Recondita armonia –
A reflection on the function of culture in building citizenship capacity

A study prepared for the Council of Europe

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Abstract

Cultural participation can enhance the understanding of the citizens and increase their capacity for effective collective action. The cultural participation of citizens functions as a form of continuous education as well as an ongoing negotiation of the collective solutions to the contingencies of life. This paper sets out a concept of what culture is in all its dimensions (patterns of everyday living, traditions, arts, and heritage) and how those dimensions interact to produce the conceptual tools members of society need to negotiate their life situations. It explores the way in which the appropriation of those conceptual tools produces social effects that lead to an enhanced citizenship capacity, making culture a strategic good and culture as citizenship a major policy focus. Then it reviews evidence from a broad range of literature to establish the extent to which the social effects of culture posited have been recognised and verified. The paper concludes with an assessment of traditional types of cultural policies to see what implications these new insights into the social effects of culture would have, particularly in terms of the policy goal of increasing citizenship capacity, social cohesion and inclusion.

Keywords: definition of culture, social effects of culture, impact of culture, citizenship capacity, continuous learning, function of heritage, function of the arts.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to explore the social effects of culture and hence how cultural participation can contribute to citizenship capacity in modern, democratic societies. It is a preliminary examination of how culture in its many facets can enhance the understanding of the citizens of a state and increase their capacity for effective collective action. The cultural participation of citizens functions as a form of continuous education as well as an ongoing negotiation of collective solutions to the contingencies of life. Members of a society who are excluded from this continuous education and ongoing negotiation are thereby prevented from exercising full citizenship.

The hypothesis that culture has social effects rests on the notion that a culture can best be understood as the set of symbolic and conceptual tools that members of a society need in order to interpret the reality surrounding them and to develop strategies for dealing with life's contingencies (anything from personal questions like how to raise their children to political questions such as whether to oppose new immigration into the country.) Society's set of conceptual tools may be empowering, allowing all citizens to negotiate fair terms for themselves in their relationships to others, or they may be disabling, imposing the strategies and options of a dominant group. For a state to function as a democracy, it is necessary that all citizens of the state be able to influence the policies of the state more or less as equals (or at least have some power to protect themselves from the tyranny of special interests), and this means having the conceptual tools to imagine positions beneficial to themselves and to negotiate with other citizens (through, for example, elections) to realise those positions. Political power, therefore, consists in a surprisingly large part of citizens having access to the culture and a role in shaping it.[1]

It follows that the more culturally diverse a society is, the richer is the set of conceptual tools available to its citizens, providing that the diversity is widely shared. A society filled with warring factions who do not recognise the validity of each other's interpretations of reality, let alone the legitimacy of their positions on issues of mutual interest, is

not a diverse society. Rather it is several rather closed and narrow-minded societies all competing for the same space.

It also follows that introducing diversity too quickly can cause confusion and conflict. Paradoxically, it is precisely cultural diversity (as a sophisticated understanding of how the world works) that enables us to cope with increasing cultural diversity (as new ideas of how the world works flooding in upon us). Too much diversity is destabilizing, but too little leaves a society vulnerable to subsequent cultural flows which, in the age of electronics and globalisation, appear to most observers as inevitable.[2]

Providing citizens with new conceptual tools to equip them better to understand their world (changing or not) is the social role of culture understood as the creative arts. Artists make it their explicit business to challenge and remake the governing orthodoxies of society. The new ideas from the arts tend to be presented in entertaining and attractive ways and so little specialist knowledge is required to appropriate them (at least in the case of popular culture). In fact, when the arts require specialist knowledge for appropriation, this is often a sign of an elite trying to impose a dominant culture by denying others access. Access to and participation in the arts, that is, access to new conceptual tools, is an important part of citizenship capacity in a democracy.

Giving citizens sufficient conceptual stability and self confidence to appropriate change without becoming confused and feeling threatened is the role of heritage. Heritage "curators" (from the Latin for those who care) make it their explicit business to interpret the cultural past of a society. They do this in order to establish or preserve a governing orthodoxy of understanding and action for society. They often make it accessible in the same entertaining and attractive ways that artists use. Access to and participation in heritage (not only attending museums but actively negotiating its meaning) is also an important part of citizenship capacity in a democracy.

Is there any empirical evidence for these contentions? The answer is no and yes. Several observers have noted that we have very little in the way of data on the social effects of culture, having concentrated our efforts to date on economic data. There is some evidence however that

cultural participation correlates with forms of civic participation, and tends to promote social cohesion. A variety of case studies have shown that participation in cultural activities has equipped people for a more influential role in the development of their communities and has made them more tolerant of interaction with others of differing ethnicity. They also demonstrate the effects of the arts and creative expression on understanding and identity formation. Artists, of course, have long recognised it as their mission to influence how people perceive the world. They have argued that the role of art is to challenge the way that people perceive the world and to provide new, and better ways of understanding and dealing with it. Finally, a considerable amount of policy development all across the world, especially in Europe and North America, has had as its explicit aim to shape the society it is responsible for, to create or modify national identity, to promote various forms of public action, and to influence values. Based on this evidence, there can be little doubt that culture matters for collective action and citizenship. We are only now starting to discover to how great an extent it matters.

Does this mean that traditional cultural policy is obsolete in our culturally diverse democracies and must be abandoned in favour of citizenship empowerment and tolerance policies? Not at all. Traditional cultural policies (e.g. state sponsored broadcasting, broadcasting regulation, support to cultural industries, protection of cultural treasures, support to artists, etc.) have all served useful purposes and have added to the diversity of a society's cultural tool-kit. (They have also, of course, been used to limit ideas and diversity and establish hegemonic culture.) However, in the light of our developing understanding of the externalities created by culture, and their contribution to citizenship and community building capacities, we might be able to modify cultural policies to maximise the benefits we seek and minimise the constraints created. The emphasis of cultural policy needs to shift from protection of core social understandings to building capacity in citizens to enable them to participate in negotiating change in those understandings.

Culture is not entertainment: it is capacity. Furthermore, while the encounter with culture is essentially an individual activity, it changes the individual in public ways. The justification for the state to provide

culture as a merit good may be diminishing (if it ever was very strong), but the justification for the state to promote cultural participation as citizenship capacity building is stronger than ever in an increasingly diversifying and evolving world.

The first part of this paper sets out a concept of what culture is in all its dimensions (patterns of everyday living, traditions, arts, and heritage) and how those dimensions interact to produce the conceptual tools members of society need to negotiate their life situations. The second part explores the way in which the appropriation of those conceptual tools produces social effects that lead to an enhanced citizenship capacity. The third part reviews evidence from a broad range of literature to establish the extent to which the social effects of culture posited have been recognised and verified. This part examines quantitative evidence, case studies of specific cultural programme interventions, particularly at the community level, assertions from artists themselves about what they think they do, and "evidence" from the policy objectives of a variety of countries across Europe that are attempting to produce the kinds of results that we are talking about. The fourth part consists of an assessment of traditional types of cultural policies to see what implications the model of social effects would have, particularly in terms of the policy goal of increasing citizenship capacity, social cohesion and inclusion. The paper concludes with some recommendations for activities the Council of Europe could undertake to raise awareness of the social effects of culture and to assist member states in promoting those effects. An appendix presents some ideas for the collection of indicators of the social effect of culture, to use as empirical evidence for the model and to evaluate policy effects. The appendix also presents information on the European year of citizenship 2005, which provided the framework for the present study.

I. What is culture?[3]

Too many definitions

In order to start talking about the social effects of culture and how culture contributes to creating citizenship capacity, it is necessary to have a clear idea of what culture is. Unfortunately, there are a bewildering variety of definitions for what Raymond Williams has called "one of the three most difficult concepts in the English language."[4] In fact, in 1952, Kroeber and Kluckhohn documented 164 different definitions of culture.[5]

In 1871, Sir Edward Tylor defined culture as "...that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."[6] A long line of scholars from Franz Boas and Max Weber to Claude Levi Strauss and Clifford Geertz followed with variations on this theme.[7] These definitions can all be summed up in the now famous UNESCO definition:

> In its widest sense, culture may now be said to be the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterise a society or group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human beings, value systems, traditions and beliefs.[8]

Ann Swidler, in *Talk of Love*[9] explores how people use "the whole complex of spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features" to shape their modes of life. She demonstrates these uses by examining how people have made decisions about love and marriage. Her suggestion about how to understand culture is:

> Perhaps we do best to think of culture as a repertoire, like that of an actor, a musician, or a dancer. This image suggests that culture cultivates skills and habits in its users, so that one can be more or less good at the cultural repertoire one performs, and that such cultured capacities may exist both as discrete skills, habits, and

orientations and, in larger assemblages, like the pieces a musician has mastered or the plays an actor has performed. It is in this sense that people have an array of cultural resources upon which they can draw.[10]

She goes on to describe how individuals call upon their cultural repertoire to provide understandings of the world around them and to determine how they should act on those understandings.

> People use culture to learn how to be, or become, particular kinds of persons. Such self-forming utilizes symbolic resources provided by the wider culture. Through experience with symbols, people learn desires, moods, habits of thought, and feelings that no one person could invent on her own. Symbols also provide people continuing access to their inner lives – awakening, stimulating, or heightening capacities for judgement and sensibility. Culture equips persons for action by both shaping their internal capacities and by helping them to bring those capacities to bear in particular situations.[11]

Elsewhere, she talks of culture as a tool kit of beliefs, practices, understandings and modes of behaviour from which actors select different pieces for constructing strategies of action to deal with the manifold situations they face in everyday life.[12]

Appadurai echoes this view when, in talking about the role of culture in helping collectivities to overcome poverty, he calls culture "the capacity to aspire."

> ...it is in culture that ideas of the future, as much as of those about the past, are embedded and nurtured... in strengthening the capacity to aspire, conceived of as a cultural capacity... the poor could find the resources required to contest and alter the conditions of their own poverty.[13]

From Tylor to Swidler and Appadurai then, we have come to think of culture as the meanings, understandings, interpretations and symbolic resources people use to make sense of the world around them, determine their options, and chart courses of action. The culture that

Tylor defines as ".. that complex whole..." is the observable result of Swidler's actors performing their repertoire. Let us refer to this perspective on culture as "social repertoire," or "patterns of living." The first formulation reflects what the phenomenon looks like from the personal point of view. The second reflects what it looks like when one is observing society as a whole (such as an anthropologist might). Both formulations will be used in this paper, depending on the point of view that is being referenced.

About the same time that Tylor was writing, the poet Matthew Arnold defined culture as "the best which has been thought or said in the world."[14] He thereby articulated a justification for the 19th century development of museums, monuments, national historic sites, public libraries and archives, all institutions built to satisfy the passions of the time for the social status to be earned by being civilized or "cultivated". Indeed, Tylor himself started his definition quoted above by saying "Culture *or civilization*... is that complex whole..." (Italics added). Arnold was reflecting a perspective on culture which reached back at least to Goethe. More recently, scholars like Bourdieu have taken up Arnold's concept, if only to debunk the elite's use of such culture as a tool to enhance and maintain their positions of power in society.[15] This view also sees culture as a set of meanings, understandings, interpretations, and symbolic resources, but emphasises the received nature of those resources. They are inherited from the past, and particularly the past that has stood the test of time. Not everything is cultured and civilized: only those symbolic resources that have somehow been consecrated by authority (the academically expert, the religiously revered, the politically or economically powerful). In this view, there is right and wrong. The view implies that there is a canon of understanding that is distilled from the past, the heritage of excellence in past human intellectual and artistic achievement that is somehow superior to vulgar or everyday understanding, and so should guide action in the present. Let us refer to this perspective on culture as "heritage."

Of course, behind heritage lurks tradition, the vast collective memory of how society has used its repertoire in the past to solve the day to day problems, large and small, that it faces. Each time anyone uses his repertoire to understand a social situation or elaborate a strategy of

action, he either reaffirms what was known before, or creates a little variation or adaptation. To the extent that the variation is shared with others and accepted by them, he is adding to society's collective memory of beliefs, customs, habits and modes of life. This perspective on culture will be referred to as "tradition".

It is also collective memory that social authorities draw on to construct a heritage. However, since collective memory or tradition is much more diffuse, and held by each of us in slightly different versions, the authorities, to be consistent, must impose some editorial order on it. Given the nature of human beings, they will reflect their values and beliefs when doing this, either in an attempt to be ethical and accurate (their supporters' view) or in an attempt to impose an agenda (their detractors' view).

There is yet another perspective on culture to consider. Alberta Arthurs (among many others) expresses it in her concern that "these discoveries of the importance of culture seem to exclude the most familiar use of the word – that is, the arts as culture."[16] This is culture as artists and creators view it. Arthurs points out that the UNESCO definition quoted above contains the telling phrase "...not only arts and letters..." as if saying that to take culture seriously, we must define the arts out of it. This flies in the face of common sense usage as well as various dictionary definitions such as that provided by the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* which defines culture as, "the arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement..."[17] Culture in this sense is widely used to designate such concepts as cultural industries (cinema, book publishing, etc.), cultural institutions (the Bolshoi Ballet, the Berlin Philharmonic, La Scala, etc.), as well as cultural activity (writing novels and poetry, performing music, acting, etc.) Raymond Williams gives us the same perspective in his definition of culture as "the special processes of discovery and creative effort."[18] This view stresses the creation of meanings and symbolic resources and its active consumption by audiences. We will refer to this perspective on culture as "the arts".

We now have four ways to understand culture:

1. culture as repertoire or patterns of everyday living;
2. culture as tradition (the collective memory of beliefs, values, customs to be respected, habits to be observed);
3. culture as heritage (the authoritative interpretation of tradition); and,
4. culture as the arts.

Can these four perspectives be reconciled?

Culture as meaning

Williams provides a clue to how to reconcile the perspectives in the full passage from which his comment cited above was taken:

> Culture is ordinary: that is the first fact. Every human society has its own shape, its own purposes, its own meanings. Every human society expresses these, in institutions, and in arts and learning. The making of a society is the finding of common meanings and directions, and its growth is an active debate and amendment under the pressures of experience, contact, and discovery, writing themselves into the land. The growing society is there, yet it is also made and remade in every individual mind. The making of a mind is, first, the slow learning of shapes, purposes, and meanings, so that work, observation and communication are possible. Then, second, but equal in importance, is the testing of these in experience, the making of new observations, comparisons, and meanings. A culture has two aspects: the known meanings and directions, which its members are trained to; the new observations and meanings, which are offered and tested. These are the ordinary processes of human societies and human minds, and we see through them the nature of a culture: that it is always both traditional and creative; that it is both the most ordinary common meanings and the finest individual meanings. We use the word culture in these two senses: to mean a whole way of life – the common meanings; to mean the arts and learning – the special

processes of discovery and creative effort. Some writers reserve the word for one or other of these senses; I insist on both, and on the significance of their conjunction. The questions I ask about our culture are questions about deep personal meanings. Culture is ordinary, in every society and in every mind.[19]

Williams is referring to culture as social repertoire when he says, "The making of a society is the finding of common meanings and directions..." and "...a whole way of life." This is culture as Ann Swidler's tool-kit, which every individual in a society needs "so that work, observation and communication are possible." Culture as social repertoire is obtained through "the slow learning of shapes, purposes, and meanings," from society's traditions. Culture as tradition is like an original document on a computer file, of which culture as social repertoire is a copy, made so that everyone in each new generation can have his or her own copy to use, and which later becomes updated as the inevitable modifications occur during use.

This would be but a static world if it were left there, with traditions forever being replicated in the minds of younger generations more or less as their parents had received it, and with the slow adaptation of new habits as the only source of change. Williams model is dynamic, however. He says society's "growth is an active debate and amendment under the pressures of experience, contact, and discovery, writing themselves into the land." This requires "the making of new observations, comparisons, and meanings" a process he takes "to mean the arts and learning – the special processes of discovery and creative effort". There appears to be a natural tendency in societies, at least in large ones we call civilizations, for a group to arise which makes its living creating and propagating new and challenging ideas about how we should relate to our world and to each other. This group uses entertainment, novelty, shock, spectacle, drama and metaphor to catch our attention and render its ideas attractive and accessible. It takes inspiration from tradition and from trends and patterns of behaviour in culture as repertoire (often before the rest of us are even aware of them) to develop its new ideas. Those of its ideas which find acceptance among the members of society get passed eventually into the tradition or even into heritage. We call this group artists.

Leslie Fiedler, the American critic, is reflecting this understanding of the artist's role when he characterises all literature as subversive.[20]

For Ernst Cassirer, "Aesthetic experience begins with a sudden change in my frame of mind. I begin to look at the landscape not with the eye of a mere spectator but with an artist's eye". It is this dynamic character of aesthetic experience that "gives to art its special place in human culture and makes it an essential and indispensable element in the system of liberal education."[21]

Fleischacker argues that the aesthetic experience is closely connected to both moral judgment and the practical reasoning that individuals use in interpreting their life experiences. He claims that these faculties, taken together, are the means by which individuals most fully express their freedom and individuality.[22]

McCarthy suggests that people who are moved by an encounter with the arts, people who have changed their frame of mind, will talk to their friends about their experiences or read about others' experiences in order to test their own perceptions and understandings. This means they bring their responses and understandings into the public sphere. The sharing of points of view creates, or at least influences, the community of shared values. As McCarthy puts it:

> One way of defining "great" art is by its continued effect on the public sphere throughout time. Some works, such as the plays of Shakespeare or the novels of Tolstoy, are so pervasive, speaking to many individuals over many generations, that *they help shape their culture at least as much as their culture shaped them.*[23] [Emphasis added]

Subversive artists then are continually confronting our familiar conceptions, and we are continually enlisting the help of our fellows to discuss the disquieting ideas we have received, or reading newspapers and watching television to see what they have to say about such things. A spectrum of opinions will arise, some advancing the new and some defending the old, the traditions and the past. The formalised portion of the defence of the past, which we have called culture as

heritage, parallels culture as the arts in trying to influence minds and change (or reinforce) opinion.

The functional role of culture as heritage is to work within tradition, supporting and stabilising it, ensuring the consistency and predictability of everyone's repertoire. It provides a core of information and artefacts carefully identified and documented by experts and preserved in institutions (museums, libraries, etc.). To stabilise tradition, heritage interprets the past and explains it to its audience, much as the arts do. However, because of this, heritage can often be used by the socially recognised heritage authorities to promote particular points of view. Indeed, it is hard to see how heritage can avoid being a particular interpretation of tradition. As a result, heritage often appears to be deliberately constructed out of bits of "culture as tradition" for ideological reasons, for establishing group identity, for purposes of excluding a group, or for fighting exclusion and overcoming marginalisation.[24]

Only by embracing the four perspectives simultaneously can any headway be made on understanding the social effects of culture. All four perspectives are facets of society's understanding of the appropriate and effective ways to act in the world around us, understandings which help us make sense of our world. Cultural activities from all four perspectives interact and no one is complete without the others. We can construct a model of these four perspectives on culture: as social repertoire, as tradition, as heritage, and as the arts, to show their interactions (Figure 1).

The model works like this: We use social repertoire as a tool-kit of meanings to understand issues in our daily lives and develop strategies to deal with those issues. Patterns of living which become established and repeated (sometimes codified in ritual) add to society's traditions through remembering. Conversely, to make sense of what things mean and to figure out what to do about them (i.e., patterns of living), we draw heavily on traditions (which are after all just the successful choices of the past). Occasionally, we will come up against situations we do not fully understand and will have to be creative in our development of strategies, and so can actually add to our repertoire

(and, if the change is shared with and adopted by others, add to society's collective repertoire.)

We obtain our repertoire through education, which draws largely on heritage, and socialisation, which draws largely on traditions. Since, through use, we are continually modifying our repertoire, over time, some of the most common modifications (the ones adopted by a significant portion of the population) pass into tradition as the effective or "correct" way of doing things. This new version of tradition is in turn continually being passed on to our children (or for that matter, to some extent to new arrivals in our society). We give these traditions stability by elevating some of them, through authoritative and formal recognition of documents, artefacts and special places, to the status of reverence in our heritage, which thus acts as a sort of social ballast.

Artistic creation is inspired by traditions, either celebrating them or throwing them into question. Of course, artistic creation is also, and mainly, a response by artists to what people in their society are doing, thinking and feeling. Creation is inspired by and has its roots in the daily patterns of living. But it can also profoundly influence those patterns by throwing into question the choices available to us and proposing original and attractive new choices. Artists introduce us to major new meanings and test them through public performance, where we can experience and judge them before deciding whether to appropriate them into our repertoire. These new understandings, if we decide to appropriate them, modernise our repertoire and thus make it better adapted to cope with the changes in the world around us. They can also become part of the tradition if they become generally accepted.

