultural industries[3] have been explicitly analysed by Caves (2000), Kretschmer *et al.* (1999) and De Vany (2004) – amongst others. According to De Vany (2004, p. 211), "these models differ in detail but they are all dynamical processes in which the change in demand depends on demand already revealed". Of the various models, information cascades, in particular, highlight a typical explanation of network effects and begin to explain the presence of increasing returns in the

creative industries. Bikhchandani *et al.* (1992, p. 992) state that an information cascade occurs when "it is optimal for an individual, having observed the actions of those ahead of him, to follow the behaviour of the preceding individual without regard to his own information". Information cascades are either positive or negative; a cascade is positive if individuals adopt and negative if individuals reject (Bikhchandani *et al.* 1992).

An information cascade can easily change from positive to negative in the creative industries. Cultural goods are subject to a non-typical demand curve due to the role of demand reversal which occurs when too many people participate in a particular fashion and it ceases to be attractive, thus causing the trend to reverse. However, the reversal process may be repeated, (for example, when an old Beatles song becomes valued once more (Molteni & Ordanini 2003). This dynamic illustrates the well-known dependence on word-of-mouth, networks, and critical reviews in cultural consumption.

In general, Arthur (1996, p. 100) argues that as the shift toward the new economy has occurred, "the underlying mechanisms that determine economic behaviour have shifted from ones of diminishing to ones of increasing returns". That is products which enjoy success become more successful because:

1.   the costs in developing the product are up front (for example, in R & D or creative development) and so unit costs fall as sales increase;
2.   network effects mean the more a product gains prevalence, the more likely it will emerge as standard; and
3.   customer groove-in means as more market is captured, it becomes easier to capture future markets.

These reasons are particularly pertinent to the high tech industries of computers, aircraft, and telecommunications, amongst others, and Arthur (1996) suggests service industries evidence a hybrid old-new dynamic because demand is limited within a given region and this demand is met by a low-tech processing model; but at the same time increasing returns accrue via brand loyalty for example. Market leaders then have some advantage merely because of their market position.

The creative industries, to some degree, mirror the characteristics which Arthur (1996) terms the "hallmarks" of increasing returns including market instability, multiple potential outcomes, unpredictability, the ability to lock in a market, the possible predominance of an inferior product, and fat profits for the winner (Caves 2000, Hesmondhalgh 2002). Kretschmer *et al.* 1999 point out that in the creative industries

> unlike for technological externalities, these feedback loops typically do not escalate into monopolistic competition where markets become locked in. Seeing one movie does not prevent us from seeing another, though both are subject to network effects. (p. 63)

That is, unlike high tech industries where the cost to the individual of disconnecting, and the impossibility of collective opt-out mean certain product classes become *de facto* monopolies (or at least are dominated by the large hubs in the network of connections), cultural goods are not subject to monopolistic competition because investment by consumers in the product or experience is usually much lower. Whilst monopolistic competition in the private creative industries is fleeting; however, government and its agencies hold majority stakes over subsectors such as theatre, and the visual arts.

In general it can be argued that network externalities are very real in the creative industries. The scale-free network structure of a few large hubs and many smaller connected

centres of activity does manifest itself in many different forms in the creative industries (for example, the movie and music industry distribution models). An important corollary is that in an age of connected products and services, engagement as a member of the network is required to be a player at all. This means a company must take on certain features or "operating standards" to compete as a value-adder and that the number of competitors may be quite different in a value network from those in a value chain. This connection of players is in part based on the role of co-opetition in networks.

From Simple Co-operation or Competition to Complex Co-opetition

The final shift in thinking involves moving from simply cooperative or competitive models to models based on simultaneous co-operation and competition between members of an ecosystem.

> Business ecosystems span a variety of industries. The companies within them coevolve capabilities around [an] innovation and work cooperatively and competitively to support new products, satisfy customer needs, and incorporate the next round of innovation. (Moore 1996, p. 15)

Thus networks can be highly competitive and the evolution of hub size (firm) may well involve strong competitive activity. The combination of cooperative and competitive processes has been termed "co-opetition" (Nalebuff & Brandenburger 1997).

A game theoretic approach is commonly used in explanations of co-opetition. For example, Nalebuff and Brandenburger (1997) suggest four player classifications operate in value networks: customers, suppliers, competitors, and complementors. Bengsston and Kock (1999) extend this model, suggesting there are four types of relationships between players in a value network: coexistence, co-operation, competition, and co-opetition.

Game theory models of co-opetition imply the "co-evolution" of organisations and networks and the "bundling" of complementary functions and companies. Moore (1998) emphasises the notion of "co-evolution" where for any company to really evolve its capabilities, others must evolve in support. The relationship between Intel, IBM, and Microsoft is a case in point. Without the appropriate hardware and software upgrades Intel's latest microprocessor chips are rendered useless as there is no demand for the product. Furthermore, Nalebuff and Brandenburger (1997) suggest successful companies employ your value net to create added-value for consumers by bundling complementary products. For example, Feldmann (2002) suggests bundling is gaining momentum in the mobile technologies industry. Mobile phones are no longer used for just voice-to-voice communication also bundle news and information services (CNN, BBC). New features are increasingly being added, such as SMS, ring tones, photo messaging, video messaging, music downloads, directory assistance, and Internet access. For example, in Australia information from 3 mobile, includes access to mobile TV: reality television (Big Brother), sporting events (Cricket Australia), adult services (including Playboy, Asian Fantasy, Club Jenna, and Transport Info). Providers are engaging in co-opetition to "pool" resources and increase their offering to consumers. The "lock-in" element flows from the minimum requirements of 3G mobile technology. Once again, the idea is that not just a product is being sold, but a web of products that creates an experience. This suggests mutual interdependence in the interest of all those involved to maintain and generate business and sell more. Coalitions by market leaders such as Intel, IBM and Microsoft are able to take advantage of ecosystem dominance taking media concentration

to another level. However, the ecosystem dynamic does not eliminate competition but rather shifts the focus from company-to-company to ecosystem-to-ecosystem conflict, for example, VHS versus Betamax or, more topically, music distribution systems.

> If you are Sony, and you are making $4.6 billion in music sales but taking in $40 billion in sales from electronics, who are you going to listen to; the music industry complaining about people downloading music without authorisation, or the electronics executives trying to make better, more expensive CD burners and MP3 players? (Strauss 2002)

Sony has failed to embrace its ecosystem and as a result is faced with ecosystem-to-ecosystem conflict. This example illustrates the requirement for firms to think beyond previous notions of the "firm" or "network", as the next shift expands.

Implications for Policy in the Creative Industries

So far, our focus has been on articulating an emerging language for describing the creation of value in the creative industries. Our attention to functional descriptions should not read as an implication that we believe that everything in the ecology "is rosy" and that there are no issues that need a critical as well as a functional assessment.[4] In advocating the term value-creating ecology we are not suggesting that such ecologies are equalitarian, nor that distributive justice is a feature of them. Indeed there are marked inequalities and intense competitive processes at work. Nor are we suggesting that public investments are not important considerations. Indeed on the contrary, one strength of the ecology metaphor is that it recognizes the importance of the collective context (Scott 2006), and hence the need for various forms of public intervention. Our point is that the language of the creative ecology can provide a novel frame of reference in thinking about emerging and long term issues for creative industries policy.

In deed, the "value creating ecology" metaphor is consistent with other descriptions of the creative industries. In recent work Scott (2006, p. 15) articulates the concept of the "creative field" thus:

> The Creative field that undergirds the new economy is constituted as a constellation of workers, firms, institutions, infrastructures, communication channels, and other active ingredients stretched out at varying densities across geographic space This network of forces is replete with synergistic interactions variously expressed as increasing returns effects, externalities, spillovers, socialization processes, evolving traditions and so on, and it is above all a locus of extraordinarily complex learning processes and knowledge accumulation. The atmospherics are the private property of none and in principle the collective property of all, although they frequently evade explicit appropriation by the collectivity as such.

Pratt (2004, p. 60) stresses informal factors in creative production, especially "interconnectedness between creative individuals and firms, related and supporting services, education and training, and the audience". He suggests the co-location of film and television post-production facilities in Soho, London, is deliberate.

> Firms choose to locate there, at very high cost, in order to benefit from rapid exchange of precisely the right goods and ideas. They also pay to remain "in the loop" of informal knowledge exchange that is fuelled by the dense web of multiple interactions. (Pratt 2004, p. 62)

Jeffcutt (2004) suggests a "creative eco-system" metaphor reinforces a holistic approach to development of the sector and that the inherited capacities of a sector need to be thoroughly appraised.

Current theory building in Australia by Cunningham *et al.* (2004) seeks to explain the performance of the creative sector in Australia. It frames the milieu as incorporating both major and SME players – including enterprising start-ups. Cunningham *et al.* describe Australia's creative innovation system, emphasising the importance of multi agent milieus, and the necessity for rejuvenating the links between them.

Creative ecology metaphors have also been applied to venture capital backed internet companies (Zacharakis *et al.* 2003), mobile telephone businesses (Feldman 2002), Danish pop music innovation (Lorenzen & Fredrickson 2003) and the film industry (De Vany 2004). Ninan's (2004) investigation of a local music industry in Australia found a cluster of networks wherein SMEs gravitate towards resource rich clusters to benefit from the sharing of knowledge, skills, know-how, personnel, capital and even markets, of other cluster members.

Although the metaphor is prevalent and growing, the implications for policy thinking have not been developed in detail. Much policy for creative industries development proceeds without recognizing the particular dynamics we now have described as value creating ecology.

In some cases creative industries policy derives uncritically from other industry sectors (e.g. resource or manufacturing) which have different dynamics, for example, where diminishing returns or technological innovation drive success (see Scott 2006 and Shoales 2006 for a discussion of differences in old versus new industry development policy). Or at the other end of the spectrum, policy thinking is influenced by arts based thinking and is based towards notions of excellence and public good in isolation from considerations of the market. For example, Hesmondhalgh's (2005, p. 11) four pillars that underpin many cultural policy:

● the romantic notion of the isolated artist-genius who works for the love of art, suffering poverty in a garret;
● culture is a pure public good, one that should be equally available to all;
● the true value of art is transcendent and can be determined by experts commonly accompanied by the idea that the monetary value of art is false and the "market" cannot decide;
● an idealist-humanist notion that culture is "good for the soul", and that exposure to "culture" has a "civilising effect".

We want to make the case that a different kind of creative industries development policy arises if we take seriously some of the principles discussed so far. We agree with Scott (2006) that whilst policy making may be far from equal to the task of intervention in the creative ecology, nevertheless, there are promising directions. Effective policy thinking can commence from the simple observation that competitive creative industries are built at least partly around the dynamic of increasing returns.

Arthur (1996) suggests there are three strategies for competing in knowledge intensive industries (which by definition include the creative industries), which evidence to some degree the dynamic of increasing returns:

1. success of individual firms is often linked to success of the broader ecological niche they are in;
2. never underestimate the resources required even to be a player;
3. technology comes in waves, position for the next wave.

Building on this we suggest there are a number of policy principles that flow from the value creating ecology metaphor: Our premise is that policy makers should be "process-oriented, focusing on system design" (Bryant & Wells 1998, p. 92). That is, a fundamental role for policy makers is to shape and create contexts in which value creating ecologies can grow. For example, policy-makers can establish the attractors to create a pattern of operation that is sustainable (for example, educational investment, attracting major talents or companies), on other occasions they may need to break a dysfunctional context (for example, changing tax incentives or grant cultures that create mendicant tendencies). The idea here is to search for achievable high leverage initiatives that can trigger a transition, or cascade of events that shift systems from one attractor to another. Policy-makers may be able to identify such points of development and capitalise on a choice that may have long-term effects on the system as a whole.

A key choice point for policy is to decide whether to pursue incremental innovations or step change innovations. Value ecologies which are operating at equilibrium will be operating according to stable value propositions; for example, according to a standard business model that defines how value is created and appropriated (Walters & Lancaster 2000). To compete in a stable ecological system would mean, for example, producing better creative product, and finding ways to infiltrate the existing value ecology through improved promotion. However, as we have argued, given the scale-free nature of the networks in the value ecology of the creative industries and the dynamic of increasing returns to market leaders, it is difficult for new entrants to compete with established players regardless of the quality of their work. Arthur (1996) suggests for example that new entrants must have two or three times the quality to overcome increasing return dynamics.

Another competitive mechanism therefore is through innovation producing novelty in the value ecology (e.g., in terms of product genre, technology, distribution, or business model) to realise what might be called an innovative value proposition. New business models are introduced which create and capture value. Technology can be a frame breaker in this regard. Creative industry policy should encourage innovation in a broad sense. Government can show leadership by innovating itself in the management of change and in the delivery of services. Crucially, there is need to recognise the opportunity that technological change offers to redesign inadequate institutional underpinnings. Cunningham *et al*. (2004) have argued for the development of an innovation system for the creative industries. They call for better alignment of cultural policies with industry and R & D policies with a particular focus on how the relationships between publicly funded cultural institutions, universities and the private sector of the creative industries can leverage innovation from these cultural institutions. One mechanism they propose is an industry levy into an innovation fund which also triggers government investment in research around emerging digital content applications.

Put another way, connectedness is the key operating principle of this ecology. Regions benefit by understanding their place in it, specifically, their links to and interdependence on, other elements of their environment. Export capability in the creative industries hinges on one's overall place in the global creative ecology. Emphasis is placed on mutual interdependence and interconnectedness in an attempt to make "… visible many of the less apparent and perceptible connections between … phenomena at a regional and even global level" (Heise 2002, p. 162), and their relationship to other industrial ecologies whether local, regional, national or global. For example, the intersection of the services, information and communication technologies (ICT), and, the entertainment and cultural

sectors opens up a broad raft of innovation opportunities In terms of services, of particular relevance here are knowledge services (Miles forthcoming) – high value-adding complex services which combine professional, technical and creative knowledge skill sets (e.g. design, information technologies, some engineering areas, business services, creative industries, other professional services). Research and commercialisation strategies to meet these opportunities require capacity in a number of disciplines, as well as a capacity to combine these disciplines in innovative ways. We now know that creative and design professionals are highly embedded in all industry sectors.[5] In fact, there are more of these professionals employed outside the core creative industry sectors than inside them. This is because the innovation process at play is capillary-like, and is integrated into existing industry/service sectors. In short the key policy principle is: Take a whole system perspective facilitating the growth of the ecology in the long run. More specifically, we suggest human capital, urban policy and institutional reform are key pragmatic policy imperatives that a number of authors all suggest can be important (Scott 2006; Shoales 2006; Cunningham *et al.* 2004; Yusuf & Nabeshima 2005).

Invest in Human Capital

We suggest investment in education and training activities, and facilitation of learning and communicating among key stakeholders will yield long-term benefits for the health of the ecology. Florida (2003) argues that human capital is central to success in the creative industries. "Studies of national growth find a clear connection between the economic success of nations and their human capital, as measured by the level of education" (2003, p. 222). He argues the same is true for regions and cities. Endogenous growth theory suggests it is the capacity to produce and absorb new ideas that is an outcome of education and training, which is one of the underlying mechanisms of growth (Potts 2006). Blandy (2001) argues that the new economy is made up of a collection of new competitive advantages and not a brand new set of enterprises. It values people with how-to or tacit knowledge, constructing the knowledge from the ground up within groups that innovate within enterprises. Policy should therefore address how to nurture creative human capital within the expanding creative workforce (as per Robinson 2005). In order to attain a sustainable creative workforce, systemic transformation is needed. To some extent, this is underway as formal education is oriented to the challenges posed by an environment characterised by innovation, the increasing impact of knowledge and creativity on the economy, and of globalisation and new technologies across all areas of work and experience. This is especially the case in digital content industries where employment patterns have deviated from those of older industries such as manufacturing for example (QUT, Cutler & Co. 2004). Shoales (2006) suggests creative industries require a "thick labour market", and advocates education in finance and arts, the capacity to rapidly integrate skilled workers into the needs of the local industry, and policies that promote the free flow of information as planks for human capital policy for the creative industries.

Urban Policy

Scott (2006) sees urban planning as another of the instruments for "enhancing the collective order of the creative field", and points to interventions such as the Malaysia

Multimedia Corridor Project and the Los Angeles garment district cultural upgrade. The highly interdependent nature of creative industries clusters can cultivate urban density and support the building of healthy communities (Shoales 2006, p. 175) Moreover, creative industries clusters in large centres, such as New York, maintain a high degree of product innovation and this tends to keep the region "forever young".

Yusuf and Nabeshima (2005) suggest that the characteristics of cities that dictate the location of firms to an area are no longer purely old economy in style, (land rent, labour supply, urban services, taxation rates), but, rather, hinge on the ability of the city to assist in the firm's creation of value. They suggest these are:

- urban services and amenity;
- access to human capital;
- access to broad, stable and sophisticated markets;
- a diversified industrial structure, because the creative industries are interlinked with other sectors and because a diverse base of interdisciplinary skills are needed for unforeseen technological advances and commercialisation;
- openness to new cultures and ideas.

Echoing Florida, they suggest that creative industries activities in cities depend on the circulation of highly skilled knowledge workers and that urban policies can influence the retention of these workers by engendering cultural amenity, educational and medical services. They also suggest that attention to transportation infrastructure can be an important public strategy to undergird creative industries because this is key to providing mobility and access to human capital. Public transport, major connecting roads, airports and ports are all features of creative industries cities. Zoning and other urban policies that promote recreational and entertainment amenity, inner city re-invigoration are all public sector tools that may have value.

Sectoral Infrastructure

Apart from economic stability and trade liberalisation, which are often overlooked aspects of building the creative industries sector (Yusuf and Nabeshima 2005), much can be done at the level of technology infrastructure, tax and R & D policy to support a healthy ecology (Cunningham *et al.* 2004). For example,

- national investment in content and meta data standards;
- tax credits and for R & D investment;
- recognition of creative practice and design as R & D;
- open content repositories of public domain digital content to selectively address barriers to production and unintended cultural outcomes of prevailing copyright IP regimes. Such an alternative "opt in" model which could operate in parallel with existing rights regimes. This becomes particularly important in light of the shift to co-creation described above.

Institutional building to manage the plethora of information flows (Shoales 2006; Scott 2006) might include institutional arrangements for engendering communication and trust amongst members of the creative field (such as San Diego's CONNECT program). Initiatives in all these domains require a clear and holistic creative industries development agenda.

Conclusion

It could be argued that this paper exemplifies the "uncomfortable fit" between creative industries and national cultural policy making. Caves (2001, cited in Flew 2002, p. 6) has stressed that discussion of the economic properties of creative industries, and those who work in them, should be distinguished from debates about the pros and cons of public subsidy for the arts; As Hesmondhalgh notes "cultural industries raise questions about shifting boundaries between culture and economics, and between art and commerce" (2005, p. 3) Cultural policy is by definition nation-state specific and so is being squeezed by globally dispersed creative industries and by international trade rules that seek by definition to limit national exceptionalism. Content convergence means that cultural policy has a shrinking sector-specific envelope to work as a bigger mix of new content policies come to the fore, and a set of formidable challenges in collaboration, and the design and delivery of policy and programs (Cunningham 2006, p. 8).

However, we see value creating ecologies as composed of both private and public entities and hence do not see creative industries and cultural policy as necessarily at loggerheads. To affirm our argument, policy makers need to clearly observe what/who is part of your ecosystem and associated robustness of it. Further, that sustainability is paramount to the successful long term function of any value adding ecology – whether public or private.

The value creating ecology metaphor encapsulates emerging understandings regarding how the creative industries, as part of the knowledge economy, operate. In doing so, it encourages the engagement by economic development agencies, local authorities and businesses themselves in a new strategic policy approach for the development of the creative industries. This reconceptualisation of the sector encompasses much that has been known about the creative sectors for many years (e.g., the uncertainty/non-linearity of product demand, high up-front costs, product externalities), but provides a useful mechanism to assemble these facts to inform the evidence based approach generally employed in developing industry development policy. The shifts described in the paper also have the potential to redefine and realign the creative industries to new growth oriented economic and business strategy paradigms derived from evolutionary perspectives (see Potts 2000; Stacey 1996). This ultimately will assist in reassessing and developing holistic, long term policy that is based on a thorough understanding of each subsector's characteristics, and will be responsive to the dynamic nature of technological change and market forces in the creative industries. Hence, entrepreneurial activity is foregrounded, as a means of realising both private and public cultural ecologies as it does not distinguish between the two.

NOTES

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2. See, for example, Caves 2000; Mitchell *et al* 2003.
3. The terms creative industries and cultural industries have different histories but in this paper we are using them interchangeably, in keeping with the original authors' preference.
4. For example, the question of the ownership of IP in fan based co-creation is often scrutinised critically (Gibson & Hong 2005).
5. See http://wiki.cci.edu.au/confluence/display/NMP/NMP+Home.

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Simon Roodhouse, University of Arts in London.

Julie Blakey, Institute for Creative Industries and Innovation, Queensland University of Technology.

3. Daily Express (1981) *Artist's pub crawl 'a waste of public cash.'* Daily Express.

Artist's pub crawl 'a waste of public cash'

AN artist's £800 pub crawl, financed by the Arts Council, was attacked yesterday as "an appalling waste of public money."

The row broke out over an exhibition entitled "Ale and Arty" in Barnsley, South Yorks.

Artist Helen Chadwick's "sound sculpture" consists of mock-ups of four pub corners complete with tables and chairs, graffiti and recordings of conversations, singing and atmosphere.

But county councillor Danny George said yesterday: "The Arts Council should be brought to task for this. People don't need an exhibition to show them what it's like in a pub." Helen Chadwick spent two months visiting pubs gathering material for her sculpture.

She said: "I wanted to produce a colloquial brand of art about people in pubs working alongside a public who are largely unfamiliar with modern art and consider the modern artist to be an odd breed of being

4. Giles, (1981) *'There are plenty of jobs going if you'd bother to look for them – Arts Council Grant £800 for picture to show what life's like in a pub!'* Daily Express.
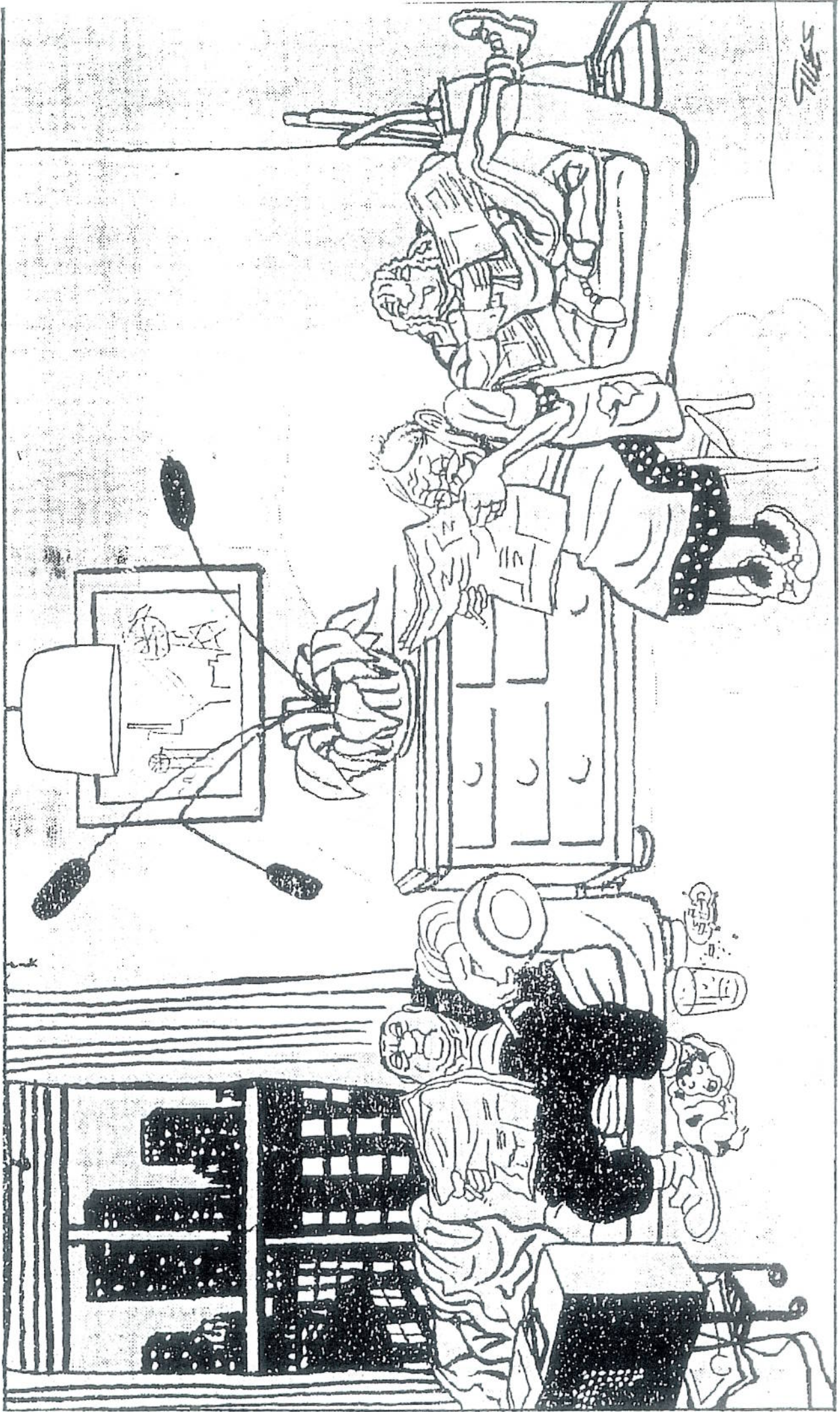
"There are plenty of jobs going if you'd bother to look for them — Arts Council Grant £800 for picture to show what life's like in a pub!"

5. Grant, I. (1988) *Art Marketing to the Masses.* Interior Design.

Whether it's for the office or industry, art is an increasingly important part of interior design. Ian Grant looks at three initiatives designed to market art to the masses

Cavemen did it, Americans in the Depression did it and wartime Britain did it too: but artists' attempts at recording workers in their workplace are all too few in the '80s.

A scheme called Artists in Industry is out to change all that. Already between 30-40 artists have been placed in settings as diverse as power stations, football clubs, meat pie factories and newspaper offices.

Pioneer of the project is Simon Roodhouse who came up with the idea when he was prevented taking photographs of a quarry by an insensitive site manager. Why should artists be cut-off from such rich subject matter, asks Roodhouse and why should they be divorced from such a fundamental aspect of society?

Experience has shown him it is not easy to put his theories into practice. Projects present problems to artists and workers alike. 'It follows a pattern. At first workers say "what the hell do we want an artist here for." All the prejudices about the visual arts come out like bricks in the Tate syndrome. But once the artists have put up with all that rubbish, there's a greater interest in the artist as a person, and then usually an interest in their work.'

It's vital, says Roodhouse, that both parties have to be clear about intentions before the scheme begins. And he's always poised by the phone in the third week when artists invariably have crises. Projects usually last three months.

From the artist's point of view, scale is often a problem. 'Often they're in huge set-ups, that they're not used to,' explains Roodhouse. 'The challenge then is how to cope with it visually. They're thrown back on basic skills and a lot have problems.'

According to one artist who has taken part in the scheme, Keith Alexander, the main problem was being on top of his source material, with no time to absorb and resolve things properly. He spent five months at Motor Panels in Coventry and found the experience made him examine his working processes; because he had to continually explain them while at the same time producing work at an intense pitch.

For some artists the challenge of the workplace also presents great opportunities. During her stint at carpet manufacturers Brintons Paula Woof relished the chance to juxtapose people with the colour, pattern and texture of the yarns and she filled her sketch book with enough ideas for two years. For Kate Downie, however, it was the massive plant and machinery, which dwarfed human scale, that offered the greatest satisfaction. Others, like Kirsty McGhie, welcomed the opportunity to learn about new materials and techniques. It's also a scheme that can change the course of an artist's career: Jeremy Gardiner went to the RCA after a placement and then on to work for Fiat in Italy.

The experience of the sponsoring firms (they pay half the costs with the Regional Arts Council) are mixed and varied. According to Brian Ivory of Highland Distilleries,
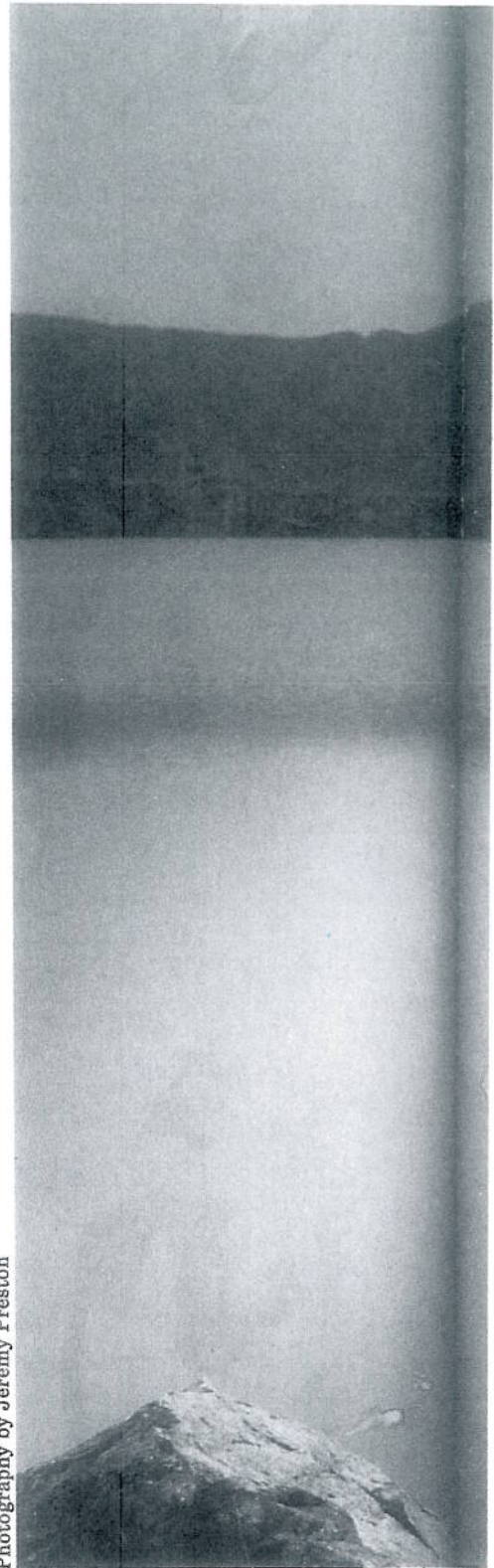

Photography by Jeremy Preston

'The workers were cautious, not sure what the artist was doing and her relevance to them. People are used to seeing finished art in exhibitions and the interesting thing was to see her starting work, which grew and changed.' The artist in question, Frances Pelly, even asked the workforce to change her finished pieces.

It was one of the scheme's most successful projects and the firm bought some of the 'assemblages'

ART
MARKETING TO
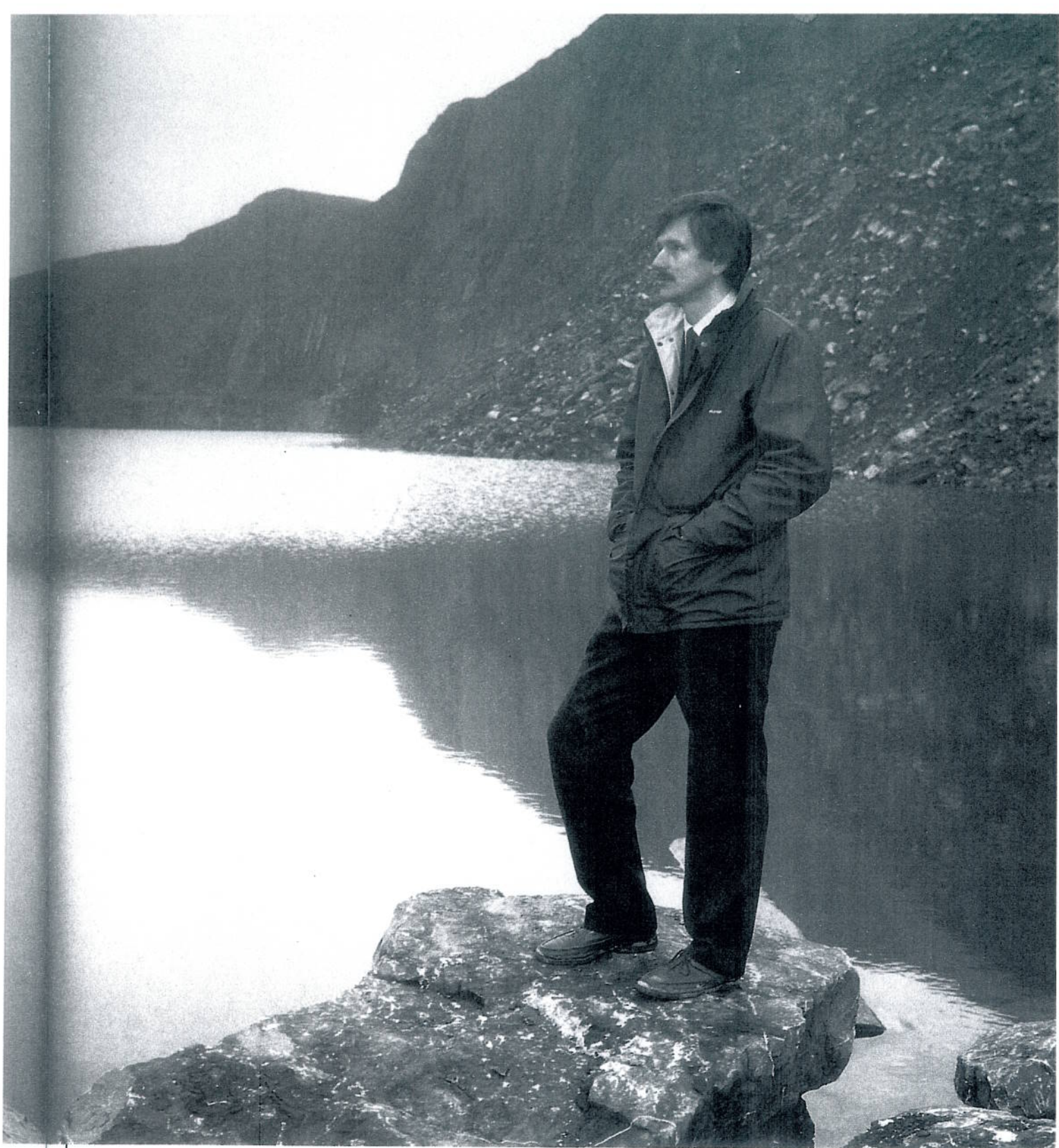
for a permanent exhibition. One surprising feature to emerge in the distillery project was the hidden artistic abilities of the workforce. Other projects have produced more tangible benefits for a company – a permanent art collection, that's also a record of their business; a new company logo.

Yet for all this, the scheme has its critics in the art world who say its greatest failing is that it doesn't pro-duce new work. And Roodhouse does concede that some firms treat the scheme simply as a marketing exercise and want artists who 'won't rock the boat.'

The scheme hasn't yet resulted in a permanent residency, as a handful of architectural practices once had. What it has achieved however, is to break down barriers and enable a lot more people to be involved in the visual arts.

Where it all began: Simon Roodhouse who devised Art in Industry after his experience in a quarry

THE MASSES

6.   Maciver, F. *Artists in Industry.* Scottish Arts Council.

artists
in
INDUSTRY

FOREWORD

Over the last several years the Scottish Arts Council has been expanding and developing its artist in residence programme. It has seemed one of the best ways of fulfilling the main priorities of the Council's visual arts policy: to raise the general level of interest in and appreciation of the visual arts and to create an environment in which the professional artist can prosper.

Artists had previously worked with community groups, Development Corporations, in schools and hospitals but there had been no residencies based in the workplace. 1986 had been nominated as Industry Year and provided the ideal launching pad for the first Scottish Artists in Industry Scheme.
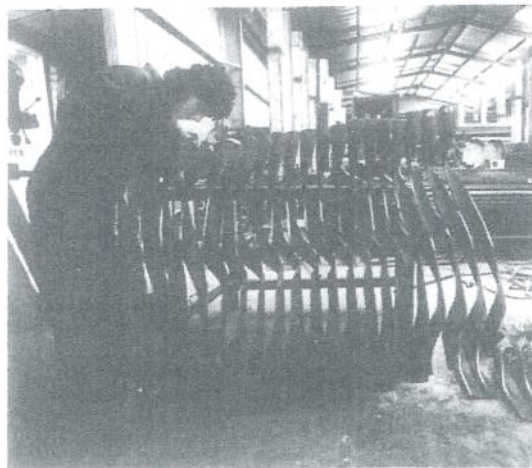
Five organisations representing both traditional and new technology industries agreed to host an artist for a three-mont fellowship. After advertising and selection, five artists working different styles and media were appointed. The first placemen began in December and the last was completed in June this y

I would like to pay tribute to the industries who were our partners in this scheme. They grasped what may have seemed unusual idea with enthusiasm and commitment. As well as th financial contribution, they have spend much time and effort making their individual placements a success.

If the hosts had some reservations about what they might be letting themselves in for, the artists must have been equally cautious. There was the pressure of not only being confronted with a new working environment, but also of being 'guinea pig in a scheme which everyone wanted to be a success. However, their own way and responding to their placements, each of th artists met this challenge, and I am grateful to them for all th hard work.

My thanks also go to Simon Roodhouse who initially devised t concept for Yorkshire Arts and who acted as the consultant fo the setting up of the Scottish placements. His experience and support were invaluable.

Although the aim of the scheme is to build up new relationsh between artists and the workforce in Industry, the visible resu the work that the five artists have produced. I am grateful to t Seagate Gallery for collaborating in the presentation of this exhibition which allows an even wider audience to share the outcome of this exciting new project.

FIONA MACIVER, Art Officer, Scottish Arts Council

Scottish Arts Council

7. Roodhouse, S. (2006) *The Unreliability of Cultural Management Information: Defining the Visual Arts.* The Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society Vol. 36 No. 1 Spring.

The Unreliability of Cultural Management Information: Defining the Visual Arts

SIMON ROODHOUSE

Managers and policymakers make the assumption that the visual arts are definable, understandable, and a shared commodity. The increasing global interest in creative industries as an economic policy driver and as a management tool for funding, advocacy, and social development has brought these assumptions into sharp focus.

In this article, I draw attention to the confusion over the definitional framework in the visual arts, which has had a contorted and contested history at the regional, national, and international levels (Roodhouse 2003c). I also explore the implications for cultural managers of such definitional confusion, which is scarcely being recognized in the day-to-day operations in the field. At best, the data collected and used to inform management at micro and macro levels and to provide evidence for policymaking is inaccurate; at worst, it is seriously unreliable.

The definitional chaos also illustrates a fundamental structural failure of the creative industries concept as defined generally by UK's Department for Culture Media and Sport (DCMS) and others: the problem being that the visu-

al arts are not represented, but are instead located in the arts and antiques trade as products. In other words, this "industrial activity" is referred to and classified as tangible output, such as sculpture, painting, prints, and ceramics—that is, as product rather than as a creative activity or business or the creative process. This runs counter to the "creative individual" argument enshrined in the DCMS definition, which the UK government, through the Creative Industries Taskforce, defined as it developed and implemented the creative industries policy. The "creative individual" concept was derived from an interest in the knowledge economy, and the definition employed was largely pragmatic: "Those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent, and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property" (DCMS 1998). The sectors identified in this definitional framework are "advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software, television and radio" (DCMS 1998).

It is hard to conceive of the creative industries without identifying individual artists as creative businesses, but after detailed examination of the task force's subsectors and of how they are defined, it becomes clear that artists are not defined this way.

Visual arts activity can, however, be found in the "arts and antiques trade" subsector (referred to earlier) and in the "crafts" subsector. In this article, I illustrate the confused conceptual analysis of the visual arts found in the DCMS creative industries mapping documents definition (DCMS 1998, 2001), which is, at best, a description of outcomes from a creative process that may or may not be recognized by the producers.

Consequently, I provide not only an analysis of these problems, but also an alternative approach based on defining the visual arts as an occupation and the consequent implications for data collection. This classificatory attitude obviates the need to define activity such as sculpture because such activity is captured by interactions between producer and purchaser in the public and private market. An approach of this kind enables accurate data to be collected based on a definitional framework that is consistent and universally applicable. More significantly, however, this approach recognizes the importance of the individual creative business rather than the product, which, after all, is, and should be, the heartland of the creative industries concept.

A Contorted and Torturous Definitional History

Successive United Kingdom national governments and their agencies have defined and redrawn their boundaries, resulting in continuous turbulence in public cultural policy and practice since 1945, commencing with the establishment

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of the Arts Council of Great Britain (Pick and Anderton 1999). The determination of these boundaries—which are definitions—with no obvious rationale, except pragmatism, that explains where and why the lines are drawn. Instead, these definitions appear to be the result of the public sector domain engaged in restrictive practice; that is, boundaries are constrained enough to match the level of available resources at any given time. An example of this is the unwillingness of the Arts Council of Great Britain to recognize photography as a discipline worthy of support until the 1970s and architecture even later.

The reticence to establish definable boundaries based on a coherent rationale is perhaps the result of the government administrative machinery responding to national policy by providing a manageable and controllable framework for the allocation of public funds rather than the outcome of a rational, empirically informed, inclusive system that is measurable and that conforms to the requirements of evidence-based policy (Solesbury 2001). Urban regeneration (Roodhouse and Roodhouse 1997) and the introduction of creative industries (Roodhouse 1999) by the New Labour administration are examples of irrational boundary-making practice.

This intrinsic public structural framework works against interaction and connectivity and encourages isolationism between national, regional, and local government and agencies because it relies on departmentalization and compartmentalization as the organizational means of delivery of public services.

As an illustration, primary government responsibility for culture resides within the DCMS. However, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office funds the British Council (British Council 1998, 2004), which is the UK's international cultural agency; the Ministry of Defence, resources a substantial number of museums, galleries, and musical bands; the Department of Trade and Industry, supports creative industries through the Small Business Service, including the export effort of these businesses; and the Department for Education and Skills (Allen and Shaw 2001) and the Higher Education Funding Council for England, provide entry to work and workforce development in the cultural field (North West Universities Association 2004). These examples exclude the devolved arrangements for Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Wales.

The complex and fractured nature of cultural provision and practice combined with the definitional fluidity found at national level contributes to the lack of policy cohesion in the field (Roodhouse 2001). The situation is equally confusing at the regional level, with DCMS sponsored Cultural Consortia, the Arts Council, the Museum Libraries and Archives Council (MLA), the Sports Council, the Tourist Boards, Sector Skills Councils (SSCs), and local authorities along with the Regional Development Agencies (RDAs), Small Business Service, including Business Link and the plethora of subregional intermediaries funded from the public purse, all pursuing differing cultural agendas (Hamilton and Scullion 2002).

In practice, little cohesion exists among these organizations; this sometimes results in duplicated effort, in, for example, collecting data, which in turn leads to the allocation of additional public resources for greater coordination and increased bureaucracy. As a result, fewer resources are available to be effectively utilized in direct intervention to assist the growth of cultural businesses (Roodhouse 2004b).

Although some public cultural agencies have attempted to form overarching regional strategies, no shared understanding of, and agreement to, a definitional framework to operate and evaluate the effectiveness of these strategies has been reached.

Reflective learning based on evidence has yet to establish itself as an effective mechanism for reviewing policy and management and for intelligently informing future actions. There is a continual desire to invent new models and schemes without understanding and learning from past practices (Roodhouse 2004a).

A relatively recent example of this desire for new models is the 1997 "New Labour" government's engagement in the creative industries concept, a significant contributor to the UK knowledge economy, as a contemporary reinvention of the Greater London Council-oriented cultural model of "Old Labour." The Labour controlled Greater London Council (GLC) instigated a significant challenge to the definitional status quo in the early 1980s during a period of high unemployment, significant industrial decline, and diminishing public funds for the arts. These circumstances gave rise to a reappraisal of the role and function of the "traditional" arts, in economic terms and in relation to the introduction of new technologies, such as instant printing, cassette recording, and video making (O'Connor 1999).

For the first time, the concept of culture as an industry in a public policy context was informed by Bourdieu's thinking (Calhoun, Lupuma, and Postone 1993). The arts, described by the GLC as the "traditional arts," were subsumed into a broader definitional framework, which included "the electronic forms of cultural production and distribution—radio, television, records and video—and the diverse range of popular cultures which exist in London" (Greater London Council 1985). The successor body, the London Assembly, and the executive mayor of London have picked up the theme again, with a focus on intervention in the creative industries networks and linkages (London Development Agency 2003).

Chris Smith, Britain's first "New Labour" secretary of state for Culture, Media and Sport, confirmed early in his ministry that the creative industries were a growth sector of the UK economy: "It is incumbent on the government, in partnership with industry, to take active steps to promote economic growth in the creative and cultural sector. If we do not do so, then others will reap the economic reward" (DCMS 1998).

