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Reinventing the Non-profit Theatre

A study of the growth of educational work in British non-profit theatres from the 1990s to the present

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Declaration

This thesis is all my own work and is in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Ph.D. in Cultural Policy Studies.

Abstract

This thesis examines why non-profit theatres in Britain have become increasingly involved in educational work since the 1990s, from an historical and institutional perspective. With an assumption that this sector-wide organisational change has been caused by a shift in institutional environments of the arts sector, the thesis proposes an institutional framework, where three different institutional logics – artworld, market and policy – coexist and tend to dominate the institutional context at different times.

Using this theoretical framework, the thesis demonstrates that arts policy and management during the post-war period were shaped by the artworld logic. However, the two decades since 1979 have seen the environments become complicated because the institutional logics of the market and policy gained currency. Criticising the limitation of marketisation theory that has so far dominated most analyses of recent cultural policy, the thesis sheds light on the fact that active intervention by the state has replaced the arm's length principle and the arts – especially arts education and participatory arts activities – are increasingly used for explicit social policy objectives. This phenomenon is defined as ‘politicisation’ of the arts. The rapid growth of educational work since the 1990s is conceptualised as an organisational adaptation of theatres to such environments.

The case study of four English theatres demonstrates that although the theatres have expanded education under unprecedented political pressure, they also try to implicitly resist external intervention and to maximise autonomy. This implies that politicisation is a complicated process of institutional change: whilst new rules, norms and expectations have been developed under the policy logic, the sector's romantic view of the arts has been reformulated and old ways of working have persisted. Thus, the recent institutional change in the non-profit arts sector is better understood as an integration of different institutional logics, not as colonisation of the arts world by the market or politics. In these dynamic environments, the non-profit theatre can reinvent itself as a creative educator and social impact generator without fundamental transformation in its artistic and management sides.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ABSA	Association for Business Sponsorship of the Arts
ACE	Arts Council England (previously Arts Council of England)
ACGB	Arts Council of Great Britain
AEADI	Arts Education Agencies Development Initiative
A4E	Arts for Everyone
BSIS	Business Sponsorship Incentive Scheme
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
DES	Department of Education and Science
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DNH	Department of National Heritage
EAA	Eastern Arts Association
EAB	Eastern Arts Board
EEA	East England Arts
ERDI	Education Research and Development Initiative
ERPTs	English regional producing theatres
ETA	Eastern Touring Agency
GLC	Greater London Council
ITC	The Independent Theatre Council
NACCCE	National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education
NCA	National Campaign for the Arts
NESTA	National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts
NFER	National Foundation for Educational Research
OAL	Office of Arts and Libraries
PIs	Performance indicators
Quango	Quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisation

QEST	Quality, Excellence and Standard Team
RAAs	Regional Arts Associations
RABs	Regional Arts Boards
RALP	Regional Arts Lottery Programme
RNT	Royal National Theatre
RSC	Royal Shakespeare Company
SOLT	The Society of London Theatres
TIE	Theatre in Education
TGI	Target Group Index
TMA	The Theatrical Management Association
VAN	Voluntary Arts Network

Introduction

In the 1990s a snapshot of the arts sector is likely to show an art gallery striving to create exhibitions for an audience of under fives, an orchestra working on a composition session with 16 year old GCSE students, an opera company running a reminiscence project in a hospice and a drama company devising a new play with a group of young offenders. (Jillian Barker cited in ACE, 1995, p. 4)

Recent Expansion of Education in the Theatre

This research aims at theorising the recent growth of educational work in British non-profit theatre organisations from an historical and institutional perspective. Since the 1990s, non-profit theatres in Britain have been increasingly involved in the provision of education programmes. The majority of the theatres have employed education staff and have set up education departments. According to Hogarth, Kinder and Harland (1997), 86% of the surveyed regular drama clients of the Arts Council of England¹ and the Regional Arts Boards [RABs]² run education programmes. In fact, the expansion of education is a general trend in the non-profit arts sector. Of the 589 surveyed various art-form organisations, 78% have education programmes – dance and visual arts as well as theatre organisations have particularly higher levels (over 80%) – and 63% have dedicated officers running them.

The above report also suggests that there is a clear overall trend for larger scale organisations to be more likely to have education programmes: while 64% of the

¹ The Arts Council of England changed its name to Arts Council England in summer 2003. Throughout this thesis, I use ‘the Arts Council’ for both as well as the Arts Council of Great Britain.

² The ten RABs and the Arts Council were integrated on 1 April 2002. Currently, there are nine regional offices of the Arts Council.

organisations with an annual turnover of £50,000 or less have education programmes, 91% of the organisations with an income of over £500,000 plus do so. It is also observed that the most common focus of education programmes is young people aged 12 and over, with 89% of the surveyed organisations offering programmes to 12-18 year olds and 80% to the 19-24 age group. Of the 26 types of participant groups investigated, those most commonly targeted are secondary schools, further/higher education organisations and primary schools (86%, 74% and 68% respectively). The next most common foci of education activities are general audience (67%) and community groups (65%). According to Hacon et al. (2000), expenditure on educational work by organisations funded by the Arts Council and the RABs was approximately £9.2 million in 1998/99.

For many people, the notion of education has always been closely related to the arts so the provision of educational programmes is viewed as a natural aspect of arts organisations. However, I would suggest that, like the theatre's other practices and functions, its educational work has developed in a historical context. Theatre organisation has changed over time, and the non-profit theatre itself is an historically specific phenomenon. Many notions from 'artistic' and 'cultivating' to 'non-profit', 'public subsidy', 'accessibility' and 'marketing', which are currently associated with the theatre, have evolved over time as the consequences of various political and economic as well as artistic factors, so they must not be taken as inseparable and ahistorical elements of the theatre. For example, the concept of 'public subsidy' for theatre became prevalent in Britain only after the outbreak of the Second World War. Although arguments for a National Theatre had existed since the mid-nineteenth century, commercial impresarios dominated the British theatre industry until the Second World War. The phrase 'public accessibility' would have sounded odd to the pre-war commercial theatres because it was the influence of state subsidy that created the notion of accessibility as a social responsibility of arts organisations. Similarly, I suggest that the remarkable expansion of educational work in the theatre since the 1990s be seen as an *organisational change* that is *historically specific*.

It should be noted that the relationship between the theatre and education has been dynamic. The notion of education was integrated into the theatre in the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries: during this period, the theatre began to be recognised as a cultural and educating organisation by the social establishment and intellectuals. Several decades later, the very belief in the educational function of the theatre provided it with justification for public subsidy, and this led to the formation of a non-profit theatre sector. However, there has been tension in arts policy as to how to define the relationship between the arts and education: ‘education as an inherent nature of the arts’ vs. ‘education as participatory programmes’; and ‘education about the arts’ vs. ‘education through the arts’. The arts funding system initially adhered to its understanding of education as an intrinsic value of the arts, but later education began to refer to participatory programmes offered by arts organisations. During the period between the mid-1960s and the 1980s, Theatre in Education (TIE) companies and community arts organisations advocated ‘education through the arts’ (the use of arts participation for educational and political purposes) and also insisted that public participation in the process of arts-making was a legitimate form of art, which was as valuable as the creative activities of professional artists. TIE and community arts stimulated mainstream theatres to develop educational work and the arts funding system to pay more attention to the issues of education and young people. The 1980s witnessed the development of education policy in the Arts Council and conceptualisation of education in terms of audience development. However, education was not prioritised by arts policy and the tension still existed between the different understandings of education.

It was in the 1990s that the theatre began to rapidly expand its educational work under unprecedented support from government and public funding bodies. An interesting point about the growth of education provision is that it is a sector-wide phenomenon rather than an event that has occurred in some individual theatres or in some sub-sectors. This also implies a change in the meaning of the term education in the arts policy context: education now tends to refer to a set of explicit education programmes, which are conducted as an essential function of the subsidised theatre organisations:

When arts organisations use the word education today, they are rarely referring to the education functions of art. Instead, education refers to a strand of programming, a particular set of activities...education thing is not a function of art, but a function taken on by an arts organisation to complement its core function of artistic production. (Owens, 1998, p. 17)

While in the past the prevailing idea was that the non-profit arts organisation had charitable status because it was by nature educational, it is more stressed nowadays that the organisation has to set up educational initiatives because it is constituted as an educational charity. Thus, recent literature on theatre management and administration tends to recommend theatres to include education provision in their work (Freakley & Sutton, 1996; Raymond, 1999, p.58). For instance, *Essential Guide to Business in the Performing Arts* states that a typical regional repertory theatre should have an 'educational team' and an 'education department', and describes the role of '(community and) education worker' as being 'responsible for developing workshops to support the productions and for youth theatre and other community activities based at the theatre' (Freakley & Sutton, 1996). This may lead new entrants to the sector to think that they have to set up an education department or hire education staff if they are to be seen 'appropriate' as non-profit theatres or theatre companies.

