encatc

Journal of Cultural Management and Policy

AIM & FOCUS

The objective of the ENCATC Journal of Cultural Management and Policy is to stimulate debate on the topics of cultural management and cultural policy among scholars, educators, policy makers and cultural managers. The Journal is based on a multidisciplinary perspective and aims to connect theory and practice in the realm of the cultural sector.

FREQUENCY

This journal is intended to be a yearly publication. However, depending on the number of articles accepted for publication, an extra issue could be considered.

ARTICLE SUBMISSION

Authors who present at ENCATC's Annual Research Session were invited to submit their full articles for publication.

ARTICLE SELECTION

All articles considered for publication in the ENCATC Journal of Cultural Management and Policy have gone through a double-blind review process.

COVER PHOTO

ENCATC study visit in Antwerp taken during the 21st ENCATC Annual Conference "Rethinking Education in Arts and Cultural Management."

LAYOUT & DESIGN

Elizabeth Darley

WEBSITE

www.encatc.org

Table of Contents

Financing the Arts in France [1]

Sylvie Pflieger
Université Paris Descartes, France

Keywords:

Arts Policy Funding

Ministry for Culture

Local Authorities

Interventionism

Cultural Democratisation and Democracy

Heritage

Sponsorship

Households' Cultural Consumption

ABSTRACT

France is known as being the country of cultural interventionism. This paper tries to detail sources of funding for the arts and heritage in France coming from the State, local authorities but also companies and households, showing that the part of the State is not the largest one. Nonetheless, it is vital for cultural institutions to rely on this public funding as it can be considered as a lever for other funding. And despite the official reassuring speech in France, we can fear that public funding is going to decrease for the coming years.

In these times of public deficits and budget cuts, of expected decrease in household purchasing power and economic difficulties, artistic, intellectual and media circles question the future of cultural policies and of financing streams for the arts and culture. But what does "financing culture" mean? Are we referring to the arts, or what we call "fine arts"? Should Cultural industries, or the "entertainment industry" be included? And what about including handicraft, design, and more generally the creative industries? Or even leisure activities in general, including sports and non-profit organizations?

These questions about the limits of the concept of "culture" which are central in France, should not be considered as simple theoretical or academic questions, but directly impact the financing cultural goods and services, more precisely the nature of their financing (public or private) and its legitimacy.

When the French Ministry of Culture (Ministère des Affaires Culturelles) was created in 1959, it was first of all a ministry for "fine arts", the aims of which being "to facilitate the access of major works of arts worldwide, in particular of French works of art, to a greater number of French people; to make cultural heritage available to a bigger audience, and to promote the creation of works of art to enrich this heritage" (decret 24th July 1959). The initial domain of this ministry was rather close to that of the Arts Council in Great Britain, created by John Maynard Keynes in 1945, although the latter was a non-departmental public body, and so was less dependent on the State, even if it had to distribute public funds with the approval of the government.[2] We can consider that, in the 1960's, the concept of "culture" in France was close to that of "arts and heritage" in Britain.

With the increasing power of cultural industries on the one hand, and the development of new cultural practices, far from the legitimate ones on the other, the field of the French Ministry of Culture has widened since the 1980's, and the concept of "cultural democratization" has evolved into that of "cultural democracy". This concept of "cultural democracy" no longer implies to promote a "legitimate culture" or to try to widen its access, but to promote all kinds of cultural practices originating in the people themselves, therefore sustaining cultural diversity.[3] This wider field, associated with an increasing interest in the economic and social impact of cultural activities led to an evolution of the concept of culture, closer to a broad, ethnographic sense, defined in the later part of the nineteenth century by the British anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor as "a complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."[4]

"Ceteris paribus", a similar evolution started in Great Britain in the 1990s under Tony Blair's government, as we can see with the publication of the report *A Creative Future: the Way Forward for the Arts, Crafts and Media in England*.[5] The first principle clearly refers to a broader ethnographic conception of culture as the arts, handicraft and media may offer inspiration and pleasure, they may help people understand their relation to the other and the community in general.[6]

In an institutional way, this evolution led, in particular, to the evolution of the Department of National Heritage created in 1992 by John Major's government, into Tony Blair's government's Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) in 1997, showing a closer connection between French and British conceptions. A relative convergence between French and British approaches was noted. Even if these traditional financing models are based on opposite grounds, with a relative suspicion against a strong implication of the State in Great Britain, as opposed to a legitimacy and a historically strong demand for public financing in France, they have converged since the 1990's.[7] Today, the traditional models of funding are disturbed by the effects of the general financial and economic crisis, as well as by public deficits and debts in most developed countries. It means cuts in cultural budgets and the necessity for cultural institutions of looking for private funding.

Public financing for Arts in France: less than 25% of total financing

The main and constant idea is that culture or arts, in France, are widely financed by public funds, more precisely funds from the Ministry for Culture and Communications, as France is known as a historically strongly centralized country. There has been a permanent myth, since Jean Vilar in the 1950s, that the budget of the French Ministry for Culture should reach 1% of the Budget. This goal has been partly reached since the end of the 1990s, even if it is more and more difficult to define the scope of public expenditure for culture. Nevertheless, this symbol is

---

[2] David Looseley, in Philippe Poirrier (dir), *Pour une histoire des politiques culturelles dans le monde, 1945-2011*, Comité d'Histoire du Ministère de la Culture/La Documentation française, 2011, p.389-409.
[3] See Sylvie Pflieger, "De la democratization à la démocratie culturelle: Le cas de la France", in *Expressions culturelles et identities européennes*, dir. Gilles Rouet et Radovan Gura, edition Bruylant, collection Identités et cultures en Europe, 2012, p.81-99.
[4] Edward Burnett Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, New York, JP.Putnam's Sons, 1920 [1871], p.410.
[5] See Arts Council of Great Britain, *A Creative Future: the Way Forward for the Arts, Crafts and Media in England*, London, HMSO, 1993.
[6] See David Looseley, in Philippe Poirrier (dir), *Pour une histoire des politiques culturelles dans le monde*, Comité d'Histoire du Ministère de la Culture/La Documentation française, 2011, p. 402.
[7] French cultural policies are often referred to as "monarchical policies". Doustaly Cécile, 2007, "English Arts Policies since 1990: Laissez-faire, Interventionism or a Hybrid Model ?", *LISA e-Journal*, volV, n°1.

the proof, for many people, of a strong involvement of the State in culture. In Britain the proportion of DCMS spending within total government spending was only 0.35 % with local authority spending being at least as important during the period.[8]

But an accurate analysis of public cultural spending shows that the French Ministry for Culture is far from financing the total cultural expenditure, first because other ministries play a key role and secondly because local authorities are greatly involved as they are closer to local specificities of their territory. And, more generally, one cannot ignore the effects of tax policies which are favorable to the arts (reduced VAT rates on some cultural goods such as books for instance…) and which, in an indirect way, contribute to financing the arts. We cannot place these different sources of public funding on the same level, because the Ministry for Culture and Communications acts as a major support and leader; nevertheless we must not under-estimate the impact of local financing.

The reasons for public funding

Public funding for the arts has been justified on historical, economic and sociological grounds. The government has traditionally played an important role in France, when France was a Monarchy as well as later when it became a Republic, mainly because France has a highly centralized government. So, we could go as far as to describe it as "royal sponsorship", kings being traditionally the protectors of artists (see for instance François I with Leonardo da Vinci during the Renaissance period) or the creators of prestigious cultural institutions (e.g. the "Comédie Française" during the reign of Louis XIV). The French revolution did not disrupt this link between the arts and government. In the nineteenth century, the Third Republic set up a cultural policy based on the protection of cultural heritage (including inventory) and on the creation of an artistic educational program. The creation of the first Ministry in charge of "cultural affairs" in 1959, headed by André Malraux as "State Minister", was the consecration of the power of the State on culture.[9]

In economics, cultural goods and services (except the cultural industries) are included into the category of "public goods" (despite the fact that they are not "pure public goods"), which means indivisibility, non-rivalry in consumption, externality, and a marginal cost of consumption equaling zero. This implies that public financing rather than market rules are called upon.[10] Moreover, William Baumol and William Bowen's analysis of the growing deficits of the main American orchestra and Broadway musicals[11] led to justify public intervention in financing the performing arts, and the arts in general. They concluded that the performing arts sector could not increase its productivity and should thus be considered as an "unproductive" sector, facing permanent growth of relative costs while other economic sectors could improve their productivity, and then increase salaries and profits and/or reduce costs. The rise of relative costs in the performing arts could not be transferred on ticket prices (which could result in a decrease in the audience), the only way to save money was to cut charges. But these cuts could imply "low cost" productions with an inferior quality, and in the long term, a decrease in audience turnout. Performing arts would thus be subject to this "cost disease" and economic deficit. Baumol and Bowen have argued that to be sustainable, artistic activities must benefit from outside financing, either from sponsorship, foundations (for instance in the United States or England) or from public funding (as France).

More generally, we justify the public financing of culture by arguing the risky character of artistic creation. Thus cultural goods, which are associated with the concept of creativity, are fundamentally risky goods, and producers as well as distributors are in a situation of great uncertainty; cultural goods are then usually defined as prototypes: "in the artistic field, prototype is as much the final product as the series. It means that any difference between the nature of the good and the consumer taste deprives the producer of the expected rate of return of the production and may stop him getting back his costs."[12] Taking into account these risk factors confirms the Baumol costs' disease law, and justifies the financial support of artistic goods.

From a sociological perspective, Pierre Bourdieu works pinpointed longlasting inequalities in the way people access culture, and a reproduction of these inequalities, generation after generation. This is why making culture more accessible has always been a goal of cultural policies in France through concepts of "cultural democratization", "cultural democracy", "cultural diversity", or "culture for all", which resulted in special measures such as pricing policies (including free entrance), more widely and evenly distributed cultural equipment throughout France, or artistic education for all in schools.

The power of the Ministry for Culture and Communications

A long-run analysis since the creation of this ministry in 1959 shows a real increase in expenses during the

---

[8] Between 2000 and 2003 depending on the calculation methods. See R. Hewison, "Cultural Policy", in A. Seldon, (ed.), *The Blair Effect*, London: Little, Brown & Company, 2001, p. 542; Centre for Cultural Policy Research, Public Spending on the Arts within the UK, Glasgow : Glasgow University, 2004, p 10.
[9] See Xavier Greffe, Sylvie Pflieger, *La politique culturelle en France*, Paris, la Documentation française, 2009, chapter 1.
[10] See for instance David Throsby, *The Economics of Cultural Policy*, Cambridge University Press, UK, 2010.
[11] See William Baumol, William Bowen, *Performing Arts: The Economic Dilemma,* New York, The Twentieth Century Fund, 1966.
[12] See Xavier Greffe, "L'économie de la culture est-elle particulière ?" ; *Revue d'Economie Politique*, 120, (1), janvier-février 2010, p.6.

Year	%	Year	%	Year	%
1960	0.38	1981	0.47	1994	0.95
1969	0.42	1982	0.76	1995	0.91
1970	0.37	1983	0.79	1996	1
1971	0.41	1984	0.84	1997	0.97
1972	0.47	1985	0.86	1998	0.95
1973	0.55	1986	0.93	1999	0.94
1974	0.61	1987	0.86	2000	0.97
1975	0.56	1988	0.81	2001	0.97
1976	0.55	1989	0.86	2002	0.97
1977	0.56	1990	0.86	2003	0.9
1978	0.56	1991	0.94	2004	0.94
1979	0.52	1992	0.98	2005	0.96
1980	0.51	1993	1		

TABLE 1. PART OF CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION MINISTRY BUDGET INTO GENERAL BUDGET OF FRANCE

Source : From Culture and Communication Ministry statistics/DEPS

first 40 years till the end of the 1990s, which represent in part from the French Budget, from 0.40% to more than 0.90%, even 1%. (table 1) The increase is not linear, the budget being quite steady (in part from the Budget) till 1981 – except for peaks during a short period in the 1970s due to the building of the Pompidou Center (finished in 1977). Then it rose, first significantly in 1982, then throughout the 1980s, under François Mitterrand's presidency and Jack Lang's office as Minister for Culture when the goal was clearly to allocate "1% of the Budget" for culture. The peak in funding was reached in the 1990s. TABLE1

Making sense of data becomes less easy from the beginning of the 2000s, as new budgetary norms (LOLF[13], 2006) made it impossible to follow the budgets of the various ministries. The cultural budget distributed between the mission called "Culture" —

divided itself into three programmes: heritage, creation, and knowledge transmission and democratisation of culture — the mission Media and cultural industries and the programme "cultural research and scientific culture".[14]

The budget of the French Ministry for Culture and Communications rose to 400 million euros in 1980, 914 in 1982, nearly 1600 in 1990, 2000 in 1995 and a little over 2600 in 2004. In 2005, the budget of the "mission Culture" and the program "cultural research and scientific culture" rose to about 2800 million euros, and then rose more or less with the pace of inflation to about 3000 million euros in 2010. In 2011, according to the last and larger perimeter, the cultural budget had reached roughly 4200 million euros. The mission Culture", can be considered as the core of these expenses, close to the concept of

---

[13] LOLF : Loi Organique pour la Loi de Finances.
[14] See See Sylvie Pflieger, *La culture. A quel prix ?,* Ellipses, 2011, p.132-133.

"legitimate culture". Looking more closely at the 2700 million euros it received in 2011, one notes the priority clearly put on democratisation as the programme "cultural research and scientific culture" obtained 38% of the total (nearly 1000 million euros), followed by the programmes heritage (868 million euros) and creation (737 million euros) — 90% of the latter being devoted to the performing arts.[15]

In England, the context was different as public funding for the arts and heritage (both from the government and the National Lottery) represented aoubt 575 million pounds in 2009-2010[16], which is about four times less than the budget of the mission "Culture" on its own, and the DCMS funding being a mere 0.35% of the total State Budget.

Till 2012, the French Minister for Culture and Communications announced the maintenance[17] of the Ministry's budget. "In a harsh economic climate, when most European countries have had to cut their cultural expenses[18] drastically", the "French exception" was emphasized, the French government "looking toward a future when culture plays a central role in France, promoting social bonds, economic dynamism, stronger appeal for territories"[19]; or in January 2012: "…No country in the world increased its cultural budget as much since the unprecedented worldwide crisis in the last three years…For the first time since 1945, State expenses decreased but the cultural budget increased."[20]

But we must add that this was only a forecast, and, even before the vote of the budget, some limited cuts were decided (notably for heritage). Moreover, the French National Assembly voted in February 2012 a bill of supply which cut the budget of the mission "Culture" (- 34.1 million euros), as well as the mission "Medias and cultural industries" (- 22 million euros) and that of cultural diplomacy (- 6.2 million euros), for a total loss of about 62 million euros. Budgetary tightening was also announced in 2013 as the expenses of the mission "Culture" totalled 2600 million euros (3% decrease), the programme "heritage" being the most affected (10% decrease) as the programmes "creation" and "knowledge transmission" were more or less steady. If we consider the total expenses managed by the ministry for Culture, we can register a 2.37% decrease. One may expect decreases in the next budgets.

Other ministries

The budget of the Ministry for "Culture and Communications" is in fact the emerged tip of the iceberg, and does not reflect the total public financing from the government. Other ministries play a role, for instance in maintaining their buildings (although the latter belong to the "heritage" category), or collaborate with the Culture and Communications ministry. Thus the Education and the Foreign affairs Ministries directly contribute to French cultural policy and bring nearly 80% of total financing coming from "other ministries (about 2800 million euros out of 3600 in 2010). The Education Ministry is in charge of financing artistic education in schools and colleges (2100 million euros) and the Foreign Affairs is responsible for French foreign cultural actions (757 million euros). The power of these other ministries seems to be stable, although it has slightly decreased in the past years, probably because of the necessity to emphasize their own institutional priorities in a general difficult economic climate. One can thus estimate that total State cultural financing reached about 7.8 billion euros in 2010, which is roughly 2.5% of the French Budget.

In addition to its expenses, the State can, with an appropriate tax policy, support both the arts and the media. For instance, books in France benefit from a reduced VAT rate (5.5%) as a means to encourage reading practices. The cinema industry benefits from the French "cultural exception". Built heritage restoration benefits from fiscal aids, and works of art from different tax measures to help keep them in France (especially in French museums but also in French private art collections). All this represents a fiscal expense, which is a great help for financing arts.

Local authorities

Local authorities, mainly towns, did not wait for the 1982 decentralization laws[21] to support the arts and heritage and to play a key role in supporting artistic education in particular (music schools for instance), public libraries, or municipal museums. In 2006, all local authorities spent nearly seven billion euros for culture, which is close to the State expenses, mainly from towns or groups of towns (70%, or 5200 million euros), the expenses of counties (départements) and regions being of a much smaller amount, respectively 1300 and 555 million euros. This betrays a real will to look after and care for culture and the arts from these local authorities, which respectively spent 8.1%, 2.2% and 2.5% of their total budgets.[22] Local authorities have been more interested in culture since the beginning of the 1980's to reach a peak of 54% of total public financing by the mid 1990's, a proportion which has regularly decreased since then. In fact, towns in

---

[15] See Sylvie Pflieger, op.cit, p.128-133.

[16] See "Investment in the Arts and Culture", Arts Council England.

[17] In French called "sanctuarisation".

[18] See for instance the French newspaper *Le Monde*, 29-12-2011, « L'Europe de la culture au rabot de la rigueur »: drop in central State cultural budget : -7,4% for United Kingdom, -7,1% for Italy, -7% for Netherland, -16,70% for Italy.

[19] See Frederic Mitterrand's speech : "le choix courageux du gouvernement français … qui regarde vers un avenir où la culture a toute sa place en France, comme facteur de lien social, de dynamisme économique, d'attractivité renforcée de nos territoires", 28 September 2011.

[20] Nicolas Sarkozy, Marseille, 24 January 2012.

[21] The decentralization law in 1982 recognizes 3 administrative levels: regions, counties and towns, and gives them more powers in education, social protection, transports… for instance.

[22] See Jean-Cédric Delvainquière, Bruno Dietsch, "Les dépenses culturelles des collectivités locales en 2006", Ministère de la Culture et de la Communications, DEPS, *Culture Chiffres*, 2009-3.

particular have faced increasing debts after much investment (public libraries, museums…) and increasing welfare expenses for social protection. There are little more recent reliable statistics, but trends indicate a decrease in these cultural expenses in 2012 as well as for the coming years. More worrying, there is a vicious circle: a decrease in State expenses often tends to lead to a further decrease in local expenses, which emphasizes the key role of the State as prescriptor.

Very roughly we can say that total public financing for culture rose, at the end of the 2000's, to about 14.8 billion euros, including 52.6% (7.8 billion) from the State and 47.4% from local authorities (7 billion). Public funding for the arts amounts to 230 euros per inhabitant, compared to 22.6 pounds in 2009-2010 in the United Kingdom, including the Arts Council, the National Lottery and local funding.[23]

These figures related to France must be taken as a rough estimate, first because they come from different budgets referring to different years (although the trend was reliable and figures did not change much from one year to another), and secondly because they do not take into account transfers between different administrations (as the State gives a global endowment to local authorities and there are transfers between them).

Subject to these methodological reductions, public financing for culture is quite balanced between central and local authorities, even if the State plays a key role in initiating projects and in guaranteeing their quality. There is a cooperation or a complementarity between the two, which was initiated in the 1970s with Ministers Jacques Duhamel and Michel Guy, who worked to set up a "cultural governance […] in order to facilitate cultural projects and raise common funds from the State and local authorities."[24]

The question today is to know whether this balance will continue in the future, as the State seems to reduce more and more its support to local initiatives, on the one hand and on the other as local authorities have more and more difficulties in coping

> "THERE IS A VICIOUS CIRCLE: A DECREASE IN STATE EXPENSES OFTEN TENDS TO LEAD TO A FURTHER DECREASE IN LOCAL EXPENSES, WHICH EMPHASIZES THE KEY ROLE OF THE STATE AS PRESCRIPTOR."

with rising expenditures.

Private cultural financing in France

Even if public funding for culture may seem very important when compared to other countries, keeping only this public resource in mind would give a wrong picture of cultural funding in France. Indeed, private individuals, through their purchase of cultural goods and tickets to public cultural institutions, as well as firms through advertising and sponsorship, contribute, for the most part, to cultural financing.

Private individuals: the first providers of cultural resources

It is rather difficult to measure the role of households' cultural expenses, because of the definition of the cultural field. Looking at the cultural field as an economic sector, including cultural industries, different surveys estimate that cultural expenses represent about 4% of the households' total budget, this percentage being quite steady. According to the last survey published by the French Ministry for Culture[25], these expenses (except telecommunications expenses) rose to 46 billion euros in 2007, which is 4.4% of the households' total expenses. These expenses are mainly divided between cultural goods and services for a total of 26 billion: 10.6 billion for books, newspapers, magazines…, 5.5 billion for "cultural services" such as movies, theaters, museums…, 20 billion euros for equipment and after-sale services (including 15 billion for TV sets, computers, audio/video recorders…). The latter are not really cultural expenses but are necessary spendings to access some cultural products and are thus included.

Households then spend roughly three times the amount of public funding (14.8 billion euros). However, they do not finance the same kind of goods and services: households mainly support the cultural industries, whereas public administrations support

[23] See UK *Arts Index* Report, NCA (National Campaign for the Arts), December 2011.
[24] See Guy Saez, in Philippe Poirrier, René Rizzardo : *Une ambition partagée ? La coopération entre le ministère de la culture et les collectivités territoriales (1959-2009)*, Comité d'Histoire du ministère de la Culture, 2009, p.23-46.
[25] See Chantal Lacroix, "Les dépenses de consommation des ménages en biens et services culturels et telecommunications", Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, DEPS, *Culture Chiffres* 2009-2.

"public goods" characteristics of the arts, namely: heritage, artistic creation and education. The State is responsible for heavy investments and plays a key role in influencing cultural practices. We can explain, for instance, the good level of maintenance of French heritage buildings and sites by public spending, preserving what we call the "existing value" of this heritage.

### More and more is requested from companies

Some experts consider that advertising in the media such as television, radio, newspapers and magazines, movies, and the Internet today also amount to cultural funding. Advertising resources from the media, with the exceptions of newspapers and magazines rose to 4.4 billion euros, the main part (4 billion) going to radio and television.

Sponsorship has a stronger impact on the arts and heritage ecology. Sponsorship is highly promoted by the State, and encouraged by attractive tax laws, mainly those voted in 1987 and 2003. Thus, companies can deduce 60% of the amount of their donation from their taxes within the limits of 0.5% of their turnover, the potential surplus being reported on the five following tax years. Despite these laws, which are possibly the most attractive in the world, sponsorship and the creation of foundations have remained limited in France, compared to the United States or England. Compared to 30,000 foundations in the cultural sector in the United Kingdom[26], France only totaled 1,800 foundations in 2010 (plus 500 donation funds) — with a rapid increase consecutive to the 2003 law.[27]

Cultural sponsorship increased during the 1990s and the early 2000s to reach 1,000 million euros in 2008 (39% of total sponsorship), but dropped to 380 million euros in 2010 (19% of total sponsorship), to return to 494 million euros in 2012. These fluctuations betray the fragility of this resource and the risk for cultural institution's managements to face unexpected cuts to their budgets, therefore threatening artistic projects, which usually take more than one year to come to fruition. In these times of economic crisis and rising social difficulties, companies tend to favour sponsorship in the social, education or health sectors. They tend to opt for « cross sponsorship », and expect a social action towards a better integration of fragile and excluded populations. They less and less support "purely artistic productions" with no obvious social aim attached. Other companies try to conciliate their sponsorship strategy with their wish to play an active role where they live, and develop "competence" sponsorship, by giving practical help. For example, a building company may offer to restore a local castle.

Total cultural expenses from companies rose to 4.8 billion euros in 2010, sponsorship representing about 8% of this amount, advertising expenses being roughly equivalent to those of the Ministry for Culture and Communications. The comparison with England throws light on a different funding allocation: cultural sponsorship in France represented about 18% of the mission "Culture" in 2012, whereas it was roughly similar to the government endowment in Great Britain.[28]
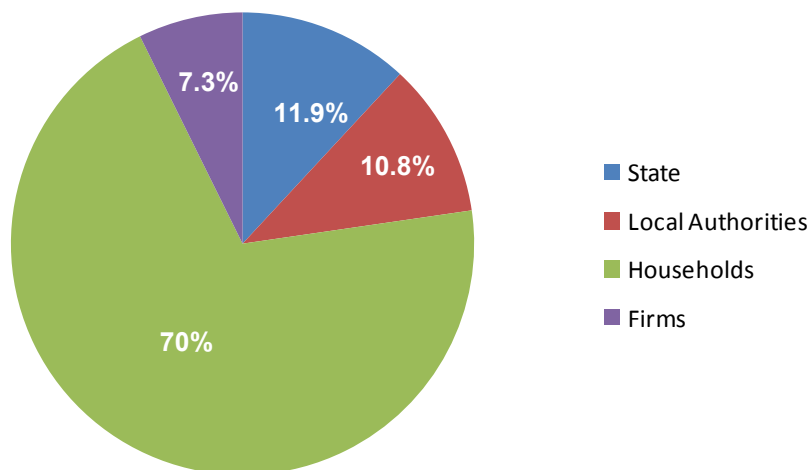
GRAPH 1. PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ALLOCATION OF CULTURAL FUNDING IN FRANCE

---

[26] See Cécile Doustaly, "English Arts Policies since 1990: Laissez-faire, Interventionism or a Hybrid Model?", *LISA e-Journal*, volV, n°1, 2007.
[27] See Fondation de France/Centre français des fonds et fondations/Viviane Tchernonog, *Les fonds et fondations en France de 2001 à 2010*, mai 2011.
[28] See Cécile Doustaly, op.cit., 2007.

Cultural financings allocation in France

Despite the methodological difficulties involved in adding different sources of financings, the following graph presents a rough estimation of the varied allocations of cultural funding in France[29] (graph.1).

In 2010 the whole cultural field received about 65.5 billion euros, nearly 12% from the State and 11% from local authorities, which means that public financing represented less than 25% of total resources for culture. The main resource came from private funding, mostly from households (70%), companies bringing a mere 7%.[30]

This amounted to 122 euros per inhabitant coming from the State, 110 euros from local authorities, 75 euros from companies (advertising and sponsorship), and 716 euros from private individuals' purchases.

This allocation has been relatively steady since the mid 1980s and proved a kind of balance between different actors had been reached, each of them having their own role to play. Despite the limited percentage of public funding, it would be dangerous to think that reducing it would be of no consequence. In fact, the nature of these financings greatly differs: households' purchases cannot support heritage, or high artistic quality institutions in remote parts of the territory, artistic education or the promotion of artistic creation. Moreover, the historically centralized French administration is still strong, and if the percentage of funding from the Ministry for Culture is small (less than 7%) it nevertheless plays a key role as it acts as a lever, because it has been up to now permanent, signaling long-term objectives, and attracting other sources of funding such as that of local authorities and sponsorship. If there is no strong and clear willingness of the State, we can expect that local authorities as well as sponsors will withdraw from cultural projects.