The creative industry concept, generated by DEMOS (Leadbetter and Oakley 1999) and constructed as a component of the knowledge economy model (Cunningham 2002), has been enshrined in one of four key policy themes for the DCMS: economic value. The other three themes—access, excellence, and education—are the predicable interests of any Labour government. It does seem, however, that the theme of economic value is a maturing of the Thatcherite ethos—that is, efficiency, effectiveness, value for money, and market forces. Smith reinforces this interpretation "as ensuring that the full economic and employment impact of the whole range of creative industries is acknowledged and assisted by government" (Smith 1998).

The department's interest and engagement with the creative industries through the establishment of the Creative Industries Task Force—chaired by the secretary of state for Culture, Media and Sport, with ministers and officials from the Department of Environment, Transport and Regions; the Foreign and Commonwealth Office; the Department of Trade and Industry; HM Treasury; and the Department for Education and Skills—cannot be seen as other than a direct engagement by government in creative activity for economic gain.

The government, through the DCMS-led Creative Industries Task Force, set about defining the boundaries of what it understood as the creative industries. The concept was derived from an interest in the knowledge economy, and the definition employed was largely pragmatic (Roodhouse 2003c). The task Force defined creative industries as "those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent, and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property" (DCMS 1998). It also identified the following subsectors in this definitional framework: "advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software, television and radio" (DCMS 1998).

It is worth noting here that the subsectors identified as the creative industries would not recognize themselves as such; for example, architecture has much more in common with construction than it does with the arts and antiques trade. This is indicative of an emerging policy construct that has yet to embed itself, intellectually and practically, in the consciences of those working in the field. The creative industries concept, at present, has more in common with the developing global economic interest in the knowledge economy (Leadbetter and Oakley 1999; Howkins 2001; Caves 2000; Florida 2002) than the DCMS-designated constituent activities (the subsectors).

Of particular note in the creative industries proposition is a mechanism for engaging both public and private sectors on a more equitable basis, establishing cultural activity as new industries, and engaging with convergence arguments generated through advances in technology (Flew 2002; Cunningham et al. 2000). Fundamentally, this evolving conceptualization facilitates a reassess-

ment of the traditional forms of policy intervention in support of the arts and culture (Roodhouse 2002). It is, after all, a market approach.

The creative industries development is derived from a longer history associated with defining and redefining the arts as an industry sector (The Arts Council of Great Britain 1985, 1988a; Roodhouse and Roodhouse 1997; Calhoun, Lupuma, and Postone 1993) and the relationship of the arts and media as cultural industries, for example, which others have addressed (O'Connor 1999; Throsby 2001; Pratt 1997; Garnham 1987).

Data and Definitional Quantification Issues Arising from Such a National Policy

Since the early 1980s, cultural economists, statisticians, and cultural geographers have attempted to find suitable categorizations for the sector (Myerscough 1988; O'Brien and Feist 1995; Pratt 1997, 2004; Jeffcut 2004). Pratt, for example, argues that "value chain" and "domain categorization" are useful mechanisms, whereas Jeffcut, from a knowledge-management perspective, suggests that the only way to understand the industry is as a "cultural ecology." Hearn (Hearn, Pace, and Roodhouse 2005) takes this further by engaging with a value-chain ecology, which relies on a thorough understanding of networks. What seems to have emerged from this work is the recognition that Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) and the Standard Industrial Classification (SIC)—both from the Office for National Statistics (a UK government agency)—provide a common but imperfect mechanism. Roodhouse has contributed to this discourse by designing definitional frameworks based on a synthesis of existing statements and discussions with practitioners that have been tested in designer fashion and graphic design (Roodhouse 2003a, 2003b).

The data and quantification issues present acute problems for economists and statisticians (Barrière and Santagata 1997; Evans 1997; Green, Wilding, and Hoggart 1970). The weakness and inconsistencies of definitional frameworks become more apparent when they are used to quantify and determine the value of artistic and/or aesthetic activity. Authors such as Baumol and Baumol (1994) and Heatherington (1992) have attempted to clarify this by asserting that aesthetic pleasure has at least as much value as the difference in returns between works of art and financial assets. This argument leads to the question of how to define a work of art. The differentiation between artistic and industrial goods presents another issue for economists studying the cultural industries. Part of the difficulty of making this distinction is that the total assimilation of art to commodities means that art goods escape the standard rules of utilitarian market exchange (Barrière and Santagata 1997). The weakness, here, for cultural economists is the lack of clarity and consistency in

defining cultural practice. For Davies and Lindley (2003), who have attempted to quantify artists, the definitions employed are conditioned with little attempt to establish a common shared definitional framework that is transferable. Any number of cultural economic impact studies—such as one that evaluates the economic importance of the creative industries in Plymouth (Plymouth City Council 2002); one that assesses the impact and value of the arts and creative industries in the South West (Kelly and Kelly 2000); and one that looks at the economic impact of the arts and cultural industries in Wales (WERU and DCA 1998)—utilize different classifications and typologies. Not only does this demonstrate the confused conceptual landscape, but it also highlights the unreliability of collected and analyzed data.

The DCMS have attempted to rectify the situation by developing a regional data framework (Wood 2004), but this has not yet been accepted, not least because it does not universally conform to the national data collection classifications and relies on generalized notions of domains and a limited interpretation of value chains. In an era when increasing emphasis is placed on evidence-based cultural policy and comparative international benchmarking, this shortcoming can only be perceived as a fundamental structural weakness. Despite spasmodic attempts to correct these inadequacies (O'Brien and Feist 1995; Davies and Lindley 2003), there remains only a paucity of empirical evidence available on the visual arts. The consistent definitional frameworks needed to collect reliable data over time to inform cultural policy, management, or practice, particularly in the fields of museums, galleries, and the creative industries have yet to be put in place (Roodhouse 2003a). The need for consistency of frameworks and data collection is increasing with the establishment in the UK of home countries and regions and increased emphasis on locality (Devlin et al. 1998; Devlin et al. 1999; Roodhouse and Taylor 2000). Similar problems are emerging in Australia when consideration is given to subsector data collection such as music (Cunningham et al. 2000; Cox et al. 2004).

The Visual Arts: An Enigma?

The difficulty of defining the visual arts is painfully illustrated in table 1, which provides a summary of the inconsistent and unrelated definitions currently applied to the visual arts in Europe and Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001). The disparate nature of these definitions may be due, in part, to the fact they are not drawn up by practitioners in the field concerned, but rather by economists, statisticians, and administrators. Moreover, these descriptors rarely refer to their source or assumptions, nor do they draw from visual arts organizations with direct interests, such as national artists associations. Further, there is an additional contortion around the subjects of function and occupation. Visual arts are classified, nationally and internationally, in

TABLE 1. European and Australian Visual Arts Definitions

Office of National Standard Industrial Classification Code	Department of Culture, Media and Sport Creative Industries Classification	Australian Bureau of Statistics ACLC Coding System	Eurostat (LEG Report) Visual Arts Descriptor
Code 92.31/9 Artistic and Literacy Creation and Interpretation	Visual arts are found in the arts and antiques trade subsector.	Code 241 Visual Arts	The visual arts descriptors are found under the following domains
	Painting Sculpture Works on paper Other fine art (tapestries) Furniture Collectables (mass-produced ceramics and glassware, dolls and dollhouses, advertising and packaging) Couture (including jewelry) Textiles Antiques Books, bindings, signatures, and maps Arms and armor Metalwork	The classification consists of creation of one-off or limited series visual arts or crafts in either traditional or contemporary styles. Primary activities include: Art photography Artwork creation Cartoon drawing Ceramic work creation Digital artwork creation Illustrating or drawing Installation (art) creation Jewelry design Painting (art) Pottery creation Sculpting Textile design	Creation Inclusive of the creation of visual works Productions The production of visual arts (production of printed reproduction, productions of casts, etc.) Dissemination Exhibitions of visual works Organization of festivals Event organizing and awareness raising Trade Trade and sales in visual works in galleries, reproduction and restoration

terms of industrial activity, which sometimes includes process but often refers to product or function (for example, trading). This approach places greater emphasis on process as activity and on the use of product to define the activity. There is an emerging international interest in establishing a product classification system to complement existing arrangements. Nevertheless, the visual arts exist in a complex and fast-moving arena that the classificatory systems cannot respond to, as revisions of classification occur infrequently, generally, every six years.

The consequences of this failure to engage in establishing a common workable visual arts definition is summed up by Towse: "The main point is that whichever definition is used, it is bound to produce different research findings" (1996, 7). Over time, this has led to "the paucity of alternative data sets with which to test the assertion(s) in practice" (Arts Council England 2003). In other words, not only do we have definitional confusion and inconsistencies at every level, but we also have confusion as a result inconsistent, unreliable data and little comparative research. Other industrial sectors would not tolerate such a position, nor would managers, who rely on high quality management information to aid operational and strategic decisions.

The unreliability of the definitional framework, lack of consistency, and resulting inadequacies of the evidence base (City University 2000) call into question cultural policy making at regional, national, and international levels. For example, we cannot complete a fundamental exercise and accurately count the number of visual artists in Europe that includes the UK, because the SIC system is incompatible with the Eurostat system (the official classifications for the EU).

At the international level, UNESCO struggles with similar structural weaknesses and tends to define the visual arts as trade in cultural goods—an economic framework (UNESCO 1998)—although it has broken the visual arts down as shown in table 2. Noticeably, architecture is included here, whereas table 1 makes no reference to this domain, with the exception of the Arts Council, England. Architecture appears as one of the subsectors in the DCMS definition of the creative industries (DCMS 1998, 2001) and is included in the UK standard cultural industrial/occupational classifications along with, among others, artists, archivists, and musicians. And yet it defines the work/activity of an architect to justify its location in the visual arts as opposed to construction sector: where the line is being drawn and on what basis; and whether the profession recognizes itself as an integral part of the current visual arts construct.

Table 1 provides a comparative analysis of the current European and Australian definitions of visual arts and illustrates the spectrum of interpretation employed in describing the field. The definitions are unsatisfactory in that they do not provide detailed descriptors of products such as sculpture or activ-

TABLE 2. UNESCO Definition of the Visual Arts

Architecture	Fine arts
Narrower terms	Narrower terms
NT1 Buildings	NT1 Painting
NT1 Monuments	NT2 Paintings
UF Historic monuments	NT3 Miniature paintings
NT2 Historic sites	UF Murals
NT1 Palaces	UF Frescoes
NT1 Traditional architecture	NT3 Rock paintings
UF Bioclimatic architecture, Vernacular architecture	UF Rock art
	NT1 Sculpture

Graphic arts	Decorative arts
Narrower terms	Narrower terms
NT1 Calligraphy	NT1 Furniture
NT1 Drawing	NT1 Interior architecture
NT2 Technical drawing	UF Interior design
NT1 Illustration	

Handicrafts	Photography
Narrower terms	Narrower terms
NT1 Engraving	NT1 Aerial photography
NT1 Jewelry	NT1 Holography
NT1 Mosaics	UF Holograms
NT1 Textile art	
NT2 Carpets	
NT2 Tapestry	

Plastic arts	
Narrower terms	
NT1 Art glass	
NT2 Stained glass	
NT1 Art metalwork	
NT1 Ceramic art	
UF Porcelain, Stoneware	
NT2 Pottery	

ity such as sculpting, nor do they make clear distinctions between fine or public art and sculpture or sculpting. Strong arguments exist in support of the view that another level of descriptor is now needed, one that transcends the

local, regional, national, and international definitional soup in which the visual arts are sometimes used as a definitional vehicle or entirely ignored.

A similar picture emerges when considering the UK cultural agencies and professional organizations (see table 3). The Arts Council, England, the primary support agency of the arts subsector in England, defines visual arts activities as the creation, dissemination, exhibition, and education of those practicing in a number of fields such as crafts, contemporary visual arts and fine art, film and video, as well as architecture. However, just to make life more difficult, architecture, and film and video are designated subsectors within the DCMS definition. In addition, the Arts Council classifies the visual arts as a specific practice in its own terms—yet more conceptual confusion for the cultural manager.

An economic alternative to the visual arts definitions referred to in tables 1 and 3, which focus largely on product and activity, is a focus on occupation. This has been addressed by Towse (1996) and Frey and Pommerehne (1989), who determine what an artist is by applying eight criteria:

- Amount of time spent on artistic work
- Amount of income derived from artistic activities
- Reputation as an artist among the general public
- Recognition among other artists
- Quality of artistic work produced
- Membership of a professional artists group or association
- Professional qualification in the arts
- Subjective self-evaluation of being an artist (Arts Council England 2003)

At the international level, a definition of visual, or indeed any, artistic occupation is provided by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO):

Any person who creates or gives creative expression to, or recreates works of art, who constitutes works of art to be an essential part of his life, who contributes in this way to the development of the arts and who is or asks to be recognised as an artist, whether or not he is bound by any relations or association. (UNESCO 1998)

This is an imprecise tool when it comes to measuring the visual arts as an occupation, although the SOC system does make an attempt (see table 4).

All of these approaches ultimately take us back to the need to define the "practice"—that is, sculpture, painting, crafts, video or media installation (which is in itself problematic, contested, and uncharted territory, and should be avoided, if at all possible, because of its constantly changing nature). It is, after all, to be expected that the creative output of creative individuals will continually challenge convention and regulation, as this is the very nature of the business (Wind 1963). But, if this is not complex enough, there is overlap

TABLE 3. UK Cultural Agencies' and Professional Organizations' Visual Arts Definitions

ArtsEngland (North-West)	The Visual Arts and Galleries Association	The Artists Information Company (an)
The visual arts sector includes the creation, dissemination, exhibition, and education of those practicing in the following areas: Crafts Contemporary visual arts Fine art Public art Architecture Photography Artists working in new and emerging media Film and video	Activities in the visual arts sector include: Painting Sculpture Drawing Photography Installation Performance Multimedia (or new media) Public art Film Video Printmaking	Anything that is visual and you appreciate through viewing

with other subsectors found in the creative industries (for example, film and performing arts) concerning how they are defined and broken down into their component parts. What, then, is the rationale for explaining distinctions between video and media installation activities of a creative sole trader with film and video, as described in the DCMS creative industries definitional

TABLE 4. World Agency and UK Occupational Definitions of the Visual Artist

UNESCO Definition	SOC Definition
"Any person who creates or gives creative expression to, or recreates works of art, who constitutes works of art to be an essential part of his life, who contributes in this way to the development of the arts and who is or asks to be recognised as an artist, whether or not he is bound by any relations or associations" (UNESCO 1980)	Code 3411—Artist Workers within this group create artistic works by painting, drawing, printing, sculpure and engraving; design artwork and illustrations; and design artwork and restoration of damaged pieces of art.

TABLE 5. DCMS Description of the Film and Video Subsector of the UK Creative Industries

Core Activities	Screenwriting, production, distribution, and exhibition
Related Activities	Music soundtracks, promotion, set design-building, catering, equipment manufacturer, video rental, photography, lighting, sound recording, costume design, selling of film and video distribution rights, film and tape delivery and storage, videos on demand, digital film distribution, film Web sites, post production/special effects, computer games, multimedia and digital media
Related Industries	Television, TV film production, music, publishing, advertising, digital media, performing arts, merchandising, and training

Source: DCMS, 2001. Creative industries mapping document. London: DCMS.

framework (DCMS 2001)? For example, the core and related activities of film and video are shown in table 5.

For statisticians, the problem seems to concern how to categorize the creative and cultural industries. Given the difficulties of definition referred to earlier and the "fluidity" of the sector, it is predictable that the conventional categories used in the UK and Europe, Eurostat (European Union 2000), standard industrial classifications (SIC), and standard occupational classifications (SOC) have proved imprecise tools for measuring the creative industries (Roodhouse 2004b; Wood 2004). This is reinforced when consideration is given to a related activity and occupation, graphic design (see table 6).

Implications

In this article, I have focused on the visual arts in the United Kingdom as an activity and occupation that has received consistent public financial support since 1945 through a succession of government cultural agencies and is recognized as the "home" of individual creators. However, it remains the case that in the United Kingdom, Europe, and Australia no consistent definitional framework and resultant verifiable and reliable data exist to assist cultural managers and policymakers. These deficiencies, therefore, call into question the accuracy of the claims made for the economic importance of creative class (Florida 2002).

The most recent UK-inspired policy initiative, the creative industries, which places significance on individual creativity as an economic wealth generator and contributor to the development of knowledge economies, fails to recognize the specific visual arts contribution within the current DCMS creative industries sector definition, and, to make matters worse, the government quango—the Arts Council England—has further confused the picture by defining visual arts as a specific practice alongside crafts, architecture, and fine art. Equal confusion arises when economic and occupational definitions are considered, as these do not marry with each other or the market approach found in the DCMS creative industries definition. The visual arts are indeed an enigma.

What is required is the identification of criteria by which judgments can be made. The criteria should be derived from the commonalities found in the international visual arts definitional landscape involving practitioners, economists, statisticians, cultural mangers, and policymakers. This points to the need for "biting the bullet" and actually establishing criteria to define activities such as sculpture.

Unless we are consistent with definitional frameworks, the data used by cultural managers will always remain unreliable, suspect, and partial. Are cultural managers satisfied with this and with the reliance on questionable data

TABLE 6. Graphic Design Comparative Activity Definitions

Department of Culture, Media and Support Creative Industry Design Subsector	Design Council Communication Design (incorporating Graphic Design)	Office of National Statistics Standard Occupational Coding System including Graphic Design	International Council of Graphic Design
Coporate ID Corporate literature Packaging and branding Consumer literature Exhibitions Multimedia Advertising Interiors Product Retail Information design Architecture Structural packaging Furniture design TV graphics Related activities Graphic design Fine art Fashion design Multimedia design Crafts	Typography Illustration Packaging Corporate identity Magazine design Television and video graphics Digital/new media graphics	SOC Code 3421 Graphic designers, including: Designer graphic Designer multimedia Designer Web Designer typographical Designer exhibition Designer advertising	Illustration Typography Calligraphy Surface design for packaging or the design of patterns, books, advertising, and publicity material, or any form of visual communication

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Defining the Visual Arts

to inform policy, advocacy, and management decisions? For example, measurement of performance relies on a definitive baseline to start from; in other words, if we do not have a common understanding of what the visual arts are or what an artist is, how can we measure success as managers?

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Management Information:
Defining the Visual Arts for Managers and Policymakers

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Abstract

There are international assumptions by managers and policymakers the visual arts are definable, understandable and, a shared commodity. These assumptions are brought into sharp focus when consideration is given to the increasing global interest in creative industries as an economic policy driver and management tool for funding, advocacy and social development.

This paper sets out to draw attention to the confusion over the visual arts definitional framework, a contorted and contested history, (Roodhouse, 2003) at regional national and international levels and the implications for cultural managers of such a fundamental fault line which is scarcely recognised in their day to day operations. Simply, at best the data collected and used to inform management at micro and macro levels and provide evidence for policymaking is inaccurate and seriously unreliable at worst.

It also illustrates a fundamental structural failure of the creative industries concept as defined generally by DCMS and others; in that the visual arts are not represented, but, instead demoted and primarily located in the arts and antiques trade as products. In other words, this "industrial activity" is referred to and classified as out puts, such as sculpture, painting, prints and ceramics, that is product, but not as a creative activity or business, the creative process. This runs counter to the "creative individual" argument enshrined in the DCMS definition which the Government through the Creative Industries Taskforce set about defining as it developed and commenced the implementation of the creative industries policy in the UK. The concept was derived from an interest in the knowledge economy, and the definition employed largely pragmatic;

"Those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent, and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property". (Creative Industries Task Force 1998)

The sectors, which have been identified within this definitional framework, are:

"advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software, television and radio". (Creative Industries Task Force 1998)

It is hard to conceive of the creative industries without individual artists clearly identified as creative businesses, the content makers, but this is the case when detailed examination of the sub sectors and how they are defined is undertaken.

The activity can however be found subsumed in the arts and antiques trade referred to earlier and also to some extent in the crafts sub sector. The paper illustrates the confused conceptual analysis of the visual arts found in the DCMS creative industries mapping document definition. It is at best a description of outcomes from a creative process which may or may not be recognised by the producers.

Consequently this paper not only provides an analysis of these problems but an alternative approach based on defining the visual arts as an occupation and what collecting data on this basis implies. An advantage in adopting this classificatory attitude is that there is no need to define activity such as sculpture because this is captured by producer and purchaser interactions that is the public and private market. An approach of this kind enables accurate data to be collected based on a definitional framework which is consistent and can be applied universally. More significantly however it recognises the importance of the individual creative business rather than the product which after all is and should be the heartland of the creative industries concept.

A Contorted and Torturous Definitional History

Successive United Kingdom (UK) national governments and their agencies have defined and redrawn boundaries, resulting in continuous public cultural policy and practice turbulence since 1945, commencing with the establishment of the Arts Council of Great Britain (Pick, J., & Anderton, M., 1999). The pragmatic determination of these boundaries that is definitions, with no obvious rationale for inclusion or exclusion lends itself to an interpretation of a public sector domain engaged in restrictive practice. This ensures the boundaries are constrained enough to match the level of available resources at any given time.

It is, perhaps, more to do with the government administrative machinery responding to national policy by providing a manageable and controllable framework for the allocation of public funds rather than a rational empirically informed inclusive system, hence measurable, thus conforming to the requirements of evidence based policy (Solesbury, W., 2001). Urban regeneration (Roodhouse, S., and Roodhouse, M., 1997) and the introduction of creative industries (Roodhouse, S., 2003) by the New Labour administration are examples of this practice.

This intrinsic public structural framework works against interaction and connectivity. It encourages isolationism between national, regional, local government and agencies by relying on departmentalisation and compartmentalisation as the organisational means of delivery.

As an illustration, culture resides within the Department of Culture Media and Sport (DCMS) and is also found in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office who fund the British Council, (British Council, 1998, 2004) the Ministry of Defence which resources a substantial number of museums, galleries and musical bands, the Department of Trade and Industry which supports creative industries through the Small Business Service including the export effort of these businesses; the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) (Allen, K., Shaw, P., 2001) and the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) which provides entry to work and workforce development in the cultural field (North West Universities Association, 2004). This excludes the devolved arrangements for Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales.

This complexity and fractured nature of cultural provision and practice combined with definitional fluidity, found at national level and is a major contributor to the lack of policy cohesion in the field.

It is equally confusing, at regional level, with DCMS sponsored Cultural Consortia, the Arts Council, the Museum. Libraries and Archives Council (MLA), the Sports Council, the Tourist Boards, Sector Skills Councils (SSCs), and local authorities along with the Regional Development Agencies (RDAs), Small Business Service, including Business Link, not to mention the plethora of sub-regional intermediaries funded from the public purse, all pursuing differing cultural agendas (Hamilton, C., Scullion, A., 2002).

In practice, there is little cohesion between these organisations sometimes resulting in duplicated effort in for example collecting data which leads to additional public resource allocated to coordination. This may be more effectively utilized in direct intervention to assist the growth of cultural businesses (Roodhouse, S., 2004).

Although attempts are made at overarching regional strategies, there is not as yet a shared understanding of and agreement to a definitional framework to operate and evaluate the effectiveness of these strategies.

Reflective learning based on evidence has yet to establish itself as an effective mechanism for reviewing policy, management and intelligently informing future actions. There is a continual desire to invent new models and schemes without understanding and learning from past practices (Roodhouse, S., 2004).

A relatively recent example of this was the international interest aroused in the UK largely, stimulated by the 1997 "New Labour" government engagement in the creative industries concept, a significant contributor to the UK knowledge economy, as a contemporary reinvention of "Old Labour" GLC oriented cultural model. The Labour controlled Greater London Council (GLC) instigated a significant challenge to the definitional status quo in the early 1980s at a time of high unemployment, significant industrial decline, and diminishing public funds for the arts. These circumstances gave rise to a re-appraisal of the role and function of the 'traditional' arts, in economic terms, and in relation to the introduction of new technologies such as instant printing, cassette recording and video making (O'Connor, J., 1999).

For the first time, the concept of culture as an industry in a public policy context was introduced. The arts, described by the GLC as the 'traditional arts', were subsumed into a broader definitional framework which included 'the electronic forms of cultural production and distribution – radio, television, records and video – and the diverse range of popular cultures which exist in London' (London Industrial Strategy 1985). The eventual successor body, the London Assembly and the executive Mayor of London have picked up the theme again (London Development Agency, 2003) with a focus on intervention in the creative industries networks and linkages.

Chris Smith, Britain's first "New Labour" Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, confirmed early in his Ministry that the creative industries were a growth sector of the UK economy:

"It is incumbent on the government, in partnership with industry, to take active steps to promote economic growth in the creative and cultural sector. If we do not do so, then others will reap the economic reward" (Creative Industries Task Force, 1998).

The creative industry concept generated by DEMOS (Leadbetter, C., & Oakley, K., 1999) constructed as a component of the knowledge economy model, as a result has been enshrined in one of four key policy themes for the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), that is, economic value. The other three themes, access, excellence, and education, are the predictable interests of any Labour government. It does seem however that the theme of economic value is a maturing of the Thatcherite ethos, that is efficiency, effectiveness, value for money, and market forces. Smith reinforces this interpretation:

"as ensuring that the full economic and employment impact of the whole range of creative industries is acknowledged and assisted by government" (Smith, C., 1998)

The Department's interest and engagement with the Creative Industries, through the establishment of the Creative Industries Task Force (CITF), chaired by the Secretary of

State for Culture, Media and Sport, with Ministers and officials from the Department of Environment, Transport and Regions; the Foreign and Commonwealth Office; the Department of Trade and Industry; HM Treasury; and the Department for Education and Skills, cannot be seen as than a direct engagement by government in creative activity for economic gain.

The government through the Creative Industries Taskforce set about defining the boundaries what it understood as being the creative industries. The concept was derived from an interest in the knowledge economy, and the definition employed largely pragmatic (Roodhouse, S., 2003):

"those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent, and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property" (DCMS, 1998).

The sub-sectors, which have been identified within this definitional framework, are:

"advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software, television and radio" (DCMS, 1998).

It is worth noting here that the sub-sectors identified as the creative industries would not recognise themselves as such, for example architecture has much more in common with construction than it does with the arts and antiques trade. This is indicative of an emerging policy construct, which has yet to embed itself both intellectually and practically in the consciences of those working in the field. The creative industries concept, at present, has more in common with the developing global economic interest in the knowledge economy (Leadbetter, C., & Oakley, K., 1999; Howkins, J., 2001; Caves, R., 2000; Florida, R., 2002) than the DCMS designated constituent activities (the sub-sectors).

Of particular note in the creative industries proposition is a mechanism for engaging both public and private sectors on a more equitable basis; establishing cultural activity as new industries; and engaging with convergence arguments generated through advances in technology (Flew, T., 2002; Cunningham, S., Hearn, G., Cox, S., Ninan, A., and Keane, M., 2003). Fundamentally this growing conceptualisation facilitates a reassessment of the traditional forms of policy intervention in support of the arts and culture (Roodhouse, S., 2002). It is after all a market approach.

The creative industries development is derived from a longer history associated with defining and redefining the arts as an industry sector (Roodhouse, S., 1997; Calhoun, C., Lupuma, E., Postone, M., 1993) and the relationship of the arts and media as cultural industries for example which others have addressed (O'Connor, J., 1999; Throsby, D., 2001; Pratt, A., 1997; Garnham, N., 1987).

Data and Definitional Quantification Issues arising from such a National Policy

Attempts have been made, by cultural economists, statisticians and cultural geographers largely since the early 1980s, (Myerscough, J., 1988; O'Brien and Feist, A., 1995; Pratt, A., 1999; and Jeffcut, P., 2004), to arrive at suitable categorisations for the sector. Pratt for example argues that value chain and domain categorisation is a useful mechanism whilst Jeffcut, from a knowledge management perspective suggests that the only way to understand the industry is as a cultural ecology. Cunningham and Hearn (Hearn, G., Pace, C., Roodhouse, S.) take this further by engaging with a value chain ecology which relies on a thorough understanding of networks. What seems to have emerged from this work is

recognition that the Office for National Statistics' (a UK government agency) Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) and the Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) provide a common but imperfect mechanism.

The data and quantification issues are acutely problematic for economists and statisticians (Barrière, C., & Santagata, W., 1997; Evans, G., 1997). The weakness and inconsistencies of definitional frameworks become more apparent when used to quantify and determine the value of artistic and/or aesthetic activity. Authors such as Baumol (Baumol, W., Baumol, H., 1994) and Heatherington (Heatherington, P., 1992) have attempted to clarify this, with assertions that aesthetic pleasure has at least as much value as the difference in returns between works of art and financial assets. This leads, for example, to the question of how to define a work of art. Another issue for economists studying the cultural industries is the differentiation between artistic and industrial goods. Part of the difficulty is that the total assimilation of art to commodities creates serious problems because art goods escape the standard rules of utilitarian market exchange (Barrière, C., & Santagata, W., 1997). The weakness here for cultural economists is the lack of clarity and consistency in the defining of cultural practice. For Davies and Lindley (Davies, R., and Lindley, R., 2003) who have attempted to quantify artists, there remains a conditioning of the definitions employed. Any number of cultural economic impact studies such as the economic importance of the creative industries in Plymouth (Plymouth City Council, 2002); the impact and values – assessing the arts and creative industries in the South West (Kelly, A., and Kelly, M., 2000) and the economic impact of the arts and cultural industries in Wales (WERU and DCA, 1998) all utilize differing classifications and typologies. Not only does this demonstrate the confused conceptual landscape but highlights the unreliability of collected and analysed data.

The DCMS have attempted to rescue the situation by developing a regional data framework (Wood, I., 2004). This has yet to be accepted, not least because it does not universally conform to the national data collection classifications, relies on generalised notions of domains and a limited interpretation of value chains. This can only be perceived as a fundamental structural weakness, when increasing emphasis is placed on evidence based cultural policy and comparative international benchmarking. Despite spasmodic attempts (O'Brien, and Feist, A., 1995; Davies, R., Lindley, R., 2003), the paucity of empirical evidence available and the structural weakness of the definitional frameworks to inform cultural policy, management or practice particularly in the fields of museums, galleries and the creative industries (Roodhouse, S., 2003) to support the formulation and development of policy at local, regional (Devlin, N., Gibson, S., Taylor, C., Roodhouse, S., 1998; Devlin, N., Gibson, S., Taylor, C., Roodhouse, S., 1999; Roodhouse, S., and Taylor, C., 2000) and national levels continues.

The Visual Arts - An Enigma?

This is painfully illustrated in table 2 which provides a summary of the inconsistent and unrelated definitions currently applied to the visual arts in Europe and Australia. This may be in part because these definitions are not drawn up by practioners in the field concerned but rather economists, statisticians and administrators. It is also the case that these descriptors rarely refer to their source or assumptions or draw from visual arts organisations with a direct interest such as national artists associations. Incidentally there is an additional contortion that is, function and occupation. So visual arts is, nationally and internationally, classified in terms of industrial activity which sometimes includes process but often refers to product, or function that is for example trading. This places greater emphasis on process as activity and use of product to define the activity. There is an emerging international interest in establishing a product classification system to complement existing arrangements. Nevertheless, the visual arts are a complex and fast moving arena which the classificatory systems cannot respond to as revisions occur infrequently, generally, every six years.

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The consequences of this failure to engage in establishing a common workable visual arts definition is summed up by Towse (1996, p7);

"The main point is that whichever definition is used, it is bound to produce different research findings."

This has led over time to "the paucity of alternative data sets with which to test the assertion(s) in practice" (Arts Council England research report 31, p2). In other words not only have we definitional confusion and inconsistencies at every level but also as a result inconsistent, unreliable data and little comparative research. Other industrial sectors would not tolerate such a position nor would managers who rely on high quality management information to aid operational and strategic decisions.

This questions the reliability of an evidence base for cultural policy making at regional, national and international levels when we cannot complete a fundamental exercise and hence accurately count the number of visual artists in the UK or Europe, as the Eurostat, LEG visual arts definition is equally confusing.

Internationally, UNESCO struggles with similar structural weaknesses and tends to define the visual arts as trade in cultural goods, an economic framework (UNESCO, World Culture Report, 1998) although it has broken the visual arts down as follows in table 1. Noticeably architecture is included here yet in table 2 there are no references to this domain with the exception of the Arts Council, England. It can be found as one of the subsectors in the DCMS definition of the creative industries and is included in the UK standard cultural industrial/occupational classifications along with amongst others artists, archivists and musicians. And yet it does not go far enough, for example how are we defining the work/activity of an architect to justify it's location in the visual arts as opposed to construction sector? Where is the line being drawn, on what basis and does the profession recognise itself as an integral part of the visual arts construct?

Table 1:
UNESCO Definition of the Visual Arts

Architecture	Fine arts

Architecture
Narrower Term
    NT1 Buildings
    NT1 Monuments
        NT2 Historic monuments
        UF Historic sites
    NT1 Palaces
    NT1 Traditional architecture
    UF   Bioclimatic   architecture,
Vernacular architecture
	Fine arts
	
	Narrower Term
	    NT1 Painting
	        NT2 Paintings
	            NT3 Miniature paintings
	            NT3 Murals
	            UF Frescoes
	            NT3 Rock paintings
	            UF Rock art
	    NT1 Sculpture

Graphic arts
 	
Narrower Term
    NT1 Calligraphy
    NT1 Drawing
        NT2 Technical drawing
    NT1 Illustration
	Decorative arts
	
	Narrower Term
	    NT1 Furniture
	    NT1 Interior architecture
	    UF Interior design

Handicrafts
 	
Narrower Term
    NT1 Engraving
    NT1 Jewelry
    NT1 Mosaics
    NT1 Textile arts
        NT2 Carpets
        NT2 Tapestry
	Photography
	
	Narrower Term
	    NT1 Aerial photography
	    NT1 Holography
	    UF Holograms

Plastic arts
 	
Narrower Term
    NT1 Art glass
        NT2 Stained glass
    NT1 Art metalwork
    NT1 Ceramic art
    UF Porcelain, Stoneware
        NT2 Pottery	

Table 2 provides a comparative analysis of the current European and Australian definitions and illustrates the spectrum of interpretation employed in describing the visuals arts. It is unsatisfactory in that there is no attempt to provide detailed descriptors of products such as sculpture or activity such as sculpting nor is it clear what the distinctions are between fine or public art and sculpture or sculpting. There are strong arguments to support the view that another level of descriptor is now needed which transcends the local, regional national and international definitional soup where the visual arts are sometimes used a definitional vehicle or entirely ignored .

Table 2:
European and Australian Visual Arts Definitional Table

OFFICE OF NATIONAL STATISTICS STANDARD INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION CODE	DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE, MEDIA AND SPORT	AUSTRALIAN BUREAU OF STATISTICS ACLC CODING SYSTEM	EUROSTAT LEG REPORT DESCRIPTOR
Code 92.31/9 Artistic and Literacy Creation and Interpretation	Included within definition of Arts and Antiques Market Trade in arts and antiques including Painting Sculpture Works on paper Other fine art (tapestries) Furniture Collectables (mass produced ceramics and glassware, dolls and dolls houses, advertising and packaging) Couture (including jewellery) Textiles Antiques Books, bindings, signatures and maps Arms and amour Metalwork	Code 241 Visual Arts Class consists of the creation of one-off or limited series visual arts or crafts in either traditional or contemporary styles. Primary activities include Art photography Artwork creation Cartoon drawing Ceramic work creation Digital Art work Creation Illustrating or drawing Installation (art) creation Jewellery design Painting (art) Pottery creation Sculpting Textile design	The visual arts domain includes Design Photography Multidisciplinary In the following areas, **Creation** Inclusive of the creation of visual works **Production** The production of visual arts (production of printed reproduction, productions of casts etc) **Dissemination** Exhibitions of visual works Organisation of festivals Event organizing and awareness raising **Trade** Trade and sales in visual works in galleries, reproduction and restoration

Source: Roodhouse, S., and Johnstone, I., 2004

A similar picture emerges when consideration is given to UK cultural agencies and professional organisations illustrated in table 3. The Arts Council, England, the primary support agency of the arts sub-sector in England, defines visual arts activities as the creation, dissemination, exhibition and education of those practicing in a number of fields such as crafts, contemporary visual arts and fine art, film and video as well as architecture. However, just to make life more difficult, architecture and film and video are designated sub sectors within the DCMS definition. In addition the Arts Council classifies the visual arts as a specific practice in its own terms – yet more conceptual confusion for the cultural manager.

Table 3:
UK Cultural Agencies and Professional Organisations

ARTSENGLAND NORTH-WEST DESCRIPTOR	THE VISUAL ARTS AND GALLERIES ASSOCIATION	AN - ARTIST INFORMATION COMPANY
The visual arts sector includes the creation, dissemination, exhibition and education of those practicing in the following areas. Crafts Contemporary visual arts Fine art Public art Architecture Photography Artists work in new and emerging media, Film and video.	Activities included within the visual arts sector include, Painting Sculpture Drawing Photography Installation Performance Multimedia (or new media) Public Art Film Video Printmaking	Anything that is visual and you appreciate through viewing.

Source: Roodhouse, S., and Johnstone, I., 2004

An economic alternative to the visual arts definitions referred to in tables 2 and 3 which are largely focussed on product and activity is occupation and this has been addressed by Towse (1996), Frey and Pommerehne (1989) who between them determine what an artist is by applying eight criteria:

Table 4:
An Economic Definition of the Visual Artist

1. The amount of time spent on artistic work
2. The amount of income derived from artistic activities
3. The reputation as an artist among the general public
4. Recognition among other artists
5. The quality of artistic work produced
6. Membership of a professional artists group or association
7. A professional qualification in the arts
8. The subjective self-evaluation of being an artist

Source: artists in figures, a statistical portrait of cultural occupations
Arts Council England research report 31, 2003

At an international level, a definition of visual or indeed any artistic occupation is provided by The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO),

"Any person who creates or gives creative expression to, or recreates works of art, who constitutes works of art to be an essential part of his life, who contributes in this way to the development of the arts and who is or asks to be recognised as an artist, whether or not he is bound by any relations or association" (UNESCO 1980)

This is an imprecise tool when it comes to measuring the visual arts as an occupation although the SIC system does attempt to quantify the occupation of the artist as described in table 5.

Table 5:
Occupational Definitions of the Visual Artist

UNESCO Definition	SOC Definition
"Any person who creates or gives creative expression to, or recreates works of art, who constitutes works of art to be an essential part of his life, who contributes in this way to the development of the arts and who is or asks to be recognised as an artist, whether or not he is bound by any relations or association" (UNESCO 1980)	Code – 3411 – Artist Workers within this group create artistic works by painting, drawing, printing, sculpture and engraving, design artwork and illustrations, Restoration of damaged pieces of art

All these approaches ultimately take us back to the need to define the "practice" that is, sculpture, painting, crafts, video or media installation which is in itself problematic contested and uncharted territory – to be avoided if at all possible because it is a constantly changing field. It is after all to be expected that the creative output of creative individuals will continually challenge convention and regulation as this is the very nature of the business (Wind, E., 1963). But if this is not complex enough there is overlap with other sub sectors found in the creative industries such as film, and performing arts, how they are defined and broken down into their component parts. So where is the rationale for explaining distinctions between video and media installation activities of a creative sole trader with film and video as described in that the DCMS creative industries definitional framework? For example the core and related activities of film and video are as follows;

Table 6:
DCMS Description of the Film and Video Subsector of the Creative Industries

CORE ACTIVITIES	Screenwriting, production, distribution and exhibition
RELATED ACTIVITIES	Music soundtracks, promotion, set design building, catering, equipment manufacturer, video rental, photography, lighting, sound recording, costume design, selling of film and video distribution rights, film and tape delivery and storage, videos on demand, digital film distribution, film web sites, post production/special effects, computer games, multimedia and digital media
RELATED INDUSTRIES	Television, TV film production, music, publishing, advertising, digital media, performing arts, merchandising, and training

Source: creative industries Mapping Document 2001

For statisticians, the problem seems to lie in how to categorise the creative and cultural industries. Given the difficulties of definition referred to earlier, and the 'fluidity' of the sector, it is predictable that the conventional categories used in the UK and Europe, standard industrial classifications (SIC) and standard occupational classifications (SOC), have proved imprecise tools for measuring the creative industries (Roodhouse, S., 2004; Wood, I., 2004.). This is reinforced when consideration is given to a related activity and occupation, graphic design, illustrated in table 7.

Table 7:
Graphic Design Comparative Occupational Definitions

THE DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE, MEDIA AND SPORT	THE DESIGN COUNCIL	THE OFFICE OF NATIONAL STATISTICS *STANDARD OCCUPATIONAL CODING SYSTEM*	THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF GRAPHIC DESIGN
Core activities Design consultancies Design component of industry **Main services include** **Corporate ID** Corporate literature **Packaging and branding** Consumer literature Exhibitions Multimedia **Advertising** Interiors Product Retail Information Design Architecture Structural Packaging Furniture design TV graphics Related activities **Graphic design** Fine art Fashion design Multi-media design Crafts	Graphic Design is included in Graphic Communication sector And includes the following activities, **Typography, Illustration, Packaging, Corporate Identity,** Magazine design, Television and video graphics, **Digital/new media graphics**	SOC code 3421 Graphic Designers, to include, **Designer Graphic** Designer Multi-media **Designer Web** **Designer Typographical** Designer Exhibition **Designer Advertising**	Graphic design is an intellectual, technical and creative activity not simply concerned with the production of images with the analysis, organisation and methods of presentation of visual solutions to communication problems. Activity includes **Illustration** **Typography** Calligraphy Surface Design for **Packaging** or the design of patterns, books, **advertising,** and **publicity material or any form of visual communication**

Source: Roodhouse, S., and Johnstone, I., 2004

Implications

This paper focuses on the visual arts as an activity and occupation which has received consistent public financial support since 1945 through a succession of government cultural agencies and is recognised as the "home" of individual creators. However, it remains the case that in the United Kingdom, Europe and Australia there is no consistent definitional framework and resultant verifiable and reliable data available to assist cultural managers and policy makers. This for example calls into question the accuracy of the claims made for the creative class (Florida, R., 2002).

The more recent UK inspired policy initiative, the creative industries, which places significance on individual creativity as an economic wealth generator and contributor to the development of knowledge economies, fails to recognise the specific visual arts contribution within the current DCMS creative industries sector definition and if to make matters worse the government quango the Arts Council England has additionally confused the picture by defining visual arts as a specific practice alongside crafts, architecture and fine art. There is equal confusion when economic and occupational definitions are considered as these do not marry with each other or the market approach found in the DCMS creative industries definition. The visual arts are indeed an enigma.

What is required is the identification of criteria by which judgements can be made derived from the commonalities to be found in the international visual arts definitional landscape involving practioners, economists, statistians, cultural mangers and policy makers. This points ultimately to "biting the bullet" and engaging in establishing criteria to define activity such as sculpture.

Unless we are consistent with definitional frameworks the data used by cultural managers will always remain unreliable, suspect and partial. Are cultural managers satisfied with this and the reliance on questionable data to inform policy, advocacy and management decisions? For example, measurement of performance relies on a definitive baseline to start from, in other words if we do not have a common understanding of what the visual arts are or what an artist is, how can we measure success as managers?

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HAVE THE CULTURAL INDUSTRIES A ROLE TO PLAY IN REGIONAL REGENERATION AND A NATION'S WEALTH?

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Abstract

This paper sets out to consider the claims made primarily in the United Kingdom that the cultural industries are one of the new growth sectors which are making a difference to the regional and national economy.

By first examining the definitional frameworks currently utilised in the United Kingdom and European Union to establish whether there is a commonly shared definition of the cultural industries, also enables consideration of the interrelationship between the cultural and creative industries which is central to understanding the sector's claimed contribution to the regional and national economy.

It is only by clarifying these definitional frameworks that progress can be made towards understanding the sector, that is, determining the employment profile, size and scope of the businesses, turnover, levels of public sector financial intervention, customers and markets as well as clustering. Surprisingly little is known given the increasing political and economic importance of the sector and the empirical data that does exist is largely derived from secondary sources such as the national census and government annual employment surveys. Primary data however can be found where local authorities and city councils have developed cultural quarters as a component of urban regeneration policies.

The difficulty that exists is that there are claims being made, policies pursued, and public funds spent with no sound empirical understanding of the sector. This it seems has in part been generated by the growth in the "media" industries and the "convergent" industry concept as an alternative to the declining older industries such as coal, engineering, and textiles.

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There are also claims that the cultural industries have developed new organisational structures and management systems which may be of benefit to other industrial sectors.

An added complication to this already confusing landscape is the role and function of creative individuals in non creative contexts, for example a graphic designer working in a chemical engineering company. Do they form part of the sector and if so how are they identified?

The mechanisms to measure these attributed contributions that the cultural industries are making, could be making or are not making to wealth generation are to say the least primitive. Putting it simply there is no common empirical baseline as a point of departure for measuring the growth of the sector, such as the number of people employed, number of businesses started, number of business failures, contribution to gross domestic product, and exports. It is also problematic in terms of understanding the levels of public sector funding intervention and how effective these measures are. In fact it seems that national and regional arts and economic agencies are prepared to "fly blind without a compass."