Notably, education in the arts is increasingly conceptualised as participatory programmes that aim to achieve a wide range of 'social', 'civic' and 'economic' purposes. The term education is closely associated with concepts of 'participation', 'outreach', 'young people', 'community empowerment', 'lifelong learning' and 'social inclusion'. For instance, the Arts Council's recent policy for education, *Leading through Learning: The English Arts Funding System's Policy for Education and Training*, particularly highlights the social and economic benefits of education in the arts: arts participation helps people to acquire skills most needed in the modern workplace and provides opportunities for personal and community development (ACE, 1998). Often, education programmes are believed to be a medium with which non-profit arts organisations can produce social benefits by directly involving socially excluded members of community, for instance, the disabled, the elderly, ethnic

minorities, those with low-income and young offenders. Also, it is suggested that in return for public subsidy, ‘practising artists must play a full part in the rounded education and lifelong learning that equip everyone for life and work’ (ACE, 1998, p. 1). Thus, all subsidised arts organisations are required to produce education programmes:

A large and growing proportion of arts organisations have education programmes, but we should not be content with anything less than 100%. High-quality, innovative educational work should be an intrinsic part of every funded arts organisations’ programmes – involving its full attention and best talents. We will make specific commitments on education work an explicit part of the funding agreements in which organisations state what they will do in exchange for funding. (ACE, 1998, p. 4)

This seems to show that the provision of education is not one of many options individual theatres can choose nor a special service provided by a particular kind of theatre such as TIE; it is rather becoming a universal and taken-for-granted feature of virtually every non-profit theatre subsidised by public money.

Literature Review

The 1990s saw an increasing body of literature on education in the arts, but much of it was confined to the description or evaluation of individual education projects. It was not until the second half of the 1990s that statistical or empirical studies were carried out on education provision as a collective phenomenon in the non-profit arts sector. In 1995 and 1996, the Arts Council organised two symposia on education in presenting venues and touring companies respectively, and published reports (ACE, 1995, 1996c). The reports note that both presenting venues and touring companies are now organising education programmes in a coherent way, and discuss practical issues such as cooperation between venues and companies and the relationship between education and audience development.

In 1997, the Arts Council published a report that was based on a large-scale survey into educational work of regular clients of the Council and the RABs (Hogarth, Kinder & Harland, 1997). This report provides comprehensive statistical data on the current state of education programmes: e.g., statistics on the proportion of arts organisations that have educational programmes and dedicated staff according to categories such as art form and size; analysis of types of programmes; and the relationship between education and core activities. From 1998 onwards, the Council has undertaken or commissioned a series of studies on educational work in subsidised orchestras, theatre companies and dance companies (Castle, Ashworth & Lord, 2002; Downing, Ashworth & Stott, 2002; Tambling & Harland, 1998). The focus of these studies is on the objectives education programmes intend to achieve and how the programmes are carried out. For example, the report on education in theatre companies, *Acting with Intent: Theatre Companies and Their Education Programmes*, categorises the aims of education into the following: artistic aims; drama/theatre-centred aims; curriculum development and support; client-centred aims; and aims that relate to the need of theatres (Downing, Ashworth & Stott, 2002). It demonstrates that education projects are generally divided into two broad types: those that support, or are supported by, core artistic products and participatory activities designed with particular sectors of the community in mind. It is also suggested that the educational work is related to core work in various ways, i.e., physically, philosophically and financially.

A publication of the British American Arts Association, *Creative Tensions: A Discussion Document on Arts Organisations and Education*, provides an account similar to the studies above mentioned (Owens, 1998). This report categorises approaches to education into three groups, i.e., arts-centred, organisation-centred and people-centred tendencies, focusing on who most benefits from the education, and suggests that these different approaches cause potential tensions in an arts organisation. In the same year, an issue of *Cultural Trends* carried an article on educational work in cultural organisations (Selwood et al., 1998). The article examines recent funding environments, in which education, young people and participation have emerged as the keywords of arts policy, and some statistical data on the current state of educational

programmes.

As the growth of education in arts organisations is an ongoing phenomenon, existing research tends to pay most attention to describing the aim of organisations with their educational work, what types of programme are produced and how they are carried out. While the research provides valuable information on the current state and conditions of education, it hardly raises questions as to why educational work has expanded in the time of so-called crisis of the non-profit arts sector, especially when TIE and community arts have been declining. Neither is it concerned with whether the expansion of education programmes implies a change in subsidised theatres' relation to the state and their role in society, nor what function education work has in the management of theatre organisations. Moreover, the rapid growth of educational work has seldom been theorised as a 'change' of the non-profit arts organisation or that of the arts sector.

At the macro level, the change in the non-profit arts sector since the 1980s has been so far generally discussed within the framework of 'marketisation' or 'commodification' (O. Bennett, 1996; Gray, 2000; Kawashima, 1999; Keat, 2000; McGuigan, 1996; Quinn, 1998). Writings that adopt this framework have a common approach: they view the political and economic contexts of public sector reform since the 1980s (i.e., Thatcherism or neo-liberalism) as the main reference point in their analysis. Literature on the theatre also tends to regard marketisation as the biggest change in the sector. It holds that the state had subsidised the theatre in order to protect it from the reign of consumer sovereignty, but under Thatcherism this protection was reduced and theatre became subject to increasing market pressures (Hall, 1999a, 1999b; Kershaw, 1992, 1999; D. K. Peacock, 1999, chap. 3). Whether they have idealist or critical views of the arts, these writers seem to agree that a fundamental transformation is occurring in the arts sector, as public subsidy is being withdrawn and replaced by private sources, and arts organisations are becoming market-oriented and commercialised.

However, I would like to point out that the marketisation theory does not provide an explanation on the rapid expansion of educational provision in the non-profit arts sector.

While concentrating on the issues of business sponsorship, an economic approach to the arts and the adoption of managerial practices by the sector, the above writers hardly pay any attention to education. Simply, it seems that the growth of educational work as a sector-wide organisational change is unseen or ignored in the marketisation framework. Interestingly, it is arts marketing and audience development literature that demonstrates some concern with the education provision by arts organisations (e.g., Kawashima, 2000; Sargeant, 1999, chap. 6). Here, education is likely to be seen as an important marketing strategy to develop new audiences, especially among young people; the role of education is mainly to remove barriers that prevent them from visiting arts venues. Education is also thought as of a strategy to enhance the existing audience's understanding of particular arts forms so they are encouraged to attend more frequently.

Nonetheless, it should be noted that education is recognised as an activity distinct from marketing. It has been commonly claimed that education activities are valued because of their own benefits to both individuals and society, not just because of their audience development effects (NACCCE, 1999). In particular, the role of educational work in terms of community participation, social regeneration, lifelong learning and social inclusion is increasingly recognised by arts funding bodies and decision-makers in both cultural and social policy areas. In short, education is perceived not as a mere marketing tool but as an important 'public' or 'social' function of the arts, which needs to be marketed and publicised (Rogers, 1997, 1998, 1999).

The public and social nature of educational work means that existing marketisation theory has difficulty in examining the issue of education and, therefore, this also implies that the theory itself may be insufficient to conceptualise the recent change in the non-profit arts sector. Therefore, I suggest that an alternative theoretical framework is needed for an analysis of macro-level change of the arts sector, and the growth in educational work should be investigated within this new framework.

Research Questions and Methodology

The research question of this thesis is simple: ‘why has the non-profit theatre sector in Britain increasingly provided educational programmes since the 1990s?’ As the thesis aims to theorise this sector-wide phenomenon in a macro perspective, a series of questions concerned with the wider context as well as details of educational work will be explored according to the order of the chapters:

1. What is the historical relationship between the theatre and education?
2. How can the sector-wide organisational change be explained?
3. What is the limit of the marketisation theory in explaining the recent change in the subsidised arts sector? How can the change be conceptualised alternatively?
4. Why has the issue of education in the arts become an important policy agenda since the 1990s while TIE and community arts activities have been declining?
5. How is educational work in the non-profit theatre conducted?

This research adopts an interdisciplinary approach, combining different academic disciplines such as cultural history, theatre history, cultural policy studies, cultural studies, organisation theories (institutional theory in particular), policy studies, marketing and community development studies. The research has been conducted through three parallel but closely related processes of theorising.

The first process of theorising comprises consulting existing theories, conceptualising and establishing a theoretical framework. Historical and institutional perspectives have played a decisive part in this process. From these perspectives, I have defined the expansion of education in the theatre as organisational change, and constructed an institutional framework as an analytical tool for explaining this change. The ‘historical’ perspective of the arts proposes that our current ideas of the arts (‘the arts have intrinsic civilising and educating values’ or ‘they exist in a separate sphere from politics and economy’) are historically constructed. Cultural history and British theatre history literature (DiMaggio, 1986; Elsom, 1971, 1979b; Elsom & Tomalin, 1978; Kristeller,

1990 [1950]; Pick, 1980, 1983, 1985; Rowell & Jackson, 1984; Shiner, 2001; Trussler, 2000) provides useful description and analysis on the formation of the modern concept of the arts and of the theatre. Through historical lenses, the current state of a particular art form and its dominant organisational form – a non-profit entity – is seen as a consequence of their continuous changes and adoptions, which have occurred through interaction with various external factors. It is also assumed that the role of the arts in society and their relation to different areas of social activities may change depending on the wider – social, economic, political as well as artistic – contexts.