But even before the announced decrease in public cultural expenses in 2013, some worrying signs could be observed. Public institutions under the State authority have been suffering since 2009 from an annual decrease of 5% in their public subsidies on average (apparently a smaller decrease is anticipated in 2012). There is a growing pressure to encourage cultural institutions to increase their own resources – space rental, film-making, sales in museum shops, branding… The mission for the maintenance of historical heritage seems to be greatly threatened: more and more historical buildings are sold to private buyers by "France Domaine"[31]. As some Members of Parliament have denounced, "our heritage is being sold off without knowing what it will become. We are talking about pieces of our national history".[32] Paris is not the only city to be affected, and complete figures on how many public buildings have been sold in regions, notably by states of the United Arab Emirates, are still unknown. Will culture remain a protected public sector in France?

> " **I**F THERE IS NO STRONG AND CLEAR WILLINGNESS OF THE STATE, WE CAN EXPECT THAT LOCAL AUTHORITIES AS WELL AS SPONSORS WILL WITHDRAW FROM CULTURAL PROJECTS."

New prospects

There are four categories of resources for artistic institutions in different proportions according to their cultural field and status: public financing, sponsorship, ticket receipts and other own resources, as well as "exceptional" resources.

Public financing and its limits

The general economic situation and the obligation for states to limit their public deficits point to the fact that public financing has reached its limits; cultural institutions can at best only expect steady resources in the future. At the local level, financing conditions are becoming more and more intertwined with social and economic criteria, cultural institutions being asked to integrate fully in their territory and its local life, to promote its identity, and help keep jobs, economic dynamism, social networks, and generally improve the environment. Sustaining culture as an actor of the economic and social development has become, since the early 2000s, the main strategy of public action. This has even become

---

[29] These methodological difficulties deal with a question of temporality (we have not been able to gather statistics coming from different sources for the same year), with a question of "double accountancy" risk because we have added expenses without caring about potential interferences linked to transfers between different administrative levels, and with the positive effects of the fiscal policy (as reduced VAT rate, reduced taxes…). These simplifications probably tend to under-estimate (slightly) the State power.
[30] See Sylvie Pflieger, 2011, *La culture, à quel prix?*, Ellipses, p.150.
[31] See France Domaine is the Estate Agency of the State.
[32] See Sophie Flouquet, "La vente des bijoux de famille continue", *Journal des Arts* n°364, mars 2012.

a EU goal since the Lisbon Treatise introduced culture as a factor of creativity, as a catalyst for economic growth and employment, able to improve the whole economic fabric.

It is interesting to notice that this criterion had a strong impact on public funding in England. The government became a little more interventionist in the 1990s, being influenced by statistical surveys emphasizing the positive impact of the arts[33], as well as by lobbying groups like the National Campaign for the Arts.[34] There were such surveys in France in particular in the 1980s, but they did not have the same impact, as the necessity of cultural subsidizes was already well recognized.

Ticket receipts versus "free access" to culture

Revenues from ticketing receipts which are the main part of many cultural institutions' own resources have probably also reached their limits. Although the latest figures show an increase in visitors to museums and heritage sites in France[36] proving the appeal of French heritage, attendance numbers depend on external and non-controllable factors and ticketing receipts depend on pricing policies. There has been a conflict between the defence of free entrance policies aimed at promoting and widening access to culture and the economic management of institutions.

The policy of "free entrance" in national museums for permanent collections was very popular in England and seen to reinforce the feeling of belonging to a same "culture".[37] In France, an investigation was led in 2008 tested the relevance of free entrance for all in museums to promote cultural democratization. It was found difficult to distinguish between short-term effects — usually positive (novelty effect) — and long term effects which are much more difficult to appreciate as they can either point to a larger number of visitors, or more frequent visits by the same visitors. So in France, it was decided not to give free entrances to the population at large, but to the age of 26, which is still a change on the previous situation.[38]

Moreover, famous and large national museums have to face a duality in their public: on the one hand

tourists, less concerned with ticket prices, and on the other local visitors who tend to be concerned with them.[39] Should museums make the case for a greater flexibility in pricing policy, and abandon for instance the free entrance for the first Sunday of each month during the summer (July and August)? During these months, tourists' attendance reaches a peak, and safety could also be compromised.

If we take the example of the Louvre Museum, ticketing resources from the sale of tickets have stayed rather steady over the last years, at about 40 million euros[40], despite the increase in attendance, and represented about 43% of its own resources in 2010.[41] For the performing arts institutions, ticketing receipts represented the main part of own resources, about half for the national theatre "La Colline" (2010).[42]

Other own resources of a cultural institution include funding connected with the use of its space[43]: from selective space rental (in order to make a film, or for a fashion show, congress, private reception…) to commercial receipts from shops located in the institutions. For the Louvre museum for instance, this represented 12% of resources in 2010. We must add that these resources are much more easily raised by the heritage sector (museums in particular) than by performing arts institutions, and greatly depend on the reputation of the institution and its power of attraction. Moreover these commercial receipts raise questions as to the reasonable "degree of merchandization" that is compatible with a cultural institution's missions.

Sponsorship: an unpredictable resource

With very attractive tax legislation for sponsorship, the State could hope for cultural institutions to find new sources of financing, able to make up for decreasing public funding. But cultural sponsorship was quite unpredictable. Indeed, it is very dependent on the economic climate, but also on the degree of attraction of the artistic projects, which may induce an exceptional donation one year, and nothing the following year; thus the sponsorship as a resource can never be taken for granted: each year is a new "zero base" year which results can jeopardize projects implemented for a number of years.[44] The

---

[33] These See John Meyerscough, *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain*, Abington, PSI, 1988.

[34] See Cecile Doustaly, 2007.

[35] See Sylvie Pflieger, "L'économie de la culture: Arlequin, danseuse et financiers", *l'Observatoire de la Communication*, n°16, BIPE, 1987.

[36] See Culture and Communications Ministry 30/12/2011: "Rise in entrances in national museum and heritage places: at least 5% for museum and 5.5% for heritage, compared to 2010".

[37] See Cécile Doustaly, 2007.

[38] The previous rule was to give free entrances up to the age of 18.

[39] See Constance Lombard, *Théorie et pratique du mécénat : les nouveaux modèles de financement des musées*, Rapport interne Musée du Louvre 26/01/2012.

[40] See Constance Lombard, …, Musée du Louvre 26/01/2012.

[41] See Activity Report 2010, Louvre Museum.

[42] See Receipts without road shows, see the budget of the National Theater *La Colline*.

[43] In French, "recettes domaniales".

[44] See Constance Lombard,… Musée du Louvre 26/01/2012.

Metropolitan Museum for instance, whose resources are, as for most American museums, mainly its own resources, had to face a deficit of over 8 million euros in 2009. This can be explained by a drop in foundation donations (20%) in addition to a decrease in the New York City subsidy of 4% and of museum memberships of 9.8%. As far as the Louvre Museum is concerned, sums received from sponsorship receipts represent 19% of its general budget (purchase budget being excluded), which is a rather high level compared to other national museums: 9% for the Orsay Museum, less than 5% for the MNAM or the Quai Branly Museum or the Guimet Museum in 2009.[45] Moreover, studying the Louvre Museum sponsorship resources in the last four years (2006-2009) shows yearly fluctuations: it varied from 20% to nearly 50% of its own resources.[46] Even the largest and most famous institutions face the uncertainty of sponsorship, which can explain the fear of cultural actors of having to cope with the withdrawal of the State after an exceptional donation which may not be maintained the following years.

By comparison, sponsorship in performing arts institutions is still a marginal resource, less than 1% from the total budget of the national theater of "La Colline" for instance, or 4% from its own resources.[47]

Can we all be sponsors?

Private citizens may also be sponsors: for instance private collectors promote artistic creation by buying works of art, or people in general, often through the way of non-profit organizations, or more recently through crowdfunding. Thus the Louvre Museum initiated a new policy at the end of 2010, inspired by the English model[48], and requesting the general population to participate in the purchase of a painting of Lucas Cranach, "Les trois Grâces", considered as a "national treasure". The museum could not raise the total amount (4 million euros) alone and not even with the sponsorship of 2 companies (even though being classified as a "national treasure" which meant a higher reduction in taxes, up to 90% of the sum invested up to a 50% of the taxes of the firm), and therefore decided to launch a public campaign for private and generous donors. This campaign was widely covered by the media because of its very innovative character – no cultural institution had thought or dared to call on individual people before. It was a huge success as over 7000 private sponsors donated more funds than was necessary (1.5 million euros instead of the one million needed[49]) before the end of the time allowed for the operation. With such a success, the Louvre Museum is planning to launch a similar campaign every year. We must add, of course, that individuals also benefit from the advantageous tax policy, and can reduce their income taxed by up to 65% of the amount given as sponsorship.

But the question is still to know whether this kind of crowdfunding can be generalized, or whether this large success of the "Cranach campaign" is due to the novelty effect, the choice of the subject, or to the international reputation of the museum? In other words, could crowdfunding become a steady and regular source of funding, in addition to others, namely public funding? Could it be used by any category of institution: international as well as local museums, performing arts institutions or contemporary art centers? Could it be used for any artistic project or in any moving economic, social, demographic environment? The fact is that more and more cultural

> "THE FACT IS THAT MORE AND MORE CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS CALL FOR INDIVIDUAL SPONSORSHIP AND INTERNET SITES FOR CROWDFUNDING ARE DEVELOPING IN DIFFERENT FIELDS. THE TREND IS TOO RECENT TO EVALUATE IF THIS WILL REALLY BECOME A PERMANENT SOURCE OF FINANCING ."

---

[45] See Cour des Comptes, *Les musées nationaux après une décennie de transformations (2000-2010),* mars 2011.

[46] The exceptional level in 2007 is mainly due to the international project Louvre Abou Dabi.

[47] See "budget 2010 Théâtre National de la Colline": French ministry for Culture subsidies represent 78.3% of the total budget, own resources 21.7%.

[48] See Individual sponsorship in Great Britain represents about 25% from private funding for the arts (UK Arts Index Report, NCA).

[49] See Constance Lombard, Musée du Louvre, 26/01/2012.

[50] See Surveys realized by Olivier Donnat, Ministry for Culture and Communications, DEPS, *Les pratiques culturelles des Français* ; last survey in 2008.

[51] Loi 4 août 2008, article 140, alinea 1: "…recevoir et gérer, en les capitalisant, des biens et droits de toute nature qui lui sont apportés à titre gratuit et irrévocable, et d'utiliser les revenus de la capitalisation en vue de la réalisation d'une œuvre ou d'une mission d'intérêt général ou les redistribuer pour assister une personne morale à but non lucratif dans l'accomplissement de ses œuvres et de ses missions d'intérêt general."

institutions call for individual sponsorship and Internet sites for crowdfunding are developing in different fields (heritage, music labels...). The trend is too recent to evaluate if this will really become a permanent source of financing, and it would be interesting thus to better know the sociological profile of these individual sponsors, to compare with a sociological analysis of museum visitors or more generally of "French cultural practices".[50] It would also mean cultural institutions need to create a genuine loyalty relationship with their audience and involve them actively in their activities.

"The merchants into the temple"?

Last, one must consider endowment funds. Introduced by the 2008 law, they verge on sponsorship but are included in the category of "exceptional receipts". This new tool allows cultural institutions "to receive, manage, through capitalization, goods and rights of any kind, brought as free and permanent, and to use revenues of the capitalization in order to implement a project or a mission of general interest[51], or to redistribute them to assist a non-profitable moral entity in the realization of its projects and missions of general interest." This new tool was well received with 162 funds created in 2009 and 493 in 2010. It was used for the "Louvre Abou Dabi" project, allowing the Louvre Museum to receive a 400 million euros endowment from the United Arab Emirates (over 30 years). This endowment fund is to help finance development projects for the future of the museum. Today included in "exceptional receipts", it in fact amounts to a steady and permanent resource.

Other exceptional receipts, in particular new marketing strategies have started developing mainly based on the cultural institution's brand and commercialization know-how. The Louvre Abou Dabi project also belongs to this category, as well as local operations like a limited edition of a "Louvre-Montblanc pen". Some institutions have therefore chosen a very offensive commercial strategy, which has raised ethical debates: "Should merchants be allowed into the temple?" This question is probably much more a situation of conflict in France than in Anglo-saxon countries such as the United States or England, as French public authorities have, till now, always defended the idea that cultural goods are not goods like any other ones.[52] These resources are still marginal today but are expected to develop in the next few years.

The real question is to know whether this use of more and more varied private financing may question the very existence of a public cultural policy and endanger less profitable sectors to favour the bigger institutions attracting most media attention and seen as showcases for French culture abroad. Can these different actions, mainly introduced by the Louvre Museum[53] — considered as a "prototype case" because of its huge size and international prestige — spread to any institution, even small, local or any other artistic sector? Moreover, would this not accelerate the general movement of lessening public funding — threatening small structures even more? There is a real risk of creating a two-speed cultural offer, where smaller structures will not be able to fulfill their mission to offer greater access to culture.

To conclude, looking for alternative private financing is a positive factor, which should be encouraged because it helps rise and diversify cultural institutions' resources, but so long as it does not induce a decrease of public financings. The State and local authorities should not consider private funding as a godsend and withdraw from culture and the arts. There is a fragile balance to maintain as cultural goods and services are not commodities as any other ones and should be supported for themselves and not only for instrumental reasons, not even as the inspiration behind the creative industries.

REFERENCES

ARTS COUNCIL OF GREAT BRITAIN, 1993, *A Creative Future: the Way Forward for the Arts, Crafts and Media in England*, London, HMSO.

BAUMOL William, Bowen William, 1966, *Performing Arts : The Economic Dilemma*, New York, The Twentieth Century Fund.

COUR DES COMPTES, 2011, *Les musées nationaux après une décennie de transformations* (2000-2010).

DELVAINQUIÈRE Jean-Cédric, Dietsch Bruno, 2009, "Les dépenses culturelles des collectivités locales en 2006", Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, DEPS, *Culture Chiffres*, 2009-3.

DOUSTALY Cécile, 2007, "English Arts Policies since 1990 : Laissez-faire, Interventionism or a Hybrid Model ?", *LISA e-Journal*, volV, n°1.

GREFFE Xavier, 2010, « L'économie de la culture est-elle particulière ? » ; *Revue d'Economie Politique*, 120, (1), janvier-février 2010, p. 1-34.

GREFFE Xavier, Pflieger Sylvie, 2009, *La politique culturelle en France*, Paris, La Documentation française.

LOMBARD Constance, 2012, *Théorie et pratique du mécénat : les nouveaux modèles de financement des musées*, Rapport interne Musée du Louvre.

MEYERSCOUGH John, 1988, *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain*, Abington, PSI.

---

[52] See GATT's agreement in 1994.
[53] This presentation of Louvre Museum as a prototype case is the result of our interview with Christophe Monin, Director for Development and sponsorship in Louvre Museum.

PFLIEGER Sylvie, 2011, *La culture, à quel prix ?*, Paris, Ellipses.

POIRRIER Philippe (dir), 2011, *Pour une histoire des politiques culturelles dans le monde*, 1945-2011, Comité d'Histoire du Ministère de la Culture/La Documentation française.

POIRRIER Philippe, Rizzardo René, 2009, *Une ambition partagée ? La coopération entre le ministère de la culture et les collectivités territoriales (1959-2009)*, Comité d'Histoire du ministère de la Culture.

THROSBY David, 2010, *The Economics of Cultural Policy*, Cambridge University Press, UK.

TYLOR Edward Burnett, *Primitive Culture*, New York, JP.Putnam's Sons, 1920 [1871].

UK ARTS INDEX REPORT, NCA (National Campaign for the Arts), december 2011.

State Funding of Local Cultural Economic Development Initiatives in Massachusetts: Are All Communities Created Equal?

Richard G. Maloney
Boston University, USA

ABSTRACT

Over the past two decades, the role of art and culture in economic development has emerged as an important area of concern for arts administrators and an interesting topic of inquiry among social scientists. However, a good test of the hypothesis that funding the arts will stimulate regional economic development is hard to find. In the absence of controlled experiment, economists often look for what they call a "natural experiment." One example of this is the Adams Arts program in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts (USA). This program provides grant funding to communities who have created projects that employ the arts to spur local economic development. We examine the profile of communities which have attempted to use this funding to spur economic development, and the logic behind their choice.

Keywords:

Cultural economic development

Cultural industries

Local cultural policy

Introduction

Today, municipalities in the United States face many pressing financial challenges. These typically include declining tax revenues, reduced federal and state aid, and an increased demand for local services. As a result, local leaders are continuously searching for new economic development strategies to reinvigorate their tax base. During the past decade, the idea that the arts and culture sector can play an important, if not leading, role in local economic development has rapidly grown in popularity. However, despite wide spread interest in this idea, many questions about the nature of the cultural economic development process, particularly at the local level, remain unanswered. This paper seeks to address some of these questions through an analysis of the Massachusetts based John and Abigail Adams Arts program (Adams), the oldest state art council sponsored grant program in the United States that funds the development of municipal level cultural economic development initiatives. Specifically, what is the socioeconomic profile of municipalities that apply for Adams funding and is this profile consistent for all communities including those that do not apply? Our findings will interest arts administrators, local political leaders, and policy makers of municipalities that are considering investing in cultural economic development as a local economic revitalization strategy.

In the first section of the paper, we present a brief summary of recent thinking regarding local economic development. Following this, the Adams program is presented and we discuss how this program informed our research. This is followed by a discussion of the statistical analysis and a presentation of our findings. And finally, we conclude by making several additional remarks and suggest possibilities for further study.

Background

Academic thinking about the relationship between art and economic development has evolved over the past several decades. The traditional theory of regional economic development relies on a classification of industries into export and service. Export industries sell to entities outside the region and, if successful, cause economic growth inside the region. Initially, advocates of cultural economic development argued that the arts were an export industry and could help drive economic development. Certainly there are examples of art and entertainment driving local economies – think Las Vegas, Los Angeles, and Orlando (USA) – but for the most part evidence suggests that the arts industries play a minor role in the economic base of most urban areas (Seaman, 1990; Cowan, 2004).

Recently, the argument that creativity and creative people drive economic development has received growing support (Landry, 2000; Howkins, 2001; Florida, 2002; Glaeser, 2011). In this context, the nexus between the arts and economic development is different: in urban areas with concentrations of highly-educated creative people, their productivity will drive economic growth. Since artists are often regarded as the most creative of these people, they may play a particularly important role in this process. In Florida's version, young, mobile, highly-educated entrepreneurial types will be attracted to a vibrant arts community; thus planning an economic development strategy around attracting artists and building relevant arts and cultural organizations will create jobs and growth in the long run.

In reality, these explanations are too simple. A variety of amenities may attract young, creative types to an urban area, including old standbys such as cheap housing and quality public schools. However, attracting creative young professionals does not automatically guarantee economic growth. The important question is whether art and culture, however

"A VARIETY OF AMENITIES MAY ATTRACT YOUNG, CREATIVE TYPES TO AN URBAN AREA, INCLUDING OLD STANDBYS SUCH AS CHEAP HOUSING AND QUALITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS. HOWEVER, ATTRACTING CREATIVE YOUNG PROFESSIONALS DOES NOT AUTOMATICALLY GUARANTEE ECONOMIC GROWTH."

defined, are really an important force leading to greater economic growth, or simply a by-product of it. Our paper will address this question by exploring the socioeconomic characteristics of municipalities in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts that are pursuing local cultural economic development initiatives.

The John and Abigail Adams Arts Program

Administered by the Massachusetts Cultural Council (MCC), the John and Abigail Adams Arts program was established by the Massachusetts legislature in 2005 and is the successor to a cultural economic development program that was in operation from 1997-2003. While the previous program served only a handful of applicants each year and awarded a small amount of funding, the Adams program is better funded and has awarded far more grants.[1] The Adams program grant application process is also more sophisticated as it requires applicants to provide detailed information regarding project objectives and specific economic development goals.[2] The Adams program awards grants for "planning" (up to $5,000-$10,000 depending on the year) and "implementation" (up to $75,000-$100,000 depending on the year) to applicants who develop realistic local cultural economic development initiatives in collaboration with a minimum of three community organizations (though typically four to seven organizations are involved). Local government or a nonprofit organization must take the lead, but private sector companies are encouraged to participate. Each proposal is vetted for quality by a panel of experts organized by the MCC. The grants must be matched by additional funding provided by the community on a 1:4 (planning grant) or 1:1 (implementation grant) basis. The MCC employs a broad definition of the term cultural economic development, so much so that even "stimulat[ing] increased participation and engagement in cultural and creative activities by residents and visitors"[3] has been deemed an acceptable proposal objective.

We view the Adams Arts program as a relatively pure example of a micro-level experiment in cultural economic development. Our original intent in studying it was to determine how effective this strategy is in encouraging local economic development. However, as the program is still in its relative infancy -- some projects are just underway and others have only been recently completed -- there are not enough mature projects to tackle the statistical question of whether the program overall has had a salutary effect on local economic development. Fortunately, the program is established enough to permit us to determine the socioeconomic profile of the participating and non-participating municipalities.

Analyzing the Adams Grant process

Although 168 grants were awarded directly to communities between 2005 and 2010, it would be unlikely that the grant recipients would be randomly distributed throughout all communities in the state. One would expect some patterns to emerge. In this section we employ a statistical analysis to examine the defining characteristics of communities that have received Adams Program grants.

Our previous qualitative analysis of three communities which have been active in the Adams program revealed several common characteristics (Maloney and Wassall, 2013). Since this is a small sample, what we found in these communities may not apply to all communities which successfully secured grants during this period. However, it is worth reviewing briefly what we discovered.

First, these three communities-- Barnstable, Gloucester, and Fitchburg -- are mid-sized with 2010 populations ranging from 29,000 to 45,000. Second, in order to establish a cultural economic development initiative some form of social and intellectual infrastructure needs to be present. Although the nature of the process was different in all three communities, it is clear that some level of competence in local economic development, and therefore the participation of local government, is necessary. Smaller communities typically do not have significant expertise in economic development. This would imply that smaller communities may be less capable of developing and sustaining local cultural economic development initiatives.

Support of the initiative by the local "arts community" seems to be an essential part of the local infrastructure. In the three municipalities we examined, nonprofit cultural institutions were very engaged in establishing a partnership among local leaders in the public, private, and nonprofit sectors in order to support the cultural proposed economic development initiative. While quantifying the amount of support the local arts community provides is hard to determine, we use measures of nonprofit arts activity as a proxy for it in our analysis.

Third, what was not observed in these three communities spurred us to complete the analysis contained in this paper. Numerous studies have shown that attendance at artistic events has a strong positive correlation with education and income. Most studies in the United States have stressed the role of

---

[1] See Appendix 1 for details regarding the number of grants awarded each year for both programs.
[2] See Appendix 2 for a description of each community's proposed project and their respective economic development goals.
[3] http://www.massculturalcouncil.org/applications/adamsarts_faqs.asp accessed April 26, 2012.

Number of Grants Received	% High School Grads	% College Grads	% with Higher Degree	Median Family Income	Population
No grant	92.0	39.1	16.3	$86,713	14,136
At least one	86.2	33.2	14.2	$69,516	66,717
More than one	84.4	30.7	12.9	$61,369	78,439

TABLE 1. ADAMS GRANTS: SOCIOECONOMIC PROFILE

education, both in terms of highest level attained and whether arts fans received specific arts education, as being most important.[4] Since income and education are strongly correlated with each other, it is difficult to separate their individual impact on attendance at cultural events. The three communities we studied in depth, which had received funding from the state over several years to establish cultural economic development initiatives, could be called "blue-collar," with average levels of educational attainment and household income. In other words, prior research would suggest there is not enough local demand to support additional investment in the local cultural infrastructure. Counter intuitively, these communities are attempting to build reputations as cultural destinations.

Are Adams Grant communities different?

Based on Adams grant activity between 2005 and 2010, what can we discover about those communities which received funding compared to those which did not? During this period, 168 grants were made directly to 35 towns. Of those 35 towns, 26 received more than one grant during this period. The "average" Adams grant town received 4.8 grants during this period; the average town which received more than one grant received 6.1 grants. Clearly the program has been exploited by relatively few communities, but used frequently by those which were successful in obtaining grants.[5]

To help us determine whether Adams grant communities did in fact have a different socioeconomic profile, we created a separate profile of communities which received Adams grants and compared it to one for communities which did not. To create these profiles, we used American Community Survey (ACS) data, which was available for 243 Massachusetts communities. The ACS data were aggregated from a file combining annual surveys between 2005 and 2010. This comparison is shown in Table 1.

It is clear that there are differences in Adams grant communities and other communities. Municipalities which capitalized on the Adams grant program are significantly larger. Residents of these communities have lower socioeconomic status, with lower levels of family income and educational attainment. Educational attainment is lower across the board, as Adams grant communities have lower proportions of high school graduates, college graduates, and persons holding graduate degrees. Further differences can be seen between communities which received one grant and those which received multiple grants. Those which received multiple grants were even larger with even lower levels of family income and educational attainment.

To determine the importance of a vibrant arts community in the grant process, we assembled information on cultural non-profit organizations located in every Massachusetts municipality at the outset of the program.[6] This database can be used simply to count the number of cultural non-profits in each community, but it also contains substantial information on revenue, spending, and assets, as well as other attributes.[7] The database we used contains this information for 2005 or the nearest year if an organization did not file a return in that calendar year. If support from the arts community is valuable, the most important factor is the relative size of the arts community in each municipality; in other words, its "cultural density." To obtain indicators of cultural non-profit density, we constructed three measures: number of cultural non-profits, total cultural non-profit

---

[4] Recent evidence can be found in Novak-Leonard and Brown (2011), using information from the 2008 Survey of Public Participation in the Arts. In their Table 3 (p.40) they report that Americans with post-Baccalaureate degrees were most likely to attend arts events, with an attendance frequency over twice that of those for whom completion of high school was their highest attainment. They also showed that, among income ranges, those with incomes exceeding $150,000 annually were the most frequent arts attenders, attending arts events 2.5 times more often than those with incomes below $10,000.

[5] The Commonwealth of Massachusetts identifies 351 municipalities within the state. The federal census data we employ in our analysis aggregates these to 243.

[6] The cultural non-profit data were obtained from the National Center for Charitable Statistics, and were edited by Doug DeNatale.

[7] The information on cultural non-profits comes from filings of their Form 990s with the Internal Revenue Service, which is required annually of all non-profit organizations. Unlike personal and corporate filings with the IRS the Form 990s are available for inspection by the public.

Number of Grants Received	Cultural Non-Profits (x 10,000) Per Capita	Cultural Non-Profit Spending Per Capita	Cultural Non-Profit Net Asset Value Per Capita
No grant	4.9	$106.96	$540.15
At least one	6.1	$349.10	$1,100.85
More than one	5.2	$392.01	$1,216.45

TABLE 2. ADAMS GRANTS: CULTURAL NON-PROFIT DENSITY

spending, and total cultural non-profit assets, all on a per capita basis. These data can be found in Table 2. Again we see some large differences between Adams grant communities and other communities. All three measures of non-profit density are higher in Adams grant communities. There is an even greater gap between the two groups of communities with respect to the financial measures. Within Adams grant communities, those which have received more than one Adams grant have fewer non-profits per capita, but both per capita spending and asset value are greater.