We also use heritage for the same purposes, deliberately constructing new "heritages" to help us solve problems of identity and recognition, exclusion and access. They too can become part of our traditions if widely enough accepted. As a result of all these interactions between repertoire and tradition, society evolves along a path shaped by the decisions and practices of every individual in society. Following John Ralston Saul, we can call this path society's historic trajectory.[25]
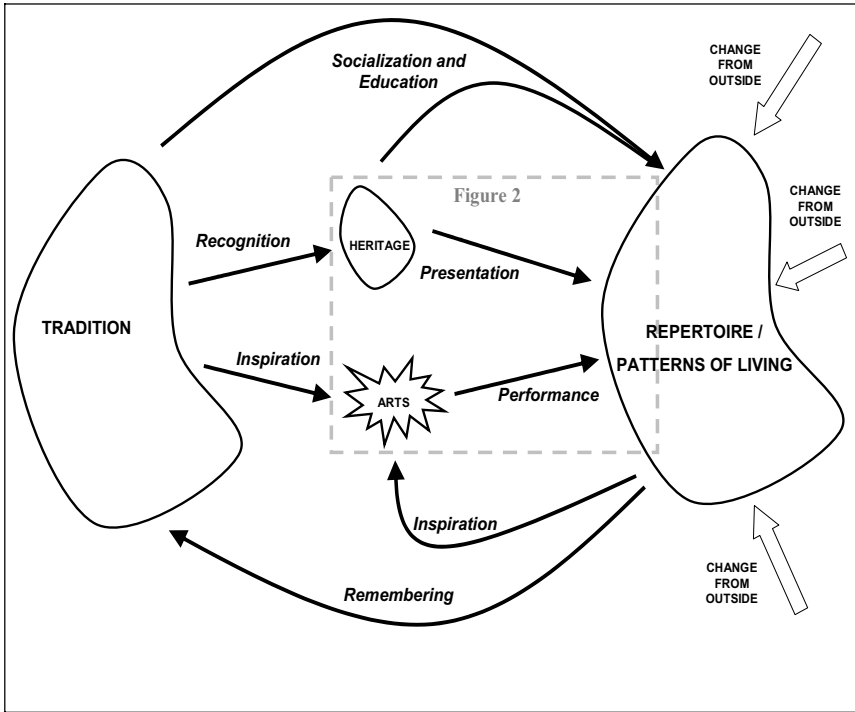
Figure 1: Model of the interaction of the four elements of culture

The graphic in Figure 1 uses shapes to illustrate the different functions of the four elements of culture. Tradition and repertoire have a similar shape, illustrating that repertoire is a more or less exact copy of tradition (at least in early life). Heritage simplifies or stylises tradition to provide a more coherent set of meanings and so it is shown as a more regular and smoother shape. The arts are illustrated as a completely different shape to emphasise the challenge that the arts issue to society's received ideas. The various arrows show how the different social meanings developed in each field flow into and modify the social meanings contained in the other fields. At one time or another, every

one of the arrows and fields has been defined as culture by someone. No wonder it is confusing.

Culture, then, as described in the model, is a complex, interactive dance of social meanings, in which each element: tradition, heritage, the arts and patterns of living, supports the others and is necessary for the others to function properly. We can even hypothesise that they need to exist in some sort of balance. Too much tradition might choke out flexibility and lead to unsustainable social choices. Too much creativity and challenge might lead to confusion and anxiety. Not enough tradition might lead to rootlessness and marginalisation. Not enough creativity might lead to decline and disappearance of a group and its subordination by another.

II. The creation of citizenship capacity

So far, the model tells us that the arts and heritage, drawing on our traditions, helps provide people with a repertoire of social understandings which are used to develop strategies of action to cope with our changing world. We also enter the public sphere to confirm and deepen our understandings. But so far, the effects of culture have been mainly personal (or at least, when educating and socialising our children, confined to our immediate family). How do the changes brought about by encounters with the arts or heritage create social effects; and how do these social effects translate themselves into citizenship capacity?

The social effects of arts and heritage

In 2004 in Montreal, the Department of Canadian Heritage and the Canada Council for the Arts sponsored a workshop of experts made up of university scholars, cultural practitioners and policy makers, and researchers from arts councils to discuss the question: what are the social effects of participation in arts and heritage.[26] Participants included experts from Canada, the United States, Europe and the Pacific. While the discussion was wide ranging, and included talk about personal benefits (entertainment, enlightenment, etc.) and instrumental benefits (improved educational outcomes, medical benefits), the participants also identified six social effects of arts and heritage:

- enhancing understanding and capacity for action;
- formation and retention of identity;
- modifying values and preferences for collective choice;
- building social cohesion;
- contributing to community development; and,
- fostering civic participation.

At first sight, these effects may seem daunting in their complexity. However, close examination of them in the light of the model of culture

presented in Part I reveals an underlying structure to these effects. Figure 2 describes the relationship between these elements. It should be noted that the model in Figure 2 is actually an elaboration of the model described in Figure 1. The relationship between Figure 1 and Figure 2 is shown by the faint box embedded in Figure 1. The following paragraphs describe the components of the model and their interaction in more detail.

Enhancing understanding and capacity for collective action

As we have already suggested, artists make it their business to change our hearts and minds, to confront and challenge conventional wisdom and to introduce into the main discourses of society new ideas about our world and our relationship to it and each other. In this sense, every artist is a propagandist. Two things, however keep artistic expression from being Propaganda. First is the diversity of ideas coming from every artistic and every creative discipline in which artists are free to express themselves in any way they like. Second is free access by all segments of society to both the ideas and the means to create them. Diversity gives audiences a choice of perspectives and also a variety of criteria with which to assess the new ideas. This keeps any particular idea from dominating unless the majority wants it to.

What characterises propaganda is its lack of creative diversity.[27] Its purpose is to stop discussion and inculcate belief exclusively in its message. Organisations (often states) use Propaganda to stifle free expression and limit contradiction to its policies. As long as creators are working independently and are free to express themselves in any way they want, in the aggregate they will provide society with a diversity of ideas, even if each of them is a propagandist for his or her own point of view. The business of producing new ideas applies to all forms of artistic expression, from renowned professional novelists like Milan Kundera, with his explicit programme of ideas, to retired bureaucrats (such as the author) who take up watercolours as a way to articulate their delight in nature.
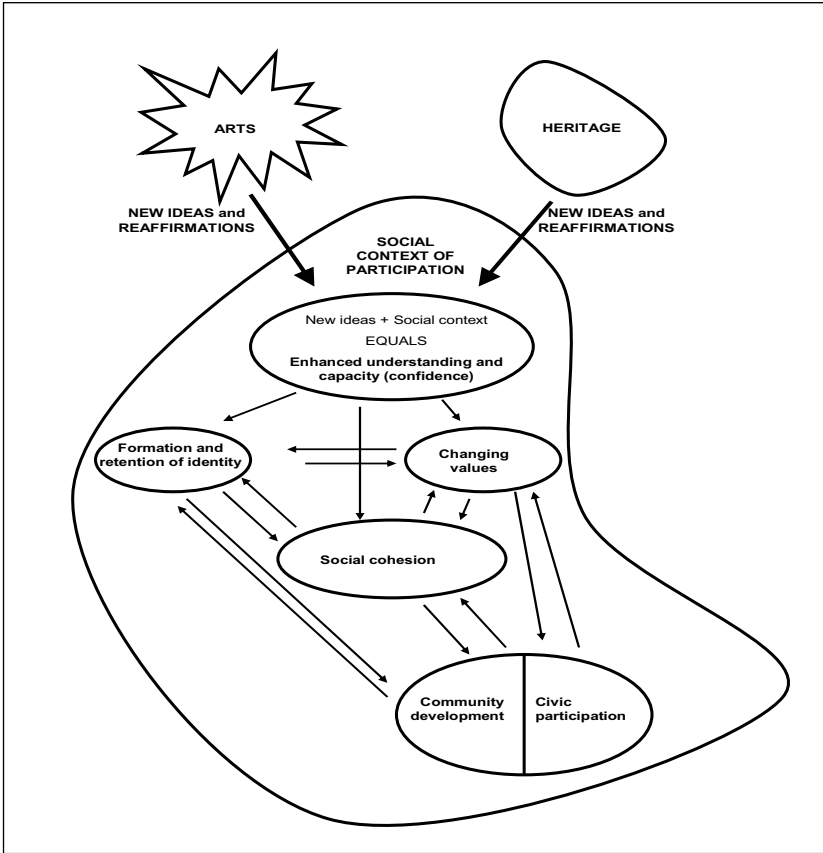
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Figure 2: The way arts and heritage create social effects (detail of Figure 1)

Curators also make it their business to change our hearts and minds by reminding us of the values and virtues of our past traditions. They interpret what they consider significant and exemplary parts of our traditions, and make them available to us as heritage. By taking art,

artefacts, places, events or activities from our traditions and presenting them formally in such places as museums and monuments, they attempt to ensure that we understand them appropriately (according to their view) and accord them the proper reverence (i.e., adopt the understanding as a guide to action). Proper reverence can be anything from accepting conventional meanings attached to the events and achievements, to challenging and overturning those meanings and espousing new ones. "Curators", as the term is used here, must be understood to cover the whole range of people who make it their business to understand and interpret our past, from the professional experts and connoisseurs who manage formal museum collections to the amateur individuals and community groups who are interested in constructing and asserting their identity, or merely making sure that the memory of some imagined past is appropriately revered. Often curators are the socially sanctioned authorities given the right to determine what is excellent, exemplary and significant, but they can also be enthusiastic amateurs or authorities in one community but contested in another.

Thus, artists and curators are involved in very similar businesses: the social construction of reality. Both make assertions about the world and our place in it. The difference is that the artist creates an imaginary world constrained only by the need to be plausible. We only need to suspend our disbelief. When curators imagine the world for us, they are constrained by facts: the historical record, artefacts and archaeological evidence, what people actually did, said, and created. Artists are constrained by realism, curators by reality. They are both trying to make their ideas real to us and make us share their points of view.

An encounter with the arts (e.g., reading a novel, listening to a song, watching a movie, or even an act of creating, such as organising a music festival or painting a picture) or a heritage experience (e.g., visiting a museum, organising a festival, or touring an historic site) is a sort of dialogue between creators or curators and the audience, in which the artist or curator attempts to convince the audience of the truth of the message.

Both an encounter with the arts and a heritage experience are quintessentially social events. One of the main motives often cited for

participation in cultural activities is the opportunity for socialisation, the desire to build and maintain relationships, which seems to have a particular affinity to cultural activities.[28] This affinity is no mystery. Socialising contributes significantly to the reception and appropriation of ideas. It is useful, even necessary, to receive and share ideas as a group because group discussion parses the ideas and group consensus validates them. If nothing else, your friends point out things you missed and share your enthusiasm for the things you got. This is true whether you just saw a movie or read a novel, or are organising a festival, participating in an historic re-enactment, or taking a drawing class. It is true whether you are an artist or part of the audience.

How do these encounters, in which artist and curator try to convince audience to adopt a point of view, enhance understanding?

Logically an encounter with the arts has outcomes on two dimensions. First, we are either exposed to an idea that is new or to an idea that we already know about, and on which we have an opinion (pro or con). Second, we either agree or disagree with what we have been exposed to. This means there are four possible outcomes from the encounter:

1. the idea is new and we have come to agree with it;
2. the idea is new and we reject it;
3. we already know the idea and our opinion of it is confirmed in our minds (this could mean we agree or disagree with the author, but it does not matter. Our argument does not depend on agreeing with the artist or curator, merely being stimulated by the encounter to think about ideas);
4. we already know the idea and our opinion of it is changed by the encounter.

In the first and fourth cases, the effect of the encounter with the arts is to change our minds and introduce us to new ideas (more choices in our repertoire). In the third case, we are reassured, because others share our ideas (so our understanding is at least enriched by that amount). In the second case, at least the rejection of the idea forces us to confront it and stimulate the mental activity needed to reject it. In that "shaking things up", new ideas might occur, even if they are only better justifications for the initial opinion. The likelihood is that the

reaction to a complex piece of art, which conveys many ideas at once, is some combination of all four outcomes. Therefore, most encounters with art can be hypothesised to result in at least a subtle change of mind and expansion of awareness of the patterns of living available to us. The group validation made possible by the social situation in which this takes place makes the change of mind more likely.

In the case of heritage, the same four possible outcomes exist, but we are more likely to experience something we already know something about. The arts, after all, prize originality and novelty, and try to avoid the trite and the cliché, whereas the basis for heritage is the recognition and celebration of exemplary or notable human achievements, which are likely to be part of the background of a large number of people. We may not always share the same background as the curators, and we may not always agree in the interpretation of the facts put forward. There can be profound disagreements between interpretations of the past just as there were clashes between the groups who lived in the past that is being interpreted, but what we typically get from a heritage experience is a reaffirmation of who we are and the rightness of how we live.

The people doing the creating and the heritage interpretation, the artists and curators, are also subject to being shaken up by their own encounters with culture. For artists, the case is probably more clear cut. If a film maker creates a film, he obviously agrees with his own message, but he is trying to say something new about it, so he is explicitly expanding his knowledge of the possibilities of patterns of living. This is why non-professional community groups who undertake cultural projects (such as making a video) for instrumental causes like urban renewal and mitigation of racial tensions are so successful: their artistic endeavours cause them to think about new patterns of living.

If we are the curators of a heritage experience (e.g., we are experts working in a state museum, we are putting on a historical re-enactment to celebrate the founding of our town, or merely contributing our grandfather's old army uniform to the local historical society) we are committed to a point of view and are seeking to reinforce it by our heritage participation. We are using the facts of the past to promote a

way of thinking (new or old) about certain relationships or events in our past.

The arts promote our thinking in new ways and, to a lesser extent, reaffirm current beliefs. Heritage fosters (somebody's) orthodox beliefs, which may mean reaffirming current interpretations, or advancing a new revisionist way of thinking. It must be kept in mind here that we are not claiming these effects happen through a single encounter with arts or heritage. Many people sleep through a play or concert or cannot remember a word that they read. The effects hypothesised in this paper arise from repeated and ongoing engagement with arts and heritage activities.

What makes this a social effect is not just the fact that we talk about the ideas we have been exposed to with our friends (which we do and which will be discussed further below), but that many, or even the majority of ideas propagated through the arts and heritage are about relationships with others and appropriate behaviour toward others. Even chamber music speaks to a harmony of the listeners with the world around them.

Formation and Retention of Identity

Heritage in particular, in having as its field of enquiry the exemplary, remarkable and revered in our past history, tends to be about identity: who we are and who we could and ought to be. The purpose for recognising and preserving the ideas of past exemplary, remarkable and revered human events is to be able to associate and identify those events with oneself and share in the glory of them ("I am part of a group that achieved (or survived) such things!"). Heritage experiences therefore help us to "find our roots". These roots, of course, may be somewhat or entirely fictive. Heritage can sometimes be used by us to forge a new identity. In either case, the purpose of revering the past through heritage is to give people a sense of belonging to a social group. Whether the past is true, the group and the benefits of belonging to it are real enough.

Modifying values and preferences for collective choice

Thinking in new ways must have the effect of changing attitudes and eventually values, as long as the exposure to new ways of thinking is a continuing experience. If the encounter with a new idea is a fleeting or one time experience, it may not have a very profound effect. It is easy to ignore or forget a single encounter. However, if the individual is frequently, or as a matter of habit, exposed to new ideas and habitually interacts with others who are similarly exposed, it will be difficult to maintain previous attitudes and values completely unchanged. The validation and reinforcement of friends is known to be a strong motivation for the adoption and retention of values.[29] This makes the socialising dimension of cultural participation mentioned above particularly important for encouraging and indeed making possible attitudinal and value change.

There is no guarantee, of course, that the new values will be "better" than the old ones. We may emerge from the theatre wiser and more tolerant, or greater bigots than ever before. The Montreal workshop participants did warn that not all social effects were positive: we find violence, negative racial images and pornography in the arts. However, there is reason to believe that in the long run and in the aggregate, socially dysfunctional ideas (e.g., the philosophy of the Nazis, 19th century ideas of racial inferiority, 16th century ideas about heresy and witchcraft) will be weeded out of the tradition and the repertoire and so be eliminated from the mainstream of artistic thought. Otherwise, dysfunctional ideas and patterns of living would be included in the society's cultural repertoire and be reinforced, which would eventually lead to the deterioration of the society that adopted them, causing the culture to wane and the society to wither.

The long-term aggregate trend of both arts and heritage, therefore, is towards more sustainable social values. More sustainable social values are the kind of values described in the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The superior sustainability of societies that embrace and reinforce these values has been argued in the social cohesion literature.[30] Contrary values, such as exclusionary patriotism, racial purity, worship of leaders, military superiority, millenarianism, have

generally proven to be dead ends – as both the Thousand-Year Reich and the Soviet Union found out – although the learning curve may be a century long.

Building social cohesion

We have already seen the affinity between the reception of ideas and socialising and have recognised socialising as one of the motives for cultural participation. Socialising and discussion helps people appropriate the ideas arising from arts or heritage experiences. This makes socialising around a cultural experience a particularly stimulating and attractive form of socialisation. The cultural activity gives us an entertaining excuse to be there and something to talk about that many social gatherings do not. Cultural participation in all forms therefore tends to promote group interaction and cooperation: in other words, social cohesion.

On a different level, if the attitudes and values of a society with a vital cultural life are shifting toward the more tolerant, just, democratic, humane and inclusive, through the slow and subtle interplay of subversive artists and sceptical audiences, and under the moderating influence of wise but open minded heritage authorities (as we just hypothesised in the previous part), then cooperation between groups and individuals in society will be made easier.[31] As the arts increase our awareness of alternative patterns of living, the options for cooperation with others: both ways to cooperate and also potential new partners, are increased. This, of course, is the definition of social cohesion: the willingness to cooperate with others in a society to achieve collective ends.[32]

Heritage experience may have an even more direct effect on social cohesion. By helping to reaffirm a group's identity, it helps the group gain pride and confidence in its abilities. It therefore equips the group better to enter into relationships and cooperate with others as an equal. Of course, heritage activities could also reinforce an insular or exclusionary identity, where you confine your relationship to others of "your kind", however defined. Here we have the classic contradiction

between bridging and bonding social capital. It has, however, been argued that bridging and bonding are not characteristics of social capital but of the motivations of the social group that is exploiting the capital. If the group is secure and confident in the society, then it will use the social capital to bridge, to reach out. If the group is beleaguered, excluded, feels marginalised or threatened, then it will use the same social capital to reinforce its identity and to protect itself from outside relationships (which it believes are likely to be harmful).[33] The use of heritage, or for that matter the arts, for bonding purposes may be a symptom of exclusion and social inequality. The general tendency of the arts to overcome and "humanise" over time would help to mitigate this exclusion and inequality and turn the heritage activity into a more socially positive force.

In the short run, whether people become more willing to cooperate with people like themselves (bonding) or with people outside their group (bridging) is an empirical question. It is also an empirical question as to whether either of these approaches increases society's total of cooperative activities (its total social cohesion) or decreases it. If a marginalised group, mired in economic and social poverty and therefore poor in interactions, is encouraged by heritage activity (or even artistic activity) to increase its capacities for collective action and cooperation within the group, this creates new cooperation where there was none before, even though it is entirely of the bonding variety. The willingness to cooperate of the society as a whole is increased. If, on the other hand, a group in society is singled out as "other" and, in defence, turns to the celebration of its traditions to reinforce cooperation within the group at the expense of the now denied bridging cooperation which used to occur with the outside, then the net effect on society may be a reduction in cooperation and social cohesion. However, the fault here is not heritage activity, but whatever caused the group to be defined as "other". Heritage activity is here used to defend and preserve what social cohesion it can. Either way, heritage activities contribute to social cohesion, increasing it, or keeping it from deteriorating further.

Contribution to community development and fostering civic participation

We have argued above that encounters with arts and heritage help create or validate an identity or sense of belonging to a group. Arts and heritage also enhance people's understanding of their place in the world and give them the confidence to act on that understanding. If people come to share understandings, gain a greater sense of belonging together and are proud if it, and increase their willingness to cooperate (as hypothesised above), then it would not be surprising for them to find that, as a group, they have increased their capacity to act collectively to achieve mutual goals. This increased citizenship capacity is not a direct effect of an encounter with arts or heritage, but follows naturally from the other changes that arts and heritage experiences have effected.

When the group as a whole acts, of course, it is still individuals who act in concert. They might undertake volunteering, political protest or voting, organising activities in the community, even charitable giving. Viewed from this individual perspective, these phenomena are often called civic participation. Civic participation is then merely the reverse side of the coin to community development. As such, it too is fostered indirectly by individual encounters with arts and heritage.

Summary

Enhancing understanding, promoting identity formation, modifying values, building social cohesion, and fostering community development and civic participation are all social effects of arts and heritage. In fact, they are all interconnected and interdependent. That is why there are so many arrows in Figure 2. Enhanced understanding leads to identity formation and changed values. Changed values lead to identity formation and both contribute to creation of social cohesion, as does increased understanding directly. Social cohesion, along with changed values encourage civic participation and increase community development, which in turn encourages identity formation and social cohesion. They are all part of the same complex of cultural actions. In

fact, viewed globally, they are the mechanisms by which personal social repertoire is turned into that particular set of social strategies that we call collective actions. It is how members of a society engage in citizenship.

Arts and heritage participation strengthen each part of this mechanism. However, the mechanism is inherent in the structure of society, so even if there were no arts or heritage, but only tradition and its accompanying repertoire, there would still be collective action. So are arts and heritage only auxiliary functions, icing on the cake, nice to have but not essential to the nutritional needs of society?

Not at all. What arts and heritage contribute is cultural diversity, the rich variety of social understandings that modern societies and their citizens need to adapt their repertoires to their constantly changing conditions.

Consider the case of two societies that lacked a sufficient diversity of repertoire, and the disasters that resulted.

The value of diversity

Captain Cook, the British naval officer and explorer, was killed in the Hawaiian Islands a little over 200 years ago. The incident, as analysed by anthropologist Marshall Sahlins reveals how drastically social repertoire can affect our collective actions.[34] Cook's arrival in the Hawaiian Islands in 1778 and again in 1779 coincided with the mythical annual arrival of Lono, the god of peace. In Hawaiian mythology, Lono's visit ushers in a period of feasting and a suspension of tribal warfare. At the end of his visit, he ritually dies, leaves the Islands to return the next year, and warfare and normal life resume. Because Cook visited at a time and in a manner consistent with the myth, he was identified by the Hawaiians with the god. Unfortunately, he also returned unexpectedly a few weeks after his second visit to effect emergency repairs to his ships. His return was, according to Sahlins, not easily understood by the Hawaiians, since the period of feasting was over. The Hawaiians therefore came to the conclusion that the

return was an attempt by Lono to disrupt the cosmic order and take over the role of the other gods. The Hawaiians had obviously committed some ritual error. Since Lono (Cook) did not die when he was supposed to, the solution was that he had to be ritually killed, so he would be properly dead this time, so they ritually murdered Captain Cook. Captain Cook, who did not share the same mythic beliefs as the Hawaiians, and was in fact only mortal, actually died as a result. An inadequate cultural repertoire can have serious social consequences.