Research undertaken in the Yorkshire and Humber region has attempted to answer these questions by establishing datasets working with local authorities, arts agencies, chambers of commerce and other business sources, sampling the database through questionnaire and telephone follow-up to derive reliable primary information on the sector.

The research has already been used to ascertain for the first time the level of self employed in the sector and provided an accurate breakdown of the employment profile, number and type of businesses, age profile and markets. For example 40% of the sector comprises the self employed, sole traders, and partnerships and 94% of enterprises are classified as small (less than 50 employees). Clustering is significant with 46% of enterprises located close to others of a similar kind and 70% of sales made to private individuals largely in the region.

The paper will touch how this information can be used to determine whether the cultural industries are making a difference to the

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regional and national economy and what the implications are for the traditional funding agencies.

Background

Considerable interest has been aroused in the United Kingdom (UK) with regard to the economic role and function of the creative industries. This was stimulated largely by the "New Labour" government and, for example, its representation of the nation to the world as 'Cool Britannia'.

Chris Smith, Britain's New Labour Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, confirmed early in his ministry that the creative industries were a growth sector of the UK economy, and said

> *"It is incumbent on the government, in partnership with industry, to take active steps to promote economic growth in the creative and cultural sector. If we do not do so, then others will reap the economic reward".*

(Creative Industries Task Force 1998)

The creative industry concept has, as a result, been enshrined in one of four key policy themes for the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), that is, economic value. The other three themes, access, excellence, and education, are the predictable interests of any Labour government.

It does seem however that the theme of economic value is a maturing of the Thatcherite ethos, that is efficiency, effectiveness, value for money, and market forces. Smith reinforces this interpretation

> *"as ensuring that the full economic and employment impact of the whole range of creative industries is acknowledged and assisted by government".*

(Smith 1998)

Economic value, along with the related themes of access, excellence and education, has also been linked by Smith to the individual citizen's chance to share cultural experience of the best (whoever

decides this) either as creator or participant. These particular sentiments are rooted in earlier Labour administrations, and stem from well-established socialist doctrines, extensively examined by Williams (Culture, 1981). This included his now familiar definition of culture as

> *"a description of a particular way of life, which expresses certain meanings and values, not only in art and learning, but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour".*

He interprets culture in its widest definitional sense, consisting of structured and patterned "ways of living", and explains the artistic component of culture as

> *"individuals in groups – characteristically respond to and make meaningful the circumstances in which they are placed by virtue of their positions in society and history".*

(Bennett et al 1981)

Williams provided a broad definitional framework which incorporated the arts, heritage and sports as a practice that interacts with economic and political processes, conditioning and being shaped by them. This does not as yet seem to have been adopted by successive UK governments or reflected in its administrative structures. In other words, the UK has recognised and supported the arts, heritage, sports, crafts and design, without a national policy that co-ordinates these interests.

There are examples of social and economic cultural engagement involving government arts agencies such as the Arts Council. This has included urban regeneration, social reconstruction, the economic impact of the arts, and the arts contribution to tourism and the export effort.

Studies commissioned by the Arts Council included The Economic Importance of the Arts (Policy Studies Institute, Myerscough 1998) which attempted for the first time to quantify the economic impact of the arts and to provide verifiable data to be used by the arts funding structure to argue for additional resources.

Similarly, the contribution of the arts to tourism and the export effort as part of the economic (described as business) case for an increased slice of the public purse was also developed. This is evidenced in the Arts Council of Great Britain's "A Great British Success Story". It claimed that tourists in 1984 brought £5,319m to Britain, and 60% of those in a survey that year confirmed that they were attracted to the country by the galleries and museums, with 35% by theatre and a further 22% by music. Fourteen years later, similar but more sophisticated claims have been made this time by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport in its Creative Industries Mapping Document with, for example, an aggregate value of exports estimated at £7.5bn.

The Department's interest and engagement with the Creative Industries, through the establishment of the Creative Industries Task Force, chaired by the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, with Ministers and officials from the Department of Environment, Transport and Regions; the Foreign and Commonwealth Office; the Department of Trade and Industry; HM Treasury; and the Department for Education and Employment, cannot then be seen as anything other than a direct engagement by government in creative activity. We have today, as a result, a policy for the arts prosecuted by the Arts Council of England on behalf of the government. This includes the distribution of Lottery funds and similar activities in heritage (Heritage Lottery Fund), as well as the British Film Institute, Crafts Council and Sports Councils. The creative industries policy however is led directly by the Department through the Creative Industries Task Force!

Nevertheless, the government has embarked on a policy for the creative industries, which comprises the following elements:

(i)   collecting more comprehensive and reliable data
(ii)   analysing data to monitor performance and identify common issues
(iii)   protecting intellectual property rights
(iv)   stimulating creativity and innovation in young people
(v)   identifying and supporting new talent
(vi)   providing appropriate training
(vii)   providing access to venture capital
(viii) focussing on global opportunities
(ix)   ensuring appropriate support from government agencies

(x)   maximising the opportunities and minimising the threats of new technologies

(xi)   recognising and exploiting the synergies between the subsidised and commercial sectors

(xii)   balancing the encouragement of entrepreneurism against regulations.

(Creative Industries Task Force, Mapping Document 1998)

Smith confirmed however that collecting and analysing data to underpin this policy on the creative industries is problematic, and that claims made in the past are difficult to substantiate (Creative Industries Task Force, Mapping Document 1998). He says, *"One of the problems in this whole area is that the precise figures (for the creative industries) are hard to come by. Many of these areas of activity are of course dominated by small and medium sized companies almost working on a cottage industry basis, with a handful of big players striding amongst them; it is a pattern that makes definition and accurate counting very difficult but even more essential if public policy is to be maintained"* (Smith, 1998).

Rather worryingly, a similar view was expressed as long ago as 1970 in the UNESCO report, Cultural Policy in Great Britain, written by Michael Green, Michael Wilding and Prof. Richard Hoggart: *"Britain has undertaken little long range planning of any kind so far, not studied methods in other countries, nor taken much care over cultural information. Statistics in the whole field covered by this report are hard to come by, hard to compare, and hard to rely on"*.

Nevertheless, the DCMS went ahead with an audit in 1998, based on secondary data, and published the Creative Industries Mapping Document, which claimed that these industries generated £57 billion revenues, and employment of circa 1 million, which represents 4% of the total employment of 27 million, as described in Table 1.

Table 1

Activity	Revenues (£m)	Employment
Advertising	4,000	96,000
Architecture	1,500	30,000
Arts and Antiques	2,200	39,700
Crafts	400	25,000
Design	12,000	23,000
Designer Fashion	600	11,500
Film	900	33,000
Leisure Software	1,200	27,000
Music	3,600	160,000
Performing Arts	900	60,000
Publishing	16,300	125,000
Software	7,500	272,000
Television and Radio	6,400	63,500
Total	£57 billion	circa 1,000,000

Source: Mapping highlights, DCMS 1998.

It has been suggested, however, that the revenues of £57 billion require adjustment to take account of inputs. Consequently, using 1995 information, the creative industries contribution to the economy, net of inputs (value added) was around £25 billion, approaching 4% of gross domestic product.

Similar claims are emerging elsewhere, with $29.6 billion contributed to Canada's GDP in 1993/94, and 894,000 people employed in the sector, representing 6.7% of Canada's workforce (Canadian Government Information Service, 1998). In Europe, cultural employment has risen by 24% in Spain between 1987 and 1994; and in France by 36.9% between 1982 and 1990. (Culture, the Cultural Industries and Employment – Commission Staff Working Paper sec (78) 837).

It is also worth noting that all local authorities in England have been requested by the DCMS to establish a Local Cultural Strategy by 2002

> *"to enable cultural activities to be centre stage in the lives of communities and at the heart of policy making".*

(Local Cultural Strategies, Draft Guidance for Local Authorities in England, DCMS, 1999)

The purpose of the guidance, it seems, is to

> *"set out the benefits, principles and context for Local Cultural Strategies and to give guidance on their definition and scope, linkages with other plans, the process of development and the expected outputs".*

(Local Cultural Strategies, Draft Guidance for Local Authorities in England, DCMS, 1999)

There is, inevitably, a requirement to measure each aspect of the strategy in terms of input, throughput, output and outcome measures. In order to do this, an empirical baseline is required.

For all this, there still remains a demonstrable need for accurate data not least to enable the monitoring and evaluation of the effectiveness of public policies directed towards the arts, cultural and creative industries, but also for the regional social and economic strategies being established by the newly formed Regional Development Agencies, and Cultural Consortia, for England. Similar needs exist for the newly devolved arrangements in Wales and Scotland.

Arts industry, heritage industry, creative industries or cultural industries?

Quite apart from the confusion and difficulties of collecting accurate data, there remains a fundamental flaw, the failure of successive UK governments since 1945 to conceive and execute a coherent national strategic cultural policy. The nearest we get to this is a statement of the DCMS aims and objectives in the 1999 Annual Report, which reflects the four policy themes referred to earlier:

(i)   access
(ii)   excellence
(iii)   education
(iv)   economic value.

In particular, DCMS identifies a role in *"helping to develop the jobs of the future in the creative industries"* (DCMS Annual Report, 1999) and intends to do this in partnership by creating

> *"an efficient and competitive market by removing obstacles to growth and unnecessary regulation so as to promote Britain's success in the fields of culture, media, sport and tourism, at home and abroad".*

(DCMS Annual Report, 1999*)*

Smith has also readily admitted another significant problem for his engagement with the creative industries – that of definition. There is unfortunately an inevitability about this confusion, not least because the definitional framework changes over time and in response to public policies, practices, and society's expectations.

In the case of creativity, for example, the Department of Education and Employment, through the National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education report, All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture and Education, 1999, does not restrict itself to associating creativity with *"the professional and associated fields known as the creative industries"* but rather as a process

> *"imaginative activity fashioned so as to produce outcomes that are both original and of value".*

(All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture and Education, DfEE, 1999)

It is suggested that this requires imagination, purpose, originality and value, all of which can be applied to any *"advances in mathematics, sciences, technology, in politics, business and in all areas of everyday life"*.

Industrial Strategy, The Cultural Industries, argued strongly that *"What is available for cultural consumption and what opportunities there are for employment in cultural production are, for better or for worse, clearly determined by economics"*. Given the high levels of unemployment at the time, March 1985, (over 400,000 people were officially unemployed and a further 120,000 people wanting work in London) it is not surprising that the role of 'cultural industries' as an employment vehicle within London's economy was recognised. For example, London's biggest manufacturing sector, printing and publishing, employed 112,000 people, and the University of Warwick's Institute of Employment Research indicated at the time that literary, artistic and sports employment would grow by 30% nationally between 1980-1990.

It is worth noting that the Arts Council of Great Britain concurrently began to recognise the changing political and economic climate of the 1980s Thatcher government. By *"placing a new emphasis on business planning and marketing, arts managers will be able to increase sales and attract more private finance"*. *"Money must be raised from other sources"*, and *"for this reason the financial self-sufficiency of arts organisations is an underlying theme"* (The Arts Council of Great Britain 1988, 2).

A general objective of the Arts Council plan was *"to expand the arts economy"* by the introduction of mechanisms such as the Incentive Funding Scheme which was intended to improve earnings, encourage private giving, and increase the financial turnover of the arts economy by *"at least £15m by the end of 1991, and £25m by 1993"*. Associated with this new interest in the arts economy came performance measurements, eg targets for self generated income and non Arts Council of Great Britain funding.

The Arts Council of Great Britain's arts economy strategy encompassed what the GLC would recognise as the traditional art forms: dance, drama, literature, music, visual arts and film. Newcomers to this portfolio were broadcasting and video, now a recognised part of the arts establishment.

There was, of course, an inevitable and continuing debate around the 'content' of each art form and eligibility for a slice of rapidly reducing public arts funding. In this respect, broadening definitions was clearly fraught with dangers, particularly for the traditional

subsidised sector. Economics, however, was driving the national, regional and local funding agendas.

For example, at a local authority level, this has resulted in the conception and establishment of cultural industries quarters. Sheffield's cultural industries quarter claims to have generated over 1000 (fte) jobs, with companies producing a combined annual turnover of £20 million (Sheffield City Council, 1995). A similar economic justification has been made for the cultural industries in Manchester, with over 9,000 jobs directly generated and another 1,100 indirectly, with an annual sector output valued at £343 million (Manchester Metropolitan University, 1989).

With the advent of the cultural industries, and arts economy, there was also an increasing awareness of the impact and speed of change being generated by new technology, particularly information technology and new media. Amongst others, Richard Luce, the Minister for the Arts in late 1988, recognised the need to look again and requested the Arts Council to develop and co-ordinate a national strategy for the arts, crafts and media, working closely with the local authorities, Museums and Galleries Commission, British Film Institute and Crafts Council.

There was, as a result, inevitably yet another attempt at defining the arts, which in this case was drawn from the Public Law 209 of the 89th United States Congress, the term 'arts' includes, but is not limited to

> *"music (instrumental and vocal), dance, drama, folk art, creative writing, architecture and allied fields, painting, sculpture, photography, graphic and craft arts, industrial design, costume and fashion design, motion pictures, television, radio, tape and sound recording, the arts related to the presentation, performance, execution and exhibition of such major art forms, and the study and application of the arts to the human environment".*

This definition was also endorsed by the Education, Science and Arts Committee of the House of Commons in its 1982 report on funding the arts.

With the addition of heritage, libraries, restoration, antiques trade, printing, publishing, advertising and digital media, a 'new arts' definition begins to emerge which is increasingly cultural.

It seems as though the endemic British disease of pragmatism and additionality prevailed, with the arts worthy of public funds alongside sports, heritage, tourism and media. The new arrivals, the creative industries, which as pointed out earlier include the arts and media are it seems a parallel national policy interest.

In DCMS terms, creative industries, it seems, has replaced the concept of cultural industries as one of the vehicles to deliver the New Labour policy themes referred to earlier, alongside the traditional post war establishment mechanisms for the delivery of 'arts' policy: the Arts Council of England, British Film Institute, Crafts Council, Museums and Galleries Commission, and their related regional partners, the regional arts boards and area museums councils.

Government has then defined creative industries as *"those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent, and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property"* (Creative Industries Task Force 1998).

The sectors which have been identified within this definitional framework are:

> *"advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software, television and radio".*

(Creative Industries Task Force 1998)

The difficulty with this approach is that there is no recognition of creativity in the context of engineering or pharmaceuticals. Consequently, the UK focus on the creative industries has the potential to be exclusive, because it is product, not process, based. This may explain why there is an increasing tendency to refer to the "cultural and creative" industries. To compound the generally

confused definitional messages emanating from DCMS, culture is explained as having

> *"both a material and a value dimension and includes a wide range of activities including arts, media, sports, parks, museums, libraries, the built heritage, the countryside, playgrounds and tourism".*

(Local Cultural Strategies, Draft Guidance for Local Authorities in England, DCMS, 1999)

This tortuous and contorted definitional history from the arts and cultural perspective has fared no better from an economics or statistical point of view. Christian Barrière and Walter Santagata's paper, Defining Art, attempts to describe arts activities as goods and services. However, further complications follow once these terms are used which focus on quantifying what artistic and/or aesthetic means in this context. Many authors have attempted to clarify this, Baumol with his assertion that aesthetic pleasure has at least as much value as the difference in returns between works of art and financial assets (Baumol, 1986). Lahlou, Maffre and Moati (1991) demonstrate how passion can influence economic choices and Rouget and Sagot-Duvaureux (1996) have been examining non-market regulations in the artistic field, particularly passional and conventions perspectives. Another issue for economists studying the cultural industries is the differentiation between artistic and industrial goods. Part of the difficulty is that the total assimilation of art to commodities creates serious problems because art goods escape the standard rules of utilitarian market exchange (Barrière and Santagata, 1997).

For statisticians, the problem seems to lie in how to categorise the creative and/or cultural industries. Given the difficulties of definition referred to earlier, and the 'fluidity' of the sector, it is predictable that the conventional categories used in the UK and Europe, standard industrial classifications (SIC) and standard occupational classifications (SOC), have proved imprecise tools for measuring the creative industries.

Unsurprisingly then, there are further difficulties encountered when quantifying the cultural and creative industries, which do not stem from the general definitional debate. These can be broken down as

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(i)   no coherent national categorisation of the cultural industries
(ii)   a lack of accurate primary data.

Attempts have been made, largely since the early 1980s, by Myerscough (1988), Cultural Trends, Policy Studies Institute (1989-93), O'Brien and Feist (1995) and Pratt (1997), as well as the Department of Culture, Media and Sports, to arrive at suitable categorisations for the sector. What seems to have emerged from this work is a recognition that the Office for National Statistics' (a UK government agency) Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) and the Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) provide an imperfect but nevertheless verifiable structure to collect and analyse data.

Much of the statistical evidence, however, used by the public sector agencies and government departments referred to earlier is traced to national census data, the Department for Education and Employment's labour force survey, and new earnings study, along with several studies by the Office for National Statistics. Eurostat, on behalf of the European Union, has also been generating information in this field. It is, however, in reality secondary data with all the inherent weaknesses of such an approach.

Other sources of data have included the Department of Trade and Industry, Antique Trades Gazette, Crafts Council, Design Council, Screen Finance, Arts Council of England, Sunday Times, Screen Digest, BPI Statistical Handbook, The Value of Music, Henley Centre, Association of British Sponsorship of the Arts, Society of London Theatres, Express Newspapers, Consumer Trends, Business Monitor and the UK Media Yearbook. Much of this information is unverifiable, collected over differing periods of time, using unrelated methodologies.

So where does this leave us? We have a definitional framework which is highly confusing and disjointed. Given the claims the New Labour government makes regarding "joined up thinking" and "joined up policies", it seems in the cultural field we have been busily doing the opposite. It is equally difficult to understand why sports and tourism have been excluded from any of the definitional frameworks referred to. It can only be put down to a lack of political interest in establishing a cultural policy. We are left then with no alternative but to work with these imperfect tools.

There is then general confusion over definition and a paucity of primary data which verifies the assumptions drawn from the analysis of secondary data sources in support of national, regional and local activities in this sector. There is an inevitable requirement to determine the extent of the activity "on the ground" if any sensible evaluation of the contribution made by the cultural industries to economic regional regeneration, based on the emerging national and regional policies and practices, is to be achieved. Furthermore, if comparison between regions and countries is to be attempted, these matters require resolution.

It is becoming equally important to be able to evaluate the contribution the arts are making and develop appropriate public sector interventions.

A regional approach to a national problem

This began in the Yorkshire and Humberside region in 1998, with the first comprehensive regional study of the cultural industries, commencing with the local authority districts of Kirklees, Wakefield and Rotherham.

The United Kingdom

Yorkshire and the Humber
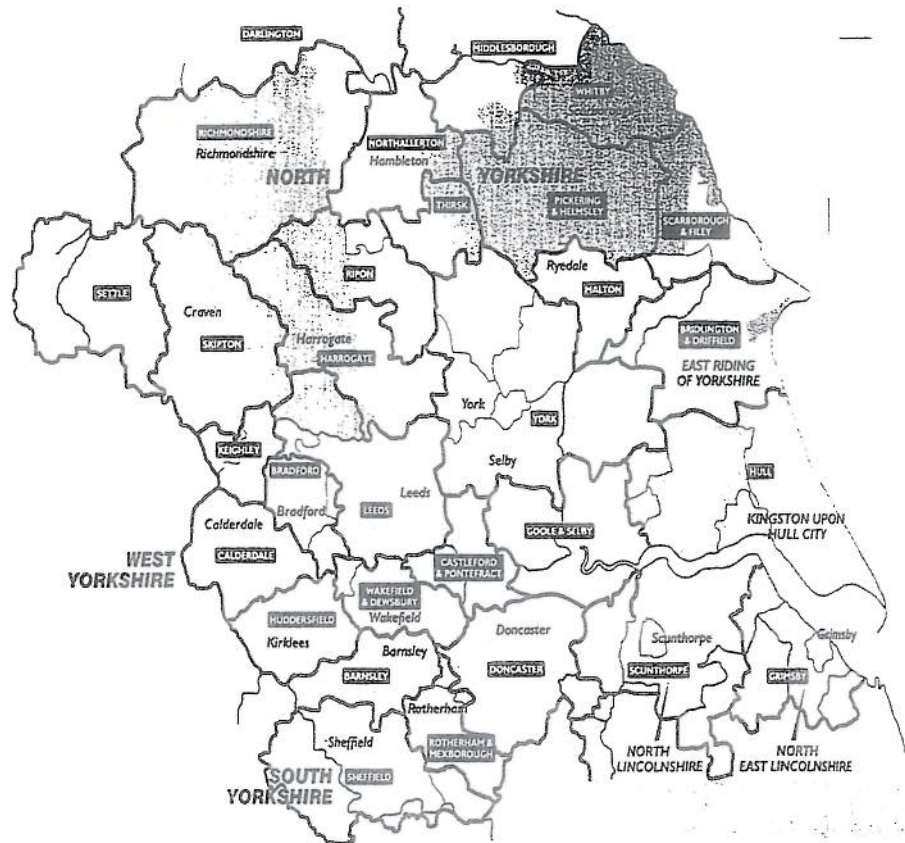
For the purposes of this work, an inclusive cultural industries definitional framework was chosen as opposed to the arts or creative industries definitions referred to earlier, which has a closer relationship to the DCMS, Local Cultural Strategy definition of culture. This also deliberately included the education and voluntary sectors as contributors to cultural industry activity. The following Table 2 describes the categories selected from the 1992 revised SIC system, and the elaboration of these classifications to reflect the cultural industry definition.

Table 2: SIC92 codes and Yorkshire & Humber study equivalents

	SIC92 Code & Descriptor	Yorkshire & Humber Study Equivalents
22.11	Publishing of Books	Publishing and Multimedia
22.12	Publishing of Newspapers	Journalism
22.13	Publishing of Journals and Periodicals	Publishing and Multimedia
22.14	Publishing of Sound Recordings	Publishing and Multimedia
22.15	Other Publishing	Publishing and Multimedia
22.31	Reproduction of Sound Recording	Publishing and Multimedia
22.32	Reproduction of Video Recording	Publishing and Multimedia
22.33	Reproduction of Computer Media	Publishing and Multimedia
72.20	Software Consultancy and Supply	Software Design
74.20[1]	Architectural and Engineering Activities and Related Technical Consultancy	Architecture
22.21	Printing of Newspapers	Printing
22.22	Printing not Elsewhere Classified	Printing
22.25	Other Activities Related to Printing	Printing
74.40	Advertising	Marketing and Promotion
74.81	Photographic Activities	Graphic Design
		Photography
74.84	Other Business Activities not Elsewhere Classified	Textile Design
		Other Design[2]
		Exhibition and Conference Facilities and Organisation
80.22	Technical and Vocational Secondary Education	Training and Education
80.30	Higher Education	Training and Education
80.42	Adult and Other Education not Elsewhere Classified	Training and Education
92.11	Motion Picture and Video Production	Video and Film
92.13	Motion Picture Projection	Video and Film
90.20	Radio and Television Activities	Radio and Television Production and Broadcasting
92.31	Artistic and Literary Creation and Interpretation	Dance
		Other Design
		Performance Lighting & Sound
		Music Performance and Production
		Theatrical Production and Support Activities
		Visual Arts and Sculpture
		Combined Arts
		Crafts
		Writing (Prose & Poetry)
		Arts Management

Professor S.C. Roodhouse

92.32	Operation of Arts Facilities	Galleries and Other Arts Facilities
		Theatres and Concert Halls
92.34	Other Entertainment Activities not Elsewhere Classified	Leisure and Entertainment[3]
92.51	Library and Archive Activity	Libraries
		Museums, Heritage Sites and Archives
92.52	Museum Activities and preservation of Historical Sites and Buildings	Museums, Heritage Sites and Archives

[1] 74.20 also includes urban planning, quantity surveying and various engineering design and consultancy activities. Throughout, estimations have had to be made of that portion attributable to architectural activities.

[2] Other Design includes, for example, interior design activities.

[3] Leisure and Entertainment includes nightclubs, disc jockeys, entertainers, etc.

Source: Bretton Hall, 1999.

This approach also allows limited comparison between the primary data collected in the study, and existing secondary data. There is a recognition that a refining of SIC 92 is needed to align with Eurostat in preparation for the next national census.

Nevertheless, there is now sufficient primary data available from the work in the Yorkshire & Humber region to begin to confidently provide a cultural industries profile and inform public policy interventions, performance and outputs.

Although the study is extensive with primary data collected on people and working in the cultural industries, sub-sectors and organisational profiles, geography and markets, money and resources, investment activities and training needs, this paper focuses on people and working in the cultural industries, and money and resources, because this enables some observations to be made with regard to the future of the arts.

People and working in the cultural industries in the Yorkshire and Humber region

When the available data is compiled both from primary and secondary sources, it is apparent that with definitional adjustments to the full and part time workforce in the region, there is a consistency of estimates. However, quantifying 'freelance' and 'self-employed' as well as volunteers proves problematic with no secondary data available. This lack of data is unhelpful when one of the 'claimed' characteristics of the sector is the high levels of freelance/self-

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employed and volunteers in the sector. Without additional evidence of these types of employment it is difficult to see how policymakers at national, regional or local level can confidently develop and implement effective strategies for the cultural industries, including the arts.

A breakdown of the creative and cultural industry primary and secondary data provides a more detailed picture of the composition of the workforce, particularly the level of freelance activity and volunteers (Figure 1).

Although the cultural and/or creative industries are a relatively small component of those employed at national, regional and local level, it is nevertheless recognisable and quantifiable. Figure 2 provides a detailed breakdown of employment categories against sub sectors found in the cultural industries such as architecture, music performance, museums, galleries and heritage. It is worth noting that volunteers and freelance work are significant in arts management, galleries, arts centres, exhibition work, heritage and combined arts.

When both secondary and primary sources are compared, and classifications clarified, a consistent picture emerges, as illustrated in Figure 3.

Figure 1: Comparative analysis of estimated creative and cultural industries
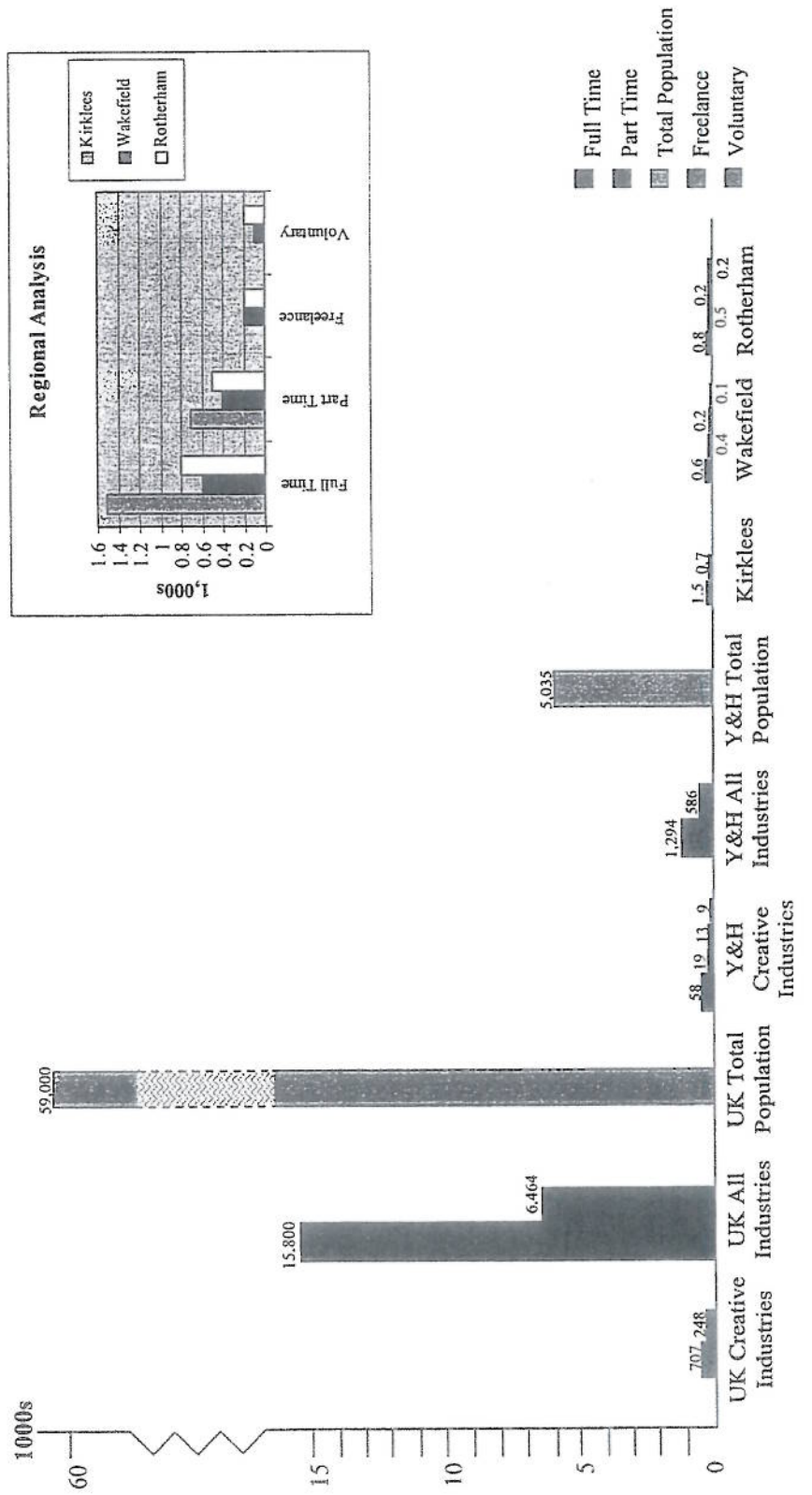
Figure 2: Estimated full and part time employment by selected sub-sector for the cultural industries in Yorkshire and Humber

Source: Bretton Hall 1998.
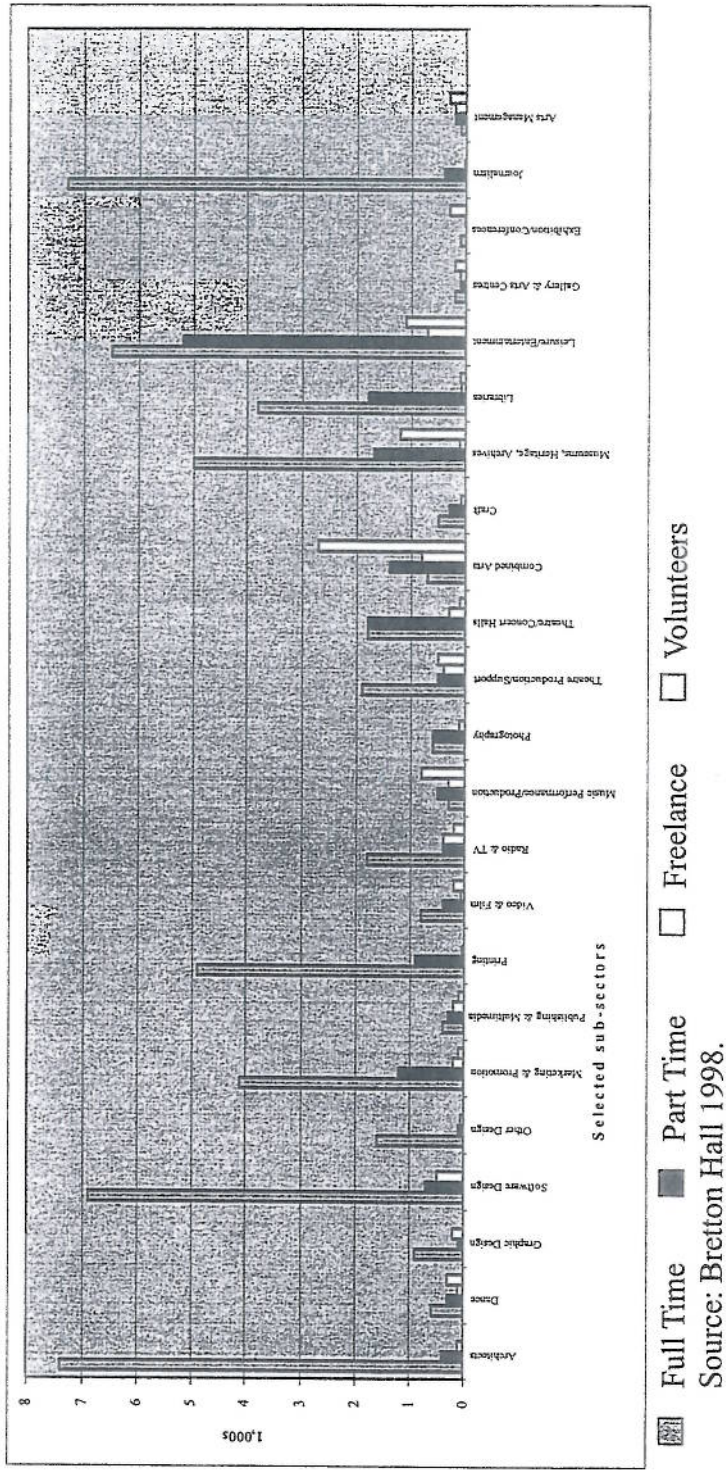
Figure 3: Comparative regional employment by selected sub-sectors (SIC92/000s) representing the DCMS creative industries profile
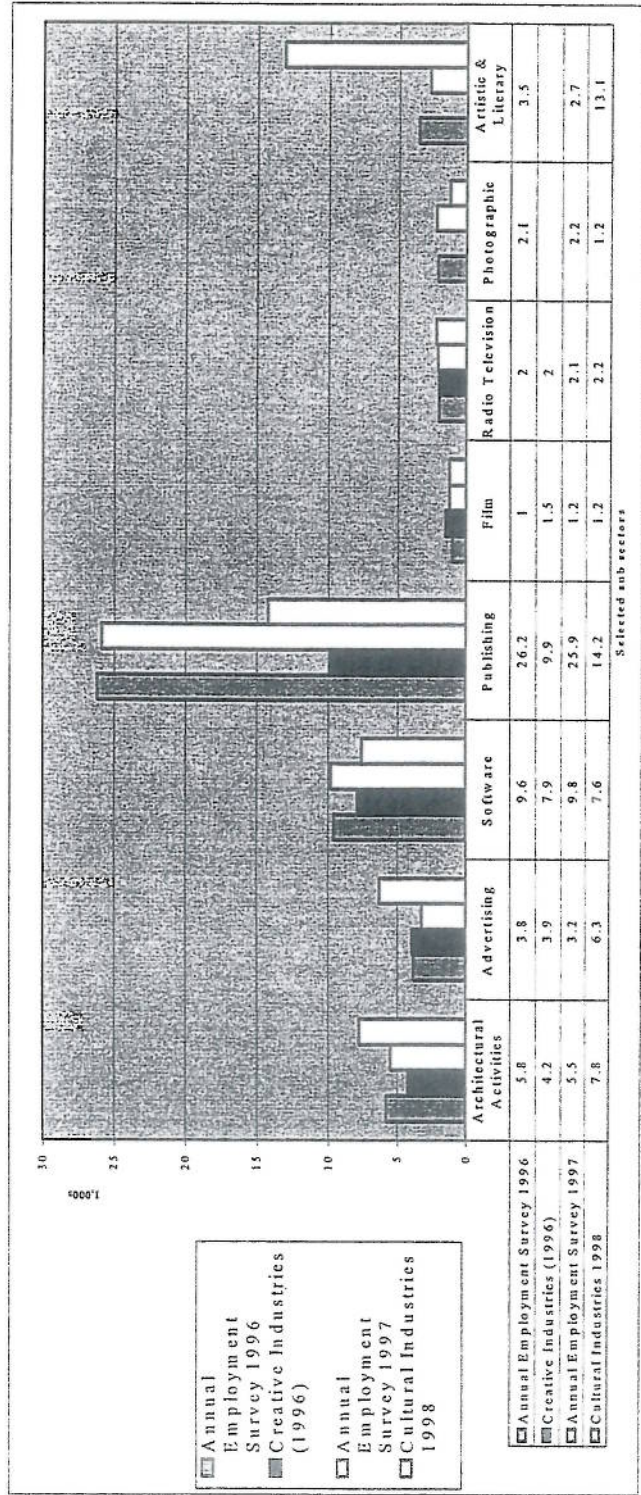
	Architectural Activities	Advertising	Software	Publishing	Film	Radio Television	Photographic	Artistic & Literary
Annual Employment Survey 1996	5.8	3.8	9.6	26.2	1	2	2.1	3.5
Creative Industries (1996)	4.2	3.9	7.9	9.9	1.5	2	2	
Annual Employment Survey 1997	5.5	3.2	9.8	25.9	1.2	2.1	2.2	2.7
Cultural Industries 1998	7.8	6.3	7.6	14.2	1.2	2.2	1.2	13.1

Selected sub-sectors

Source: Bretton Hall 1998.

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A consistent full and part-time employment profile for the creative industries emerges with the exception of publishing. With this sub sectoral baseline, questions then arise regarding the capacity for retaining existing levels of employment and future patterns for expansion.

These questions point to the need for a better understanding of job roles and the extent of employment in each function. This is described in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Jobs and roles across the cultural industries
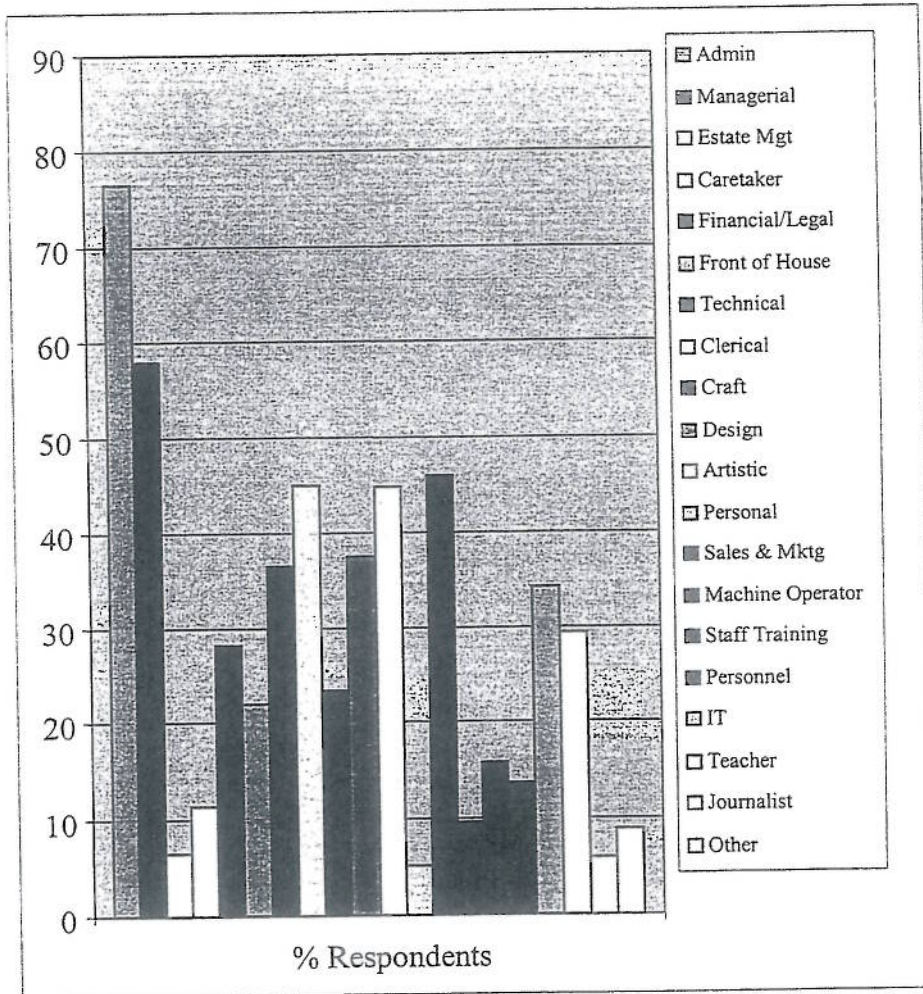
Source: Bretton Hall, 1998.

There are implications for the provision of training and development, and curriculum content for arts education and training providers servicing the sector, particularly the inclusion of business and ICT skills.

If further evidence is required of the importance of understanding the sector from an employment perspective in order to inform future policies and practices, a study by Business Strategies Ltd (1997) of the occupations of the future in the UK and the regions, demonstrates growth in the cultural industries described as literary, artistic and sports professionals (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Employment in associate professional and technical occupations average annual % change

	Total for Group	Scientific Technicians	Draughts man etc.	Computer Analysts	Health Associate Professionals	Ship & Aircraft Officers	Legal Associate Professionals	Bus. & Fin. Associate Profs	Social Welfare Associate Prof	Other Associate Professionals	Literary, Artistic & Sports Profs
1981-1991	3	2.7	-0.7	7.5	0.8	-3.1	3.4	6.1	5.7	8	4.3
1991-1996	1.8	1.5	-0.4	2.2	0.8	-3.1	5.2	2.4	4.7	2.5	3
1996-2001	2.6	1.7	2.1	3.1	0.9	-1.9	4.5	3.8	2.8	3.2	5

Source: Business Strategies Ltd, 1997.

The cultural industries (including the arts) based on employment are
a significant component of the regional economy, with the potential
to expand to meet projected demand.

Money and resources

A further illustration of the outcomes of primary and secondary data
analysis is provided in Figure 6. This table describes the comparative
business size profile of the creative and cultural industries in
Yorkshire and the Humber compared with all businesses in the region
and the UK. It is based on primary data, the Annual Employment
Survey (AES) data units, disaggregated by employment size band.

Figure 6: Comparative business size profile (%)
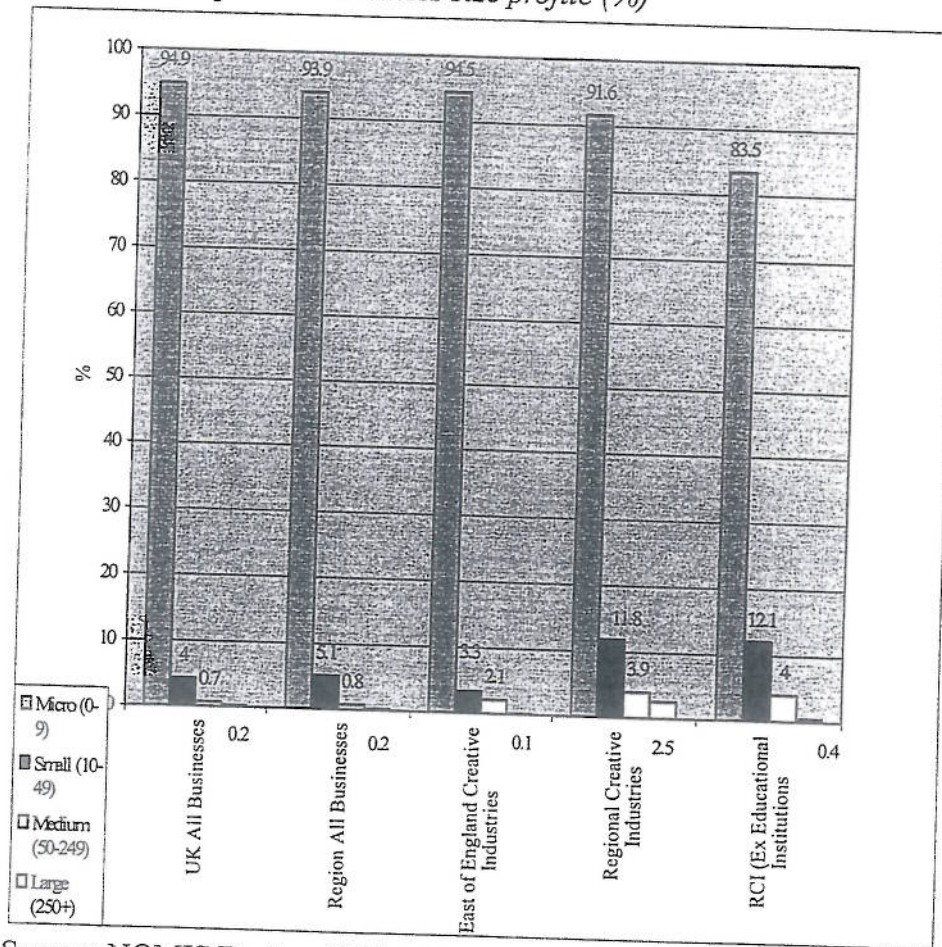
Source: NOMIS/Bretton Hall, 1998.

There is clear evidence that the sector, whether cultural or creative, relies on micro businesses in terms of activity, although in the case of the Yorkshire and Humber region the number of micro businesses are below the national average. The implications of this profile for public sector cultural and business agencies is that 'interventions' need to be considered which encourage the further growth of micro businesses eg start-up schemes for graduates, assistance to enable small enterprises to expand to medium enterprises and inward investment strategies to include the attraction of large cultural/creative (including the arts) companies.