The information in these two tables suggests that our original perceptions based on an in-depth analysis of Hyannis, Gloucester, and Fitchburg have been mostly confirmed. What we do not know yet is whether the influences on Adams grant activity which we have identified act independently of each other, or whether they reflect a single unifying theme.

To explore this issue further, and to obtain more precise estimates of the relationships among the variables, we turn to regression analysis. Since we are interested in factors associated with a community obtaining an Adams grant, we work with two dependent variables: whether a community obtained a grant during the 2005-10 period (ADAMS), and, since it occurred so frequently, whether a community obtained more than one grant during the same period (MULTADAMS). Since both are binary dependent variables, we show results in Tables 3 and 4 using both ordinary least squares (OLS) and logit regressions.

In both tables we utilize as independent variables measures of the possible causal factors discussed above that best fit the models. To test our hypothesis that towns had to be sufficiently large to take on projects of this type, we entered their population in 2006 (POP06) as in independent variable. To test the link between education and arts consumption we entered the percentage of community residents who hold graduate degrees (GRADDEG). To measure economic status, we entered the median family income (MFI) for each community. And finally, for a measure of cultural non-profit presence, we entered cultural non-profit spending per capita (CNPSPC).

Table 3 shows the outcomes using an OLS regression model. Since the majority of the Adams program grant participants received multiple grants, we were curious to see if these factors affected multi-grant recipients differentially. The results are quite similar for both dependent variables. The analysis shows that being a larger community and having a strong non-profit presence are both predictors of participation in the program. It also shows that grant program participants tend to come from communities of lower socioeconomic status, although the education variable does not attain a level of statistical significance.

In Table 4, the same model is tested using logit. These results are less robust, but tell the same story. Population is positively related to participation in the Adams grant program. The measure of non-profit presence shows a positive correlation also, but attains

Dep. Var.	POP06	GRADDEG	MFI	CNPSPC	CONSTANT	R^2
ADAMS	0.0028*** (0.0005)	-0.0007 (0.0024)	-0.0019** (0.0008)	0.1765*** (0.0619)	.2276*** (.066)	.226
MULTADAMS	0.0026*** (0.0004)	-0.0003 (.0021)	-0.0024*** (0.0007)	0.1526*** (0.0528)	0.2364*** (0.056)	.272

Standard errors are in parentheses. POP06 is measured in thousands. MFI and CNPSPC are measured in thousands of dollars.
*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.
**Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.
***Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

TABLE 3. ADAMS GRANT REGRESSION RESULTS: OLS

Dep. Var.	POP06	GRADDEG	MFI	CNPSPC	CONSTANT	χ^2
ADAMS	0.0050*** (0.0016)	-0.0454* (0.0276)	-0.0160 (0.0150)	0.5819 (0.4418)	-1.676*** (0.624)	124.690
MULTADAMS	0.0050*** (0.0016)	0.0184 (0.0302)	0.0084 (0.0106)	0.0010** (0.0005)	-3.2152*** (0.638)	42.985

Standard errors are in parentheses. POP06 is measured in thousands. MFI and CNPSPC are measured in thousands of dollars.
*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.
**Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.
***Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

TABLE 4. ADAMS GRANT REGRESSION RESULTS: LOGIT

significance in only one of the two equations. Income of resident families is not significant, but having a graduate degree is negatively correlated with Adams program activity in one equation.

Further comments

In general the regression results, which test for the independent effects of each factor in the presence of the others, conform our casual theorizing based on our observations and the information in Tables 1 and 2. However, a little more can be said about the role of income and education in this profile of Adams grant participants. The fact that the communities which participate tend to have a socioeconomic profile which seems antithetical to cultural consumption may be explained by the basic premise of the program. It was designed to create economic development. There are very few ways that small regions can engage in activity to raise living standards, but one is to sell more of their goods and services to outsiders (i.e., non-residents). Whether or not these projects are successful, it appears that the communities participating in them are looking to pursue economic development. Massachusetts is populated with many wealthy suburban and rural communities which may wish to avoid commercialization, but nevertheless contain many persons who participate in arts and culture. If larger, more mixed communities nearby provide such venues, then there may be a built-in audience for their cultural products. This line of reasoning can also be used to explain the community resistance that was occasionally noted in our in depth analysis of Hyannis, Gloucester, and Fitchburg. The profile of long-time residents of these communities does not seem to include strong support for the arts and, as a result, the Adams program may seem alien to them. Nevertheless, the logic behind communities such as these looking to the Adams program as a path to economic development seems perfectly rational.

Taking this a step further, our results hint at the possibility that a regional approach may be necessary to achieve the full benefits of this type of cultural economic development. Local leaders need not only to be cognizant of the socioeconomic profile of their own community, but that of neighboring municipalities as well. Many of these initiatives build on existing local strengths in order to produce an increased number of cultural goods and services. However, local leaders must also consider who will consume these additional cultural offerings and where they live in order to provide their community with the best chance for success.

REFERENCES

COWEN, T. (May 2004) When Should Regions Bid for Artistic Resources? Lasting Effects: Assessing the Future of Economic Impact Analysis of the Arts Conference. Chicago: University of Chicago Cultural Policy Center.

FLORIDA, R. (2002) The Rise of the Creative Class. New York: Basic Books.

GLAESER, E. (2011) Triumph of the City. New York: Penguin.

HOWKINS, J. (2001) The Creative Economy. New York: Penguin.

LANDRY, C. (2000) The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators. London: Earthscan.

MALONEY, R.; WASSALL, G. (forthcoming 2013) A Case Study in Cultural Economic Development: The Adams Arts Program in Massachusetts. In Rushton, M. (ed.). Creative Communities: Art Works in Economic Development. Washington, DC: Brookings Institute Press.

NOVAK-LEONARD, J.; BROWN, A. (2011) Beyond Attendance. Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts.

SEAMAN, B. (1980) Arts Impact Studies: A Fashionable Excess. In Economic Impact of the Arts: A Sourcebook. Washington, DC: National Conference of State Legislatures.

APPENDIX 1[9]

JOHN AND ABIGAIL ADAMS ARTS PROGRAM (2005-2010)						
Year	CE dollars	# of CE Projects	PLN dollars	# of PLN Projects	Total dollars	Total projects
2005	$900,000	22			$900,000	22
2006	$1,290,175	33			$1,290,175	33
2007	$1,240,000	27	$52,820	10	$1,292,820	37
2008	$1,241,000	27	$39,371	9	$1,280,371	36
2009	$1,208,750	29	$41,750	9	$1,250,500	38
2010	$786,000	23	$17,500	5	$803,500	28
TOTAL	$6,665,925	161	$151,441	33	$6,817,366	194

APPENDIX 2

HYANNIS (Town of Barnstable)

Year Awarded:	2006-2010 (5 grants)
Grant Request:	$30,000 (06); $50,000 (07); $40,000 (08); $40,000 (09); $36,000 (10)
Total Funding:	$196,000
Project Name:	**Harbor Your Arts (HyA)**
Lead Partner:	Town of Barnstable
Partners:	Arts Foundation of Cape Cod Hyannis Main Street Business Improvement District (BID) Cape Cod Art Association Coastal Community Capital Hyannis Area Chamber of Commerce

Population (2010): 45,193

Project Description (2009):
The Town of Barnstable and its Partners work cooperatively to provide resources to our arts community to foster the local economy. The Harbor Your Arts initiative began with seven artist shanties and expanded to an arts-focused revitalization of downtown Hyannis. Next steps include defining a downtown Hyannis arts district with a way finding plan and additional public art to provide connectivity between the Harbor, Pearl Street arts galleries, and Main Street.

Project Goals (2009):
A defined downtown arts district will provide economic opportunities for artists and businesses, attract visitors and establish Hyannis as an arts destination. Harbor Your Arts (HyA) supports the local creative economy and business activity on Main Street and harbor area. Performing arts event attendance and revenues for shanty and Pearl Street artists underscores the success of these initiatives. Private investment in the area has begun to increase further enhancing the downtown area.

---

[9] All information in Appendix 1 and 2 have been taken directly from each municipality's 2009 Adams Arts program grant application.

GLOUCESTER

Year Awarded:	2005-2009 (5 grants); no award in 2010
Grant Request:	$30,000 (05); $40,000 (06); $40,000 (07); $35,000 (08); $26,000 (09)
Total Funding:	$171,000
Project name:	**Arts and Economic Development in Gloucester**
Lead Partner:	Society for the Encouragement of the Arts (seARTS)
Partners:	ArtsGloucester Cape Ann Chamber of Commerce City of Gloucester Gloucester New Arts Festival North of Boston Convention and Visitors Bureau Rocky Neck Art Colony Cape Ann Artisans Tour Gloucester Committee for the Arts
Population (2010):	28,789

Proposed Project Summary (2008 and 2009): This project provides innovative and effective economic opportunities for artists, businesses and the City by developing, sustaining, and promoting arts activates that are integrated into the business and cultural life of the City, creating and sustaining strategic partnerships, and developing a viable Cape Ann arts market.

Project's Economic Development Goals (2008 and 2009): To create sustainable arts/business collaborations, develop new audiences, showcase high-quality art, increase consumer activity in under-visited locations and businesses, boost existing cultural events, extend programming into the shoulder-months and increase connectivity between downtown and the harbor.

FITCHBURG

Year Awarded:	(1998, 1999), 2005, 2008, 2009 (5 grants); no award in 2010
Grant Request:	5,000 (98); $7,000 (99); $35,000 (05); $6,000 (08); $18,000 (09)
Total Funding:	$71,000
Project name:	**REACH Fitchburg**
Lead Partner:	Economic Development Office, Fitchburg
Partners:	Fitchburg State College – Teaching American History Grant Program Central Mass Woman's Caucus for Arts Office of the Mayor Fitchburg Art Museum Fitchburg Public Schools Dept. of Visual and Performing Arts Fitchburg Historical Society Fitchburg Cultural Alliance Fitchburg Access Television Fitchburg State College: Office of Cultural Affairs and CenterStage
Population (2010):	40,318

Proposed Project Summary (2008 and 2009): The City of Fitchburg has a collective history of more than 300 years as a cultural center in North Central Massachusetts. The intent of the REACH Fitchburg project is to build on those assets to attract sustainable residential and commercial businesses by highlighting downtown Fitchburg as a "Cultural Historic District" with an installation of permanent and dynamic public art projects.

Project's Economic Development Goals (2008 and 2009): 1) Water Street Bridge Gateway: To create a "sense of place" at the entrance to downtown through a public sculpture project; 2) To generate tourism

Influences of local socio-political context on the management of preservation training centres in developing countries: Brazil as a case study

Karla Penna
Curtin University of Australia/ Centre for Advanced Studies in Integrated Conservation (CECI - Brazil)

Elisabeth Taylor
Curtin University of Australia

Keywords:

Preservation education

Developing countries

Training programs

Cultural management

ABSTRACT

This study investigates strategies to strengthen regional capacities by exploring the influence of the local context on the management of cultural heritage conservation training programs in developing countries, such as Brazil. It inquires into challenges that need to be overcome in order to guarantee appropriate performance and continuity of training programs within contexts where heritage preservation is not usually seen as an essential component of the urban development process. In the face of poverty and social inequality, this study discusses: (1) the influences of the local socio-economical and political contexts on the management of preservation training centres aiming qualify local labour force, and (2) the extent to which current governmental policies impact on those preservation education training programs. This paper addresses these issues by analysing preservation- and educational problems highlighted through an exploratory study conducted at world heritage cities in North-Eastern Brazil.

Introduction

This study is set within the context of world heritage sites in North-Eastern Brazil and investigates the performance of cultural heritage preservation training programs qualifying local labour force. It draws on findings from ethnographic research conducted in 2010-2011, under a post-positivist paradigm, which employed mixed methods including literature review, archival research, direct observation, and semi-structured interviews. Data analysis identified issues which might help heritage practitioners understand and reflect on their own practice (Erlanson, Harris, Skipper & Allen, 1993).

Throughout this research experience it was possible to observe the difficulties involved in achieving successful management practices at training centres due the strong influence of the harsh socio-economic and political contexts. Issues such as environmental preservation and sustainability, inequity, meeting basic needs such as food and shelter, lack of medical care and lack of access to education are ever present. At the same time, environmentally unsustainable economic expansion which is widespread in developing countries leads to a dangerous depletion of the natural and built environment resources on which those in poverty depend for their survival (King, 1999).

Working on heritage sites in developing countries is not an easy task. In addition to poverty-related issues, there is great concern regarding the lack of qualified specialists ensuring a site's conservation and sustainable use of resources (Albert, Bernecker, Perez, Thakur, & Nairen, 2007). Preservation demands trained people with appropriate skills to lead interventions and decision-making processes taking into account the complexities of the field. It is not just about natural and cultural heritage preservation within poverty contexts; there exists also a "living heritage", people who live, work, and use historical sites in their everyday lives (Thakur, 2007). Furthermore, world heritage sites have to adhere to demanding and inflexible national preservation legislation and international recommendations. The challenge for planners and managers is to integrate established national and international systems of heritage protection and management into local contexts, as there are certain principles of heritage management that transcend the ascribed status of the site (Albert et al, 2007).

This paper addresses education- and preservation issues raised during the exploratory research, and is structured around two topics: (1) the influences of the local socio-political context on the management of preservation training centres, and (2) the current policies impacts on educational training in poor regions. It is not possible within the scope of this paper to discuss these topics to full extent but a few important points familiar to managers working in the field are being addressed.

Local socio-political context and the management of preservation training centres

For a long time, the governments of developing countries and various stakeholders have been investing great effort towards implementing training programs that assist the revitalisation of heritage sites. These initiatives are of great importance for the preservation of cultural assets for local communities. However, before a sustainable context of cultural heritage education in developing countries can be developed, many problems need to be overcome.

According to the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM, 1995), and to the findings of this investigation, many of the issues present in developing countries result, amongst others, from insufficient legal provision, difficulties in interdepartmental coordination of policies, lack of appropriate planning and monitoring, lack of resources in relation to resource demand, the pressure from the politicians in reaching quantitative instead qualitative outcomes, and the frequent changes in the education system affecting the administrative and technical continuity of vocational training programs. Experiences from South America (Calabre, 2011), Africa (King, 1999) and Asia (Nadkarni & Hayes, 2001), also highlight extensive preservation problems in those areas. Inadequate legal and administrative frameworks, inconsistent national inventories, inappropriate conservation planning and management policies, a lack of training programs for conservation, and ineffective programs for promoting awareness and involvement of local communities are listed as the main culprits. Systemic problems such as corruption, violence, powerlessness and social injustice aggravate the situation, framing policies and decisions (The World Bank, 1999).

Social aspects

A detailed review of the literature indicated that current reports and evaluations lack detailed investigations of the interactions of training centres and local people, although evaluating the impacts of training centre performance on local communities' social development is fundamental for identifying what and how the preservation process must take place. According to ICCROM (2010), any intervention should take into account the social, cultural and economic characteristics and requirements of a site. Planning and conservation management strategies should therefore be developed in relation to the perceived quality and value of a heritage resource based on a consensus of the population. Gilmour (2006) suggests that it is important to consider that cultural heritage is in fact a social construction; preservation education programs therefore should be based on what particular people at specific points in time think is worth preserving in a specific context.

"SEVERAL INTERVIEWEES INDICATED THAT THERE WAS AN URGENT NEED FOR INTRODUCING LOCAL COMMUNITIES TO CONSERVATION PRACTICES IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN COMMUNICATION LINKS BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THEIR GOVERNMENTS."

There is considerable political pressure at international and national levels pushing public institutions in developing countries to establish education programs which can promote knowledge and enhance value placed on the preservation of cultural heritage by affected local communities. Social participation is essential since often lay people who live, use and exploit historical centres for their survival, barely know what heritage is (Arantes, 1999). Several interviewees indicated that there was an urgent need for introducing local communities to conservation practices in order to strengthen communication links between the people and their governments. While analysing documents and interviews, we observed that some training centres often did not seem to be sufficiently prepared to make available adequate information so that citizens would better be able to involve themselves in the decision-making process with more clarity and better understanding (Schiffer, 2002).

In that sense, an issue needs to be addressed: why is it happening? Why is so difficult include local communities in decision-making processes? Maybe people living in historic centres in developing countries lack preparation to take part in the decision-making process. People who live in these areas and are directly affected by political decisions, share great difficulties in surviving and possess none to very little education. A socioeconomic research study conducted at Sao Luis Historic Centre, for example, demonstrated this reality present in many areas of South America: approximately half of the residents of historical areas did not possess secondary education (Nunes, 2005). Many cannot read or write thus they may find themselves unable to understand either the importance of preservation or the social-economic impacts of governmental decisions, nor are they able to participate in public discussions. In light of this socioeconomic profile, it becomes evident that time and resources are needed to be invested into social participation mechanisms by vocational training initiatives.

The harsh social situation has raised the interest of the international community, especially of organisations interested in promoting economic benefits and poverty reduction through cultural heritage preservation programs, such as, The World Bank and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation - UNESCO. Many partnerships have been established between Latin American- and European countries, seeking to ensure sustainable preservation programs and focusing on social inclusion promotion (ICCROM, 1995). One such important initiative has come from the Spanish government and is called the *Escuelas Taller* (Workshop School) Project. It is a preservation education training program specifically designed for countries in Latin America, with the goal of enabling disadvantaged young people to physically engage with historic centres through hands-on training in cultural heritage conservation, thereby ensuring that this target audience will have a future career in civil construction (Agencia Espanola de Cooperacion Internacional para el Desarrollo - AECID, 2010).

During the fieldwork, it was encountered other similar initiatives implemented with the same intention of reconciling heritage preservation and social inclusion through education. According to some research participants, this type of training program has a strong social appeal, potentially constituting an indirect way of reducing poverty through training and integration of trainees into the workforce and market. However, several concerns were raised by the research participants, including:

▪ Programs of this nature demand the training of people from vulnerable, social circumstances. The question arises if those people have the same inclination to gain knowledge as those considered 'privileged'?

▪ The programs demand long-time engagement of apprentices in one work environment which is often incompatible with the lowest price/shortest time scheme for construction works as imposed by Brazilian legal system.

▪ Programs may be certifying students without sufficient knowledge and skills, therefore creating 'illusions' of qualifications leading to frustration when trying to join the job market and realise they

are not ready to meet the high demands of conservation works.

▪ Graduates without appropriate knowledge and skills may cause irreversible damage to cultural heritage.

Although the social merit of these educational initiatives is undeniable, unfortunately poverty should not be perceived in terms of resource deprivation only but also in terms of the capacity to invest in sustainable solutions. What currently happens in relation to the implementation of some training programs which associate conservation works and social inclusion is risky and unsustainable: the market is being flooded with people lacking sufficient qualifications. The after-effect of this short-term solution is that the market is receiving professionals who offer a less than satisfactory level of service. In the long-term this can, in fact, create a future increase in unemployment when these people will no longer be able to remain in the market place. However, these difficulties have to be considered from within the reality of poor countries, where any solution to poverty alleviation is considered a valid attempt.

Political aspects

When examining education- and preservation issues and observing the rapid changes occurring within the natural and built environment and their impacts on cultural heritage sites and human settlements, it appears that in order to arrive at successful practices in heritage management, it is imperative to know not only how to deal with these issues but also to know how to manage the sensitive balance between politics, tools, strategies and stakeholders (Sullivan, 2004). The world heritage status of a site instils local governments with the responsibility to prepare experts with adequate skills for developing and implementing actions within strategic planning; for integrating managerial actions, and for optimising resources and generating synergies (Zancheti, 2002). However, politics has a particularly strong effect on the management of training centres.

Within this investigation, the analysis of qualitative data has highlighted the effects of socio-political factors on the quality of training programs in poor regions. The quantitative data however, seemed to paint a different picture: conservation training centres reported relative success in preparing graduates through practical programs. Their claims were based mostly on quantitative indicators collected through official reports. This seemed to stand in stark contrast to research participants' interview-comments stating that the courses did not provide the necessary training and skills for graduates to properly operate in the civil market. According to several interviewees, the programs faced great socio-political challenges affecting their performance which interfered with the overall quality of the professional training. These

problems seemed 'insoluble' for those involved locally in the heritage conservation system since the issues were related to the broader socio-economic situation of the whole region. Moreover, what is officially reported by institutions seems strongly influenced by the political context. Particularly in North-Eastern Brazil and other extremely poor regions, training-centre managers feel oppressed by the political domain as local politicians lead decision-making processes and budget definition for training programs. Official reports tend to suppress information which could show a program's weaknesses or management inefficiencies in an attempt to avoid administrative and financial consequences.

Such political control is often linked to corruption. Corruption can be labelled as the main poverty issue affecting high levels of government and heritage programs and it is not confined to the political sphere only (Aranha, 2007). Corruption affects programs' development, the daily lives of ordinary citizens and dictates how the public sector operates (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009). It is not just about financial issues but also abuse of power as well as geographical and social favouritism. Particularly regarding training programs, corruption generates misuse of resources and over-pricing of restoration and revitalisation works, amongst other issues. As Timothy and Nyaupane (2009) state that "bribery and other forms of corruption influence what heritage products are selected for show, financed for conservation, and traded on the world market".

In Brazil, some mechanisms have been put in place to combat corruption within the public system. With regards to heritage conservation work, for example, restoration interventions are governed by bid. There are administrative procedures for hiring services or for the acquisition of products by public administration institutions. This process is regulated by Legislation # 8666 which stipulates that public works and services must be preceded by a bidding process to ensure the selection of the most advantageous proposal for the public administration. The right to execute the work is granted to whoever offers the best price and the fastest execution (Arts. 21, § 2º, I). Two problems arise from this situation: (1) although the bidding process may be dispensable in certain cases of "acquisition or restoration of works of art and historic objects with certified authenticity" (Art 24, V), in the case of sites which are used as training sites for apprentices, it follows that: if the training centre executes works bypassing the bidding process, it raises suspicions of fraud or overpricing of services, which are often delivered by partners involved in the project. This generates technical and institutional conflicts which can lead to the weakening of management. (2) Since training initiatives for conservation works demand long-term engagement of apprentices in a work environment, it is not possible to develop an effective learning environment if a training centre is under pressure of the lowest price/shortest time scheme.

Furthermore, frequent political changes within the government also impact on institutional management. The education system in Brazil may serve as an example. From 2007 until 2010, the country had 62 Heads of Department of Education in Brazil's 26 states (Education Secretaries National Council – CONSED, 2011). A survey indicated that continuity of public policies may be compromised in face of frequent management changes. The instability created within the education sector during these changes has also been prevalent in the cultural and heritage preservation area. New leaders tend to abandon existing projects and create new ones - in the same area, with the same goal - for achieving, in theory, better desired outcomes. In practice, the programs become a way for the new political leadership to leave its 'stamp' on the projects. Moreover, political changes impact on cultural heritage preservation policies as the preservation system depends on public government decisions and funding. As part of the preservation system, training centres, administratively and financially dependent on the government, are exposed to this discontinuity. In addition, the changes impact on management tasks and new strategies that preservation training centres and their managers have to adopt seeking to align their actions with the ever changing new policies. Thus in practice, changing managers means changing policy guidelines and consequently the interpretation of heritage policies and the allocation of resources within the preservation system. This lack of adequate consistency of political support and resources strongly affects training centre management. With limited resources, inappropriate physical and administrative infrastructure, no long-term policies, no defined budget, there is insufficient stability for training centres to provide adequate and continuing education training.

Current policies and educational training

Within the field of cultural heritage preservation the concern about the provision and quality of preservation education has been continuous in many so-called developing countries. Data generated from the research highlighted the extent to which the quality of education training in poor regions can be negatively affected by the local context (Packenham, 2005) and also how the quality of conservation efforts in poor regions can be affected by inadequately trained professionals. To professionals involved in the day-to-day work of conservation, the scarcity of cultural conservation qualifications is obvious. Many craftsmen, technicians, planners and managers working on cultural heritage projects do not seem prepared to deal with the issues present in the field, nor are training programs adequately structured to attend to market demands and professional requirements and interests.

Preparing professionals to deal with the diversity of physical structures of heritage sites and the environmental influences in which they work in are major concerns. With regards to physical characteristics of heritage sites, the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO, 1972) provides a definition of heritage under three main headings: (1) monuments, (2) groups of buildings (ensembles), and (3) sites, which includes historic buildings, historic areas and towns, archaeological sites, and the contents therein, as well as historic and cultural landscapes. Other heritage resources to be considered are living historic areas, such as historic towns, villages, cultural landscapes, heritage routes, and sites containing contemporary architecture. In addition, cultural heritage as part of the built environment is subject to environmental impact such as climate and weathering, industrial pollution, ground conditions, water resources, and changes in landscape (ICCROM,

"WITH LIMITED RESOURCES, INAPPROPRIATE PHYSICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE INFRASTRUCTURE, NO LONG-TERM POLICIES, NO DEFINED BUDGET, THERE IS INSUFFICIENT STABILITY FOR TRAINING CENTRES TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE AND CONTINUING EDUCATION TRAINING."

2010). Training centres are expected to qualify professionals able to execute heritage conservation works in any structure accounting for all the factors listed above. This raises the question: how limited acquired knowledge can possibly prepare graduates for such large scale of different types of physical structures and contexts?

With respect to the scope of the course syllabus, an important concern among participants was how to improve the scope, approach and methods in order to provide better knowledge and skills necessary for conservation within any given context whilst also meeting high demands of national legislation and international recommendations. As Rössler (2007) stated, the preservation system "requires not only highly trained professionals at all levels but that they are able to perform analysis which keeps up with new developments, such as, transnational and serial site management or addressing new emerging issues and emerging threats" (pp. 39). Karpati and Bhürler (2007) highlighted that we need to consider more than just cultural and natural heritage in need of preservation in cities:

- The interaction between its inhabitants and its built environmental plays a vital role in the survival of historic sites;

- The demand to align management towards the needs of inhabitants without neglecting the important aspects of preserving original fabric; and

- The ability of cultural heritage management to meet the demands of economic and socio-cultural values.

The Vienna Memorandum (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization – UNESCO, 2005) summarises the situation for cultural management "continuous changes in functional use, social structure, political context and economic development may be acknowledged as part of the city's tradition, and require a vision on the city as a whole with forward-looking action on the part of decision-makers, and a dialogue with the other actors and stakeholders involved (Art 13). The central challenge [for professionals] is to respond to development dynamics in order to facilitate socio-economic changes and growth on the one hand, while simultaneously respecting the inherited townscape and its landscape setting on the other. In this process, the historic city's authenticity and integrity, which are determined by various factors, must not be compromised (Art14)" (p.3). Finally, professionals need to be able to understand and discuss contemporary concepts such as integrated conservation, strategic planning, holistic management, cultural diversity, risk assessment, preventive intervention, concepts necessary for a conservation professional (Cather, 2000). It seems almost unfeasible to develop a curriculum that covers all topics as it seems unlikely that students will be capable to embrace all of this knowledge. In light of the increasing challenges to achieve higher levels of procedural qualification, some training centres succumb to the pressure and cease to develop courses.