Cultural misunderstandings can have consequences for whole societies too. Jared Diamond asks the question how did Pizarro, with 167 men, capture the Inca empire which had forces numbering 80,000 warriors, or Cortès capture Mexico against similar odds.[35] Among several proximate explanations, he offered the following underlying one.

> The miscalculations by Atahuallpa, Chalcuchima [Inca leaders], Montezuma, and countless other Native American leaders deceived by Europeans were due to the fact that no living inhabitants of the New World had been to the Old World, so of course they could have no specific information about the Spaniards. Even so, we find it hard to avoid the conclusion that Atahuallpa "should" have been more suspicious, if only his society had experienced a broader range of human behaviour. Pizarro too arrived at Cajamarca [site of the defeat of the Incas] with no information about the Incas... However, while Pizarro himself happened to be illiterate, he belonged to a literary tradition. From books, the Spaniards knew of many contemporary civilizations remote from Europe, and about several thousand years of European history. ...[L]iteracy made the Spaniards heirs to a huge body of knowledge about human behaviour and history. By contrast, not only did Atahuallpa have no conception of the Spaniards themselves, and no personal experience of any other invaders from overseas, but he had not even heard (or read) of similar threats to anyone else, anywhere else, any time previously in history.[36]

The Inca's limited cultural repertoire, their lack of symbolic wherewithal to interpret new phenomena, opened the way for the Spanish colonisation of Peru and the destruction of the Inca Empire. Culture is

critical to providing effective strategies for sustaining a community in the face of contingencies.

As the example of the Incas indicates, the consequences of a society not being able to deal on its own terms with cultural change from outside can be disastrous. At the very least, inability to deal means that the society no longer determines its own historical trajectory but surrenders to outside events. This is something that most of us would not welcome and explains why even nations living under brutal dictators can mobilise citizens in defence in times of war and invasion.[37]

But, if you have a repertoire and tradition of sufficient richness and diversity, you can manage change. Consider the difference in outcomes between European contact with the New World and with the Orient. At just about the time the Spanish were roughing up the Incas, the Portuguese and Dutch were arriving in the Orient, following Vasco da Gama's discovery of a sea route around Africa. Here the sophisticated societies of China, Java, Japan, and India, with long, literate traditions and highly productive economies, did not fall to pieces at first contact with the Europeans, but rather began trading with them on Oriental terms. Europeans were only accepted as minor trading partners because they brought something that the Oriental economies needed desperately: silver. The Oriental economies didn't need inferior and overpriced European manufactured goods, like crude porcelain and iron work, or rough cloth. What they needed was a bigger money supply. Silver from the exploited new world allowed Europeans to buy their modest way in to a much larger world trading economy than any of them had ever seen. The Oriental societies did not collapse before the European "discoverers" but in fact appropriated with very little inconvenience the new repertoire the Europeans brought and got on with business as usual.[38] A society with a diverse repertoire can much more easily cope with change and sustain itself.

Cultural encounters happen all the time. The whole history of humankind is a history of global cultural change and diffusion, from the initial expansion of homo sapiens out of Africa one million years ago, to the displacement of hunters and gatherers by agriculturalists starting 9000 years ago, to the spread of civilizations from China to the Andes starting about 6000 years ago, to the discovery and colonisation of the

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new world by Europeans, the industrial revolution and the present globalisation of communications, entertainment and commodities.[39] The historic trajectories of all societies have always been buffeted by these flows, and always will. The cultural changes assaulting a society are rarely as drastic as Conquistadors showing up on the doorstep, however. They show up more often as merchants bearing silver,[40] or images on the television screen.[41] These sorts of cultural changes can still be significant and threatening to the integrity of the receiving culture. Diversity of understanding is important.

How does a society avoid the fate of the Incas and acquire a sufficiently rich repertoire to be able to understand the world around it and to sustain itself in the face of the constant cultural change flowing into it?

How cultural diversity is created

In terms of the model in Figure 1, a society needs a diverse cultural repertoire, based on a rich tradition which provides it with what Diamond called the "huge body of knowledge about human behaviour and history..." and other symbolic resources to "read" and interpret changes realistically and appropriate them as beneficially or at least as harmlessly as possible into society's historic trajectory.

It takes time to build and diversify traditions and repertoire. Furthermore, if tradition is all society has as a resource for producing repertoire, repertoire is going to be much the same from one generation to the next. The result is a very static society (or one that adapts too slowly to cope usefully with the outside cultural intrusions). Society needs a relatively nimble mechanism for adaptation if it is to sustain itself.

Cultural adaptation can come from three sources. First, obviously, cultural flows from outside bring new information, new interpretations and new world views. But this does not solve the problem since it is precisely to cope with these outside flows that the society needs the adaptation mechanism in the first place. The problem cannot be the

solution since then, by definition, it would not be not a problem. Of course, the flow can bring useful new symbolic tools which can, with enough time, be adequately appropriated, but the problem of adaptation is in the short-term. The cultural flow must be coped with when it arrives, so society is limited to using its currently available repertoire. The nimble, short run adaptation mechanism must come initially from within.

The second source of adaptation is the very creativity of ordinary members of society who are daily using the symbolic resources of their repertoire to come to terms with everyday variability in their lives. They have some variety of tools in their cultural tool-box to construct strategies of action to deal with the manifold situations they face in everyday life, of which the cultural intrusions are a part. They contribute to culture's evolution and enrichment through, in Williams' words, "an active debate and amendment under the pressures of experience, contact, and discovery, writing themselves into the land...the testing of these in experience, the making of new observations, comparisons, and meanings."

Appropriation of new and foreign meanings as a by-product of the small and quotidian adaptations of individuals in their daily lives may not be nimble enough however. It was certainly not enough for Captain Cook and the Inca. Williams talks about "the *slow* learning of shapes, purposes, and meanings" [Emphasis added]. If we depend only on our traditions and their evolution, we are more likely to feel overwhelmed by massive doses of cultural change from outside than we are to feel inspired to decode and appropriate them.

Fortunately, there is a third way: the repertoire, which we need to understand cultural flows from outside, is enriched through the workings of the arts and heritage. Williams suggested this when he said that the word culture can mean "a whole way of life – the common meanings; [and also] mean the arts and learning – the special processes of discovery and creative effort." Society's artists work to understand and articulate the new, the strange and the menacing that confront us. In fact, they may even be its advocates. They experiment with meaning, and if we (or at least our teachers and opinion leaders) pay attention to the arts, we will be influenced by them. The new tools

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and resources created by our own artists, who are working within our own cultural traditions, will be easier for us to appropriate than any new information from outside. Even though our artists' creations are themselves new information, they arise from a tradition we all share in common and already have some understanding of and confidence in.

Curators of heritage are also actively seeking to provide understandings of the world that society faces. They try to develop this understanding out of what the past has to teach, and combine understandings of past values, beliefs and strategies with interpretations of contemporary events. Whether from artists or curators, the richer our repertoire, the more effective it will be to develop strategies for coping with contemporary problems.

Participation in the arts and heritage also cultivates within us a greater critical capacity to read between the lines of any new idea or concept and to assess it for its relevance to our lives, just as the practice of any activity makes us better at it. The presence of lively arts and heritage sectors, and active participation by members of society in them, results in a literate, sceptical body of cultural citizens ready to confront any cultural change flowing toward them from outside. They will certainly not be immune to change, confusion and doubt, but they will be in a position to manage the change and will keep better control of their society's historic trajectory.

The existence of diverse arts and heritage sectors in almost all countries of the world today may be why we have not seen the emergence of a single, homogeneous worldwide culture, even though many observers have predicted it.[42] Instead we see, as Crane observes,[43] the rise of regional cultural expressions in Latin America, Asia and Europe in spite of the supposed economic dominance of U.S. media conglomerates.

Cultural citizenship

Culture as repertoire thus produces more than just a personal benefit. An individual's repertoire influences how one behaves toward others in

society. Therefore, what cultural resources an individual possesses makes a great deal of difference to other people. Culture as repertoire and culture as tradition not only influence how I relate to the public sphere, but how the public sphere treats me! Culture, as elaborated in our model, permeates social, economic and political action. This is where culture as repertoire can start to be called culture as patterns of living.

Culture as repertoire is a source of power because it helps influence and determine the choices people make and how they behave. If a segment of society (for example the elite, or a particularly morally influential organisation) has a disproportionate influence over culture as repertoire, it will have a great deal of power to influence how people behave. For example, the cultural interpretation we give to certain markers like skin colour, language, religion, or lifestyle can determine our acceptance into society of people who exhibit these markers, and our behaviour toward them, such as our willingness to cooperate with them. Our interpretation, based on our traditions, but influenced by our arts and heritage, helps determine the role of others in society.

In a liberal democracy, by definition, we want citizens as a whole to determine what are appropriate behaviours, actions and choices to make, because citizens as a whole are the only source of the legitimate power to make those kinds of decisions (regardless of the sorts of institutions they have agreed to set up to actually effect the decisions). Exclusion from this determination process (cultural participation) therefore constitutes a failure of democracy. We want every citizen to have an equal right and capacity to influence the interpretation and creation of meaning and all of them to feel ownership. In this way, they are not only empowered and socially cohesive (i.e., willing to cooperate with each other), but are also attached to the partnership that is the state. Therefore, all of them must have full cultural access to be complete citizens.

In another kind of state (that is, a non-democratic one where power is vested in an elite), where the values might be patriotism, solidarity, future salvation, loyalty to the power structure and a kind of radical egalitarianism, the rulers might want people to behave in different ways. Here the culture might emphasise tradition at the expense of

innovative creation, discourage challenge, celebrate the classic achievements of the past and the content of artistic production might well be controlled to serve as Propaganda. The arts and heritage of such a society have the same effect of changing people's minds, but only with the aim of making them agree with the rulers' approved ideas. Diverse and active cultural participation by citizens is discouraged. Culture of the "patterns of living" variety still exists, but the arts and heritage do not enrich it with diversity. In fact, they have the opposite effect

Culture as a strategic good

If culture as repertoire or patterns of living, and culture as tradition, are so important in shaping the lives and actions of citizens, then culture as heritage and as the arts take on a great importance in the life of society and the state. They are some of the main sources of change and diversity. In fact, as we have seen, it is difficult for a society to appropriate change from outside and sustain itself unless it can manufacture new understandings and interpretation for itself in a timely fashion. For this it needs the arts and heritage. The products of arts and heritage can therefore be considered strategic goods.

A strategic good is a good on which the very existence of a nation is thought to depend. If the nation were to be deprived of the good, it could no longer sustain itself, or more particularly, defend itself against potential enemies. It is therefore critical that it retain capacity for production of this good within its borders, even if that production is economically inefficient.[44]

For example, if a nation imports all its oil or munitions from other nations, it may be cut off from these goods when it is attacked by an enemy, either because the enemy is the supplier or because the enemy nation can prevent imports. The nation then loses the ability to defend itself and is defeated. To avoid this possibility, a nation will ensure that it has production capacity for strategic goods under its own control.

Typical strategic goods are armaments and high technology products, and mineral resources such as oil and specialised metals. Categorising a good or resource <u>in</u> this way is an economic justification for protecting its production with subsidies and exempting it from free trade agreements. Whether the concept of a strategic good is still valid in this day and age, most countries nevertheless have regulations dealing with strategic goods.[45]

The Incas should have considered culture a strategic good. Their lack of exposure to a broad and diverse range of world traditions and history made it difficult to conceive of the Spaniards as enemies, whereas the Spaniards had no difficulty figuring out the Incas' weaknesses.

Daniel Schwanen argues that the ability of people to make informed choices is critical to the proper functioning of a modern economy, so that information is a valuable good in itself.[46] He cites Kenneth Arrow to suggest that if the information available to a collectivity (in Arrow's case an organisation, but he is making a generalisable point) does not contain elements that are relevant to its very existence, the collectivity risks becoming "non-agenda" to its members, ensuring its ultimate demise.

> ...Arrow's analysis means that information specifically aimed at [a given nation] creates a virtual meeting place for them. As long as they are interested in maintaining the possibility of a national character and institutional underpinnings that differ from those that would sustain other countries or communities [i.e., maintaining our capacity to control our own historic trajectory] they must have convenient access to information that contains at least some [of that nation's] content and references. Otherwise, the basic elements necessary for making informed choices – political, educational, and others – disappear or become muted and [the nation] risks becoming "non-agenda" to many of its citizens.[47]

Schwanen also cites philosopher Will Kymlicka who argues: "... the only valid reason for protecting and promoting the right to cultural membership is to protect the 'context of choice' for individuals..."[48]

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Appadurai extends Schwanen's notion of the strategic role played by information with his idea that culture provides a people with the capacity to aspire. For Appadurai, culture embodies not only the past (habit, custom, heritage, and tradition) but also the future (plans, hopes, goals and targets). It enables the collectivity to model a future for themselves and develop consensus around solutions and action strategies. Culture provides a community with the symbolic resources needed "to debate, contest, and oppose vital directions for collective social life as they wish... [this is] virtually a definition of inclusion and participation in any democracy."[49] The poor, he goes on to argue, remain trapped in poverty because they lack the cultural resources to give voice to their needs and aspirations; that is, "to express their views and get results skewed to their own welfare in the political debates that surround wealth and welfare in all societies."[50] Amartya Sen argues the same thing when he identifies culture as a critical contributor to the capacity for political participation, social solidarity and association and social evolution.[51]

As McCarthy argues:

> Democracies need citizens who can think for themselves rather than deferring to authority, and they need citizens with "an ability to see themselves not simply as citizens of some local region or group but also, and above all, as human beings bound to all other human beings by the ties of recognition and concern."[52] Experiences of the arts… help build those ties.[53]

As such, arts and heritage are forms of continuing education. A citizen's ongoing participation in culture, whether as artist or curator, or as "passive" recipient (audience), continuously challenges established notions and expands his or her citizenship vocabulary and repertoire. Culture is about both education and citizenship.

The role of government in culture

Recognising these aspects of culture is significant for cultural policy, because it begins to provide an explanation for why policy intervention

in culture may be necessary and justifiable. If culture merely had intrinsic (i.e. personal) and instrumental effects, then benefits would accrue mainly to private individuals and they could reasonably be expected to bear the cost of culture's production and their participation. Social effects are externalities, that is, their benefits accrue to members of a society in such a way that the costs cannot be allocated back to individual beneficiaries. Left to the private market, therefore, the effects will be produced at a less than socially optimal level.

Externalities are the effects (benefits or costs) of the production of a good or service from which non-paying individuals cannot be excluded. An example of a positive externality is security produced by a police force. Those households and firms who believe they are at risk could hire a private security organisation to protect themselves against crime and seek out and arrest their personal malefactors. However, if they do this, everyone in the community will benefit from the reduced number of criminals, whether they paid for the service or not. They cannot be excluded from the benefit of a thief being put in jail. It is for this reason that private security guards tend to be just that, guards of a particular private property. Their employers do not hire them to patrol the streets, detect crime, run crime prevention programs in schools, initiate community liaison programs, etc. The private market tends to under-produce goods and services which have beneficial externalities because they cannot charge for the full benefits in order to compensate themselves for the full cost. To get the socially desired degree of security, it is necessary to collectively produce the good (the police force) using some form of collective decision making and governance and finance it out of general tax revenues: in other words, a universal form of payment. Thus I am required to pay through taxes for the police whether I am ever threatened by a specific crime or not because their existence and activities raises the general level of security in my community, benefiting all of us.

If culture produces social effects, the same justification applies. For example, in a democracy, diversity of ideas and citizen capacity to make effective judgements is considered a desirable effect because more effective and sustainable (i.e., wiser) collective decisions will be made by citizens. We will all benefit in the long term from these better

decisions. If one of the effects of cultural participation is increased diversity of ideas and increased citizen capacity to make effective judgements about public issues, we all benefit from this, whether we as individuals participate in cultural activities or not. Since we can be excluded from the direct cultural experience when we refuse to buy a theatre ticket or copy of a novel, but not from the benefits of wiser collective decision making which result from other people doing these things, it makes sense for the government to intervene to promote culture with the aim of promoting the external effects.

It should be noted that some participants at the Montreal workshop warned that social effects are not all positive.[54] They raised the example of the significant amount of public resources devoted to culture in Iron Curtain eastern Europe, where clearly the purpose of cultural policies was not to promote the democratic capacity of their citizens. However, this may be the exception that proves the rule. In an authoritarian state, culture could be used to promote a specific national identity, loyalty to the state rulers, allegiance to the orthodox ideology and social order. Free artistic expression and creativity, the kind of cultural activity which stimulates diversity of ideas and citizenship capacity, would be discouraged. We would expect cultural policy in such a state to promote excellence in traditional and classical arts as opposed to new and innovative ones, and participation in ritual and ceremonial activities commemorating events which rationalize the elite's views, to the exclusion of other types of cultural participation. This counter-example drawn from the experience of Communist eastern European countries does not demonstrate that culture is bad for democracy, but rather that it is possible to design policies which will, while still cultural, detract from democratic capacity and encourage unthinking loyalty. The example nonetheless recognises that culture can have these kinds of functional effects.

This implies that not every cultural policy intervention currently in practice is good. Each policy intervention must be judged on its own merit in terms of the social benefits it will produce and the social desirability of that benefit, and it must be evaluated in terms of the costs required to produce that degree of benefit. It could well be that, in the light of an increased awareness of social effects, many current policies will need to be re-evaluated. What it certainly does mean,

however, is that, in principle, policy intervention to promote cultural vitality is justifiable.

The possible negative effects of culture do not stop at the Iron Curtain. Participants at the workshop also raised the issues of Propaganda, violence (on television and film) and pornography as possible examples of the negative effects of culture. Here again, however, these may be exceptions that prove the rule. If the purpose of art is to produce new meaning and challenge existing meaning, then it should not be surprising that some creators go to excess or even deliberately try to mislead. A lot of cultural efforts are poor and miss their mark, just as are efforts in other realms of living. Pornography and violence in an artistic work may represent a failure of imagination on the part of the artist trying for a cheap shot, perhaps aiming at an audience that has inadequate critical capacity. It may, however, carry a culturally significant message we just do not yet understand.

Both *Madame Bovary* and *Lady Chatterley's Lover* scandalised the public when they first appeared, but are now recognised as classic studies in human relationships. Other writing is pornography and proves to be the rubbish people first take it for No one objects to violence in Shakespeare or Faulkner and they continue to be read and revered. Violence on TV may or may not have a cumulative effect, but individual cultural products which feature violence without any virtues tend to disappear forever from view Artistic creation in the service of propaganda can have a very negative effect, as the Nazis, among others, have demonstrated. However, what characterises propaganda (and for that matter, artistic expression) in a totalitarian state is a lack of diversity. All the artistic production has to be "on message" and dissenting views are censored or discouraged. The negative effect of this "culture" is from the morally bereft message, not from the art per se. Fire too has effects, and has generally been considered to be a benefit to humankind. It can be very harmful however, if misused. But, if you have a culture of sufficient richness and diversity, you can manage cultural misuse.

Is there any empirical evidence for the social effects of culture? The next part will explore the empirical evidence as it exists.

III. Evidence

The lack of empirical evidence

The experts at the Montreal workshop had to conclude that there was no unambiguous empirical evidence for their views. Indeed, one of the conclusions of the workshop was to call for a research programme which would undertake case studies and data collection exercises to remedy the gap. They also called for studies of the fugitive literature, such as policy and programme evaluations which might contain valuable evidence of social impacts, but which, because of their institutional nature (e.g., government reports or arts advocacy documents) they were not widely published or readily available.[55]

Paola Merli, in her critical review[56] of Francois Matarasso's well known study of the social impacts of arts participation, *Use or Ornament?*,[57] to which we will return below, noted the lack of evidence of the social impact of cultural participation. She cites as one of the reasons for this, the lack of theoretical grounding for the notion that the arts and heritage have social impacts: if we do not understand how the arts are supposed to produce the social effects that are claimed for them, how can we expect to develop empirical evidence.

Kevin McCarthy et al.'s major study for the RAND corporation on the benefits of the arts, *The Gifts of the Muse* identified in an extensive literature review several social benefits of participation in the arts, echoing those proposed in Part II of this paper:

- promotion of social interaction among community members creating a sense of community identity and helping to build social capital at the community level;
- empowerment of communities to organise for collective action;
- expanded capacity for empathy;
- cognitive growth;
- creation of social bonds;
- expression of communal meanings.

Unfortunately, he adds, "we know of no way to prove the points we make [here], yet we believe in the importance of improving the understanding of this category of effects."[58]

Bennett and Savage also acknowledge the current lack of empirical evidence when they say:

> one limit of current understandings of cultural capital is that we lack much knowledge about peoples' aesthetic tastes, the range of their social and cultural participation, and their cultural knowledge. All too often, the existence of cultural capital is inferred from indirect measures, such as people's educational qualifications... It is to remedy these limits that we... are conducting a major statistical and ethnographic inquiry, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, into the relations between cultural capital and social exclusion in contemporary Britain. The findings should allow us to place the study of cultural capital on a much firmer basis than we currently have.[59]

Although there is a dearth of unambiguous empirical evidence, especially direct, quantitative evidence, there are nonetheless a number of observers and scholars who have provided suggestive evidence of one sort or another of the social effects of culture. We will examine this evidence in the next sections.