The overall turnover of the cultural industries has generally been based on secondary data derived from regional reports for the Creative Industries Task Force, and consequently the DCMS claims that the industry generates £60 billion a year are, to say the least, questionable. The following table provides the first reliable analysis of turnover. The combined turnover of all businesses in Yorkshire and the Humber for 1996 was £116.8 billion (DTI, 1998). In order to calculate the proportion attributable to the cultural industries, a comparison has been made with the 12 month survey period ending 30 September 1998. In making this comparison, no adjustment has been made for inflation. The total combined turnover for the sector was £3.8 billion, representing 3.3% of regional business turnover. Including education and training this rises to £4.66 and 3.9% of the regional business turnover. The following figure analyses the profile of this turnover.

It is worth noting however that businesses with an annual turnover of up to £50,000 accounted for 35% of the enterprises and only 1.5% of the combined sector turnover, with 2.2% of enterprises with incomes of £10 million, representing 38.8% of the sector turnover. This confirms the pattern of a large number of micro businesses with low overall turnover, and a small number of large companies contributing the largest turnover (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Overall turnover profile (£ million) of the cultural industries

	Under £0.005	£0.005- £0.01	£0.01- £0.025	£0.025- £0.05	£0.05- £0.1	£0.1- £0.25	£0.25- £0.5	£0.5-£1	£1-£2.5	£2.5-£5	£5-£10	More than £10
Percent	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.9	1.3	2.8	4.2	6.1	12.3	17.2	15.9	38.8
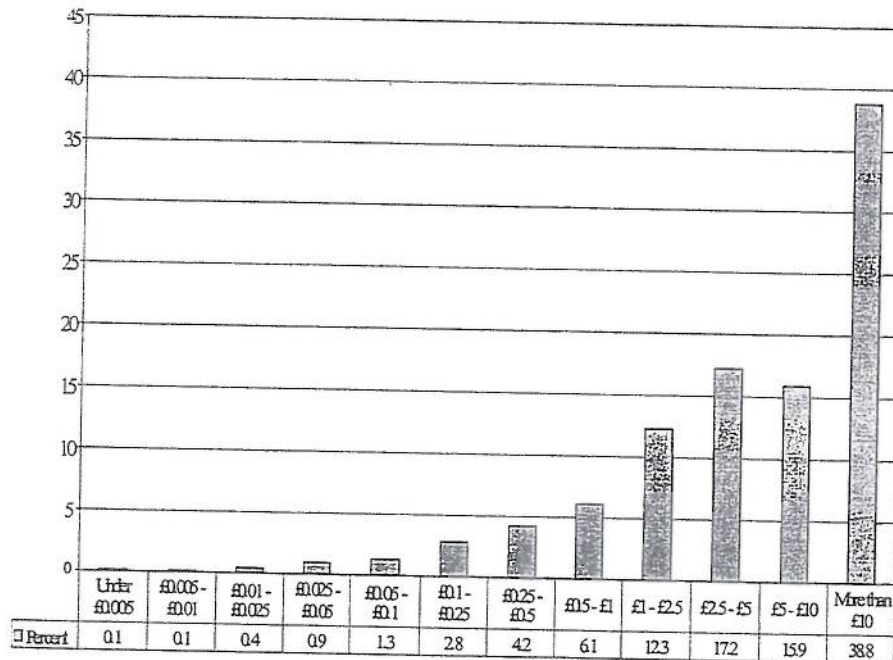
Source: Bretton Hall, 1998.

Business buoyancy has also been surveyed in Yorkshire and Humber, with nearly 50% of the sector enjoying a year by year increase in annual turnover. The sector also has a core of sustainable businesses.

It is equally interesting to understand what level of grant aid intervention is occurring in the sector, the types of grants being made available and grant dependency, trends in grant support, and sources of grant support.

With over 65% of the enterprises at regional level not in receipt of public investment, it cannot be described as a public sector grant reliant sector. However, those that do receive grant aid demonstrate relatively low levels of dependency, as shown in Figure 8.

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Figure 8: Contribution of grant support

	1-25%	26-50%	51-75%	75%+
% Respondents	42.9	13.1	12.6	26.3
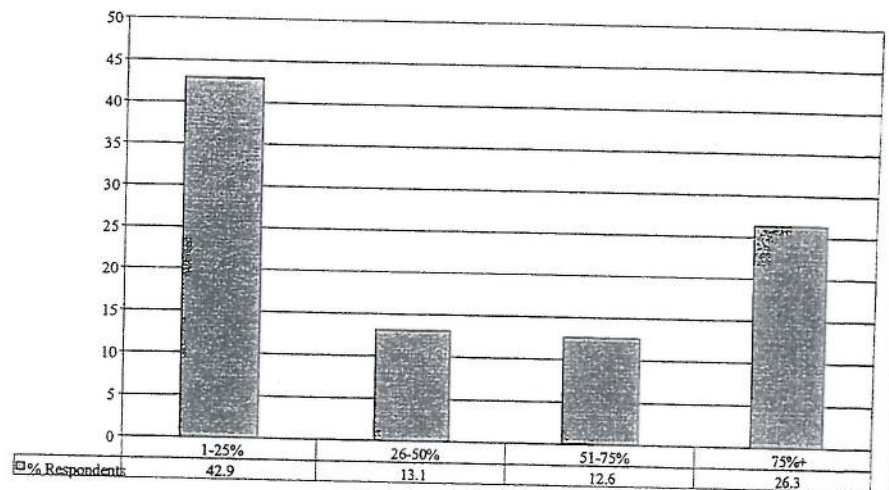
Source: Bretton Hall, 1998.

The trends with regard to grant aid are described in Figure 9, and demonstrate a marked positive attitude to public sector grant intervention, with 89% of those surveyed indicating that grant support will remain the same or rise. There is little evidence that grant support is on a downward spiral for those that benefit from these interventions.

Figure 9: Trends in grant support
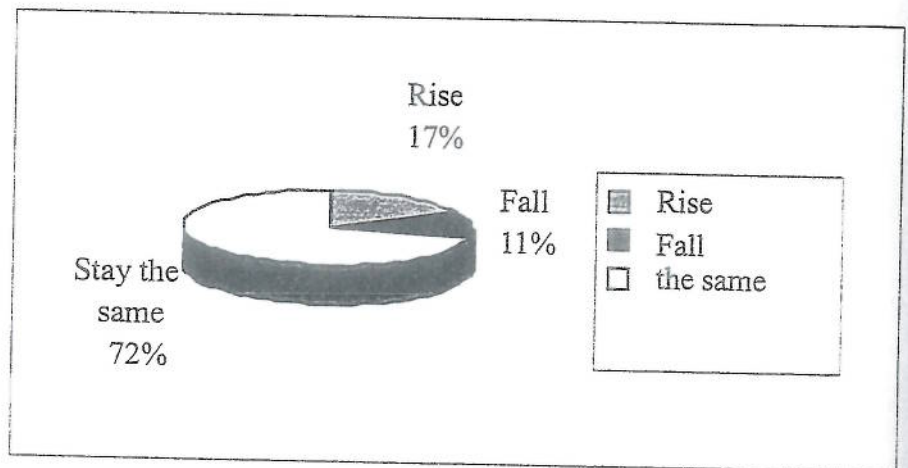
Source: Bretton Hall, 1998.

The sources of grant aid are dominated by the local authorities (with 18% of the sector receiving support), followed by the cultural grant aid agency for the region. Although this is unsurprising, it does confirm what those in the sector have known for some time. Perhaps worth noting is the growth in alternative sources of grant aid such as the single regeneration funds which have been increasingly used to match Arts Council Lottery funding (Figure 10).

Figure 10: Sources of grant support
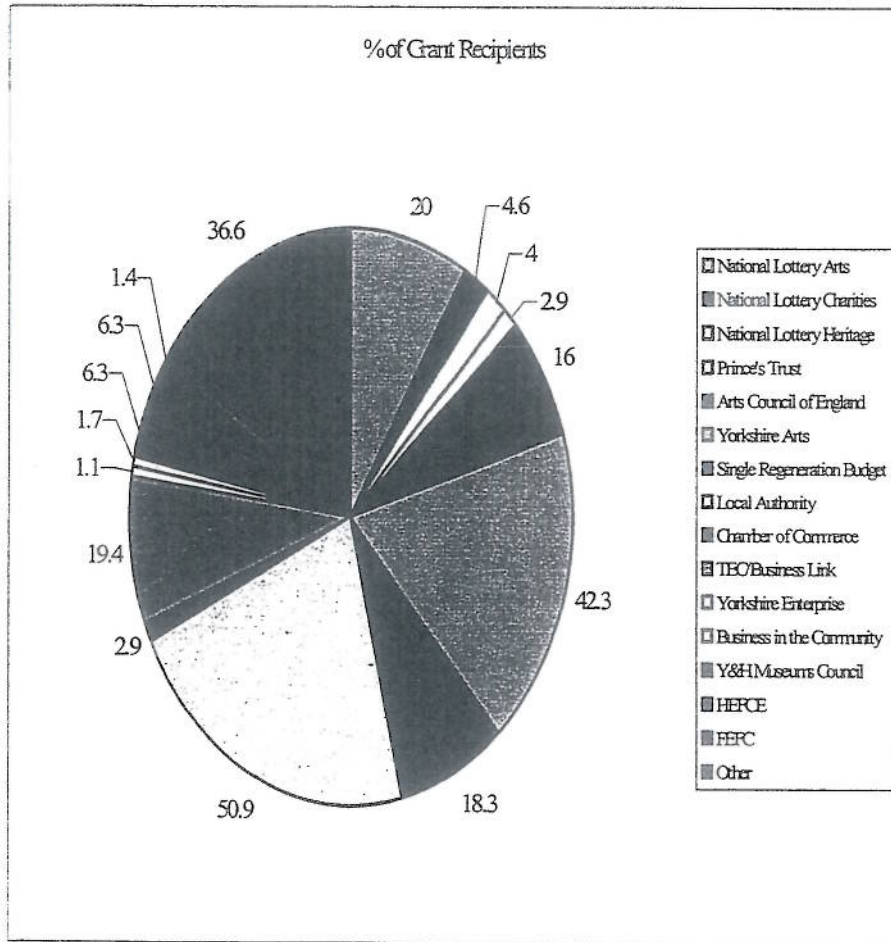
Source: Bretton Hall, 1998.

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This can be further broken down into the following table:

Table 3: Types of grants by source (%)

Source of Grant (%)	Types of Grant							
	Capital Grants (n=43)	Loan Guarantees (n=5)	Revenue Grants (n=62)	Project Grants (n=132)	Research Grants (n=14)	Low Interest Loan (n=7)	Other (n=20)	No Reply (n=6)
National Lottery – Arts (n=35)	34	6	49	83	9	9	11	-
National Lottery – Charities (n=8)	50	-	63	75	13	-	-	13
National Lottery – Heritage (n=7)	86	-	57	57	29	-	-	-
Prince's Trust (n=5)	60	-	40	100	20	-	20	-
Arts Council Of England (n=28)	21	4	57	89	11	4	14	-
Yorkshire & Humberside Arts (n=74)	22	4	45	82	14	5	11	1
Single Regeneration Budget (n=32)	53	3	53	75	16	9	9	3
Local Authority (n=89)	33	3	47	82	9	8	12	2
Chamber Of Commerce (n=5)	40	-	40	80	40	-	20	-
Training & Enterprise Council (n=27)	52	-	48	78	19	7	22	-
Business Link (n=7)	14	-	14	71	14	14	14	14
Yorkshire Enterprise (n=2)	50	-	-	50	-	-	50	-
Business In The Community (n=3)	33	33	-	33	-	-	67	33
Yorks. & Humber Museums Council (n=11)	36	-	36	64	18	-	-	9
H. E. Funding Council For England (n=11)	55	-	91	73	36	18	9	-
Further Education Funding Council (n=20)	50	-	55	70	15	5	20	-
Other (n=64)	33	6	41	81	9	6	9	-

Source: Bretton Hall, 1998.

The enterprises are also investing in their businesses and Figure 11 explains what areas of investment have been chosen, and levels of activity.

Figure 11: Grant recipients in the sector
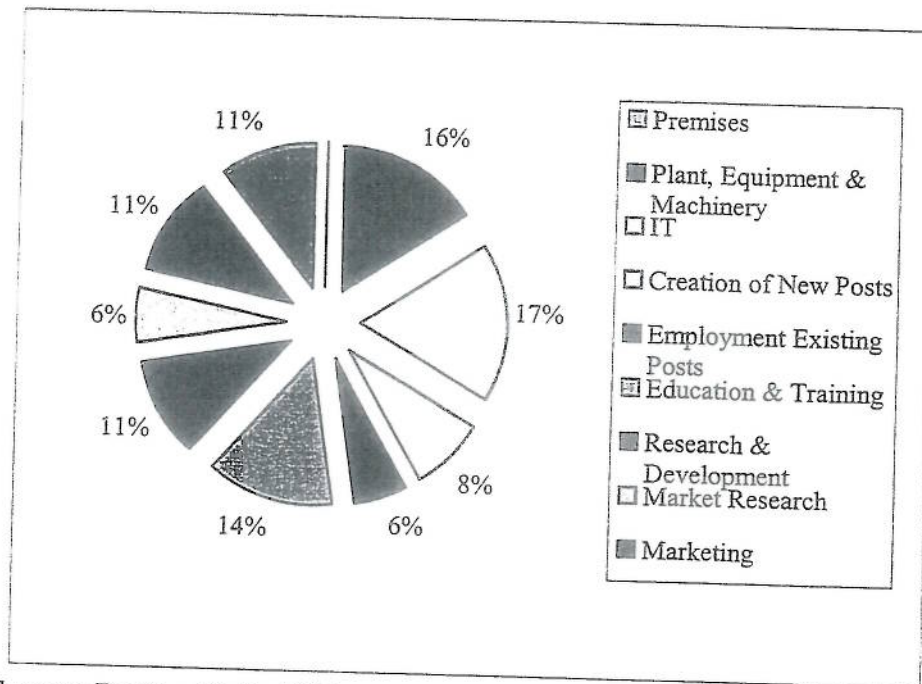
Source: Bretton Hall, 1998.

There is a high level of investment with only 11% of businesses not undertaking any investment. There also seems to be no dominant area of activity, although IT represents 17% of all investment by the sector.

It is also important to have a clearer view of sources of investment funding, if those responsible for public funding of the cultural sector are to target their resources effectively to augment and sustain the sector. Figure 12 provides this information and confirms that businesses are relying on personal resources and trading surpluses. This raises important questions of sustainability and growth of the sector. With a profile of a large number of micro businesses relying on personal resources and trading surpluses to fund growth through investment in IT, plan machinery, market research and employees, the key question is how to transform these businesses into small to medium enterprises.

Figure 12: Investment funding
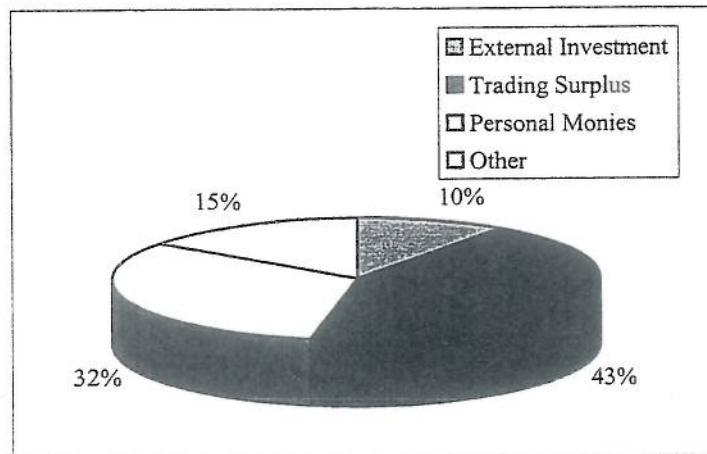
Source: Bretton Hall, 1998.

This pattern of investment is confirmed in the following chart which demonstrates the low level of private/commercial intervention in the sector (Figure 13).

Figure 13: External investment (% respondents)

Source: Bretton Hall, 1998.

Given this lack of commercial interest, the cultural agencies could begin to address this question by working with the private sector to

establish investment funds. This is, incidentally, beginning to occur in the North West region, and at national levels.

Conclusions

Whatever direction policy makers wish to take, the arts, establishing a shared inclusive definition of the sector is central to providing a framework for data classification and collection. This it now seems may emerge through the European Commission with its increasing interest in the social and economic impact of cultural industry policies, described in working papers such as Culture, The Cultural Industries and Employment (SEC 1998, 837). In addition, in a proposal to the European Parliament to establish a single financing and programming instrument for cultural co-operation, the Culture 2000 programme (CIOM 1998, 266) the question of cultural statistics is addressed: *"In economic terms, the cultural sector has reached a level within the EU which justifies the development of comparative cultural statistics, based on sources already existing at member state level. The Commission (EUROSTAT) has therefore included in its quinquennial plan (1998-2002) a specific heading on the development of comparative cultural statistics in order to help define, examine and evaluate the effect of Community action in the cultural sector"*. This process, at a European level at least, has now commenced.

Collection of primary data using revised standard classifications that accurately reflect the cultural industries is also essential. The over reliance on secondary data extrapolated to suit a particular need, policy or practice is becoming increasingly unsafe and cannot be relied on to measure effective sectoral support, business growth, and employment, or improve the targeting of public and private resources. From the work undertaken in the Yorkshire and Humber region, it is evident that the sector is bigger and more complex than at first envisaged and is a growing industrial sector which relies on both public and private financial intervention. An alternative and more radical approach to the definitional debate is to classify the sector by the products and services it produces.

Identity however remains problematic, many businesses do not as yet consider themselves to be part of a cultural and/or creative industry, and do not acknowledge that such a classification exists. There is

then some way to go yet in establishing the cultural industries as a sector, if this is desirable, with those engaged in this work and with local, regional and national agencies. This is particularly true of the arts.

Nevertheless, because of the UK government's interest described earlier, expectations have been aroused by claims that the cultural and/or creative industries are a significant growth engine for new businesses and jobs. Training and Education, an essential component of the creative industries, does and should not escape the emerging impact of the cultural industries, either, as a contributor to regional economic regeneration, with demands for new skills and knowledge and an emphasis on employability.

However, the nature of the sector, with its different patterns of employment, organisational structures, interest in technology, markets, unpredictability of creativity, and importance of individuality, clearly points to the need for public and private sector agencies, particularly the arts funding administrative structures, to rapidly reassess and reinvent their policies, practices and systems.

With regard to the future of the arts as cultural industries, it is clear that the arts have been incorporated into the creative and/or cultural industries definitional frameworks at local, regional and national levels.

It is also the case that the arts share similar development issues, albeit expressed differently to the creative and/or cultural industries, that is

(i)   finding funding
(ii)   finding new customers
(iii)   access to capital equipment
(iv)   training in ICT and business skills.

If the cultural industries, which includes the arts, are central to national DCMS policy, there are implications not only for the local, regional and national public agencies referred to earlier, but also for the sector itself, in particular the increasing pressures to behave as businesses and rely less on special pleading for public subsidy such as the intrinsic 'goodness' of the arts.

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10. Roodhouse, S. & Swailes, S. (2003) *Structural Barriers to the Take – up of Higher Level NVQ's.* Journal of Vocational Education and Training Vol. 55 No. 1.

Structural Barriers to the Take-up of Higher Level NVQs

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ABSTRACT This article explores perceptions of barriers to the take-up of higher level NVQs (levels 4/5). The literature on higher NVQ adoption is reviewed together with uptake statistics. Research involving interviews and case studies showed that the most successful higher NVQs are linked to professional qualifying routes, have generic application across a range of sectors or fill gaps where qualifications were not previously established. Higher NVQs suffer from credibility problems and variable delivery quality partly accounts for a tarnished image. Support for occupational standards is strong, but their design is not generally suited to higher qualifications. Awarding bodies need to assess the learning experience on award programmes more closely. Funding mechanisms disadvantage higher NVQs particularly in the university sector. NVQs are perceived to be relatively costly; however, there is little data available to enable objective comparison. Suggestions for overcoming these barriers are offered.

Introduction

Vocational education and training (VET) has global significance but can differ widely in the way it functions and the objectives it sets out to achieve (Gill et al. 1999; Greenhalgh, 1999; Kellie, 1999). Recent initiatives in the United Kingdom have focused on a National Vocational Qualification (NVQ) framework that, following several reviews of education and training, was introduced in 1986 in response to the *ad hoc* vocational qualification landscape built up in a typically pragmatic British way since 1945. This had increasingly failed to deliver the highly skilled workforce that employers wanted nor had it allowed up-skilling of the unemployed. However, the introduction of a national scheme bringing education and training together has led to passionate and polarised reactions. One opponent claimed that the movement 'was perpetuating a

disaster of epic proportions' (Smithers, 1993) and Hyland (1994, p. 116) considered NVQs to be behind 'an utterly impoverished and dehumanised approach to vocational education'. Advocates of NVQs, such as Hillier (1995), accused academics of running scared and argued that, by concentrating on the true skills and knowledge needed to perform jobs, the economy would benefit.

Having weathered these storms and endured successive governments, the number of NVQs awarded passed 3 million in 2001 and yet concerns remain over their usefulness and status. While the number of awards is high, there is unease about their effectiveness in relation to their original aims. The level of NVQ adoption at the higher levels (4 and 5) is one such concern. Compared to other European countries, Britain has lower participation in VET than might be expected from its economic position. On the continent, vocational qualifications have more currency, take longer to achieve and have more robust practical and written assessments (Prais, 2001). On the basis that structural barriers to the adoption of high level NVQs exist, this article attempts to identify them and begins with a review of the literature before reporting the results of new research.

The UK Competency Movement

Historical Perspective

By the 1970s, both the British and US economies faced strong competition from nations using similar production technologies, but with much lower labour costs. Government concern about failing competitiveness stimulated reviews by the then Manpower Services Commission (MSC, 1981), which underlined the need for a flexible and skilled workforce that could respond to global economic changes. The importance of occupational competence was championed and qualifications were deemed necessary in vocations not well served by the education sector. It was also recognised that existing qualifications seemed to be failing to meet the new challenges. Following the review of vocational qualifications, it was recognised that there was a need for a nationally co-ordinated qualification framework. This was achieved by the creation of Industry Lead Bodies to oversee the production of occupational standards and the formation of the National Council for Vocational Qualifications (NCVQ) in 1986 to oversee the management of National Vocational Qualifications. The responsibility for quality assurance of NVQs passed from the NCVQ to the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) in 1998. For detailed accounts of the background to NVQs see Franklin (1997) and Hargraves (1998, 2000). The principles underpinning NVQs are as follows:

- reflect the needs of employers and individuals;
- provide qualifications which reflect the achievements of clear standards of competence;
- provide more effective career and training routes for individuals;
- be less concerned about passing knowledge-based examinations and more concerned with performance in the workplace;
- be accessible to all sections of society without unnecessary barriers;
- identify common areas of competence across sectors and occupations.

Five NVQ levels were created capturing the competence and knowledge required to perform basic operations (level 1) up to complex, unpredictable, strategic tasks (level 5). Level 4 broadly equates with undergraduate level study and level 5 with postgraduate study. Two interpretations of 'competence' are worth noting. Some models distinguish between threshold and superior performance (Boyatzis, 1982; Brown, 1993), but the NVQ model uses the term in the sense of satisfactory, efficient, acceptable and normal performance in a job as identified through functional analysis (MCI, 1990). Thus, the British model is open to criticism for not reflecting high performance in individuals and/or organisations.

Statistical and Market Overview

The primary source of data on NVQs is the QCA, which provided most of the data used in this study. Other sources, such as awarding bodies, do not release statistics into the public domain. In June 2001, there were 776 current NVQ titles, although their take-up has been uneven. In the popular area 'Providing Business Services' prior to October 2000, 85 of the 165 available NVQ titles had achieved less than 100 awards each and, of these, 27 had attracted no awards at all. It is worth noting that leading industry bodies were encouraged to develop standards of occupational competence and NVQs that met their sector's needs and this explains the large number of titles approved for the framework by NCVQ/QCA. At levels 4 and 5, 'Providing Business Services' is comfortably the most popular area and almost all the awards at level 5 have been in subjects related to Management.

By September 2001, 3.5 million NVQ certificates had been awarded of which 95.1% were at levels 1-3 and well over half of these were at level 2. Of the remainder, about 110,000 awards had been achieved at level 4 and 8,200 at level 5 (see Table I). Table II shows recent trends in the numbers of NVQ certificates awarded at each level. Annual increases in the numbers of level 4 awards have risen slowly, but steadily to 13,770 in 2000 and 14,395 in 2001. Awards at level 5 have been steady at around 1000 each year. Awards at level 4 and 5 (combined) grew steadily from 8904 in 1996 to 15,352 in 2001.

NVQ level	Number awarded
1	628,979
2	2,007,863
3	682,176
4	109,998
5	8227
Total	3,488,656

Period 1986 to 31 September 2001. Figures count only people receiving a full NVQ and thus exclude unit certification.

Table I. Cumulative totals of NVQs awarded by level.

Level	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
1	60,400	76,500	70,700	59,900	63,300	49,400
2	213,500	267,400	262,700	253,000	252,000	179,400
3	63,800	90,400	100,200	101,100	109,000	102,600
4	7846	8619	10956	13468	13770	14395
5	1058	1172	1083	858	876	957
Total	346,604	444,091	445,639	428,326	438,946	346,752

Table II. Recent trends in NVQs awarded by level. Source QCA. Year to 30 September.

NVQ Title	Level	Number awarded
Accounting (accounting practice/industry and commerce public/sector)	4	29,036
Management	4	28,216
Accounting	4	27,360

Table III. The most popular higher level NVQs

Table III confirms the most popular higher NVQs are in accounting and management. This success can be attributed to the adoption of accounting NVQs as a qualifying route by the Association of Accounting Technicians (AAT), the inclusion of management NVQs in the Institute of Management's professional entry route and the wide appeal of the generic management qualifications to a range of sectors.

Forecasts for numbers in employment with higher level qualifications including NVQs (Wilson, 2000) are shown in Table IV. Between 1991 and 1998, the numbers of people in the employed workforce with a post-graduate level qualification grew by 747,000 and is projected to grow by another 465,000 to 2009. The number holding a level 4 qualification (first degree, HND, nursing, teaching) grew by 1.2 million

from 1991 to 1998 and is projected to grow by a further 1.6 million to 2009. Given that about 5500 level 5 and about 70,000 level 4 NVQs were awarded up to the end of 1998, then NVQs *per se* had a small share of the market: about 0.7% of postgraduate level qualifications, and 5.8% at the sub-degree and first degree level between 1991 and 1998.

	1991	1998	2004	2009
Higher degrees (including NVQ level 5)	354	1101	1321	1566
First degrees and sub-degree (including NVQ level 4)	4337	5549	6301	7181

Table IV. UK Employment by Highest Qualification Level (000).
Source: Wilson (2000, p. 14).

Table V shows the higher education qualifications obtained in 1999/00. The award of 13,720 level 4 NVQs in the year to September 2000 represents 4.3% of the total market for level 4 equivalent qualifications (first degrees and sub-degree qualifications) awarded. However, assuming that all NVQ 4 are completed part time, they represent 18.1% of the market for part-time level 4 awards. The 876 NVQ 5 awarded in the year to September 2000 represent 1% of all level 5 awards and 1.7% of the part-time market for all level 5 awards (postgraduate).

	First degrees	Doctorates	Masters degrees	Other postgraduate (e.g. CertEd)	Other under graduate (e.g. HND)
Full time students	212,340	1490	14,490	24,580	30,030
Part time students	24,190	6090	21,490	21,810	37,750
Total	236,530	7580	35,980	46,390	67,780

Table V. HE qualifications by level and mode of study, 1999/00.
Source: HESA. Figures exclude awards to students resident overseas.

For NVQ 4, further education and tertiary colleges provide 55% of awards, private training providers 25%, employers 11%, overseas centres 3% and higher education institutions, 2%. For NVQ 5, FE and tertiary provide 36%, private providers 39%, employers 16% and higher education institutions 8% (source: QCA, coverage 1999/00 academic year). For levels 4 and 5 combined, the higher education sector provided only 2.5% of all awards. This finding is consistent with the UVAC report (2000), *Utilisation of National Vocational Qualifications in Higher education Institutions in England and Wales*.

Trends in the take-up of NVQs by title are shown in Appendix 1. Accounting leads the table with 5744 awards in 2000 with Management level 4 following at around 3200 awards, and there is a discernible upward trend in level 5. Other titles demonstrating notable growth are Care, Guidance, Occupational Health and Safety Practice, Building Site Management, Procurement, Waste Management and Treatment, and Community Justice. Further growth can be expected in areas regulated by public authorities such as social services. Within the business sector, adoption rates for NVQs vary from less than 1% in micro business (1-10 employees), 3.4% in small business (11-49), 15.2% in medium-sized business (50-250) and 25.8% in businesses over 250 employees (Matlay, 1999, 2000). This is unsurprising as the larger companies have more resources at their disposal to implement staff development programmes.

Advocates of NVQs can point to over 3 million people in work gaining a qualification over the past 15 years who would not normally consider entering further or higher education. Critics, on the other hand, can claim that this represents a small proportion of the employed workforce, it is mostly low level and in areas that are far removed from the problem areas of manufacturing and engineering, and will make little impact on workforce flexibility (Hyland & Matlay, 1998, p. 407). However, whichever stance is preferred, qualifying 3 million people to standards is a major achievement and is significant for the individuals involved.

About 23% of higher education institutions (HEIs) offered NVQs either stand-alone or in combination with other awards (UVAC, 2000). Possible barriers to NVQ adoption in universities are the need to deal with external awarding bodies and implement additional quality assurance procedures and a lack of financial support. Wheeler (1997) observed that there was widespread ambivalence in universities towards competency-based education at the higher levels. Two-thirds of the HEIs offering NVQs were post-1992 universities and the NVQ concept 'generally remains unclear in many institutions' (UVAC, 2000, p. 27).

Perceptions or Reality – Criticisms of NVQs

Infrastructure and Standards

Claims that NVQs are employer-led are dismissed by Hyland (1996) in a passionate review of faults in vocational education. Hyland draws on Beaumont's finding that most managers would prefer to recognise NVQ awarded by other employers and recommends that NVQs 'should be returned to the workplace and removed from all courses in schools, colleges and non-workplace training institutions' (1996, p. 359). It is after all an assessment regime not a course model of learning. This idea is appealing for lower NVQs, but whether the market would support similar views of higher NVQs is questionable. Given the universities' historic role

in vocational education (e.g. medicine, law, engineering) there seems no overriding reason why they should not be successful in other areas (CVCP, 1995; Randall, 1995).

The standards embedded in Management NVQs, a relative NVQ success story, provide a useful illustration of the criticisms surrounding standards of occupational competence. The management standards portray management as generalisable and value free and thus ignore the contingent nature of management and the political nature of organisations (Loan-Clarke, 1996; Grugulis, 2000). The content of standards fosters a 'suffocating' assessment experience 'devoid of critical engagement with the social and political issues which determine much professional activity' (Ecclestone, 1997, p. 77). This could explain the low completion rates often observed (Hillier, 1997). Content and style were noted by Beaumont (1995, p. 13) and the Employment Department (ED, 1995) found that a majority of employers felt that language and format were inappropriate. Calls for simplification using plain language have not been heeded and the unwelcoming design and content of standards can be a barrier to acceptance by candidates. Brown (1999) found that stipulations governing assessment and the fear of long completion times impeded the design of tailored development programmes. The question arising here is whether it is better to have copious and detailed standards that specify evidence requirements or simpler, holistic standards that concentrate on the critical aspects of assessment (Eraut, 2001, p. 97).

Reputation

Matlay (2000) reasoned that the cumulative effects of negative publicity about NVQs 'were very damaging' to their reputation. This problem of perceived lack of credibility and image was acknowledged following the Beaumont report (NCVQ, 1996). NVQs added to the qualifications 'jungle' (Williams, 1999) and the promised reforms and simplifications of vocational training in the United Kingdom (NCVQ, 1987, p. 5) never happened. Employers were confused by the framework, and with other aspects of NVQ provision, to the extent that the government announced an extensive review of operations (Beaumont, 1995). The need for a review pointed to structural weaknesses in the institutional arrangements for vocational education. One factor identified by Beaumont (1995, p. 24) is the requirement for employers and universities to deal with several awarding bodies in order to offer a range of NVQs adding cost and confusion to NVQ programmes. Fuller (1994) proposed that qualifications can be seen as having two important dimensions: 'Use' value (relevance to actual work and tasks) and 'exchange' value (enabling holders to get a better job for instance). The literature suggests that higher NVQs struggle in terms of both use and exchange.

Much of this criticism is grounded in the inability of successive governments have made little attempt to bring the national education and training systems closer together or support the rationalisation of national qualifications in the interests of clarity. Furthermore, it cannot be expected that a new national qualification structure is immediately recognised and adopted by employers and employees when it has taken a substantial period, over 30 years for HNDs, for example, to become an established feature on the qualification landscape.

The Learning Experience

The process of portfolio building is not well known and students can struggle to understand both the nature of evidence and ways of relating it to standards (Hillier, 1999). This problem is linked directly to the precise content and structure of occupational standards and their evidence requirements (Grugulis, 1997a,b). Higher NVQs have a poor reputation for developing skills and knowledge (Hillier, 1999). In management NVQs for example, a recurring problem is that candidates feel they are not learning much that is new and are only being accredited for what they know they can do already (Fuller, 1994; Holman & Hall, 1997).

One caveat concerning studies of learning experiences (Hillier, 1999; Grugulis, 2000) is that they may not have distinguished between problems directly linked to the standards and poor learning/teaching methods used by providers possibly caused by poor programme design or tutors with little commitment to NVQs. Because these two aspects cannot easily be untangled, this problem hangs over most studies of candidates' experiences.

Completion rates are also troublesome. National data for NVQs in management show that completions were running at about 30% of registrations (Swailes & Brown, 1999). This is a remarkably high non-completion rate and could reflect problems with the overall learning experience. Hooper (2000) found that completion rates are bolstered by high levels of leadership competence, good written communication skills, interpersonal sensitivity, support from line managers, strong motivation to improve work performance and inflexible submission dates. Low completion rates should be seen in context, however. NVQs fit a lifelong learning ethos. While high completion rates within set times are convenient for colleges it is perhaps an unfair criticism of NVQs since they were not designed to fit into such systems.

Costs and Returns

There has been relatively little work on the real costs of NVQs. The Employment Department (ED, 1994) noted that the costs of NVQs differed widely. Large variations occur in the time required for assessment. Some

training regimes are more expensive than others as are the costs of training assessors and differing approaches to quality assurance. The income generated from improvements to working practices and which could offset training costs was highly variable. Differences occur in the competence of people doing NVQs, such that process costs differed widely across candidates. Employers struggled to calculate how NVQ-based training led to savings and/or more efficient working practices.

Hyland & Matlay (1998, p. 407) reported that the costs of work-based NVQs, in general, are high relative to other forms of training and this seems likely to create a barrier at least in small organisations. Small firms are also deterred by negative views of NVQs being top-down, prescriptive and with little evidence that they lead to improvements (Welsh, 1996). However, key determinants of the amount of training in small firms are the link between training and organisational success (Hyland & Matlay, 1997) and the presence of a training culture and infrastructure (Hales et al, 1996). Of more import, perhaps, are the returns derived from particular qualifications. Dearden et al (2000) found that men with an NVQ 3-5 earn around a 6-9% return, whereas women earn around a 1-5% return. In comparison, 'A' levels gave around a 16-17% return for men and 18-23% for women. First degrees gave between a 16-28% return for men and 21-25% for women. (Returns represent the percentage above average earnings typically associated with possession of a particular qualification.) However, the qualification does provide entry and/or re-entry to learning and is increasingly being linked to pay benefits, such as the BP retail staff scheme.

Benefits of Higher NVQs

The empirical literature has taken, thus far, a largely critical stance of higher NVQs although several studies were found reporting more positive aspects. Students entering taught postgraduate management programmes from a competence route performed just as well as traditional-entry students in a majority of assessments (Taylor, 1996). This finding supports the idea of credit rating NVQs in higher education (see ED, 1995; Lloyd-Langton & Portwood, 1994), although the practical benefit of doing so is questionable, since there seems little evidence that students seek to use academic credits gained via NVQs to access other programmes. NVQ holders report growth in personal confidence resulting from their programmes (Hillier, 1999; Swailes, 1997). Winterton & Winterton (1997) found that management development based on the MCI's standards can lead to improved individual and organisational performance. While standards have been criticised for their design they have uses beyond qualifications. They help to up-skill the workforce and help improve systems and procedures in organisations, such as recruitment and selection or information management (Hillier, 1999), and inform the

content of other qualifications. In time, the use of standards *per se* a their use as qualifications may diverge. While standards are playing important role in training and development it does not necessarily follo that, as detailed specifications, they are suited to higher qualifications.

The literature has pointed to several major areas of criticism and y the numbers achieving a full NVQ 4 are considerable. Against tl background, the research set out to explore the factors influencing higl level NVQ uptake.

Research Methods

Information was collected from over 80 organisations representing range of stakeholder groups in spring 2002. Telephone intervi protocols were designed to explore perceptions of barriers held by ea group. The protocols adopted a semi-structured approach built arou key themes, rather than impose a preset list of closed questio Summaries were written immediately after the completion of ea telephone interview. Summaries were then compared for ea stakeholder group in order to draw out the main perceptions.

The sample included 17 universities, 12 awarding bodies a National Training Organisations (NTO), 12 Small Business Services (SB 12 Learning and Skills Councils (LSC), 10 private and 10 public sec employers, and 10 students that had completed a full NVQ at level 4 or The university sample included seven universities currently runn higher NVQ programmes, three that had ceased delivering high le programmes, one that was considering setting up provision and six i involved in NVQ provision. The subjects covered included manageme cultural heritage, guidance, engineering, training and development. hea and social services and veterinary nursing practice. The sam represented England, Wales and Northern Ireland. NTOs were selected the basis that they had developed higher NVQs in their field. I consistency, the SBS were mostly located in the same region as served the LSC. They were geographically dispersed and covered rural, url and mixed economies.

Of the 10 students contacted. six had completed a level 5 Management, three had completed level 4 in Management and one I completed level 4 in Business Administration. Four students had be required to complete the NVQ as part of their job. All students had be registered with the same centre although they were from differ cohorts. Each had undertaken workshops and other taught inputs as p of their NVQ programme. In addition, face-to-face interviews were n with managers in a range of organisations including a theatre compan small electronics manufacturer, a medium-sized chemicals manufactu a large retailer, an NHS trust, a professional body, a County Council ar professional institution. Eight case studies were written reflecting

stance of these organisations towards NVQs and were returned to the originators for comments and corrections before being finalised. Summary case findings are given in Appendix 2.

Findings – Stakeholder Perceptions

Learning and Skills Councils

A noticeable barrier concerned the perceptions of NVQs as lower level qualifications by employers and individuals. Negative perceptions were thought to derive from a lack of knowledge and experience of NVQs, and the value they can bring. Careers officers, parents and teachers were thought to lack knowledge of NVQs, and thus discourage take up. Negative perceptions were also attributed to professional bodies and universities – some snobbery around the academic/vocational distinction was suggested. NVQs were not seen by users or employers as being on a par with degree level qualifications. At high levels, it was felt that traditional qualifications had greater credibility.

Completion times were cited as a problem, particularly in small firms. This arises because awards require a support infrastructure that consumes the time of other employees. Higher NVQs were said to be particularly 'greedy' in terms of time requirements compared to other qualifications at the same level. Public perceptions of NVQs need addressing, making clear how they relate to other qualifications and demonstrating 'parity of esteem'. Government funding of NVQ levels 2 and 3 had increased demand and when approached LSCs had funded higher NVQs. Even so, funding mechanisms at levels 4 and 5 need radically changing, as LSCs do not have a responsibility to fund NVQs in higher education institutions. Professional bodies should be encouraged to integrate NVQs more with their entrance qualifications. NVQs also need to be more flexible to better fit individual jobs and ease the evidencing process.

Small Business Services (Business Links)

Small firms had low training spends and SBS were not always able to help with funding. Completion times were regarded by some as a higher barrier than costs and financing. Small firms preferred short (non-NVQ) courses that are less expensive in terms of the time lost to employers while training occurs. Small businesses were thought to have poor perceptions of higher NVQs and at all levels saw NVQs as lacking flexibility and 'particularity', which occur with tailored qualifications. Small businesses also saw the portfolio process as isolating, while short courses enabled trainees to work with others with similar problems. Poor perceptions were based partly on bad experiences with NVQ providers.

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SBS also recognised that small firms lacked knowledge about N\
how they could be used. This view was associated with concer
small firms saw NVQs as being saturated with impenetrable jargo:
need to be marketed differently showing their relevance t∙
businesses with an emphasis on the 'business case' for NV(
respondent stressed that confusion around funding, advice, guida
the number of providers needed to be addressed to give more uni

Universities

Since the mid-1990s, delivery of higher NVQs has been curtaile∙
lack of demand. NVQs had been 'peripheral' to universiti∙
activities and their survival had depended upon committed inc
sometimes with little support from the centre. In the managem∙
the sector is 'crowded' with qualifications and there is little ince
NVQs in a free market. One university reported growth in an ac
guidance NVQ partly because there are no competing qualificatic
of demand was partly due to funding problems, although not
surveyed felt that this was a barrier. Programmes are too e
without funding and corporate clients can easily find lo\
providers. Decreasing demand also stems from the internalisatio
frameworks into organisations that have used them to
competence in preference to opting for full qualifications.

Relations with awarding bodies were generally good. Ther∙
view that NVQs involve too much paperwork and that the a
jargon deters candidates. They are perceived to be me
reductionist, tedious to complete and not developmental. Diffic
students finding and providing evidence were part of the decisic
NVQs at some centres. The real learning benefits of NVQs
potential for skill development were underplayed by those
them. Several respondents noted the poor image of NVQs
association with low level qualifications. Students often compl∙
only because they were a mandatory requirement. While this m
true of other qualifications it seems particularly influential w
Universities involved in NVQs felt that NVQs were beset by
towards the competence movement. Those not providing NV(
the further education sector was the right place for ther
distinction between vocational and academic awards

To stimulate take-up, a more 'user friendly' framework is
house NVQs in universities. Better marketing of NVQs by ι
should make it clearer how enquirers can get good ac
should differentiate between higher and lower NVQs better
commitment from senior university managers is needed be
can raise their profile. NVQ provision occurs 'opportunisti
provision occurring through contracting-out or through

ents. Stronger links between mainstream courses and NVQs
elp to 'embed' NVQs and they need to be seen more in the
of structured development programmes. The public sector has
most effective in achieving this.

rding Bodies

VQs are mandatory, then no specific barriers were identified.
they are not without problems. A general lack of understanding
VQs and how they work existed. The term 'NVQ' was again
d with low-level qualifications. Candidates for higher NVQs were
to want developmental qualifications with higher kudos.
c qualifications were deemed to give more breadth, and provide
ue to students and employers in the longer term. They were not
ighly by employers and the whole recognition issue created a
t barrier. Greater parity of vocational and academic
tions is needed although awarding bodies felt that universities do
VQs as equivalent to academic qualifications.
ding was a fundamental issue. Level 3 NVQs have been boosted
ge to the Modern Apprenticeship Framework and the relative
of funding for levels 4/5 is a barrier as is the costs of higher
employers. The time needed to build a portfolio around normal
ivities is problematic. Taught qualifications built around regular
s are easier to manage and complete. The standard approach to
ent used at lower levels does not fit as comfortably at higher
Qs.
re are difficulties finding assessors for higher NVQs because of
viedge and competence required. A Welsh awarding body noted
es finding Welsh-speaking assessors to work with Welsh-speaking
es and this affected completion rates. Two awarding bodies
l shortages of specific higher NVQ titles. Accountancy and care
are examples. Such awards could, however, be partially
nt with existing qualifications. Some rebranding of high level
together with increased promotion and funding by government
ggested to improve take-up and perceptions.
ndards were criticised for being rigid, too complex and ridden
gon. Ironically, while national occupational standards are
l to be generic (e.g. NVQ 4 Management should fit all middle
s), the standards were thought to fit individual jobs poorly.
ntain too many core units and not enough options, hence more
rough optional units was suggested. This would enable greater
y although it is necessary to redesign standards overall rather
more units generated from the current model.

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Public Sector Employers

There is an historical stigma attached to NVQs stemming from t press' when they were introduced. They struggle to be recogr professional qualifications, since employees often need a rec certificate or diploma to practice, and they are seen differ academic qualifications. Portfolio production is an additional w for people with demanding jobs and the portfolio was thought by be an administrative nightmare. The open-ended structure of N\ thought to have an effect on completion rates and should be r with more fixed times and targets surrounding assessm completion.