Thus, the greatest educational challenge is to define and develop heritage education programs which include knowledge about a broad variety of management skills, planning concepts, legislation, conservation and restoration techniques, procedures, and problem-solving strategies for conflicting interests (Albert et al, 2007), and, in addition, to prepare professionals for the socio-political issues present within harsh contexts.

What can be done?

Governmental institutions are aware that they alone are not able to guarantee sustainable policies for heritage preservation. Building partnerships between the public sector, the private sector and civil society with decentralised management as a goal is essential for guaranteeing a level of administrative and financial stability for the training centres. In Latin America, the involvement of the private sector as a partner of training preservation initiatives has become more consistent in recent years, mainly attracted by the governmental funding mechanisms as applied in countries such as Ecuador and Brazil (Zancheti, 2012). In Brazil, for instance, the Rouanet Law (Ministério da Cultura - MINC, Law # 8313/1991) is a fiscal incentive policy which allows companies and citizens to dedicate part of their taxes to cultural activities. This law was created to stimulate citizens and private companies to invest in sponsoring cultural projects. Ever since the law was implemented in 1995, it has been used as a tool by the public sector to bring the private sector in as a partner in restoration projects of historical buildings, in many cases permitting the development of training programs and practice workshops avoiding the pressure of the lowest price/ shortest time scheme.

Stakeholder involvement in training centres policies development has been identified as an influential factor for the success of cultural heritage training management since it seems to be a vital aspect for the articulation of effective strategies for regional and local development (UNESCO, 2010). According to the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO, 2008, par. 39 & 40), heritage management that involves stakeholders, such as, private organisations, owners, businessmen and local communities, provides a significant contribution to the heritage system. Stakeholders can also become a social-political controlling mechanism. Participatory decision-making is commonly used in contemporary heritage management as a way for civil societies to help choose development alternatives whilst seeking to reconcile the interests of all parties involved in the process of preservation.

> "PARTICIPATORY DECISION-MAKING IS COMMONLY USED IN CONTEMPORARY HERITAGE MANAGEMENT AS A WAY FOR CIVIL SOCIETIES TO HELP CHOOSE DEVELOPMENT ALTERNATIVES WHILST SEEKING TO RECONCILE THE INTERESTS OF ALL PARTIES INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS OF PRESERVATION."

Promoting strategic thinking initiatives has been suggested as another fundamental factor to be considered in relation to consistent policy development. As heritage preservation is a vast field of social and political actions, it demands the establishment of effective working relationships amongst a variety of stakeholders, whilst working in a consultative and collaborative manner at executive and operational levels. Stakeholders have different backgrounds and interests that are often conflicting; however, all decisions must be based on consensus amongst the principal stakeholders - a task not easily achieved but essential for successful management.

Several initiatives of strategic and decentralised management aiming to promote integrated policies and actions have been implemented in Latin American historic sites. In Brazil for instance, the Historical Centre Management Council was implemented in 2002 in the city of Sao Luís in order to develop strategic plans and coordinate initiatives to ensure sustainable development. Furthermore, international institutions such as UNESCO, ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites), ICCROM and IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature) constantly provide technical support for worldwide partnerships in an attempt to conserve the integrity and diversity of cultural and natural resources (UNESCO, 2008).

In Brazil, despite all adversities, heritage conservation policies have continually and slowly improved in recent decades. The gradual increase of political intent, more consistent involvement of the private sector as a partner of preservation initiatives and initiatives of strategic thinking promotion among stakeholders, may have been contributing to this situation. The public sphere however still faces restoration as an urgent matter and remains threatened by the permanent loss of historic fabric and, as it understands the importance of the heritage, leads the process in promoting mobilisation of social participation, aiming to build public-private partnerships for the development and implementation of preservation planning.

Conclusion

When comparing similar studies in developing countries, we can note the complexity of linking preservation process with economic and social issues. There are no 'universal' models to follow. The most difficult task for professionals and institutions is to achieve strategic management of cultural heritage not only for the sake of preservation for aesthetic gratification, but more importantly, as a resource and condition of sustainable development for local communities using the heritage of built environments (Ferreira, 2010).

Financial, cultural, social, and political difficulties and conflicts cause increased challenges in establishing appropriate training programs management. The policy development of heritage conservation training programs depends on various factors to be overcome, such as, the inter-sectoral integration of public policies, the active involvement of all key stakeholders, the social participation in the formulation of goals and objectives, the financial cooperation amongst the diverse public and private actors, national and international legal frameworks, and the solutions to social problem. When defining a management system compatible with the above tasks, local contexts and the needs of local societies are the central challenges for cultural heritage training centres. It seems that the system requires decentralised management achieved through the participation of local stakeholders in the decision-making and finance-allocation processes (Thakur, 2007). Since the execution of actions demands aptitude in the planning, sharing, discussion and negotiation processes, all sectors, departments and participants - public and private - which are part of the preservation process, need to execute their roles successfully and skilfully within the system, so that synergy and interaction can be ensured (ICCROM, 2010).

However, despite all preservation efforts in developing countries, the remaining question is: how to talk about preservation to those who do not have conducive conditions for living? This is our major challenge.

REFERENCES

AGENCIA ESPANOLA DE COOPERACION INTERNACIONAL PARA EL DESARROLLO – AECID (2010). *Proyectos de cooperacion: Cobertura de las necesidades especiales.* Retrieved 10 March 2012 from http:// www.aecid.org. br/portal.

ALBERT, M.; BERNECKER, R.; PEREZ; D.; THAKUR, N.; and NAIREN, Z. (Eds.). (2007). *Training strategies for world heritage management.* Germany: Deutsche UNESCO-Kommission.

ARANHA, C. (2007). Quem rouba não preserva. *Revista Superinteressante*, V.12. São Paulo: Editora Abril. Retrieved 02 January 2011 from http:// planetasustentavel.abril.com.br/noticia/ atitude/ conteudo_265326.shtml.

ARANTES, A. (1999). Reconsidering the social aspects of sustainability: Integrated conservation of the urban environmental heritage. In: Zancheti, S. M. (Ed.) *Conservation and urban sustainable development: A theoretical framework*. 1ed. Recife: Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, p. 41-49.

CALABRE, L. (Ed.). (2011). *Políticas culturais: Teoria e práxis.* São Paulo: Itaú Cultural. Retrieved 08 April 2012 from http://www.itaucultural.org.br/ bcodemidias/001818.pdf.

CATHER, S. (2000). The dilemma of education conservation. Comité International de la Formation (CIF). *The Getty Conservation Institute (GCI)*. Newsletter 15.1, 9-12. Retrieved 12 February 2010 from http://www.getty.edu/conservation/ publications_resources/newsletters/15_1/ feature1_3.html.

CONSELHO NACIONAL DE SECRETÁRIOS DE EDUCAÇÃO - CONSED (2011). CONSED website. Retrieved 11 March 2012 from http:// www.consed.org.br/index.php/downloads/ category/11-ideb-2011.

ERLANDSON, D.; HARRIS, E.; SKIPPER, B.; and ALLEN, S. (1993). *Doing naturalist inquiry: A guide to methods.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

FERREIRA, J. (2010). Special Issues: World Heritage in Brazil. *World Heritage* N.57, 8-11

GILMOUR, T. (2006). *Sustaining heritage: Giving the past a future.* Sydney: Sydney University Press.

INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESERVATION AND RESTORATION OF CULTURAL PROPERTY - ICCROM. (1995). *Training strategy in the conservation of cultural heritage sites*. Urban Conservation Initiative (UCI): Workshop Training (Final report). 16-18. Retrieved 17 January 2010 from http://cif.icomos.org/.

INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESERVATION AND RESTORATION OF CULTURAL PROPERTY – ICCROM. (2010). *Training strategy in the conservation of cultural sites (revision)*. Document prepared by ICCROM in consultation with UNESCO, the World Heritage Centre and the Physical Heritage Division, and

ICOMOS. Retrieved 08 October 2010 from http:// cif.icomos.org/pdf_docs/Documents%20on %20line/ Training%20strategy%201995.pdf.

KARPATI, T. and BÜHLER, B. (2007). World heritage cities: Challenges and chances. In Albert, M., Bernecker, R., Perez, D., Thakur, N. and Nairen, Z. (Eds). *Training strategies for world heritage management*. Germany: Deutsche UNESCO-Kommission.

KING, J. (1999). *Second international seminar: Conservation and urban sustainable development.* 5-8 October: Development of a training programme for sustainable immovable heritage conservation in sub-Saharan Africa. Recife: Editora Universitaria da UFPE.

NADKARNI, M. and HAYES, A. (Eds.). (2001). *Poverty, environment and development: Studies of four countries in Asia Pacific Region.* Bangkok: UNESCO PROAP. Retrieved 5 August 2010 from http://unesdoc.unesco.org/ images/0012/001219/121999e.pdf.

NUNES, K. (2005). *Desterro: Um bairro além dos mapas*. São Luís-Brazil: Prefeitura Municipal de São Luís.

PACKENHAM, R. (2005). *Poverty and politics in Northeast Brazil.* New York: Grosseman Publishers.

RÓSSLER, M. (2007). From training to capacity building: The evolution of a concept in the framework of the World Heritage Convention. In Albert, M.; Bernecker, R.; Perez; D.; Thakur, N., and Nairen, Z. (Eds.). *Training strategies for world heritage management*. Germany: Deutsche UNESCO-Kommission.

SCHIFFER. S. (2002). A conservação urbana e a superação da pobreza. In Zancheti, S. (Ed.) *Gestão do patrimônio cultural integrado*. Recife, Brazil: Ed. Universitária da UFPE.

SULLIVAN, S. (2004). *Local involvement and traditional practices in the World Heritage system.* Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre.

THAKUR, N. (2007). The conceptual model for Indian heritage site protection and management. In Albert, M., Bernecker, R., Perez, D., Thakur, N. and Nairen, Z. (Eds). *Training strategies for world heritage management.* Germany: Deutsche UNESCO-Kommission

THE WORLD BANK (1999). *Poverty trends and voices of the poor.* (Report 02 December 1999). Retrieved 02 December 2009 from http://www.fongdcam.org/ manuales/educaciondesarrollo/datos/docs/ A_docs/ 1_2_povertytrends.pdf

TIMOTHY, D. and NYAUPANE, G. (2009). *Cultural heritage and tourism in developing countries: A regional perspective*. New York: Routledge.

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION – UNESCO. (1972). *World Heritage Convention*. Retrieved 17 January 2010 from http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention -en.pdf.

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION – UNESCO. (2005). *Vienna memorandum on world heritage and*

contemporary architecture: Managing the historic urban landscape. Retrieved 23 November 2010 from http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2005/whc05-15ga-inf7e.pdf

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION - UNESCO. (2008). *Operational guidelines for the implementation of the world heritage convention.* Retrieved 20 September 2009 from http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide08-en.pdf

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION - UNESCO. (2010). *World heritage.* Retrieved 27 August 2010 from http://whc.unesco.org/

ZANCHETI, S. (2002) O desenvolvimento sustentável urbano. In Zancheti, S. (Ed.). *Gestão do patrimônio cultural integrado* . Recife, Brazil: Ed. Universitária da UFPE.

ZANCHETI, S. (2012). *Financiamento da regeneração de áreas urbanas patrimoniais na América Latina.* Recife, Brazil: Ed. Universitária da UFPE.

Storytelling and Urban Collective Consciousness: An Organic Brew of Participatory Creativity

Zoi Tsiviltidou
University of Arts Belgrade, Serbia

ABSTRACT

Keywords:

Storytelling

Social psychology

Urbanism

Intercultural mediation

Creativity

This research paper examines how a cohesive urban collective consciousness and an all-embracing awareness of the multicultural oral heritage of a city can be achieved through storytelling. Borrowed from Narratology, storytelling is treated as an instrument to initiate and manage intercultural mediation within the urban transitory environment as well as to get the diverse local communities enthused with their creative engagement and participation in the cultural production-consumption process. Storytelling is argued to feed social interaction, enliven domesticity, harness the creative capital, and through an intercultural approach to communal interaction to contribute to an art-led urban regeneration. In telescopic logic, storytelling is seen as an artistic platform of oral nature for people to explore, re-create and re-enchant the city altogether.

Introduction

This paper attempts to investigate whether and showcase how the collective's perception and consciousness of the multicultural nature of a city, that of Thessaloniki in Greece, can be positively influenced and reinforced by storytelling. The principal hypotheses are two:

I. Is it possible for the art of storytelling to encourage and add to the cohesion of an urban collective consciousness about and a perception of the multicultural nature of Thessaloniki?

II. Is it possible for the diverse communities within an urban transitory environment to pro-actively converse about oral heritage and creatively participate in the making process of such a collective consciousness?

The structural body of the hypotheses' analysis includes five subsequent concepts: i. Storytelling can feed social interaction and empower the function of social networks between multicultural communities; ii. The reciprocity and exchange of ideas depends on the social networks' ties or else the transfer's intensity and density; iii. Through experience and sense making, emotional arousal and imagination-activation, the image of the city is impregnated with familiarity which nurtures domesticity; iv. Adhering to the principles of mediation, the participation in the sharing of stories and in the co-creation of such fosters communication and an understanding of diversity; v. The cohesion of a collective consciousness of the multicultural nature of a city becomes an organic brew of interaction and creativity which brings people closer to one another and closer to the city as well. At first, it is important for cultural policy-makers in Greece to acknowledge storytelling as an asset to performing arts for intercultural mediation. Secondly, storytelling can shape images for and give voice to the issues that concern the collective of an urban multicultural environment and it can contribute to its art-led regeneration. For such regeneration, academics, stakeholders and cultural practitioners ought to comprehend and invest in participatory creativity which invites the ideas of the collective, challenges them and nurtures them to fruition.

Historical framework: what is storytelling?

Beyond all longitudes and latitudes whether they belong to the realm of reality or whether they swing in segues of extreme hyper-realities, stories travel. Stories speak volume about human motivation, contact and behaviour with either simple, trivial or allegorical vectors spotlighting the communication of significant messages. They transcend substance, style and structure and they x-ray the human heart. Arthur Ransome (1909) claimed that "in the beginning storytelling was not an affair of pen and ink. It began

with the warning examples naturally told by a mother to her children, and with the embroidered exploits told by a boaster to his wife or friends; […] [storytelling was] generated by the vanity of man and the exigencies of his life" (6). Undoubtedly storytelling originated from oral narratives and mythology strongly connected with folk tradition and legends, carvings and symbols. "Myths –stories of the gods, of heroes, and of great cosmic events- are told in all of the world's many cultures. […] Myths began as tales told around the fire, […] later, with the invention of writing, people began to write their myths down and adapt them in new ways turning them into plays, poems, or novels" (Wilkinson, 2009:6).

Its origins are connected with religious rituals and sung poems such as the *epics* in ancient Greek Mythology narrated by the *rhapsode*. The *rhapsode* and the bards famous during the Celtic and Shakespearean times were the first professional storytellers. One of the most striking figures is the Bard of Avon or else William Shakespeare who mastered the art and experimented with structure and style. The style is of particular interest because it adds to the symmetry and the harmony of the text due to the rhythmic and mnemonic effect of the simultaneously production of two sounds of different frequencies resulting in a pleasant acoustic stimuli which assists the memorization, improvisation and delivery of the piece. The melody created balances the narrative language with the dramatic language and navigates the ear from line to line, scene to scene, rhapsody to rhapsody. This is a flagship to the birth of the art of storytelling because at that time the storyteller wove the words while playing his lyre as sound and meaning dictated.

An important benchmark in the modern history of the art is the stories of the two German brothers, Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm. Their work entitled *Grimms' Fairy Tales* is a collection of nearly two hundred stories which proposed the set up environment for folklore studies because of the detailed methodology of collecting, recording and documenting stories mostly of oral nature. Additionally, the immeasurable contribution of Hans Christian Andersen and Lewis Carroll aka Charles Lutwidge Dodgson cannot go unnoticed. Both storytellers and theorists produced collections and diaries of fairy tales discussing content and methodology too. Equally and notably valuable to the contemporary scientific analysis of the art was the work of Milman Parry who studied oral tradition and discovered formulas and patterns in the epic poetry and particularly in the work of Homer. *Storytelling: An Encyclopaedia of Mythology and Folklore* published in 2008 (ed. Josepha Sherman) is a definitive study about storytellers from all over the world and documentations of folkloric and mythic art.

Storytelling pertains to the logic and principles of Narratology with fictional and non-fictional narratives as structures for the transfer of values and concepts. Because codes operate on an abstract level, the content of a narrative is essentially imagistic,

> "BY LISTENING TO THE VOICE OF THE COLLECTIVE PUZZLED BY MULTI-ETHNICITY, BY ENABLING PEOPLE TO UTTER THEIR STORIES AND SHARE THEM, IT IS EXPECTED TO CONSERVE CULTURAL HERITAGE, MAINTAIN CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND ESTABLISH A PRO-ACTIVE CULTURAL CITIZENSHIP."

a mental phenomenon relying on the people's imagination and perception brain mechanisms. Stories are semiotic structures carrying autonomous signifying entities which communicate meaningful messages. "A narrative is the semiotic representation of a series of events meaningfully connected in a temporal and causal way […] through semiotic media: written or spoken language, visual images, gestures and acting, as well as a combination of these" (Onega & Landa, 1996:3). Amy E. Spaulding argues that storytelling "is part of the legacy of being human" (2011:7) and that "it is a form of giving" (2011:8) hence it requires communication and interaction. Varying in design, length and content stories have been carved, scratched, painted, printed or inked onto wood, paper, canvas and other textiles, recorded on film and later on stored electronically in digital formats.

When people engage with narratives either masqueraded as storytelling or as a dramatic piece, stories become the powerboats that carry semantically and emotionally bound values; these values reflect social beliefs and ethics, concepts about life, cultural qualities and tendencies. By fleshing out characters and by breathing life into the narrative, the performative nature of storytelling sets up a compilation of themes and channels to capture the attention, challenge the mind and elevate the soul. The instruments employed are the plot, the characters and the point of view with the embodiment of these elements to present flux densities and velocities. For the author, storytelling (the term is used interchangeably as the "art of storytelling" or the "storytelling art" or "stories" throughout the paper) signifies the conception and the performative delivery of a series of events put together in the set up/ confrontation/resolution structure with a number of characters who present a dramatic need or/and an attitude therefore some action, narrated from a specific point of view and through semiotic media. The people who get involved into the processes of creating, processing and delivering a story attempt to venture into the hinterland of abstraction and to return to the coastline of description armed with designs, shapes, patterns, symbols, sounds and/or words to communicate their messages to others. When these messages get across, the tale is spread far and near because ultimately the tale is fun to hear.

Contemporary storytelling practices in Greece

In Greece, storytelling is mostly associated with education and teaching purposes with weak ties to cultural heritage. Although more and more people express interest in it, it is an art fairly acknowledged and far associated with mythology, oral heritage and theatre studies. For instance, there is the Olympus Storytelling Festival (5th edition took place in 2012 in Kallipefki), the European Mobility Folktales Programme (took place in 2011 in Cyprus with Greece and other countries involved), a Summer School of Storytelling in the UK with some courses taking place in Amari, Crete as well, and a few other local events around the country which head for the preservation and promotion of the storytelling art quite successfully, but there are no specific cultural policies to maintain, safeguard and cultivate its technique. Academic research is at its beginnings and the transfer of knowledge is not facilitated. What is more, storytelling is not yet perceived as an instrument in the hands of stakeholders, cultural professionals, artists and amateurs to empower participatory creativity and intercultural mediation.

It is argued by the author that storytelling should be warmly embraced as such in order to preserve the diversity of the oral cultural heritage in Greece and in the Balkan region and in order to create a strong interdisciplinary network of practitioners and researchers who work collaboratively. This premise of the success ideology is an offspring of the blind faith in the tenets of a fading tradition in the cultural market that advocates that masterpieces are born out of talented individuals; an ideology which encompasses the belief in the potential greatness and glorification of the individual effort and accomplishment leaving participatory creativity out of the spectrum. But what is proposed here is to feed the empowerment of the cultural practitioners to rebel against the asphyxiating frames of individual greatness and to embrace the creativity of the collective. By listening to the voice of the collective puzzled by multi-ethnicity, by enabling people to utter their stories and share them, it is expected to conserve cultural heritage, maintain cultural diversity and establish a pro-active cultural

citizenship. This is particularly important nowadays when the arts are approached in an interdisciplinary manner; when the sustainability, prosperity and liveability of the cultural sector go hand in hand with the people's participation and depend on community awareness and animation.

Conceptual framework: the structural body of the analysis

In order to understand the linkages between the five concepts and draw conclusions about the two hypotheses, at first it will be explained how storytelling can feed social interaction and empower the function of social networks; then how experience, sense making, emotion and imagination activation create strong connections between the people and the urban space; and later on it will be discussed how it is possible for the diverse communities to creatively participate in the making of a collective consciousness of the multicultural nature of Thessaloniki.

The social networks theories can show us the power of stories to unite and unify audiences. Stories are told to be heard making the bonding between the storyteller and the listener a Gordian knot unthinkable to untie. Portages between storytelling and the social network analysis help us understand how a simple story can rustle the people's attention up and bake miracles with connected minds and souls. There is the premise "that people are connected in vast social networks" and "the key to understanding people is [to] understanding the ties between them" (Christakis & Fowler, 2010: xi). In other words, "everything we do or say tends to ripple through our network, having an impact" on us and the network itself (Christakis & Fowler, 2010:28). Social networks are social structures made out of people, individuals or in groups, connected/tied by specific types of interdependency, relationships of any kind. The network's density depends on the nodes like the scheme of a tree on its brunched leaves. Nodes can be people, organizations, countries etc. and they shape paths of communication; relationships depicted as the ties in each network. It is through these ties that information, ideas, feelings, experiences, memories, etc. move around and bond people.

When the storyteller addresses the listener, the communication between them grows deeper than just an exchange of information. Sharing a story involves live communication, interaction and responsive engagement. People experience stories and share them with one another empowering the network effect. The network effect is the backbone of social networks because it promotes social and cultural awareness and most importantly it can cultivate social engagement and active participation. When people interact, they create content, ideas and share personal information. Through the connections that they build with one another by dialogue or/and any kind of communication, they influence the opinions, perceptions and behaviours of other people inside the network. The communication patterns can be algorithmically measured but the effect depends more on inter-and-intra-personal relationships affecting and affected by mindsets, moods, personalities, etc. which are difficult to translate on socio-maps.

The interaction in aggregate circulates ideas, images and concepts among networked people and there are responses, actions and reactions, approvals and disapprovals. Through the ties that govern their behaviour, an idea, an image, a feeling conceptualized by the story's form or content, is possible to root itself in the mindset of the listener and stay there until it is communicated to another person. There is an exchange of cultural information and alongside the flow of narrative there is a flow of idea-making that influences consciousness development. The spread and flow of ideas are very important to the formation of a collective consciousness. How ideas are instilled and travel from mindset to mindset is the cartography of which ideas are more likely to achieve that and which not; of which ideas have the dynamism to influence the flow and which not. This depends on the

"THE NETWORK EFFECT IS THE BACKBONE OF SOCIAL NETWORKS BECAUSE IT PROMOTES SOCIAL AND CULTURAL AWARENESS AND MOST IMPORTANTLY IT CAN CULTIVATE SOCIAL ENGAGEMENT AND ACTIVE PARTICIPATION. WHEN PEOPLE INTERACT, THEY CREATE CONTENT, IDEAS AND SHARE PERSONAL INFORMATION."

FIGURE 1. THE OVERLAPPING, COMPLEMENTARY AND MULTIFACETED ROLES OF URBAN STORYTELLERS

nature of the ties between the network whether there are strong ties or not. When the ties are strong, communication is facilitated, creativity is reinforced and diversity safe-guarded enabling mediation, exchange and deeper appreciation.

Stories and social psychology are bound by a common principle, the principle of engaging with emotions, feelings and images. Experience and sense making are key issues to our understanding of the charm of storytelling. Paul Ekman (1994) studied the nature of emotions and argued that emotions are responses to stimuli energizing appraisal mechanisms which operate almost automatically in order to respond to events. Emotions operate in interrelation with behaviour and several cognitive states. Bower and Gilligan (1984) researched cognition and emotions and stated that "emotions are units or nodes in a semantic network, with numerous connections to related ideas, to physiological systems, to events, and to muscular and expressive patterns"; "emotional material is stored in the semantic network in the form of propositions or assertions"; "thought occurs via the activation of nodes within the semantic network" and that "consciousness consists of a network of nodes activated above some threshold value" (10-11). Because emotional contagion fosters interaction and reciprocity, it is important for the audience to engage with the storyteller and to work with him/her along the way.

Because "emotions can spread between pairs of people and among larger groups" (Christakis & Fowler, 2010:35), oral stories which endure emotion

excitation and imagination activation with language, imagery and multi-sensory stimuli carry the dynamism to unite people, intrigue them, challenge their thinking process and motivate them. Therefore, when the storyteller lives the experience and shares it vividly, the people participate both physically, emotionally and spiritually. Neuroscience is demonstrating that the human brain organizes, retains and accesses information most effectively in narrative form. Actually, narratives serve as travelogues where language teams with stories in embryo form and serves as the motorboat for the telltale signs to travel inside the neurons and create vivid images and sensations. Storytellers as artists, entertainers and educators manage to pull people into the process almost gravitationally thanks to the powerful effect of indulging into the emotional experience.

Interaction inflates the experience with liveliness and because it is a shared vivid experience, people get emotionally attached to the urban space since they create meaningful images and interpretations about it in the story worlds. In order to examine why a shared experience brings people closer to a place, one should detect the connections between people and the place and how these are created and operate in everyday encounters which include narratives. Making meaning about the city derives from having cultural experiences of, about and in the city. Tony Hiss (1990) wrote about the experience of place that "sights, sounds, smells, and sensations of touch and balance, as well as thoughts and feelings" work in interplay stimulating our "simultaneous perception [which] helps us experience

our surroundings and our reactions to them, and not just our own thoughts and desires" (3-4). "Through one system of perception we see ourselves as observers of an environment composed of separated objects, but at the same time, through another system of perception, equally active, we look for ways in which we are connected to or are part of our surroundings" (Hiss, 1990:22). Thus, "city-making is a sensory, emotional, lived *experience*" calling us to think, perceive, feel, understand and recognize the dynamics built in the organic relationship between a city and its people (Landry, 2006:2-3). These dynamics can undoubtedly be expressed in urban stories.

One should connect with the transitory, multifaceted and often multicultural place, experience it and respond to it. Storytelling favours this idea and offers an opalescent palette of mottled instruments to achieve this artistically and creatively. The teller is the cartographer of urban tales. The teller can be anyone who walks the city both mentally and physically. Through physiological, emotional and psychological elements, they depict the dynamics of the city and influence behavioural social statuses. Yi-Fu Tuan's (1974) theories are very useful to the notion of such connection with the urban space, familiarity and domesticity because he claimed that a place can be impregnated with meanings, feelings and emotional statements. Domesticity gives ground to deep interpretations and close encounters. "Our connections –partly shaped by our genes but also profoundly influenced by our culture and our environment- are made and remade every day" (Christakis & Fowler, 2010:250). How people connect with the city and with each other is influenced by and influences their social behaviour and their cultural, artistic, creative or innovative expressions/ interventions. "Our culture shapes how we create and make our places, from the physical level –from the design of street furniture to icon buildings- to how we feel about ourselves and the place" (Landry, 2006:246). Our perception is bound by experience in the *habitus* and physical encounters *in situ*. Therefore, giving meaning to a place and shaping a consciousness about it requires experiencing and learning it physically and mentally.