If the experts at the Montreal workshop were correct in the assumption behind their call to examine fugitive literature, it is quite likely that there is much more evidence of that sort than will be presented below. Linguistic limitations of the author confined the review of evidence to English and French language publications and it was beyond the scope of the study to hunt down fugitive literature from, say, member governments of the Council of Europe and arts planning, research and advocacy groups in Europe. The sample of evidence presented below is, however, likely to be quite typical of the quality and kind of evidence that exists elsewhere.

The evidence, like the model itself, is interconnected and overlapping. However, using the six effects identified by the Montreal workshop and

elaborated in the model as an organising scheme, a coherent picture begins to appear.

Enhancing understanding and capacity for collective action

What enhancing understanding and capacity for collective action means, in terms of the model and Swidler's analysis, is that an encounter with the arts or a heritage presentation can be expected to increase the individuals' social repertoire and give them the capacity and confidence to use it. If the model is correct, we should be able to find examples of changing minds, discussions of new ideas, new understandings (and possibly controversy) and increased personal confidence in individuals as a result of encounters with the arts or heritage.

Effects on artists, performers and curators

Francois Matarasso, in *Use or Ornament?*, examined 60 arts and heritage projects in Britain, Northern Ireland, Finland and the United States ranging from making videos, to dancing in Scottish folk festivals, to museum outreach, to folk arts and crafts initiatives. He surveyed 513 participants in these arts and heritage activities. Although Merli has demonstrated that Matarasso's study is hardly a scientific survey and the results are more useful for advocacy than for establishing scientific certainty, the fact that Matarasso found a great many people claiming social effects in a wide variety of circumstances makes his evidence difficult to dismiss completely.

Basically, what Matarasso found was people claiming to have experienced personal growth, skill building, and educational and personal development. A vast majority said they had tried something they had not done before.[60] One respondent was so impressed by the lessons learned in the project she was involved in that she encouraged her daughter to opt for higher education rather than the more traditional early marriage, clearly a new understanding added to both

their repertoires.[61] Young people participating in a play learned that politics involved people everywhere, not just middle aged adults.[62] The construction of a monumental municipal sculpture created some controversy, but more importantly, generated discussion among townspeople who were stimulated to become more involved in the project.[63] Over all, Matarasso concludes from his analysis that one of the main effects of participation is the realisation that you can do more things than you thought appropriate or proper: that you can change your mind about yourself. Hewitt quotes award winning rap performer, Dizzee Rascal, as saying that becoming involved with music caused a complete reversal in his overall attitude to the world:

> When I was growing up I saw things first-hand. Shootings, robbings, the lot. I did a lot of rubbish. The usual dumb stuff you do on council estates that stops you going nowhere [sic]. But I woke up one day and realised I can't do that all my life. I wasn't moving anywhere fast but music got me out of there.[64]

The individuals in the sixty projects Matarasso studied are of course very active participants in the process of creating cultural product or performing, as is Dizzee Rascal. They were all active participants in small groups who actually created videos or danced in Scottish highland folk dances or formed popular music groups . The problem this presents us with if we wish to use Matarasso as evidence is that it is not clear how their personal growth and the increase in their repertoire of understandings would be any different than if they had participated in any other new and unfamiliar type of group activity outside of culture, say, organised group sports or an environmental clean-up project. These types of projects could also be expected to increase social skills, produce greater awareness of how the world works and increase personal confidence (another effect Matarasso and many other researchers have found and which will be discussed below). What part of these effects can be specifically attributed to the cultural component of the activity, as opposed to the participatory aspect? Unfortunately, there appears nowhere to be any study in which participation is examined comparatively, as it would have to be to really isolate the cultural component and prove what we and Matarasso are trying to demonstrate.

It is, however, reasonable to expect cultural participation to have a greater impact on changing minds, expanding understanding and generating new ideas because cultural activities engage directly with the creation of meaning. Sport participation may challenge physically, but does not deal with ideas and their creation. Environmental clean-up takes a body of knowledge for granted and does not require people to invent theories of what pollution is. Cultural participation, on the other hand, requires participants to confront their existing ideas and create new ones. It puts their former tried and true repertoire into question in the way a soccer match never could. One clearly does not want football players to invent new rules as they go along, although this is precisely what one does want in a cultural project. It seems likely, therefore, that comparative research would be able to demonstrate that cultural projects do have a particular effect of creating new understandings. However, until it is actually done, we cannot be sure.

There is a second problem with evidence based on the experience of active creators and performers. Our model is based on the argument that vigorous, diverse and productive arts and heritage sectors provide society in general with a source of new ideas and new repertoire to try out. The implication is that the general public consumes the cultural products offered as audiences (for plays, novels, museum displays, television and concerts) and indirectly through the new ideas being re-offered through schooling and derivative forms of culture, such as newspapers and even advertising. Culture does not depend for its effect on the individual being a creator of the new idea him or herself. This raises the question: is there a qualitative difference in social effect between active involvement in the production of cultural meaning (being an artist, performer, or curator) and "passive" consumption of cultural product (as a member of the audience, a visitor, or a viewer)? There is almost certainly a quantitative difference, if only because creating or performing takes up more time in the short run. But does the one generate understanding and confidence while the other one doesn't?

The evidence which exists suggests that all forms of cultural participation are merely different points on a single continuum of engagement with new ideas. There is no such thing as a "passive" participant. Even a member of the audience actively engages with what

he is seeing to some extent. This was certainly the view of the experts at the Montreal workshop on the social effects of culture,[65] who insisted that participation covered a wide spectrum of engagement, but that it was all engagement in the end. As the authors of the Connecticut Commission on Culture and Tourism study on the values of the arts put it:

> During the Values Study interviews, it became obvious that characterizing arts participation as either "active" or "passive" was overly simplistic and inaccurate. Some people are passionately consumed by observational participation (e.g., attending concerts), while some of the people who make art are relatively detached from its meaning. In other words, the centrality of an arts activity to an individual is not always a function of the level of creative control.[66]

An individual's existing repertoire of understandings is effectively challenged by the new ideas arising from the cultural activity, whatever the individual's role in it. It seems Kant's scandalous reason makes even passive members of the audience into active participants.

The studies of social effects are not confined to groups of creators, of course. There is, in fact, some evidence of social effects of culture on participants who are consumers and audiences.

Effects on consumers

Liebes and Katz studied the reactions of various ethnic minorities in Israel, the United States and Japan to episodes of the television programme *Dallas*[67], then the most widely exported television programme in the world. They discovered that each group had a rich interpretation of what they saw, and no difficulty telling the researchers about it. The different cultural backgrounds of the groups meant that each came to quite different conclusions about what *Dallas* meant and were influenced by it in different ways, even though the episodes they all saw were identical. However, the programme made all the viewers think and challenge previously held attitudes and values.

Wendy Griswold provides an example of how the arts influenced repertoire in Jacobean London.[68] She describes how the content of new plays provided the aristocratic, theatre-going public with role models which helped convince young men of this class that they could, with honour, pursue profitable careers in the newly emerging and highly rewarding commercial sector. Prior to this time, the aristocracy had shunned involvement in "trade" as incompatible with their dignity.

Muschamp cites a report from Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools (HMI) as stating that arts education helps students to understand better and come to terms with their social problems[69] as well as increasing their abilities to question, explore and develop ideas.[70] Lidstone shows evidence that visits to art museums improve students' social and cultural development.[71] Hewitt reports the results of a National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) that pupils in the UK studying art, music, etc. benefited from enhanced knowledge of social and cultural issues.[72]

Fernandez studied Desh Pardesh,[73] an annual East Indian gay and lesbian performing arts festival in Toronto. She provides examples of how experiencing the variety of music, dance, theatre and video productions put on by the East Indian gay community created awareness and changed minds and attitudes. Her study showed that various festival audiences (both from the East Asian community, and from the more general community of Toronto) were led to a greater understanding and acceptance of the gay community as well as the young East Asian community. As one respondent put it:

> It was ... a site for White Canadians to be at an event which was sophisticated about arts, racism and politics that set a new standard for how these three spheres could be brought together. I remember speaking to a couple of people who were thinking differently by the end of the evening, and who saw themselves as learners in a way that was new for them.[74]

Will Straw, in his study of invasive cultural artefacts (the printing of salacious magazines in 1930s Toronto and the prevalence of Disco music in Montreal in the 1970s),[75] shows how public authorities feared that these media would distort current and traditional understandings.

They, therefore, fought the production of salacious magazines in the courts and used the press to oppose the performance of Disco music. In Straw's view, the introduction of new cultural forms is often viewed as subversive and associated in the minds of public authorities with the criminal or at least the immoral classes in society. Culture may have the power to change minds and introduce new understandings, but the new understandings are not always welcome, especially by those who have a stake in the old ones. Think of adults bemoaning the effect of popular music on the young!

Worts, in his study of the social effects of museums,[76] provides two examples taken from his innovative visitor research about the kinds of reactions visitors have to viewing paintings.

In the first,

> a mother and teen-age daughter are visiting an art museum when they encounter an unusual installation consisting of a single painting, seating for two and audio programs – all within a booth that is separated from other exhibits. They both sit down and listen to the 13-minute tape, which they each experience as a personal meditation on a painting of a beaver dam in northern Ontario. After discussing what they each experienced, they jointly write on a 'Share Your Reaction' card:

> My daughter and I both listened to the 12 min. female commentary about MacDonald's *The Beaver Dam*. By totally focusing on the painting, we were amazed at the mysterious shapes, movements, and colour patterns in the work. It was a thoroughly enjoyable experience, and a unique one for me – a student of Art History (a while ago!). [daughter added:] ART = VIOLENCE – RELEASED AND UNDAMAGING.

> In this situation, an experience of a single painting provides the context for a mother and daughter to share a deeply felt experience. Both felt the intimacy and power of what the painter had created. But each brought to the process their own creative imagination that crafted different meanings. For the mother, it sparked a reminiscence and reflection on an earlier time in life when

she studied art history. The daughter distilled her experience into a personal reflection of what art means – equating it with violence, but adding that the experienced released the violent energy and rendered it 'undamaging'. It was a moment of deep reflection.

In a second example, drawn from the same study,

a visitor to an art museum sits in front of a landscape painting featuring a beaver dam and a pool of water, deep in a remote wilderness location. After several minutes, the viewer's imagination begins to generate a series of associations and feelings. Afterwards, the visitor writes about her experience:

A range of feelings and ideas that startle me! – very erotic and sensuous – a fear feeling related to that dark still water, death, cruelty – a yearning in me and tears – to touch the earth, to feel the coolness, to be held and caressed by this place. There is power and spirit in this painting that I never even glimpsed before sitting down. Communion.

Individual experiences lie at the core of culture. Deep reflection can open up a portal into the personal unconscious that creates awareness within an individual of forces bearing on them that warrant attention. The personal unconscious is one manifestation of forces that cannot be fully known or controlled by the human ego. In the larger world, we are surrounded by complex systems and forces that can overwhelm human beings in the blink of an eye. Creating the conditions for deep reflection can help individuals to remain a conscious link to the forces that are significant in our lives and well being – both in the larger world, as well as their inner world.

Swidler cites two examples from her case studies of people consuming written culture to help understand their lives after the break up of their marriages:

The intensified use of culture to reconstruct one's life is evident in the experience of Brian Palmer:

I live by establishing plans. I had no plan for being single, and it gave me a lot of opportunity to think, and in the course of thinking I read for the first time in many, many years. Being an English major, I obviously liked to read. I got back into the habit of reading – to the point of reading two novels a week. I got back into classical music for the first time since my college years.

When he was shaken and unsure, but also free to consider new opportunities... Brian was drawn to cultural pursuits that had not engaged him during his settled adulthood.[77]

The second respondent she cites also turned toward literature, but of a more "self-help" kind to develop new understandings and new strategies to cope with her radically changed situation after her divorce.[78] Swidler concludes:

Culture takes a more explicit, coherent form when people are reorganizing their strategies of action or developing new ones. For most people, major life transformations – the shift from adolescence to adulthood or the readjustment after a divorce – inspire some cultural rethinking, although people also continue to rely on their existing repertoire of personal and social capacities. Thus both Nan Pfautz and Brian Palmer reacted to divorce by becoming more active cultural consumers, even while they used elements of their existing repertoires to fashion modified strategies of action.[79]

Swidler mentions adolescence as a time of major transformation, so if culture as the creative arts is actually used by people as a source of new understandings, then we should expect that the consumption of culture should figure significantly in the lives of adolescents. This is exactly what Pronovost finds in his quantitative review of cultural consumption patterns of youth based on surveys done in Canada, the United States and France.[80]

Youth and culture: a special case

Pronovost finds that cultural consumption is quite different for youth than it is for the general population. Young people are the greatest consumers of music (particularly popular music: indeed, it is they who make it popular), which is omnipresent in their lives. They consume more cinema than any other group, and they are the greatest users of libraries and book stores. Their consumption patterns change significantly throughout the various stages of adolescence (which is relatively short, making the number of changes even more remarkable). As youth get older, they shift from books to magazines. Their tastes in music and cinema evolve (as marketers well know) and they move from playing a musical instrument to other more active participation such as dance.

This intensity and evolution of consumption by adolescents and young people and the differences it exhibits from the more stable adult tastes both around them and which they will eventually develop, Pronovost puts down to young people's need to create independent identities for themselves. To obtain the symbolic resources to do this, they turn to cultural participation. Adolescence is a particularly unsettled time, as young people set about to experiment with lifestyles, question and distance themselves from their parents' ways of doing things, and develop their basic approaches to life, in fact, to build their "culture as social repertoire" for themselves. It is significant for our argument here that individuals, at precisely the time they are most in need of creating meaning and capacity for action, turn so heavily to the arts.

As Swidler puts it:

> Young people are voracious cultural consumers because they are still trying out (and trying on) the possible selves they might become. They are in the process of forming and reforming strategies of action, developing the repertoire of cultured capacities out of which they will construct the patterns of their adult lives. They seek out the shaping, and the shaking up, culture [the arts] can offer.[81]

Sreberny finds the same generational difference as Pronovost does in intergenerational cultural consumption patterns among ethnic minorities in Europe.[82]

The need for home-grown culture

Nor is it just consumption of any cultural product that is beneficial in this regard. The origin of the cultural product may be important too. Not only is domestic cultural product more likely to address domestic cultural issues more directly, but it is also likely to address them in more accessible ways, since it arises out of the familiar domestic traditions and with reference to familiar domestic repertoires. Matarasso cites an example from Gould where visual artists in El Salvador and theatre groups in Uganda and Nigeria use the arts to address local problems of community development and get more success than other, more conventional approaches because

> ...by using their own resources to map, review and resolve problems, the community gains an understanding of its present situation and control over its future development.[83]

In Regina, Saskatchewan, members of the severely marginalised Aboriginal community developed and produced a television drama series called Moccasin Flats[84] about the failures and successes of their lives. This was done as a way to articulate their problems and develop solutions. The television series, which was broadcast with success on regular Canadian television, provided Aboriginal people with an experimental space where they could think out and negotiate their problems and solutions before actually adopting different and risky behaviour: using the arts to build repertoire.

Confidence and the capacity for collective action

Everywhere in these studies, observers made mention of the increased confidence that cultural participation gave participants. Matarasso quotes respondents as saying things like "Before it was unthinkable

that I could come out on my own."[85] Their participation enabled people to see their work and their capacities in a new and better light. He reports that 84% of respondents felt more confident about what they could do and 37% had decided to take up training or follow a course of studies.[86] Hewitt also reports that NFER studies found that arts activities increased esteem and self confidence.[87] Muschamp mentions that the HMI reports the same increase in confidence in students that participated in arts activities.[88]

Thiedey evaluated a series of cultural projects undertaken by the French government to re-integrate people from disadvantaged sectors of various French cities into the job market by using the creative arts to break down their barriers to access.[89] Called the Projets culturels du Quartier, they ranged from clothing design through theatre and film production to novel writing. The evidence she presented was based on interviews with the participants. Her respondents reported, as Matarasso found, that the participation in the heritage and creative arts projects significantly increased the confidence and self-esteem of the participants.

The Connecticut government's study of the value of the arts found that an overarching value set surrounds arts participation – the set of values associated with identity formation, such as self-confidence, self-esteem, pride and dignity.[90]

When people gain confidence, it means they have gained not only new ideas and understandings but also the willingness and capacity to use them in their interactions with others. Having confidence means having sufficient knowledge and experience to predict how others will respond to your actions and sufficient repertoire to be able to react appropriately to their response in your turn and being aware you have this knowledge. Confidence, therefore, leverages the value of the repertoire they have gained. To know what is going on but to fear to participate or engage means that what you know is useless. Having confidence gives you the capacity for collective action.

As the model predicts, the evidence suggests that participation in the arts does appear to enrich people's repertoire. Participants gain new understanding of themselves and the world around them, and with this, gain the confidence to use that understanding. That is, they gain the capacity for collective action.

Formation and retention of identity

What formation and retention of identity means is that the individual has awareness of himself and his rights as a member of a group and a degree of pride and confidence because of that. Having a group identity means believing that the group values you and your actions and that members of the group will provide you with support and assistance in your actions. It also means that you believe the group's support is worth something.

Perhaps more important, having a group identity means that you believe the group validates your social repertoire. As the model suggests, your repertoire of social understandings, learned mainly (at least initially) from your family and members of your community, and subsequently from community institutions, is basically a copy of the cultural traditions of the group. If you do not feel a sense of belonging to a group, or a sense that the group's traditions are of any value, then you will also regard your repertoire as of little value, and your capacity for social participation, particularly outside your group, will be limited as a result.

If, however, you have confidence in your group and its traditions, and believe that they will stand up for you when you put your strategies into action, and that their standing up for you will be effective, then you can be said to have a capacity to take an active role in your society. Group identity, therefore, is a critical component of citizenship capacity.

We saw in the last section that cultural participation gave individuals personal confidence to do what they had not thought they could do before. The question we now ask in this section is: is there any

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evidence that cultural participation provides an individual with confidence in the group and a pride in belonging to it. In other words, does it strengthen group identity?

Again, Matarasso's work provides some evidence. In many of the projects he studied, his respondents reported a strengthening of sense of belonging to place and identity. 40% of adult respondents reported that their sense of place had been strengthened by their participation in the cultural projects.[91] This was the case whether the community was thriving and prosperous, such as York or a disadvantaged neighbourhood such as the Batley Carr estate.[92] In fact, on that estate, people not only reported that their pride had increased, but that they no longer felt ashamed about living there. Festivals of traditional arts such as the Scottish Fèis seemed especially to have this effect.[93] In Nottingham, the Museum Service, responding to criticism from the city's Black and Asian communities, developed new exhibits which traced the history of Nottingham's culturally diverse communities and disadvantaged groups. This has had some success in assuaging the criticism from the Black and Asian community and making those communities feel as if they had a stake in the city. It has also provided a legitimation of the culture of the Black community of Nottingham and their contribution to the city.[94]

Farther afield, Matarasso reports an example from Australia: a music and theatre project run by three artists at Yipirinya, a bilingual, bicultural Aboriginal school. The arts experience left the school and the Aboriginal community feeling strong and united. It improved the confidence of the children who performed and of the adults to show their work in public.[95]

Culture's contribution to building group identity and group confidence can best be seen in marginalised and excluded communities, since they often do not have a strong confidence in their identities to begin with, so the effect of using culture is often more dramatic. Broad, Boyer and Chattaway conducted a case study of the Batchewana First Nation, a community of Canadian Aboriginal people.[96]

Native peoples in Canada have, since the time of first European contact, had a long history of loss of land, cultural suppression, social exclusion, and economic marginalisation. For example:

> Like many First Nations communities, Batchewana experienced a substantial period of time when practising cultural activities such as speaking the language, hosting gatherings or traditional ceremonies were either forbidden or illegal. The research participants spoke of the [issue of aboriginal children being forcibly removed from parents to attend government run] residential schools, the outlawing of ceremonies and languages, and the attempt to turn the Aniishnaabe people [the cultural and linguistic group to which the people of the Batchewana community belong] – traditionally a hunter/gatherer society – into farmers, as examples of ways that the culture had been almost lost.[97]

Broad et al.'s case study explores the processes by which the Batchewana community is using cultural practices, some reclaimed from the past and some perhaps borrowed or created, to restore its identity after its long history of loss and exclusion.

Members of the Batchewana First Nation started holding pow-wows, traditional Indian social as well as ceremonial and spiritual gatherings that signalled pride in being Indian. The revival of the pow-wow led to the renewal of a number of traditional arts and crafts which had fallen out of practice, such as beading, leather work and regalia making. A dance troupe was also initiated, and it reached beyond the pow-wow to tour the region and even performed in Toronto and in the United States, thus going far beyond any traditional practices to become a touring company of artists.

These practices gave the community a sense of pride and importance. Not only were they Anniishnaabe people but it was important and worthwhile to be part of the Anniishnaabe people.
As a respondent in the study put it:

> …it makes me feel better as an Aniishnaabe-kwe to be involved in [our traditions] …to be proud of my culture and not to sit back and

not be ashamed of who I am. So it just makes me proud to be an Anniishnaabe person.[98]

Broad et al. conclude that a strong cultural participation within the community is one of the keys to a strong, sustainable First Nation community.