‘Institutional’ perspective has been adopted as a way in which the changes in the non-profit arts sector in Britain are explained. Institutions generally refer to formal and informal systems that influence the way in which individual organisations in a sector behave: e.g., policies, laws, ideology, norms, rules and culture in its broader sense (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991; Scott, 1991, 2001). From this perspective, non-profit arts organisations are viewed as defining their ends, means, organisational structures, practices and conventions in the framework of institutional environments. When the environments shift, therefore, the organisations are likely to change. As this approach focuses on the ‘sector’ or ‘field’ of the non-profit arts rather than particular individual organisations as a unit of analysis, it is useful for exploring an organisational change that occurs as a collective phenomenon.

The second strand of the theorising process has been collecting and analysing both qualitative and quantitative information on the British theatre industry, arts policy and educational work in arts organisations. The following data have been consulted: policy statements, policy guidance, policy reviews and annual reports of the Department of National Heritage [DNH] and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport [DCMS]; policy documents, statistical data and annual reports published by the Arts Council of Great Britain [ACGB] and the Arts Council England [ACE]; policy reviews, annual reports and other publication of the Regional Arts Boards [RABs]; statistical data published by the Policy Studies Institute (e.g., *Cultural Trends*); the Theatrical Management Association [TMA] audience survey results and marketing manuals; the

Society of London Theatre [SOLT] audience survey results; the Target Group Index [TGI] on arts attendance; and research and survey reports published by the National Foundation for Educational Research [NFER].

Through investigating these data, I have been able to trace the change of arts policy, which looks quite different from the narrative of the marketisation theory. Statistics on arts funding and the income structure of non-profit theatres clearly show that there has been no significant withdrawal of public money or its substitution with private funding. Marketisation is rather about ideological and cultural change in the subsidised arts sector, which has accompanied strong intervention by the state. Examination of policy documents and annual reports published by the DNH, the DCMS and the Arts Council shows that since the 1990s government intervention has been further strengthened and the social use of the arts has been increasingly highlighted. This understanding of policy change has encouraged me to re-conceptualise the recent institutional change in the arts sector with the notion of ‘politicisation’, which can be alternative or complementary to the existing marketisation theory.

The third type of theorising process has been to investigate how theatres adapt to their new environments and how they undertake educational work in practice, through a case study. Four theatres in the Eastern region of England were selected for the case: the Cambridge Arts Theatre; the Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds; the Mercury Theatre, Colchester; and the Theatre Royal, Norwich. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected, mainly through semi-structured interviews with individuals from the theatres and their funding bodies. In addition to interviews, I have consulted a wide range of written materials produced by the theatres and their public funders as well as related newspaper cuttings collected by the local libraries.

The above three strands of theorising processes have proceeded almost simultaneously while closely interacting with each other. The initial theoretical framework gave me a point of view on how to analyse institutional change of the non-profit arts sector over time. In return, the analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data on arts subsidy and

theatre sector underpinned the theoretical framework but also called for more attention to be paid to complexity and ambiguity in the institutional change itself. The case study not only supported my analysis of the institutional change but also shed light on new opportunities and strategies of non-profit theatres

Terminology

In this thesis, the term *theatre* refers to the non-profit theatre organisation, mainly theatre buildings, including both presenting (or touring) and producing (or repertory) theatres, which parallel other types of building-based arts and cultural organisations such as museums, galleries, arts centres, concert halls and public libraries. In addition, my use of the word expands to include the theatre company as an organisation, and the core work of theatre organisation, i.e., theatre as an art form, as dramatic works, and as theatrical or dramatic entertainment.³ To make the use of the term clearer, however, I try to use the term ‘theatre company’ for the organisation that produces dramas, ‘touring company’ or ‘visiting company’ for the theatre company that tours to presenting theatres, and the term ‘drama’ when I am concerned with the theatre as an art form.

I occasionally use the terms ‘mainstream theatres (or arts)’ or ‘established theatres (or arts)’ when I need to distinguish the presenting and producing theatres from ‘alternative (or progressive) theatres’. The mainstream or established theatres refer to those theatres that are generally accepted and valued artistically and politically by the traditional theatre audiences as well as the arts funding system. Meanwhile, the alternative theatres refer to the theatres that are socially, politically and aesthetically oppositional to the established theatres (Kershaw, 1992): they include Theatre in Education (TIE), community theatre, political or popular theatre and drama work as part of community

³ The ambiguity is caused from the polysemy of the word theatre. According to *The Oxford English Dictionary* (1989), the modern use of the term theatre is as followings: (a) an edifice specially adapted to dramatic representations; a playhouse, (b) theatrical spectators; the audience, or ‘house’, at a theatre, (c) dramatic performances as a branch of art, or as an institution (i.e., the drama), and the drama of a particular time or place (i.e., dramatic art as a craft, the theatrical profession), (d) dramatic works collectively, and (e) theatrical or dramatic entertainment. The word theatre is often used inclusively or ambiguously in policy documents and reports: one tendency is that, as the funding bodies generally work according to art forms, the word has often been identified with drama, and thus more concerned with producing theatre and theatre companies than with presenting venues.

arts activities. However, it should be noted that the distinction between the mainstream and the alternative has never been clear and it became more vague in the 1990s because of the decline of the alternative and its incorporation into the mainstream.⁴ However, I make a distinction between these two when necessary, especially in order to illustrate that the recent policy climate of the non-profit arts sector has had different impacts on them. When the distinction is not needed, however, I use the terms ‘theatres’ or ‘non-profit theatres’ rather inclusively.

Non-profit theatre sector refers to a network or collection of non-profit theatres that operate in the same domain of producing and presenting theatrical works (mainly drama) and are located in the same institutional environments. Organisations in the sector are likely to share cultural, normative and regulatory systems, and also share the same funding and policy environments. Therefore, they have a ‘common understanding’ of what they aim at, how to define their relationship to funding bodies and audience, how their operation is carried out, how to view particular problems and how to solve them. In addition, policy-makers and public funding bodies can be seen as actors in the sector because their expectation and behaviour, too, tend to be shaped in the same institutional framework. In this sense, the notion of sector is similarly used to ‘organisational field’ or ‘societal sector’ (Alexander, 1996, pp. 111-114; DiMaggio, 1983; Scott & Meyer, 1991). Thus the terms ‘non-profit theatre sector’ and ‘non-profit arts sector’ are occasionally used interchangeably with ‘non-profit theatre field’ and ‘non-profit arts field’.

Education(al) work refers to explicit programmes which are provided by the non-profit theatre organisations or the non-profit arts organisations in general under the title of education or which are carried out by education officers or the education department. This term is used interchangeably with ‘education(al) programmes’ or ‘education(al) activities’, and ‘education in the arts’ is also similarly used. Jackson (1993a, p. 8) defines ‘education in theatre’ as follows:

⁴ This is well shown by the fact that the *British Alternative Theatre Directory* (1979-1993) was re-titled in 1994 as the *McGillivray's Theatre Guide* (1994-).

There are no satisfactory terms to apply to this area, but it covers two aspects of work very often considered a normal part of a repertory theatre's responsibility, i.e. establishing links with schools, youth clubs, etc. in order (a) to impart a more informed awareness of what theatre is and how it works; and (b) to build new audiences for tomorrow. These aims are generally fulfilled through lectures, backstage tours, open rehearsals, demonstrations and performances of short plays or play extracts both in schools and in the theatre itself.

However, it should be noted that this definition seems to be narrow given that education is increasingly associated with 'participation', 'community', 'young people', 'lifelong learning' and 'social inclusion'. Although there exist differences between those various concepts, education tends to be used as *umbrella notion* for them. Therefore, in this thesis, the term educational work is used interchangeably with the terms 'community programmes', 'participatory programmes', 'outreach work' as well as 'participatory arts'. It also seems to be helpful to note the differences between educational work in the theatre and other similar notions such as young people's theatre, TIE, children's theatre, youth theatre and community theatre. The Arts Council (ACGB, 1986a) and Jackson (1993a, pp. 7-8) define these notions as follows:

Young people's theatre is the umbrella heading used for all work by professional actors for children and young people, including TIE.

Theatre in Education (TIE) is a new form of theatre where professional actor-teachers provide programmes usually devised and researched by the company. The programme is around a topic of relevance to the school curriculum and children's own lives, and is designed to make children directly participate.

Children's theatre is the professional performance (in theatres or in schools) of self-contained plays for younger audiences. Its aim is to entertain children or to increase their appreciation of theatre as an art form.

Youth theatre is generally non-professional theatre work involving young people in the preparation and performance of group-devised or scripted plays.

Community theatre is work by professional actors responding to the needs of specific groups in the community, including young people.

The Structure of the Thesis

The thesis consists of seven chapters. Chapter One investigates the recent history of the British theatre industry and demonstrates that the notion of education was been very closely associated with two significant changes in theatre organisation. The transformation of theatre from a place for popular entertainment to fine arts establishment in the second half of the nineteenth century and the turn of the twentieth century was deeply related to the social recognition of the educational and civilising efficacy of the theatre. Educational claims also functioned as the most important justification for public subsidy for the theatre since the Second World War, which led to the formation of the non-profit theatre sector.