It is also important to contribute to the meaning-formation by participating creatively to such processes. Storytelling calls for imaginative explorations and readings of the city and motivates people to re-assess and re-enchant the city. With respect to what Semir Zeki states "that seeing consists not of the passive reception of a scene but of the active construction of that scene" (Barry 128), the collective's participation in the cultural production-consumption process is prominent to an art-led regeneration. In a multicultural city like Thessaloniki, the participation in the sharing of stories and in the co-creation of them invites the diverse communities to pro-actively converse about oral heritage and the advocacy of equal respect to their cultures. It is essential to maintain cultural diversity whilst promoting participatory creativity and a pro-active artistic engagement in the re-imagining, remapping and regeneration of urban public space.

Aims of investigation:

I. Minor field research as an indicator for theory generation

To meet the purposes of this paper, a minor field research was conducted in Thessaloniki in August, 2012. The project was a one-day event, a workshop which took place at the city port. The aim of this case study was to observe, document, evaluate and serve more as an indicator for theory generation and less as a theory testing instrument. Particularly, the workshop included semi-structured interviews, storytelling and closed questionnaires conducted by the fifty participants. The outline was to detect how narrative shapes our impression of the city space and gives shape to our fleeting interpretations of everyday life merging myth with reality.

The collected data from the questionnaires and the evaluation of the qualitative work showed that the positive responses to the two principal hypotheses outnumbered the negative ones. In detail, the positive responses to the first concept which argues that storytelling feeds the "me-to-we" encounter fostering the transfer of ideas among diverse communities were 88%; to the second concept which argues that the exchange of ideas depends on the social networks ties' intensity were 52%; to the third which argues that sense-making, imagination activation and experience-making create strong connections between the people and the city making it more familiar, the positive responses were 94%; to the fourth concept which argues that co-creating urban tales fosters communication and mediation between multicultural communities were 48%; and to the fifth concept which argues that a collective consciousness of the multicultural nature of Thessaloniki is interwoven with an understanding of diversity, a meaningful interaction and a creative engagement in the process of meaning-and-image-making about Thessaloniki were 86%. The generated theory was that it is possible for storytelling to encourage and enhance the cohesion of an urban collective consciousness and that it is feasible yet a delicate matter for the communities to creatively converse about their stories and heritage.

Even though the percentages responding to whether the storytelling art intensifies social interaction and strengthens the ties of the social networks are high, the percentages responding to whether participatory creativity feeds intercultural mediation and reciprocity are low. This shows that even though people believe in the powerful role of storytelling to bring people closer to one another, they seem not to believe that this engagement can handle sensitive issues of Interculturalism. It was seen that people are eager to listen to someone else's story and open up to intercultural dialogue. But co-creating stories was something that troubled the participants who were not

ready to sit together down and co-create working on cultural diversity, intercultural creativity and mediation projects. This result is not to be taken lightly. The willingness of the people to listen is not enough to handle integration, social cohesion and prosperity based on diversity. Thessaloniki is a city with rich diversity in population and cultural heritage; a Balkan city where everyone can fabricate storyboards about each building, each neighbourhood tracking down every cornerstone in the behavioural models of the locals.

II. Major research for theory testing is proposed

This data may be relevant for theory generation and useful for our analysis nonetheless fairly poor in measurable entities. For that reason, a major research for theory testing is proposed. The research should involve more participants from the Balkan region and the methodology should include more in-depth interviews and workshops with content-selected urban stories to rethink and re-evaluate the ways people perceive the multifaceted, diverse and multi-flavoured character of their city. The cities involved could be Thessaloniki, Tirana, Skopje, Sofia and Istanbul and further on Podgorica, Belgrade and Bucharest as well. It is suggested to work upon different aspects of urban life such as transport, architecture, arts, education and/or health and discuss how stories impregnate the space with qualities of multicultural value. How it is that storytelling can add to the cohesion of a collective consciousness urging people to participate in the process, in the character-building of their city, and creatively converse about heritage and diversity.

To investigate and test these ideas with reliability and validity, the research team has to select the stories with specific criteria, plan thoroughly the interviews and conduct the whole in a coherent, well paced, organized and credible way. To acquire explicit knowledge and competence in the methods, the thrust of the thesis question should be clearly defined as such: *Do stories help us perceive*

"**D**o STORIES HELP US PERCEIVE AND DEVELOP AN AWARENESS OF THE URBAN MULTICULTURALISM AND IF YES, CAN WE PARTICIPATE IN THE MAKING PROCESS OF SUCH AWARENESS BY SHARING STORIES AND CO-CREATING NEW ONES?"

and develop an awareness of the urban multiculturalism and if yes, can we participate in the making process of such awareness by sharing stories and co-creating new ones? For the countries in the Balkan region, this question is highly significant and relevant to local and international cultural policies. Therefore, testing to confirm or reject these theories can be a very useful instrument in the hands of stakeholders and policy makers who handle the delicate issues of intercultural mediation, arts and urban public space management.

Amending the cultural policies of oral heritage and mediation in Greece

Storytelling can be the link for intercultural art projects between Greece and other Balkan countries. It is an art which can imprint socio-cultural meanings upon an urban space and it can make people consciously perceive the place's multicultural nature and attach to it. Stories are born when emotions find their thoughts and thoughts their wording. Stories about the city which people remember, sustain, and retell, stories which people create on the spot, deconstruct and reconstruct, and stories which people share with one another, become assets of cultural urban heritage. Any forms of intangible traditional culture such as verbal expressions: stories, epics, legends, poetry, dances, ceremonies, rituals, etc. which are products of creative intellectual activity whether individual or communal, are part of a community's cultural and social identity and heritage[1]; and therefore, should be maintained, preserved and protected. Dragan Klaic (2007) argued that "intangible cultural heritage covers skills, cultural practices, and forms of cultural memory such as languages and dialects, songs and music, traditional dances, legends, proverbs, rituals, ceremonies, feasts and festivals" and that "communities have been accumulating, preserving and transforming these artefacts of human creativity throughout the centuries as a resource and a distinct

---

[1] The *Traditional Cultural Expressions/Folklore for the Protection of Tradition Knowledge* framework recognizes the value of respecting, safeguarding and promoting cultural diversity whilst empowering communities to support their customary practices such as storytelling.

marker of their collective identity" (31). For that reason, oral heritage is to be safeguarded with the utmost attention and is to be enlivened in programmes, projects, festivals and events which combine creatively the habitual with the alternative, the familiar with the unexpected.

"A culture is an active, dynamic, living organism only because of the active participation of its members in its codes of communication" (Fiske, 1990:82) and nowadays we are much accustomed to interactivity and any art that reflects such reciprocation and proactive involvement resonates deeply in our minds. Participatory creativity calls for bouncing ideas back and forth, stimulations, conversations, experimentations and collective inspirational and motivational imaginative explorations overflowing. Getting creative with storytelling is more than coming up with novel ideas and forming a structure of continuity; it is about communicating these ideas and embellishing them via interaction; it is about contributing to the ideas' generation, adding to their form and playing with the variety of their delivery. Mediation policies should "foster a spirit of participatory collaboration designed to encourage new ideas to emerge from the group's conversation" (Sawyer, 2010:370); a spirit which is remarkably handy when we talk about the multicultural nature of Thessaloniki and the ways people who belong to diverse communities perceive and understand and sometimes creatively others not,

converse about that part of the city's identity.

"Every city has many stories. Every story a city tells itself anchors its sense of self and possibilities. Stories describe where a city has come from, how it sees itself now, where it might go, its personality and its perspective on life" (Landry, 2006:326). Urban stories help the citizens imagine, improvise and invest in the dynamics of the environment. "It is an exercise in telling a possible story about the city and how to get there. It energizes and provides direction. […] The skills of the storytellers need to include an understanding of the various dynamics that make cities work" (Landry, 2006:300). The storyteller as part of a collective should understand, feel, accept and nurture these dynamics. Telling and "retelling the urban story is not about eradicating the past, but about building on it and using the elements of past stories to help us move forward. In doing so, we should examine honestly the myths that sustain us and give us our identity" (Landry, 2006:328). Milena Dragićević Šešić (2007) in *Culture as a resource of city development* argues that myths and stories, memories developed throughout the centuries are part of the city's cultural identity and heritage. It is claimed that how people live, become conscious and behave, is an amalgam of different intra-and-inter-personal relationships bound by cultural diversity. Collective consciousness is a pervasive and important force in urban life because it empowers people to self-observe and take responsibility for their actions which permeate, portray

FIGURE 2. THE OVERLAPPING, COMPLEMENTARY AND ENCHANTING REALMS OF URBAN STORIES.

and challenge societal relationships. Collective consciousness depends on the meanings people as a whole entity associate and attach to their experiences based on their experiences. This kind of societal awareness of the multicultural image of the city is shaped by the events, the physical and mental processes that occur in the city.

Urban stories encapsulate the physical activity of the people, the mentality, the ideology, the routinized civility, the incarnated memories, the dreams and hopes, the neglected or over-expressed fears, the contemplated projection of their life. To understand how the people in the city feel and live is to understand the character and flavour of the city. Brecknock (2006) introduced cultural literacy as the capacity to understand, to appropriate and to develop the meaning of the city structures, city icons and city elements, such as neighbourhoods and public spaces, seems to be an important part of contemporary city cultural capital. "Cultural literacy is the ability to read, understand, find significance in, evaluate, compare and decode the local cultures in a place. This allows one to work out what is meaningful and significance to people who live there. We understand better the life cycle of the city in motion. We understand more what we see, feel, smell and hear" (Landry, 2006:245). We understand more when we energize our senses, stimulate our minds, open up our ears and grasp the insight from the stories the city narrates. We surely understand more when we tell our stories and communicate them to others. Story-making and storytelling help people dive into the local creative wisdom of characters, landscapes and plots found in tales.

The storytelling art can break through barriers and initiate a dialogue on folkloric arts, mythology and performing arts. It is significant for intercultural mediation in the Balkans to establish a communicative network of professionals and practitioners who engaging with storytelling in their work and art can witness the different nuances in the art between the countries, document the unique aspects, elaborate on the common concepts and collaborate on preservation and promotion of cultural diversity. Šešić and Dragojević (2004) comment that "the customs and everyday life of people in this region are in great part characterized by similarities, rather than differences" (11). The similar practices of living are traceable in the stories that the Balkan countries have. The challenge is to share them. The Byzantine and the Ottoman Empires left behind a mosaic of religions, languages and lifestyles where the Orient and the Occident meet. Stories can bridge the generations and show how people share the same emotions and difficulties. By doing so, xenophobic attitudes are weakened because there is direct contact and enlivened communication transferring knowledge about the tradition and cultural heritage of all within a multicultural collective. Storytelling for socio-cultural animation can help with fighting stereotypes and prejudices and with setting up mediation channels to ensure communication. Cultural policies ought to enhance cooperation, partnership and active participation via legislation and strategies of advocacy and public outreach which cement a deepened way of regional artistic creation and development. Protecting the stories of a community means protecting the quality of artistic value, and investing in the enrichment of the storytelling art means investing in the empowerment of cultural communication understanding diversity and bringing people closer to one another by shared experiences. Cultural policies in Greece should focus on genuine cross-cultural collaboration based on partnerships and combined expertise axed by a highly participatory process of mutual decision-making in terms of strategy, programme and finance.

Also, there should be established a coordinated alliance with urban policies and policies of space management focusing on long-term visions on how to develop urban culture locally and beyond implementing the creativity of the civic society. To experience cultural diversity through the arts inspires people to collaborate and be active. Investing in participatory creativity especially in storytelling is an invitation for the citizens of Thessaloniki to exercise their cultural rights productively empowering creative societal relationships and intercultural mediation. The idea is simple: *enable, educate* and *engage*. To resuscitate urban spaces via participation to intercultural activities calls for honest communication about the realities of migration and diversity in the city, for open debates about cultural conflict and for freedom of artistic expression protected by agreements and programmes between the EU and the Non-EU countries.

Thessaloniki struggles with a variety of space management and policies issues such as the demise of century-old marketplaces, the misuse of streets and parks, the aging monuments and infrastructures and so on. To revitalize the neighbourhoods and recreate public-spirited areas, the communication between the professionals, the habitants and the stakeholders is essential. It is essential to treat the cultural differences of race and ethnicity, class, economy, aesthetics etc. not only as physical parts of the city, but also as public events, as the nervous system of the urban organism. Through storytelling that communication is facilitated because it is an art that cultivates and strengthens the ability to listen to other people's stories. Listening is irreplaceably necessary for any kind of prosperity and development. Listening empowers people with knowledge and awareness and instils in them empathy and appreciation for diversity. "Bringing together different points of view and trying to create a shared understanding among all stakeholders can lead to new insights, new ideas, and new artefacts" (Fischer et al, 2002:1). Jack Zipes (1995) in *Creative Storytelling: Building Community-Changing Lives* claimed that mythmaking can "create a home or community" (7) because "storytellers are not just performers; they may perform, but they are first and foremost listeners and animators; they listen to tales before telling or performing them; they listen to

> "STORYTELLING CAN BE A VALUABLE ENGINE OF CITY AND CIVIC RENEWAL BY BRINGING CLOSER AND INVESTING IN THE PARTICIPATORY CREATIVITY OF DIVERSE COMMUNITIES AND BY ENVISIONING NEW IMAGES OF THE URBAN LIFE."

phenomena, experiences, and conditions, and they observe; then they share experiences and animate people to learn something from the shared moment of the telling" (7).

Storytelling can be a valuable engine of city and civic renewal by bringing closer and investing in the participatory creativity of diverse communities and by envisioning new images of the urban life. Open to the public storytelling practices can profit community-building and imbue people with a deeper understanding of the creative potential of this city allowing art to better the human condition. To better the urban life means to become aware of the identity and structure of the city and to being able to articulate and picture alternative images which train the eye of the observer, stimulate the imagination of the *flâneur* and secure the imageability of the city which as Kevin Lynch (1960) wrote in *The Image of The City* "facilitates the making of vividly identified, powerfully structured, highly useful mental images of the environment" (9) which invite the observer to "absorb new sensuous impact" (10). Creative cities do not just pop out of nowhere. Imagination, dedication and care are as much needed as high-quality designs and fund-raising strategies. The storiness of a communal lived materiality, the consciousness of a multicultural storyboard imbued with meaning and experience ought to be penciled in the design papers.

Conclusion

This research paper opts to have accentuated the significance of storytelling for an all-embracing awareness of the multicultural oral heritage of Thessaloniki and a collective creative response to it through mediation projects. It is strongly recommended to heighten public awareness of these issues providing a deeper sensitivity and a pro-active critical analysis of Interculturalism. It was explored how storytelling empowers social networks in the multicultural city of Thessaloniki; how social

psychology, experience, imagination activation and emotions influence the consciousness people have and shape about the urban wide-ranging society; how the co-creation of urban tales weaves the image of the city and how participatory creativity can enliven domesticity and foster intercultural mediation between diverse communities while preserving oral heritage. Stories were and are created to represent, make meaning of and convey various sentiments about human nature and culture as well as to represent imaginary worlds and abstract concepts. Stories manage almost unconditionally to bring magic into our lives and carry a dynamism that can set our emotional baggage free and inspire us to revisit our perspective. When it comes to storytelling, there is a lot to be learned, earned and dreamed.

REFERENCES

BARRY, J. (1999) *Art, Culture, and the Semiotics of Meaning*, New York: St. Martin's Press.

BOWER, G. H. and GILLIGAN, S. G. (1984) "Cognitive Consequences of Emotional Arousal", In C. Izard, J. Kagen, & R. Zajonc (eds.), *Emotions, cognition, and behaviour*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

BRECKNOCK, R. (2006) *More than Just a Bridge: Planning and Designing Culturally*, Comedia, Bournes Green.

CHRISTAKIS, N. & FOWLER, J. (2010) *Connected: The Amazing Power of Social Networks and How they Shape Our Lives*, London: Harper Press.

EKMAN, P. (1994) *The Nature of Emotion*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

FISCHER, G., SCHARFF, E. and Ye, Y. (2002) "Fostering Social Creativity by Increasing Social Capital", [Online] Available at: http://l3d.cs.colorado.edu/~gerhard/papers/social-capital-2002.pdf.

FISKE, J. (1990) *Introduction to Communication Studies*, London: Routledge.

HISS, T. (1990) *The Experience of Place*, New York: Vintage Books of Random House, Inc.

KLAIC, D. (2007) *Mobility of Imagination: A companion Guide to International Cultural Cooperation*, Budapest: Centre for Arts and Culture/Central European University.

LANDRY, C. (2006) *The Art of City Making,* London: Earthscan.

LYNCH, K. (1960) *The Image of the City*, Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press.

ONEGA, S. & GARCIA LANDA, J. A. (1996) *Narratology: An Introduction*, Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman Group Limited.

RANSOME, A. (1909) *A History of Story-telling*, London: T. C. & E. C. Jack.

SAWYER, K. R. (2010) "Individual and Group Creativity", In Kaufman, J. C. & Sternberg, R. J. (eds.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Creativity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

ŠEŠIC, M. D. & DRAGOJEVIC, S. (2004) *Intercultural Mediation*, Sarajevo: UNESCO/OKO.

ŠEŠIC, M. D. (2007) "Culture as a resource of city development", *The Creative City: Crossing Visions and New Realities in the Region,* Zagreb: Institute for International Relations, [Online] Available at: http://www.culturelink.org/publics/joint/cultid08/Svob-Djokic_Creative_City.pdf.

SPAULDING, A. E. (2011) *The Art of Storytelling: Telling Truths through Telling Stories*, Lanham: The Scarecrow Press.

STERNBERG, R. J. (2006) *The International Handbook of Creativity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

TUAN, YI-FU. (1974) "Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective", In. C. Board, R. J. Chorley, P. Haggett, and D. R. Stoddart (eds.), *Progress in Geography*, vol. 6, pp. 211-252.

WILKINSON, P. (2009) *Myths and Legends: An Illustrated Guide to their Origins and Meanings*, London: Dorling Kindersley Ltd.

ZIPES, J. (1995) *Creative Storytelling: Building Community-Changing Lives*, New York: Routledge.

Art & Design Education at the Crossroads [1]

John Steers
General Secretary National Society for Education in Art and Design
(1982-2011) and currently Chair of the Council for Subject Associations, UK

ABSTRACT

This paper provides a background to proposed changes in English art and design education and the perceived threats resulting from 'reforms' underway following the election of the coalition government in May 2010. Art and design education appears to be precariously poised on a cliff edge as a consequence of very questionable initiatives driven by the Secretary of State for Education, Michael Gove. These include the proposed introduction of the academic 'English Baccalaureate' performance standard; a root and branch review of the National Curriculum likely to lead to slimmed down statutory requirements that marginalise the arts; far-reaching changes to initial teacher education with training for art and design teachers reduced by 40 percent; and student fee increases. Further concerns may include the outcome of a DCMS review of 'Cultural Education', and the consequences of the decision by the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills to sever all funding for teaching the arts and humanities in universities and specialist higher education institutions. A postscript covering 2013 concludes the paper.

Keywords:

England

Schools Curriculum

Education Policy

Initial Teacher Education

Causes for concern

'The Future of Art and Design in Schools' has been a frequent and popular theme at art and design education conferences and in the field's publications for as long as I can remember. The reason is obvious: the subject too often is perceived as under some sort of threat in one way or another. While some might argue that art and design teachers are more paranoid than most, nevertheless the threats are sometimes real. Following the formation of the Conservative/ Liberal Democrat coalition government in May 2010, all teachers concerned with creative and cultural education in English schools, in my view, have good reason to be more than usually concerned. Arts education is at a crossroads or, just as likely, precariously poised on a cliff edge.

Why should this be so? The short answer is the coalition government's education policies: an avalanche of highly experimental and ideological Neo-Con initiatives driven by Michael Gove, the current Secretary of State at the Department for Education (DfE) in England. These include the introduction of the so-called 'English Baccalaureate', a 'root and branch' review of the National Curriculum, far-reaching changes to initial teacher education and to student funding. Then there is a review of 'Cultural Education' commissioned by the Department for Culture Media and Sport (DCMS) and the consequences of the decision by the Department of Business Innovation and Skills (BIS) to stop all government funding for teaching the arts and humanities in universities and specialist higher education institutions – these will be funded solely by student fees in future. This is compounded by little evidence of any joined-up government thinking and a long list of unintended – or possibly intended – consequences.

The English Baccalaureate

The proposed English Baccalaureate or 'EBac' should not be confused with the French Baccalaureate or the International Baccalaureate: the only similarity is the name. The EBac is a device designed by government '…to provide a powerful incentive for schools to drive the take up of individual science subjects, humanities such as history and, especially, foreign languages' (DfE 2010: 44). It is claimed the EBac together with a reformed National Curriculum will give schools '…the freedom and the incentives to provide a rigorous and broad academic [author's emphasis] education' (DfE 2010: 45).

The government's intention is that by achieving the stated combination of GCSEs (the examinations taken at age 16+) students will be entitled to a certificate recording their achievement (DfE 2010: 44). This has yet to materialise and seems unlikely to do so. The House of Commons Education Committee (HCEC) in their highly critical report on the EBac argued that plans for such certification should be shelved and they commented further: 'We do not believe the EBac – the hybrid of a certificate and a performance measure, named after a qualification – is appropriately labelled: it is not a baccalaureate, and as it stands the name can therefore be misleading to parents, professionals and pupils' (HCEC 2011: 13). It seems clear that he EBac is not a qualification: it is government initiative to coerce secondary schools in England into promoting specific 'academic' subjects to age 16 and to set further arbitrary standards for measuring the 'success' of the English education system (hereafter referred to as 'accountability measures').

There is no clear rationale for the academic subjects that have been included or omitted in the English Baccalaureate. The range of subjects included is felt by many to be too narrow and not at all inclusive of all students in the school. The definition of humanities and languages appears to be arbitrary. For example, why include geography and history but not English literature? Why include Ancient Hebrew as a preferred language option? Why exclude all the arts subjects, design and technology, citizenship, personal, social and health education (PSHE) and religious education? John White observes:

> [Gove's] new English Baccalaureate is virtually a carbon copy of the 1868 Taunton report's curriculum for most middle class schools, as they were then called. The new award will be given to all 16-year-olds who have good exam grades in 'English, mathematics, the sciences, a modern or ancient foreign language and a humanity such as history or geography'. Taunton's list is identical, except that it makes both history and geography compulsory. How is it that a curriculum designed for clerks and shopkeepers in Dickens' England is at the cutting edge in 2010? (White 2011: 27).

Following the first announcement it was immediately apparent that many secondary schools would guide their students towards the named EBac subjects at the expense of a broad and balanced curriculum. The Times Educational Supplement (TES) published evidence about how quickly the EBac had skewed the option choices offered to students for the current academic year: by July 2011 48 percent of secondary schools had already changed their curriculum offer to 'suit the demands of the English Baccalaureate' (Exley, 2011: 22). Options to study subjects like art and design, music, religious education, drama, technology, business and ICT, as well as vocational qualifications, were much reduced or even removed. An earlier indicative survey (on a sample of 100 representative teachers & schools) carried out by the National Society for Education in Art and Design showed that teachers reported a 39 percent fall in numbers opting for vocational courses, and 57 percent reported a cut in the capitation
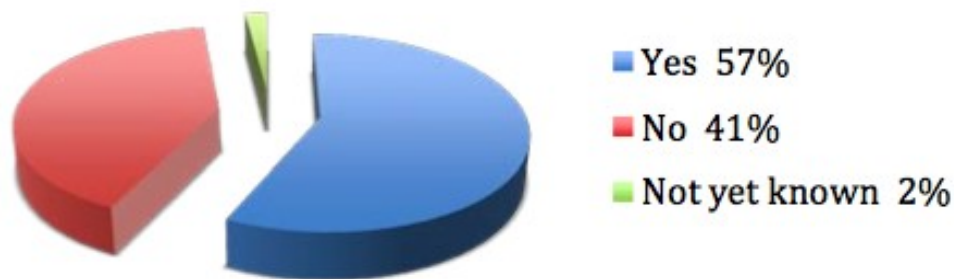
FIGURE 1. HAS THERE BEEN ANY REDUCTION IN CAPITATION PLANNED FOR YOUR DEPARTMENT?

allowance (finance for materials and equipment) for their department.

At the same time teachers noted the numbers of students who opted to study art and design at Key Stage 4 (14-16 years) fell by 50 percent in 2011-2012 while 30 percent expected the number of art and design teachers to decline (NSEAD 2011).

While government ministers seem obsessed by opening up opportunities for admission to the self-appointed elite 'Russell Group' of universities other reputable specialist institutions like the remaining independent art colleges, the Royal College of Art or the University of the Arts, as well as the art and design faculties of eighty or more other British universities are not only sidelined but have had all their funding for teaching removed.

Ministers appear to wish to narrowly prioritise their own routes through education as the only possible pathways to 'success'. An epithet often attributed to Rabindranath Tagore (unknown date) is pertinent: 'Don't limit a child to your own learning, for she was born in another time'. Tagore also said: '... adults, because they are tyrants, ignore natural gifts and say that children must learn through the same process that they learned by. We insist upon forced mental feeding and our lessons become a form of torture. This is one of man's [sic] most cruel and wasteful mistakes'.

Ministers might do well to take heed of such wisdom. While it is axiomatic that everyone should have a good basic education in core skills and knowledge, the entitlement for every child to a broad and balanced education as enshrined in the Education Reform Act 1987 is vital. Students should be encouraged to keep their options open and the focus should be on what young people need to be equipped with the attitudes, dispositions and values for a satisfying and productive future in the 21st century — not for the 19th century.
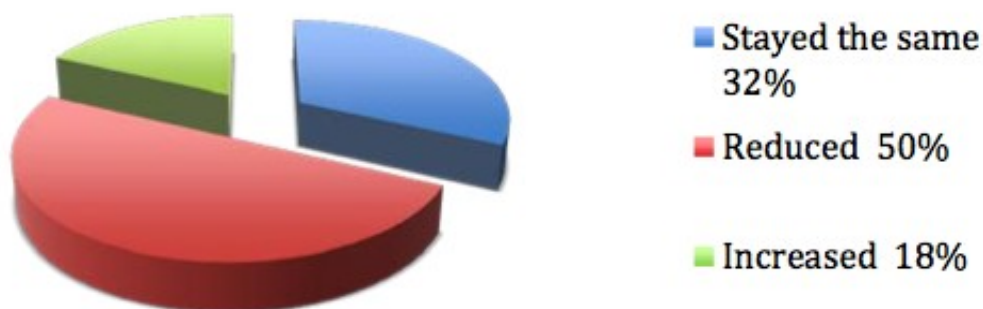

FIGURE 1. ART AND DESIGN DOES NOT CURRENTLY FORM PART OF THE NEW ENGLISH BACCALAUREATE FOR STUDENTS AT KS4. IN YOUR SCHOOL/COLLEGE HAVE THE NUMBER OF STUDENTS WHO OPTED TO STUDY ART AND DESIGN AT KS4...