A mismatch between occupational standards and individi was reported. This creates barriers since it is nearly impossible i candidates to evidence some units given that simulation is disc Cost to employers was an issue. Without external funding, NVQ c prohibitive and sources of external funding have diminished. Be the diverse content of standards, employers found difficulty ide internal assessors for higher NVQs. An example of NVQs bein, alignment came from a government department where most sr either too well-qualified on entry to be interested in NVQs or too do higher NVQs. High staff turnover within the departme depressed demand. Employers called for more publicity awareness and favourable perceptions. To overcome concerns a value of NVQs, universities were called upon to clarify the po NVQs as entrance qualifications and to dual NVQs with certific diplomas in order to emphasise parity.

Private Sector Employers

Senior managers lacked understanding about what NVQs are they work. Some evidence for academic/vocational divisiven noted such that they were not thought to be rigorous enough ic managers. Such perceptions lead to the quality and value of the being considered less worthwhile than other alternatives. Conve two small firms surveyed, the attitudes to NVQs were positive, i was no history of higher NVQ usage nor were there any plan them.

NVQs were thought to be time consuming even thou; employers would grant students release from work in order tc evidence. The standards were thought to have insufficient fit wit jobs and so access to evidence for some units becomes di impossible. Their content was described by one as 'petty, antiqu long-winded'. In-house training was considered more effective b can be more tailored. One manufacturer cited the withdrawal c

retailer from NVQ training programmes as off-putting because if the resources of the retailer could not make NVQs effective then neither could the smaller manufacturer. Employers felt that a public relations exercise is needed to promote NVQs and the view of NVQs held by senior managers needs to change. The perceived value of NVQs needs to be raised and more flexibility. e.g. through more optional units. would help. In the private sector. NVQs are seldom a requirement to get a job and this helps create a 'vicious circle' of depressed demand.

Successful NVQ Candidates

Eight people said that a management NVQ had helped them either by gaining the theory underpinning practice or by giving a benchmark for their performance as a manager. A beneficial aspect was that NVQs highlighted various management skills that students had not previously considered or used. and which could be applied in their work. The NVQ portfolio enabled students to reflect on their work and management skills. This process asked. 'how effective am I as a manager'. and by looking at things from a different viewpoint it highlighted weaknesses. Some students had used their NVQ to gain new jobs. Only two students said the NVQ had not helped in their job. They felt that they carried no recognition despite the work undertaken to gain them. One student felt that it carried no 'weight'. unlike the Masters degree that she had since obtained. to such an extent that she omits the NVQ from her CV.

Nine students said the NVQ was developmental and had increased their confidence and overall awareness of other elements of management and personal skills. It also demonstrated how to manage workloads and ways of being efficient, as well as the ability to recognise skills that students already possessed. but which they undervalued. NVQs gave students the ability to reflect on self as well as the relationships with other members of staff. while overall communication is improved – this combination has reduced stress in some students. Portfolio compilation was a problem in particular the volume of evidence needed. Managing to find evidence and match it with the standards was also a problem as it did not always tie in with their job at the time. Some students felt the standards were unclear. Finding the time to complete a portfolio had been a major problem for some and this put great pressure on their personal life.

The most frequently cited barrier was the view that NVQs do not carry the recognition that degrees have and this leads to a stigma attached to them. Less portfolio work was the main suggestion to improve the process. The standards need to be clearer about the evidence that is needed. NVQs need to become more flexible regarding evidence as not all jobs can provide the required evidence. Lastly, NVQs need to improve their image and recognition level. Some students saw an

NVQ as the sort of qualification that is completed by those who are no academic enough to do something better.

Funding Mechanisms for NVQs

The Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) is prohibited from funding NVQs since they are not included in the courses defined as eligible for funding by the Education Reform Act 1988. HEFCW (Wales reported that they were reviewing their policy on NVQ funding. The LSCs provide funding for higher level NVQs through work-based learning i students: are under 25 and do not have a degree: attend an LSC contracted work-based learning provider and attempt an NVQ on a list o NVQs approved in the provider's contract with the LSC: undertake a 'straight' NVQ, i.e. not an NVQ as part of another qualification.

Outside the work-based learning context, the LSCs fund students or higher level NVQs in further education colleges. Colleges and universities that enrol students on traditional courses, e.g. degrees attract a paymen from a funding body on a per capita basis. Since the government wants nearly all 16-18-year-olds in some form of formal learning, and since the 2002 learning targets for young people will not quite be met (DfES, 2002) funding arrangements appear geared towards achieving these objectives With the adult learning targets more or less achieved, the only suppor for people who want to complete higher NVQs is available through further education colleges. Given the government's intention to dismantle the academic-vocational divide, these arrangements appear to be somewhat anomalous.

Some universities have overcome the funding barrier by linking a higher NVQ to an academic award. Students are enrolled on the academic award with the university and with an NVQ awarding body. Because enrolments are for fundable HE courses, universities receive a fee payment. Judicious course design allows students to complete the requirements of both awards with one assessment strategy.

Discussion

The discussion draws on the survey's findings and the literature. Given that NVQs are delivered through a wide range of providers and cover wide range of occupations, generalisations from this study need to b made with caution. Although some areas are successful, as judged by th numbers of full NVQs awarded, other NVQ areas attract little interest and this study suggests that there are some major flaws with higher NVQ provision. The discussion is structured around seven key areas and eac area is revisited together with ideas for change.

ption Trends

me of full higher NVQs awarded is not insubstantial and, while
ies have reported a fall in NVQ activity, the overall level of
VQ take-up at around 15,000 full certificates a year represents an
re of the part-time higher qualifications market. Buoyant areas
accounting, management-related subjects, care and waste
ient. Level 5 NVQs seem to be struggling, however, and the
n areas that are well-served by alternative qualifications and
i NVQ is not mandatory or part of a qualifying route will remain
owth can be expected in areas that are not well-served
tional qualifications. Further research is needed to better
nd the market for higher NVQs in terms of the demographic,
and job-related characteristics of students who complete them
employers that support them.

ge and Promotion

as good support for NVQs from stakeholders who feel that the
ions are valuable even though the overall NVQ scene is patchy.
nt with Matlay (2000) we found that some of the 'bad press'
'Qs has done lasting damage. Renewed marketing initiatives need
a more positive image with new messages. Further use of old
s about real world competence and employer-led initiatives
be effective. The living and working context has changed
ably since NVQs were introduced, and the climate now is for
ality qualifications, lifelong learning and access to higher
n. Higher NVQs have a role to play so long as branding and
sues are resolved.
ceptions about the equivalence of NVQs and other qualifications
Iressing. There was a general perception that NVQ 5 is claimed to
alent to postgraduate awards, and yet there was little belief that
realistic or meaningful comparison. Communications strategies
clarify the relationship between vocational and academic
tions. People have a relatively clear idea of what it means to have
a or degree, but they are less sure about what it means to have
and this is affected by the accrediting and developmental
modes that are used. Both modes are allowed by standards and,
ense, this is a 'course versus assessment' choice for providers.
iend towards courses that fit into academic years, whereas
oviders tend towards more open-ended approaches. NVQs are
d with accrediting knowledge and competence, and the
s are silent about the methods by which they are demonstrated.
arent advantage appears to be creating confusion about 'what
e'.

The marketing of higher NVQs is relatively weak. Higher ℕ
not 'owned' and promoted in the same ways as other qualificatic
are not quite the orphans of the qualifications 'industry' as ↑
parental role lies with awarding bodies. However, neither ∤
bodies nor the university sector are promoting NVQs as ↑
comparable qualifications and this contributes to depressed
Higher NVQ success stories are found where ownership comes
professional bodies who promote them well. Separate iden↑
higher NVQs that reinforce parity with academic qualifications n₁
considered along with radically new delivery mechanisms for ₁
higher NVQs

Design of Standards

The role of national occupational standards in helping to
the skills base of the workforce is widely accepted, but it is
to ask questions about the design of standards. There a
instances where the standards are seen as too generic such ↑
have a low correlation with job content. Furthermore, th↑
extensive performance criteria and evidence (range) requ
present major obstacles to a rewarding learning experience ↖
are embodied in qualifications. It is disappointing that revised ₛ
have offered little discernible improvements over their pre₁
(CBI, 1989; Grugulis, 1998). Although there are examples of dev₁
approaches to portfolio building taking place there is nothii
assessment regulations that discourages an historical, pa
approach. Awarding bodies, through their external verifier₅
develop clear visions for the type of learning programme and ₑ
strategies that they wish to encourage.

National occupational standards have more uses than
however. Greater distinction between standards as de₁
frameworks and their use as qualifications is needed. This
suggests that the reductionist content of occupational standar
compatible with the requirements of higher qualifications beca
influence on the learning experience. While there are rigorous p₁
that govern the development of standards, new approache₅
incorporation in qualifications are needed.

The literature review noted the difference between thre₅
best practice competence. Standards, as they appear in qua₁
need to have a stronger correlation with a wide range of
challenging, and more enjoyable to evidence and bring abo
impressions of personal development. Less focus on the m
competence in favour of holistic assessment is called for. ↑
enjoyable learning experiences some providers are using
interpretations of standards (Eraut et al, 2001), and this raises ₅

that the requirements and stipulations of standards are being overlooked. In summary, the design and content of standards is included in qualifications should catch up with practice.

Further research is necessary to unravel new approaches to assessment. These need to put less emphasis on the use of historical documentation that shows coverage of reductionist competence in favour of more emphasis on validated accounts of previous work activities, demonstration of best practice, reflection on activities showing how and where learning occurred, the limitations of past experiences and thoughts about the application of learning. In the short term, awarding bodies in partnership with HE should rethink the NVQ process such that, without compromising quality, it is simplified and enhanced from the candidates' viewpoint. This has implications for documentation given to candidates and the training of advisers and assessors.

Disseminating Good Practice

NVQs have a distinctive vocabulary and processes that are not well-understood by most students. Harm has been done to students and the reputation of NVQs by inexperienced advisers and assessors in centres without a clear vision of NVQ processes. While awarding bodies have always used tight criteria for centre approval, these criteria have played down the reality of the learning experience. Approval decisions should strengthen their emphasis on the value adding experience that candidates receive. Drawing on the cumulative experience of NVQ delivery, thought should be given to ways of smoothing-out wide variations in NVQ practices and disseminating good practice.

Accreditation of Knowledge and Understanding

Colleges and universities are well-placed to contribute to high-level vocational education. One opportunity arises from the accreditation of knowledge (Randall, 1995, p. 12), such as that gained from traditional long courses. There is no compulsion to assess competence and knowledge simultaneously at high levels, and it should be relatively straightforward to benchmark the content of traditional courses with the knowledge statements in existing standards and create some form of accreditation scheme. The uptake of NVQs should be catalysed if people entering the workforce already have a substantial part of an NVQ accredited.

Costs and Value

NVQs are considered to be relatively costly in terms of personal time and expenditure. However, the key issue is not absolute cost, since there are

many examples of high cost development around. rather it is a cost-benefit consideration. In a free market. the added value deriving from possession of higher NVQs generally does not warrant the inputs needed to achieve them. Added value in this context embraces considerations such as personal development. public recognition of the award, and the learning experience. Whereas Dearden et al (2000) found lower economic returns to NVQs, we found evidence of perceptions of lower returns when qualitative factors were considered. Given the perceived added value. it is important that delivery methods. assessment methods and quality assurance mechanisms for higher NVQs are reconsidered with a view to reducing the overall costs of the process.

Funding Arrangements

The study supported the notion that the academic-vocational divide i accentuated by funding mechanisms. This area is politically-charged wit no easy solutions. The most popular higher NVQs (accounting an management) benefit from links to further qualifications and th membership routes of professional bodies. Neither area appears to hav been adversely affected by education funding mechanisms. Little. if an evidence was found of demand for 'straight' higher NVQs and a lac of funding for them is arguably not a barrier. Furthermore, fundir mechanisms can be utilised by linking an NVQ to a fundable qualificatic and this could help to overcome any negative images that students mi have. NVQ awarding bodies and education providers should evaluate hc courses eligible for HE funding can be linked to higher NVQs and u common assessment strategies (that is. two qualifications in one

Conclusions

We have presented a review of the British experience with higher NV and incorporated fresh evidence from a range of stakeholders. T success of VET initiatives is influenced at a macro-level by factors such sector size and distribution. the rate of technological change. exist skills levels, and funding mechanisms. The British case demonstrates t micro-level factors also impact upon success. These include the li between accreditation and learning, the degree of detail laid down standards. transferability of learning. the link between standards sector skills needs, and the probity of assessment strategies. We h given some suggestions for making higher NVQs more effective and in providers to consider the

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Creating a sustainable culture for everybody

the face of it, sustainable culture y appear to be a public sector bate over a particular cultural ablishment and how best to justify funding required to maintain it. wever, I wish to start from the sition that for individuals who create d sustain cultures, not the reaucratic infrastructures that we nufacture to support our ablished cultural heritage. A prime ample is the Millennium Dome. re we see a project without roots individuality, dominated by nmittees with a consensual view of world, and lacking any creative lividuality or risk.

s time for a serious readjustment of way we perceive and support ltural activity, otherwise there is a nger that without critical analysis or lection, we will continue to ignore true nature of culture: that is ople, risk, change and creativity. nceptual confusion: arts industry, ritage industry, creative industries cultural industries?

will start with a conventional finition of culture, succinctly capsulated by Raymond Williams: description of a particular way of which expresses certain meanings d values not only in art and learning, t also in institutions and ordinary haviour."

interprets culture in the widest ase, an inclusive attitude consisting structured and patterned ways of ing. He explains the artistic mponent of culture as: ndividuals in groups aracteristically respond to and make aningful the circumstances in which ey are placed by virtue of their sitions in society and in history." is definition leads us to a wider derstanding of our society. Williams uld no doubt recognise Blackpool asure Beach, with over 7 million itors in 1998, as a cultural centre. it it would no doubt be unwelcome the approved cultural family of the ts Council of England or Resource,

the national agency for museums, libraries and archives, and would even be hard pressed to fall within the concept of cultural tourism. Similarly, the enormously successful institutions Eastenders and Coronation Street or Manchester United and the cultural phenomenon of soccer fans are both recognised by social scientists as part of the cultural life of the UK but are seen as private sector activities and hence deemed to be inartistic. All are successful as businesses and attract large audiences without the benefit of subsidies.

Current debate also makes little of the role of values and religion in society, an integral part of culture. Such narrow definitions do not help us when it is clear the arts, religion and culture have been inextricably linked over centuries, with the Renaissance being the most obvious example.

During the last decade, the debate over the expenditure of funds in support of cultural activity and development has suffered from departmentalisation and a lack of coherence. Definitions of what constitutes cultural heritage are confused and are sometimes exclusive of more modern forms of culture.

Instead of the usual focus of attention on how the arts and heritage can meet government policy in the areas of urban regeneration and community development, we need to consider the importance of culture as a defining mechanism for society and as a richness-in-diversity concept. Public agencies, such as the Arts Council, are charged with educating society in, and promoting access to, the excellence of the arts. Whilst this may be admirable, is it right that a national agency should be given the task of defining our corporate sense of the aesthetic? The position I wish to adopt is one that avoids a very Victorian discussion of which corporate aesthetic is most appropriate for our respective society but leaves it to the individual to interpret in the way they

see best, supporting their inherent creativity.

Such an alternative perspective allows us to consider a more sustainable future for the arts and heritage as creative businesses, with products, services and markets. Judgement of excellence is simple, and funding becomes based on a business model. The nature of public sector organisational roles can be re-evaluated in developing this industrial sector just like any other industrial activity. Large businesses and the education sector take over the role of research and development. Government should ensure that risk and innovation is nurtured. No special pleading should be required though, and a wider range of funding agencies can become involved in supporting and developing the businesses.

We can then place our understanding of the creative industries in a wider definition of culture to encourage cohesion, access, participation and ownership. Culture as an all-embracing framework gives us a mechanism for making sense of our activities at a community, regional and national level. A good example of this is the development of a cultural strategy in Rotherham, an old steel community in South Yorkshire, defined as:

Culture has a material dimension:
*The performing arts - music, drama, dance
*The visual arts - craft, sculpture, fashion
*Media, film, television, video, language
*Museums, artefacts, archives, design
*Libraries, literature, publishing, writing
*Combined arts and festivals
*The built heritage - architecture, landscape, urban parks
And a value dimension:
*Relationships and shared identity
*Shared memories and experiences
*Standards

'What we consider valuable to pass on to future generations.

It is obvious that a cultural definitional framework encompassing far more than the traditional arts and heritages facilitates engagement and interaction with many of the components such as the built environment, beliefs, play and shared memories. A museum, as a focal point for reflection and interpretation of past cultural activities, becomes a sustainable project where public funding is clearly justified. However, this should not prevent us from seeing that the combination of the arts and heritage as an integral component of the culture of a community, region or nation, with the notion of culture as an industry, provides the most effective and powerful future strategy for all those engaged in such activities.

Culture as a creative industry

Culture as an industry challenges the traditional large institutions, which absorb the largest share of public funds. Whilst they have an important role to play, such funding issues can be resolved by establishing these institutions as businesses, with public sector money targeted at what is needed to "grow" the business. This approach, becoming more popular with the introduction of trusts and PPPs, can encourage the private sector, such as Blackpool Pleasure Beach, to become involved in public sector activity. In Sheffield for example, the council was having difficulty meeting the required expenditure on its museums, galleries and libraries, leading to redundancies and reduced opening hours. The city placed the department in trust, retaining ownership of the estate, collections and other assets, but with an independent management contracted to run the services for six years in return for a guaranteed grant income. Acting commercially to a business plan, the trust allowed the private sector flexibility to operate the institutions as a business with the assurance of public sector support.

Institutions such as these can be seen as creative businesses engaging with customers, developing markets, and
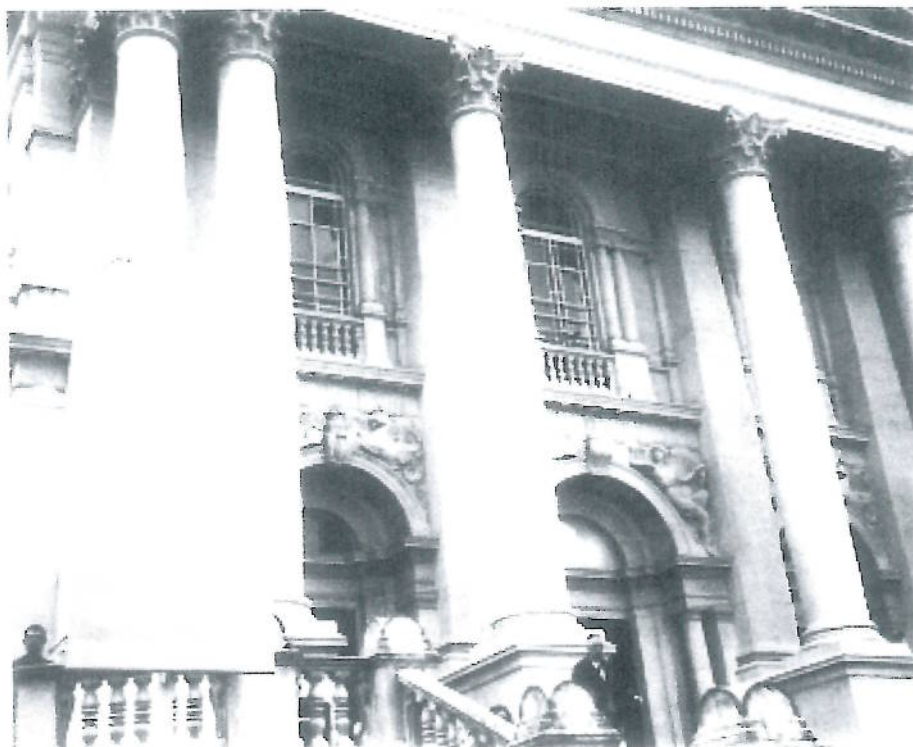
Tate Britain, bastion of culture to all (well-heeled?) Londoners

providing services and products which contribute to the development of local, national and regional culture.

This may require a re-examination of the role of local authorities or Arts Councils towards acting as contract and risk managers with a wider understanding of business development.

However, such developments will not only limit public expenditure but also provide more flexibility to the managers. Many local authorities see a long-term future for the cultural services and arts in contributing to regeneration, quality of life, social cohesion and economic development. What is now required is the freedom to develop alternative strategies and the recognition of people's innate creativity, capturing and building it into the creative businesses of the future.

If administrators and policy makers continue the static debate on public subsidies dedicated to the arts, the condition of our institutions will never improve. We now need to insure that activities encompassed in a cultural framework are derived from the needs of communities and what they are prepared to pay for.

Only through this approach can once and for all address the issue sustainability. Instead of asking how particular institution or exhibition be supported and seeking funding required, it is possible to start in opposite direction. We are an integ part of the culture in which we and therefore it should be an every part of our personal or professic lives that we are engaged environmental, social or econor matters that reflect the cultural life our town or city.

Attracting funding therefore becom less of an issue. This approach re fundamentally on insuring that relationship between organisations individuals in communities is str and that the organisations reflect needs, aspirations and creat potential of the people of the tow region.

The most effective way of delivei this organisational and individ interaction is to consider cultu activity as creative businesses. survive they have to identify deliver products and services markets and customers.

Simon Roodhouse is a Professc Boston Institute.

12. Roodhouse, S. (2001) *Creating Sustainable Cultures.* Art Reach, New South Wales Museums and Galleries Foundation, Sydney, Australia.

Creating sustainable cultures seems on the face of it to be a public-sector debate around supporting a particular cultural establishment and how best to justify the funding required to maintain the status quo.

However, I wish to start from a position that individual people create and sustain cultures, not the bureaucratic infrastructures that we busily manufacture for the purposes of supporting an established cultural heritage. Much of this debate can be symbolised in the conceiving, construction and execution of the Millennium Dome in London, that is a project without roots, individuality, dominated by committees and a consensual view of the world. There was a complete lack of creative individuality and risk. It is then, time that there was a serious readjustment to the way we perceive and support cultural activity, otherwise there is a danger of continuing what we have always done without critical analysis or reflection and ignoring the basis of culture: that is people, risk, change and creativity.

Similarly, popular programmes on television such as *East Enders* and *Coronation Street* are instantly recognised by social scientists, media academics and others as a significant component of the cultural life of the UK [... and] Manchester United Football Club and its fan culture, would also fall within the Williams definition.

Williams in addition refers to values as an integral component of culture and in this particular case he is referring to the values of society, such as equality, individual and religious freedom. However little is said about the role of religion as cultural life, except when policy makers and administrators give consideration to equal opportunities and ethnicity. The arts, religion and culture have been inextricably linked over centuries, with the Renaissance being an obvious example and similarly the Muslim art and design traditions. The arts and heritage form an important component of this cultural definition.

However, it seems that debates over the last decade, with regard to expenditure of public funds in support of cultural activity and

Creating
sustainable cultures

Keynote address

by SIMON ROODHOUSE

Conceptual confusion: arts industry, heritage industry, creative industries or cultural industries?

So let's start with a conventional view of culture, which is succinctly encapsulated in the Raymond William's definition (*culture*, 1981):

> "... a description of a particular way of life which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning, but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour."

He interprets culture in the widest definitional sense, an inclusive attitude consisting of structured and patterned ways of learning, and explains the artistic component of culture as:

> "... individuals in groups - characteristically respond to and make meaningful the circumstances in which they are placed by virtue of their positions in society and in history."

This definitional framework leads us into a wider understanding of our society, so for example Williams would recognise Britain's most popular tourist attraction, Blackpool Pleasure Beach (visited by over 7 million people in 1998), with more hotel beds than in all of Greece and its islands combined, as a cultural centre. However this cultural centre would not be welcomed into the approved cultural family of the Arts Council of England, or of Re:source, the national agency for museums and libraries and archives, although it would be seen as a significant component of the tourism industry. It would probably be hard pressed to fall within the accepted concept of cultural tourism.

development, have lacked coherence and ignored convergence, preferring departmentalisation with each discipline fighting for its particular corner and often based on a self defining view of the cultural world. [...]

What is interesting about these debates is that they have focused attention on particular arts and heritage constituencies at the expense of others, with little demonstrable interest in responding to and encouraging emerging and different traditions. Furthermore, increasingly over this period of time these arguments have not been concerned with the intrinsic nature of the arts and whom they benefit so much as how they relate to the contemporary government policy of the time. [...]

In my view, since 1970s there has been little or no debate by arts managers, administrators and policy makers about the purpose, value and nature of the arts, but rather a focus of attention on how the arts and heritage can meet government policy in the areas of the economy, urban regeneration, regionalism, social cohesion, community development, and so on. Whilst this is laudable, it does seem that we should be considering the importance of culture as a defining mechanism for society. In other words, arguing for coherence and convergence, the arts and heritage in culture and culture as a manifestation of society, a richness in diversity concept. By taking this stance, it is possible to incorporate the wider issues that concern society, such as the environment, urban regeneration, social cohesion and community development. [...]

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It is within this context that the questions of sustainability, the environment and finance should be investigated. However, we need to commence by being clear what it is we are sustaining and why.

The position that I wish to adopt is one that avoids discussion of which corporate aesthetic is most appropriate for our respective societies and leave that for individuals to interpret in the way they see best, rather to support the concept of the inherent creativity of the individual. This leads to serious consideration of the emerging global interest in the creative industries as a particularly significant development because, for the first time, it enables us to view cultural activity from an alternative perspective without the constraints of traditional frameworks, notions of excellence, and long-standing (largely Victorian) ideas of aesthetics.

If consideration is given to activities, including the arts and heritage, as businesses, (the creative industries) with products, services and markets, then, for example access questions are immediately answered, the judgment of excellence is simple (fitness for purpose) and funding becomes conventional, *ie* based on business planning models.

From a perspective of the creative industries it becomes possible to re-evaluate public sector organisational roles and the nature of the engagement in developing this industrial sector just like any other industrial activity. In other words, there is no special pleading required and a wider range of funding agencies can then legitimately become involved in supporting and developing the businesses.

A question generated by this type of model is how the research and development is funded. This, in my view, becomes the domain of the education sector, and large businesses. It can of course be a role for government by insuring that risk and innovation is nurtured as part of the development of the industrial sector to maintain and expand the wider ambitions for the knowledge economy or other initiatives such as social cohesion.

It is then sensible to place this emerging pattern of activity, the creative industries, in an even broader and inclusive definitional framework, which is culture to encourage cohesion, access, participation and ownership. If we use culture as the all-embracing framework for our activities then we have a rational strategic mechanism for making sense of our activities at community, regional and national levels.

[Roodhouse here outlines two examples of the development of cultural strategies in Bolton and in Rotherham...]

There are great similarities between the two approaches. It might be said that both Rotherham and Bolton need to adopt such an approach in order to rekindle a shared community identity as a result of declining industry, unemployment and an uninspiring quality of life. These towns are not alone in the UK or elsewhere in the world where economic activity has declined or substantial population change has occurred, or social upheaval experienced.

[Roodhouse here provides a third example from Toronto.] ...

It is evident that a cultural definitional framework encompasses far more than the traditional arts and heritage, facilitates engagement and interaction with many if not all of the components such as the built environment, beliefs, play, and shared memories. [...] If we begin to consider placing our activities, including interpretation, in this broader spectrum of interrelationships there is a basis for sustainability, engagement with the environment and subsequently a justification for public funding interventions. However a combination of the arts and heritage as an integral component of the culture of a community, region or nation with that of culture as an industry provides the most effective and powerful future strategy for all those engaged in one or more of these activities.

Culture as an industry challenges the traditional role of the large national institutions, the cultural palaces, as symbols of society and how society wishes to present itself to others. It also questions the chosen mechanism for reflecting back to society its approved cultural traditions and practices to remind us corporately of our history and sense of place. This is associated with concepts such nationhood. Whilst all of these functions are valuable, there is a tendency for such institutions to absorb the largest share of any public funding available for culture. This issue can be addressed by establishing these institutions as businesses, in the creative industries sense like any other and for public sector intervention to be targeted specifically at what is needed to "grow" the business. There is no reason why private sector operators cannot run national institutions.

Interestingly, there are indications that this approach is beginning to occur in the UK with the introduction of trusts and Public Private Partnerships. This encourages those operating businesses such as Blackpool Pleasure Beach to become involved in public sector activity. It also reinforces convergence of the public and private sectors in the interests of the customer, visitor and/or consumer.

Two examples that illustrate this are the Sheffield Art Gallery and Museum Trust and the Royal Armouries Leeds. [...]

In a recent survey [...] it was clear that virtually all of ... [the 26 local authorities surveyed ...] are in the process of considering transferring their museum and gallery services into trust. [...]

Culture as a creative business

This obsession with trusts by Councils illustrates at the least a willingness to employ alternative means of delivering services the public want at a competitive cost, whether it is drawn from the

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public or private sector as a means of sustaining services over the long term. [... Councils] are creative businesses engaging with customers, developing markets and providing services and products which in itself contributes to the development of local, regional and national culture.

The Councils and public funders, by focusing on what their funds are being used for; the mechanisms employed to insure accountability; and quality, have arrived at culture as a creative business. This may lead to a re-examination of the role of the staff in local authorities, Arts Councils and other funding bureaucracies in the sense that they might now have to consider operating as contract and risk managers, and business developers, developing explicit quality assurance mechanisms and establishing agreed bench marks for measurement. This requires different skills and knowledge as well as a genuine understanding of the sector, how creativity and business works.

Whilst this type of development might well be seen as an effective means of limiting public expenditure, which indeed it is, nevertheless it provides greater flexibility for the managers involved to genuinely develop the services they have taken over in the interests of different publics. The local authorities that were interviewed in the Re:source study also confirmed that they saw a long-term role for the services (whether in direct or indirect control) in contributing to regeneration, widening participation, lifelong learning, quality of life, social cohesion, and economic development. In other words, contributing to the culture of their particular communities in a direct and measurable way was recognised as a strategic goal. It was also seen by many Council members that their museums, galleries and arts organisations as the "family silver" needed to be retained, nurtured and developed for the benefit of the town, city, region and nation. There is no doubt that the arts and museums in the context of culture, as the creative industries, have a significant future. What it now requires is the development of alternative strategies, new skills or the rekindling of old ones, the recognition of the importance of people and their innate creativity, capturing and building it into the creative businesses of the future.

A creative and sustainable future

If museum managers, administrators and policy makers continue to behave as they always have, then the debate about the level of public subsidy dedicated to the arts and heritage will remain static, and never be won. The sector will continue to argue from the perspective of the arts as intrinsically valuable and museums as repositories of knowledge without making any substantial progress.

We now need to insure that activities encompassed in a cultural definitional framework are derived from the needs of communities, what they actually want, and are prepared to pay for. It is by

pursuing this approach that a mechanism exists to genuinely change the basis of cultural activity and consequently once-and-for-all address sustainability. What is intended by this, is instead of thinking from within the museum or art organisation as to how a programme or exhibition can be funded, and from what particular source, and consequently adjusting the programme to reflect regeneration issues or social issues in order to trigger the appropriate source of funding, it is possible to start from the opposite direction and say that we are an integral part of the culture in which we live and therefore it should be an everyday part of our personal and professional lives that we are engaged in environmental, social and economic matters that reflect the cultural life of our town or city. As a consequence there is no longer a question of how to source and attract funding, as it is obvious that there is engagement in the different aspects of the daily life of the communities in which we are located. This relies fundamentally on insuring that the relationship between organisations and individuals in communities is strong, and that the organisations reflect the needs, aspirations and creative potential of the individuals and groups of individuals in any of the towns, villages or regions we are concerned with. The most effective way of delivering this organisational and individual interaction is to consider cultural activity as creative businesses, which in order to survive have to identify and deliver products and services to markets, and customers.

I will leave you with these thoughts as a means of stimulating debate and encouraging creative thinking. ■

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It seems to me that a piece of art in itself isn't necessarily intrinsically good for us. The fact that quality art exists doesn't necessarily influence social cohesion or create a civil society. I'm pretty sure that an incremental increase in the amount of quality art available for public viewing will not subsequently correlate to an increase in employment or social well-being.

The degree to which the arts contribute to our social, economic and environmental well-being will have more to do with whether or not the production and/or display of art engages people emotionally and intellectually.

A valued arts experience is a very subjective thing. People do not value arts experiences that leave them emotionally or ntellectually unmoved, no matter how vigorously we present reasons why it should. In addition to the capacity of an art work to engage its audiences, the way we go about managing arts resources and facilitating public engagement in the creative arts is of fundamental importance in generating social, educational or economic benefits.

A clear understanding of these sorts of needs can provide the rationale for future programming and also provide starting points for how well we understand and consequently demonstrate the value of the arts in our communities.

Regional Australia has recently undergone rapid changes placing extraordinary strains on country communities. How well small communities respond to the challenges of rapid change depends on healthy levels of confidence in their capacity to find solutions. But the degree to which communities can work creatively to counteract unwanted, externally imposed change depends on the resources at their disposal. In terms of cultural resources this includes access to information, artistic skills, money, networks, venues and facilities, and community leadership skills.

Communities with the least resources are also least able to organise themselves to address their communal, or individual needs. So how we go about managing our available arts resources and facilitating

Keynote address Defining Domain

by DEIDRE WILLIAMS

This presents a challenge for any arts practitioner or arts organisation wanting public support for their work, to have a fairly good idea of who they are wanting to engage, why this is important and how they will apply their resources to respond to these needs. It also presents challenges to arts funding decision makers in how they see the priorities for public funding of the arts, and what they are hoping to achieve through that funding approach.

For those of us working in the arts, it's a very interesting exercise to ask ourselves who cares about what we do? If we vanished tomorrow what would our constituency or audience miss, and how might this loss affect their lives? What is it about what we do that people value? What do they want from us and how can we go about responding to and nurturing this dynamic relationship?

It's more than likely the answers to these questions will include things such as:

° Entertainment
° Arts experiences that engage, stimulate and inform
° Content that is accessible or relevant to their lives and experiences
° Opportunities to gain new arts skills, knowledge or generate income
° Opportunities to produce artworks and to share this experience with others
° Opportunities to develop networks and relationships with like-minded people
° All of the above in a good social or peer environment.

public engagement in the creative arts is critical to the arts generating the sorts of social, educational or economic outcomes most wanted and valued by our communities.

Quality participation in the arts, such as occurs in well conceived and well executed community based arts programs, can generate lasting social, educational and economic outcomes. By this I mean projects such as:

° Community participation in arts workshops to identify the values and qualities to be embedded in the design, construction and management of community facilities.
° Professionally resourced youth theatre companies providing skills development and performance opportunities for young people at risk.
° A large scale community performance event communicating or celebrating community views and values.
° Community members collaborating with artists to produce and install artworks in public spaces or public buildings.
° Participation of socially isolated people in a series of creative writing workshops and production of an anthology of their work.
° A large scale exhibition of artwork produced by the community around a theme or issue of concern to them.

In 1996 I undertook a major national study of around 100 publicly funded community arts projects (published as *Creating Social Capital*). The study, which set out to identify the long term benefits of community based arts projects, found that two years

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November 27
An evening with author David Day who will speak on his new book, Chifley, ORANGE Ex-Services club. $30 including dinner 7:00pm.

Secret Bridesmaids Buisness, a hilarious Australian comedy by Elizabeth Coleman at the Jetty Theatre COFFS HARBOUR.

Aerial workshops with trapeze by Judith Lanigan, a global performer in physical circus, hula hoops, comic performance and aerialist. Places limited. WAUCHOPE Venue and time TBC. Info: Angela Tel 02 65861363 or Denni Tel 02 65875140 or 0402 715375.

Bugs by the famous Mullumbimby children's circus: creeping, crawling contortion, soaring feats of aerial daring, eye-popping acrobatics, the human fly-paper, luminous fire-fly juggling and more. Bookings Tel 02 6686 7273 Website www.thursdayplantation.com.

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HAVE THE CULTU...
IN REGIONAL REGENERATION AND ...
WEALTH?

Professor S C Roodhouse

ABSTRACT

This paper sets out to consider the claims made primarily in the United Kingdom that the cultural industries are on... of the new growth sectors that are making a difference to the regional and national economy. By first examining the definitional frameworks currently utilised in the United Kingdom and European Union to establish wheth... there is a commonly shared definition of the cultural industries enables consideration of the interrelationship between the cultural and creative industries which is central to understanding the sector's claimed contribution the regional and national economy.

It is only by clarifying these definitional frameworks that progress can be made towards understanding the sector that is, determining the employment profile, size and scope of the businesses, turnover, levels of public sector financial intervention, customers and markets as well as clustering. Surprisingly little is known given the increasing political and economic importance of the sector and the empirical data that does exist is largely derived from secondary sources such as the national census and government annual employment surveys. Primary data however can found where local authorities and city councils have developed cultural quarters as a component of urban regeneration policies.

The difficulty that exists is that there are claims being made policies pursued, and public funds spent with no soun... empirical understanding of the sector. This it seems has in part been generated by the growth in the "medi... industries and the "convergent" industry concept as an alternative to the declining the older industries such as co... engineering, and textiles. There are also claims that the cultural industries have developed new organisation... structures and management systems that may be of benefit to other industrial sectors.

An added complication to this already confusing landscape is the role and function of creative individuals in no... creative contexts, for example a graphic designer working in a chemical engineering company. Do they form part o... the sector and if so how are they identified?

The mechanisms to measure these attributed contributions that the cultural industries are making, could be makin... or are not making to wealth generation are to say the least primitive. Putting it simply there is no common empiric... baseline as a point of departure for measuring the growth of the sector, such as the number of people employe... number of businesses started, number of business failures, contribution to gross domestic product, and exports. It ... also problematic in terms of understanding the levels of public sector funding intervention and how effective the... measures are. In fact it seems that national and regional arts and economic agencies are prepared to 'fly blin... without a compass.

Research undertaken in the Yorkshire and Humber region has attempted to answer these questions by establishin... datasets working with local authorities, arts agencies, chambers of commerce and other business sources, sampling the database through questionnaire and telephone follow-up to derive reliable primary information on the sector.

The research has already been used to ascertain for the first time the level of self employed in the sector and provide... an accurate breakdown of the employment profile, number and type of businesses, age profile and markets. F... example 40% of the sector comprises the self employed, sole traders, and partnerships and 94% of enterprises ar... classified as small (less than 50 employees). Clustering is significant with 46% of enterprises located close to othe... of a similar kind and 70% of sales made to private individuals largely in the region.

The paper will touch how this information can be used to determine whether the cultural industries are making difference to the regional and national economy and what the implications are for the traditional funding agencie...

The Department's interest and engagement with the Creative Industries, through the establishm
Industries Task Force, chaired by the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, with M
from the Department of Environment, Transport and Regions; the Foreign and Commor
Department of Trade and Industry; HM Treasury; and the Department for Education and E
then be seen as anything other than a direct engagement by government in creative activity. '
result, a policy for the arts prosecuted by the Arts Council of England on behalf of the govern
the distribution of Lottery funds and similar activities in heritage (Heritage Lottery Fund), as wel
Institute, Crafts Council and Sports Councils. The creative industries policy however is
Department through the Creative Industries Task Force.

Nevertheless, the government has embarked on a policy for the creative industries, which com
elements:
(i)   collecting more comprehensive and reliable data
(ii)   analysing data to monitor performance and identify common issues
(iii)   protecting intellectual property rights
(iv)   stimulating creativity and innovation in young people
(v)   identifying and supporting new talent
(vi)   providing appropriate training
(vii)   providing access to venture capital
(viii) focussing on global opportunities
(ix)   ensuring appropriate support from government agencies
(x)   maximising the opportunities and minimising the threats of new technologies
(xi)   recognising and exploiting the synergies between the subsidised and commercial sector
(xii)   balancing the encouragement of entrepreneurism against regulation

(Creative Industries Task Force, Mapping Document, 1998
Smith confirmed however that collecting and analysing data to underpin this policy on the cr
problematic, and that claims made in the past are difficult to substantiate (Creative Industries T.
Document, 1998). He says, "One of the problems in this whole area is that the precise figur
industries) are hard to come by. Many of these areas of activity are of course dominated by small
companies almost working on a cottage industry basis, with a handful of big players striding an
pattern that makes definition and accurate counting very difficult but even more essential if pu
maintained" (Smith, 1998.

Rather worryingly, a similar view was expressed as long ago as 1970 in the UNESCO report.
Great Britain, written by Michael Green, Michael Wilding and Prof. Richard Hoggart: "Britain h
long range planning of any kind so far, not studied methods in other countries, nor taken much
information. Statistics in the whole field covered by this report are hard to come by, hard to cor
rely on.

Nevertheless, the DCMS went ahead with an audit in 1998, based on secondary data, and pub
Industries Mapping Document, which claimed that these industries generated £5? billi
employment of circa 1 million, which represents 4% of the total employment of 27 million as de

Table 1

Activity	Revenues (£m)	Employment
Advertising	4,000	96,000
Architecture	1,500	30,000
Arts and Antiques	2,200	39,700
Crafts	400	25,000
Design	12,000	23,000
Designer Fashion	600	11,500
Film	900	33,000
Leisure Software	1,200	27,000
Music	3,600	160,000
Performing Arts	900	60,000
Publishing	16,300	125,000
Software	7,500	272,000
Television and Radio	6,400	63,500
Total	£5? billion	circa 1,000,000

It has been suggested, however, that the revenues of £57 billion require to be adjusted to take account of inputs. Consequently, using 1995 information, the creative industries contribution to the economy, net of inputs (value added) was around £25 billion, approaching 4% of gross domestic product.

Similar claims are emerging elsewhere, with $29.6 billion contributed to Canada's GDP in 1993/94, and 894,000 people employed in the sector, representing 6.7% of Canada's workforce. (Canadian Government Information Service, 1998) In Europe, cultural employment has risen by 24% in Spain between 1987 and 1994; and in France by 36.9% between 1982 and 1990. (Culture, the Cultural Industries and Employment – Commission Staff Working Paper sec (78) 837)

It is also worth noting that all local authorities in England have been requested by the DCMS to establish a Local Cultural Strategy by 2002

> "to enable cultural activities to be centre stage in the lives of communities and at the heart of policy making".
>   (Local Cultural Strategies, Draft Guidance for Local Authorities in England, DCMS, 1999)

The purpose of the guidance, it seems, is to

> "set out the benefits, principles and context for Local Cultural Strategies and to give guidance on their *definition* and scope, linkages with other plans, the process of development and the expected outputs".
>   (Local Cultural Strategies, Draft Guidance for Local Authorities in England, DCMS, 1999)

There is, inevitably, a requirement to measure each aspect of the strategy in terms of input, throughput, output and outcome measures. In order to do this, an empirical baseline is required.

For all this, there still remains a demonstrable need for accurate data not least to enable the monitoring and evaluation of the effectiveness of public policies directed towards the arts, cultural and creative industries, but also for the regional social and economic strategies being established by the newly formed Regional Development Agencies, and Cultural Consortia, for England. Similar needs exist for the newly devolved arrangements in Wales and Scotland.

ARTS INDUSTRY, HERITAGE INDUSTRY, CREATIVE INDUSTRIES OR CULTURAL INDUSTRIES?

Quite apart from the confusion and difficulties of collecting accurate data, there remains a fundamental flaw, the failure of successive UK governments since 1945 to conceive and execute a coherent national strategic cultural policy. The nearest we get to this is a statement of the DCMS aims and objectives in the 1999 Annual Report, which reflects the four policy themes referred to earlier:

(i)   access
(ii)   excellence
(iii)   education
(iv)   economic value.

In particular, DCMS identifies a role in "helping to develop the jobs of the future in the creative industries" (DCMS Annual Report, 1999) and intends to do this in partnership by creating

> "an efficient and competitive market by removing obstacles to growth and unnecessary regulation so as to promote Britain's success in the fields of culture, media, sport and tourism, at home and abroad".
>   (DCMS Annual Report, 1999)

Smith has also readily admitted another significant problem for his engagement with the creative industries – that of definition. There is unfortunately an inevitability about this confusion, not least because the definitional framework changes over time and in response to public policies, practices, and society's expectations.

In the case of creativity, for example, the Department of Education and Employment, through the National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education report, All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture and Education, 1999, does not restrict itself to associating creativity with "the professional and associated fields known as the creative industries" but rather as a process "imaginative activity fashioned so as to produce outcomes that are both original and of value".

(All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture and Education, DfEE, 1999)

It is suggested that this requires imagination, purpose, originality and value, all of which can
"advances in mathematics, sciences, technology, in politics, business and in all areas of everyday li

The dominance of the arts to the government definitional mix as UK cultural policy, however, s
consistent and can be traced to the establishment of the Arts Council of Great Britain as the go
vehicle for the delivery of public arts policy since the War. This was closely followed by the intro
bodies such as the Design Council, British Film Institute, Crafts Council and the Museu
Commission, all with similar roles and smaller budgets to that of the Arts Council. This hea
investment in a national bureaucratic infrastructure has resulted in little interest for an overal
integrative frameworks, although the last DCMS spending review recommended integration
agencies, for example, the Crafts Council subsumed into the Arts Council, and the combining of
Galleries Commission with the Libraries and Archives Commission.