In Chapter Two, I examine theories on the change in the non-profit organisation, and suggest that the institutional approach is the most appropriate one for an analysis of sector-wide organisational changes. The existing writings that adopt an institutional perspective are reviewed and criticised for being one-dimensional and static. I propose a multi-dimensional framework, where three different institutional logics – rationalities of ‘artworld’, ‘market’ and ‘policy’ – coexist. The framework also assumes that the institutional environments of the arts sector are dynamic because particular logics are likely to be preferred at different times in history.

Adopting this institutional framework, Chapter Three demonstrates that the rationality of artworld predominated the institutional environments of the non-profit arts sector in Britain during the pre-1979 period. This led to the sector-wide belief in the autonomy of the arts and the adoption of the arm’s length principle for arts funding. This period saw the emergence of TIE and community arts, which advocated educational and participatory activities not only as alternative arts practices but also as an effort to connect the arts to political and social issues (‘education through the arts’). Their activities stimulated the Arts Council to pay attention to education (‘education about the arts’) and mainstream theatre organisations to develop educational activities. But the

issue of education and participation was only given a marginal place in arts subsidy.

In Chapter Four, I analyse the background of the institutional change in the non-profit arts sector since the 1980s, and investigate the new environments in terms of marketisation. It is pointed out that marketisation of the arts, as a state-led institutional change, was more about the change in the way in which arts organisations operate and justify their use of public money than an actual reduction of public subsidy or its replacement by private funding. In the marketisation framework, education (‘education about the arts’) began to be seen as an effective way of audience development. This implies that although arts organisations embraced marketing knowledge and techniques, their belief in artistic autonomy and producer authority was not fundamentally challenged. This chapter argues that the existing marketisation framework is insufficient for the analysis of recent institutional change: it cannot elucidate the complexity in the marketisation process and, more importantly, it ignores the unprecedented development of state cultural policy in the 1990s.

Chapter Five proposes an alternative conceptualisation of the recent change of cultural policy with the notion of ‘politicisation’: arts subsidy has been increasingly organised according to the rationality of policy since the 1990s. This chapter investigates the two dimensions of politicisation – intensification of state intervention and the social use of the arts – and examines the wider socio-political contexts in which ‘culture’ both in its narrow and broad senses has become a key concern of public policy. Non-profit theatre organisations began to be asked to play a new role as a cultural educator and social agency through providing education that is now conceptualised as a body of participatory programmes for a wide range of social purposes. Education in the arts is no longer perceived as an internal issue of arts policy, but as the very ‘link’ between the artistic, the social, the political and the economic. This also accompanies a gradual blurring of the distinction between education as alternative practice and policy-initiated participatory projects, and between professional and amateur arts activities.

Chapter Six investigates the details of educational work in the non-profit theatre through a case study of four English theatres. It is found that the theatres attribute the growth in education mainly to politicisation pressures from government and public funding bodies while regarding the need for audience development as the second important driving force. The observation of the way in which the theatres conduct their educational work demonstrates external intervention is limited and most of the work is self-controlled and evaluated. This chapter argues that the policy concern with education, participation and social inclusion has brought about a new opportunity, i.e., a new source of legitimacy, funding and professionalism, to non-profit theatres.

Chapter Seven discusses the close relationship between education and institutional changes in the arts sector. It observes that the belief in the educational (transforming) power of the arts motivated actors in the sector to problematise the existing institutional arrangements and set up new regimes. The recent institutional change – marketisation and politicisation – is conceptualised as ‘de-differentiation’ of the arts and a ‘cross-link’ between previously different areas of social activities. It is also suggested that the actual process of institutional change should be understood as an integration or interplay of different values, norms and practices. The chapter concludes that such complex environments have allowed the non-profit theatres to reinvent themselves as experts in the provision of creative education and social inclusion programmes, without fundamental change in their artistic and management sides.

In Conclusion, I will summarise the arguments and findings of the thesis and suggest the agendas for future research.

Chapter One

Theatre and Education in an Historical Context

I see no reason why the Stage might not be made a powerful and popular auxiliary in the cause of education....Do not suffer the Stage to be abandoned to mere amusement when it might be transformed into a powerful and popular school for the inculcation of virtue and the diffusion of every great and noble sentiment. (Neville, 1875, p. 89)

We look forward to the time when the theatre and the concert-hall and the gallery will be a living element in everyone's upbringing, and regular attendance at the theatre and at concerts a part of organised education. (Keynes, 1945)

Introduction

This chapter investigates the relationship between theatre organisation and education in an historical context. By doing so, the chapter aims to demonstrate that there was a close association between the educational claims of the theatre, the change of theatre organisation itself and the change in its place in society. Another aim is to show that theatre organisation has changed over time, and our taken-for-granted understanding of the theatre as a non-profit arts organisation is a very recent phenomenon, which has partially resulted from state subsidy since the mid-twentieth century.

This chapter has three sections. The first section demonstrates that the theatre had long existed as a place for popular amusement and often been neglected by the established classes until the second half of the nineteenth century. It is also be pointed out that norms and conventions in the theatre before that time were quite different from those of today.

The second section examines the relationship between the theatre's educational claims and its organisational change in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During this period, the theatre began to gain the status of arts establishment, and this accompanied the development of new practices and changes in auditorium structure. There was a variety of forces that caused this transformation: the efforts of theatre professionals to improve the status of the theatre and their profession; the introduction of modern plays from continental Europe and the emergence of the repertory theatre; and the tendency of the social establishment to distinguish themselves from the lower classes in terms of cultural consumption (Elsom, 1979b; Pick, 1980, 1983, 1985; Trussler, 2000). The advocacy of the educational and civilising potency of theatre ('theatre is educational') by theatre professionals and cultural elites played a decisive role in this process.

The third section points out that social recognition of the educational function of the theatre provided the main justification for public funding of theatre organisations. It is argued that state intervention brought a fundamental change in the theatre industry by leading to the formation of the non-profit theatre sector. By adopting a new (i.e., non-profit) organisational form and being granted symbolic assistance through public subsidy, the theatre could distinguish itself, as a place dedicated to serious art forms, from popular and commercial entertainment venues.

1.1. Theatre in Low Esteem

The current understanding of the arts and arts organisations was historically constructed (T. Bennett, 1995, 1998; Borzello, 1987; DiMaggio, 1986; Kristeller, 1990 [1950]; Levine, 1988; Mortensen, 1997; Shiner, 2001). As Paul Oskar Kristeller's article 'The modern system of the arts' (1990 [1950]) shows, it was the eighteenth century when activities such as painting, sculpture, architecture, music and poetry were conceptualised as the fine arts, distinguished from a variety of other human activities such as craft, commerce or natural science. This was accompanied by the birth of aesthetics as a branch of philosophy in the second half of the century in Germany, and was followed by

the establishment of public museums and galleries, concert halls for orchestral music, and public libraries in Europe throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Shiner, 2001, chap. 7 & 10). The theatre, which had for a long time existed as a venue for public entertainment, also began to transform itself into an arts establishment.

In Britain, the theatre elevated its status from a popular and even vulgar place to a cultural venue during the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. Until then the theatre was held in low esteem and the ruling classes were reluctant to embrace it. As elsewhere in Europe, a proliferation of legislative acts, which were designed to control actors and acts of performance, provides some explanation of the reception of the theatrical profession in early modern and modern England (Vlock, 1998, p. 66). In the Commonwealth from 1642 to 1660, all theatres were declared illegal by the Puritans who saw them as a source of low morality. In 1660, the state permitted legitimate drama (spoken drama) to be performed only in two London theatres,⁵ which held Royal Patents, and other cities were granted patent theatres throughout the eighteenth century. The theatres without patents could not present legitimate drama, though they could produce music, dance and other types of performing entertainment.

Although the Theatre Regulation Act of 1843 rendered it legal for any properly licensed theatre to present legitimate drama, upper- and middle-class people scarcely acknowledged the theatre. To them, it was still a place of debauchery and a bohemian life style, and theatrical activities had the potential for disruption and disorder (Horn, 1999, p. 197; Ridley, 1987, p. 225).⁶ Attendance at a theatre was commonly regarded as 'a profession of irreligion' and was blamed for causing moral contamination (Irving, 1994 [1876], p. 165). In addition, anti-theatrical sentiment that prioritised 'reading' over 'acting' prevailed throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and was still influential in the nineteenth century (Vlock, 1998, chap. 3). Literature was

⁵ Covent Garden and Drury Lane.

⁶ According to Elsom and Tomalin (1978, p. 12) the theatre's notoriety was not just a myth maintained by Victorian prudery. For instance, at the lower levels of the theatre profession, there was an association between actresses and prostitution.

regarded as superior to acting because it could avert the dangerous distractions and seductions inherent in playing.

The romantic argument for the 'universal' value of the arts, which prevailed in the early nineteenth century, was generally confined to fine art and poetry, and theatre was not yet a part of the case. English romantic poets such as Wordsworth and Shelley formulated an argument that commercialism, materialism and scientism caused by the industrialisation and enlightenment of society were depleting human values, and the arts were the main means to redeem threatened humanity. The arts as 'super reality', they argued, were a practicable mode of access to the ideal of human perfection, and would consequently bring civilisation (Williams, 1982, pp. 39-42). Artists were regarded as agents of the 'revolution for life' in their capacity as bearers of the creative imagination and explorers of universal truth. However, the romantic poets looked down on the theatre as a debased literary medium while Shelley was the only poet to attempt to receive and elevate the art of drama (Elsom & Tomalin, 1978, p. 12).