The Curriculum Review

In contrast to this the government's 'White Paper' (DfE 2010) set out a narrower plan, decreeing that a new approach to the curriculum was needed '…specifying a tighter, more rigorous model of the knowledge that every child should expect to master in core subjects at every key stage' (DfE 2010: 10). A review of the National Curriculum was announced with the aim of '…reducing prescription and allowing schools to decide how to teach, whilst refocusing on the core subject knowledge that every child and young person should gain at each stage of their education' (DfE, 2010: 10). Over time it became apparent that this involved 'slimming down' the curriculum – possibly removing subjects from the statutory curriculum and concentrating on 'core knowledge' to the exclusion of much else.

To the Department for Education's (DfE) apparent surprise over 5000 responses to the curriculum review were submitted. The DfE attributed this to unusual 'interest' but 'concern' would have been the mot juste. An Expert Group was established under the chair of Tim Oates from Cambridge Assessment. Oates (2010) had previously written a pamphlet entitled 'Could do better: Using international comparisons to refine the National Curriculum in England, that had sufficiently impressed Secretary of State Gove to persuade him to write the foreword and make this appointment. Oates' pamphlet argued,

> …that although the National Curriculum for England has been subjected to a protracted process of revision, the latest round of revisions failed adequately to draw from emerging analysis of high-performing systems around the globe. By taking a wrong turn in revision strategy, accumulated problems were not confronted and new problems were introduced (Oates, 2010: 1).

Oates claimed to draw on transnational analysis to understand the operation of other nations systems and to establish what we might learn from them. This might sound innocuous enough but, in my view, it was a polemic designed to comprehensively demolish the rationale and content of the New Secondary Curriculum (NSC) that had been introduced in 2007 after years of development and with a high level of consensus. Oates condemned it as disastrous.

From 2007 to 2010 ten subject associations worked with the now defunct Qualifications and Curriculum Development Agency (QDCA) to provide professional development for secondary school heads of department. The overwhelming response to the NSC was strong support: teachers saw the new curriculum not, as Oates argues, as 'over-prescriptive' but as liberating. They understood they were free to provide a local curriculum tailored to their pupils needs. Many excellent case studies have been recorded pointing to the worthwhile changes taking place. It was evident that the NSC was motivating and reinvigorating pupils and teachers alike. The Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted), before it seems to have been silenced, recognised it was having a significant impact.

This begs the important question of who, apart from Michael Gove and Tim Oates, decided the NSC was a 'disaster'. Where was the evidence for this presented? No systematic evaluation has taken place. The first cohort of pupils has yet to take their General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) examinations. It may yet prove somewhat embarrassing if there are improved GCSE results in 2012. Should there be so ministers will probably dismiss such improvement as further evidence of dumbing down and as the justification for radical change. It is inexcusable that there has been no proper evaluation of the NSC before launching into yet another major 'review' with all the disruption it inevitably causes for pupils, teachers, schools and the education system as a whole.

The missing arts

The 2010 White Paper makes one solitary reference to the arts in all of its 91 pages. Paragraph 4.31 reads:

> Children should expect to be given a rich menu of cultural experiences. So we have commissioned… [a report] to explore how we can improve music education and have more children learning to play an instrument. The … Review will also inform our broader approach to cultural education. We will support access to live theatre, encourage the appreciation of the visual and plastic arts and work with our great museums and libraries to support their educational mission (DfE, 2010: 46).

It will be apparent immediately that the White Paper identified the government's concern with appreciation of the arts and, other than learning to play an instrument, made no reference to practical creative activity. By the summer of 2011 the promise to support our 'great museums and libraries' was ringing hollow with libraries scheduled for closure across the country and the Museums Association (Newman & Tourle 2011) reporting that because museum funding was being cut by 25 percent or more, over 60 percent of museums had cut back their public events, half had reduced opening hours, over 85 percent were cutting staff including a 30 percent cut in education staff. At the same time it was already clear that many schools would no longer offer the full range of options at Key Stage 4 (14-16 years). Arts teachers were being made redundant, arts departments were being reduced in size, areas of experience were being lost, less cost-effective vocational courses were being closed, access to continuing professional development was either very limited or non-existent,

> "ONE IN FOUR NEW JOBS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM IS IN THE CREATIVE SECTOR AND CREATIVE EMPLOYMENT PROVIDES AROUND TWO MILLION JOBS IN THIS SECTOR AND IN CREATIVE ROLES IN OTHER SECTORS. EMPLOYMENT IN THE CREATIVE INDUSTRIES HAS GROWN AT DOUBLE THE RATE OF THE ECONOMY AS A WHOLE."

funding for access to visiting artists, galleries and museums was disappearing and overall capitation – the money allocated to arts departments – was being cut.

The curriculum review asked whether arts subjects should have a statutory place in the curriculum at all and there were indications that the government had already decided they should not. Such a decision, if implemented, would surely represent Philistinism on an unprecedented scale.

Rationales for arts education

There are many justifications for including art and design and arts education as part of general education, admittedly some more convincing than others, but there is no shortage of well considered and researched rationales. These include the report of the National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education (NACCCE) All Our Futures: Creativity Culture and Education (Robinson 1999), the UNESCO (2007) Road Map for Arts Education: Building Creative Capacities for the 21st Century and the subsequent 'Seoul Agenda', and the 2011 report commissioned by President Obama Reinvesting in Arts Education: Winning America's future through creative schools (PCAH, 2011). It seemed evident however that the British government was either unaware of – or set on ignoring – the growing and wide international consensus on the importance of arts education.

Historically in the mid-nineteenth century the rationale for introducing art education to schools was to fulfil two clear aims: to provide 'an education of the eye, and of the hand, such as may indeed be the first step in the career of a great artist' (Committee of Council on Education, 1857-1858), but, significantly, also to meet the economic needs of the country by training skilled artisans whose work would be capable of challenging increasing international competition,

notably from French design and manufacturing (Doustaly 2010).

If the growing international consensus about the importance of the arts is insufficiently convincing to economic and political pragmatists then they need only look at the economic data. The most up-to-date statistics for the creative industries from the Department of Culture Media and Sport state:

- creative industries contributed 5.6% of the UK's Gross Value Added in 2008

- exports of services by the creative industries totalled £17.3 billion in 2008, equalling 4.1% of all goods and services exported

- there were an estimated 182,100 businesses in the creative industries on the Inter-Departmental Business Register (IDBR) in 2010. This represents 8.7% of all companies on the IDBR

- software and electronic publishing make the biggest contribution to GVA of the creative industries, at 2.5% in 2008. They also make up a large number of total creative firms (81,700) (DCMS, 2010).

One in four new jobs in the United Kingdom is in the creative sector and creative employment provides around two million jobs in this sector and in creative roles in other sectors. Employment in the creative industries has grown at double the rate of the economy as a whole. The Prime Minister has spoken of supporting economic growth and has highlighted the creative industries as an important growth area in rebalancing the economy (Cameron, 2010). He pledged that government departments and agencies will work closely together to make sure that there is an appropriate level of support available for the creative industries. And yet ministers deliberately seem to continue to pigeonhole art and design in schools as 'fine art' and they ignore the design and contemporary creative and media industry associations. Secretary of State Gove advocates

perspective drawing as the core of the subject, while Schools Minister Nick Gibb complained to me that nobody had taught him how to shade a circle to look like a sphere. Both ministers appear content to see the arts – and design and technology – wither in the curriculum without any thought of the economic realities let alone less prosaic rationales.

Where do these policies lead?

What happens to young people who want to pursue creative subjects? Or have more physical or practical leanings? Or are less academically inclined? Neuro-scientists tell us that not all people learn in the same way and it has long been recognised that some have exceptional ability in certain subjects – maths, music, and the arts for example – that is not matched by all-round academic ability. Will these individuals once again be branded academic failures by the narrow measures of a limited education system? Secondary school students seem destined by ministerial diktat to be drawn into forced study of a limited diet of academic subjects and be directed away from other subjects where their true interests and abilities lie. The House of Commons Education Committee commented: '…that the EBac's level of prescription does not adequately reflect the differences of interest or ability between individual young people, and risks the very shoehorning of pupils into inappropriate courses about which one education minister has expressed concerns' (HCEC, 2011: 39).

There is little evidence that the coalition government's much increased emphasis on academic subjects is what employers and industry actually want. They have long argued that they need people with a range of flexible skills including: self-reliance, enthusiasm, team working, technical skills, versatility, a creative approach to problem solving and creative thinking; the ability to innovate; and digital and online creative skills. These are precisely the skills that sound arts education is especially good at nurturing. In September 2011 the Confederation of British Industries published a report (CBI, 2011) identifying skill shortages in the creative industries and calling on the government to ensure young people are able to study a range of creative subjects and to include a creative subject within the specification for the EBac. The CBI was, of course, ignored.

It is a fact that many very successful people were marked as failures at school – the 'A Better Baccalaureate' web site (2011) bears testimony to this – and, sadly not all recover from this early set back. Much potential talent is wasted. Sir Ken Robinson argues there is much more to intelligence than academic ability and much more to education than its development. He makes the point:

> Academic ability is not the same as intelligence. Academic ability is essentially a capacity for certain sorts of verbal and mathematical reasoning. These are very important, but they are not the whole of human intelligence by a long way. If there were no more to human intelligence than academic ability, most of human culture would not have happened. There would be no practical science or technology, no business, no arts, no music, no dance, drama, architecture, design, cuisine, aesthetics, feelings, relationships, emotions, or love. I think these are large factors to leave out of an account of intelligence. If all you had was academic ability, you wouldn't have been able to get out of bed this morning. In fact there wouldn't have been a bed to get out of. No one could have made one. You could have written about the possibility of one, but not have constructed it. Don't mistake me, I think that academic work – and the disciplines and abilities it can promote – are absolutely vital in education, and to the full development of human intelligence and capacity. But they are not the whole of them. Yet our education systems are completely preoccupied with these abilities to the virtual exclusion of many others that are equally vital – capacities that becoming more important every day. (Robinson, 2001: 81).

The House of Commons Education Committee clearly concurs with this view: '…academic subjects are not the only path to a successful future, and all young people, regardless of background, must continue to have opportunities to study the subjects in which they are likely to be most successful, and which pupils, parents and schools think will serve them best' (HCEC, 2011: 31).

The government's insistence on a 'slimmed down' curriculum in which the arts are at best marginal and very probably absent sends out a highly misguided and damaging message: it very clearly tells children, schools, their parents and society at large that the arts are of no importance.

Autumn 2011: a very inconclusive conclusion

It is abundantly clear that the government has embarked on an unprecedented experiment with the future of education in England and it is impossible to predict what the eventual outcome might be – especially for arts education. Despite widespread criticism education ministers seem little inclined to alter any of their proposals.

Work on the curriculum review is behind schedule. Phase one which focuses on English, Maths, Science and Physical Education is not complete and phase two intended to look at all other subjects has not yet commenced. No formal announcement on which subjects will be included in

the national curriculum from 2013 and 2014 is expected until spring 2012 although well-sourced rumours suggest that the statutory primary curriculum – these subjects occupying 50-70 percent of curriculum time – will be restricted to mathematics, science, English, history and physical education. Publication of the report on cultural education has also been delayed, possibly to ensure that it does not conflict embarrassingly with key ministerial decisions that have already been taken.

A number of evidence confirms that there are ongoing reductions in the arts subjects in many secondary schools across England. While this is not true in all schools, a picture emerges where schools are increasing the opportunities for students to select Ebac subjects and/or decreasing other choices such as the arts and design and technology. Drivers for this situation include decisions by head teachers to try to improve their Ebac scores in advance of their next Ofsted inspection and school governors with changing views of the relative value of different subjects. There is a growing idea that subjects such as the arts are not 'academic' and therefore of less value and that they will hinder university entrance and future career opportunities. Linked to this is an increasing belief that so called 'softer' subjects do not challenge students sufficiently or help improve 'literacy' skills.

It is a fact that art and design is frequently amongst the highest achieving subjects in schools' overall examination results. The arts continue to motivate many students and help convince them of their potential for some success. Remove these subjects and many students will have little in the curriculum to interest them or to offer opportunities for creative thinking and self-expression. Art and design has always been a popular with students. It was recently rated the second most popular subject (fractionally below PE) in a nationwide opinion poll of students (BBC 2011). The reason for this is probably because art and design is both academic and practical: it provides opportunities for students to express their personal opinions, to have a voice and to be able to reinterpret classical and contemporary forms whilst applying their knowledge, skills and understanding to make original and deeply personal outcomes.

The key issues that I have described are set against mounting teacher unrest about punitive pension proposals, a continuing salary freeze, the promise of more 'accountability measures', more and more schools opting out of local authority – and therefore democratic – control. Some talk of wholesale privatisation of the education system. Changes in teacher education shift the main responsibility from universities to schools. 'Consultation' on the government's strategy for initial teacher education is ongoing although the quota of art and design teachers being trained has been more than halved in the past two years as a consequence of policies driven more by ideology than demographics. Many post-graduate training courses in the arts will no longer be viable and the probable loss of specialist teachers, equipment and facilities will not be easily reversed without significant cost in the future. It seems inevitable that art and design (and other subjects including music, design and technology, citizenship and religious education) will have a much weaker position in the curriculum and it will be left to the judgement of individual schools whether or not to continue to offer these subjects in future. The student entitlement to a broad and balanced curriculum has been abandoned.

Government policies at both school and university level seem intent on destroying 150 years steady development of arts education to the serious detriment of the British society and the economy. Ultimately there is nothing that makes the British people inherently more creative than others: the reason for the United Kingdom's strong creative and design industries and hitherto vibrant arts sector is the education system that drives it. Governments and Secretaries of State come and go and sooner or later

> "THE ARTS CONTINUE TO MOTIVATE MANY STUDENTS AND HELP CONVINCE THEM OF THEIR POTENTIAL FOR SOME SUCCESS. REMOVE THESE SUBJECTS AND MANY STUDENTS WILL HAVE LITTLE IN THE CURRICULUM TO INTEREST THEM OR TO OFFER OPPORTUNITIES FOR CREATIVE THINKING AND SELF-EXPRESSION."

there will be a u-turn on these senseless and destructive policies. We can only hope that this occurs before more irreparable harm has been done.

Postscript 2013

The final details of the English National Curriculum to be taught in schools from September 2015 remain unresolved, nearly two years since this paper was first drafted. A final 'consultation' closed on 8 August 2013. The current National Curriculum has been 'disapplied' for the academic year 2013-2014 to allow schools to prepare for the 'final' version, eventually released on 11 September 2013 (see quote ending the paper).

The Council for Subject Associations concluded in its response to the consultation:

> Whilst we recognise that some improvements have been made to earlier drafts, much of the current documents lack coherence and intellectual rigour. They are often poorly drafted, showing clear evidence of a rushed and poorly conceived process - subjects associations feel that their principal role has been to try to make the best of a bad job (CfSA 2013).

The Henley review of cultural education (Henley 2012) was eventually published in early 2012 and met with a lukewarm government response. Crucially, advice about including arts subjects in the EBac was ignored. Nevertheless some concessions have been made in the latest curriculum drafts which were published in July 2013 (DfE 2013a), in the face of widespread criticism from the arts and cultural sector.

Art and design and music have a statutory place in the curriculum for key stages 1–3 (ages 5-14). In a critique of the latest draft of the programme of study for art and design, the NSEAD (2013a) objected to the way it is predicated on an outdated fine art model that is neither stimulating nor challenging. Scant attention has been given to craft and design education (thus failing to provide pathways to much of art and design in higher education). There is a failure to reference contemporary practice, global perspectives or approaches linked to the creative industries, to digital technologies and the future. In the view of the Society the proposed curriculum is unfit for purpose for young people in the 21st century.

The position of dance remains ambiguous within the physical education programme of study: it is not a sport but an essential art form and should be valued and recognised as such. Drama is absent from the statutory framework for English in any structured way. There is nothing that ensures that teachers will teach drama or use it, especially at key stages 1 and 2 and there is no drama content guidance.

The EBac remains although plans to issue an EBac Certificate have been scrapped. A second headline accountability measure is to be introduced in response to criticism of the narrow focus of the EBac. The rationale for two accountability measures (EBac and 'Best Eight') is unclear. Recording the 'Best Eight' examination subjects of all pupils might encourage a broader and more balanced curriculum for a wider range of children provided the model allows for English, mathematics and six other subjects to be counted. It would also avoid the reputational damage to some subjects implicit in the present proposals. This issue also remains unresolved. Attempts to replace the GCSE examination have foundered although a further 'reform' is in process with the aim of making it harder and more 'rigorous'.

Other measures continue to be introduced apace. The majority of teacher education (training?) will now take place in schools. Five university post-graduate centres for art and design education have closed and more are likely to follow.

Ironically the majority of state-funded secondary schools in England are now designated as 'Academies' – as of 1 August 2013 there are 3,086 academies (DfE 2013b). These schools are exempt from following the National Curriculum. Thus the final unanswered question must be for how much longer will there be a National Curriculum at all in England?

To conclude, here is the National Society for Education in Art and Design online comment (NSEAD 2013b) to the final version of the art and design curriculum published on 11 September 2013 (DfE 2013c):

> *'As it stands, the Society and its members have been listened to, but not enough. The final version is neither aspirational, nor inspiring, and certainly not 'world class' The final version does not describe the unique nature, depth, breadth and future of the subject, nor fully meet the needs of children and young people living and engaging in the 21st century. The Society have formed a Curriculum Writing Group to move the statutory National Curriculum for art and design forward on our own terms, and we will be presenting this on our website shortly.' (NSEAD 2013 b)*

REFERENCES

A BETTER BACCALAUREATE (2011) Web site accessed 15 July 2011 at http://abetterbaccalaureate.org/

BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION (BBC) (2011) Newsround opinion poll 'What is your favourite subject?' accessed 8 December 2011 at http://news.bbc.co.uk/cbbcnews/hi/newsid_3250000/newsid_3253800/3253824.stm

CAMERON, D (2010) 'Transforming the British Economy: Coalition strategy for economic growth', a transcript of a speech given on the economy by British Prime Minister David Cameron on 28 May 2010 accessed 8 December 2011 at http://www.number10.gov.uk/news/transforming-the-british-economy-coalition-strategy-for-economic-growth/

CONFEDERATION OF BRITISH INDUSTRIES (CBI) (2011) 'Skills for the Creative Industries: Investing in the talents of our people', a CBI briefing paper (September 2011) accessed 8 December 2011 at HTTP://WWW.CBI.ORG.UK/MEDIA/1055419/2011.09-CBI-CREATIVE-SKILLS-BRIEF.PDF

COUNCIL FOR SUBJECT ASSOCIATIONS (CfSA) (2013) *CfSA Response to National Curriculum Consultation July 2013* accessed 20 July 2013 at http://www.subjectassociation.org.uk/newsitem.aspx?id=331

COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL ON EDUCATION (1857-58) in Macdonald, S (1970) *The History and Philosophy of Art Education*, London: University of London Press, p.168.

DEPARTMENT FOR CULTURE MEDIA AND SPORT (DCMS) (2010) *Creative Industries Facts and Figures* accessed 9 December 2011 at http://www.culture.gov.uk/what_we_do/creative_industries/default.aspx#Creative

DEPARTMENT FOR EDUCATION (DfE) (2010) *The Importance of Teaching,* (Government White Paper), London: The Stationery Office.

DEPARTMENT FOR EDUCATION (DfE) (2011) *Training our next generation of outstanding teachers: an improvement strategy for discussion* accessed 9 July 2011 at http://media.education.gov.uk/assets/files/pdf/t/training%20our%20next%20generation%20of%20outstanding%20teachers.pdf

DEPARTMENT FOR EDUCATION (DfE) (2013a) *Draft national curriculum programmes of study* accessed 10 July 2013 at https://www.education.gov.uk/schools/teachingandlearning/curriculum/nationalcurriculum2014/a00220600/draft-national-curriculum-programmes-of-study

DEPARTMENT FOR EDUCATION (DfE) (2013b) *Academies* accessed 5 August 2013 at http://www.education.gov.uk/schools/leadership/typesofschools/academies/b00208569/open-academies

DEPARTMENT FOR EDUCATION (DfE) (2013c) Statutory guidance, National Curriculum in England: Art and Design Programmes of Study, accessed 10 October 2013 at https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-curriculum-in-england-art-and-design-programmes-of-study

DOUSTALY, C (2010), « La genèse du soutien public aux beaux-arts à Londres aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles », J. Carré (dir.), *Londres 1700-1900 : naissance d'une capitale culturelle*, Paris : Presses Universitaires de Paris-Sorbonne: pp 207-229.

EXLEY, S (2011) 'A governor's lot is not a happy one', *Times Educational Supplement*, 15 July 2011: pp 22-23.

HOUSE OF COMMONS EDUCATION COMMITTEE (HCEC) (2011) *The English Baccalaureate,* London: The Stationary Office. Accessed 28 July 2011 at HTTP://WWW.PUBLICATIONS.PARLIAMENT.UK/PA/CM201012/CMSELECT/CMEDUC/851/851.PDF

HENLEY, D (2012) *Cultural Education in England,* London: DCMS and DfE. Accessed 9 March 2012 at http://www.culture.gov.uk/images/publications/Cultural_Education_report.pdf

NEWMAN, K & Tourle, P (2011) *The Impact of Cuts on UK Museums: A report for the Museums Association*. Retrieved 20 July 2011 from http://www.museumsassociation.org/download?id=363804

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR EDUCATION IN ART AND DESIGN (NSEAD (2011) *Art and Design Teacher Survey #2* accessed 15 July 2011 at http://www.nsead.org/Downloads/EBac_Survey2.pdf

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR EDUCATION IN ART AND DESIGN (NSEAD (2013a) *New Art and Design National Curriculum response*. Accessed 5 August 2013 at http://www.nsead.org/news/news.aspx?id=550

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR EDUCATION IN ART AND DESIGN (NSEAD (2013b), News frontpage, accessed 11 October 2013, http://www.nsead.org/home/index.aspx

OATES, T (2010) *Could do better: Using international comparisons to refine the National Curriculum in England*, Cambridge: Cambridge Assessment.

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON THE ARTS AND HUMANITIES (PCAH) (2011) *Reinvesting in Arts Education: Winning America's future through creative schools,* Washington DC: May 2011. Accessed 13 July 2011 at http://www.pcah.gov/sites/default/files/photos/PCAH_Reinvesting_4web.pdf

ROBINSON, K (Ed) (1999) '*All Our Futures: Creativity Culture and Education'*, London: DfEE Publications.

ROBINSON, K (2001) *Out of Our Minds: learning to be Creative,* Chichester: Capstone Publishing.

TAGORE, R (date unknown) accessed 28 July 2011 at http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Talk:Rabindranath_Tagore

UNESCO (2007) *Road Map for Arts Education: Building Creative Capacities for the 21st Century,* accessed 28 July 2011 at http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/files/40000/12581058115Road_Map_for_Arts_Education.pdf/Road%2BMap%2Bfor%2BArts%2BEducation.pdf

WHITE, J (2011) 'Gove's on the bac foot with a White Paper stuck in 1868', TES, 21 January 2011, p. 27.

The arts and culture: a financial burden or a way out of the crisis? [1]

Jean-Michel Tobelem,
Option Culture, France

ABSTRACT

With the financial crisis, followed by the economic and social crisis which spread from the United States to Europe, the trend towards less and less public spending being allocated to culture has accelerated. At the same time, however, public officials affirm that the arts, culture and, more broadly, the creative industries, constitute one of the most reliable means available to contemporary developed societies to overcome the crisis.

How can such a paradox be understood? Are public authorities schizophrenic? Is there a contradiction in the definition and the implementation of public policies? Conversely, can one hypothesize that public action has a logical underpinning? What would be its basis?

The answer may be identified on two levels: on the one hand, there is an increasing instrumentalisation of artistic and cultural activities, which are used for ends which are at least partly foreign to them (in particular, to economic and diplomatic ends). On the other hand, a reorientation of public policies concerning the creative and cultural industries is occurring. It would seem that it is in this sense that the engagement of a growing number of CEOs and leaders in favor of the cultural industries may be understood.

This policy choice, even if it appears to offer certain strategic opportunities to the artistic and cultural sector, seems nevertheless to involve serious risks for cultural creation, artistic experimentation and "scientific" activities undertaken by museums. Furthermore, it risks accentuating the trend of concentrating public and private funds on the most prominent museums and historical sites, thereby threatening to accentuate the implementation of a two-tier system in France, as well as in the UK.

Keywords:

Museum

Heritage

Cultural Policy

Creative Industries

Instrumentalisation

France

United Kingdom

United States

Introduction

Times are difficult for culture and the arts, and the situation may worsen as the current financial, economic, and social crisis deepens. Government budgets and private sponsorship alike are facing cuts. A recent survey showed that arts sponsorship funds have decreased sharply in France in recent years (Admical 2011) and the current crisis is likely to be just one factor. Sponsorship for the arts in now facing competition from various other social, humanitarian or environmental causes and, increasingly, with universities, research centres, hospitals, and other public sector organisations now turning to fundraising in their own right. At the same time, the concepts of corporate social responsibility and sustainable development focus less on cultural sponsorship than on social and environmental issues. Yet politicians, public servants, and corporate leaders contend that culture offers a way out of the crisis. The then French President Nicolas Sarkozy argued in Avignon on November 18, 2011 that "France's response to the crisis is to invest massively in culture, because France considers that cultural goods are essential. Culture is an investment that will lead us out of crisis and not an expenditure that needs to be cut". The present article sets out to explore this paradox by focusing on culture's potential to save "Old Europe". It asks whether European countries are prepared to devote sufficient resources to fostering the arts and culture and, more broadly, to strengthening the cultural industries and the creative sector. It explores the hypothesis of a newly emergent contradiction between public discourse and actual decision-making on the ground.

The first part of the article studies the reasons behind the funding crisis impacting cultural institutions, while the second analyses the role of private funding in response to this crisis. The third part explores aspects of the relationship between the arts and culture, the cultural and creative industries, and the media and communication sectors.

Culture and economic crisis

The starting point for the article is a twofold hypothesis. On the one hand, the arts and culture are increasingly being instrumentalised for various purposes, including educational, social, strategic, and economic aims, as well as tourism and diplomacy. In other words, the notion of "art for art's sake" is losing ground. On the other hand, the very definition of culture has changed: the definition of creativity enshrined in the "traditional" arts is being replaced by a broader definition that covers not only the long-standing "cultural" industries, but also "creative" sectors such as haute cuisine, video games, fashion, software, architecture, and the like.

Instrumentalising culture

As is clear in a number of countries, cultural expenditure is no longer considered justifiable on the grounds of a democratic right to access to culture, as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948: "Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality" (article 22) and "Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits" (article 27).