The BBC, for example, was not recognised as a major cultural force until relatively recently, proba
not 'fit' the arts definition.

The Greater London Council (GLC) instigated a significant challenge to the definitional status
1980s at a time of high unemployment, significant industrial decline, and diminishing public fu
These circumstances gave rise to a re-appraisal of the role and function of the 'traditional' arts, in
and in relation to the introduction of new technologies such as instant printing, cassette reco
making.

For the first time, the concept of culture as an industry in a public policy context was introd
described by the GLC as the 'traditional arts', were subsumed into a broader definitional framework
'the electronic forms of cultural production and distribution – radio, television, records and video –
range of popular cultures which exist in London". (London Industrial Strategy, 1985.1)

The GLC, a Labour-controlled metropolitan council for London, recognised at an early stage th
"strong and deep-rooted antagonism towards any attempt to analyse culture as part of the economy".
required a move away from the traditional approaches to cultural analysis, which has tended to separa
"material production and economic activity". The London Industrial Strategy. The Cultural Ind
strongly that "What is available for cultural consumption and what opportunities there are for e
cultural production are, for better or for worse, clearly determined by economics". Given the
unemployment at the time, March 1985, (over 400,000 people were officially unemployed and a fu
people wanting work in London) it is not surprising that the role of 'cultural industries' as an emplo
within London's economy was recognised. For example, London's biggest manufacturing sector,
publishing, employed 112,000 people, and the University of Warwick's Institute of Employment Rese
at the time that literary, artistic and sports employment would grow by 30% nationally between 1980-1

It is worth noting that the Arts Council of Great Britain concurrently began to recognise the changing
economic climate of the 1980s Thatcher government. By "placing a new emphasis on business
marketing, arts managers will be able to increase sales and attract more private finance". "Money must b
other sources", and "for this reason the financial self-sufficiency of arts organisations is an underlying t
Arts Council of Great Britain, 1988, 2)

A general objective of the Arts Council plan was 'to expand the arts economy" by the introduction of
such as the Incentive Funding Scheme which was intended to improve earnings, encourage private
increase the financial turnover of the arts economy by "at least £15m by the end of 1991, and £25n
Associated with this new interest in the arts economy came performance measurements, eg targets for se
income and non Arts Council of Great Britain funding.

The Arts Council of Great Britain's arts economy strategy encompassed what the GLC would recog
traditional art forms: dance, drama, literature, music, visual arts and film. Newcomers to this por
broadcasting and video, now a recognised part of the arts establishment

There was, of course, an inevitable and continuing debate around the 'content' of each art form and eligi
slice of rapidly reducing public arts funding. In this respect, broadening definitions was clearly fraught wit
particularly for the traditional subsidised sector. Economics, however, was driving the national, regional
funding agendas.

For example, at a local authority level, this has resulted in the conception and establishment of cultural industries quarters. Sheffield's cultural industries quarter claims to have generated over 1000 (fte) jobs, with companies producing a combined annual turnover of £20 million. (Sheffield City Council, 1995). A similar economic justification has been made for the cultural industries in Manchester, with over 9,000 jobs directly generated and another 1,100 indirectly, with an annual sector output valued at £343 million. (Manchester Metropolitan University, 1989)

With the advent of the cultural industries, and arts economy, there was also an increasing awareness of the impact and speed of change being generated by new technology, particularly information technology and new media. Amongst others, Richard Luce, the Minister for the Arts in late 1988, recognised the need to look again and requested the Arts Council to develop and co-ordinate a national strategy for the arts, crafts and media, working closely with the local authorities, Museums and Galleries Commission, British Film Institute and Crafts Council.

There was, as a result, inevitably yet another attempt at defining the arts, which in this case was drawn from the Public Law 209 of the 89° United States Congress, "the term 'arts' includes, but is not limited to

'music (instrumental and vocal), dance, drama, folk art, creative writing, architecture and allied fields, painting, sculpture, photography, graphic and craft arts, industrial design, costume and fashion design, motion pictures, television, radio, tape and sound recording, the arts related to the presentation, performance, execution and exhibition of such major art forms, and the study and application of the arts to the human environment"

This definition was also endorsed by the Education, Science and Arts Committee of the House of Commons in its 1982 report on funding the arts.

With the addition of heritage, libraries, restoration, antiques trade, printing, publishing, advertising and digital media, a 'new arts' definition begins to emerge which is increasingly cultural.

It seems as though the endemic British disease of pragmatism and additionality prevailed, with the arts worthy of public funds alongside sports, heritage, tourism and media. The new arrivals, the creative industries, which as pointed out earlier include the arts and media are it seems a parallel national policy interest.

In DCMS terms, creative industries, it seems, has replaced the concept of cultural industries as one of the vehicles to deliver the New Labour policy themes referred to earlier, alongside the traditional post war establishment mechanisms for the delivery of 'arts' policy: the Arts Council of England, British Film Institute, Crafts Council, Museums and Galleries Commission, and their related regional partners, the regional arts boards and area museums councils.

Government has then defined creative industries as "those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent, and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property". (Creative Industries Task Force, 1998)

The sectors which have been identified within this definitional framework are:

advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software, television and radio".

(Creative Industries Task Force, 1998)

The difficulty with this approach is that there is no recognition of creativity in the context of engineering or pharmaceuticals. Consequently, the UK focus on the creative industries has the potential to be exclusive, because it is product, not process, based. This may explain why there is an increasing tendency to refer to the "cultural and creative" industries. To compound the generally confused definitional messages emanating from DCMS, culture is explained as having

'both a material and a value dimension and inlcudes a wide range of activities including arts, media, sports, parks, museums, libraries, the built heritage, the countryside, playgrounds and tourism". Local Cultural Strategies, Draft Guidance for Local Authorities in England. DCMS, 1999)

This tortuous and contorted definitional history from the arts and cultural perspective has fared no better from an economics or statistical point of view. Christian Barrière and Walter Santagata's paper, Defining Art, attempts to describe arts activities as goods and services. However, further complications follow once these terms are used which focus on quantifying what artistic and/or aesthetic means in this context. Many authors have attempted to clarify
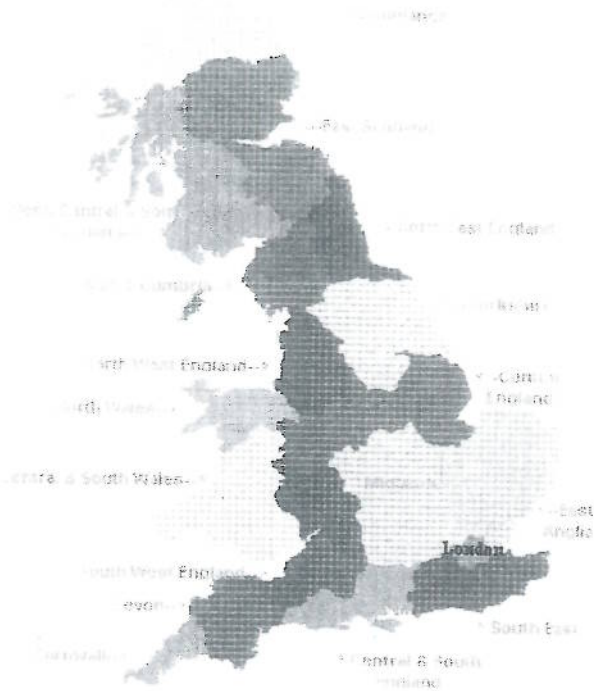
Figure 1: the United Kingdom

Figure 2: Yorkshire and the Humber

4.20 also includes urban planning, quantity surveying and various engineering design and consultancy activities.
Throughout,
estimations have had to be made of that portion attributable to architectural activities.
Other Design includes, for example, interior design activities.
Leisure and Entertainment includes nightclubs, disc jockeys, entertainers, etc.

This approach also allows limited comparison between the primary data collected in the study, and existing secondary data. There is a recognition that a refining of SIC 92 is needed to align with Eurostat in preparation for the next national census.

Nevertheless, there is now sufficient primary data available from the work in the Yorkshire & Humber region to begin to confidently provide a cultural industries profile and inform public policy interventions, performance and outputs.
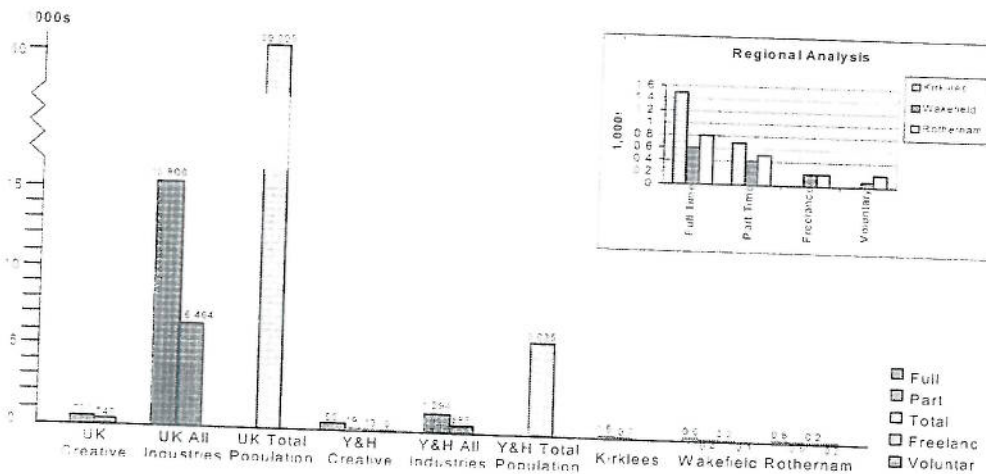
Although the study is extensive with primary data collected on people and working in the cultural industries, sub-sectors and organisational profiles, geography and markets, money and resources, investment activities and training needs, this paper focuses on people and working in the cultural industries, and money and resources, because this enables some observations to be made with regard to the future of the arts.

PEOPLE AND WORKING IN THE CULTURAL INDUSTRIES IN THE YORKSHIRE AND HUMBER REGION

When the available data is compiled both from primary and secondary sources, it is apparent that with definitional adjustments to the full and part time workforce in the region, there is a consistency of estimates. However, quantifying 'freelance' and 'self-employed' as well as volunteers proves problematic with no secondary data available. This lack of data is unhelpful when one of the 'claimed' characteristics of the sector is the high levels of freelance/self-employed and volunteers in the sector. Without additional evidence of these types of employment it is difficult to see how policymakers at national, regional or local level can confidently develop and implement effective strategies for the cultural industries, including the arts.

A breakdown of the creative and cultural industry primary and secondary data provides a more detailed picture of the composition of the workforce, particularly the level of freelance activity and volunteers (Figure 3).

Figure 3 Comparative Analysis Of Estimated Creative And Cultural Industries

Although the cultural and/or creative industries are a relatively small component of those employe
regional and local level, it is nevertheless recognisable and quantifiable. Figure 4 provides a detailed
employment categories against sub sectors found in the cultural industries such as architecture, music
museums, galleries and heritage. It is worth noting that volunteers and freelance work are signi
management, galleries, arts centres, exhibition work, heritage and combined arts.

Figure 4 Estimated Full And Part Time Employment By Selected Sub-Sector For The Cultural Ir
Yorkshire And Humber
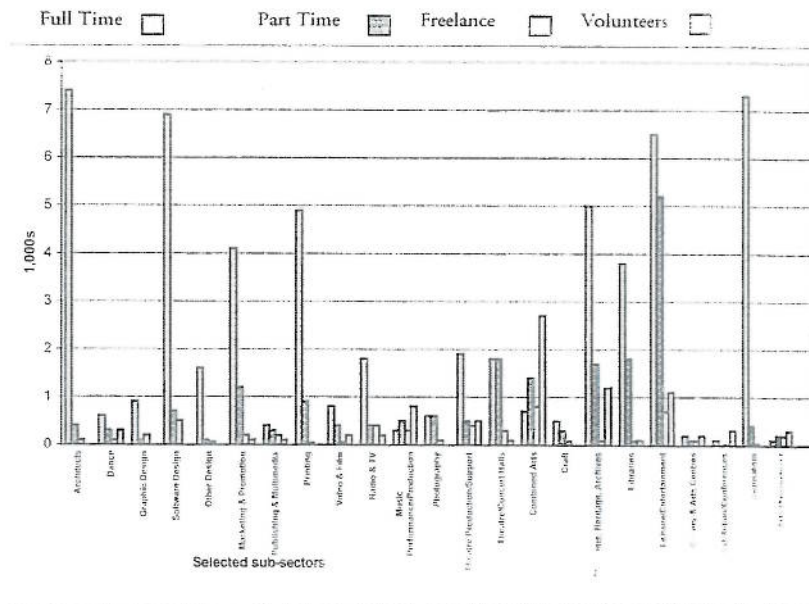
When both secondary and primary sources are compared, and classifications clarified, a consistent pi
as illustrated in Figure 5.

Figure 5 Comparative Regional Employment by Selected Sub-sectors (SIC92/000s) representing
creative industries proi...
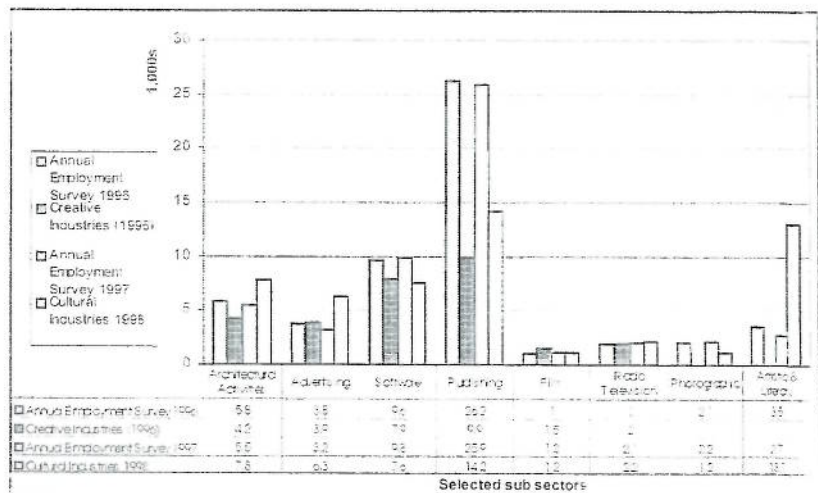
A consistent full- and part-time employment profile for the creative industries emerges with the exception of publishing. With this sub sectoral baseline. questions then arise regarding the capacity for retaining existing levels of employment and future patterns for expansion.

These questions point to the need for a better understanding of job roles and the extent of employment in each function. This is described in Figure 6.

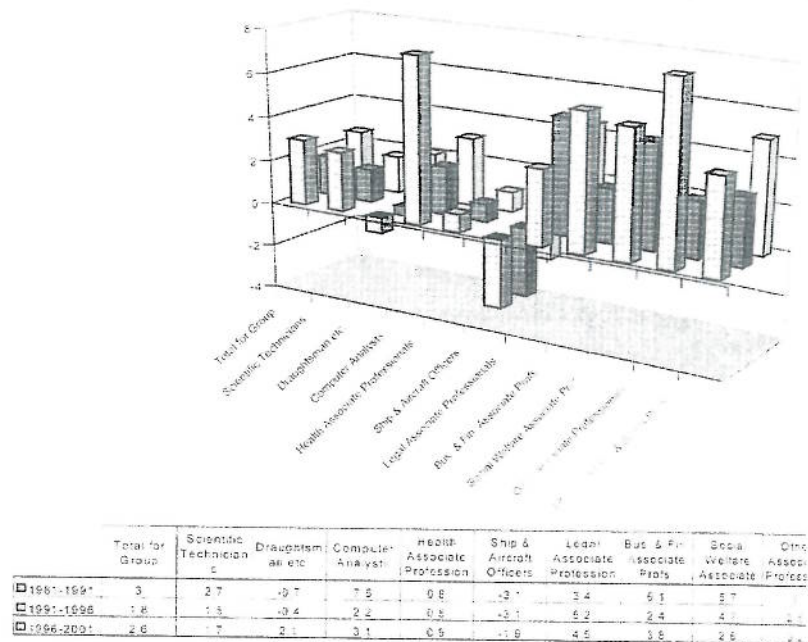Figure 6 Jobs and Roles Across the Cultural Industries
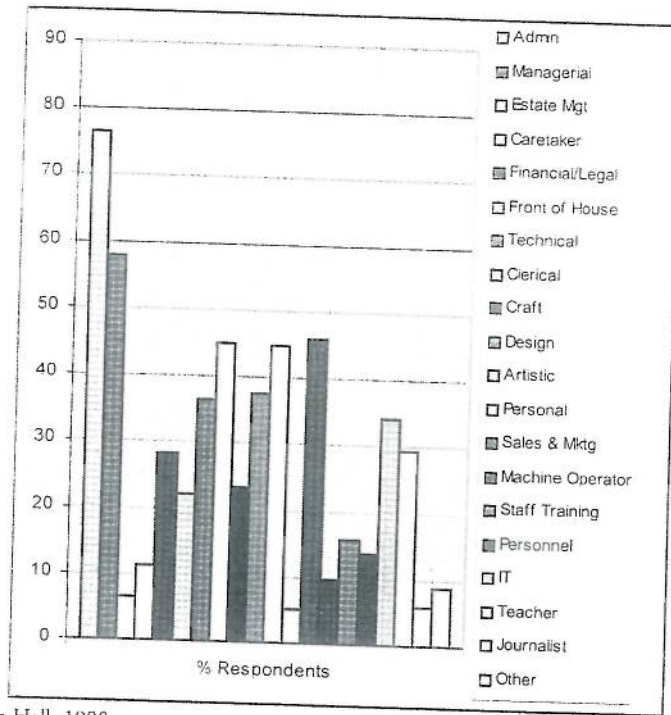
There are implications for the provision of training and development. and curriculum content for arts education and training providers servicing the sector, particularly the inclusion of business and ICT skills.

If further evidence is required of the importance of understanding the sector from an employment perspective in order to inform future policies and practices. a study by Business Strategies Ltd (1997) of the occupations of the future in the UK and the regions, demonstrates growth in the cultural industries described as literary, artistic and sports professionals (Figure 7).

Figure ~

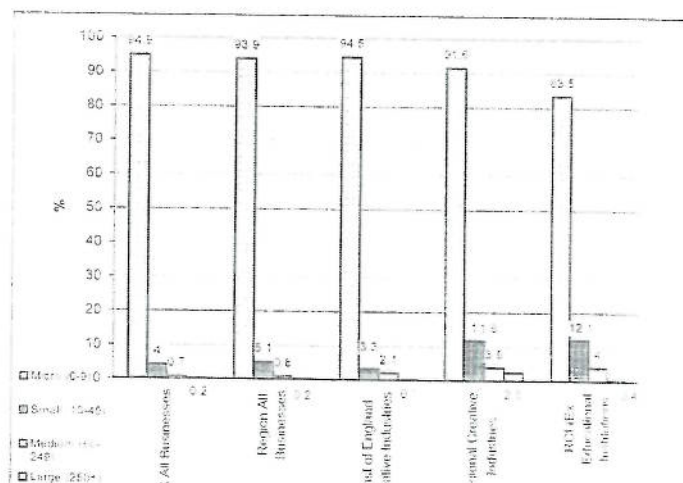Employment in Associate Professional & Technical Occupations Average Annual % Gro

	Total for Group	Scientific Technician s	Draughtsman all etc	Computer Analyst	Health Associate Profession	Ship & Aircraft Officers	Legal Associate Profession	Bus & Fin Associate Profs	Social Welfare Associate Profess	Othe Assoc Profess
1981-1991	3	2 7	-0 7	7 5	0 8	-3 1	3 4	6 1	5 7	
1991-1996	1 8	1 5	-0 4	2 2	0 5	-3 1	5 2	2 4	4	
1996-2001	2 6	7	2 1	3 1	0 5	-1 9	4 5	3 8	2 6	

Source: BusinessStrategies Ltd. 199~

The cultural industries (including the arts) based on employment are a significant compon
economy, with the potential to expand to meet projected deman

MONEY AND RESOURCES

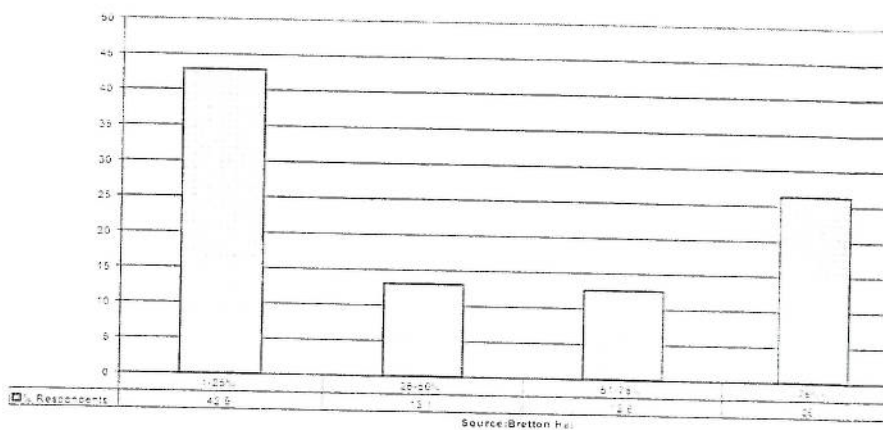A further illustration of the outcomes of primary and secondary data analysis is provided in i
describes the comparative business size profile of the creative and cultural industries in Yorksh
compared with all businesses in the region and the UK. It is based on primary data, the Annual |
(AES) data units, disaggregated by employment size band.
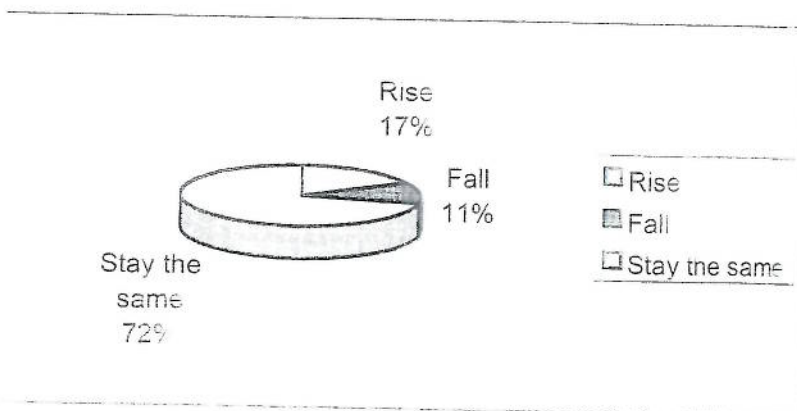
Figure 8: Comparative Business Size Profile (%)

Source:NOMIS/Bretton Hall, 1998

Figure 10: Contribution of Grant Suppor:

Source:Bretton Hal

The trends with regard to grant aid are described in Figure 11, and demonstrate a marked positive attitu
sector grant intervention, with 89% of those surveyed indicating that grant support will remain the s
There is little evidence that grant support is on a downward spiral for those that benefit from these inter

Figure 11: Trends in Grant Suppor:

Rise
17%

Fall
11%

Stay the
same
72%

☐ Rise
☐ Fall
☐ Stay the same

Source: Bretton Hall, 1998

The sources of grant aid are dominated by the local authorities (with 18% of the sector receiving suppor
by the cultural grant aid agency for the region. Although this is unsurprising, it does confirm what :
sector have known for some time. Perhaps worth noting is the growth in alternative sources of grant aid
single regeneration funds which have been increasingly used to match Arts Council Lottery funding Figu

Figure 12: Sources of Grant Support

Source: Bretton Hall. 1998
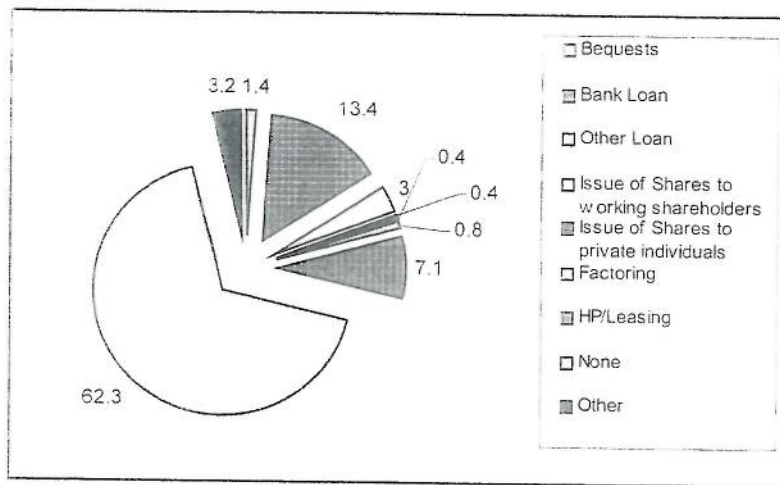
This can be further broken down into the following table:

Table 3: Types of Grants by Source (%)

	Capital Grants (n=43)	Loan Guarantees (n=5)	Revenue Grants (n=62)	Project Grants (n=132)	Research Grants (n=14)	Low Interest Loan (n=7)	Other (n=20)	No Reply (n=6)
National Lottery – Arts (n=35)	34	6	49	83	9	9	11	-
National Lottery – Charities (n=8)	50	-	63	75	13	-	-	13
National Lottery – Heritage (n=7)	86	-	57	57	29	-	-	-
Prince's Trust (n=5)	60	-	40	100	20	-	20	-
Arts Council Of England (n=28)	21	4	57	89	11	4	14	-
Yorkshire & Humberside Arts (n=74)	22	4	45	82	14	5	11	1
Single Regeneration Budget (n=32)	53	3	53	75	16	9	9	3
Local Authority (n=89)	33	3	47	82	9	8	12	2
Chamber Of Commerce (n=5)	40	-	40	80	40	-	20	-
Training & Enterprise Council (n=27)	52	-	48	78	19	7	22	-
Business Link (n=7)	14	-	14	71	14	14	14	14
Yorkshire Enterprise (n=2)	50	-	-	50	-	-	50	-
Business In The Community (n=3)	33	33	-	33	-	-	67	33
Yorks. & Humber Museums Council (n=11)	36	-	36	64	18	-	-	9
H. E. Funding Council For England (n=11)	55	-	91	73	36	18	9	-
Further Education Funding Council (n=20)	50	-	55	70	15	5	20	-
Other (n=64)	33	6	41	81	9	6	9	-

Source: Bretton Hall. 1998

This pattern of investment is confirmed in the following chart, which demonstrates the low level of private/commercial intervention in the sector (Figure 13).

Figure 15 External Investment (% Respondents)

Source: Bretton Hall, 1998

Given this lack of commercial interest, the cultural agencies could begin to address this question by working with the private sector to establish investment funds. This is, incidentally, beginning to occur in the North West region, and at national levels.

CONCLUSIONS

Whatever direction policy makers wish to take, the arts, establishing a shared inclusive definition of the sector is central to providing a framework for data classification and collection. This it now seems may emerge through the European Commission with its increasing interest in the social and economic impact of cultural industry policies, described in working papers such as Culture, The Cultural Industries and Employment. (SEC 1998, 837) In addition, in a proposal to the European Parliament to establish a single financing and programming instrument for cultural co-operation, the Culture 2000 programme (CIOM 1998, 266) the question of cultural statistics is addressed: "In economic terms, the cultural sector has reached a level within the EU which justifies the development of comparative cultural statistics, based on sources already existing at member state level. The Commission (EUROSTAT) has therefore included in its quinquennial plan (1998-2002) a specific heading on the development of comparative cultural statistics in order to help define, examine and evaluate the effect of Community action in the cultural sector". This process, at a European level at least, has now commenced.

Collection of primary data using revised standard classifications that accurately reflect the cultural industries is also essential. The over reliance on secondary data extrapolated to suit a particular need, policy or practice is becoming increasingly unsafe and cannot be relied on to measure effective sectoral support, business growth, and employment, or improve the targeting of public and private resources. From the work undertaken in the Yorkshire and Humber region, it is evident that the sector is bigger and more complex than at first envisaged and is a growing industrial sector that relies on both public and private financial intervention. An alternative and more radical approach to the definitional debate is to classify the sector by the products and services it produces.

Identity however remains problematic, many businesses do not as yet consider themselves to be part of a cultural and/or creative industry, and do not acknowledge that such a classification exists. There is then some way to go yet in establishing the cultural industries as a sector, if this is desirable, with those engaged in this work and with local, regional and national agencies. This is particularly true of the arts.

Nevertheless, because of the UK government's interest described earlier, expectations have been aroused by claims that the cultural and/or creative industries are a significant growth engine for new businesses and jobs. Training and

Education, an essential component of the creative industries, does and should not escape the emerging impact of the cultural industries, either, as a contributor to regional economic regeneration, with demands for new skills and knowledge and an emphasis on employability.

However, the nature of the sector, with its different patterns of employment, organisational structures, interest in technology, markets, unpredictability of creativity, and importance of individuality, clearly points to the need for public and private sector agencies, particularly the arts funding administrative structures, to rapidly reassess and reinvent their policies, practices and systems.

With regard to the future of the arts as cultural industries, it is clear that the arts have been incorporated into the creative and/or cultural industries definitional frameworks at local, regional and national levels.

It is also the case that the arts share similar development issues, albeit expressed differently to the creative and/or cultural industries, that is

(i)   finding funding
(ii)   finding new customers
(iii)   access to capital equipment
(iv)   training in ICT and business skills.

If the cultural industries, which includes the arts, are central to national DCMS policy, there are implications not only for the local, regional and national public agencies referred to earlier, but also for the sector itself, in particular the increasing pressures to behave as businesses and rely less on special pleading for public subsidy such as the intrinsic 'goodness' of the arts.

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DO CULTURAL INDUSTRIES MAKE A DIFFERENCE TO ECONOMIC REGIONAL REGENERATION IN THE UK?

Simon C. Roodhouse, University of Leeds

ABSTRACT

This paper addresses two emerging, critical issues in the cultural and media industry debate.

The first concern focuses on definition and categorisation. What are the cultural/creative industries? How are they represented and interpreted in governmental economic tabulations and measures?

The second issue is associated with the paucity of accurate, verifiable and published baseline data. It is important to establish such data as resources continue to be used to support the growth of the sector.

This paper approaches the two issues through analysis of a commissioned research programme to define the cultural industries in the Yorkshire and Humber region in the UK.

BACKGROUND

Considerable interest has been aroused in the UK over the economic role and function of the creative industries, stimulated largely by the "New Labour" government and its representation of the nation to the world as 'Cool Britannia'.

Chris Smith, New Labour's Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, indicated that the creative industries were a growth sector of the UK economy, and has said "It is incumbent on the government, in partnership with industry, to take active steps to promote economic growth in the creative and cultural sector. If we do not do so, then others will reap the economic reward". (Creative Industries Task Force 1998, 2)

This concept has as a result been enshrined in one of four key policy themes for the Department of Culture, Media and Sport, ie economic value. The other three themes, access, excellence and education, are the predictable interests of any Labour government. It does seem as though the key theme of economic value is a maturing of the Thatcherite ethos of efficiency, effectiveness, value for money, and market forces. Economic value, however, is helpfully explained by Chris Smith, the Secretary of State, as "ensuring that the full economic and employment impact of the whole range of creative industries is acknowledged and assisted by government". (Smith 1998, 2)

Economic value, along with the related themes of access, excellence and education, has been linked by Smith to the individual citizen's chance to share cultural experience of the best (whoever decides this) either as creator or participant. These sentiments are rooted in previous labour administrations, and stem from well established socialist doctrines, extensively examined by Raymond Williams in "Culture" published in 1981, with his now famous definition of culture as "a description of a particular way of life, which expresses certain meanings and values, not only in art and learning, but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour".

He views culture in its widest definition, consisting of structured and patterned "ways of living", and explains the artistic component of culture as "individuals in groups – characteristically respond to and make meaningful the circumstances in which they are placed by virtue of their positions in society and history". (Bennett et al 1981, 41-43)

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Williams provided a platform for broadening the interpretation of culture, particularly in terms of culture as a practice that interacts with economic and political processes, conditioning and being shaped by them.

Since 1946, the mechanism used by successive UK governments for delivering the state intervention in the arts component of culture has been the Arts Council of Great Britain (now the Arts Council of England), and the significance of the economic argument was not lost by them as a means of increasing the public funds available to support their activities. It was also expected that the Arts Council, established at 'arms length' from government, should develop and action artistic policies free from government interference. In other words, the arts were not to become a political football; however, practice over the years by the Arts Council has inevitably reflected successive governments' social, economic and educational policies.

Examples of this are abundant, with the Arts Council's engagement with urban regeneration, social reconstruction, the economic impact of the arts, and the arts contribution to tourism and the export effort.

Studies were commissioned, such as The Economic Importance of the Arts, undertaken by the Policy Studies Institute, and led by John Myerscough in 1998, which attempted for the first time to quantify the economic impact of the arts and the provision of verifiable data. The contribution of the arts to tourism and the export effort as part of the business case for an increased slice of the public purse was also developed, in the Arts Council of Great Britain's "A Great British Success Story", with claims that tourists in 1984 brought £5,319m to Britain, and 60% of those in a survey that year confirmed that they were attracted to the country by the galleries and museums, with a further 35% for theatre and 22% for music.

14 years later, similar but more sophisticated claims have been made this time by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport in its Creative Industries Mapping Document with, for example, an aggregate value of exports estimated at £7.5bn. This direct engagement by the Department in the debates around the creative industries signifies a detectable shift in the relationship between the state-appointed arts council and with its remit to encourage knowledge, understanding and participation in the arts. The Department's interest and engagement with the Creative Industries, through the establishment of the Creative Industries Task Force, chaired by the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, with Ministers and officials from the Department of Environment, Transport and Regions; the Foreign and Commonwealth Office; the Department of Trade and Industry; HM Treasury; and the Department for Education and Employment, cannot then be seen as anything other than a direct engagement by government in cultural activity. It has yet however to be described as a cultural policy.

Nevertheless, the government has now embarked on a policy for the creative industries, comprising:

1. collecting more comprehensive and reliable data
2. analysing data to monitor performance and identify common issues
3. protecting intellectual property rights
4. stimulating creativity and innovation in young people
5. identifying and supporting new talent
6. providing appropriate training
7. providing access to venture capital
8. focussing on global opportunities
9. ensuring appropriate support from government agencies
10. maximising the opportunities and minimising the threats of new technologies
11. recognising and exploiting the synergies between the subsidised and commercial sectors

12. balancing the encouragement of entrepreneurism against regulations.

Smith has also confirmed that collecting and analysing data on the creative industries is problematic, and that claims made in the past are difficult to substantiate. He says in his book, 'Creative Britain' that "One of the problems in this whole area is that the precise figures (for the creative industries) are hard to come by. Many of these areas of activity are of course dominated by small and medium sized companies almost working on a cottage industry basis, with a handful of big players striding amongst them; it is a pattern that makes definition and accurate counting very difficult but even more essential if public policy is to be maintained". (Smith 1998, 10-11)

Rather worryingly, a similar view was expressed long ago in the 1970 UNESCO report, Cultural Policy in Great Britain, written by Michael Green, Michael Wilding and Prof. Richard Hoggart: "Britain has undertaken little long range planning of any kind so far, not studied methods in other countries, nor taken much care over cultural information. Statistics in the whole field covered by this report are hard to come by, hard to compare, and hard to rely on".

Not only is there a proven need for accurate data to enable the monitoring and evaluation of the effectiveness of public policies directed towards the creative industries, but also for the development of regional social and economic strategies being established by the newly formed Regional Development Agencies for England; and in the context of the devolved arrangements for Wales and Scotland.

ARTS INDUSTRY, CREATIVE INDUSTRIES OR CULTURAL INDUSTRIES?

Quite apart from the difficulties of collecting accurate data on the creative industries, there is, as Chris Smith has admitted, another problem – that of definition. What are the creative industries, the arts and heritage? There is an inevitability about this confusion as the definitional framework changes over time and in response to public policies, practices, and society's expectations.

The dominance of the arts can, however, be traced to the establishment of the Arts Council of Great Britain in 1946 as the government's chosen vehicle for the delivery of public arts policy. This was closely followed by the introduction of similar bodies such as the British Film Institute, Crafts Council and the Museums and Galleries Commission. For all this investment in a national infrastructure, there was no overarching policy or integrative framework. HM Treasury, then the Department of Education and Science, followed by the Office of Arts and Libraries, the Department of National Heritage, and now the Department of Culture, Media and Sport, have been expected to co-ordinate activities, confirm policies and seek funding from HM Treasury to allocate to each agency, generally on an annual basis.

Lord Redcliffe-Maud, when reviewing the funding structures and systems in England and Wales in 1976, confirmed the established pre-eminence of the arts. In his report, Support for the Arts in England and Wales (Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation) he attempted to distinguish between the 'arts' and 'cultural activities' as

1. I have first in mind objects, events, occasions which would not exist or happen without artists: that is without people, professional or amateur, paid or unpaid, who create something new to see or hear or touch.

2. But I have also in mind the experience of other people, not the artists, who see, hear, touch what artists create. And sometimes this experience of the audience is as essential to the work or the occasion as the artist.

3. By 'cultural activities' I mean all that involves any of the performing, visual or literary arts and crafts mentioned above. Gardening, walking, riding, fishing and many other forms of sport and recreation are in some sense cultural activities, but for my purpose I must concentrate on the arts." (Redcliffe-Maud 1976, 13)

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Design, film, television, galleries, museums, libraries, publishers and printers are included in the Redcliffe-Maud arts definition and architecture, for example, is excluded.

The Raymond Williams definition of culture referred to earlier as a particular way of life or ways of living seems to have been re-interpreted by Redcliffe-Maud, and others such as the Arts Council of Great Britain, to mean the arts are culture and culture the arts.

This, de facto, appears to represent UK government policy since World War II, and successive administrations have refused to admit to an explicit arts or cultural policy in the firm belief that the 'arms length principle' reigns supreme. This principle requires the government appointed agencies such as the Arts Council of Great Britain (now England), Crafts Council, Museums and Galleries Commission, to individually formulate policy for 'their' sector which collectively can be described as a national policy.

A significant challenge to this status quo was instigated by the Greater London Council in the early 1980s, at a time of high unemployment, significant industrial decline, and diminishing public funds for the arts, which gave rise to a re-appraisal of the role and function of the 'traditional' arts, in economic terms, and in relation to the introduction of new technologies such as instant printing, cassette recording and video making.

The concept of culture as an industry was introduced. The arts described by the Greater London Council (GLC), in the London Industrial Strategy, as the 'traditional arts' were subsumed into a broader definitional framework which included 'the electronic forms of cultural production and distribution – radio, television, records and video – and the diverse range of popular cultures which exist in London". (London Industrial Strategy 1985,11)

The GLC, a Labour controlled metropolitan council for London, recognised that there was a "strong and deep-rooted antagonism towards any attempt to analyse culture as part of the economy". It required a move away from the traditional approaches to cultural analysis, which has tended to separate culture from "material production and economic activity". The London Industrial Strategy, The Cultural Industries, argued strongly that "What is available for cultural consumption and what opportunities there are for employment in cultural production are, for better or for worse, clearly determined by economics". Given the high levels of unemployment at the time, March 1985, (over 400,000 people were officially unemployed and a further 120,000 people wanting work in London) it is not surprising that the role of 'cultural industries' within London's economy was recognised. For example, London's biggest manufacturing sector, printing and publishing, employed 112,000 people, and the University of Warwick's Institute of Employment Research indicated at the time that literary, artistic and sports employment would grow by 30% nationally between 1980-1990.

The Arts Council of Great Britain, under the leadership of Rees Mogg and Luke Rittner, also began to recognise the changing political and economic climate of the 1980s Thatcher government, by "placing a new emphasis on business planning and marketing, arts managers will be able to increase sales and attract more private finance", "money must be raised from other sources", and "for this reason the financial self-sufficiency of arts organisations is an underlying theme". (The Arts Council of Great Britain 1988, 2)

A general objective of the plan was "to expand the arts economy" by the introduction of the Incentive Funding Scheme which was intended to improve earnings, encourage private giving, and increase the financial turnover of the arts economy by "at least £15m by the end of 1991, and £25m by 1993". Associated with this new interest in the arts economy, came performance measurements, eg targets for self generated income and non Arts Council of Great Britain funding.

The Arts Council of Great Britain's arts economy encompassed what the GLC would recognise as the traditional arts forms: dance, drama, literature, music, visual arts and film, with the exception of broadcasting and video, which were now part of the arts establishment.

There was, of course, an inevitable continuing debate around the 'content' of each art form and eligibility for rapidly reducing public subsidy. Broadening definitions clearly brought with it dangers to the traditionally subsidised sector. However, economics was driving the agenda.

With the advent of cultural industries, and of the arts economy, and an increasing awareness of the impact and speed of change being generated by new technology, particularly information technology and new media, Richard Luce, the Minister for the Arts, in late 1988 requested the Arts Council to co-ordinate a national strategy for the arts, crafts and media, working closely with the local authorities, Museums and Galleries Commission, British Film Institute and Crafts Council. There was, inevitably another attempt at defining the arts, which in this case was drawn from the Public Law 209 of the 89th United States Congress, as "the term 'arts' includes, but is not limited to, music (instrumental and vocal), dance, drama, folk art, creative writing, architecture and allied fields, painting, sculpture, photography, graphic and craft arts, industrial design, costume and fashion design, motion pictures, television, radio, tape and sound recording, the arts related to the presentation, performance, execution and exhibition of such major art forms, and the study and application of the arts to the human environment".

This definition was also endorsed by the Education, Science and Arts Committee of the House of Commons in its 1982 report on funding the arts. With the addition of heritage, libraries, restoration, antiques trade, printing, publishing, advertising and digital media, there are the foundations of a 'cultural' definition. The inclusion of sport, recreation and related lifestyle activities which incidentally fall within the remit of the Department of Culture, Media and Sport, would generate the Raymond Williams view of culture.

However, Chris Smith and New Labour do not appear to want to take these steps and establish a national cultural policy and have instead opted for their four key themes: access, excellence, education and economic value. Creative industries, it seems, has replaced cultural industries as one of the vehicles to deliver these policy themes, alongside the traditional post war establishment mechanisms for the delivery of 'arts' policy: the Arts Council of England, British Film Institute, Crafts Council, Museums and Galleries Commission, and their related regional partners, the regional arts boards and area museums councils.

Government has defined creative industries as "those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent, and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property". (Creative Industries Task Force 1998, 3)

The sectors which have been identified are "advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software, television and radio". (Creative Industries Task Force 1998, 6)

It is worth noting that this emphasis on the creative industries distances the UK from its European partners, who have well established cultural policies. Perhaps more significantly, the emphasis on the creative industries has the potential to be exclusive, particularly when compared with earlier definitions. This may explain why there is an increasing tendency to refer to the "cultural and creative" industries, with resonances of the earlier engagements in the arts economy and cultural industries.

If there has been such a tortuous and contorted definitional history from an arts and cultural perspective it has been little better from an economics or statistical point of view, as one example demonstrates in Christian Barrère and Walter Santagata's paper, Defining Art.

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Table 1

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Creative Industries	Full
Great Britain	707,
Yorkshire & Humber	38,4
All Industries	Full-
Great Britain	15,8
Yorkshire and Humber	1,29

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MEASURING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE CULTURAL INDUSTRIES

Not surprisingly, there are further difficulties encountered when measuring the effectiveness of the cultural industries, which do not stem from the general definitional debate. These can be broken down as

1. no coherent national categorisation of the cultural industries

2. a lack of accurate primary data.

Attempts have been made, largely since the early 1980s, by Myerscough (1988), Cultural Trends, Policy Studies Institute (1989-93), O'Brien and Feist (1995) and Pratt (1997), and the Department of Culture, Media and Sports, to arrive at suitable categorisations for the sector. What seems to have emerged from this work is a recognition that the Office for National Statistics' (a UK government agency) Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) and the Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) provide an imperfect but verifiable structure to collect and analyse data.

Much of the statistical evidence, however, used by the public sector agencies and government departments referred to earlier can easily be traced to national census data, the Department for Education and Employment's labour force survey, and new earning study, along with several studies by the Office for National Statistics.

Other sources have included the Department of Trade and Industry, Antique Trades Gazette, Crafts Council, Design Council, Screen Finance, Arts Council of England, Sunday Times, Screen Digest, BPI Statistical Handbook, The Value of Music, Henley Centre, Association of British Sponsorship of the Arts, Society of London Theatres, Express Newspapers, Consumer Trends, Business Monitor and the UK Media Yearbook.

There is little primary data collection, a point made by Chris Smith, the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, which verifies the assumptions drawn from the analysis of secondary information, and prior to any sensible evaluation of the contribution made by the cultural industries to economic regional regeneration, there is a requirement to determine the extent of the activity "on the ground".

This began in the Yorkshire and Humberside region in 1998, with a regional study of the cultural industries, commencing with two local authority districts, Kirklees and Wakefield, with a further nine county/unitary authorities to analyse. However, to illustrate this point, the following table provides an estimated national and regional profile of employment, based on the Office for National Statistics' datasets.