Theatre was rather regarded as a mere amusement that was available to the lower classes who had been deprived of their traditional entertainments due to industrialisation and urbanisation. The nineteenth century saw the traditional rural culture and popular entertainments such as blood sports, street football and fairs gradually disappear or be discouraged by Methodism, temperance societies and local authority regulations. This led the theatre to be 'the only place [for urban working classes] other than the tavern where good company, light, and warmth...might be found on a bleak winter's evening' (Trussler, 2001, p. 213). Like other popular entertainments such as pleasure gardens and entertainment houses, the emphasis of theatre was on variety, in which drama took its place with several different sorts of activities (e.g., diorama, music, ballet, fireworks and horse-riding) for an evening. The shows lasted for four or five hours until midnight, so that working-class people who were precluded by their working hours from the early portion could enjoy the later part of the shows at half price (Rowell & Jackson, 1984, p. 7). Charles Dickens describes a typical theatre audience upon a visit to The Britannia:

Among our dresses there were most kinds of shabby and greasy wear, and much fustian... Besides prowlers and idlers we were mechanics, clock-labourers, costermongers, pretty tradesmen, small clerks, milliners, stay-makers, shoe-binders, shop workers, poor workers in a hundred highways and byeways. Many of us – on the whole, the majority – were not at all clean, and not at all choice in our lives or conversation. But we had come together in a place where our convenience was well consulted, and where we were well looked after, to enjoy an evening's entertainment in common. (cited in Lewis, 1990, p. 90)

The atmosphere and conventions of attending the theatre were very different from those of today. Theatres were lit by oil lamps, so the dimming of the house lights as the play started was impossible and the auditorium was almost as brightly lit as the stage. The audiences were far from quietly reserved: they often actively engaged with the shows by shouting and applauding. They could also eat and drink from supplies hidden in coats and pockets, although the Theatre Regulation Act (1843) prevented theatres from providing refreshment within auditoria allowed to stage spoken drama.⁷

1.2. Theatre as an Educational Force

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, theatre managers made great efforts to make their theatres respectable. Although there still existed anti-theatrical sentiment, theatres began to make large 'educational' and 'spiritual' claims for their performances and persuaded the upper and middle classes that serious acting was the highest educational function of the stage (Horn, 1999, p. 200; Pick, 1980, 1983). Leading theatre managers stressed the improving and educational qualities of the theatre, and promoted the usefulness of theatre as a 'moral agency'. They argued that theatre could be used to 'transform' the public into civilised members of society in the same way that public libraries, museums and galleries were supposed to do. Throughout the nineteenth century such institutions were built for the purpose of the moral uplift and enlightenment of the mass population, who were characterised by Victorian social

⁷ According to the Theatre Regulation Act (1843), illegitimate theatres might now obtain a licence from the Lord Chamberlain to perform spoken drama so long as it did not supply audiences with refreshment within the auditorium. If the theatre wished to serve food and drink it could only obtain a music hall licence.

reformers as suffering from prevailing evils such as drunkenness, ill health, an unsanitary environment and undisciplined life (T. Bennett, 1995, 1998, 2001). It was believed that such organisations could encourage the public to develop particular civil habits, tastes and dispositions, by helping them to organise themselves, i.e., help form a working man who would not want to drink, as well as wanting to save, work and practise sexual restraint.

Theatre professionals argued that the theatre could contribute to the enlightenment of the ignorant masses, the reform of vice and the encouragement of public morality (Neville, 1875). Henry Irving, one of the leading actor-managers of that time, proposed that the theatre could provide the mass public with decorous amusements that could be a substitute for heavy drinking, physical indulgence, obscene conversation and the degradation provided by a gin place or a pot-house (Irving, 1994 [1881]). Furthermore, he suggested, the theatre could develop dramatic sentiment, which was righteous and religious, and would show the public that human character was trained and perfected. In a conference of the Church of England Temperance Society in 1876, Irving recommended the clergy to use the influence of theatre for purification and moral uplift rather than suppressing or banning it:

Gentlemen, change your attitude towards the stage, and, believe me, the stage will co-operate with your work of faith and labour of love. It will help you in disarming and decimating the forces which make for moral evil, and in implanting and fostering the seeds and energies of moral good. (Irving, 1994 [1876], p. 166)

Meanwhile, the introduction of new and challenging dramas of modern life by continental writers such as Ibsen and Strindberg and occasional visits by theatre companies from the continent also encouraged the establishment to accept theatre. For example, the Comédie-Française, which visited London in 1879, inspired Matthew Arnold to write an influential essay 'The French play in London' published in *The Nineteenth Century* (August 1879). He was not only impressed by the quality of the company's repertoire but also recognised the potential of 'organised' theatre as a civilising influence on society. In the essay, therefore, he argued for the need of state

subsidy for the theatre, so that it could be devoted to artistic and civilising missions:

what *is* the consequence which it is right and rational for us to draw? Surely it is this: 'The theatre is irresistible; organize the theatre'....Let them have a grant from your Science and Art Department....When your institution in the west of London has become a success, plant a second of like kind in the east. The people *will* have the theatre; then make it a good one. Let your two or three provincial towns institute, with municipal subsidy and co-operation, theatres such as you institute in the metropolis with State subsidy and co-operation. (pp. 241-243)

Arnold's recognition of the civilising potential of the theatre had significant implications for the position of theatre in society. He characterised the social and political life in Britain as being in a state of 'anarchy' largely caused by collective actions of the uncivilised class and the growth of democracy, and proposed culture as 'the great help out of our present difficulties' since it would re-impose social order and drive individuals and society into a perfect state (Connell, 1998 [1950], chap. 7; H. S. Jones, 2000, pp. 63-66). According to him, culture could be attained by means of reading, observing and thinking in an endeavour to know the best that can be known. This led to the belief that the mass public could become cultured partly by exposure to the arts, i.e., 'the best that has been thought and written in the world'. The arts were believed to provide an attractive way of spending time, and to cause the inner transformation of the public by helping them to distinguish the good and bad in life and also by teaching them the proper way of conduct and aspiration (Elsom & Tomalin, 1978, p. 18-19). Arnold's general belief in culture and art provided an ideological basis for the British tradition of 'culture and civilisation', which was enriched by cultural critics such as the Leavises, and which supported the later idea that the provision of the arts should be a feature of the welfare state (Storey, 1993, chap. 2). In particular, his argument in 'The French play in London' has been used to justify public subsidy for the theatre since then. Arnold showed his further interest in drama as an art through five brief letters, which he contributed to the *Pall Mall Gazette* (1882-1884). In those letters, he illustrated the recent transformation in the theatre building and in the composition of its audiences:

It [Princess's Theatre] was another world from the old Princess's of my remembrance. The theatre itself was renewed and transformed...it had become decorated and brilliant. But the real

revival was...in the presence of the public. The public was there; not along the old, peculiar public of the pit and gallery, but with a certain number of the rich and refined in the boxes and stalls, and with whole, solid classes of English society conspicuous by their absence. No, it was a representative public, furnished from all classes, and showing that English society at large had now taken to the theatre. (Arnold, 1919, pp. 24-25)

William Archer, one of the early pioneers of the repertory movement, also observed a gradual change in the attitude of established people towards the theatre during this period:

The theatre is now a stock topic of discussion in intellectual circles in which a few years ago, the prize-ring was scarcely more loftily ignored....The University no longer taboo, but rather encourage, the acted drama....so completely have men of culture abandoned the theory that the highest drama should be read, not acted...[however] still more significant is the treatment accorded to theatrical matters by the leading periodicals of the day. (Archer, 1886, pp. 2-6)

However, it should be noted that the alleged educational mission of the theatre had nothing to do with the recent concept of 'public accessibility'. For commercial theatre managements, on the contrary, educational and spiritual claims were more about courting the establishment while often intentionally excluding the poor. Far from trying to reform lower-class people, the theatres were eager to reform *themselves* in order to attract attention and respect from middle- and upper-class audiences. To look serious, theatres developed new conventions: an evening's event was limited to a single performance; house lights were lowered during a performance in order to enable the audience to focus on the stage; food was removed from the auditorium; the aisles were carpeted; and house staff were uniformed (Pick, 1983). Members of the middle and upper classes were encouraged to come by sophisticated marketing, dress restrictions and seat booking systems (Bradley, 1998, p. 50; Lewis, 1990, p. 90). Matinee performances were introduced to attract well-bred ladies.

There also occurred a significant transformation in the auditorium structure. Theatres began to replace the *pit* with *stall seats* so that more members of the audience from wealthy classes could attend. This implied a change in the management strategy of

theatres: they began to rely upon a small, well-to-do audience who would pay more for the stalls and dress circle, instead of a large audience who paid small sums.⁸ As theatres increased seat prices to boost profit margins, the lower-income audience were excluded economically too. This is why the theatre at that time was often criticised as a ‘social luxury’ or reflecting the ‘special and aristocratic conception of its status which is the point of view of its patron’ (Henry James cited in Trussler, 2000, p. 260).