With participation comes a deeper sense of identity, belonging, and confidence, as well as stronger ties within the community, and with outside communities, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal. Thus engagement with cultural activities tends to encourage greater and greater degrees of involvement.[99]

Fernandez reports similar feelings and expressions of group identity in the East Asian community in Toronto as a result of participation in the Desh Pardesh festival. As a respondent reported:

Desh events were one of the few places where I felt I could bring together the fullness of who I am – I didn't have to select one or the other. At Desh I could be an anti-racism activist, a student of art, a lover of dance, a social animal, a proud south Asian who actually blended at a social event, and be attending a major event in Toronto, all at the same time! In terms of social change, I think Desh was a place where the complexity of South Asian identity became apparent.[100]

Buffet, in her literature survey of culture and the integration of immigrant populations in France,[101] found evidence that artistic expression permits immigrants to establish a space within society. Art mediates between the excluded or marginalised group and the receiving society in the same way that Fernandez finds Desh Pardesh did. It is particularly striking with youth:

The Hip-Hop movement [in France] appears at present like a cross-bred culture, combining American, African and Maghreb influences. It is a culture which permits adolescents to construct identity based on reference points to positions beyond the conflicts between traditional Moslem values and secular French values. Youth can use

artistic creativity to leave behind apparently insoluble cultural tensions of their elders.[102]

Arts and heritage participation also has a similar effect in non-marginal groups. Paul Williams demonstrates this in his study of the restoration of a disused church originally built in the 18th century by German immigrants to Nova Scotia.[103] As the German community faded as a separate community, especially after the two world wars in the 20th century, the church lost its iconic status. With the restoration, supported both by Canadians of German descent and by the German government, the church has given rise to cultural events, such as concerts and German-language church services and of course has become a tourist attraction. Post-war German immigrants to Canada in particular see it as a cultural mnemonic,, a tribute to early immigration and a legitimation of their sense of belonging to a long Canadian tradition.

Harvey, in his study of the development of the concept of nationhood in the 17th to 19th century,[104] looks at contemporary interpretations of ancient monuments in Britain and Ireland. He shows how experts and the public constructed interpretations of the historic monuments of Avebury in England and Newgrange in Ireland to legitimise and promote the emerging sense of patriotism and nationalism in those two countries over the period.

As the Connecticut study of the value of the arts puts it:

> Almost all arts participation has socio-cultural value, in that it connects people with their community or with their cultural heritage.... Art is memory.[105]

The evidence indicates that arts participation creates and strengthens identity. People become more aware of themselves, their rights, and with the support of the group, their capacities to influence the world around them.

Modifying values and preferences for collective choice

If cultural participation changes people's minds, or increases people's understanding and repertoire, and if it has given people a stronger sense of self and the confidence to act in society, then it is highly unlikely that people's values and attitudes have been left untouched. It does not follow directly of course. You may merely have a more confident and more profound belief that everything you believed before is even more true than you thought. However, few of us are so insightful and wise as to get everything right the first time and so, for most cultural participants, the encounter with arts and heritage is likely to modify values and attitudes, which will in turn change our preferences for the choices of actions that we make within society.

Perhaps because values are so intertwined with understanding and identity, or perhaps because values research is so much the domain of polling firms, there was very little in the literature surveyed for this study that spoke explicitly and exclusively of value change, but it was not entirely absent.

Matarasso, of course, provides some evidence. He cites many examples of increased tolerance for strangers or people of different cultures.[106] Working together on creative projects brought together people of different and sometimes hostile ethnic minorities, old people and youth, working and middle class people, and even people who were unfamiliar and indifferent to the arts with artists, and created bonds of understanding between them. Going beyond active participants to look at the effects of cultural activities on audiences, he cites, for example, the Portsmouth HOME festival,[107] which was an arts festival specifically oriented toward promoting understanding between culturally diverse communities (i.e., changing values). He reports its success in enhancing the profile of the various minority communities and increasing inter-group tolerance.

Fernandez, writing of Desh Pardesh,[108] noted the same increase in tolerance among those who made up the audiences to the arts activities Desh provided. Broad suggests that the same thing was happening with the audiences at the performances of the Batchewana

dance performers when they performed in Canada and the United States.[109]

Of course, it is not attendance at a few dance performances that is going to change peoples' values. The model suggests that arts and heritage participation sustained over many years will build values into the traditions of the communities. This too perhaps is why the evidence of value change is thin, since most studies look at short term events and make no attempt to see the accumulated change of years of cultural activity.

Building social cohesion

Social cohesion is about cooperating with people in order to accomplish individual and collective goals. As such, it requires trust that people will treat each other fairly and respect for the rights and deserts of others in the partnership. It is often manifest in networks of social connections and this is one of the things that has been used to try and measure it. In this guise, social cohesion is often referred to as social capital, although there are important differences.[110] Social networks are only one aspect of social cohesion. More important is the underlying confidence in and trust of other people[111] which enables people to form the myriad of partnerships characteristic of a society, from marriages to the purchase of television sets on credit. The kind of network that helps get a person a job or provides support to the excluded is only a part of the picture.

The expanded understanding and confidence in one's identity and group, and changing values that we have seen culture provide in the previous sections are important contributors to people's willingness to cooperate. They equip people with the social repertoire necessary to understand and interpret other people's actions and motivations and give the confidence necessary to be able to respond to those actions and motivations in effective ways. The way culture promotes social cohesion is closely intertwined with these previous effects.

Jeannotte reports several findings that social interaction is one of the main motivators for arts participation.[112] A cultural participation survey carried out by the Urban Institute in the United States in 1998 found that the top three reasons why people attend arts and cultural events were to socialise with friends, support friends and family, and support organisations or events important to the community. Canadian studies have also confirmed the same result. Jeannotte concluded that much of the social cohesion effect of the arts "may be nothing more profound than 'just showing up.'"

Putnam's example of the correlation between membership in choral societies and networks of trust and cooperation is perhaps the most famous example of cultural participation's contribution to fostering social cohesion. However, there is other supporting evidence as well. Stolle and Rochon studied associations to see if different types contributed differently to creation of social capital.[113] Using survey data, they found that cultural associations (defined as those that were engaged in the preservation of national, regional or ethnic culture; church groups; literary, music and arts activities) exhibited the highest levels of generalised trust and scored very high on tolerance. Chandler and Lalonde found a significant correlation between low levels of youth suicide in Aboriginal communities and those communities that exhibited strong cultural continuity.[114] Community health and individual mental well-being and health have been found to be highly correlated with social cohesion,[115] so suicide rates can be considered as an indicator of lack of social cohesion. Hewitt offers the example of the bonding effects created through the arts during the Queen's 2002 jubilee in Britain.[116] The Connecticut study of the value of the arts found that arts connected people to their community.[117] The overall conclusion of Buffet's literature review was to show that arts played a significant role in the integration of immigrants into French society.[118]

Broad et al.'s case study of the Batchewana First Nation showed that the introduction of traditional arts and cultural practices built social cohesion.[119] The pride and community identification which was engendered by the celebrations and traditional practices drew the people of the community closer together, encouraging people to develop their own capacities and interact with others with confidence, both inside and outside the community:

...the pow-wow and aboriginal day [and] feasts…provided for the whole community, and it's there to try to bring the community together…There are reserves that are close by that don't have any of that, that aren't actually…aware of any of that. So I think that our First Nation is very strong to have what we have, to help us learn about who we are.[120]

Of course, Matarasso also offers evidence of cultural participation bringing people together across previous barriers. Hardly surprising, 90% of respondents reported making new friends,[121] as they would in any participatory project. However, 63% reported that they had become keen to work on other local projects,[122] a direct indication of willingness to cooperate. Finally, he mentions the Total Balalaika Show in Helsinki which combined the Red Army Chorus and the Leningrad Cowboys (a Finnish Pop Group). He quotes Timo Cantell showing how the Total Balalaika Show contributed to the Finns' changing perceptions of their Russian neighbours:

For Finns, 'Soviets' have now become 'Russians'. Former enemies have been transformed into a position where they do not fall into clear-cut categories; enemies they are no longer, but not yet quite friends either.[123]

Arts and heritage participation appears to promote social cohesion.

Contribution to community development and fostering civic participation

Community development means the ability of a community to take collective action to advance its goals and improve the lot of its members. It goes beyond identifying with the community, or taking pride in being part of it, which we have dealt with in the section above on identity formation and retention. It means actually accomplishing something substantial as a community. Its manifestation at the community level is collective projects and achievements. Its manifestation at the individual level is volunteering for and becoming

involved in those same projects, whether they are ad hoc (like participation in a protest rally or organising a festival event) or routinised (like voting in a municipal election or giving to charity). It is hard to differentiate between the spirit of a community, led by a group of activists working for a cause, and the spirit of a group of people in the community volunteering their time and energy to forward a cause which affects the community. They are really two sides of the same coin.

Arts and heritage influence community development and civic participation through the creation of repertoire and confidence, the formation of identity, value change and social cohesion. The direct evidence for culture's contribution to development is therefore closely linked to the evidence presented above. It is also most clearly seen in the minority and marginalised communities we have studied. Complex, well developed and well integrated communities frequently undertake collective actions, but because of the frequency and diversity of these actions, it is hard to see and trace the links back to culture. This is why, when researchers want evidence of community development, they often look for civic participation by individuals. In marginalised and excluded communities, where effective collective action is rare enough to be remarkable, it is easier to see these effects.

In the Batchewana First Nation, the research participants confirmed that a growing cultural identity had strengthened community capacity and empowered its members.[124] They contrasted the experiences of their own childhood, during a period when the culture was not as vital as it is today, with the community as it has developed, and found that the strengthened cultural engagement had played a significant role in those changes. They credited the cultural strength with providing the basis for strengthening the community's capacity to fight for their treaty rights, including fishing rights in Lake Superior. Whitefish Island, a traditional gathering place for First Nations from across North America was finally restored to Batchewana First Nation in 1990, while Rankin Location, the largest of the four pieces of land belonging to the community, was purchased in 1949 but not given official reserve status until years afterwards. One of the research participants explained how culture contributes to the assertion of political rights:

before we would have sat back…[but now] for example we had a couple of cases go to the Supreme Court…becoming more aware of our culture [has made us] …more self-confident to go forward and start fighting for our rights.[125]

The Batchewana First Nation was the first First Nation in Ontario to establish an industrial park, and it also has a hockey arena, a daycare centre, owns its own educational institution and has a high level of educational achievement in comparison to other First Nation communities.

The Desh Pardesh arts festival appears to have had similar community galvanising effects.[126] The Desh Pardesh participants and the individual arts organisations continually formed and re-formed their structures throughout the life of the festival, from 1988 to 2000. The organisations spawned a variety of anti-racist initiatives and organisations, support groups for immigrants and political activist groups to protest individual human rights issues. In the winter of 1996 Desh partnered with the provincial government television broadcaster, Television Ontario, and conducted interactive Media Literacy Workshops in high schools that identified and challenged mainstream media biases and racial stereotypes. Desh organised discussion panels on the impacts of immigration and participated in anti-nuclear demonstrations.

Fernandez concludes:

> In all cases art and creativity were used as a vehicle to express the distinct needs of marginal communities from abused women to youth to the disabled or to immigrant workers. From the artistic platform of Desh collective activism was organized to reach out interculturally and to foster social actions and participation.[127]

Matarasso also draws similar conclusions from the sixty arts and cultural projects he studied. He cites a large number of examples where participation in the projects led to the creation of organisational capacity in the community, local self-reliance, facilitation of public consultation, community regeneration and the development of partnerships.[128]

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On the civic participation side of the coin, Jeannotte uses data from the Canadian General Social Survey to show that those who attended artistic performances, visited art galleries and museums, read books and magazines, visited libraries and participated in such cultural activities as singing in a choir were much more likely to volunteer than others.[129] Among those who participated in cultural activities, 34% volunteered in the community, whereas only 20% of those who did not participate in cultural activities volunteered. Bourdeau extended this analysis by demonstrating that even after controlling for socio-economic and demographic factors, and education, the relationship between volunteering (civic participation) and participating in cultural activities remains strong.[130]

"Supply side" evidence

Artists have always known that it was their task to enhance understanding in their audiences and increase their capacity for collective action. This provides us an additional and somewhat unique sort of evidence in support of the model and its social effects.

Plato recognised the social effects of culture when he famously argued in The Republic that the arts should be censored because of their power to move citizens, influence their behaviour and even their character.[131]

Shakespeare claimed he was holding a mirror up to nature, by which he meant not only copying human nature in his plays but holding up his plays as if they were mirrors in which the audience could examine themselves critically.

Milan Kundera , in The Art of the Novel, writes:

> The novelist is neither historian not prophet: he is an explorer of existence[132] ... [h]e is an explorer feeling his way in an effort to reveal some unknown aspect of existence.[133] Novelists draw up *the map of existence* by discovering that human possibility. Thus *both*

the character *and* his world must be understood as *possibilities*.[134] [Emphasis in the original]

McCarthy adds:

> Joyce Cary, the Irish novelist, writes that the creative process is "a kind of translation, not from one language into another, but one state of existence into another, from the receptive into the creative, from the purely sensuous impression into the purely reflective and critical act."[135] In the act of expression, the artist makes inner reality public and therefore communicable to others. The material he or she works with – whether language, image, sound, or movement – is not raw material but, rather, a public system of symbolic meaning developed and refined by generations of use and thus shaped by the society in which the artist develops. In working with the medium, the artist moves back and forth between his or her vision and the perspective of the imagined audience in a process of protracted labour. What is completed becomes an object in the physical world, which others can encounter and explore… The work of art that results from this process of skilled execution is what Taylor calls "a bit of 'frozen' potential communication."[136] that stands apart from the artist, often speaking to audiences over long periods of time and great cultural distance.[137]

As Lionel Trilling wrote about the novel of the last 200 years:

> [The novel's] greatness and its practical usefulness lay in its unremitting work of involving the reader himself in the moral life, inviting him to put his own motives under examination, suggesting that reality is not as his conventional education has led him to see it. It taught us, as no other genre ever did, the extent of human variety and the value of this variety.[138]

McCarthy suggests:

> Some individual works of art were created with the explicit purpose of changing attitudes and bringing about social change: *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *The Grapes of Wrath*, and *The Invisible Man* all provided a critical portrayal of America and galvanized the American public into

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recognizing the contrast between the kind of society that had been created and the kind of society that could be envisioned.[139]

It is not just writers that recognise this role (although as writers, it is they who write most about it). Glenn D. Lowry, Director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, describes museums as "a critical public forum where works of art become engaged in a complex dialogue with the public."[140] Lowry also writes: "Art museums are about a discrete activity that involves the communication of ideas and values through looking at and thinking about art. They are fundamental, in this sense, to the preservation of the artistic legacy of the past and the making of that legacy meaningful to the present."[141]

As Paul Klee put it, "I do not wish to represent the man as he is, but only as he might be."[142]

Policy "evidence"

Virtually all countries have cultural policies; that is, policies governing arts and heritage promotion, production and access. Furthermore, most of the policies have purposes beyond merely increasing the supply and availability of cultural products. Governments are usually trying to use culture (arts and heritage) to influence some other aspects of national life.

The fact that governments count on cultural policy to have social, among other, effects cannot be taken as evidence that culture has the social effects hypothesised. The various policies would have to be evaluated to determine their effects, and that very large task is beyond the scope of this paper. It is, however, evidence that a large number of people – politicians, cultural policy makers and planners – have long believed that culture can have a social effect. It is, therefore, at least indicative that culture has social effects. It is in this spirit that we now examine the cultural policies of a number of countries.

The Council of Europe's Transversal Study Cultural Policy and Cultural Diversity has been concerned with the policy implications of cultural

diversity in Europe.[143] It produced, in its three phases, 15 country reports which constitute – together with the *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe*[144] – a useful comparative sample of European cultural policies. The data from the first phase country reports – Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Luxembourg, Switzerland, United Kingdom[145] – is the main, though not exclusive, source for the following analysis.

All the countries appear to provide culture as a merit good, that is, something that everyone deserves to have regardless of taste or ability to pay. The countries have policies to support excellence in performance of the classic or high arts and national museums to conserve and present masterpieces of art and artefacts of historical significance for the life of the nation. These policies try to ensure that citizens are exposed to artistic excellence. What is taken as excellent is the western canon of art (e.g., Beethoven, Michelangelo, Shakespeare, etc.), which from a certain perspective can make the theatre or concert hall look rather like a museum.

Some countries (Austria, Canada and United Kingdom) also seem at one point or another to treat cultural policy as industrial policy, supporting the cultural industries for their job creation abilities. This was based on a notion that cultural industries were particularly good at creating jobs, promoting innovation and fuelling economic growth.[146] This view has been contested,[147] but retains appeal for arts advocates.

Neither of these policy objectives cast much light on social effects, however. Merit goods by definition produce private benefits. Government spending on any programme redistributes economic effort but does not, under normal circumstances, expand the economy.[148] There are other policy objectives that are more interesting for our enquiry.

Some cultural policy appeared to be aimed at increasing understanding and capacity for collective action, albeit not in those terms. (Austria, Bulgaria, Luxembourg, France). Austrian policy talks about civic education and upbringing, although it is easy to confuse this with formation of national identity. In Bulgaria, particularly in the communist period, culture was used to instruct citizens and ensure that their social

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repertoires were in line with party doctrine, but cultural policy is also used today to help make the transition to the new democratic modes of citizenship. Luxembourg aims cultural policy at promoting culture as a way of educating citizens about life and "a bulwark against fanaticism", an example of promoting cultural diversity in citizens' social repertoires. According to Loosely, the aim of educating citizens was also to be found in French cultural policy under Malraux.[149]

Many of the countries studied had policies, at least at some point in the their histories, to promote national identity (Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, Luxembourg). Indeed, as McQuail reports in his study of European media policy, this is one of the purposes of most European media policies.[150] All countries except Luxembourg (for obvious reasons) use cultural policy to promote regional identity (Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Switzerland, United Kingdom, France). In particular, in Austria, policy has been specifically aimed at the Volksgruppen (designated ethnic minorities). In Belgium, cultural policy is aimed at the maintenance of the integrity of the two linguistic regions; in Bulgaria it is aimed at the Roma; and in the UK at Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Media policy, such as the "free radio" in Austria can be singled out in this regard.

Change in values is also an objective of some cultural policy (Bulgaria, United Kingdom, Europe). In Bulgaria, this is part of an effort to build a new democratic identity and values to help the country in its transition to democracy. Hill points out that in the UK, film was believed to be highly effective in influencing young people, and so had to be both strictly controlled by policy and harnessed as a vehicle of self improvement. Indeed, film and other cultural intrusions by the American film industry are widely viewed in Europe as fostering undesirable values in national populations and so to be resisted with appropriate film and other media policy.[151]

Most countries currently believe that cultural policy, especially when oriented toward national minorities and immigrant groups, can act as a tool for social integration, inclusion and cohesion (Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Switzerland, United Kingdom, France, Europe). Austria looked to cultural policy to lessen the educational divide between urban and rural citizens and recent policies have been aimed

toward socially disadvantaged groups and ethnic minorities. In Belgium, there is an attempt to use cultural policy to ensure that disadvantaged groups can articulate their own cultures and have the cultural resources to access their social rights. Bulgaria has policies to enable long time cultural minorities to forge their own identities, in the hopes that this will permit them to become effective partners in Bulgarian nation building. Media has been used in Canada to provide Aboriginal people with means to express and communicate their culture, building links within the First Nations communities and with the rest of Canadian society. In addition, bringing Canadians together and uniting the country were some of the explicit aims of the policies which put in place the national system of broadcasting as well as the various flagship arts institutions. The United Kingdom reorganised its arts councils to reflect the emerging regional character of the nation in part to promote understanding. This is particularly the role seen for itself by the Arts Council of Northern Ireland, as it tries to use cultural policy to construct bridges between the two religious groups which make up that region. France's Projets culturels du Quartier had social inclusion as their explicit goal. European media policy is used to promote the inclusion of immigrants and minorities.[152]

Many of the cultural policies of European countries have the preservation of cultural sovereignty as their aim (Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Luxembourg, France). Cultural sovereignty is valued as part of a nation's capacity for self determination and independent action. As such, it falls under the heading of community development, the ability of a community to mobilise its resources to accomplish collective acts. McQuail reports that cultural sovereignty is one of the themes that underlies most European media policy.[153]

It is suggestive that many of the policies are believed to be able to produce the very social effects that we have identified.

Summary of evidence

The evidence we have reviewed above appears to have demonstrated our point. It suggests that arts and heritage participation does produce

the social effects that we have hypothesised. The fact that there is a great deal of it from many independent sources and perspectives lends credibility to evidence as a whole. We may not actually see the fire, but there is too much smoke to responsibly ignore. Furthermore, as we have suggested before, it is likely that there is a good deal more evidence of this type sitting on the shelves of policy evaluators and arts advocacy groups.

Culture appears to make an important contribution to citizenship capacity. Furthermore, the state has a responsibility to ensure that arts and heritage flourish, and that citizens have access to them and a say in their production. Since, in a democracy, citizens should have a hand in shaping the evolution of their culture, it follows that culture as citizenship capacity should be a major focus of cultural policy, perhaps displacing the objectives of promoting excellence or creating jobs. Does this mean that current cultural policies should be abandoned in favour of some brave new world? Implications for cultural policy are explored in the next part.

IV. Implications for cultural policy

The model implies that a stable and sustainable society requires the participation of its members (citizens and others) in the development of its cultural life. Members of society must be able to negotiate solutions to all the contingencies, large or small, that confront them, and must be able to enter into a myriad of cooperative arrangements with others in the confidence that they will get a fare share of the products of the partnership. To do this, they need an adequate cultural repertoire: sufficiently sophisticated to deal with the complexities of modern life, sufficiently common to make cooperation possible and sufficiently unique to be able to satisfy individual needs. In other words, it has to be diverse. People obtain their repertoires from their traditions, so members of society must have access to their traditions and ways to preserve them, both informal and formal. This means they must be able to participate in shaping their heritage (which we have seen is the formal and socially constructed narrative of tradition). However, as we have also seen, heritage is not enough to ensure the requisite diversity and adaptability. A healthy, productive and creative arts sector must also exist to provide a source of new ideas and a testing ground for them. With arts and heritage playing such a strategic role in society, the state has a responsibility to ensure that these sectors are functioning effectively.