Many cultural and artistic projects are now justified on a range of other grounds (Museums Deliver 2010; Regourd 2012; Selwood 2010). These include urban centres seeking to develop their attractiveness as a means to economic growth: examples include Metz, which recently opened its regional branch of the Pompidou Centre, and the new branch of the Louvre in Lens, a site selected by the French government to promote cultural decentralisation but principally financed by the Nord-Pas-de-Calais region. A second category involves urban planning projects, such as the Musée des Confluences in Lyon, located on a spit of land that is undergoing considerable redevelopment; a third draws on strategies to develop tourism, including projects such as the Wine Cultural Centre in Bordeaux, the Alésia museum and archaeological park in Burgundy, and the Vulcania theme park in Auvergne. Such projects do, of course, have clear scientific, cultural, artistic, and educational objectives, but these were not the primary drivers behind them. The principal challenge facing project developers in the arts world is how to create a sensitive alliance between the project's cultural remit and its place in a regional economic development programme, without making the scientific and cultural objectives secondary to the expected economic returns, which are always difficult to gauge (Learning to Live… 2009; Stevenson, Rowe and McKay 2010; Values and Vision… 2006).

The changing meaning of "culture"

At the same time, the cultural field is losing its specificity, becoming merged in the broader category of creative industries (A creative future… 1993; Creative Industry… 1999; Museums and Galleries in Britain… 2006). While this potentially offers artists strategic leverage, this shift is not insignificant. There is, of course, no denying that there is a creative dimension to sectors such as haute cuisine, fashion, and design. However, this does not necessarily mean that such activities should be assimilated with artistic creation, with all its connotations of experimentation, research, and uncompromising originality.

> "THE PRINCIPAL CHALLENGE FACING PROJECT DEVELOPERS IN THE ARTS WORLD IS HOW TO CREATE A SENSITIVE ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE PROJECT'S CULTURAL REMIT AND ITS PLACE IN A REGIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME, WITHOUT MAKING THE SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL OBJECTIVES SECONDARY TO THE EXPECTED ECONOMIC RETURNS, WHICH ARE ALWAYS DIFFICULT TO GAUGE."

Furthermore, it is apparent that the cultural industries – represented by private companies in competition with each other and targeting financially solvent markets – follow a different logic to that governing non-profit-making cultural institutions, which would not survive in an open market. Such institutions owe their ongoing existence to donations from the private sector, foundations, and private individuals, promoted by tax exemptions and breaks in the Anglo-American world and also to grants from the public purse in mainland Europe. The logic of profit in the publishing, music, and film industries – heightened in recent years by the increasing concentration of capital and the creation of vast conglomerates in the industry and service sectors – has highlighted contradictions in terms of the rise of new talents, the diversity of artistic endeavour, and the capacity to offer concrete access to cultural products aimed at anything other than a mass market (Création et diversité… 2006).

It is also clear that this logic of profit produces considerable financial backing for "blockbuster" movies, top recording artists, and best-selling books (Schiffrin 1999). Likewise, the distribution structures of the leading commercial chains promote swift stock rotation, while sales become concentrated around leading artists (Ivey 2008) – despite the "long tail" effect created by Internet sales (Anderson 2006). This is clearly not the aim of a cultural policy that sets out to counter market pressure and promote access to new cultural forms, encouraging audiences to discover new art forms for which they may develop an appreciation, the way Jean Vilar and Antoine Vitez sought to bring theatre to the people (Temkine 1992). In the final analysis, this is what justifies public funding, both direct (in the form of grants) and indirect (through the tax system) for non-profit-making cultural institutions: their role is to provide access to a diverse range of artistic endeavours, introducing audiences to new, unfamiliar forms of culture and making art a means of education for large sectors of the population (Anderson 1996 et 1999; Fleming 1996; Lang 2001).

At the same time, the increasing tendency to instrumentalise cultural projects and expand the field of culture to include the creative industries is driving a rapprochement with the private sector.

Private patronage and funding in the arts

Public authorities across Europe, particularly in France and Britain, are encouraging cultural institutions to diversify their sources of income, increase their own resources, and seek private donors, implementing favourable tax regimes to encourage patronage and philanthropy (Allinne and Carrier 2010; Private Giving for the Public Good 2008; Rozier 2010).

The role and limits of private patronage

The hoped-for rapprochement between art and enterprise and between culture and the economy could also be behind the increasing prevalence of appeals for private funding to finance cultural institutions. The arts are increasingly viewed as an investment vehicle for firms looking to improve their image and profile, and for urban centres seeking to improve their attractiveness. Indeed, if cultural institutions are able to secure funds from the private sector, there is no reason why they should not, as long as doing so does not contradict their remit and their professional code of ethics. However, it is doubtful that sponsorship will ever fully make up for cuts in public funding. It has not done so in the past, and it will doubtless not do so in the future, for a number of reasons. Tax deductions cost government budgets a lot, even when the expected leveraging effect is taken into account (Les musées nationaux… 2010). Sponsorship is not the primary task of corporations; the crisis means that budgets for advertising, communication and sponsorship are being cut. In addition, corporate social responsibility and sustainable development policies are downplaying the

importance of sponsorship, in part because it is not taken into account by rating agencies.

There is a difference in how France and the UK fund culture: public responsibility for culture is more significant in the former, while private funding from companies, foundations, and private individuals plays a greater role in the latter (Ballé and Poulot 2004; Doustaly 2007; Longman 1996; Losseley 2011; Tait 1989). The two share some trends, however: tax breaks for donors weigh on the public purse in both countries, while money inevitably gravitates to major institutions with international reputations. Similarly, the withdrawal of public funding discourages private donors, as Jacques Rigaud, a leading promoter of business sponsorship of the arts in France, rightly pointed out: "Patronage is and is set to remain marginal. Its main benefit lies in providing a few tens of thousands of euros to enable an artist to bring a project to fruition, or in providing the first lump sum that will jump-start access to other sources of funding [...] The role of patronage is not to help impoverished states make ends meet [...] The state withdrawing from the cultural domain would indirectly penalise patronage" (Le Monde, 14.02.2008). Cutting state funding for the arts short-changes institutions in two ways. Firstly, not all cultural institutions have the same capacity to raise private funding: some do not have the human resources required to raise funds, while others suffer from a lack of visibility or prestige that hampers their efforts to raise a significant level of donations from private enterprise. Secondly, those institutions that do succeed in developing private sources of funding are by no means guaranteed against having an equivalent sum cut from their public funding, thereby penalising their efforts to increase their global resources.

The rise of philanthropy

Patronage has now begun to take on a more "entrepreneurial" connotation through the notion of "venture philanthropy" (Letts, Ryan and Grossman 1999; Tobelem 2011), in which donations are under greater pressure to lead to results or even a "return" on investment. While there are undoubtedly positive aspects to patronage, such as supporting project developers throughout the funding period, professionalising the management of directing cultural institutions, and implementing strategies to prepare for the period following the end of the philanthropic funding, it remains the case that patronage can lead to donations gravitating towards those organisations that are the most professional in outlook and hence the most likely to attract the attention of the "new philanthropists". However, it should be acknowledged that this evolution is partially inevitable, corresponding as it does to deep-rooted shifts in contemporary developed societies, including the increasing concentration of assets and fortunes, the social and reputational importance of donations, and the international nature of philanthropy. In other words,

not lending too much credit to the role of philanthropy is by no means incompatible with seeking to gain the maximum potential from its increasingly significant role.

In terms of political sociology, how culture is financed represents a major ideological battleground, with the United States – and the UK as its bridgehead in Europe – seeking to export the Anglo-American model of philanthropy to Europe and Asia, albeit with limited success in China for the time being, particularly through the example of figures such as Bill Gates and Warren Buffett (Bertho-Huidal 2012; Mason 2000; Zunz 2012).

It would indeed be naive to see this as simply encouraging private individuals to be more generous. The key issue at stake is the predominance of the "US" model of dismantling public policy and splintering the wider public interest into a broad array of private stakeholders, including companies, foundations, and private individuals – all against a backdrop of increasing social inequality and the concentration of wealth in the hands of an ever smaller group. The dazzling success of America's leading cultural institutions should not overshadow other, less positive aspects of cultural funding in the United States – how fragile it is in times of crisis, the relative lack of support for experimental and avant-garde projects, and the absence of any overall vision of the stakes of art and culture at a national level (Martel 2006; Tobelem 1990).

Sources of funding

Museums and historic sites are being encouraged to increase their earned revenue (Bromwich 1997; De la Rocha-Mille 2002; Fopp 1997; Misiura 2006). This raises the question of levers. Increasing admission fees appears to contradict the ideals of "democratising" access to cultural institutions, education, and social inclusion. Museum shops and restaurants are useful, but there is a limit to their net financial contribution. Above all, the practice of renting travelling exhibitions and collections, as officially endorsed by several French national museums, is a potential risk, quite apart from the fact that it does not seem to be authorised by either the French or the ICOM (International Council of Museums) code of ethics. The risk arises from the fact that members of parliament, mindful of pressing social costs (unemployment, retirement pensions, social security and so on), may in the future be encouraged to cut museum budgets on the grounds that museums can raise their own funds (Livre blanc des musées 2011).

Capitalising on museum "brands", as in the Louvre-Abu Dhabi, raises a number of questions. Are such practices driven by pure commercial spirit? Do they contradict the notion of "cultural exception"? Is the Middle East as stable as might be hoped? Do such projects represent a new form of cultural diplomacy, rendering co-operation and exchange obsolete? Will

museums become increasingly driven by funding needs rather than by their core mission?

One possible solution to the financial crisis affecting cultural institutions would be to increase their resources via partnerships, synergies, pooled resources, and networking with other institutions, as long as this does not negatively impact their mission. A further solution would be to implement suitable management techniques in terms of strategy, marketing, empowering personnel and human resources management, organisation, benchmarking, cost control, productivity, and assessment. Such managerial tools should not be seen as enemies by the non-profit sector, but rather as a means for artistic or scientific staff (curators) to retain their role in charge of cultural institutions, rather than being replaced by business or administrative personnel, as has been the case for many French museums and heritage sites. The stakes are high, because, as Pettigrew's 1997 New Public Management makes clear, more performance indicators, reporting, and management do not always mean greater imagination, adaptation

figures and increase visitor expenditure through facilities such as shops, restaurants, room hire, and so on.

Culture and the cultural / creative industries

Art and industry

Certain intellectuals and media figures are currently advocating more "mainstream" culture, which doubtless refers simply to a more market-oriented definition of culture, reducing culture's role as a force for education, citizenship, and emancipation (Martel 2011). Such a stance overlooks the way mass consumption already dominates the cultural sector through TV shows, pop singers, blockbuster movies, popular video games, and best-selling books; likewise, it fails to acknowledge that the French cultural industry is already active in this arena, for example through the

> "ONE POSSIBLE SOLUTION TO THE FINANCIAL CRISIS AFFECTING CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS WOULD BE TO INCREASE THEIR RESOURCES VIA PARTNERSHIPS, SYNERGIES, POOLED RESOURCES, AND NETWORKING WITH OTHER INSTITUTIONS, AS LONG AS THIS DOES NOT NEGATIVELY IMPACT THEIR MISSION."

and efficiency; on the contrary, they can lead to increased rigidity, control and bureaucracy as the British case illustrates (Doustaly, Gray 2010). Finally, and most importantly, there is a need to highlight the key role played by cultural institutions in some of the primary objectives shared by government and local authorities – education, social inclusion, tourism, attractiveness, event creation, and image.

Such solutions are far from easy or ideal. However, they would nonetheless be an improvement on the shared illusion that the private sector will provide the answer to funding difficulties in the arts – a solution likely to widen the gap between prestigious and lower-profile institutions. There are already some signs of a two-tier system emerging in France and the UK, with the largest museums enjoying a number of advantages, including the ability to raise funds and attract members, volunteers, and corporations, foundations, and individuals as donors; expertise in revenue generation; significant PR budgets; and the capacity to host events that drive up attendance

TV channels TF1 and M6, Vivendi Universal Music, Hachette publishing, Pathé Cinéma, and so on. However, what needs to be protected and possibly subsidised is not popular culture in the form of Hollywood movies, best-sellers and chart-topping artists, but rather more demanding, innovative, experimental, and avant-garde forms of art. Popular culture represents a solvent market, with customers ready to pay for what they want on existing markets; in the case of more rarefied art forms, there are generally not enough customers in a position to purchase art that they may not even know they need.

This sheds light on the reasons why prominent figures from the corporate world and the advertising industry, as seen in the Avignon Forum (Les stratégies culturelles pour un nouveau monde 2010) and the "purple economy" manifesto A new alliance between culture and the economy (www.economie-mauve.org), support the idea of culture as an engine for growth in France and indeed across Europe. What such figures doubtless have in mind are the cultural industries and the creative sector rather than the arts; they see

culture as driving growth in an increasingly intangible economy based on symbols, forms, creativity, images, innovation, values, and brands (Caldwell 2000; Scott 2000; Twitchell 2004; Wallace 2006).

Culture and the intangible economy

Jean-Pierre Jouyet, the then head of the French financial markets regulator, and Maurice Lévy, director of the Publicis advertising agency, published a report on the immaterial economy in 2006 that made two key propositions (Lévy and Jouyet 2006). The first of these was to "authorise museums to assign the right to use their name to third parties under certain very strict conditions" on the grounds that "several French museums enjoy outstanding prestige, which remains largely under-exploited to this day. Following the examples of the Guggenheim museum in Bilbao and the project for a major museum of Islamic art [sic] in Abu Dhabi, the leading national museums should be encouraged to develop policies to raise the international profile of their brands, offering to assign countries with richly dynamic cultural policies the right to use their name. Any such deal would of course be framed by a strict remit guaranteeing the quality of the collections, the brand image, and that any works lent by French museums would be shown in suitable conditions". The second proposition was that museums should be allowed to "hire out or sell certain works from their collections". This potentially explosive proposition was hedged with precautions: "Museums do not currently own their works and are not in a position to manage their collections to their full potential, either by hiring out or selling works. The current situation places a number of constraints on museums, particularly in terms of development and acquisitions policies. The commission holds that it would be appropriate to consider an alternative system that would protect the national interest and preserve national treasures, while renewing collections and enabling museums to organise their management as they see fit. Artworks should be classed in two categories – national treasures and works free to use. Those works deemed free to use would be counted as disposable assets of the museum".

It may seem surprising that economists and business leaders should place such importance on maximising revenue potential from cultural goods while at the same time denying that their approach to culture is overly market-oriented. The answer may lie in the notion that their role is less to serve the arts and culture than it is to use them to further objectives that are not directly connected to their remit or that may even contradict it.

Culture and economy

Several leading cultural and economic figures signed an opinion piece in Le Monde on May 19, 2011 under the title "The purple economy: a new alliance between

culture and economy". The signatories included Jean-Jacques Aillagon and Renaud Donnedieu de Vabres, both former Culture ministers, Mercedes Erra of the Euro RSCG and Havas advertising agencies, Pierre-Antoine Gailly, head of the Paris Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Jean-Hervé Lorenzi, director of the Cercle des économistes, Alain Dominique Perrin, chairman of the Cartier Foundation for Contemporary Art, and Pierre Simon, director of the Greater Paris Investment Agency. The piece argued that "Culture is no longer a luxury to be enjoyed by the rich or entertainment for the idle. It feeds into all modern processes of production. […] There can be no genuine creativity, whether artistic, economic, or even political, without a solid cultural underpinning. […] The time has come to imagine a virtuous circle connecting culture and economy – both fundamental undertakings – which does not simply resort to instrumentalising the former and uselessly stigmatising the latter". It is interesting to note that culture itself is not defined as a concept, doubtless because the signatories see it as such a broad category that it is difficult to grasp in concrete terms. The promoters of a purple economy argue that it is a "new alliance between culture and economy, committed to fostering dynamic interaction between the two spheres of activity insofar as every aspect of the economy involves cultural elements in its processes, productions, and modes of organisation, thereby impacting the cultural environment at the same time. The purple economy aims to enrich cultural diversity by underlining our capacity to give globalisation a human face and to promote new growth on an ethical, sustainable, and cultural basis". The movement refers to cultural diversity, digital technology, sustainable growth, communication, ethics, fashion, intercultural management and mediation, but art scarcely warrants a mention. As the website homepage states, "'The Purple economy is far more than laying claim to a new term. It is about looking beyond the economic value of cultural outputs to encompass the cultural dimension of any asset or service. Purple economy is part of a wider ethical approach. It contributes to a richer and more diverse cultural environment. Such wealth and diversity are decidedly drivers for progress". It remains to be seen whether such a vague definition of culture – admittedly a highly polysemic term – will lead to a greater recognition of the role of art and cultural activities and therefore to an increase in support and a higher profile.

Culture, media and PR

The Forum d'Avignon has played host to annual international meetings on culture, the economy and the media since 2008. It defines itself as "a think tank dedicated to culture" whose aim is "strengthening the links between culture and the economy, suggesting subjects for reflection at global, European and local levels", focusing on issues including culture, financing and economic models, culture and regional attractiveness, culture and digital technology, and

culture and innovation. The organisers define the Forum's objectives as fostering links between the worlds of culture, the economy, and the media – three sectors whose synergy plays a vital role in all cultural projects. The Forum sums up its stance in the slogan "culture as a factor for growth".

The significance of the culture and media industries within the think tank is clear from the profiles of its board members. They include Nicolas Seydoux, CEO of Gaumont, Hervé Digne, chairman of Postmedia Finance, the publisher Axel Ganz, Emmanuel Hoog, chairman of Agence France-Presse, Patricia Barbizet, managing director of Financière Pinault, Alain Kouck, CEO of Editis, and Véronique Morali, president of Fimalac Développement. The Forum's steering committee is led by Christian de Boissieu, chairman of the Council of Economic Analysis that advises the French prime minister; its other members are Christine Albanel of Télécom-Orange, Sylvie Forbin of Vivendi, Amit Khanna, chairman of Reliance, Carlo d'Asaro Biondo of Google, Irène Braam of Bertelsmann, and Carolina Lorenzon of Mediaset. This raises the question of whether men and women in such positions are likely to argue in favour of support for artistic creation and measures promoting democratic access to culture, given that their aim appears rather to be to act as a pressure group lobbying for the development of the culture, PR, and media industries.

Similarly, while culture is offered as a way out of the crisis, the details of how this is to be achieved are somewhat vague. It is not clear whether the aim is to encourage significant investment in education, training, and research, and in developing participation in art and culture, or whether the Forum's purpose is above all to seek new outlets for European economies whose model for growth will in the future be more firmly rooted in innovation, creativity, design and exploiting intangible assets such as knowledge, images, symbols, and brands. In other words, is the goal to work with the shift in developed societies towards mass market products and services (broadcasting, publishing, music, film, software, and video games) offered by the content industries rather than to promote democratic access to art and culture?

Questions of ethics

In this context, it is interesting to note that the wealthy American businessman and art collector Robert Rubin, former chairman of the Centre Pompidou Foundation, recently explicitly warned against an inappropriate approach to culture, particularly the tendency to appoint administrators or political advisers to direct major cultural institutions. He told Le Monde that "I can understand that museums hire out works occasionally. It's business. It disheartens me that museums make it a rule not to lend out works without sending along a bill. [...] I find it dispiriting that museum directors are now travelling salesmen, touting out ready-to-run exhibitions all over the world". Asked "Should museum directors be curators?", his answer was "Yes. That's how it is in American museums. MoMA and the Met are good examples. Their directors, Glenn Lowry and Thomas Campbell, are both art historians with authority over the activities and programmes. Of course they should be in charge, it's a museum! Under them they have an administrator in charge of management, who oversees projects and keeps an eye on the accounts. But the curator answers only to the board members, who have no hesitation in entrusting overall responsibility to an art specialist. Because they know that it is easier for a curator to learn management skills than it is for a manager to become an art expert". He concludes that the situation in France is "all the more serious when the people parachuted into these jobs are not content merely to manage, but also seek to intervene in broader issues – choosing exhibitions, allocating budgets, and commenting... again, all these should be the responsibility of a curator. A decision-maker from a political background may have priorities and a career plan that do not necessarily dovetail with the museum's curatorial needs, particularly in times of

"CULTURE IS OFFERED AS A WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THE AIM IS TO ENCOURAGE SIGNIFICANT INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION, TRAINING, AND RESEARCH, AND IN DEVELOPING PARTICIPATION IN ART AND CULTURE, OR WHETHER IT IS ABOVE ALL TO SEEK NEW OUTLETS FOR EUROPEAN ECONOMIES WHOSE MODEL FOR GROWTH WILL IN THE FUTURE BE MORE FIRMLY ROOTED IN INNOVATION, CREATIVITY AND DESIGN..."

crisis"[3]. This is a useful reminder of the importance both of a museum code of ethics and of entrusting cultural institutions to the people best fitted for the task – specialists in the field in question, as long as they have demonstrated the requisite management skills. The predicted consequences of entrusting a major cultural institution to a non-specialist have now become reality: a greater emphasis on PR and event management, a new focus on the director as an individual, influence on arts programming, a lowering of ethical standards when it comes to partnerships, and a management approach based on driving up visitor numbers and ticket prices rather than defining strategic priorities and optimising the resources available, among other things.

Conclusion

Museums and the arts sector may seize the opportunity offered by the concept of creative industries and oppose attempts to instrumentalise them that run counter to their remits. They could therefore argue that giving effective support to the arts and heritage would be beneficial to growth sectors of the tertiary and service economy, including the design, education, broadcasting, tourism, luxury, and software industries. Nevertheless, such a political strategy, while providing opportunities for the artistic and cultural sectors, may appear to entail significant risks for cultural creation, experimental art, and the curatorial activities carried out by museums and historic monuments.

The arts sector should also adopt a cautious approach to commissioning economic impact studies, which may not provide a suitable answer to the crisis: while culture may be profitable, it also has a cost. It should be borne in mind that all activities have an impact on their environment: the key question is whether culture produces more economic value than other activities, which is far from certain (Benhamou 2012).

The arts sector could take those who see culture as a way out of the crisis at their word and build broad alliances and coalitions to secure funding for the arts and culture on the grounds that health, education, research, and culture represent the future of developed economies.

REFERENCES

A CREATIVE FUTURE. THE WAY FORWARD FOR THE ARTS, CRAFTS AND MEDIA IN ENGLAND, 1993, Co-ordinated by the Arts Council of Great Britain on behalf of the English arts funding system, HSMO, London.

ADMICAL-CSA, 2011, Le mécénat d'entreprise en France en 2010, Paris, ADMICAL.

ALLINNE, Jean-Pierre and Carrier, Renaud (eds), 2010, La culture au risque du marché, le mécénat face à ses acteurs, Paris, L'Harmattan.

ANDERSON, Chris, 2006, The Long Tail: Why the Future of Business is Selling Less of More, New York, HYPERION.

ANDERSON, David, 1996, "L'expérience du musée Victoria and Albert", in Musées, gérer autrement, un regard international, edited by Jean-Michel Tobelem, La documentation française, Paris.

ANDERSON, David, 1999, A Common Wealth: Museums in the Learning Age, report to the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, The Stationery Office, London.

BALLÉ, Catherine et Poulot, Dominique, 2004, Musées en Europe, La Documentation française.

BENHAMOU, Françoise, 2012, L'économie du patrimoine, La découverte, Paris.

BERTHO-HUIDAL, Michelle, 2012, Charity Business. Le grand marché de la santé mondiale, Vendémiaire, Paris.

BROMWICH, James S., 1997, "Comparaison de politiques de marketing françaises et britanniques", in Marketing et musées, edited by Jean-Michel Tobelem, Publics et Musées, n° 11-12, Presses universitaires de Lyon, Lyon.

CALDWELL, N.G., 2000, The Emergence of Museum Brands, International Journal of Arts Management, vol. 2, n° 3, Spring.

CRÉATION ET DIVERSITÉ AU MIROIR DES INDUSTRIES CULTURELLES, 2006, Actes des journées d'économie de la culture, edited by Xavier Greffe, La documentation française, Paris.

CREATIVE INDUSTRY. GENERATING INCOME FOR MUSEUMS AND GALLERIES, 1999, Museums & Galleries Commission, London.

DE LA ROCHA-MILLE, Raymond, 2002, "Cultures et gestion des musées", in Politique et musées, Groupe de recherche sur les musées et le patrimoine (GRMP), L'Harmattan, Paris.

DOUSTALY Cécile, GRAY, Clive, 2010, "Labour and the Arts : Managing Transformation ?", "Nouvelle gestion publique et réforme des services publics sous le New Labour", Journal of Contemporary British Studies, n° 8, 319-338. http://osb.revues.org/953

DOUSTALY, Cécile, 2011, "Growing Similarities in Cultural policies and politics in Britain and in France", Teaching Visual Arts in the UK and in France: a Comparative Perspective, International Conference organised by the Courtauld Institute of Art, the French Institute, the French Embassy in London,

---

[1] Le Monde, 25 février 2012, quote translated from French.

and the Haut Conseil de l'éducation artistique et culturelle, 14-15 June 2010, Courtauld Institute, London.

FLEMING, David, 1996, "Le musée urbain : une nouvelle vocation culturelle", in Musées, gérer autrement, un regard international, edited by Jean-Michel Tobelem, La documentation française, Paris.

FOPP, Michael A., 1997, Managing Museums and Galleries, Routledge.

IVEY, Bill, 2008, Arts, Inc.: How Greed and Neglect Have Destroyed Our Cultural Rights, University of California Press, Berkeley.

LANG, Caroline, 2001, "Action éducative et amélioration de l'accessibilité des musées pour une diversification du public", in L'avenir des musées, edited by Jean Galard, 2001, Réunion des musées nationaux, musée du Louvre, Paris.

LEARNING TO LIVE. MUSEUMS, YOUNG PEOPLE AND EDUCATION, 2009, edited by Kate Bellamy and Carey Oppenheim, Institute for Public Policy Research and National Museum Directors' Conference, London.

LES MUSÉES NATIONAUX APRÈS UNE DÉCENNIE DE TRANSFORMATIONS (2000-2010), 2011, public report, Cour des comptes, Paris.

LES STRATÉGIES CULTURELLES POUR UN NOUVEAU MONDE, 2010, Actes du Forum d'Avignon. Culture, économie, médias, 2009, Gallimard, Paris.

LETTS, C. W., Ryan, W. P. & Grossman, A, 1999, High Performance Nonprofit Organizations. Managing Upstream for Greater Impact, Wiley Nonprofit Series.

LÉVY, Maurice and Jouyet, Jean-Pierre, 2006, L'économie de l'immatériel : la croissance de demain, ministère de l'Economie, des Finances et de l'Industrie, Paris.

LIVRE BLANC DES MUSÉES, 2011, Association Générale des Conservateurs des Collections Publiques de France (AGCCPF), Paris.

LONGMAN, Peter, 1996, "La Grande-Bretagne", in Musées, gérer autrement, un regard international, edited by Jean-Michel Tobelem, La documentation française, Paris.

LOSSELEY, David, 2011, "Le Royaume-Uni", in Histoire comparée des politiques culturelles, edited by Philippe Poirrier, La Documentation française, Paris.

MARTEL, Frédéric, 2006, De la culture en Amérique, Gallimard, Paris.

MARTEL, Frédéric, 2010, Mainstream, Flammarion, Paris.