It is interesting that although the status of drama was raised towards that of a fine art and a visit to the theatre began to function as a marker of distinction of the privileged classes, this did not lead to debates as to whether the theatre should operate non-commercially. The idea of a publicly supported non-commercial theatre had existed as early as in the mid-nineteenth century and some theatre professionals, such as Irving, also suggested the idea of a National Theatre. However, commercial theatre managers were generally doubtful about the idea of state subsidy as they believed that such subsidy would bring about inevitable government interference in the free system of British theatre (Elsom & Tomalin, 1978, chap. 1; Rowell & Jackson, 1984, pp. 20-21). Theatre in Britain was a commercial business and mostly operated in profit, particularly in London. Business considerations were at the heart of decisions about the lease of the building, the size of the company, the adoption of a particular style of production, the use of particular actors and the pricing of seats. According to Pick (1985, p. 7), West End theatres used to attract investment from theatre backers, and many of those investors made a great deal of money as break-even points were often reached within a few weeks. Thus a contemporary commentator said, ‘It is certain that if you only have a run of luck you can make your fortune out [of] a theatre sooner than out of almost any other speculation’ (cited in Booth, 1987, p. 54). In the regions, stock companies⁹ – they were also commercial companies – were giving way to touring companies organised by

⁸ A famous example was when the Bancrofts, then a leading West End theatre management, turned the Prince of Wales’s into the most exclusive theatre in London in the 1870s by replacing the whole ground floor pit area with stall seats, and consequently prevented the poor from attending the theatre (Trussler, 2000, p. 254).

⁹ Stock company refers to a semi-permanent group managed by a leading actor and fulfilling the function of players and family circle simultaneously. It usually performed on a regional circuit, which consisted of several theatres in the region (Rowell & Jackson, 1984, p. 7).

impresarios in London to whom financial returns were a paramount goal.¹⁰

Meanwhile, the increased acknowledgement of drama as a serious art form was also attributed to 'the repertory movement', which took place around the beginning of the twentieth century. Being impressed by modern dramas from the continent and worried by commercialism in the industry, in particular the consequent exploitation of provincial theatres by impresarios in London, the pioneers of the repertory movement argued for the setting up of a new type of theatre: a theatre that opposed profit-oriented management and the then prevailing long-run system. Originally a repertory theatre meant a theatre that staged its plays in rotation, building over a period of a year or more a store of productions that were offered to the public for no more than a week at a time but brought back at frequent intervals according to public demand (Rowell & Jackson, 1984, p. 1). However, in Britain, most repertory theatres adopted the 'short run' system and presented a season of plays, in which each production ran for three or four weeks at a time with no return of plays once performed.¹¹

Repertory theatres tried to maintain an ensemble company that could produce high standard performances of serious dramas that possessed literary quality and provided intellectual challenges, but financial restraints often led the theatres to hire actors on a seasonal basis. In the repertory system, the play itself, rather than star performers, received most emphasis, and this encouraged greater attention to be paid to the training of actors and rehearsals, through which the standard of production could be improved. The proponents of the repertory system not only argued that theatre was a serious art form but also suggested that the theatre, like public libraries, could function as a 'public utility' and 'institutionalised education' (Rowell & Jackson, 1984, p. 31). Keeping the repertory system and maintaining a high quality seemed to be difficult without private subsidy or state funding. In fact, early repertory theatres were created under private patronage, and some of the pioneers argued for the establishment of a National Theatre.

¹⁰ The *Era* (November, 1901) listed 143 touring companies on circuit while not naming a single stock company (Rowell & Jackson, 1984, p. 12).

¹¹ Although early pioneers attempted to organise a 'true repertory' system, it lasted only for a short time mainly due to financial constraints.

endowment theatres or municipal theatres.¹²

The implication of the repertory theatre movement was significant. It proposed a *new* type of theatre organisation with a new production system and non-commercial management style, and this type of organisation might be a rival to the commercial theatre. By the end of the 1930s, a national pattern of non-commercial repertory theatres had emerged (Peter Boyden Associates, 2000, p. 6). However, the British theatre industry was still dominated by commercial impresarios and was a profitable industry until the mid-twentieth century. In 1949, there were around 250 repertory companies in operation (including theatre companies that performed at unconventional venues such as the Mechanics' Institute) (Rowell & Jackson, 1984, pp. 84-85). Many of them were presented by commercial managers, and significant part of commercial repertory companies was dominated by a few impresarios.¹³

Acquisition, monopoly and the formation of theatre chains were typical strategies of commercial theatre managements. As a result of fierce market competition, powerful theatre managements increased in strength through acquiring weaker ones, until finally a small group of companies dominated the industry. Since the 1920s the theatre industry had experienced a transformation from many small competing, independent theatres to a more monopolised industry, in which groups of companies controlled chains of theatres. By the late 1940s, the monopoly of theatre industry had become more intensified: for instance, the Prince Littler Consolidated Trust directly owned, with its affiliated companies, eighteen out of forty-two functioning West End theatres and fifty-seven (70%) of the main out-of-London touring theatres (Elsom, 1979b, p. 12).

¹² In the 1880s and 1890s, William Archer argued the need for endowed theatre, a theatre which would be supported by private endowment. At the end of the century, George Bernard Shaw advocated public subsidy for repertory theatres throughout the country. In 1907, Archer and Harley Granville Barker published a book titled *A National Theatre: Scheme and Estimates* (Rowell & Jackson, 1984, pp. 18-24).

¹³ Most commercial repertory theatres were 'weekly reps' that presented their products with a weekly change. This type of theatre was different from the non-commercial repertory theatre which offered a run of three weeks or a month. The former had minimum rehearsal time and tended to present safe plays.

1.3. State Subsidy and the Invention of the Non-profit Theatre Sector

The biggest event which fundamentally changed the British theatre scene happened during the Second World War: the creation of the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts [CEMA] in 1940. It was an incidental wartime measure for public arts subsidy to encourage people's morale and protect British culture. Initially, CEMA aimed to encourage amateur music, drama and art activities, and to assist unemployed professional artists through grants to bodies such as The Music Travellers, which organised amateur musical activity, established choirs and chamber groups, arranged concerts, or themselves performed as professional musicians. However, CEMA soon moved its emphasis to supporting professional arts activities and, consequently, its funding became more concerned with dispatching professional artists to the provinces so that arts of a high standard could be enjoyed by as many people as possible. As to the theatre, CEMA came to concentrate its resources on supporting the Old Vic and its two touring groups, and later on rescuing the Theatre Royal, Bristol (Leventhal, 1990). After the war, government decided to continue its financial support for the professional performing arts through an arm's length body, the Arts Council of Great Britain, into which CEMA transformed itself. In addition, the Local Government Act of 1948 enabled local councils to support theatres on top of their existing discretionary subsidy for the museums and galleries.¹⁴ Consequently, the British theatre sector, for the first time in history, was 'blessed' with public subsidy (Hall, 1999a, p. 7).

Elsom (1979b, pp. 7-8) observes that the British theatre industry became unstable and went into a state of chaos after the war, and argues that without the war, the theatre would also have faced a crisis because of the upcoming emergence of television. However, it seems that the British theatre, as an industry, could have survived for some time after the war through streamlining and restructuring. Despite its increasing competition with the cinema during the inter-war period, there was still a demand for

¹⁴ The Act allowed local authorities the discretionary freedom to raise money for the provision of entertainment and the arts up to (but not more than) a six-penny rate. Later, the 1972 Local Government Act removed the limit to the authorities' expenditure on this area.

theatrical work and most commercial theatres throughout the country survived (Rowell & Jackson, 1984, p. 73). This is confirmed by an Arts Council report, *The Theatre Today in England and Wales*:

The theatre-going habit was not as much diminished fifty years ago by the cinema as had been widely expected, and through the twenties and thirties and even after the war the 'live' theatre was holding its own, entirely on a commercial basis and without any form of public subsidy. (ACGB, 1970, p. 12)

As Pick (1985, pp. 8-9) points out, state subsidy for the theatre was decided by a series of extra-artistic factors, rather than by any change in managerial will, or as a result of any thoroughgoing survey of theatre finances and managerial practices. The creation of the Arts Council as a permanent body was mainly caused by the socio-political change in British society, i.e., the emergence of the welfare state (Gray, 2000, p. 40; Ridely, 1987, p. 224). Under the idea of the welfare state, the state started to play a new and significant role in many areas that had previously been taken care of by individuals and private organisations. This served as the turning point for the arts as much as for other sectors of society such as education, housing and health care. A report to the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party (1942) shows that the arts subsidy was decided as a part of the welfare policy:

We have to organise social services at a level which secures adequate health, nutrition, and care in old age, for all citizens; and we have to provide educational opportunities for all which ensure that our cultural heritage is denied to none....The Labour Party believes that there are public amenities both of culture and of recreation, which must be consciously undertaken by the community on behalf of citizens, instead of remaining, as so largely now, the accident of private generosity.¹⁵

The argument that the arts would be a part of the welfare state and should be accessible to every citizen was based upon a belief in their civilising function promoted by Arnold and cultural critics who followed his idea of culture. The arts were regarded as being of much value because they were not only to *entertain* people but also *educate* them. The

¹⁵ Cited in O. Bennett (1996, p. 2).

establishment of the arts funding system was essentially bound up with the notion of ‘education’, and this was incorporated into the Royal Charter of the Arts Council of Great Britain (1946). The first two objectives of the Council were

- (a) to develop a greater knowledge, understanding and practice of the fine arts exclusively and
- (b) to increase accessibility of the fine arts to the public.