There are two alternative ways for the state to fulfil this responsibility. First, governments can take the role of curator and artist, and produce cultural content directly. For example, they can operate national museums which preserve national treasures and interpret the national narrative. They can create national broadcasting networks and provide mass media services to their citizens. Alternatively, governments can help citizens themselves to take a role in cultural production beyond that of being consumers. They can promote artistic activity in the general population and provide arts education. They can sponsor activities which give a broad segment of the population the opportunity to engage with a diversity of cultural expression and even to perform and create for themselves. They can provide their cultural minorities with opportunities and resources so that minorities can express and

commemorate their own cultures, and, more importantly, join broader coalitions to contribute as equals to shaping a common culture. Governments can promote the full participation of citizens (or better, all members of society, since it is often the case that those most excluded in a society are not technically citizens, even though they may contribute actively to the society) in the ongoing development of culture as patterns of living. In this way, all individuals in society have a chance to negotiate satisfactory positions for themselves, and, therefore, to be economically included, socially recognised and politically legitimised as equal partners in the society and the state. In the face of the ever increasing need for cultural diversity, as well as the need to cope with cultural diversity (a paradox we explored in third section of Part II), this second alternative takes on a greater importance than ever before.

As the transversal studies authors and other observers have demonstrated, most governments currently pursue both these alternatives to varying degrees. However, while most know quite well how to be cultural providers (run national museums, fund national broadcasters, support excellence in the arts), they are just beginning to learn how best to be facilitators of cultural access. It is, therefore, presumptuous to try to provide a comprehensive critique of current cultural policies and assess the implications of the model for each. It is also beyond the scope of this paper to provide a list of best practices, although an inventory of current efforts, of which the Transversal Studies are a prototype and major step, would be immensely useful. It would not only provide a useful learning tool for other governments; it would also help test and refine the theory presented in this paper. However, the evidence we have examined gives us some suggestions for the directions in which cultural policy might usefully evolve to fit better into the world described by the model. In the next sections, we will examine several typical areas of cultural policy and speculate on how they might be adapted to reflect better a society which works in the way that the model hypothesises and that the evidence we have reviewed suggests.

The evidence presented above furnishes a variety of examples of programs which try to use the arts and heritage activities to broaden participation, promote inclusion and build the kind of citizenship skills

that the model asserts are the social role of culture. However, it should be kept in mind that while the evidence certainly points to the fact that culture does have the social effects hypothesised, it does not provide enough comparative information on the results of individual cases to enable us to judge the effectiveness of one particular approach or project over another. What is provided in the paragraphs that follow can only be considered as preliminary thoughts intended to spark further debate and thinking, not apodictic conclusions about programs that should be established.

Curating national heritage

Most national heritage policies are about such things as operating national historical museums, protecting historic sites and providing ceremonies to mark national occasions. There is nothing inherently wrong with this as far as it goes. Citizens need to have an understanding of their nation and its accomplishments. It is useful to have examples of past excellence. The model suggests, however, that this can only ever be partial. It is not enough in a modern, diverse, pluralist democracy to have a national vision provided predominantly by the state or an elite authority. Individual members of society, citizens or not, have to feel that they are participating in defining the national vision, not merely recipients of what the authorities tell them. If they are not part of the defining process, their motivation to cooperate with others in that nation is reduced. Nor is it enough to make sure that various minority groups have their own museums or historic sites dedicated to their own visions. Such initiatives by definition keep minorities separate since they suggest that their heritage is somehow apart from the "official" heritage. Without eroding the educational or guidance role of national heritage institutions, decision making about national heritage has to be broadened to ensure that it reflects current collective conversations about what is important across the whole range of society. The authorities that now define what is heritage have to incorporate the authorities of minorities and excluded groups and have to expose their authority and their decisions to scrutiny by the broader community. This is not to say that the original role of heritage institutions to preserve the nation's heritage would disappear. It means

that the heritage will look somewhat different and more people will have a say in it.

Initiatives to achieve this broadening of vision could take the form of greater public consultation in the planning of museum activities and events, as the Nottingham museum did in order to reflect the role of Nottingham's minorities in the building of that community.[154] They could take the form of outreach programs to enable urban and heritage planners to discover how local inhabitants view their heritage (sometimes quite at odds with "official" understandings) and develop conservation and commemoration plans which reflect these local understandings, as Schofield suggests.[155] Schofield also suggests heritage open days to promote the character of places and people's various perceptions of it, using such things as public art programs.[156] Another initiative which includes minority groups in the definition of culture is the Mughal Tent project, in which the Victoria and Albert Museum invited groups of women from a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds and from all across the United Kingdom to embroider panels for a traditional Mughal tent to be displayed in the museum.[157] These sorts of initiatives serve to increase the number and diversity of people who are involved in the ongoing negotiation that is heritage.

Can national heritage be expanded to include other traditions and still survive? The answer is clearly yes. For example, in the Canadian case, there has been a gradual re-evaluation of Inuit art, consisting of small stylised designs of animals and daily scenes and small stone carvings of animals. What were at first viewed as quaint artifacts of a Neolithic culture are coming to be viewed as an authentically creative artistic tradition that speaks to everyone. As a result, shelf space for Inuit art in the National Gallery has increased, individual Inuit artists have achieved fame, the style of the art itself has evolved and pieces are being made bigger. Of course, their price has also risen astronomically. Minority artifacts have turned into mainstream fine arts.

Flagship arts institutions: public access to artistic expression

Operation of flagship institutions such as a national opera or orchestra, national art galleries and subsidies to arts institutions of significance throughout the state represent another traditional form of state provision of culture. Their aim can be somewhat similar to the maintenance of national heritage institutions: the preservation of national accomplishments and heritage of which the citizens of a nation should take pride (e.g., the Louvre, the Rijksmuseum). However, they can also be places where people go to be experience artistic expression with which they may be unfamiliar (e.g., the Pompidou Centre, the Stedelijk museum). In this section, we are considering the role these flagship institutions play in providing public exposure to artistic expression, not conserving heritage conservation.

The result of institutions playing the role of provider of artistic expression is the wide availability of excellent, canonical arts: what has sometimes been facetiously referred to as the art of dead white men. Citizens are provided with the opportunity to participate in the best ideas that culture has to offer. There is, of course, nothing wrong with listening to the music of dead white men. It can be a transcendent experience, and can expand social repertoire and understanding. However, it is too narrow. This certainly adds to the individual's repertoire, but it is not something which the individual him or herself has participated in creating. Ownership of and commitment to the new ideas and experiences, not to mention diversity, is necessarily reduced. If cultural participation is to realise its full benefit as hypothesised in the model, it is not enough merely to broaden the availability of the excellent arts to as many people and disadvantaged groups as possible. To participate fully in the dialogue and negotiation that is culture, people need to be involved in as much diversity of artistic expression as is available, not just be passive recipients of the canonical which makes its way into the flagship institutions because of its excellence.

Again, the Mughal Tent project at the Victoria and Albert Museum cited above, is a good example of the kind of initiative which might be useful to achieve this end. Not only were participants in the project exposed

to cross-cultural differences by working with a wide variety of others, but the viewing public saw artistic expression of quite a different sort than they were used to. Worts, in his examples of reactions of museum viewers,[158] suggests that one of the ways flagship institutions can move beyond the presentation of canonical art to engage audiences with meaning is to design exhibitions which promote longer viewing and a chance to concentrate on individual works and their messages, and which give viewers the opportunity to articulate their responses. Flagship institutions can broaden their artistic repertoires and offerings (as many of them now do) to include popular and minority forms of artistic expression, even though it might not be of the same quality as what they have done in the past.

Outside of the flagship institutions (or even through them) the state can promote special events and festivals which incorporate popular artistic expression and provide easy access to a broad segment of the population. The literature surveyed in this paper provides many examples of festival activity of this type. One successful example is described in the Fernandez study of the Desh Pardesh festival,[159] where the citizens of Toronto were successfully exposed to a multiplicity of artists and artistic expression from the gay, East-Indian minority. Matarasso also provides numerous examples of multi-faceted arts festivals providing sources of artistic expression for participants.[160]

Support for artists

If the state uses flagship cultural institutions to provide access to artistic expression for its citizens, the other side of the coin is to increase the number of artists and promote creative activities by them. Much of the support to creative activities has traditionally taken the form of operating national schools and providing financial support to artists through, for example, grants and commissions. Once again, however, the criteria for receiving support has usually been excellence and adherence to the mainstream artistic canon.

While promoting excellence in the arts is an important contribution to the culture of the state, it is not enough on its own. In order to

promote the more inclusive and participatory kind of cultural engagement that is needed to maximise the social benefits of culture, support to artists has to move beyond the excellent to encompass non-excellent art, in other words, to promote creative participation as broadly as possible throughout society. This does not mean that anyone should receive a subsidy because she claims to be an artist or that anybody can gain admission to a music conservatory whether they can play an instrument or not. This means rather creating additional opportunities outside of the traditional forms of support for artists, and outside of the traditional categories of qualification for people who are not specialists in a particular arts discipline (in other words, amateurs and enthusiasts) to express themselves artistically and to engage others in the creation and exchange of ideas. The arts festivals talked about in the previous section are some of the kinds of initiatives that are likely to lead to this release of creative energy and public engagement on the part of citizens. Other examples include the promotion of amateur artistic endeavors from art shows to little theatre to participation in choral societies, which Putnam argued had a direct effect on the capacity of citizens and the effectiveness of their political institutions.[161] Another model here might be the French government's Projets culturels du Quartier.[162] As Pronovost has shown, it is particularly important, and particularly easy, to engage youth in such activities, so strong consideration should be given to festivals and similar activities which involve youth.[163]

Although we have stressed festivals and special events as examples of the kinds of programs which could lead to broad cultural engagement and build citizen capacity, the flagship institutions could also play a role. By opening up their venues to amateur, non-excellent artists, perhaps only on a temporary or "outreach" type basis, they would be providing artists of all types and disciplines with much needed performance and display space, as well as attaching their prestige to the activities of amateur artists.

State-run broadcasting

Where governments operate state owned radio and television channels (and one is hard pressed to think of any that don't except the United States), they generally provide programming that has wide appeal or is of national importance (e.g., news, weather). They are also, to the extent that they are free from the need to earn commercial revenue, able to provide programming that reaches out to minority or excluded groups. This is consistent with what the model suggests. What is needed in addition to produce the full benefits the model promises is to have as diverse a social representation as possible among broadcasting creators and decision makers (writers, directors, and performers as well as managers). It should be noted that state and even private broadcasting is in fact moving in this direction. The broadcasting sector is probably, as Hill[164] points out, the policy sector where the most progress in this direction has been made. State-run broadcasting also provides a venue for professional artists and performers that could be extended to amateurs. The success of such programs as American Idol on commercial television, suggests that it is possible to make entertaining television out of amateur performers, but providing competitions for would-be pop stars is not the only form of opportunity which could be provided. Providing the venue for amateur productions of television series such as Moccasin Flats, mentioned above, is another way in which state-run broadcasting can help groups to develop understandings and build community and citizen capacity.

Support for cultural industries

The desire for economic growth as well as concerns for cultural sovereignty have meant that most countries have policies to protect and subsidise at least some portion of the cultural industries. This is not usually direct involvement in the content of what the industries produce, but in the managing of their operating environment (subsidies, trade protection, tax incentives). Since, however, the industries behave as if they are subject to market forces (i.e., try to appeal to a broad, mainstream audience where the biggest market for their product is), the participation of minorities, or even amateur and

"non-excellent" creators is not likely to be a high priority, nor is content which uses or is aimed at excluded minorities and diversity groups. The change in policy that the model suggests here is to make these non-market considerations a part of the qualification for support. This is already done to an extent through such policies as national content rules, but considerations of the model might bring these into sharper focus. For example, Canadian content rules which require a certain number of hours of radio broadcasting be devoted to Canadian music almost single-handedly created a Canadian popular music industry, which had previously been suppressed by the market dominance of US and British music production.

Promotion of minority arts and heritage activities

Policies and programs in these areas often involve direct subsidy to traditional culture (such as financing a folklore festival or giving grants to a folk dance group) or education to preserve traditional forms. The problem with these sorts of policies in terms of the model of social effects is that they exclude the practitioners of the traditional art forms from engaging with the arts of society's mainstream. They also tend to freeze the art forms: a traditional artist can only get support if the art form is authentic and done in the traditional manner. Practitioners are thus discouraged from developing in new directions, or engaging with the mainstream arts. In the same way, heritage curators are encouraged to view their culture as unique and separate and not as an evolving and dynamic contribution to the cultural repertoire of the overall community. None of these results contributes to the diversity of social understanding that is most beneficial to the citizens of a society.

It need not be so, however. We have seen in the example of the Batchewana First Nation that preserving or restoring traditional folkways and artistic practices can be extremely important for the building of confidence and social cohesion and thus the capacity for effective political action.[165] The interesting thing, however, about the Batchewana experience was that it was used by the community as a basis on which to engage with the broader Canadian society, whether by sending out the dance troupe to perform in other centres, or by

going to the Supreme Court to argue for treaty rights. In this way, the restoration of traditional cultural activities was transitional. The cultural activities became the starting point for a contribution of the First Nation to the diversity of the broader Canadian society.

If policies to preserve traditional ways of life are to produce the kinds of social benefits that the model predicts, they have to be viewed as transitional, to be used only when the creativity of a particular minority is threatened with extinction. Once a traditional community's arts are established, ways need to be found to promote their incorporation into the mainstream of society so that their creativity can contribute to the ongoing evolution of culture as repertoire and so to citizen capacity. Once again, one of the kinds of activities that can promote this transition are arts festivals of the sort Fernandez and Matarasso describe. These which involve a multiplicity of amateur artists and performers drawn from all through the community. They give broad exposure to art forms and make those forms widely accessible to people in the community even though they would have a low probability of attending more formal (and possibly more costly) cultural events. In this way, traditional cultural practices can take place, be seen, but, as well, be juxtaposed with arts from other traditions and influence them as well as being influenced. This has the effect of creating a hybrid cultural expression which is the basis of repertoire creation in the model.

Arts education

Of course, all the other cultural policies in place or suggested here to increase access and participation will be for naught unless citizens are capable of understanding and appreciating what is being offered. The role of arts education in schools is critical to equipping people with the ability to engage with the meanings that are being offered by the arts and heritage activities available in the community around them. Children in schools are taught literacy and numeracy because without these skills, they will be profoundly handicapped as adults trying to make their way in the world. Without adequate arts education, children are left to be culturally illiterate. Children of rich parents often

overcome this difficulty by being "schooled" at home in culture (i.e., taken to concerts and museums, told about great art, and given music or dance lessons). Less advantaged children (the majority) miss out, or get their arts educations from television, with predictable results.

It is therefore tragic that arts education in schools is frequently the first victim offered up when school administrators are trying to save money. The arts are not considered as important as the core curriculum of maths, sciences and literacy, or even sports. The model, however, puts this view into question. As Pronovost[166] and Swidler[167] have suggested, youth is the period in the life cycle when people are most engaged with culture, and when they most need to be. They are creating life models and repertoire for themselves. If, as we have argued, cultural diversity or exposure to a diversity of ideas and the questioning, skepticism, and creativity arising from that are important for citizenship capacity, then youth is precisely the time when these faculties are most apt for development.

Because youth are such eager consumers of and participants in culture, Pronovost suggests that it is relatively easy to engage them. They are also relatively easy to reach and manage, since they are already organised into groups such as schools and classes. They are therefore ideal candidates for programs to expose them to cultural diversity and to encourage their creative contributions. Such activities as arts festivals and film making that Matarasso describes,[168] or even novel writing and fashion design, such as described by Thiedey in her analysis of the Projets culturels du Quartier,[169] are very attractive to youth and can be effective in providing them with life skills and repertoire which will be as valuable to them as future citizens as the maths and science skills will be to them as future employees. They are also sufficiently mobile and unattached to home responsibilities to participate in youth exchanges around cultural activities, whether artistic or heritage.

Probably the most important part of arts education, however, and therefore the greatest loss when such programs are victims of budget cutting, is the equipping of youth with the technical skills and knowledge needed to continue a lifelong engagement with the arts and heritage. The social effects of culture are felt in the long run, through a

lifetime of engagement. By providing a familiarity with artistic pursuits and skills to do them, the school is equipping the individual for this lifetime of engagement. It does not matter whether the activity is dancing or acting, film making or painting, poetry or singing. The skills which are being learned are the skills of engagement with new ideas, the ability to produce them and to understand and appropriate them when others produce them. These capacities are what makes the model work and form the basis of producing social effects from culture. Compared with all the programs and special activities we have mentioned above as examples of what could be undertaken within each of the previous policy areas, arts education in youth is probably the most productive and useful for promoting the citizenship capacity the model promises. Treating arts education as a marginal subject little better than recreation to be dropped to save financial resources for "more important" things is, the model suggests, short-sighted in the extreme.

Multi-cultural and integrationist policies

While multi-cultural and integrationist policies are not strictly speaking cultural policies in the sense of promoting artistic or heritage activities, they are cultural policies in the sense that they address the inclusion of communities with significant cultural differences in the broader society. That is, they address a fundamental problem: the existence of a variety of cultural repertoires for dealing with the same events or contingencies. The policies tend to be more about generalities than specifics however, asserting such things as the undesirability or even illegality of discrimination on the basis of certain criteria (skin colour, gender, ethnicity, religious belief, etc.). They usually make statements about the undesirability of racism and mandate awareness campaigns to promote greater inter-racial or inter-community understanding. They can also include a great many other things, ranging from equal opportunity programs to specific provisions for assisting specially disadvantaged minorities.

It is not our purpose here to review multi-cultural policies, or even to inventory their provisions. The reason for raising them as a policy area

is to recognise that the ultimate purpose for promoting multi-culturalism is the creation of a tolerant, open, cohesive society which believes in respect for others, rule of law, equality, and human dignity. This is precisely the sort of society which the model predicts will occur if the four elements of the cultural model are in place and functioning properly. In this sense, all the suggestions made in this part of the paper for the adaptation of cultural policies and programs contribute to this end and are appropriate suggestions for multi-cultural and integrationist policies as well.

Whither policy?

This review of cultural policy, while necessarily superficial, gives a flavour of some of the initiatives and changes that would be needed in cultural policy if the promise of the model is to be realised. It suggests that we are facing a policy evolution, not a revolution. Indeed, some of this evolution is already occurring. Recognition of the fact that culture has social and citizenship effects should spur this evolution, but not radically redefine it. As with social repertoire itself (of which, of course, policy is a part), change will come from the multiplicity of small, discrete innovations across Europe and the rest of the world, not from some authoritative central plan with all the answers. If this paper manages to encourage and abet some of those small innovations, it will have served a useful purpose.

V. Conclusion: some recommendations for Council of Europe activities

This paper argues that culture has social effects, that is, it enhances social understanding, strengthens the sense of identity, modifies values, builds social cohesion and contributes to community development and civic participation, all of which enhance the capacity of citizens and other members of society to take a full and effective part in the life and governance of their nations. The paper then argues that a state's cultural policy, if structured appropriately, can and should be used to increase citizenship capacity. Unfortunately, as this paper has also demonstrated, we do not yet know enough about the effects of different cultural policies and programs to predict with any certainty the outcomes, or to assess adequately their comparative costs and benefits. As a result, while there is a great deal of activity in this field across Europe, and indeed in other parts of the world, initiatives are still at the experimental stage.

The Council of Europe with its long tradition of leadership in innovating cultural policy and its objective to enhance citizenship capacity in Europe, is ideally positioned to take actions to explore and test these ideas. What follows are some suggestions for the kinds of activities the Council of Europe could undertake to increase the knowledge and abilities of its member states to direct cultural policy with greater assurance toward the maximisation of social benefits.

Documenting best practices

As we have seen in the evidence section of this paper, there are a wide number of initiatives taking place across Europe and the rest of the world to produce social effects from cultural activities. We are still, however, in a state of early experimentation, with many initiatives being undertaken in isolation and doubtless in ignorance of what has been accomplished elsewhere. It would, therefore, appear to be timely to undertake a project to document best practices in the area of social effects of culture across the member states of the Council of Europe.

The six categories of social effects that emerged from the Montreal workshop (and which are listed in the paragraph above) could serve as a framework for the study of these best practices, by showing how cultural policies and programs contributed to any or each.

Documenting best practices could take several forms, or be done in several stages. It could, for example, be done in an extensive way by conducting literature reviews. It could be done in an intensive way, with each member state undertaking to examine its own current and past programs, particularly those that have been subject to some sort of formal evaluation and documentation, and contributing them to a common knowledge pool. The Council of Europe's *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends*[170] is an excellent model of this type of approach, which makes the Council a natural leader for such an initiative. The result of this activity would be a collection of best practices (perhaps refreshed annually) which would serve as a guideline for member states to use in adapting cultural policy (e.g. on how best to facilitate cultural access, on cultural policy that will encourage cultural participation by promoting more accessible art forms, on cultural activities seen not only as an opportunity for socialization, but also for reception and appropriation of ideas).