Table 1

Full-time and Part-time Employment					
Creative Industries	Full-Time	%	Part-time	%	Total
Great Britain	707,500	74.0	248,000	26.0	955,600
Yorkshire & Humber	38,400	68.6	17,600	31.4	56,000
All Industries	Full-Time	%	Part-time	%	Total
Great Britain	15,807,100	71.0	6,463,900	29.0	22,271,000
Yorkshire and Humber	1,294,500	68.8	586,600	31.2	1,881,100

In depth studies have been carried out by Bretton Hall, College of the University of Leeds, to verify this data through initial primary data collection by direct sampling in three (Kirklees, Wakefield and Rotherham) of the 22 local authority districts in the Yorkshire and Humber region.

This data has been collected during the period September 1998 to February 1999 and although a substantive number of areas were investigated, including types of enterprise, markets, turnover,

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employment, skills and training, occupational structures, locations and public financial support, the focus here on regional economic regeneration points to a key measure - employment. This has been described in general terms in Table 1 and the following Table 2 provides a primary data analysis.

Table 2

Full Time, Part Time and the Self Employed							
Cultural Industries							
	Full Time		Part Time		Self Employed		Total
Kirklees	1,492	47.7%	757	28.1%	750	25%	2,999
Wakefield	639	49.9%	444	34.6%	197	15.3%	1,280
Rotherham	842	54.5%	527	34.1%	175	11.3%	1,544
Yorkshire & the Humber	38,400	68.6%	17,600	31.4%	unknown		56,000

(York Consulting Ltd 1998)

The three authorities are contributing 10.3% of the estimated 56,000 employed in the sector. This, however, is based on the broader 'cultural industry' definition and encompasses freelance workers. Nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the estimated 56,000 workers, which represents 2.4% of the 2.287 million (Office for National Statistics) employed to March 1999 in the region, is an underestimation.

This becomes significant when placed in the context of the authorities concerned, two of which, Wakefield and Rotherham, have above national unemployment levels, low educational attainment in young, white males, and the almost moribund, traditional coal and steel industries with the associated social and environmental degradation – not obvious areas to embrace the cultural industries.

CONCLUSIONS

Establishing a shared inclusive definition of the sector would provide a framework for determining data classifications and collection. This may emerge through the European Commission with its increasing interest in the social and economic impact of cultural industry policies, described in working papers such as Culture, The Cultural Industries and Employment. (SEC 1998, 837) In addition, in a proposal to the European Parliament to establish a single financing and programming instrument for cultural co-operation, the Culture 2000 programme (CIOM 1998, 266) the question of cultural statistics is addressed: "In economic terms, the cultural sector has reached a level within the EU which justifies the development of comparative cultural statistics, based on sources already existing at member state level. The Commission (EUROSTAT) has therefore included in its quinquennial plan (1998-2002) a specific heading on the development of comparative cultural statistics in order to help define, examine and evaluate the effect of Community action in the cultural sector".

It is difficult to understand why successive UK governments have failed to establish explicit national arts and/or cultural policies, not least New Labour. The Department of Culture, Media and Sport, which includes the heritage remit, has within it the recognised components of a national cultural department without, it appears, a policy! The apparent stigma attached to culture in British government and political party circles, is looking increasingly foolish with rapid technological change, industrial convergence, globalisation and regionalisation forcing the pace of change.

Collection of primary data using revised standard classifications that accurately reflect the cultural industries is essential. The over reliance on secondary data extrapolated to suit a particular need,

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policy or practice is becoming increasingly unsafe and cannot be relied on to measure effective sectoral support, business growth, and employment, or improve the targeting of public and private resources. From the work undertaken in the Yorkshire and Humber region, it is evident that the sector is bigger and more complex than at first envisaged. It is a growing industrial sector which relies on both public and private financial intervention. Identity remains problematic, many businesses do not as yet consider themselves to be part of a cultural and/or creative industry, and do not acknowledge that such a classification exists. There is some way to go yet in establishing the cultural industries as a sector, with those engaged in this work and with local, regional and national agencies.

Interest has been aroused by claims that the cultural and/or creative industries are a significant growth engine for new businesses and jobs. Training and Education does not escape the emerging impact of the cultural industries as a contributor to regional economic regeneration, with demands for new skills and knowledge and an emphasis on employability. The Bretton Hall, University of Leeds, Study confirms this. However, the nature of the sector, with its different patterns of employment, organisational structures, interest in technology, markets, unpredictability of creativity, and importance of individuality, points to the need for public and private sector agencies, particularly the arts funding administrative structures, to rapidly realign their policies, practices and systems.

If further evidence was needed, a study by Business Strategies Ltd in 1997 of the Occupations in the Future, the UK and the Regions, Table 3 demonstrates the growth in the cultural industry workers from 1981 – 2001 in the Yorkshire and Humber region. Again the confusion over classification arises with cultural industry workers described as literary, artistic and sports professionals.

Table 3
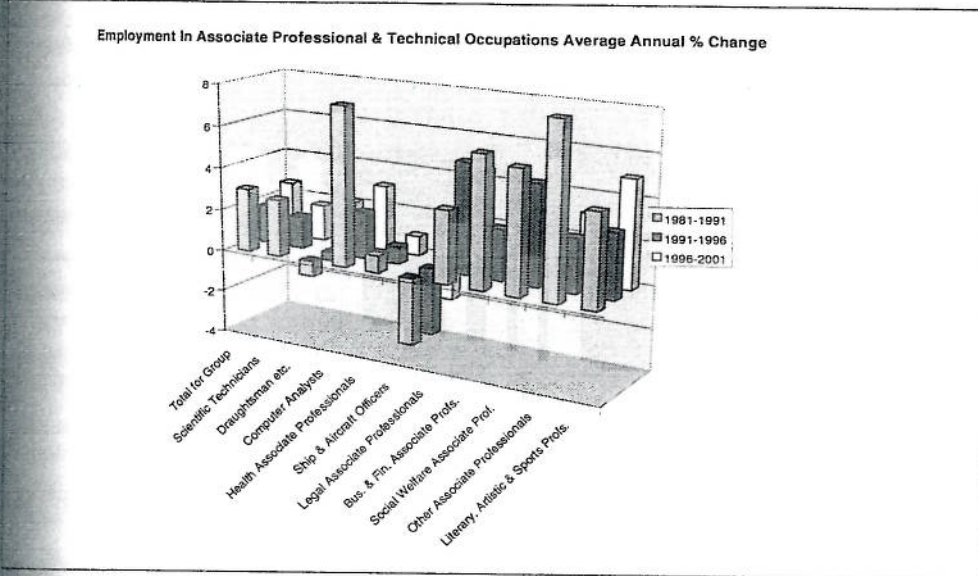
Source: Business Strategies Ltd (1997)

There are serious implications not only for the regional and national public agencies, but also for the sector itself, in particular the likelihood of increasing pressures to behave as businesses and rely less on the arts for arts sake, and/or the arts are good for the quality of life public funding arguments.

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Charles Handy, an independent writer, broadcaster and management teacher, encapsulates the current cultural industry regeneration debate: "I cannot forget a sculp in an open-air sculpture garden in Minneapolis. It is called 'Without Words' by Judith Sh are three shapes. One of them, the dominant one, is a bronze raincoat, standing u empty, with no one inside it". (Handy 1993, 1)

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Where Is Today's Arkwright?

SIMON ROODHOUSE

R ichard Arkwright was an English inventor and industrialist born in 1732. He was the youngest of thirteen children; his parents were very poor and could not afford to send him to school. His cousin taught him to read and write. Originally a barber, Arkwright became interested in inventing a cotton-spinning machine while in his thirties. After some experimentation, Arkwright invented the roller spinner, a machine that spun cotton through an ingenious process whereby the feeding roller spun at a different rate than the take roller. Later, Arkwright founded the first cotton mill at Nottingham, England. He was knighted by George III in 1786, and by 1789 he employed, in several spinning mills, more than 800 people. He also used his wealth to build houses, shops, schools, and churches to improve the poor conditions of his employees. He died in 1792.

Richard Arkwright, when asked about his ancestry, is reputed to have said in the *Stockport Advertiser* in 1830, "I can plainly prove, on the best of all authorities that Noah was the founder of my family, for he was undoubtedly the first Arkwright in the world." This statement may say something about the perception he had of himself and his ingenuity, but, unfortunately, it tells us little about the Arkwright family and, in particular, Richard's mother. His ancestry was a topic that Richard Arkwright seemed to avoid.

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Some explanation of the title of this article is required: It is intended to enable us to consider creativity and innovation as well as their role in our lives. To do this, it may be useful to explain the role of art and design in education, particularly in higher education, and to explore our fear of the new in the context of a changing world. Such a discussion may seem overly ambitious and may raise more questions than it answers, frustrate Arkwright scholars, and tread on the toes of art educators, psychologists, philosophers, and art historians. But that process, it seems, epitomizes the world of creativity, which is, after all, a world of continual definition and redefinition.

So Richard Arkwright is a starting point, although one may have difficulty seeing how to relate him to the theme. A letter written by Thomas Ridgway in 1799, in response to an inquiry by Arkwright's son, proves particularly helpful. In the letter, Ridgway described Arkwright's characteristics as neatness, sobriety, industry, and good sense. Arkwright was also thought to be a very ingenious man. Obviously his mother had a lot to do with this, although Fitton's account of the Arkwright family devotes disappointingly little time to the Arkwright women. However, Richard's life makes for a good read, a rags-to-riches story of how a poor boy makes good. What also comes across strongly is a determination to succeed, a single-mindedness coupled with business competence. In today's world, he would probably be described as the archetypal entrepreneur.

Many of his characteristics have particular resonance in the creative world of artists and designers. To understand how they do, we may find it helpful to place them in the context of Professor Howard Gardner's work on creativity (1995). Gardner's research is rooted in psychology, which provides a useful mechanism for better understanding the nature of ingenuity or creativity, neatness, industry, and good sense. What may prove difficult to explain is sobriety in the creative world.

Gardner interprets creativity as an interaction, a dynamic among three distinct constituents:

1. The individual with his or her distinct abilities, styles, needs, desires, and programs;

2. The particular domain or discipline of knowledge in which that person is trained and now works;

3. The field, that is, the collection of individuals and institutions that offers training, positions, and awards and that eventually makes decisions about the merit (or lack of merit) of particular products fashioned by the individual.

A further explanation of Gardner's interpretation includes an identification of five varieties of creativity:

1. Creative problem solving, found predominantly in the scientific field;

2. Creation of a general framework or theory such as Freud's theory of the unconscious;

3. Creation of works in some kind of enduring genre such as plays, paintings, and sculpture produced by artists;

4. The staging of a routinized performance such as creation in an actual performance;

5. The staging of a high-stake performance such as Ghandi's staging of an effective fast. Ghandi had to perform adaptively on the spot, with high potential costs of failure.

These varieties seem to constitute a recognizable framework in which to understand creativity, but what about the distinctive abilities or human characteristics that are required to fall into one of these varieties? Gardner went on to say that "an individual must learn to lead a life of discipline to master an area, usually by working under some kind of guidance (a form of apprenticeship) for a period of up to ten years."

I suspect that this framework reflects Arkwright's industry. Apparently, a creator in Gardner's framework has not only to be disciplined or industrious but also to have developed "the requisite, tough-skinned, probing and iconoclastic, personality." Gardner claimed that a highly creative individual is expected to come from a sympathetic home environment, engage in the chosen field in a disciplined manner for a substantial number of years, and subsequently devote his other life to the work. Unfortunately, the creator often feels a debt to posterity rather than to those who happened to help during his or her brief time on earth. A creative individual must also not be overawed by the traditions of the field but understand them to take risks and to extend the boundaries. A creator is less likely to stick in a mold than to reshape that mold, thereby extending the framework established for the field of endeavor.

Gardner pointed out the need for an evaluative mechanism that legitimizes the activity, the artistic and/or academic establishment. (An interesting example of an evaluative mechanism is the British Tate Gallery Turner Prize. Incidentally, quite often those who award such prizes choose poorly.) Gardner went on to say, however, that creativity is a low priority in schools and societies throughout the world. He suggested that such a lack of emphasis results from the increased disruptiveness in the classroom associated with fostering creativity. Do we want students who are tough skinned, ignore most social signals, and break rules? Although on a good day I would prefer to be surrounded by individuals challenging conventions and making new works in different genres, I fully accept that, as Fromm suggested in *Fear of Freedom*, such people could threaten our social fabric.

What is crucial here is a recognition that creativity exists in any discipline or field of endeavor and can be developed through discipline, reflection, experimentation, and useful critique. But do we want it? Indeed, creativity is not always required in the workplace. What seems to be needed is a more

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skilled and competent work force able to contribute to the country's economy as the DES White Paper, *Education and Training for the 21st Century* (1991), outlined in its aims:

> to produce for the 21st Century economy the prospect of a workforce with first class skills to produce the wealth on which our society depends for its standard of living.

Gardner brought together in his research the two constituents, creativity and education, which he considers to be beneficial to society.

Herbert Read has claimed this ground and has profoundly influenced the debate about both art and education. His authoritative book, *Education Through Art* (1943), written during the World War II, is still a significant influence on the nature of art education in schools and colleges. Gardner and Read argued from different perspectives for the centrality of creativity in education and hence in our collective lives, in our society. Read argued that aesthetic education

> forms a fundamental part of the purpose of education which is to foster the growth of what is individual in each human being, at the same time harmonizing the individuality thus educed with the organic unity of the social group to which the individual belongs.

Aesthetic education could be interpreted as individual creativity in the interests of social cohesion.

Read asserted the importance of the individual but also recognized the need for constraints, rules, and regulations in a social group or society. Both Read and Gardner confirmed that creativity, art, and education consist of constraints within constraints generated by external factors, individuality, imagination, knowledge of the subject, risk-taking, dedication, and discipline. However, Read focused our attention specifically on the role and importance of art in education as opposed to creativity in general. So far, if he were the reader, I suspect that Arkwright would have recognized in himself both Gardner's and Read's interpretation of creativity and education. He was inventive, and he was a maker within constraints. He understood the rules of business and of the society in which he lived. He was knowledgeable about his trade, disciplined, and hardworking. Whereas Arkwright seemed to suggest that his roots were biblical, Read located his with Plato. In particular, "all grace of movement and harmony of living—the moral disposition of the soul itself—are determined by aesthetic feeling, by the recognition of rhythm and harmony." Today, I suspect that this position is perceived as something of a liberal or romantic view of the world. Plato also elaborated his view by suggesting that the "lack of rhythm, harmony and gracefulness in our lives, the utensils we use and the buildings we construct" is closely allied to "an evil style and an evil character; and of the opposite character, which is brave and sober minded."

cism, and technical skill. Along with Pasmore and Hamilton, he was, however, committed to technology and, in particular, to industrial materials and techniques that could be used creatively. They quickly adopted Perspex and plastics as well as vacuum forming into the curriculum.

Pasmore attempted to combine the worlds of self-expression and skills: "A student's work should be a diagram of his thought processes and also exhibit the grammar, the logical framework of his chosen rules." He went on to describe his approach as "Disciplined beginnings leading to a research of a most personal kind," an approach that seems to reflect the structured approaches of Gardner and Read.

The art critic Harold Rosenberg, writing in *The New Yorker* in May 1969 on "Educating Artists," suggested that art is not just about knowledge but "about the eager consciousness of the unknown that impels creation . . . it is about the underdeveloped, perhaps unacknowledged areas of the mind that art counts on even in its more rational aspects."

He said that universities find it difficult to "teach" the unknown; they should attempt not only to provide the skills and techniques needed by any artist but also to teach artists to develop ideas through unfocused "playing" with their medium. He echoed something of Read and Plato when he said that

the basic substance of art has become the protracted discourse in words and materials echoed back and forth from artist to artist, work to work, art movement to art movement, on all aspects of contemporary civilization and the place of creation and of the individual within it.

Rosenberg was writing around the time of Hudson's activities at Cardiff College of Art where he was putting much of this into practice.

Both Hudson and Rosenberg recognized the impact of the model established at the Bauhaus from 1919 to 1928 with its preliminary course, which included detailed studies of nature, including experiments with actual materials and studies of old masters. The authors of these studies intended to explore and then to understand the relationship of different rhythms and express harmony through several materials involving the whole person to liberate him or her, helping that person gain knowledge of both material and form through direct experience. Form and material, space and spirit are placed at the heart of what seems a highly structured and prescribed program of study adopted by Gropius and his colleagues. There is an unequivocal acceptance of the creative process as the interaction of the mind, body, and soul, the key transformation being conception (mind and soul) to visualization (realization).

The Bauhaus strives to co-ordinate all creative effort, to achieve in a new architecture, the unification of all training (theoretical and practical) in art and design. The ultimate, if distant, goal of the Bauhaus is the collective work of

art—the building—in which no barriers exist between the structural and the decorative arts.

These aims are reminiscent of Plato's concept of education, particularly with respect to harmony and nature.

Perhaps one of the criticisms of the Bauhaus, and to some extent of Read and Hudson, concerns the education of the spirit or soul. It seems to have been overlooked, and there may be a case today for considering psychology and philosophy as central to our understanding of the spirit in the creative process, in particular the mind and its imaginative powers. We understand little about the mind and probably less about the imagination. What we do know is that it is often uncontrollable.

Brian Keenan, in *An Evil Cradling* (1993), his account of captivity in Lebanon, described a moment in his cell in solitary confinement:

tried to find sleep one afternoon or the comfort of a day dream. But it would not come. I felt something building up inside me. . . . What it was I could not understand nor from where it came. With it I felt myself passing through every excruciating moment of birth. An anguished passage along a dark tunnel, and I was moving through it. Towards what end I couldn't tell. I was a creature without voice. In my half consciousness I heard myself say "Oh no not again, please no more." But it was a journey that must be completed. I did not choose it. But I had to travel until it was done. I lay there wide-eyed, waiting for this thing to be over. But as it passed and I felt myself calm down and consciousness came back, I saw vaguely in my mind a new born child. A voice inside my head spoke gently "This is how it is. It is over and I give it to you." I thought of the lines scratched above my head from poems by W B Yeats: "Things fall apart: the centre cannot hold"; "A terrible beauty is born."

This description is a striking, powerful example of the working of imagination that is realized to our senses by Keenan's writing and informed by his feelings. This is the uncontrollability and power of the imagination that caused Plato difficulties. Apparently, Plato rated the strength of human imagination so highly that he thought a person could be transformed by what he or she imagined, becoming evil, for example, through mimicking evil.

Edgar Wind (1963) picked this up in *Reith Lectures on Art and Anarchy*; he argued that art has been moved to the margins of society and is consequently free of constraints. Similarly, Lord Palumbo's Arts Council of Great Britain published *A Creative Future* (1993), which continued to argue the case for the centrality of the arts and for the freedom of the artist to operate at the margins. "The arts, crafts and media are central to the lives of individuals and the well-being of communities. They offer inspiration, pleasure (harmony) and comfort; and help people criticize and celebrate society and understand their relationship to it."

Just as Arkwright was keen to seek "the freer atmosphere of the Countryside," Lord Rees-Mogg, in *The Glory of the Garden*, included this

stick on, he argued that two things would happen: first, the volume of mail would expand greatly, more than compensating for the loss on the cost of the longer deliveries; but, second and more important, everyone would be able to send letters. That would create an enormous boost to education because there would be some practical point in everyone's learning to read and write. It would also increase the national unity (harmony) because friends would be able to keep in touch with friends, mother with son, wife with distant husband. It would be, he said, not just a commercial success but a significant piece of social reform—an example of innovation by extending the boundaries of the field or domain. Nobody believed him (fear of the new). It took years of argument and campaigning before he convinced Parliament (the achievement of appreciation and recognition by institutions) to make the change (unwillingness of institutions to take a risk or confront failure). When institutions did, the results were dramatic. Within ten years, some fifty countries had adopted the idea of prebought stamps, and the modern postal service was born.

What is interesting about this story, however, is this: When he started his campaigning, Rowland Hill was not in the postal service. He was a Clerk in the South Australian Commission, having before that, been a school teacher in his father's school. The postal service was nothing to do with him; it was none of his business. He was not rich nor famous, nor influential, but he cared, he saw something which needed to be done (imagination) and he decided he could not live with himself (purpose) if he didn't do something about it. We can't wait for the mountain to move; we have to climb it ourselves.

The key question is how we establish the importance of creativity and innovation in education at all levels at a time when there is an assertion of the importance of basic literacy skills, measurable standards of attainment levels, and national curricula. In other words, there is an explicit system that is measurable, working to defined standards. This system leaves little or no room for creativity and innovation and even less opportunity for risk taking.

If we continue to ignore the importance of creativity and innovation in education, where are the new ideas, products, services, and entrepreneurs for the next generation to come from? Outside the system? Perhaps a starting point is to adopt the characteristics of Arkwright—ingeniousness, neatness, industry, good sense, and sobriety—in the context of creative learning as "the informing idea of our age."

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KEY SKILLS – A CULTURAL DILEMMA

Professor Simon Roodhouse

Introduction

Bretton Hall College was established in 1949 by Sir Alec Clegg, the Chief Education Officer for the West Riding of Yorkshire, as a result of his deep concern that the arts were not being taught adequately in schools. Subsequently the college has become, over the last 49 years, a recognised specialist provider of cultural undergraduate and postgraduate degree programmes in the arts and education as a constituent College of the University of Leeds, and provides a useful testbed for the development of key skills.

The interest in key skills arose as a result of a College recognition that graduate employability is important in an increasingly competitive climate. Key skills are defined in this paper but are often referred to as core, generic and common skills, which is indicative of the fluidity of the debate. What is generally understood by educationalists and employers are that key skills are generic competencies required to enable students to improve performance in their chosen programmes of study and to equip the same students with the recognised skills required for the world of work, regardless of their chosen occupational career.

However, much of this debate has been reflected over many years in the provision of cultural education and training, perhaps best described in the development of art and design provision. What is disappointing is the way in which those involved in the cultural field have forgotten their roots, and those championing key skills have forgotten the importance of creativity.

Are Key Skills Appropriate to Cultural Programmes in Higher Education?

There has been, and continues to be, an active debate across further and higher education regarding the definition and relevance of key skills. This was succinctly described by Novic Dorn, Edexcel's Key Skills Adviser for Higher Education at a recent conference, Developing Competence Based Programmes in Higher Education, where he suggested that there was now an increasing measure of support from the Higher Education sector through agencies such as the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals (CVCP) and The Higher Education Quality Council (HEQC) for six key skills (Edexcel is a major awarding body, formerly known as BTEC). These are:

- Application of Number;
- Information Technology;
- Working With Others;
- Improving Learning and Performance;
- Problem Solving;
- Communication.

Significantly, these skills have been formally accredited by the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA), the successor to the National Council for Vocational Qualifications (NCVQ). It is also the case that these skills are linked to the National Vocational Qualification (NVQ) in competence based assessment system, in a CVCP paper on the topic published in 1994. This is not surprising as the NCVQ has been the instigator of generic, core and now key skills through the development and establishment of General National Vocational Qualifications (GNVQ), primarily in further education working with employers.

What becomes lost, however, when discussing key skills are the reasons why the concept is on the higher education agenda at all. It has been characterised by some as a response to the pressures of mass higher education with the dilemma of a declining resource base, maintenance of academic standards and measurability, employment patterns and perceived employer needs, linked to national economic imperatives. In other words, pressure on higher education to ensure that increasing numbers of graduates are equipped to make an immediate contribution to the economic well being of the country in an increasingly competitive world. This approach is encapsulated in *Creating the Enterprise Centre of Europe, Learning and Skills* (DfEE Command Paper CM3300) as:

The increasing pace of change in modern society leads to the demand for lifelong learning. Bringing together education, training and employment in one Department, the Department for Education and Employment, (DfEE), allows Government to help improve competitiveness by integrating policy in these areas. Already this is paying dividends. DfEE which has the National Education and Training Targets at the heart of its objectives has looked afresh at the importance of literacy and numeracy in helping the unemployed back to work and at the importance of key skills at all ages.

The Higher Education Quality Council (HEQC) has responded to these ideas by undertaking a substantial investigation into establishing a threshold understanding of 'graduateness' which educators and employers would recognise as the qualities required to enable graduates to respond to the changing nature of employment which demands flexibility, self motivation, and management with less dependence upon traditional career paths.

The Association of Graduate Recruiters, in a commissioned report, *Roles for Graduates in the Twenty First Century* (1993), confirmed these concerns:

The key question for employers is: how can we do our best to ensure that graduates go into jobs which our organisations need and which are appropriate for their skills and abilities?

The report also points out that 'better information about students' skills, experience and competencies' is required to enable employers to address the earlier question regarding the best use of graduates in employment.

Similar sentiments are echoed across Europe with an increasing concern for the impact of the information society which is transforming the nature of work, the consequences of internationalism creating a global employment market associated with the continuous advances in the scientific and technical world. This has focused the attention of politicians on the purpose of education and training in meeting these challenges. This debate, at a European level, has been characterised by Mrs Cresson, EC Commissioner, in the Commission White Paper, *Teaching and Learning, Towards the Learning Society* (1995) where she stressed that:

What education and training systems all too often achieve is to map out an occupational pathway on a once and for all basis. There is too little flexibility and too much compartmentalisation between these systems, too few bridges and too few opportunities for taking on board new patterns of lifelong learning.

She went on to make the case that educators in partnership with employers needed more than ever to ensure that learning was relevant and continuously reflecting the changing nature of work.

Placing these issues in the framework of higher education 'flexibility' seems to have been grasped by many and articulated through mechanisms such as modularity and progressive entry to programmes of study. This is, in part, due to the substantive developments within further education, over recent years, with its focus on 16–19 year olds, local delivery and engagement in economic and social regeneration and a sea change in learning delivery, cost effectiveness and organisation. This has resulted in further education colleges such as Wakefield incorporating national vocational qualifications, key skills and expanding higher education provision including the franchising of HE programmes by universities to further education colleges.

But where do cultural programmes 'fit' within this picture? In order to understand this it is necessary to briefly trace the development of cultural higher education programmes in the United Kingdom. Cultural higher education programmes in this context are characterised primarily as art and design.

There has been a long tradition of art and design education in the United Kingdom, probably stretching back to the mediaeval period. It has formed an integral part of the life of the nation for centuries. Much of the past experience was associated with apprenticeships and trades guilds, but it was in fact the new found wealth of the industrial revolution and the increasing demand for 'designed' goods, in order to maintain an edge on competitors, that led to an increasing pressure for the visual arts to be both applied within industry as well as act as a symbol of individual success and wealth. The pressure to sell more and to 'improve' the commodities being made by industry in the fields of textiles and ceramics, for example, led to the establishment of societies such as the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacturers and Commerce, which attempted to raise standards in design and integrate the arts with industry. It represented industrialists and designers, was approved by government being a royal society, and still today exists and functions in terms of standard setting and advocacy.

Education and training was considered to be fundamental to raising standards and although private art schools existed, and the Royal Academy of Arts was seen as representing the highest level of establishment art, there was a perceived need by government to provide a 'second level system' of art education aimed at producing design technicians, including the raising of the level of public taste. Consequently, government established a committee in 1835 to 'inquire into the best means of extending knowledge of the arts and of the principles of design among the people (especially the manufacturing population of the country); also to inquire into the constitution, management, and effects of institutions connected with the arts ...'.

It resulted in the recommendation that a Normal School of Design be established in London, that schools in the provinces should be assisted and that museums and galleries be established. Furthermore, that sculpture and painting should be used to embellish public buildings. The recommendation for the Design Schools was implemented and the Normal School of Design in London has subsequently become the Royal College of Art. Partnership between education and industry was seen as central to this approach, as a means of contributing to the economic well being of the country. Although the early stages of the Design Schools were shaky and the industrialists, as the 'customers',

were not impressed, nevertheless they were recognised as nationally important, and continued to grow, providing the basis of post-school art education in the United Kingdom.

The First and Second World Wars profoundly changed British society and its status as a colonial power, but post-war Art and Design Schools continued to develop and expand as they were seen by ex-soldiers as a means of establishing a career, largely because of the relaxed entry qualifications. There was also a shift away from the classical 'skill' centred teaching to freer, individual creative expression. As a consequence, Art and Design Schools were perceived as havens for individual freedom and unfettered creativity, a 'bohemian paradise'. With the network of Schools of Art and Design throughout the United Kingdom proving to be attractive to ex-soldiers and providing a creative haven, the curriculum changed from the strongly vocational, industrially-led approach to a largely unstructured, individual expressiveness. This had benefits in that many creative people emerged from the Schools and were, for example, instrumental in the establishment of the rock music industry in the United Kingdom, but the reality was that the partnership between the Art and Design Schools and employers had virtually collapsed.

The 1960s, however, brought about a reconsideration of art and design education, epitomised in the Colstream report. This report set about regularising art and design education by establishing national qualifications and determining general parameters for the curriculum. There was still a high degree of flexibility for interpretation by lecturing staff. Leeds College of Art and Design under Thubron, for example, began to reassert the importance of a 'structured' approach to art education. This was quickly followed up by Hudson at Leicester who combined the discipline of design with the creative freedom of art. He based much of his approach on studies of children's art and how they learnt. The London Art School, however, continued to offer a traditional art school experience.

Substantial change occurred during the 1970s and early 80s with the establishment of polytechnics. The polytechnics comprised technology colleges and schools of art and design in close proximity to each other, grouped together in a single organisation, providing higher vocational education in the science, humanities and arts. A significant outcome of this 'rationalisation' was that, for the first time, Schools of Art and Design were able to offer degree programmes. The polytechnics have now become universities and art and design forms an integral and well-established part of the higher education provision.

What is significant about the historical development of Art and Design education and training is the dialogue between skills, creativity and vocationalism, in the context of a partnership with industry. Although the language has changed, the underlying concerns seem as relevant today. A further observation was that Art and Design Schools have traditionally provided courses which cross the further and higher education divide. Within this framework, skills training and employability have been recognised as a constant component in cultural programmes, whether described as generic, key or specific.

What are the Key Skills for Cultural Programmes and How are They Identified?

As a means of addressing what key skills are in cultural programmes, consideration is given to the recent experience at Bretton Hall College. The introduction of a key skills programme across the College portfolio was in response to the need to use resources more effectively, particularly cheaper delivery; adding value to the student experience and fostering employability, achieving College strategic objectives such as the promotion of lifelong learning and professional development, extending the working day, improving health and safety, and supporting modularity and open learning approaches to the academic programmes. What might be read at first sight as a managerially driven approach to the development of the College academic programmes was also informed by the experience of skills training in voice and movement for Theatre Studies students wanting to gain their Equity card, the passport to work in the professional theatre.

Bringing the strategic imperatives and the practical experience of delivering the voice and movement skills programme together within the context of the emerging 'generic' key skills framework provided the basis for the College-wide key skills programme. The debate which resulted from the analysis of these differing experiences and issues was centred on 'specific' skills versus 'generic' skills and how these needs could be met with limited resources and minimal disruption, that is without recourse to wholesale revalidation of courses and modules. As a result of consultation with students, staff and managers, a consensual model emerged.

Specific skills were described as voice and movement which are essential to all those students committed to practice in theatre and dance for visual arts students, a fundamental skill. In the case of sculpture students it was recognised that their ability to weld metal was important. What was not recognised as central to the development of art, design and performing arts students, for example, were

numeracy skills, and improving learning and performance, although it was generally accepted that working with others was central to theatre students whilst unnecessary for visual arts students. Problem solving, on the other hand, was recognised as an integral component of creativity. There was a converging of interests in information technology. However, specificity emerged as an issue, that is the needs of popular music students being distinct from graphic design students. Levels of skill acquisition also formed part of this discussion, which led to a consideration of the implications for assessment. Although the bulk of Bretton Hall College courses are modular with stated learning outcomes, there was a general reticence to re-visit the learning outcomes for each module in order to include the key (generic) skills.

Assessment, on the other hand, proved less problematic as the portfolio of evidence approach is familiar to art and design students and staff. Students in these disciplines are expected as a matter of course to keep portfolios, make objects and exhibit their work as well as record it. However, distinctions are apparent when comparing this approach with that of the National Vocational Qualification portfolio method where there are explicit national standards of competence as a means of evaluating the evidence collected.

Resulting from these debates and discussions, it was agreed by the senior academic staff that a key skills programme, with a budget, should be introduced which provided training in the following areas:

- health and safety;
- basic computer skills;
- voice and movement;
- digital imaging.

This non-mandatory programme was intended to benefit a wide range of students in fine art, graphics, theatre, dance, design, fashion, textiles, performance management and trainee teachers, predominantly in their first and second years. This amounted to providing a programme to over 1,279 students of a total student population of 2,500. There was little experience of this type of work in the College amongst lecturing staff, which opened the door to engaging with our partner college of further education, Wakefield; the Wakefield Metropolitan District Council Environmental Service Directorate; and the Adult Education Service, to provide the training and facilities required to deliver a satisfactory programme to the students. The programme does not resemble the key (generic) skills of numeracy, IT, working with others, improving learning and performance, and problem solving; however, it met the shared needs across the College.

In the case of health and safety, the College has statutory obligations, as do students, particularly in practically based courses which represent the bulk of College provision. Consequently, it was seen as fundamental to good working practices for staff and students both within the College and in employment. Basic computer skills and digital imaging in particular specifically relate to information technology but were adjusted to reflect the nature of the equipment and software available as well as the needs of the students as perceived by academic staff, particularly programme co-ordinators.

The Operation and Evaluation of a Cultural Key Skills Programme

The Key Skills Programme was optional for students, to avoid the disruption of the existing courses and associated re-validation issues. It enabled both staff and students to evaluate and learn from the experience. Delivery occurred in the mornings, 9.00 to 10.30am and evenings between 4.30 and 6.00pm to avoid conflict with the validated programmes of study. This also met one of the College strategic objectives of extending the working day.

The programme was constrained by a lack of resources, limited planning timescales and shortage of expertise, which encouraged the use of external agencies, particularly our further education partner, the Environmental Health Department of Wakefield Metropolitan District Council, and the Adult Education Service. This approach proved to be positive, with access to readily available expertise, and improved relationships with, and better understanding of, external agencies and partners. However, considerable strain was placed on the College administration and management of the programme.

Careful consideration was given to the content of the programme and its benefit to students which led to developing where possible, with partners, competencies towards NVQs. In the case of health and safety, students were able to gain a basic certificate in health and safety issued by the Institute of Environmental Health. Of those students participating, 68% achieved the certificate, and in addition three technicians have undertaken the advanced certificate in health and safety. As a result, technicians will, in future, be able to deliver the basic certificate course to students. The introduction of basic computer skills proved to be more difficult than expected, due in part to the lack of appropriate levels of equipment and staff expertise willing to be employed at the levels determined for the programme. Generally, student attendance was patchy. However, training in the use of the Internet proved to be popular. The competence based IT training was provided by Wakefield College which has led to the first cohort of

students registering for and achieving an NVQ Level II in IT. Voice and Movement is well established as it was the pilot project for the College Key Skills Programme. Students regularly attend, recognising that the warm-up sessions and training have a direct bearing on performance in degree work. A competence approach has yet to be introduced as the standards of competence do not, as yet, exist in all relevant areas. Digital Imaging for visually orientated students, particularly fashion and textiles, established base standards for all students in these disciplines. Not all eligible students participated in the Key Skills Programme, as those with evidence of achievement in these skills were exempted, through the accreditation of prior experience. The evaluation of the programme was carried out through the Students Union and the partners, using questionnaires. Staff trainers were also able to evaluate the programme.

Responses included students wanting to see more skills provision at different levels, reflecting individual abilities, with greater integration to their specific areas of study. It was also the case that the skills programme needed to relate explicitly to employment prospects with higher standards of delivery and assessment. Certification was important and the opportunity to gain health and safety certificates welcomed. However, the timetabling of the programme sessions caused difficulties, particularly with regard to public transport and related personal/domestic arrangements. Greater integration with degree programmes, including certification, was considered by staff to be necessary. Specifically in health and safety, there was a requirement for expanding the course to meet the needs of technology. Improved diagnostic testing and differentiated levels of IT training, based on the National Vocational Qualification levels were required. Foreign language training was identified as a requirement for College students, particularly fashion and textiles students because of the international nature of the industry.

What Has Been Learnt From This Experience?

The partnership with Wakefield College and Wakefield Metropolitan District Council worked well and provided a basis for further development, underpinned by this collaborative experience.

From a practical standpoint, there are several observations to make. The first of these is the need for advanced planning involving all stakeholders, to ensure that the appropriate structure and systems, joint ownership and management are in place. Certification is important, as are flexible responsive programmes within a well defined framework, linked to effective learning support and adequate physical

and administrative resources. However, if key skills are to work effectively, then they need to deliver what the student perceives as being essential to their course of study and employment prospects. It is equally important that academic staff recognise the needs of students and reconsider their attitude towards key skills development. Clearly, overarching strategic objectives need to be recognised in developments of this type, including the political dimension of reallocation of resources. In other words, there is a balance to be struck between what is required to deliver a key skills programme and the needs of both staff and students in becoming fashion designers, graphic designers or artists.

This leads to the heart of the matter which is an academic rationale for adopting such a change. It may be the case that existing systems work and work well in delivering good quality cultural workers, and there may be no need to engage in explicit systems and competency based education. Whatever position we may ultimately adopt, this process needs managing if a successful outcome is to be achieved.

But perhaps above all else, the programme at Bretton Hall College with its partners and the Key Skills Programme nationally has missed the most significant contribution to the employment prospects of young people and to UK plc, which is creativity and innovation. For example, in the RSA, the 'Arts Matter Series', report on Work Creativity and the Arts, (December, 1996), a case is made for the importance of creativity in economic activity. Several theatre companies work directly with businesses to assist them in realising the creative potential of executives, stimulate a sense of team identity, allow opportunities for constructive reflection and improve transnational communication. Government has also established a Creative Industries Task Force and encouraging regional innovation strategies.

So how can creativity be defined as a key skill? David Firth, in his book *How to Make Work Fun!* (1995), sums it up thus:

Let's suppose creativity were a person. How would you characterise him or her? Certainly you'd know creativity from its parents, freedom and security. Freedom from rigid frames of reference, opinions or beliefs. And security? Yes, creativity would have that, because creativity would have the inner strength to know that life will present opportunities for being ridiculed or attacked – the security comes from being able to endure such judgements.

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Interculturism: The Relationship between Art and Industry

SIMON ROODHOUSE

In the United Kingdom artists have engaged in one form or another with the industrial world since the seventeenth century, particularly in coal mining. Ever-increasing involvement occurred throughout the industrial revolution and continued through World Wars I and II. There are examples of this interaction in art collections around the world. With a little investigation it is apparent, however, that the artist was usually commissioned by the industrialist to produce a specific image. Their relationship was to all intents and purposes a business transaction that led only on occasion to longer-term relationships.

This form of engagement—the commissioning of artists for specific purposes—was not restricted to industrialists. Institutions such as the British Ministry of Defence commissioned artists such as Leslie Cole, Terence Cuneo, Laura Knight, and Henry Moore to portray the war effort at home during World War II. Stanley Spencer's paintings of ship building on the Clyde, housed within the Imperial War Museum, are an excellent example of this approach. In the United States similar state interventions occurred, the best-known of which is the Federal Art Project, established during the depression to give artists employment.

However, it is worth noting that there is little evidence of a progressive and growing relationship between the artistic and industrial worlds after World War II. It seems that artists have continued to develop their practice with little reference to industry and that industry's role has been relegated to that of financial sponsor for events and exhibitions rather than individual artists.

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Consequently, a meaningful and beneficial engagement between the production of art and industrial activity has not been a significant part of artistic activity over the last twenty years, nor has industry expanded its involvement in the art world. The two worlds seem to have moved farther and farther apart. This situation is captured in a comment by G. W. King, group secretary for Guinness PLC:

> The heyday of commissioned works related to the period when the original owners of the business were wealthy philanthropists and [art] collectors in their own right. They were often also paternalistic and took pleasure from seeing the workers (or their families) depicted in glorious colour. Quite often ownership of the works was blurred ... with some passing down through the families and others remaining within the businesses.

King goes on to explain that photographs—presently the preferred medium for industrial imaging—are more immediate and provide more direct representation of a company's activities; they are cheaper and quicker to produce. In other words, artists are no longer needed.

Electronic image-making processes also seem to have claimed the interest of industrialists as a means of producing "appropriate" visual imagery to meet their needs. For their part, artists generally view industry at best as a source of materials and finance (sponsorship) that enables them to develop their work, although there is a consistent but relatively small number of artists who work directly with industrial imagery.

Although industry and artists have been involved with each other since the seventeenth century, this discussion is limited to the last twenty years. This is in part because of my work in establishing the "Artist in Industry" schemes as means of addressing the seemingly ever-widening gap between the needs of industry and those of artists.

The Role of Industry

Defining industry is always problematic, and for the purposes of this research I have used the HMSO Standard Industrial Classification model (1992), although it is slightly different from other European classification systems. Within these classifications care was taken to ensure that large as well as small-to-medium enterprises were included in the survey of attitudes and degrees of involvement in utilizing artists and their images through direct engagement with the businesses. The data that were teased out of these industries include information on the extent and nature of any art collection a company might have, how those works of art were acquired, and what attitudes exist today toward acquiring or commissioning work from artists. Inherent in this are concerns with the type of imagery, the preferred media, and access to and for artists.

A random sample of 128 large, medium, and small U.K. enterprises was selected to determine the extent of involvement in collecting works of art and working with artists by industry today. Initial findings of this survey, based on a 78 percent return rate, have revealed the following:

- 38 percent of companies could or would not provide accurate data, citing current economic conditions and lack of resources, particularly time
- 54 percent have some form of art collection
- 28 percent have been involved in Artist in Industry schemes, including artist residency programs, which have resulted in the purchase of works of art
- 25 percent indicated that there are no industry-specific images in their collections
- 5 percent continue to sponsor or commission artists to produce relevant works

The overall picture suggests little interest in the topic because it is not seen as central to the business. Those who are engaged at one level or another continue to acquire work, although the images collected often do not represent the company, and the enterprises do not spend significant funds on collecting.

The facilities manager of United Distillers, Robert Ferguson, provided a typical response regarding their art collection:

> The company is actively involved in buying contemporary Scottish art. It seeks to find the best available and is not concerned specifically with depictions of our industry. Our Art Collection and the External Affairs aspects of the business are completely separate. While the Art Collection can be part of good public relations, it is not expected to contribute other than in an oblique way. The Brand Managers make their own independent judgements as to how to promote their product and if this involved commissioning art work then that would be done.

On the other hand, companies that have been involved in commissioning work, but have ceased to be involved, explained their decisions in several ways. For example, Geoffrey Braithwaite of L. G. Harris and Co., Ltd. (brush manufacturers), explained,

> The company's financial performance in recent years has necessitated curtailment of its support for both artistic and charitable objects.

Vickers Shipbuilders and Engineering, a member of VSEL, described their position more in terms of the impact of new technology, and G. R. Sharpe, the marketing manager, encapsulated that thinking with the following comment:

> Fewer artworks are commissioned today due to desktop publishing capability and the ability to produce photo-real illustrations from the latest CAD systems. New original artwork is now rarely commissioned. When a new work is required it is usually a piece of publicity material or as a concept representation/realisation, not as a work of art in its own right.

The attitude of those who indicated no interest in engaging with artists and artwork is typified by the remarks of a Unilever spokesperson:

> If I were directly involved in thinking about commissioning an artist to depict an industrial scene or workplace the kind of things that I would consider would be the extent to which the nature of the work would be known in advance, the likely public reaction and the reaction of the employees. The activity is open to risks because it can give bad publicity.

In the last twenty years many companies became directly involved in commissioning or involving artists in their business largely through the Artist in Industry schemes of the 1980s. John Clayton, the manager of the Basic Oxygen Steelmaking plant, a component of British Steel, Teesside, characterized the attitude of many managers in industry when asked for his comments on having an artist work in his company for six months:

> It never occurred to me that anyone could view this plant as artistic. Then I was introduced to Brian Chalkley (artist) and I was fairly certain that it wasn't going to work. However, people were intrigued and flattered that somebody should want to paint here. They'd simply never considered it in that sort of place. They could understand why people went to the Lake District. But this is a dirty money-making operation.

Clayton went on the say that Chalkley's likable personality and ability to get along with people were the key to the successful six-month residency.

For companies that have experienced direct involvement with artists, the artists' personalities were always important to the success of the commission, placement, or residency. It is in the end the quality of the relationship between the artist and the industrial workers that matters.

The Role of the Artist

The extent of the involvement of artists in industry was determined through questionnaire sampling and selective controlled interviewing of artists located through the registers of the Arts Council of England, the Scottish Arts Council, regional arts boards, the Artists Newsletter and AXIS (Artists Exchange Information Service), and galleries and museums. It is worth noting that the artists approached with regard to this research are largely fine artists, that is painters, sculptors, and printmakers, not industrial designers, graphic designers, or photographers (based on the Foundation for European Art and Industry [SEKI] categories).