Similar to the theatre’s educational claims in the late nineteenth century, the notion of education in an arts funding context tended to be identified with ‘civilisation’, ‘cultivation’, ‘enlightenment’, ‘upbringing’, ‘refinement’ and ‘moral health’.

State subsidy brought about a dramatic change in the British theatre industry: the adoption of a *non-profit* organisational form as the dominant organisational form of the theatre, and the formation of the non-profit theatre sector. As Shepherd and Womack (1996, pp. 306-307) suggest, the theatre of post-war Britain was ‘a creature of the State’ which gave non-profit theatre both material and ideological assistance. The Arts Council gave its grants to non-profit arts organisations, which had charitable status. The Council was also able to recommend that productions of ‘cultural’ or ‘educational’ value should be exempted from Entertainments Tax (abolished in 1957), which in 1948 stood at ten percent of gross profit and accounted for over a quarter of the price of a ticket (Trussler, 2000, p. 303). The state subsidy led to a boom in the creation of non-profit theatre organisations. Many new non-profit theatres and theatre companies were created and some commercial managements formed non-profit companies to present tryouts of potentially profitable productions.¹⁶ Also, many commercial theatres transformed themselves into non-profit entities. The non-profit theatre could get income tax reduction, rates reduction and, later, exemption from the Selective Employment Tax that was introduced in 1966.

Most non-profit theatre organisations were constituted as ‘educational charities’. According to the charity law, voluntary organisations could be set up as a charity when

¹⁶ In 1951, the Arts Council stopped its support for non-profit companies set up by commercial managements because of charges that the public subsidy would be abused (Trussler, 2000, p. 303).

they aim at achieving one of the following charitable purposes: the relief of poverty; the advancement of education; the advancement of religion; and other purposes beneficial to the community in a way recognised as charitable (Gill & Evans, 1994; Kendall & Knapp, 1996, chap. 3). As an educational charity, non-profit theatres came to have the word education at the centre of the aims listed in their Memorandum and Articles of Association. The main objective of the non-profit theatre was generally described as presenting, promoting, organising, maintaining, improving or advancing 'education' particularly by production of plays, dramas and other forms of theatrical arts. This means non-profit theatres – and non-profit arts organisations in general – were legally bound to educate people. This was also the rationalisation for the transfer in 1965 of the administration of arts funding from the Treasury to the Department of Education and Science, where a minister was given special responsibility for the arts.

State subsidy did not only mean financial benefits but it also gave 'symbolic' value to subsidised theatres, which were now regarded as being one of 'fine arts exclusively'. As Pearson (1982, p. 7) points out, state subsidy has 'not simply supported art, in the sense of lending credence and succour to a pre-given and value-free set of practices' but has 'radically affected what art is, how it is understood, and how it is practised'. In other words, state funding contributed to the differentiation of 'valuable' art forms that consisted mainly of art forms preferred by social establishment and cultural elites from 'less valuable' ones (e.g., popular and mass entertainments). The grant recipients were regarded not as weak and ill-managed but as producers of fine arts. The distinction between the fine arts and popular entertainments became clearer as they now had different organisational forms. While non-commercial drama as well as opera and dance benefited from state subsidy, popular art forms such as music hall had to still rely upon market demands, competing with cinema and television.

Another consequence of state subsidy was that theatrical activities produced by professional companies gained legitimacy as serious arts while amateur theatres, which also had prevailed in Britain, became regarded as leisure activities that were not necessarily enlightening and cultivating. In other words, the arts were now understood

as finished products created by professional artists while amateur activities were seen as less important than appreciation of finished art works.

The non-profit professional theatre had a management structure different from that of its commercial counterpart. The management of the theatre, which used to be in the hands of a commercial impresario, became a responsibility borne by a board of trustees, members of which had limited liability for the organisation. The board appointed an artistic director or general manager, and hired artistic and administrative staff. The board's responsibilities covered the budget, the building, general policy, seat prices, theatre amenities, and negotiations with the Arts Council and local authorities. The artistic control of a theatre was vested in the artistic director or general manager, whose duties were to choose the plays, select the artists and plan the productions. Taking the non-profit organisational form, the subsidised theatre was expected to operate according to a logic that would differ from that of the market. The main goals of the theatre management shifted from profit-seeking to artistic and social ones, such as enhancing artistic quality and serving the community, and such goals were shared by most participants in the sector.

In short, a new breed of theatre, which had the management structures and operational goals appropriate for pursuing their civilising and educational function, finally emerged with support from the state. The importance of the organisational form in relation to the development of high arts – precisely speaking, the differentiation of high art forms from low and popular ones – is well illustrated by DiMaggio's article 'Cultural entrepreneurship in nineteenth-century Boston' (1986). This article suggests that, in America, it was not until two distinct organisational forms – 'non-profit cultural institution' and 'commercial-popular culture industry' – took shape in the second half of the nineteenth century that the high/low dichotomy in the arts emerged in its modern sense. As DiMaggio (1986) argues, whether being non-profit or commercial entities is an important factor that first prescribes what aims the arts organisations would pursue and how they should behave:

Once these two different organisational models developed...they shaped the role that cultural institutions would play, the careers of artists, the nature of the works created and performed, and the purposes and publics that cultural organizations would serve. (p. 42)

Unlike the case in America where wealthy cultural elites initiated the creation of non-profit performing arts organisations, the formation of the non-profit theatre sector in Britain was attributed to state subsidy and its growth. This also indicates that the state might play an important role in shaping the environments of the subsidised theatre sector in the forthcoming decades.

Summary

In this chapter, I have examined the historical relationship between the theatre and the notion of education since the second half of the nineteenth century, and have demonstrated that social recognition of the educational function of the theatre played a key role in a series of significant changes of theatre organisation in Britain. During the second half of the nineteenth century, educational claims helped drama to be accepted by the upper and middle classes as a serious art form and the theatre as a reforming institution. The integration of the notion of education into the theatre accompanied considerable changes in the theatre organisation (its status, social function, auditorium structure, composition of audiences, and conventions). Several decades later, the same educational claims legitimised state subsidy for the theatre buildings and theatrical arts activities such as drama, opera and dance. This period saw a fundamental transformation in theatre organisation: the non-profit organisational form became a norm, and this contributed towards the differentiation of the theatre as a venue for high arts from its commercial, popular and amateur counterparts. Another finding of this chapter is that state intervention in the form of public subsidy played an important role in shaping the form and orientation of the theatre organisation, which we today take for granted.

Chapter Two

Institutional Framework

institutional frameworks define the ends and shape the means by which interests are determined and pursued. (Scott cited in DiMaggio & Powell, 1991a, p. 29)

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to create a theoretical framework for the analysis of organisational change in the non-profit theatre from an institutional perspective. One of the basic assumptions of the chapter is that the non-profit theatre sector has been in complex environments where different sets of institutional forces coexist. Another assumption is that the different forces may play more influential roles at different times in history in producing discourse on arts policy and shaping the perspectives of actors in the sector. It is suggested that the recent huge expansion of educational work in the theatre, as an organisational change, should be analysed in this institutional framework.

This chapter consists of three sections. The first section reviews some of the existing theories on the changes of non-profit organisations (Galaskiewicz & Bielefeld, 1998; Lowndes, 1996; Oster, 1995; Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003 [1978]; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991; Powell & Friedkin, 1987). Given the fact that the growth of education in the theatre has not taken place merely in some sub-sectors or individual theatres but it is a sector-wide phenomenon, the section argues that the institutional perspective provides the most relevant explanation. It is because this approach tends to focus on policies, beliefs, values, norms and practices that are shared by most actors in the sector.

The second section examines some of the comparative cultural policy and cultural economics literature that adopts institutional approaches in order to explain the behaviour of subsidised arts organisations (Cummings & Katz, 1987, 1989; Frey, 1994; Frey & Pommerehne, 1989; Hillman-Chartrand & McCaughey, 1989; O'Hagan, 1998; Towse, 1994; Zimmer & Toepler, 1996). The literature contends that, under a 'patron regime' such as British arts policy, subsidised arts organisations tend to pursue artistic excellence and professional autonomy while ignoring issues of public access, participation, accountability or market needs. It is argued that this explanation is one-dimensional and static so sheds little light on the complexity and dynamics in the institutional environments of the non-profit arts in Britain.