Transversal study

The Council of Europe's Transversal Study of Diversity is an effective methodology for an initiative to further knowledge about the social effects of culture. A transversal study could be organized to explore the strength of identity, values, social cohesion, community development and civic participation, as well as the state and history of cultural policy in several countries. While it would be a study of tremendous complexity, the international comparison it would provide would be invaluable in understanding the dynamics of the effects of culture. This would carry the initiative on the documentation of best practices to a higher level. It would also dovetail into and support the Council's transversal study of cultural diversity and its on-going work on social cohesion. The result of the combination of all these initiatives would be a broad, "whole-society" perspective that explores in greater depth the

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connections between culture, identity and social cohesion. Again, the categories of the Montreal workshop could serve as a conceptual framework for the analysis.

Raising awareness

As a first step to the compilation of best practices or undertaking transversal research, it would be useful to raise the awareness among member states of the potential for using cultural policy to produce social effects. This paper is a modest step in that direction. Further publications on this theme could be commissioned from other experts in the field. In conjunction with such a research program, colloquia of experts and policy makers could be held to discover current knowledge and review progress. The Cultural Information and Research Centres Liaison in Europe (CIRCLE) provides a convenient mechanism for doing this among cultural researchers, as does the Council of Europe's own capacity for organising colloquia for a broader range of experts, practitioners and policy makers. The result of this activity would be to increase knowledge and interest in the social effects of culture within a group of people who are able to influence cultural policy thinking across Europe.

Development of a standard data collection instrument

Before starting to adapt cultural policies to their increased capacity-building role, governments across Europe will need to see solid evidence that such ideas are well founded. It is necessary therefore to have systematic and credible data against which to test the ideas and explore both the strengths and limitations of cultural policy. Ultimately, data must be collected through surveys using sophisticated data collection instruments applied over a period of time and a variety of situations (different countries, cultures, communities, etc.) The Council of Europe, which already plays a strong role in cultural policy advice through such programs as the policy compendium information/monitoring system, would appear to have both the means and credibility to initiate international cooperation in collecting data on

the social effects of culture. A useful first step in this direction is to develop and promote the use of a standard data collection instrument (a survey questionnaire), or at least a set of standard questions which could be added opportunistically to existing surveys. The Council of Europe could develop the standard instrument as a guideline for member states to follow.

Such a questionnaire should stress the "demand side" of culture: what cultural forms people actually practice, participate in or support. It would have to conceptualize culture in a very inclusive sense to be able to capture activities that individuals define as cultural, not what ordinarily is defined as culture by cultural bureaucrats and statistical agencies. These participation data would need to be accompanied by data on what the same people do as citizenship practices: voting, volunteering, and other forms of civic engagement, as well as attitudes and values they hold. Again, the Montreal workshop categories provide a framework for the kind of indicators that would have to be collected if we hoped to see the connection between cultural practices and social effects. Such data would make possible the testing of the hypotheses of the model that there is a positive correlation between cultural participation and citizenship capacity.

In future steps, it might even be possible for the Council of Europe, possibly in collaboration with Eurostat or the UNESCO Statistical Institute in Montreal, to organise a data collection initiative and actually conduct an internationally comparative survey of cultural participation and its effects. This might be a significant departure from usual Council of Europe practice, but it is not without precedent. International surveys have been conducted by international agencies before. As an alternative, the Council of Europe could play the role of initiator and coordinator for surveys to be undertaken by member states or by institutions in member states. The World Values Survey, conducted every five years, offers a model for international collaboration of this type (see appendix).

Data will only take us so far, however. To actually observe and study such a complex phenomenon as citizenship capacity, it may also be necessary to engage in qualitative research of the sort we have seen used by Swidler: case studies, in-depth interviews and the like. The

qualitative knowledge produced by these studies would be crucial to interpreting the correlations arising from the quantitative information produced by surveys. The Council of Europe's cultural policy research initiatives could be used to begin this research and establish the approach. The framework provided by its policy compendium information and monitoring system could be used to promote the research and make it broadly available to cultural analysts and policy makers.

This is a list of significant and promising activities for the Council of Europe to undertake. It would return a great deal to its members in terms of knowledge and confidence, and if the hypotheses advanced in this paper turn out to be substantially correct, the activities would result in the creation of valuable tools for citizenship in member states.

Some thoughts on quantitative evidence and indicators

This paper has pointed out that there is very little direct and unambiguous empirical evidence for the workings of the model and the social effects of culture, even though there is plenty of indirect evidence and suggestive observations from scholars and artists.

Direct quantitative evidence is needed for two reasons: first, to test and demonstrate the validity of the model, so it can be used to justify and influence cultural policy decisions; and, second, to provide indicators to evaluate the results of those policy decisions and compare their costs and benefits. What would this evidence look like?

At first glance, the model of the social effects of cultural participation can be expressed as a simple functional relationship:

$$S_i = f (P_j, p_k, A, D)$$

where S_i is an indicator of any one of the six social effects being tested, or some composite indicator of some or all of them. P_j is an indicator of participation in any one of many cultural activities, or an indicator of some composite of them, or even a generalised indicator of cultural participation. p_k is a similar indicator, but for non-cultural participation (in sport, political activities, civic activities, etc.). A is a vector of indicators of personal attainments such as income, education, profession, marital and family status etc., and D is a vector of demographic characteristics such as age, gender, ethnicity, nationality, etc. The equation suggests that social effects are significantly influenced, or even caused, by cultural participation, but can also be influenced by other forms of participation and other personal characteristics such as attainments and demographic attributes.

The actual model to be tested statistically would have to be much more complex than this, since it is likely that cultural participation itself is a

function of attainment and demographic variables, thus being a direct and indirect cause of social effects. The relationships of all the indicators are quite complex and would have to be analysed in detail before final formulation of the model.

To test the model, data would have to be collected for each category of variable specified above: social effects, cultural participation, other types of participation, attainments and demographics.

The social effects are: understanding (social repertoire), identity, values, social cohesion, community development and civic participation. Some of these, such as understanding, might be very hard to find variables for. This is why Swidler relied on in depth interviews. Proxies like attitude or opinions on issues of the day might be used. For others, many examples now exist. Identity has been widely measured, often as attachment. Values are routinely surveyed. The World Values Survey[171] and various national general social surveys have developed sophisticated ways of measuring generalised trust and social cohesion.[172] Community development resists measurement through surveys of individuals, being best measured by inventories of community activities, but its concomitant, civic participation is easy to measure by asking people what they do.

The main independent variable is cultural participation. Asking people what they do as cultural activities is relatively straight-forward. The only problem is to get them to define cultural activities broadly enough so that a reasonably full range of them are captured, particularly popular culture activities and those practised by minority groups. They may have cultural activities which look much different from the rest of the population, but it is precisely this difference which will provide some of the most valuable data. The same considerations are involved in other types of participation.

Attainment and demographic data are relatively easy to define and many surveys offer tested ways of collecting them.

Because of the number of analytical sub-categories which would have to be explored (e.g., particular social effects as influenced by certain kinds of cultural participation by a particular ethnic group or income

category), the survey sample would have to be quite large. This could be accomplished in a nation wide survey, which should give enough variance in each variable to provide significant results. It could possibly also be accomplished multi-nationally with several countries pooling their data. The approach that this data collection most resembles is the World Values Survey. This is an internationally comparative survey on values carried out by a consortium of over 40 nations currently every five years. It is funded by governments or foundations in each participating country. Such an approach could be usefully applied to the data needs expressed here.

Notes

1. Appadurai 2004.

2. Appadurai 1990.

3. This part, as well as the analytical last sections of Part II draws extensively on Stanley 2005. However, they incorporate significant theoretical advances over the views presented in that paper.

4. Williams, R. 1967: 87.

5. Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952: 47.

6. Tylor 1871: 1.

7. Kuper 2000: 1-74.

8. Seralgadin 1994: 2.

9. Swidler 2003.

10. ibid.: 25.

11. ibid: 71-72.

12. Swidler 1998.

13. Appadurai 2004:59.

14. Arnold 1961: 6.

15. Bordieu 1989.

16. Arthurs 1996.

17. Oxford 1995:328.

18. Williams 1993.

19. ibid.

20. Fiedler 1982.

21. Cassirer 1943: 214-215 as cited in McCarthy 2004: 49, note 15.

22. Fleischhacker 1999 as cited in McCarthy 2004: 49, note 15.

23. McCarthy 2004: 42.

24. Osborne 2005, Schofield 2004, Mitchell 2000.

25. Saul 2000.

26. Stanley 2004.

27. Figes 2004, Gellately 2002.

28. Jeannotte 2005.

29. Bond and Smith 1996, Asch 1951, 1955.

30. Stanley 2003a, Jeannotte et al. 2002.

31. ibid.

32. ibid. and Stanley 2003b.

33. Stanley 2003b.

34. Kuper 2000: 177-184.

35. Diamond 1999: 67-81.

36. ibid.: 80.

37. Arendt 1973.

38. Frank 1998.

39. Diamond 1999.

40. Frank 1998.

41. Liebes and Katz 1990.

42. Crane 2002: 8-9.

43. ibid.: 12-17.

44. Baumol 1994 386-387.

45. See for example, Department or Foreign Affaires 2004, and Johnson 2004.

46. Schwanen 2001.

47. Arrow 1974 as cited in ibid.: 5.

48. Kymlicka 1991: 169 as cited in Schwanen 2001: 16.

49. Appadurai 2004: 66.

50. ibid.: 63.

51. Sen 2004.

52. Nussbaum 1997: 10 .

53. McCarthy 2004: 48.

54. Stanley 2004.

55. Stanley 2004.

56. Merli 2002.

57. Matarasso 1997.

58. McCarthy et al. 2004: 35-51.

59. Bennet and Savage 2004: 12-13.
60. Matarasso 1997: 16.
61. ibid.: 16.
62. ibid.:18.
63. ibid.: 50.
64. Hewitt 2004: 20.
65. Stanley 2004.
66. Connecticut 2004: 12.
67. Liebes and Katz 1990.
68. Griswold 1998.
69. Muschamp 2004:32.
70. ibid.: 26.
71. Lidstone 2004: 34.
72. Hewitt 2004.
73. Fernandez 2005.
74. ibid.: 14.
75. Straw 2005.
76. Worts 2005.
77. Swidler 2003: 90.
78. ibid.: 92.
79. ibid.: 93.
80. Pronovost 2005.
81. Swidler 2003: 90.
82. Sreberny 2001.
83. Gould 1996: 12 as cited in Matarasso 1997: 42.
84. www.moccasinflats.com.
85. Matarasso 1997: 16.
86. ibíd.: VIII.
87. Hewitt 2004:16.
88. Muschamp 2004.
89. Thiedey 1997

90. Connecticut 2004: 16.

91. Matarasso 1997: 47.

92. ibid.:48.

93. ibid.: 61.

94. ibid.: 54.

95. ibid.:52.

96. Broad et al. 2005.

97. ibid.: 10.

98. ibid.: 15.

99. ibid.:4.

100. Fernandez 2005: 14.

101. Buffett 2001.

102. ibid.:31 (my translation).

103. Williams 2005.

104. Harvey 2003.

105. Connecticut 2004: 15.

106. Matarasso 1997: 28ff.

107. ibid.: 29.

108. Fernandez 2005.

109. Broad et al. 2005.

110. Stanley 2003b.

111. Putnam 2000, 1993.

112. Jeannotte 2005.

113. Stolle and Rochon 1998 cited in Jeannotte 2003.

114. Chandlet and Lalonde 1998 cited in Jeannotte 2005.

115. Phipps 2003, Lavis 2003, Putnam 2001, Kawachi et al. 1997.

116. Hewitt 2004: 21.

117. Connecticut 2004: 16.

118. Buffett 2001.

119. Broad et al. 2005: 3

120. ibid.: 17-18.

121. Matarasso 1997: VIII.

122. ibid: 28.

123. Cantrell 1996: 9, cited in Matarasso 1997: 32.

124. Broad et al. 2005.

125. ibid.: 19.

126. Fernandez 2005.

127. ibid.:10.

128. Matarasso 1997: 37ff.

129. Jeannotte 2003.

130. Bourdeau 2002.

131. Plato 1993: 386-416.

132. Kundera 1986: 44.

133. ibid.:144.

134. ibid.: 42-43.

135. Rader 1961: 108.

136. Taylor 1989: 526.

137. McCarthy et al. 2004: 41.

138. Trilling 1953: 215 as cited in McCarthy 2004: 48.

139. McCarthy et al. 2004: 51.

140. Lowry 2004: 143, as cited in McCarthy 2004: 51, note 16.

141. ibid.: 141.

142. Klee 1963: 53.

143. Bennett 2001and Robins 2005.

144. Council of Europe/Ericarts, 2005.

145. Ellmeier 2001, Ministry of the French Community 2001, Galabov 2001, Baeker 2001, Kirps and Reitz 2001, Rellstab 2001, Khan 2001.

146. Reeves 2002, Florida 2002.

147. Stanley et al. 2000.

148. Stanley 1997.

149. Loosley 2004.

150. McQuail 2001.

151. Hill 2004.

152. McQuail 2001.

153. ibid.

154. Matarasso, 1997: 54.

155. Schofield, 2004: 80.

156. ibid: 81.

157. Matarasso, 1997: 52.

158. Worts, 2005.

159. Fernandez, 2005.

160. Matarasso, 1997.

161. Putnam, 1993, 2000.

162. Thiedey, 1997.

163. Pronovost, 2005.

164. Hill 2004.

165. Broad et al., 2005.

166. Pronovost 2005.

167. Swidler, 2003.

168. Matarasso, 1997.

169. Thiedey, 1997.

170. Council of Europe/ERICarts 2005.

171. Nevitte 2003.

172. Putnam 2001, Sampson et al. 1997, Knack and Keefer 1997.

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Appendices

Learning and living democracy – the way forward

Evaluation Conference of the 2005 European Year of Citizenship
through Education, Sinaia, 27-28 April 2006

Ad hoc Committee of Experts
for the European Year of Citizenship
through Education (CAHCIT)

Conclusions

The Evaluation Conference of the 2005 European Year of Citizenship
through Education was held in Sinaia on 27-28 April 2006 at the
invitation of the Romanian authorities, in the framework of the
Romanian Chairmanship of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of
Europe.

At the Evaluation Conference, representatives of the 48 states party to
the European Cultural Convention, as well as of European and
international governmental and non-governmental organisations shared
their experiences regarding the implementation of the "Year" and
discussed ways and means for ensuring sustainability of the actions
taken.
The participants at the conference:

- Welcoming the holding of this Conference in Sinaia;

- Welcoming the member states' commitment and support to the
  "Year" and taking note with satisfaction of the variety and
  outreach of actions undertaken in the framework of the "Year" at
  local, regional, national and international level;

- Considering the "Year" to be part of a continuous process aiming
  at building or developing sustainable democratic culture in all the
  member states of the Council of Europe;

- Recalling the Recommendation (2002) 12 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on education for democratic citizenship which sets out guidelines for policies and practices in Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights (EDC/HRE) and strategies to implement these;

- Welcoming the recognition by the 3rd Summit of the Heads of State and Governments of the Council of Europe (Warsaw, 16-17 May 2005) of the fundamental role of Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights (EDC/HRE) and their request to the Council of Europe to increase its efforts in this field;

- Recalling that the 3rd Summit strengthened the commitment of member states to the core values of the Council of Europe, democracy, human rights and the rule of law and consider that EDC/HRE are instrumental to building societies based on these values;

- Taking note with satisfaction of the adoption by the Council of Europe Steering Committee for Education of the Programme of Activities 2006-2009 in the field of EDC/HRE;

- Welcoming the development of co-operation between the Council of Europe and several international organisations during the "Year", in particular UNESCO and the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), highlighting the fundamental role of the Council of Europe in encouraging and monitoring the national implementation of the Plan of Action of the first phase (2005-2007) of the World Programme for Human Rights Education (2005-ongoing) dedicated to the integration of human rights education into the primary and secondary school systems;

- Recalling that the year 2005 marked both the beginning of the World Programme for Human Rights Education (2005-ongoing) and of the United Nations' Decade for Education for Sustainable Development (2005-2014) and considering that strong links

should be made with EDC/HRE, as both programmes concern questions of participatory democracy, based on responsibility, the development of the individual's competences and social skills as well as respect for human rights, the environment and diversity and other core issues for sustainable development;

- Considering that Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights is a requirement for more democratic and inclusive societies and that it provides young people and adults with the necessary capabilities (knowledge, skills, understanding, attitudes, human rights values and behaviour) they need to live, actively participate and act responsibly at many levels in a modern society;

Agreed on the following conclusions:

They consider that the 2005 European Year of Citizenship through Education has had a genuinely positive effect on the development of EDC/HRE policies and practices in member states. The wealth of actions undertaken bear witness to a strong commitment by education authorities and education professionals at all levels. The present challenge is to consolidate and guarantee the sustainability of this work and make it an integral part of education policies and practices in formal and non-formal educational systems;

They emphasise that the following strategic policy lines are essential in order to further promote and strengthen Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights in a lifelong learning perspective for all:

- EDC/HRE should be given priority as an educational policy aim;

- The role of EDC/HRE in promoting social cohesion, equality, including gender equality participation and intercultural dialogue should be emphasised;

- Value oriented education, based on democratic and human rights values as set out in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights should be supported;

- Citizenship competencies for all should be provided;

- Appropriate support systems, in the field of educational staff development, training and awareness-raising as well as pedagogical material, such as the EDC Pack, should be developed;

- The lifelong learning perspective, the role of youth in social change and the inter-generational approach should be emphasised;

- Emphasise the complimentarity of formal and non-formal education;

- Inter-institutional co-operation should be further strengthened;

- Interdisciplinary approach and cross-curricular competences should be encouraged.

In the same context, the participants emphasise the importance of implementing these policy lines by the following actions:

- To develop and adopt European framework policy documents setting out the basic principles in EDC/HRE, providing guidelines for action and outlining a follow-up mechanism;

- To give support to practices in EDC/HRE in order to favour policy implementation, by promoting research on EDC/HRE and collecting and disseminating information and documentation on EDC/HRE;

- To strengthen democracy in educational institutions through the development of democratic governance and accountability and the setting up of a comprehensive quality assurance system in EDC/HRE based on on-going monitoring and evaluation of the policy development and implementation of EDC/HRE. This would include self-evaluation mechanisms for educational institutions, preparation of qualitative and quantitative indicators and the

encouragement of institution development on a step-by-step basis, taking into account the local context;

- To improve the development of and access to practical tools, manuals and guidelines on EDC/HRE and organise their piloting and testing;

- To promote networks of education professionals, pupils/students, Media, NGOs and volunteers working in the field of EDC/HRE;

- To support co-operation both at the international and at member states level among stakeholders in EDC/HRE, such as decision-makers, educational professionals, students/pupils, educational institutions, non-governmental organisations, and the media;

- To foster European exchange and co-operation in the field of teacher training in EDC/HRE as regards e.g. skills and professional profiles;

- To encourage local and regional authorities to participate in the implementation of EDC/HRE policies;

- To raise awareness among the general public and specialists, including through the media, on EDC/HRE and educational institutions as "sites of citizenship";

- To promote and extend co-operation between partners from the formal and non-formal education sectors at European and at member states level, especially those working with or representing young people;

Bearing in mind the above, the participants:

Invite the Council of Europe to:

- Promote democratic governance of educational institutions, through supporting the development of participatory teaching and learning methods and decision-making, links with the

community, gender mainstreaming and other attributes of democratic school climate;

- Promote educational development for teachers, trainers, leaders of educational institutions and other educational staff in the formal and non-formal sector in member states and develop a network/centre of excellence on EDC/HRE expertise, including teacher training and establishing links with relevant teacher and school leader associations;

- Consider setting up an on-line data bank of EDC/HRE experts and trainers;

- Further develop its work in the field of quality assurance and development of indicators;

- Encourage research and reflection on EDC/HRE issues;

- Strengthen inter-sectorial co-operation within the Council of Europe on issues of EDC/HRE, as well as with the Forum on the Future of Democracy in Europe;

- Develop an on-line database of tested tools and materials for formal and non-formal education in the field of EDC/HRE;

- Maintain, beyond 2005, the on-line database of activities established by the Council of Europe, its member States, international institutions and organisations;

- Hold a regular NGO Forum on EDC/HRE;

- Redefine the role of the EDC/HRE coordinators' network, with a view to developing the network as an important tool for the success of EDC/HRE policies and practices throughout Europe;

- Encourage and monitor the national implementation of the Plan of Action for the first phase (2005-2007) of the World Programme for Human Rights Education (2005-ongoing);

- Continue and strengthen further inter-institutional co-operation in the fields of EDC/HRE and education for sustainable development (ESD);

- Contribute to other global and European programmes related to EDC/HRE, including by developing joint initiatives;

- Further develop the on-line access and translation of existing educational materials and tools relevant for EDC/HRE in formal and non-formal education settings;

Invite other international institutions to:

- Give priority to EDC/HRE in their current programmes, providing support to existing networks and facilitating information sharing, research and training;

- Further develop their co-operation with the Council of Europe in the field of EDC/HRE by regularly sharing information on relevant programmes and by developing joint initiatives and to this end organise regular meetings on EDC/HRE;

- Co-operate with NGOs working in the field;

Invite governments of the Council of Europe member states to:

- Uphold their commitments to EDC/HRE as set out in the Action Plan of the 3rd Summit of the Heads of State and Governments of the Council of Europe;

- Strengthen the link between the 3rd phase of the EDC/HRE Council of Europe Programme and the World Programme for Human Rights Education (2005-ongoing) and the United Nations' Decade for Education for Sustainable Development (2005-2014);

- Help to anchor EDC/HRE in a lifelong learning perspective that encourages sharing of policies and methods between formal, non-formal and informal education and training;

- Provide adequate support to the EDC/HRE coordinators so as to allow them to fulfil their terms of reference;

- Support NGOs working in the field of EDC/HRE;

- Broaden the involvement of public authorities in carrying out EDC/HRE programmes;

- Initiate and support awareness-raising events in favour of EDC/HRE;

- Actively support the European Youth Campaign "All different, all equal" for Diversity, Human Rights and Participation and use the campaign committees and networks for mainstreaming EDC/HRE through the campaign.