MASON, B. S., 2000, "How the Royal Academy, Tate, British Museum and the National Gallery compete for US dollars", The Art Newspaper, 18 August 2000.

MISIURA, Shashi, 2006, Heritage marketing, Elsevier, Oxford.

MUSEUMS AND GALLERIES IN BRITAIN: ECONOMIC, CREATIVE AND SOCIAL IMPACTS, 2006, Report jointly commissioned the National Museum Directors' Council (NMDC) and the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA), London.

MUSEUMS DELIVER, 2010, National Museum Directors' Conference, London.

PETTIGREW, Andrew, 1997, "Le new public management conduit à un nouveau modèle hybride public-privé", in Public-privé, special issue, Revue française de gestion, 115, September-October 1997.

Private Giving for the Public Good, 2008, National Museum Directors' Conference, London.

REGOURD, Martine (ed), 2012, Musées en mutation. Un espace public à revisiter, L'Harmattan.

ROZIER, Sabine, 2010, "Mécènes et pouvoirs publics : des relations ambivalentes", in Politiques et pratiques de la culture (edited by Philippe Poirrier), Les notices, La Documentation française, Paris.

SAUMAREZ SMITH, Charles, 2001, "The Nation's Museums: Politics and Policies", Museum Management and Curatorship, vol. 19, n° 2, Pergamon, Elsevier.

SCHIFFRIN, André, 1999, L'édition sans éditeurs, La Fabrique éditions, Paris.

SCOTT, Carol, 2000, Branding: Positioning Museums in the 21st Century, International Journal of Arts Management, vol. 2, n° 3, Spring.

SELWOOD, Sara, 2010, Making a difference: the cultural impact of museums, National Museum Directors' Council (NMDC), London.

STEVENSON, Deborah, Rowe, David and McKay, Kieryn, 2010, "Convergence in British Cultural Policy: The Social, the Cultural, and the Economic", The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society, 40:4.

TAIT, Simon, 1989, Palaces of Discovery: The Changing World of Britain's Museums, Quiller Press, London.

TEMKINE, Raymonde, 1992, Le Théâtre en l'état, éditions théâtrales, Paris.

TOBELEM, Jean-Michel, 1990, Musées et culture, le financement à l'américaine, Presses Universitaires de Lyon, Lyon.

TOBELEM, Jean-Michel, 2010, Le nouvel âge des musées. Les institutions culturelles au défi de la gestion, Armand Colin, Paris [first edition 2005].

TOBELEM, Jean-Michel, 2011, Du mécénat au capital-risque philanthropique. La professionnalisation de la collecte de fonds dans les organisations culturelles, paper presented at the 11th conference on arts and cultural management (AIMAC 2011), Antwerp, Belgium, 3-6 July 2011.

TWITCHELL, J.B., 2004, Branded Nation. The Marketing of Megachurch, College, Inc., and Museumworld, Simon & Schuster.

VALUES AND VISION: THE CONTRIBUTION OF CULTURE, 2006, National Museum Directors' Conference, London.

WALLACE, M.A., 2006, Museum Branding, AltaMira Press, Lanham.

ZUNZ, Olivier, 2012, La philanthropie en Amérique, Fayard, Paris.

British and French Libraries facing the economic crisis [1]

Alexandre Massipe,
University of Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, France

ABSTRACT

In the context of the economic crisis that we have experienced since the fall of 2008, culture did not appear to be a priority for the British and French leaders. Having started before the financial downturn, the phenomenon of precarious situations for employees of cultural institutions and the constant call for private funds have since become the norm, including across libraries. Although France has not yet engaged in brutal and massive library shutdowns as has the United Kingdom, important changes regarding the status of workers, directly inspired by the American and British liberal models, have been progressively altering these institutions. Does this mean that the French model has tended to imitate, for budget reasons, the British model? Undoubtedly, it has. Therefore, when it comes to libraries, although the concept of "Big Society" established by David Cameron has had dramatic consequences in the United Kingdom, France has not turned a deaf ear to what "Big Society" has implied for libraries: doing more with less.

Keywords:

Library

Budget Cuts

Close

Privately

Job Security

"Libraries are a national service as well as a local facility – both aspects need recognition and the national dimension should not be lost in the Big Society or localism. They are part of England's national heritage bequeathed to us by the Victorians and ours must not be the generation that destroys this heritage. The vision of the Victorians has enriched subsequent generations and, refocused and energised, public libraries will continue to be a dynamic and vibrant part of society enriching, challenging and meeting the needs and aspirations of individuals and communities. We must all work to ensure that we develop an exciting and innovative public library service which not only serves the information and cultural needs of current people but is equipped to help future generations in their discovery and use of knowledge."[2]

Like the rest of the world, the French economy and the UK economy are facing an economic crisis that it is said to be "unparalleled". In such a context of economic austerity, all budgets were brought down and the arts were not a priority anymore. Worse, the imperatives of profitability started taking over. The consequence was that libraries had to drastically reduce their costs (with librarians dismissed, opening hours reduced…). Thus, the situation of libraries in the UK appeared to be extremely worrying at the end of 2011. In France, if one did not expect mass closures as in the UK, more changes are to be expected in personnel status. So the main questions are: how has the liberal model been applied in the field of culture in those two countries? What are the forms of resistance against the closures and the cuts faced by British and French libraries? What are the new forms or the new possibilities to reinvent the library in times of economic crisis?

First of all, it's important to have a brief overview on the history of libraries in the UK and then in France, especially as UK libraries have always been a model for French libraries.

English public libraries were created in 1850, but it was in the late nineteenth century that the revolutionary concept of free access by James Duff Brown, a librarian, after a trip to the United States. Around the same time, children libraries were opened. In the twentieth century, the 1929 crisis and World War II have had contrasted effects on libraries: drastic cuts associated with an increase in attendance. Then, there was a steady growth in the number of libraries until the middle of 1973 when the economic crisis led to spending restraint. The 1980s neoliberal policies introduced by the governments of Margaret Thatcher severely affected libraries.

In France, revolutionary seizures of 1789 were critical for French public libraries. Libraries were oriented towards heritage, and very often inaccessible to the public. It was only at the beginning of the twentieth century that the Anglo-American view of the "public library" became increasingly influential.

But French libraries budgeted carelessly, squandering premises, and were understaffed with scarcely trained employees. In 1946, for instance, only about one hundred people visited the public library of Bordeaux for a population of 253 000 inhabitants. After the WWII, the situation started to change and some large libraries were created in nationwide before blossoming between 1982-1988 as budgets were multiplied by three and the surface doubled.
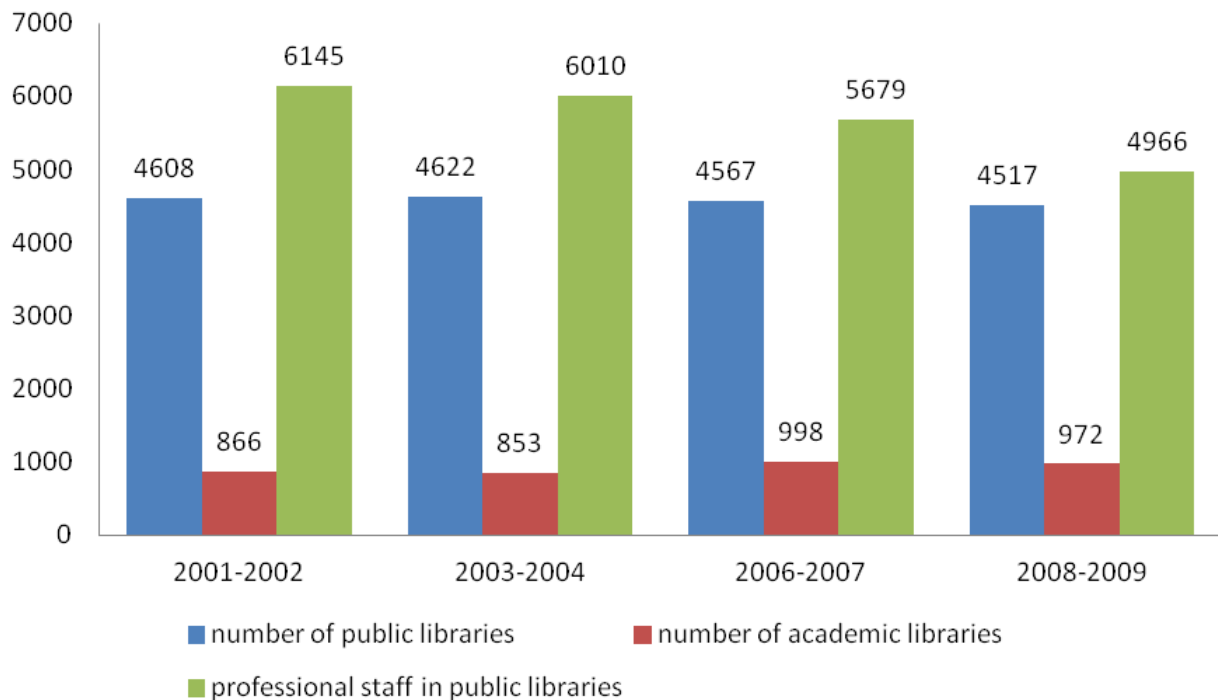
Nowadays, it should be noted that although the situation is very worrying in the U.K, in France it is less critical. While in France budgets for culture have been only marginally affected by the economic crisis, in the UK drastic cuts were made. Moreover, one can wonder whether the economic crisis is not just a convenient excuse to lower the budget allocated to culture in the UK. Indeed, the closing down of libraries had begun before the economic crisis of 2008:

"The Victorian ideal of the public library as a bastion of culture and learning providing universal access to knowledge is under threat after months of closures, chronic staff cuts and book shortages.[3]

Margaret Hodge, the minister responsible for libraries, has conceded that a net 40 libraries have been closed in the past year. In the West Midlands, Dudley council revealed plans to shut five, prompting Ms Hodge to step in to ask how the needs of residents could be met, although she admitted there was little she could do to prevent the closures going ahead."

---

[2] http://www.cilip.org.uk/get-involved/advocacy/public-libraries/Documents/cilip-statement-revd-0211%20_2_.pdf, accessed July 15th, 2013.
[3] "Anger at library cuts as ministers admit 40 have closed this year", December 31st, 2007, The Independent.

Source: These figures are taken from LISU's UK Statistics: http://www.lboro.ac.uk/microsites/infosci/lisu/lisu-statistics/lisu-uk-library-statistics.pdf

Moreover, in an article "Living on borrowed time" published in 2004 in The Guardian, the author Will Hutton summed up his view on Tim Coates's report (for the library charity Libri):

"[Coates] wants expenditure on books trebled and libraries to become welcoming places, increasing the number of hours they are open by half; he would rather have fewer expensive professional librarians and cheaper semi-skilled staff so libraries can stay open longer. He wants performance management introduced into libraries, with libraries run by a single manager - rather than management being split many ways, as at present - accountable to local councilors dedicated to overseeing library improvement. He calls for a revolution in library design; everything about them should be about access and pleasure. And because he recognises change is difficult for those at the receiving end, he wants a major investment in human resources management to ease the transition."[4]

Similarly, for the well-known novelist Will Self, who campaigned against cuts to his local library in Lambeth, south London, "Libraries are the bedrock of literate culture. It's bad the way libraries are forced to compete with Waterstones and Borders with cafes and DVD rentals. The internet has become a stick to beat library loans with"[5]. The economic crisis has affected cultural budgets significantly (50% drop in arts budget in 2011). Nowadays, because of budget cuts within municipal councils, more than 500 libraries will close over the next four years in Great Britain in an attempt to save 400 million Euros. In other words, 1 out of 10 British Library is threatened with closure because of austerity measures and 6,000 librarian positions will be eliminated by 2015 (1,000 workers have already been laid off between 2009 and 2010 and will be replaced by volunteers). Even the prestigious British Library has been impacted by austerity measures, although it has still been quite largely spared as it is seen as a national showcase.

It is then worth asking what the philosophy behind these decisions is. First of all, KPMG's report[6] proposes new ways of managing public services in Britain which can be summarized in three words: outsourcing, privatization and volunteerism. This text is very clear on the new ways to follow:

"A "local big state" is no more desirable than a "central big state". Local government should seek to devolve to the most local level possible and to encourage communities to take over

---

[4] http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2004/may/02/museums.news, accessed July 15th, 2013.
[5] "Anger at library cuts as ministers admit 40 have closed this year", December 31st, 2007, The Independent.
[6] KPMG is a global network of professional firms providing Audit, Advisory and Tax services.

services. One example would be libraries. Libraries face funding challenges – in that they are more discretionary than other services, usage has declined, the unit cost of lending a book can be more expensive than the wholesale price of a book and customers have new book and information media and services (e.g. Amazon, social networking sites, etc). The level of community resistance to closing a library is usually disproportionate to the level of local usage, because communities believe that a local library belongs to them, not the council, and they believe in the future potential of the library to do great things. Devolution can allow new ideas to develop. For example – in North America libraries are often run by volunteers not paid council staff, whilst in the UK charity shops often have waiting lists of volunteers wanting to help them with book sales; much of the public space in a library is badly used storing infrequently used books; e-government has put libraries on line, but they still focus on a buildings based service; too many community groups are spending scarce resource on premises; where some councils have handed the library back to the community, they have often turned it into a much more vibrant community organisation and space. Giving councils total freedom on libraries could mean that they create huge social value from engaging a community in running its own library, backed up with some modern technology, whilst also saving large amounts of money on over-skilled paid staff, poor use of space and unnecessary stock."[7]

Replacing librarians with volunteers directly inspired the concept of "Big Society" that David Cameron developed a few weeks later. What KPMG was missing, however, was that it being reduced the valuable work of librarians to book-lending whereas the actual lending of books has been a very small part of their work.

Of course, these massive library closures do not go without any objection from the local population who use all means at their disposal to protest against the dismantling of public services (events, media...). For example, on the 5th and 6th February 2011, worried opponents to the project took part in a "read-in" at several libraries across South London: "At one library in south London the event has turned into an all

-night sit-in involving about 35 protesters"[8]. A few authors like Philip Pullman or Mark Haddon were present during these sit-ins. These demonstrations have continued along with the announcement of more libraries closure: for example, on the 4th April 2011, protesters marched to save Suffolk Libraries[9]. By 2013, the CILIP (Chartered Institute of Library and Information Professionals) entitled an article "Public Libraries – Is the worst yet to come?"

"Over 2,000 staff posts have been removed and 3,000 opening hours a week cut from public library services, the Chartered Institute of Library & Information Professionals estimates in a new report. The survey of local authorities in England, Wales and Northern Ireland for the financial year 2011-12 gives the most up to date picture of the state of public library services. CILIP estimates that this financial year 2,159 posts will be deleted from a total of 20,924 staff, a 10% cut in staffing. Twenty-five per cent of the lost posts are at a professional level."

Phil Bradley, President of CILIP, considered that the situation was extremely serious:

"We understand that public libraries cannot be immune from cuts but we are seriously concerned that in some local authorities these are disproportionate and that the local communities will suffer. Libraries provide a unique local service and the people who work in them are part of the community, supporting local families and children, learners and students, older and disadvantaged people. Where changes are implemented on a disproportionate scale and without a plan for continued support, those communities."[10]

In order to defend the English libraries, best-selling author Philip Pullman wrote a text entitled "Leave the libraries alone. You don't understand their value":

"Market fundamentalism, this madness that's infected the human race, is like a greedy ghost that haunts the boardrooms and council chambers and committee rooms from which the world is run these days […] The greedy ghost is everywhere. That office block isn't making enough money: tear it down and put up a block of flats. The flats

[7] http://www.kpmg.co.uk/pubs/204000%20Payment%20For%20Success%20Access.pdf , accessed July 15th, 2013.
[8] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-12367392, accessed July 15th, 2013.
[9] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-suffolk-12959834, accessed July 15th, 2013.
[10] http://www.cilip.org.uk/news-media/pages/news120316.aspx, accessed July 15th, 2013.

aren't making enough money: rip them apart and put up a hotel. The hotel isn't making enough money: smash it to the ground and put up a multiplex cinema. The cinema isn't making enough money: demolish it and put up a shopping mall."

Few lines below, he added:

"One final memory, this time from just a couple of years ago: I was trying to find out where all the rivers and streams ran in Oxford, for a book I'm writing called The Book of Dust. I went to the Central Library and there, with the help of a clever member of staff, I managed to find some old maps that showed me exactly what I wanted to know, and I photocopied them, and now they are pinned to my wall where I can see exactly what I want to know." [11]

Of course, there are also people who support the austerity measures taken by the government. For example the conservative newspaper "The Telegraph" published an article entitled "Philip Pullman's defence of public libraries is a perfect example of what's wrong with Left-wing politics" (January 31st, 2011) in which journalist Daniel Knowles arguing that austerity measures affecting libraries were necessary:

"Philip Pullman is an excellent novelist and I can understand his emotional desire to leap to the defence of public libraries. But unfortunately, when it comes to spending taxpayers' money, an emotional defence is not enough. Every penny of public money spent matters to someone – but we still need to make cuts. As Dan Hannan argued last month, being opposed to public spending on libraries is not the same as being opposed to libraries. Similarly, civic decency is not the same thing as getting the taxpayer to pay for what you think is decent. Philip Pullman and his Left-wing cheerleaders need to realise that." [12]

Before talking about French libraries, it's very important to say a word on university libraries because their situation is not good either. Indeed, the shrinking university budgets have had a negative impact on university libraries:

"The news for British universities is particularly bad: excluding research support, which will remain flat, the amount of money going to higher education in England will decline by 40 percent over the next four years, from 7.1 billion pounds (about $11-billion) to 4.2 billion pounds (about $6.6-billion). Universities in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, which are financed from different budgets, are also likely to face significant cuts.

The research budget will be frozen at 4.6 billion pounds (about $7.3-billion), "to ensure the UK remains a world leader in science and research," the review said." [13]

In France, the situation for culture is less tense than in the UK but theatres are finding it hard to complete their season, museums and libraries resort to the massive use of insecure and precarious jobs. So, in France, the impact of budget tightening is different from the UK. First of all, private financing has been developing fast in France since 2008 (notably in institutions like the National Library of France (BnF), the Louvre Museum…), when it was marginal before the economic crisis. The French model closely follows its British counterpart when it comes to the dismantling of the status of library staff, resulting in an increasingly precarious situation. This implies that the directors of DDS (Document Delivery Service: Common Documentation for Universities) are no longer necessarily curators who have received specialist training. At the same time, student employment is growing quickly in academic and public libraries wishing to extend their opening hours at a lower cost, but providing readers with lower quality services.

If the brutality of the British austerity leading to massive library closures is still unseen in France, we can notice that the liberal spirit increasingly guides policy making in the field of culture. The "Books Treasure", a resource centre for children's literature (80 000 books) located in Seine Saint-Denis closed its doors in December 2010. Originally co-financed by the city of Bobigny and by the General Council of Seine Saint-Denis, it stands as an early victim of the austerity period that we are living. On the website of "Books Treasure", the following message was posted on December 2010: "After 22 years serving the public reading in Seine-Saint-Denis and development of children's literature, Books Treasure ceases operation at the end of this month" [14]. The protestations against this closure (exemplified by a blog of support against

---

[11] http://falseeconomy.org.uk/blog/save-oxfordshire-libraries-speech-philip-pullman, accessed July 15th, 2013.

[12] http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/news/danielknowles/100074070/philip-pullmans-defence-of-public-libraries-is-a-perfect-example-of-whats-wrong-with-left-wing-politics/, accessed July 15th, 2013.

[13] Article entitled British Universities Will See Budget Cuts of 40% Under National Austerity Plan, by Aisha Labi and Beth McMurtrie, The Chronicle of Higher Education, October 22nd, 2010.

[14] This blog doesn't exist anymore.

the closure of the resource center[15]) were numerous but it was not enough. Another case is Morland's library in Paris. This library was dedicated to municipal officials and it closed in January 2012. The main reason given by the town hall was the weak activity of this library. While figures may support this, it was also an opportunity to cut corners easily as closing a library dedicated to municipal officials is easier, because it gets less public exposure, than closing a public library.[16]

Luckily, in France, more and more libraries are opening. For example, the Louise Michel library in the twentieth arrondissement of Paris opened at the beginning of 2011. This library is 6500 sq. ft. and opens 35 hours a week. Moreover, it is located in the heart of a working-class neighbourhood. It has won the sought-after library award given by "Livres Hebdo", the most important French librarian magazine. Another example is the new library in La Duchère, Lyon[17]. Integrated into the life of the borough with regular entertainment and the provision of an audio-video room, it offers a digital space that provides access to Internet and allows the access of number bases by all. The classic rooms and youth rooms are also equipped with computers and free Internet access. As for the Louise Michel library, La Duchère library is also in a working-class neighbourhood. This illustrates how nowadays a library is both a tool for social diversity and for economic revitalization. Consequently, it seems that closing numerous libraries in times of economic crisis were counter-productive.

A lot of things are changing in the field of university libraries where the economic crisis seems to have had a boosting effect. Indeed, politicians have decided that the best way to fight the economic crisis was to invest in higher education and consequently in university libraries! The most important example is the opening of the BULAC (civilisations and languages university library) in the Parisian's thirteenth district at the end of 2011:

"With its prime setting and half a million documents in 350 languages, the three levels totaling 6,000 square meters and its hundreds of employees, he may claim the third largest library in France, behind the National and University Library of Strasbourg (UNSO) and the neighboring national Library of France (BNF) (...) the Bulac is also the largest university site led by the Regional Council of Ile de France, which has invested 55 million euros, or 68% of the amount necessary to complete the project construction."[18]

So in university libraries, innovations are very important as the concept of "Learning Center" is changing their identity. The best example is the "Rolex Learning Center" in Lausanne. In France, the university library of Angers received the Innovation Award by "Livre Hebdo" in 2011 for the quality of its spaces and presence in digital networks. This library created "in the box", a collection of screencasts which scripted the tool operations and the online environment (databases, electronic journals, OPAC...).

If the overall state of libraries is not altogether dark, it is essential to examine opportunities for the public libraries to overcome financial difficulties, especially as these may outlive the economic crisis. So, what are the other options for these libraries in difficult times? Are the Idea Stores, created in order to change the perception of libraries, a solution? The first Idea Store opened in 2002 in Towers Hamlets, one of the most disadvantaged areas in London. An Idea Store has several characteristics. First, the concept of the Idea Store is to break the codes of public-service corporation and adopt those which belong to marketing. Secondly, in an Idea Store the customer is king, that is to say that books are chosen according to the different communities who live in the area. Lastly, multimedia is very important. The following web page presentation of the Whitechapel Idea Store presenting the different services typically offered in an Idea Store:

"Idea Store Whitechapel - the borough's flagship library, learning and information service - opened on Thursday 22 September 2005. The store offers the fullest range of services:

▪ A large collection of books, CDs and DVDs

▪ An extensive range of newspapers and magazines

▪ A dedicated reference and information library

▪ A children's library

▪ A café

▪ Free Internet access

▪ A range of state-of-the-art learning spaces and classrooms

▪ A daycare for the children of learners

▪ Specialist spaces for teaching dance and complementary therapies"[19]

However, for French people, one question remains: are Idea Stores still libraries? Then, is the use of private funds for libraries a good solution? In

---

[15] http://soutienlivresautresor.over-blog.com/, accessed July 15th, 2013.

[16] http://www.actualitte.com/actualite/monde-edition/bibliotheques/fin-de-partie-pour-la-bibliotheque-de-morland-30581.htm, accessed July 15th, 2013.

[17] http://www.bm-lyon.fr/pratique/bibliotheques/bib9duchere.htm, accessed July 15th, 2013.

[18] http://www.iledefrance.fr/fil-actus-region/bulac-autre-bibliotheque-du-13e-arrondissement, accessed July 15th, 2013.

[19] http://www.ideastore.co.uk/en/articles/libraries_your_local_idea_store_library_idea_store_whitechapel, accessed July 15th, 2013.

fact, this type of financing is quite common in the United States and seems to develop in France (6% of the budget of the National French Library (BNF) is already derived from sponsorship). However, in times of austerity, resorting to private companies or individuals may not be very wise, as donations will drop if company budgets are tightened.

French and British contexts are therefore similar, but policies differ. The cultural political action of the British government has been generally harmful to British libraries. In France, the situation is more and more worrying but not as much as in the UK. Whether in the UK or France, libraries are nowadays at the crossroads. Even if the economic crisis has stopped library growth, it is not the only factor in the equation. Indeed, libraries are facing an identity crisis, as is shown by the decline in library loans (-10% between 2005 and 2010 in the UK). In France, the study of Olivier Donnat "French Cultural Practices in the Era of Digital" published in 2010 showed a halt in the French libraries attendance. For a big part, this halt is due to the competition from other media like internet (with the web 2.0), Ipad, EBooks... This disaffection is a vital reason for this identity crisis.

So the main question is: what will the book world be like in the medium term? Are new technologies making libraries useless? Nowadays, everyone considers that a smart phone amounts to having a library in the pocket. But, it is more a fantasy than a reality. Consequently, the most important action has to be in educating the population because if an EBook is useful, the most important is to be able to use it properly. For example, to be able to find some good information, to be able to use one's critical thinking or being able to make the difference between quality or poor blogs or articles. Nowadays the mediation is becoming the most important part of the role of librarians. Without this mediation and with the increasing competition of new media, libraries are doomed to disappear. This disappearance would be tragic because it would mean the death of a free public space where people can search and exchange freely.

REFERENCES

ALIX, Yves (dir.) ; Association des bibliothécaires de France. Le métier de bibliothécaire. Paris : Cercle de la Librairie, 2010 (12ème éd.), 454 p.

BERTAND, Anne-Marie (dir). Horizon 2019 : bibliothèques en prospective. Villeurbanne : Presses de l'Enssib, 2011, 111 p.

BERTRAND, Anne-Marie. Les Bibliothèques. Paris : La Découverte, 2007 (3ème éd.), 120 p.

MARESCA, Bruno. Les Bibliothèques municipales en France après le tournant Internet. Attractivité, fréquentation et devenir. Paris : Bibliothèque publique d'information - Centre Pompidou, 2007, 283 p.

MELOT, Michel. La sagesse du bibliothécaire. Paris : L'Œil neuf, 2004. Collection Sagesse d'un métier. 109 p.

MOLLIER, Jean-Yves (dir). Où va le livre ? : édition 2007-2008. Paris : La Dispute, 2007 (3e éd.), 392 p.

PALLIER, Denis. Les Bibliothèques. Paris : Presses universitaires de France, coll. Que sais-je?, 2010. - 1 vol. (12e éd. corr.), 127 p.

POULAIN, Martine. Les bibliothèques publiques en Europe. Paris : Cercle de la Librairie, Collection Bibliothèques, 1992, 367 p.

RAMONATXO, Ophelia. Le "cas" des bibliothèques britanniques. Villeurbanne : BBF (Le Bulletin des Bibliothèques de France), Avril 2011, t. 56, n°2.

"SOS BIBLIOTHÈQUES !", Le Monde des Livres, Cahier du Monde n° 20725, vendredi 9 septembre 2011, p. 9.