Photographers cause the greatest difficulty with regard to definition, but a guiding approach has been to consider whether the purpose of the activity is commercial or artistic. Clearly there is a measure of judgment in this respect, and as a consequence photographers have been excluded from the categories being investigated.

The provisional results of the survey of 190 artists, based on a 61 percent return rate, indicate the following:

- 25 percent of respondents are female
- 72 percent are over forty years old
- 42 percent were born near or worked in industry
- 30 percent have been commissioned and/or directly involved in industrial placements and residencies
- 9 percent are influenced by living in an industrial city

Based on these surveys and interviews, artists generally appear enthusiastic about working with an industrial theme, although there is little evidence to support this because most artists are not currently using contemporary industry as source material. This lack of engagement is considered by artists to be the result of a lack of company interest. Some artists use industrial imagery without reference to an individual company; in other words, there is no dialogue between the company and the artist. If there is dialogue and involvement, then the experience is limited in a number of respects, such as refusal by companies to allow artists access to their plants, usually for safety reasons.

Most of the work produced by artists engaged with industry is figurative, although it is quite varied in subject and approach.

Artists given the opportunity have positively responded to an involvement with industry, but it seems that, although there is no intellectual block to this engagement, little evidence exists to support the view that it forms an important and integral element of national artistic profiles.

This situation can be associated with a number of factors, such as the management's concern with media revelation, restricted access to processes, health, safety, and insurance procedures, as well as the artists' fear of the rigors of working in unfamiliar, demanding environments, often under public scrutiny. Producing artwork in a factory is quite unlike working quietly and individually within a private studio, only showing the work when ready in controlled environments such as art galleries.

Colin Wilbourn, who was an artist-in-residence with Rowntree Mackintosh, an international confectionery company based in York, summarized his experience (reflecting the remarks of many other artists) with the following:

> The introduction to industrial life can be very disorientating for an artist. It can sometimes induce a kind of paralysis as the pressures to produce increase and the feeling of not having come to grips with the subject matter persists.

He went on to say that he was used to working with other artists around him but found that within the factory environment he was constantly explaining his work.

Another common underlying theme for artists involved in industry centers around the workers and their emotions rather than the making or selling of a

product. This often resulted in the artists responding to, and bringing to the attention of those who worked in the factories, aspects of their daily working life and environment that had been taken for granted. Jessica Wilkes, a painter involved in the Artist in Industry scheme at ICI, Huddersfield, in the 1980s, characterized this aspect of the experience:

I chose to paint the river because I wanted to say something about the closeness of the works to the valley. Many people who worked at ICI responded warmly to my work and I felt that I was sharing an experience of the works with them.

Another incident led Wilkes to comment, "One engineering student[,] when seeing the painting of the Riverbank (with trees) said he would have looked straight through the trees to the pipes."

Helen Chadwick, who was involved in the Artist in Industry scheme in 1981, demonstrated a real interest in the brewing industry and in particular in her experiences as a fellow at John Smith's ("a part of the giant Courage company which employs some 7,000 full-time workers and has about 6,000 trade outlets scattered round the country"). Chadwick chose brewing because she wanted to produce work

that could relate to ordinary people. Beer is a traditional feature in our lives. Everybody's been in a pub. So no one would not have to know what it's like in an industry to know what goes on in pubs and to feel an empathy with the work I produce.

. . . I've decided to document the terribly fine characters and personalities in each pub—miners in Barnsley, executives in Manchester, steel riggers in Middlesborough, football supporters in Newcastle—the complete range of types coming from all kinds of backgrounds and professions and using John Smith's as the unifying factor. I've decided to call my venture "Fine Art, Fine Ale." Hopefully, the beer mats [coasters] will be produced and come back into the pubs. On the tables will be all the different types, united by the red magnet round their heads!

Transnational Characteristics

An important question prompted by this investigation of the interaction between artists and industry is whether the findings are limited to the United Kingdom. As a consequence, consideration has been given to the activities of artists and industry in Holland, Germany, and Belgium. Although these countries are all northern European with Anglo-Saxon roots, they provide a sufficiently broad platform to determine whether transnational characteristics exist.

Analysis of the data is not yet complete, but there is enough evidence to make a number of observations, based on similar sample sizes and methods.

The findings are based on a single sample of seventy-eight companies across all three countries, with a response rate of 56 percent, and can be summarized as follows:

- 69 percent of companies have some form of art collection, which is 15 percent higher than in the United Kingdom

- a surprisingly high proportion (52 percent) possessed no industrial artworks, and of these German companies accounted for 65 percent of the total

- the extent of contemporary artwork concerned with industry is low (9 percent) when compared with numbers for the United Kingdom (25 percent)

- engagement in sponsoring or commissioning artists to produce relevant works of art is higher (11 percent) than in the United Kingdom (5 percent)

From this initial sampling there is evidence to suggest that the British experience is broadly similar to that of companies in Holland, Germany, and Belgium. These provisional findings have been examined in greater depth for selected companies in each of the countries.

SA Recticel International, Brussels, indicated that the company does not have any artworks because there is nowhere to properly display them; the company prefers to show enlarged photographs of its products in the meeting rooms. Kent Van Kint, responsible for corporate communications at Recticel, went on to say,

The reason why we prefer photographs is the fact that they have informative value. Polyurethane foam[,] the product in which Recticel has become a European leader[,] is used in many applications in daily life, [and] a number of these applications are depicted in modern high quality photographs.

In the case of a Dutch company, ABN/AMRO Bank, a collection of artworks numbering in excess of 13,000 has been acquired over many years and continues to grow. Emphasis is placed on acquiring "good" work, and little attention is paid to whether any of the work was generated through artist interaction with the bank in its daily business. The collection is managed by a foundation established by the bank and similar in many respects to an art museum.

Siemens AG, Munich, collects works of art to reflect new, avant-garde ideas. Claudia Albrecht, responsible for Siemens's Culture Programme, said,

Themes, motives or content are of secondary importance. Apart from assisting artists we aim to promote new interesting art forms which so far have not yet achieved a broad (artistic) acceptance. The artist can work with a free hand. The most important criterion] is the quality of the artwork. [That a] work of quality can illustrate the company and its products is for us no reason to commission. Our artworks are not the result of marketing strategies[,] i.e.[,] they need not be useful, should not be pleasant decorations and should by no means show the company and its products in a superficial or trite manner.

Surprisingly, in all the detailed responses the companies expressed no difficulty in making their operations open and accessible to artists (although artists are expected to conform to health and safety regulations).

The sampling of artists has yet to be completed but the evidence generated to date confirms a similar pattern to that in the United Kingdom. For Belgium and Holland, based on a return rate of 25 percent, the data indicate the following:

- 25 percent of respondents are female
- 92 percent are over forty years old
- 36 percent were born near or worked in industry
- 36 percent have been commissioned and/or directly involved in industrial placements and residencies
  - 12 percent are influenced by living in an industrial city

For Germany, based on a return rate of 37 percent, the data indicate the following:

- 25 percent of respondents are female
- 92 percent are over forty years old
- 19 percent were born near or worked in industry
- 19 percent have been commissioned and/or directly involved in industrial placements and residencies.
  - 22 percent are influenced by living in an industrial city

Conclusion

Artists on the whole remain skeptical of industry, but there is sufficient evidence to confirm that those who have been involved with it at one level or another have found it challenging and informative: They now have a better understanding of both how industry works and, more important perhaps, the attitudes of the people who work in those enterprises. For the artist it is a lonely business explaining the purpose of the artwork to others; however, once the work is explained a greater awareness and respect for the artist results.

Companies, on the other hand, are by their nature complex organizations with enormously different organizational structures and decision-making machinery. What is clear in the British, German, Dutch, and Belgian experiences is that the commissioning of artists is peripheral to business. Visual images are often needed quickly, without controversy, to illustrate the product or services, and that usually does not require an artist. However, for those companies that have been involved in "using" an artist a greater respect for the hard work that goes into making a work is often generated, as well as a different perspective for employees of the business. In cold, commercial terms there are recognizable benefits to the company, such as publicity, enhanced employer-employee relations, quality images for annual reports, calendars,

and cards, as well as gifts for valued customers. Often the attitude of the company toward the involvement of artists is determined by senior managers and directors concerned with the perception and the image of the company. This is the case in all four European countries.

So what is blocking the merging of these two distinct cultures? Educating artists may be a key to unblocking attitudes. In most schools of art and design the dominant theory is one of individual expression within the theoretical canons laid down in the late nineteenth century. Industry plays no part in this. It remains unrecognized as a rich visual resource for art students, and until it is introduced into the curriculum there is little hope that industrial imaging will move to center stage.

Companies, on the other hand, are concerned with survival and growth in local, national, and international markets that are increasingly competitive. Scarce resources and employees' time must be employed to make and deliver products and services. There is little room for the artist; photographs and information technology relate more comfortably to these pressurized and time-constrained environments.

Access to the operations of companies seems unproblematic, and that may point the way ahead in bringing the two cultures closer, perhaps through a third agency. Artists, too, may find that using new technologies as creative tools improves access to and support from industry.

Brian Foss, a professor of art history at Concordia University, Canada, when reviewing the exhibition Industrial Images held at Hamilton University Art Gallery in 1987, summarized much of this debate:

The contemporary interest in narrative and figuration as well as the increased emphasis on the social production of culture in general and the arts in particular makes this a propitious time for re-evaluation of industrial imagery.

When asked about art and industry, Sir John Harvey Jones, a leading U.K. industrialist and former chairman of ICI, explained:

I have taken a great deal of pleasure during my years in industry in the interpretations of industry which artists put upon it. While not decrying the art of photography, the artist is an interpreter rather than a recorder. It is necessary to represent the messages[,] the power[,] the relevance to our daily lives of our industrial base in terms which spell these messages and interpret these matters more clearly for those who perhaps do not accept the basic tenets I am speaking of.

The implications of these preliminary findings for cultural policy can be broken down into at least two broad areas. The first is concerned with the role of public cultural policy in improving access to and participation in the arts. The training of artists represents the second area of interest. There is sufficient evidence to suggest that government agencies responsible for funding the arts have failed to recognize the importance of the world of work in their access

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and participation policies. The establishment of a facilitating agency that introduces artists to industry and industry to artists may well overcome this substantial gap in policy provision. Unless this issue is addressed constructively the arts will continue to be perceived as a leisure activity with little or no relevance to the quality of life at work.

Artists on the other hand are predominantly shaped through the training received in schools of art and design, often at universities. Little is said about industry as a genre in arts education and training, although, as mentioned at the beginning of this article, artists have created industrial imagery in one form or another since the seventeenth century. In the case of the United Kingdom there are limited mechanisms for influencing the curriculum in schools of art and design. Cultural agencies, however, could introduce the subject into their education and training policies.

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CULTURAL INTERVENTION IN BRITISH URBAN REGENERATION

S. C. ROODHOUSE WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF M. C. ROODHOUSE

This paper sets out to provide an historical analysis of post 1945 public cultural policy in the UK with particular reference to the engagement of cultural institutions in generating urban regeneration. Two examples of cultural intervention in urban regeneration initiatives have been chosen as case studies. These examples, the Grand Opera House, Belfast and the Royal Armouries, Leeds are investigated in the context policies, decision making processes, financing arrangements, and operational management issues. In particular consideration is given to the rationale for cultural and urban regeneration collaboration. A limited reference is made to the impact of the National Lottery.

The summary conclusions of this paper are as follows:-

(i) There has been a correlation of interest between public sector policies in urban regeneration and culture, although this is rarely explicit.

(ii) Urban regeneration policies are influencing cultural capital projects decision making, particularly in the context of single regeneration schemes, European regional development funds and the National Lottery.

(iii) There is an emerging financial model for cultural capital projects which requires careful scrutiny, in particular its implications for continued public sector revenue support from Government.

1. BRITISH CULTURAL POLICY AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT 1945-85

A comprehensive historical analysis of British cultural policy is desperately needed. Worthy attempts have been made at institutional histories, but these either present a bald narrative without historical analysis or serve as polemic in contemporary debate. Political historians have not researched cultural policy for the same reason that cultural policy remains peripheral to political discourse. The Department of National Heritage lies half-way up or down the 'greasy pole' of political office. Nevertheless, work on cultural policy is beginning to emerge from social and cultural historians. Recent research has focused upon the Labour Governments of 1945-51. However, this new work approaches cultural policy from the perspective of the 'consumer', not the 'provider'. This paper is more of a preliminary survey than an attempt to bridge this gap, seeking to outline continuities and changes in British cultural policy with regard to urban development since 1945. The focus will be on the Arts Council of Great Britain as the recognised state cultural agency. The aim of the paper is to use history and the case studies to restore to the future a sense of alternatives or options and consequently enrich current debate on cultural regeneration.

Between 1945 and 1985 the Arts Council of Great Britain had the opportunity to engage in what is today termed the 'cultural regeneration' of the city. Urban policy in Britain has gone through two distinctive phases since 1945; re-

construction and regeneration. The need for reconstruction after the war was an imperative. There was a chronic housing shortage in 1945. In addition to the backlog of 1939, bomb damage had left the country short of an estimated 1.25 million homes. Reconstruction gave urban planners an opportunity to solve the perceived urban problems of overcrowding in the big cities, unplanned urban sprawl and regional imbalance. By the mid 1960s housing policies and urban planners' conception of the 'urban problem' began to shift. Overcrowding was no longer seen as the problem, inner city depopulation and decline were now the problem. Politicians sought to direct investment back to inner city areas rather than disperse people and jobs to New Towns. Inner city policies became distinct from general urban policies. However, the genesis of the raft of urban regeneration policies that shaped inner city policies throughout the 1980s and 1990s was a series of inner city riots in the early 1980s. There was serious rioting in St Pauls, Bristol (April 1980), in Brixton, South London (April and July 1981) and in Toxteth, Liverpool (July 1981). The *Scarman Report* on the Brixton Disorders was scathing in its criticism of half-hearted and ill-co-ordinated inner city policies, which had failed to address the underlying social and economic causes of the riots. Although, the shift was not instantaneous and specific solutions to inner city problems have varied, the conception of the problem has not fundamentally altered since the 1960s.

The Council failed to involve itself in reconstruction, an attempt was made in a scheme for art centres, but this was still-born. During the reconstruction period there was much enthusiasm within the Ministry of Town and Country Planning and certain groups in the Council with plans to diffuse the arts. Diffusion was seen as the provision of performance space for touring groups and exhibitions. Jack Lindsay's novel *A Time To Live* was representative of this mood:

We're not going to let all this blossom-

ing fade out. No areas are more culturally starved than the big cities, the great deserts of the suburbs...How far have we got to go from Holly Street before we can listen to good music, see a decent painting, see a play of any kind?... We're going to change all this. And the first thing we can do is to make a centre for our own activities...

In 1945 the Council and the Ministry of Town and Country Planning produced a booklet entitled *Plans For An Arts Centre*. The booklet aimed 'to show how the arts can be accommodated in a medium-sized town with a population between 15,000 and 30,000 - a town where it is not possible to run a separate theatre, art gallery and hall for concerts'. It was stated that 'such an arts centre can and should play a vitally important part in the life of the community it serves'. An exhibition of the model was sent on tour throughout Britain. In November 1946 the Council organised an International Conference of Architects attended by amongst others Le Corbusier and Gropius.

However, the model was described by Lord Keynes, the first Chairman of the Council, as 'rubbish' and the project was stalled. Keynes was the same man who had publicly stated his belief that the 'biggest problem [was], the shortage - in most parts of Britain the complete absence - of adequate and suitable', buildings to house the arts and who looked forward 'to the time when the theatre and the concert-hall and the gallery will be a living element in everyone's upbringing'. Faced with the dilemma of limited funding and endless list of projects, the Council concentrated its resources on institutions with national stature. The rationale that was emerging and has shaped Council policy ever since achieved its full expression in the 1953 Annual Report:

If an emphasis must be placed somewhere in that motto of 'Raise and Spread' it seems wiser and more realistic to con-

centrate on Raise .... faced with the problem of choice, and a limited budget, the Arts Council must seek to consolidate.

By 1952 the Council had withdrawn direct support for the arts centre movement, but was to dally with it again in the 1970s.

Although, the Council's emphasis on 'concentration' as opposed to 'diffusion' was in many ways antagonistic to involvement in urban development but, it created a basic vocabulary sympathetic to the urban regeneration movement. Their was talk of maintaining national artistic power-houses:

The basis of Arts Council grant policy, then, is to maintain a limited number of *power-houses* of music, drama, opera and ballet on subsidies which assure a satisfactory standard of performance.

Robert Hutchison, in a scathing critique of the policy, observed: "'If the power-houses were to fail, there would be a black-out of the living arts in Britain." The Arts Council as Central Electricity Generating Board!' The notion of power-houses generating cultural activity only needed to be transposed from the national level to a regional or district level to become the neo-Civic Gospel of urban regeneration. Until the 1980s the Council possessed a limited vocabulary of cultural regeneration, but no grammar to create a language.

The Council may not have been involved in 'diffusing' the arts in the cities, but the New Towns' Development /Corporations and progressive local governments·were. The final report of the New Towns Committee chaired by Lord Reith, published in July 1946, laid down the minimum provision for housing the arts. Towns with populations of 40-60,000 were said to need two theatres, a concert hall and an art gallery. Indeed, if the 'cultural standard of the population' was high, this range of buildings may have been required by the time the town reached 25,000 to 30,000. This minimum was to be a guide as:

It is not possible, and even if it were it would not be wise, to prescribe the social and cultural pattern of a new town. The interests, groupings and cultural activities of citizens must grow of themselves.... It is this variety that gives character to towns, and any thought of standardising the pattern, or even of standardising the equipment, must be dismissed.

In addition, to developments in the New Towns, new legislation enabled local authorities to take the initiative in provision for the arts. Section 182 of the Local Government Act (1948) permitted local authorities to spend up to 6d in £1 of revenue on arts provision. The Local Government Act (1972) removed this limit and spending became discretionary. However, the use of local initiative meant provision was patchy. Authorities such as the London County Council and Coventry funded new buildings. The LCC was most notably involved in the Festival of Britain in 1951, the Southbank development and the Barbican arts centre. The LCC was the first local authority to commission a plan for 'cultural industries' in 1984. There has been a noticeable agglomeration effect. Areas with substantial arts provision prior to 1945 appear to have recognised the economic benefits of 'cultural industries' and have continued to invest. Other authorities reconstructed cultural centres destroyed by the *Luftwaffe* during the war. During the Thatcher governments in the 1980s central control of local government increased rectifying the problems of lack of co-ordination and the primacy of local initiative. However, this was to the detriment of the 'progressive' authorities. A case in point was the abolition of metropolitan county councils, especially the Greater London Council (GLC) in 1985.

The Council has often ignored local initia-

tives, despite its public commitment to support them. Both the 1946 and 1965 *Royal Charters of Incorporation of the Arts Council of Great Britain* made advising and co-operating with Government Departments and local authorities to diffuse the arts one of the Council's objectives. As Council policy became linked to the slogan 'Few but roses' responsibility for spreading the arts was pushed onto local authorities.

> Our responsibility for effective leadership at the grand strategic level thus has to be discharged piecemeal, at the tactical and operational level, entirely by seconding the activities of others.

However, hopes that local authorities would be the largest patrons of the arts were dashed. Successive annual reports bemoaned the tiny fraction of potential spending by local authorities on the arts. This jeering from the sidelines was not constructive. The Council often undermined its own objective. In 1952 regional offices were closed. Their offices' replacements, the Regional Arts Associations' (RAAs), were given a brief to co-operate with and co-ordinate local authorities' activities within their regions, but this was withdrawn when they in turn were succeeded by Regional Arts Boards (RABs) in 1991. The RAAs had failed to deliver matched funding for local initiatives as intended. Despite the Council's view of itself as the Cultural Joint Chiefs of Staff, the reality of the situation was that local initiatives were made and the Council would react.

As urban policy shifted its focus towards regenerating the inner city there was a failed attempt to stage a corporals coup within the Council to force the issue of diffusion of the arts once more. The arts centres movement was reinvigorated with a new sense of purpose. The arts centres and emergent community artists who had worked with a minimum of Council assistance prior to the 1970's took heart from Lord Redcliffe-Maud's positive assessment of

their activities in his influential report *Support for the Arts in England and Wales* (1976). The arts centres and community artists were the successors to the arts centres and arts clubs of the reconstruction period. The prophet of this new movement, John Lane, proclaimed his vision of the role of arts centres in *Arts Centres: every town should have one:*

> As nodes of the creative life of their own neighbourhoods they remain amongst the most comprehensive, if least acknowledged, animators of personal and community renewal as we are beginning to understand them in our time.

The Council began to broaden its conception of the arts. The notion of cultural democracy was floated once more. The label 'fine arts' was dropped from the new Council charter in 1965 and replaced with arts. The annual reports began to talk of community and ethnic arts. A working party to investigate community arts was formed in 1974 and recommended the formation of a Community Arts Committee. The committee came into existence in April 1975. The first Council directory of arts centres was published. However, there was effective resistance from the Council 'old guard.' Charles Osborne, head of the Office of Arts and Libraries disparaged these moves.

> In 1966 the Council was a body of which, in general, I approved. It seemed to me that it made, for the most part, sensible decisions. There came a time, however, some four or five years ago (1981-82), when I began to realise that I was no longer certain of my feelings about the Council. It had squandered large sums of money on 'Community Arts', that perversion of the aesthetic urge invented by bored arts administrators yearning to become social workers; it had dished out funds annually to, God help us, the Notting Hill Carnival at a time when

artistic institutions were finding their already inadequate grants being further eroded by inflation.....

The dissenters within the Council had to wait for the palace revolution, precipitated by the Thatcher administration, to forge the current cultural regeneration agenda.

The Council faced the most serious threat to its existence during the 1980s as a symbol of the Establishment that had presided over Britain's relative economic decline. The need to justify continued grants in aid forced the Council to redefine itself in line with mainstream government policy. The Council was brutally reminded of its semi-independent status. After the inner city riots of the early 1980s 'urban regeneration' was top of the political agenda. The protagonists of diffusion of the arts and the first generation of British arts administrators joined forces to promote cultural regeneration.

The turning point in Council policy came in 1984-85. The report *The Glory of the Garden* (1984) and the annual report for 1985 entitled *A Great British Success Story* were crucial in stating this new policy, putting the 'economic case for increased public investment in the arts.' The dissenters were given their head and the Council began to involve itself in a mainstream policy debate for the first time since 1946.

2. THE BRITISH EXPERIENCE OF URBAN REGENERATION

This involvement by the Arts Council in mainstream urban regeneration policy was articulated primarily through schemes such as art in public places and the establishment of an architecture panel within the Council's committee structure. It was also the case that relationships were developed with interested organisations such as English Partnerships. Much of this activity concerned itself with creating a climate for the improvement of the environment by the involvement of artists. Myerscough's study for the Policy Studies Institute the '*Economic Importance of the Arts*' lent impirical support to the role of the arts in economic regeneration and provided further impetus to the Council, Regional Arts Boards and arts organisations to become involved in economic and urban regeneration.

The progressive reduction in capital funding prior to the introduction of the National Lottery was a further stimulus to those responsible for the arts infrastructure to give serious consideration to 'other' forms of funding, including inner city grants, European Union Schemes particularly the European Regional Development Fund, and, latterly the National Lottery. Perversely the problem today is less to do with access to capital funding but the lack of revenue support.

The following two case studies expose these issues over a ten year period and reflect the Arts Council of Great Britain's policy in this field.

3. CASE STUDY, GRAND OPERA HOUSE, BELFAST

The study undertaken in 1987 by S C Roodhouse and A Wray for the British-American Arts Association demonstrates the 'ad hoc' nature of arts involvement in urban regeneration, the importance of influential personal interest and the significance of time and place.

During the 1970s the IRA attempted to achieve its goal of a united Ireland by wiping out the economic existence of Northern Ireland through a bombing campaign aimed at economic targets. This acted as a deterrent to outside investment on which the North is so substantially dependent. The bombing was directed at any establishment considered a commercial success, thus central Belfast was a prime target. The security barriers erected in 1973 enclosing the heart of the central business district, may have made the centre safer but they did not make it more pleasant. It was not uncommon for people who used to shop regularly in the city centre to say they had not been in central Belfast for over 5 years.

In 1972 the Opera House was sold by Rank Odeon, who had bought it in 1961 and converted it into a cinema. The buyer was a property developer who proposed to demolish the building and erect an office block on the prime city site. But Kenneth Jamison, Director of the Arts Council of Northern Ireland (ACNI), and Charles Brett, founder member of the Ulster Architectural Heritage Society and a member of ACNI's Board, had both identified the Grand Opera House as a building that should be preserved. They, together with Arthur Brooke, the then Permanent Secretary of the Department of Education (which is responsible for funding ACNI) were one of the key people instrumental in the saving and refurbishment of the Grand Opera House. Arthur Brooke had recently chaired a working party which had considered measures to return night life to the city centre.

The combination of an influential and sympathetic ear in government, the desire to conserve a building of architectural importance and the wish to maintain a large scale theatre presence in Belfast, led to the Opera House being listed, bought (in 1976) and restored for ACNI by the Northern Ireland Department of Education. Once the first priority of architectural preservation through listing was attained the two other priorities were tackled: to secure adequate financing and to solicit further support from the public sector. Since Northern Ireland is relatively small in population, and members of the establishment are known to each other, informal approaches could be made.

Although the Opera House had been seriously neglected, it could be purchased and renovated at much less expense than would be required to build comparable new facilities. Starting in the summer of 1976, restoration proceeded in three phases thereby accommodating the Department of Education's capital programme and making maximum benefit of end of fiscal year funds. The three stages costing a total of £3,315,000 consisted of wind and weatherproofing and other external repairs; repairing foundations; restoring and refitting

the interior as well as modernising the stage and its equipment.

Unfortunately, the agreements on the restoration of the Opera House did not include a written agreement between ACNI and the Department of Education on funding the future programming of this venue. ACNI assumed that the Department would increase the ACNI annual grant by £500,000 allowing it to run the theatre directly. Instead of increasing ACNI funding, the Department reduced the Council's annual grant because of the need to divert funds to secure the Province's industrial base, particularly the DeLorean works. This reduction in funding placed ACNI and the Grand Opera House in a difficult and sensitive position. Trapped by high public interest in the re-opening of the Opera House and the reality of limited government funding, ACNI felt it only had one option. In order to open the Opera House it was necessary for them to reduce other clients' grants. In September 1980 the Grand Opera House re-opened with its first production in its new role as Northern Ireland's premier large scale theatre.

The long term result of this lack of written agreement on an annual operating grant between ACNI and the Department of Education as well as the fact that there are no other sources of funds for the Opera House, except ticket sales and sponsorship, generated a regular annual deficit. The financial success of the theatre depends on its annual programme which is difficult to control because it relies on existing touring productions; the capacity constraints of the building (990 seats) and limited grant aid. The increasing costs of importing productions from the rest of the United Kingdom aggravates this financial burden. Furthermore, sponsorship is restricted by the size and financial fragility of the business community. The repeated deficits have been indirectly met by the Department of Education by special grants to ACNI about every two years. In the fiscal year of 1987/1988 the Opera House had a deficit of £95,000. ACNI gives £500,000 a year to the

Opera House, a combination of the annual regular base grant and the above mentioned deficit-reducing grants. This funding is expected to cover all the theatre's costs except the programme which is intended to pay for itself. Despite box office receipts of £500,000 and an average attendance of 70%, the Opera House is unable to break even. So despite regular bail-outs by the Department of Education and good attendance, the Opera House is and will continue to be haunted by a problem that has been unresolved since its inception, the problem of how to fund its programming.

At the same time as ACNI was restoring the Opera House, the city centre was the focus of redevelopment by two groups: a working party of elected city council representatives and the business community presided over by Chris Patten, the then Minister responsible for Belfast, and a group composed of representatives from the larger stores in the city centre. Their priorities were to improve public transport, especially off-peak service, upgrade the environment, and pump-prime the redevelopment of the area. In autumn 1980 these groups had their first major breakthrough with the introduction of late night shopping. As well as this business orientated redevelopment, Belfast had another major development focus, the area around Queen's University. This part of the city was the traditional centre of Belfast's arts world and the home of its major theatres and cinemas. Given this area's political neutrality, it was (and is) the one spot seen as having a safe nightlife throughout 'The Troubles.' Since 1980 this area has further benefited from many new restaurants and restored pubs.

The city centre the university area are connected by one mile of Great Victoria Street, nicknamed 'Bomb Alley' in the 1970's. Needless to say it was not a desirable route! Since the redevelopment of the Opera House, which is located on this street, and the growth of restaurants and pubs around it, this area is now locally known as 'the Golden Mile' (see map). From the outset, it was the intention that the Opera House

should be a major provincial theatre with outstanding national and international arts related events as well as housing local activities such as the Ulster Drama Festival, Ulster Youth Theatre and Opera Northern Ireland. As well as meeting this ACNI objective, the Grand Opera House has provided an anchor for connecting the nightlife in the City Centre with that in the university area. It is a potent image of and a highly visible statement of confidence in the future of Belfast. As such its financial future needs to be assured if it is to continue as a lively flagship for the City's revitalization.

4. CASE STUDY, ROYAL ARMOURIES, LEEDS

This study explains how the Museum made its decision to move to Leeds, the attitude of the City and an merging financial model. The requirement for the Royal Armouries to consider moving from the Tower of London was generated by an ever growing collection of arms and armour which could no longer be adequately housed. As a consequence the museum drew up 'Strategy 2000' which included re-displaying the collection within the Tower of London and the construction of a purpose built national museum to house the bulk of the collection. The significance in this statement is the recognition by the museum of its own needs rather than any altruistic view of contributing to economic regeneration. However, to build a new museum is expensive with an original estimate in 1989 of £45 million.

Once the decision had been taken to build a new museum, further criteria were developed to assist the Trustees in the decision making process. Subsequently, it was agreed that the new museum should be built in the North of England because there was an existing presence in the south. This approach significantly extended the access policy of the Museum. Further criteria followed which included the desire for a new building, located in a city, near water.

Six cities in the north of England were identified including Leeds. A beauty parade

was organised enabling each city to put its case for housing the Royal Armouries to the Trustees. Not only did the cities have to demonstrate how the criteria were met but also what financial and other benefits could be brought to the table.

Ed Anderson, Executive Director of Development, for Leeds City Council in 1991, responsible for the Leeds 'bid' explained the attraction to the City of locating the Royal Armouries.

The museum was a means of regenerating the canal waterfront, enhancing the River Aire Quality Campaign acting as a catalyst for regeneration, focus for partnerships and the enhancement of the Tourism Development Programme.

Leeds was chosen and the Chairman of the Trustees the Duke of Wellington indicated that the site was right, easy to get to and Leeds was a fast developing city with a strong economy. It was the people of Leeds who 'sold' the city to the Trustees he said with their desire to make the Royal Armouries the 'jewel in the crown' in the city. He went on to say that it was in the end an emotional decision based not only on the enthusiasm of those representing the city but also the 'can do' approach to the project.

The Royal Armouries now had a site, which formed an integral component of a master plan for the regeneration of the waterfront around the Clarence Dock area, and also central and local government financial support totalling £28.5 million, the remaining funds could only be attracted from the private sector.

Christopher O'Boyle, the Chief Executive of the Royal Armouries (International) PLC describes this phase of the establishment of the museum in Leeds:

In July 1993 the UK's leading provider of venture capital, 3i, responded to the Royal Armouries invitation to raise the required £14 million institutional invest-

ment. 3i introduced the future management team and, in turn, backed their business plan and expertise, resulting in the establishment of a new company, Royal Armouries (International) PLC who would manage the development, operational and financial risks. On 14 December 1993, after weeks of intensive discussion, details of the partnership between Royal Armouries and Royal Armouries (International) PLC were finally agreed.

What this partnership represented was a unique public, private sector relationship where the Royal Armouries through the Trustees retained responsibility for the collection and associated curatorial, educational and conservation activities whilst the Royal Armouries (International) PLC shouldered the financial risk by controlling and operating the commercial activities including receiving all revenues. It was a model that later became institutionalised as the Private Finance Initiative where government identifies projects suitable for private sector financial partnership.

However, Chris O'Boyle adds a note of warning when describing this aspect of the Royal Armouries development;

After opening, the plc pays agreed costs to the Royal Armouries and from the operating surplus, services both the bank and institutional investors. However, simple this sounds, some 20 parties and 110 legal documents demonstrate the complexities of PFI's and all without precedence or existing templates.

It is worth noting that the Royal Armouries development occurred prior to the National Lottery which has been operational for 2Ω years and was unable to benefit from the scheme. However, private sector funding would still have been necessary for a project of this scale where capital and revenue funding is required.

The museum was opened by HM The Queen on 15 March 1996 with five themed galleries, War, Tournament, Hunting, Oriental and Self Defence, there are corporate hospitality facilities, education rooms, audio-visual and multi-media work stations, as well as interactive photographic studios housed in an award winning building.

Ed Anderson, the Executive Director, (Development), Leeds City Council, summarised the benefits of the Royal Armouries to the city as:

Boosting physical regeneration including the water quality of the River Aire, raised the cultural and international profile of the city, developed a shared vision between diverse partners, and, created jobs in the city.

From the Royal Armouries point of view the benefits of the development are seen by Chris O'Boyle as:

Delivering successfully a new National Museum in the north of England, through a successful public, private sector partnership which is acting as a catalyst for significant urban regeneration with the creation of 1000 new direct and indirect jobs.

Examples of this impact by the museum on the urban renewal of the Clarence Dock area are the construction of Halls of Residence by the University of Leeds, the establishment of a British Waterways Master Plan, and, the acquisition of land by the Council to build an international swimming pool and related leisure facilities. English Partnerships, a government agency dedicated to urban regeneration has also provided grants to the private sector for the refurbishment of old mills opposite the museum.

There are, inevitably, critics of such a high profile scheme, including the noted military historian Claude Blair, former keeper of metalwork at the Victoria and Albert Museum, echoing a London centric position, who said:

The collection has been dispersed and its integrity destroyed.

Lindsay Smales, Lecturer in Environmental Studies, Leeds Metropolitan University, reflecting a particular local view considered that the Royal Armouries was:

A classic case of an ambitious city buying itself cultural credentials.

Barbara Woroncow, President of the Museums Association and Director of the Yorkshire and Humberside Museums Service, also struck a negative tone:

It is isolated in a raw docklands development similar to Canary Wharf in London, it is of specialist interest and it is quite pricey.

The museum recognises there are problems and after 14 months is struggling to meet its targets, with 450,000 visitors against a projected maximum business plan target of 1 million visitors for the first year.

Summarising his experience of developing and establishing the Royal Armouries Chris O'Boyle has said:

To deliver successfully a new National Museum requires enormous stamina and conviction on the part of those involved.

It is clear that it will continue to require this if the Museum is to succeed and realise its potential.

5. CONCLUSIONS

What becomes increasingly apparent when considering the correlation of interest

between public sector policies in urban regeneration and culture is the failure of cultural organisations to engage in the mainstream, social, economic and regenerative policies of government. Above all else it seems to represent an unstructured ad hoc approach to genuine engagement, by the cultural sector for the benefit of society.

The two case studies demonstrate the importance of individuals with stamina, conviction and vision who are in positions of influence. These individuals formed partnerships to realise the projects and in the case of the Royal Armouries combined public and private sector financial interests. By doing so the project moved from the margins to the mainstream in terms of the policies being pursued by Leeds City Council, government policy and the commercial sector.

What we have is an emerging model which enables new capital developments to occur based on public (capital) financial sources increasingly drawn from the National Lottery and European Union with private sector finance filling the gap in capital. But more importantly as illustrated in the Royal Armouries model the commercial sector is taking responsibility for revenue by operating the facilities in partnership with the custodians of the collections.. This approach, if available, could have prevented the difficulties experienced by the management of the Grand Opera House, Belfast.

However, a robust business plan is required in every case which is realisable based on sound impirical information particularly market research. This may yet be the 'undoing' of the Royal Armouries in meeting its visitor, and revenue targets, and consequent debt servicing.

There is an emerging danger in these developments particularly the use of Lottery and private sector funding which presents government with the opportunity to reconsider the annual level of financial support through the Treasury for cultural activity disbursed by the Department of National Heritage. The temptation now exists for government to reduce its annual grant aid to the Department as the National Lottery as the Private Finance Initiative (PFI) penetrates the cultural sector.

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A New Public for Art.

In three shorter articles, the Visual Arts Officers for three Regional Arts Associations outline their current plans for supporting visual arts projects in a variety of unusual new venues — factories, cathedrals, football grounds, theatres and metros. In the first, Simon Roodhouse of the Yorkshire Arts Association, one of the original pioneers of this promising new movement to create a new public art, describes its recent development and the Yorkshire Arts Association's particular approach to the idea

Yorkshire Arts Association developed the country's first scheme in order to make the visual arts accessible to more people, particularly those in industry, and to gain access for artists into another world, a world they would not normally associate themselves with. The importance of building bridges between artists and the public in the workplace, as a means of creating a better understanding and tolerance of each other was quickly recognised, and has, in a small way, begun to happen.

The idea that an artist could be remotely interested in the industrial environment has fascinated those in it. But what has engaged everybody is how artists make art, why they do it, and what art is. This dialogue is the crux of the scheme, and is essential if art is to become more meaningful.

The companies' willingness to open their organisations to artists is welcome. In every case the artist has been left to work in any sector and record or respond as they perceive it. The artist has creative freedom. The artists' portrayal of the industry is often eagerly awaited. The workforce want to see the 'finished' work, the end of the process. They have by now become involved in the artist as a person, and vice versa. The artist is a human being, and the art real, not something locked away in an art gallery. Paintings, drawings and sculpture are purchased, new commissions offered.

Yorkshire Arts Association's third Artist in Industry Fellowship Scheme has proved to be most rewarding. Eight industries have been involved with artists selected from throughout the country. Each artist worked in a particular industrial location for a minimum period of two months, reacting to the environment and interacting with the people working there. Some of the locations have been particularly exciting.
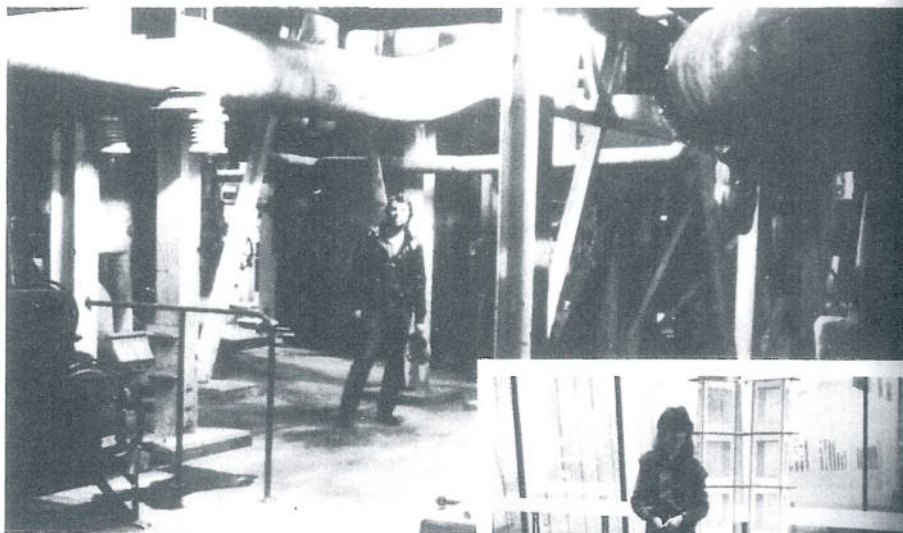
Hughie O'Donaghue at Drax Power Station, Selby, Yorks. Both artists illustrated are part of the Artist in Industry Fellowship Scheme.

Joanna Mowbray at Systime Computers.

Drax Power Station near Selby is one of the biggest power stations in Europe, and the sheer scale of the place provided Hughie O'Donaghue with a daunting task. He was provided with a room which was quickly converted into a studio. It was near the canteen, and many people from security staff to managers popped in to see how their artist was getting on. As a result of the fellowship, a series of paintings based on the cooling houses emerged.

Alan Stones, on the other hand, had to cope with the rigorous routine of a family bakers and confectioners — Cooplands. He quickly established himself, and a temporary bedroom was provided in the factory so that Alan could maximise his time. His penetrating portraits of those working there have already aroused considerable interest.

Systime Computers, one of the country's major computer manufacturers, enthusiastically adopted Joanna Mowbray. Her cool, refined sculpture harmonised with the atmosphere of the factory, and every opportunity was provided for Joanna to use the company's facilities. Her fellowship was substantially extended to enable more work to be completed. Joanna took the opportunity of working in different materials to those she was familiar with.

A Sheffield company, Davy McKee (Sheffield) Ltd, won an order to build a steel rolling mill for Mexico. This was an enormous project, and Andrew Hambleton, a printmaker, recorded the manufacture of part of this mill. His images are to be used in the company's calendar for next year.

ICI have an extensive site in Huddersfield, which manufactures dyestuffs, and Jessica Wilkes tackled the problem of responding to the environment with considerable enthusiasm, which resulted in a number of new paintings.

Although the fellowships have worked on a variety of levels, the first week is always difficult. Most artists soon settle down to absorb and react to their new environment. Perhaps, though, the most challenging and rewarding aspects of the scheme are the discussions and debates with the workforce. The idea that a 'real' living artist is interested and willing to come and work as hard as they do on the shop floor stimulates lively conversation. It often leads to a greater involvement in contemporary art issues and the artist's role.

The bringing together of the artist, industry, and the public sector in this way has led to the production of exciting work by artists and an experience all those involved don't forget.

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Describing my work and my profession in a few brief sentences to someone whose last visit to an art gallery was the compulsory school trip, is the most difficult thing I attempt, yet for some reason I do it regularly, even compulsively. Undeterred by the vastness of the task I try to convey what an artist, a woman like me, is attempting to achieve, and on a typical occasion a complete history of western art can be grandly delivered in two sentences, the exclusion of women described in one and then in a final burst of evangelical fervour the pioneering work of women artists, such as myself, is set firmly and eloquently in perspective. In response to this someone once mused that being an artist was much easier during the Renaissance, and when I think about it I suppose it was, if you were a man.
Kathryn Ensall

The first time I became aware of going to look at pictures was when I was at school and I went to a gallery in Bradford. There's a pizza place there now. Then I realised there were municipal galleries I could go to for free. So I started going round them and I was just astonished. I remember the first time I went up to Gallery 4 at Cartwright Hall, to the big Edwardian and Victorian paintings and thinking this is incredible! I was thrilled by them and sneaked photographs. I had a little camera and took these really awful photographs, making sure there wasn't an attendant about – my brother used to distract them while I took pictures. That was how much I loved going to see paintings.
Tom Wood

I worked in the steelworks until I was a few month off 60. I was looking forward to my retirement, in fact I'd been looking forward to it since I was 14. I never had any time off, even to have a family. The only leave I did take was once to have a hysterectomy and another time when I had a brain haemorrhage, so I was looking forward to playing with my dogs and cats and going to the bingo. Then I got involved in a community show and I've never had five minutes since. It was called *East Side Story*, about Attercliffe Palace and the streets in the olden days. I got involved with that and I've not been able to get off the podium. Next thing was a show called *Getting Worked Up*,

about people who always get the mucky end of the stick. Other people started asking for the show outside the area and we even did it at the Women's Labour Party in Bridlington. We became the Chuffinelles and the next show, *Three Go Mad In Yorkshire*, really opened it up for us. We got into Equity through that. We've got a new one now called *Chuffography Of The World*. It's all go, but if I'm not working on Sunday I like to go to the bingo.
Margaret Barraclough

I bought Salt's Mill in 1987 because it was a beautiful building and I saw an opportunity for its re-use, a new application for the next century. IOU Theatre Company approached me to put on a performance in the weaving shed. I put a bar in what is now the gallery and huge speakers and stage lighting. It worked marvellously acoustically and it occurred to me it would make a gallery. I have known David Hockney for 28 years. Initially I thought I would just do a show but a year ago I made it into a permanent space for his work, which is an unusual idea for a living artist.

It is my indulgence. It is lunacy but I can afford it. The budget for flowers is £100 a week, but you have to have flowers in a gallery, don't you? I am a dealer and some of the works are for sale but many belong to Hockney's family or are my own. There are several hundred works here at the moment whereas, apart from the Tate retrospective, there are only one or two hanging at any one time in England. His London gallery is tiny. Salt's Mill is a most interesting gallery space, unusual in being so large and we get a great number of people coming through. It is a convenient way of letting people look at the architecture.

I have to get physically involved, not just as a sponsor. I am in the Gallery most Saturday mornings, I build and I work behind the bars at performance events.
Jonathan Silver

We loved singing in the front room as kids. It was the only way we could join in with Mum and Dad and their friends at their parties, dressing up and doing *Rag Doll* and pretending we were Helen Shapiro or Connie Francis. I suppose that's how we started to build up our confidence; we were quite forward in some ways but shy

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