Invite local and regional authorities to:

- Support EDC/HRE by implementing the Revised Charter on the Participation of Young People in Local and Regional Life;

- Promote opportunities for people to participate in EDC/HRE projects, e.g. through active co-operation with educational institutions;

- Provide support for projects run by young people and their organisations in relation to EDC/HRE;

Invite educational institutions to:

- Promote democracy within the institution/school, through the organisation of EDC/HRE activities, democratic learning and teaching methods and democratic governance;

- Develop closer co-operation with various bodies and institutions at all levels, such as NGOs, local and regional authorities;

Invite NGOs to:

- Build strong partnerships with those involved with EDC/HRE at local, regional, national and international level;

- Contribute to the actions of the Council of Europe, governments, international institutions and local and regional authorities,

- Assist educational institutions in building links to communities, particularly the local community, beyond institution/school;

- Ensure young people's participation in the implementation of EDC/HRE within the NGOs concerned.

The participants express their commitment to contribute to the strengthening and sustainability of Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights for all people, particularly children and young people, at all levels of modern society, in particular through the new Council of Europe programme on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights for 2006-2009.

Education Newsletter

Editorial

Democracy and the Council of Europe

Democracy is much more than a set of rules and procedures. Real democracy is rooted in a democratic culture, and education has much to contribute to the transmission of this culture to new generations. Education cannot perform miracles. It cannot alone make our societies more inclusive, secure and prosperous overnight, but it does help people to acquire knowledge, skills and attitudes.

The Council of Europe's message to those involved in citizenship education is that democracy cannot be taught "from the top". It must be learned through experience at school, in the local club or even in the Palais de l'Europe in Strasbourg. Indeed, the Council of Europe itself has often been likened to a school for democracy – not only for member states, but also for politicians and civil society.

The Council of Europe was established in 1949 to promote democracy, human rights and the rule of law throughout the war-torn European continent. Europe has changed since then, but our original task is still valid as our 46 member states learn how to cope with new challenges. "Learning and living democracy" was the motto of the 2005 Council of Europe Year of Citizenship through Education. These words sum up what the Council of Europe is about.

The European Year of Citizenship through Education has come to an end, but our work is not over. The "scene" is set, the "script" has been written and the "actors" know their roles. Now is the time for action. At the Council of Europe Summit in May 2005, we were asked to increase our efforts in the field of citizenship and human rights education. A new programme of activities for 2006-2009 has been prepared. We rely on all our partners to make a success of this new programme.

The commitments of governments can sometimes be compared to New Year resolutions. They are sincere, but often fragile. And this is where the Council of Europe comes in – to remind and to help our members to comply with their own decisions and promises.

Learning and living democracy

2005
European Year
of Citizenship
through Education

TERRY DAVIS
Secretary General of the Council of Europe

Results and prospects

When you finish reading a good book you feel both happy and sad. You have enjoyed the story, you have learned something, and you have probably become a little bit wiser.

At the same time, you have reached the end, and turning the last page is a bit like saying "good bye" to a close friend.

Results and prospects *(continued)*

The European Year of Citizenship through Education, which was launched in Sofia (Bulgaria) in December 2004, will end formally at the Evaluation Conference in Sinaia (Romania) on 27 and 28 April 2006. And while the "Year" meant a lot of hard work for many of us, it was also an inspiring and fruitful experience.


Maud de Boer-Buquicchio,
Council of Europe Deputy Secretary General

Launching conference of the "Year",
Sofia, 13-14 December 2004

An evaluation of the Year will be conducted in the first half of 2006, which means that it is too early yet to judge the real impact of this initiative. However, the response has been encouraging. Of the 48 signatory states of the European Cultural Convention, 40 or more (85%) have participated in implementing the Year, through more than 600 reported activities. They have based their activities on their own priorities and concerns while fitting them into the general objectives of the Year. The

Council of Europe framework documents and instruments have been translated into a number of languages, disseminated to various target audiences and published on national websites devoted to the Year. A wide range of professionals (decision-makers, educators, representatives of civil society) were brought together in the co-ordinating committees for the Year. Some countries focused on awareness-raising, while others put more weight on teacher training, curriculum reform or specific projects for young people. The action plans developed and implemented by the member states show that there is a clear interest and commitment to EDC and HRE as means of promoting the key values of the Council of Europe. The next task in this field will be to ensure sustainability of this work.
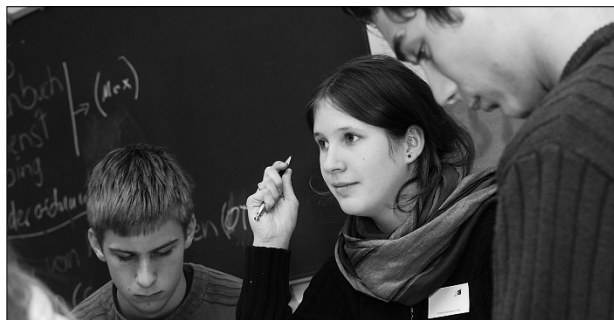
The Year has enabled the Council of Europe to strengthen existing working relations and to establish new ones both within the Organisation and with external partners. The co-operation established with the European Commission, UNESCO and OHCHR and with a large number of NGOs will certainly continue in the years to come.

The success of the "Year" has to be sustained and built upon. The Evaluation Conference of the Year, to be held in Romania in April 2006 will launch a new EDC/HRE project. Our governments are convinced that it will produce benefits: it is a safe

investment. It has now been agreed to continue the project till 2009. The new phase will deal with policy development, with particular focus on social inclusion. This will include reflection on how to ensure full access to education for those at the margins of our societies. Work on teacher training will be developed, as teachers are the key actors in citizenship education. Another priority area is democratic governance at school. This is the first time that a systematic approach will be applied to the development of tools and guidelines on how to make our schools genuine sites of citizenship where everyone's rights are respected, decisions are made democratically and learning methodology is empowering, challenging and creative.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank our partners, supporters and all those interested in citizenship and human rights education for their contributions and support. As you can see, while the "Year" is coming to an end, new horizons are opening up in front of us. And maybe the "Year" should not be compared to a whole book, but rather to a chapter in a thriller which ends at the most intriguing and decisive moment… To be continued.

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International and European activities

Winning teachers' hearts and minds – the key to successful democracy learning at school

A conference on "Teacher Training in Education for Democratic Citizenship" was held in Strasbourg from 15 to 17 June 2005.

The conference brought together policy makers, heads of teacher training institutes, teacher trainers and school directors. About 120 participants from 46 member states shared their experiences, assisted the Council of Europe in formulating future teacher training programmes and made recommendations for teacher training in EDC/HRE in the member states.

Ana Magraner
European
Commission

From left to right: Mady Delvaux-Stehres,
Minister for Education and Vocational training
(Luxembourg), César Bîrzéa, Director of
the Institute of Education Science (Romania),
Ove Korsgaard, Associate Professor,
The Danish University of Education

The conference also provided an opportunity for a study on "Citizenship Education at School in Europe" prepared by Eurydice to be presented by the European Commission for the first time.

EDC Co-ordinators meet in Dubrovnik

From 14 to 16 April 2005, the network of EDC Co-ordinators met in Dubrovnik at the invitation of the Croatian authorities. The meeting focused on the sustainability of the EDC project and on the use of the EDC Pack, which is a set of practical guidelines for educational practitioners and decision makers. The co-ordinators also discussed the evaluation of the "Year" and co-operation with the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) in relation to the World Programme for Human Rights Education.

EDC co-ordinators

Higher Education Governance between democratic culture, academic aspirations and market forces

Representatives of the ministries of education, higher education institutions and students' organisations met in Strasbourg on 22 and 23 September 2005 to discuss democratic governance in higher education and to make recommendations on its key elements. The conference presented the results of two years' work and offered a platform for debate.

Europe, cinema and citizenship education

In November 2005, nine films were shown at the *Odyssée* cinema in Strasbourg as part of the *Citizenship Education through European Eyes* film festival. The European panel decided by a majority to award the European Democratic Citizenship Prize to *Va, vis et deviens* for its message attacking discrimination and promoting cultural diversity and mutual respect.

Va, vis et deviens

Second prize went to *Paradise now* for the quality of its cinematography and its strong message, particularly its analysis of the roots of blind violence and its strong condemnation of terrorism.

Citizenship education and parliamentarians: two worlds apart?

On 7 and 8 November 2005, a parliamentary workshop on "Education for Democratic Citizenship" was organised in Belgrade under the Council of Europe's Presidency of the Stability Pact Troika. The discussions centred on the parliamentarians' role in promoting education for citizenship, including the adoption of relevant legislation, monitoring its implementation and maintaining dialogue with education practitioners.

Christine Muttonen
Austria, SOC Parliamentary Assembly

International and European activities *(continued)*

Promoting democracy learning within communities

The role of local and regional authorities in democracy learning was among the questions discussed at the 6th Forum of Cities and Regions of South-East Europe (Sinaïa, 8-9 December 2005). The Final Declaration encourages "parliamentarians and local and regional elected representatives"… to promote EDC and contribute to its sustainability. The Declaration, speeches and documents are available on the website of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities: http://www.coe.int/congress.

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Supporting youth projects

In 2005, the European Youth Foundation (EYF) of the Council of Europe allocated nearly €1.5 million to 140 projects in 32 member states.

The majority of EYF-funded pilot projects and international youth meetings deal with themes closely linked to education for democratic citizenship, for example human rights education, intercultural and inter-religious dialogue, youth participation and citizenship education. Since 1972, EYF has been providing financial support to European youth activities run by youth NGOs and networks at local, regional, national and international levels. Visit the EYF web site for more information: www.coe.int/youth.

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"Young Active Citizens" Award

On 30 January 2006, Maud de Boer-Buquicchio, Deputy Secretary General of the Council of Europe, handed over the "Young Active Citizens" Award to the winners from Croatia, Germany, Hungary, Russia and UK, Northern Ireland. In 2005, the Award aimed to recompense projects - designed and put into practice by young people – which provide examples of citizenship education methods and tools. The winning projects address various aspects of citizenship, including young people's awareness of human rights, integration of young people from minorities and communication between young people and politicians.

In 2006-2007, as a contribution to the European Youth Campaign For Diversity, Human Rights and Participation, the Award will be focused on projects encouraging young people to participate in building peaceful societies based on diversity and inclusion. Further information is available at the following address: www.coe.int/youth

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The "Year" in the member states

Activities carried out in the member states during the "Year" varied from conferences and workshops to simulation games and on-line projects. While most events were organised in the framework of secondary education, attention was also given to both formal and non-formal life-long learning. The examples below illustrate the diversity and outreach of these initiatives.

"Year" in the member states *(continued)*

"The State where the Children's Voice Is Heard"

A national forum was organised in Ukraine to bring together secondary school students, policy-makers and media representatives. Young people from all over the country had a unique opportunity to communicate with one another and discuss important political and social issues with government and local authority officials and journalists. As a result the students produced a paper with their views of the problems and possible solutions. The paper was sent to the national parliament and government and published in the national and regional press.

Bridging policy and practice

An international conference comprising interactive workshops, keynote presentations and social events was organised in England for British and European audiences to showcase the best of emerging EDC practice in the UK. The conference contributed to raising awareness and deepening understanding of EDC policy and practice, and consolidating national and international partnerships.

Innovative curriculum development

Norway held a national web-based hearing on developing national curriculum on democracy and pupil participation. Not only teachers and trainers but also pupils were involved in the hearing. The curriculum is to be implemented during the next school year. In Croatia, a group of university professors and researchers elaborated an interdisciplinary university curriculum in the field of human rights and democratic citizenship for students of pedagogical faculties. The experimental implementation began last November.

European Year of Citizenship through Education – connecting people…

A network of regional co-ordinators was created in Poland to disseminate information about the "Year", share experiences and initiate common projects. The participants held several meetings-training events during the year, each devoted to particular aspects of EDC, and discussed regional reports and future activities. The work of regional co-ordinators helped to design and implement the "Year" in Poland.

Human beings are not for sale

A project on "Human Trafficking – Modern Age Slavery" was carried out by Croatian students to raise awareness among young people at risk about human trafficking and potentially dangerous situations. The students collected statistical data, organised an opinion poll and prepared an overview of existing policies and NGO activities. As a result, an action plan was developed to draw attention to the problem and develop the skills required to deal with it.

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I am a Citizen of Europe

On 26 September 2005, the Information Office of the Council of Europe in Moldova organised an award ceremony of the country-wide contest entitled "I am a Citizen of Europe". The panel reviewed about 300 drawings and 200 essays, most of which were included in a publication entitled "We are the Citizens of Europe". The aim of the contest was to encourage children and young people

to reflect on their rights and responsibilities in a democratic society.

Your Vote – Our Citizenship

The Council of Europe Information Office in Tirana and the UK Embassy in Albania, in co-operation with the Albanian Youth Parliament organised in June an awareness-raising campaign addressing Albanian voters. The campaign involved 40 000 pupils from 8 to 12 years old from 12 regions of the country. Following a special class on democracy and citizenship, the pupils were invited to write a message to their parents on a postcard "Your Vote – Our Citizenship", asking them to participate in elections and thus to contribute to the future of the society.

Reaching a wider audience

A fair on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Open Days were organised in October by the Council of Europe Information Office in Yerevan. The aim of the events was to raise awareness of citizenship education, and to improve access to documents and publications on the subject. The Centre also translated and published the key materials and developed an EDC webpage.

Civil society

Democracy learning: what role for NGOs?

In April 2005, over 100 national and international NGOs took part in a conference on "The role of NGOs in the field of Education for Democratic Citizenship". A wide range of national and international NGOs attended the conference, which was organised in the framework of the Polish Chairmanship of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe. The conference allowed for an exchange of innovative practice and to formulate a Declaration with recommendations to the Council of Europe, NGOs and governments. This Declaration was subsequently submitted to the Third Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Council of Europe (Warsaw, 16-17 May 2005).

Innovative events take place all over Europe

Throughout 2005, NGOs organised a wide variety of activities ranging from youth parliaments to campaigns and publications. The *Union for Culture and Professional Future in Europe* organised a meeting for European pupils to discuss how they imagine Europe in the years to come. *D@dalos Sarajevo* published a Newsletter on EDC for teachers, teacher trainers, NGO staff and volunteers in several languages of South East Europe. In the summer, about 400 participants from 22 different countries were brought together in Werbellinsee (Germany) by exchange organization *Youth for Understanding*. In workshops and simulation games held as part of the Young Europeans' Seminar 2005 the participants learned to solve conflicts in a peaceful manner.

Keeping up-to date with recent trends

"Different faces of citizenship" is the title of the book published in 2005 by the *Consortium of Institutions for Development and Research in Education in Europe*.
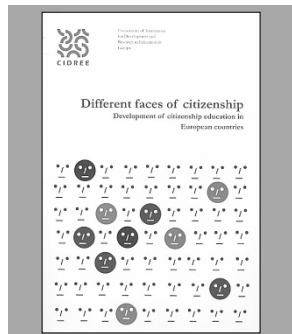
The publication looks at the recent trends in citizenship education, outlines the main principles and shows how they are put into practice in different European countries.

Further information:
www.cidree.org

Promoting citizenship through adult education

In November 2005, the winners of the Grundtvig Award 2005 were announced by the *European Association for Education of Adults* (EAEA) at a ceremony in Lillehammer (Norway). The 2005 award aimed to recompense a project in adult education on the theme of active citizenship, and the winner was the project "Raccontare l'Europa". A special award was given to the project "Learning each other's historical narrative: Palestinians and Israelis", submitted by the Peace Research Institute in the Middle East (PRIME), Beit Jala, Israel.

Further information
is available at the following address:
http://www.eaea.org

NGOs and the Council of Europe

Non-governmental organizations are an essential part of the democratic process. Since its foundation the Council of Europe has developed working relations with non-governmental organizations, which directly represent the general public, are relays for efficient mutual communication, can furnish advice and take action. The NGOs with

Civil society *(continued)*

participatory status played an active role in the design and co-ordination of the European Year of Citizenship through Education.

> Further information on NGOs and the Council of Europe is available at the following address:
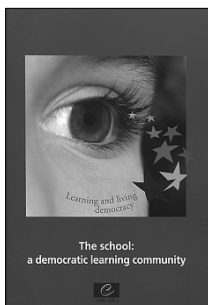> http://www.coe.int/NGO

Terry Davis adresses international NGOs

SECRETARY
GENERAL

ANNELISE
OESCHGER

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Books in brief

The School: a democratic learning community, 2005

Democracy needs to be learnt and it can be learnt. This publication looks at students' participation at school, including legal provisions, curricula, obstacles to participative teaching and learning, and examples of good practice.
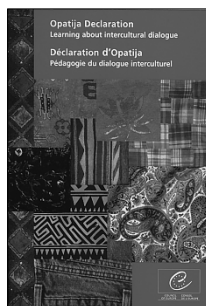
The Internet
literacy handbook
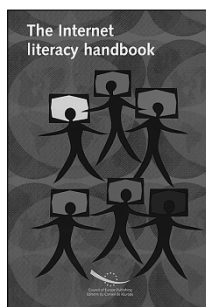
The Internet literacy handbook, 2005

21 fact sheets on Internet use, from searching for information to setting up blogs through to e-shopping and e-citizenship, to name just a few.
Flash version available at:
http://www.coe.int/media
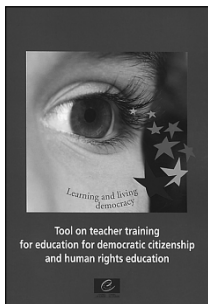
The school:
a democratic learning community

Tool on teacher training for Education for democratic citizenship and human rights education, 2005

Ideas, guidelines and examples of good practice for teachers and teacher trainers.

Tool on teacher training
for education for democratic citizenship
and human rights education

Opatija Declaration
Learning about intercultural dialogue
Déclaration d'Opatija
Pédagogie du dialogue interculturel

Opatija Declaration: Learning about intercultural dialogue, 2005

The European Ministers for Cultural Affairs specify their role and responsibilities in promoting dialogue between people of different origins and backgrounds.

Tool for Quality Assurance
of Education for
Democratic Citizenship
in Schools
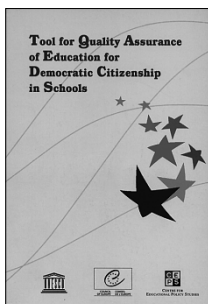
Tool for quality assurance of Education for democratic citizenship in schools, 2005

UNESCO, Council of Europe and Centre for Educational Policy Studies (Ljubljana)
The English version can be downloaded at the EDC website at:
www.coe.int/edc
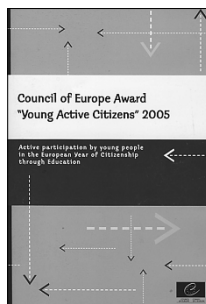
Council of Europe Award
"Young Active Citizens" 2005

Active participation by young people
in the European Year of Citizenship
through Education

Council of Europe Award "Young Active Citizens" 2005

Active participation by young people in the European Year of Citizenship through Education.

Flash info

World Programme for Human Rights Education

In January 2006, the Council of Europe, UNESCO and Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) sent a joint letter to the Ministers of Education in the 46 member states of the Council of Europe on the launch of the first phase of the Action Plan of the UN World Programme for Human Rights Education (2005-2007), which the Council of Europe will monitor at the European level.

Learning and living democracy: the way ahead

The conclusions of the European Year of Citizenship through Education will be drawn at the Evaluation conference in Sinaia (Romania) on 27 and 28 April 2006. The conference – entitled "Learning and living democracy: the way ahead" - will bring together representatives of the 46 member states and international institutions and organisations. The aim of the conference, which is being held in the framework of the Romanian chairmanship of the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers, is to share good practice and to identify priorities for future work. The conference will also be a contribution to the Action Plan of the UN World Programme for Human Rights Education.

EDC Co-ordinators meet in Moscow to assess the Year and prepare the future

One of the achievements of the EDC project was the setting up of a network of EDC co-ordinators appointed by the Council of Europe member states. Their main function is to foster the development of EDC in their country and to liaise between national activities and the Council of Europe. The EDC Co-ordinators meet at least once a year. Their next meeting will take place in Moscow, Russia, on 10 and 11 March 2006. The meeting aims to assess the European Year of Citizenship through Education, to prepare the Evaluation Conference of the "Year" and to discuss the next phase of the EDC project (2006-2009).

European Citizenship in Youth Work

The "Year" is over, but the issue of citizenship education is very much on the agenda. Since 2001, the Partnership Programme of the Council of Europe and the European Commission has been organising training activities dealing with European Citizenship in youth work framework. Plans for this year include:

- An evaluation meeting in March on the last years' activities organised in cooperation with the National Agencies of the YOUTH programme of the European Commission.

- Six new European Citizenship courses between May and October 2006.

- The experience will then be evaluated and used in the production of a practical HANDBOOK on European Citizenship Education, hopefully to be completed in early 2007.

Further information:
http://www.training-youth.net/INTEGRATION/TY/TCourses

"Learning and living democracy for all":
Council of Europe Programme of Activities 2006-2009
on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights

Calendar

- 10-11 March 2006, Moscow – EDC co-ordinators meeting

- 27-28 April 2006, Sinaia (Romania) – "Learning and living democracy: the way ahead": Evaluation conference of the European Year of Citizenship through Education

- 22-23 June 2006, Strasbourg – Forum on the responsibility of higher education for democratic culture and human rights

- June 2006 – Launching of the "All Different – All Equal" campaign

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