In the third section, I propose a new institutional framework where three institutional logics ('artworld', 'market' and 'policy') coexist. The different logics provide different 'rules of the game' in arts subsidy and management of the non-profit arts organisation, and tend to legitimise different sets of beliefs, norms and practices. Thus, there is likely to exist inherent tension in arts policy. However, it is also suggested that particular institutional forces may be more influential at a particular time in history. According to the framework, sector-wide organisational changes are likely to occur either when the institutional regime shifts at a macro level or when changes occur at the level of individual institutions.

2.1. Theories on Change in the Non-profit Organisation

2.1.1. Internal forces

Literature on the non-profit organisation generally identifies three types of driving force that lead to changes in the organisation: internal forces, resource dependency, and institutional forces (Alexander, 1996, chap. 1; Chandler, 1977; Galaskiewicz & Bielefeld, 1998; Lowndes, 1996; Oster, 1995; Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003 [1978]; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991; Powell & Friedkin, 1987). The 'internal forces' refer to organisational conditions that are generally derived from organisational growth, while

resource dependency and institutional pressures are exogenous factors. Internal conditions may be developmental: they are produced as an organisation enters particular stages in its history (e.g., growth, decline and crisis). An example of internally generated organisational change in the commercial sector is well described by Chandler (1977). He traces the evolution of the multi-divisional organisational structure among major American firms, and argues that the change was caused by an internal need to cooperate and manage large-scale growth and expansion. In the non-profit sector, Oster (1995) observes that organisations incline towards change as they grow. For instance, organisational missions are likely to dominate in the early stage: the organisations typically worry very little about waste of resources or inefficiency but instead tend to concentrate on the demand side of the business, i.e., selling their mission to clients and donors. As the organisations mature, structural expansion, bureaucratisation and cost considerations follow and the role of professional staff increases. Internal pressures for organisational change are also caused by many elements such as leadership, internal power-relations and organisational culture.

This theory appears to be useful in examining changes of specific individual organisations over time. However, it is not so helpful in analysing the changes that have occurred over a whole sector unless all the participants in the sector were created simultaneously and thus were at the same developmental phases when the common changes occurred. If organisations at different phases have changed to a particular direction at the same time, it would be more appropriate to look at external factors such as resource dependency and institutional forces that may have an influence on a large number of participants in a sector regardless of their lifecycles and internal conditions.

2.1.2. Resource dependency

The second explanation for the changes of non-profit organisations is the ‘resource dependency’ that occurs as a result of resource scarcity (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003 [1978]). This approach suggests that all organisations are basically dependent on external resources for their survival and, thus, they change their structures or products in order to obtain these resources. For non-profit organisations, which tend to have limited

income sources, current conditions in the environment that affect their ability to sell products or to raise funds can create enormous changes in the organisations. The nature of organisational changes may rely upon where an organisation gets its resources (Galaskiewicz & Bielefeld, 1998, p. 126). For instance, if an organisation obtains most of its resources from selling products in the market, it has to pay keen attention to the trends of customer needs, and change its products when the needs change. If most resources come from public funding or private donations, the organisation may change its structure and working style in order to satisfy the expectations of the funders.

Powell and Friedkin's (1986) study into the decision-making of public television stations in America demonstrates that non-profit organisations respond to the demands of their constituencies, who control critical resources. According to this study, the decline in federal and foundation grants and the subsequent increase in corporate sponsorship, made public television stations prefer to present safe and conventional programmes, which reflected the demands of the business sponsors. Meanwhile, the case of the Lincoln Center in New York City demonstrates that the Center changed its programming policy to adapt to the change in the demographics of the city. The Center's decision to include classical jazz in its repertoire in the second half of the 1980s was made in order to attract young people and ethnic groups whose proportion among the city's population was increasing (Oster, 1995, pp. 252-271).

The resource dependency theory also explains the dilemma of organisations that face the competing needs of different constituencies and the organisations' efforts to maximise their own autonomy. Powell and Friedkin's (1986) study, mentioned above, shows that television programming staff were able to manage the competing demands of different funders as long as resources were abundant. When resources shrank and only a few funders provided support, however, the staff lost their room to manoeuvre and the funders gained a much greater say in programme content. Meanwhile, Alexander (1996) demonstrates that large arts museums in America changed the focus of their exhibitions between the 1960s and 1986 depending upon the source of the funding, but this was the consequence of the museums' strategies to maximise their autonomy rather than passive

conformation to the preferences of funders.

However, it should be noted that the resource dependency theory seldom elucidates behaviours that are not rational in terms of obtaining resources. For example, it cannot give an explanation as to why some arts organisations are dedicated to producing controversial and provocative works even though they predict this may lead to failure in securing resources. In the arts world, it often seems that non-material rewards such as self-fulfilment, the achievement of innovation or peer recognition are more important in motivating the work of artists. Although non-material rewards may accompany material ones such as public funding, the resource dependency theory appears to have certain limitations when trying to explain the unique culture in the arts world.

A more important point to be made is that the expectations and demands of resource holders are socially and culturally bounded. The requests of the funding bodies on their grant recipients are all different depending on the prevailing beliefs, values and norms in the field. Therefore, a high level of resource reliance by an arts organisation upon public money does not always accompany a high level of governmental intervention or pressure for public accessibility. Similarly, expectations of arts audiences are likely to be shaped within taken-for-granted assumptions by society about the nature of the arts and arts organisations.

2.1.3. Institutional forces

The final explanation for the changes in non-profit organisations is given by institutional theory:¹⁷ the changes occur when organisations try to adapt to their institutional environments or respond to shifts in the environments. ‘Institutions’ generally refer to formal and informal systems such as policy, law, ideology, belief,

¹⁷ In this thesis, the institutional theory or institutional approach refers to ‘new institutional theory’ that highlights the importance of the formal and informal rules, norms, routines, scripts and taken-for-granted assumptions (or ‘culture’ if it is simply put) through which social action is shaped (see North, 1990 and Dobbin, 1994 for the new institutionalism in economics; see Powell & DiMaggio, 1991 and Scott, 2001 for the new institutionalism in organisational sociology). Compared to this approach, the institutional theory that focuses on formal structure, constitutions, power relations, vested interests and politics within and between organisations tends to be called ‘old’ institutionalism (Lowndes, 1996).

norm and rule, which influence the way in which individual organisations in a sector should behave. Barley and Tolbert (1997, p. 96) metaphorically describe institutions as ‘abstract algebras or grammars of relations among members of social sets’, and as ‘grammars to social action’. Institutions tend to constrain not only the ends to which their behaviour should be directed but also the means by which those ends are achieved (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 251; Scott, 1991). Also, organisations define their appropriate structures and management styles, and develop relevant narratives and languages in the institutional framework. One can find many different beliefs and practices in the current non-profit arts sector in Britain as follow:

Arts organisations are constituted as charities.

Arts organisations should facilitate the attendance of disabled audiences.

Arts organisations should provide concessions to students, senior citizens, the unemployed and the disabled.

Arts organisations have marketing departments and often conduct market research.

Arts organisations have education departments and provide education activities on a regular basis.

Arts organisations produce annual reports and business plans.

According to DiMaggio and Powell (1991b) and Scott (2001, chap. 3), institutions are composed of regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive elements, each of which is distinctive but often inclusive. The regulative elements are based on coercive pressures that come from external sources upon which organisations are dependent (e.g., regulations, funding criteria, monitoring and sanctioning activities). The normative elements refer to the prescriptive, evaluative and obligatory dimensions of institutions. They generally derive from professional values and norms. Normative expectations are likely to be shared by all participants in a sector, and also experienced as external pressures by focal organisations. Finally, the cultural-cognitive elements refer to taken-for-granted practices and assumptions. For instance, organisations adopt certain types of organisational structure and management style or conduct certain types of behaviour because they are taken-for-granted and alternatives are inconceivable. Since institutionalisation takes place through the above three mechanisms, organisations in a particular sector tend to become similar in their organisational forms, structures, values,

norms and practices.¹⁸

The institutional theory suggests that institutional forces are strongest when the organisations are non-profit or public. This is because when market tests of efficiency do not operate well and the organisations' activities are not closely assessed, their survival and success are largely dependent on their social acceptability and credibility rather than material resources and technical information (Powell & Friedkin, 1987, pp. 182-183; Scott & Meyer, 1991, p. 123). Organisations can obtain resources from external sources when they are perceived as legitimate, i.e., when their behaviour looks proper or appropriate with reference to institutions in the sector. Therefore, some scholars tend to define non-profit organisations as 'normative organisations' in the 'institutional sector', on which market mechanism has less influence (Galaskiewicz & Bielefeld, 1998). However, it is debatable whether the market can be treated as a realm that is distinguished from institutional environments as the market itself functions as an ideological framework and exclusionary discourse, which shapes people's sense of reality (McGuigan, 1996, p. 68). Thus any distinction between the institutional sector and the market looks unnecessary.

At this point, it would be useful to note the concept of 'institutional logic' (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Scott, 2001, p. 139). Institutional logics refer to the belief systems that dominate an organisational sector or field. They provide the 'organising principles' that furnish guidelines to actors in the sector as to why and how they are to carry out the work, and also determine the conditions under which particular practices and norms develop. For example, arts-centred institutional logic provides non-profit arts organisations with organising principles such as 'autonomy', 'creativity', 'innovation' and 'excellence', and encourages various institutions – policies, practices, norms or routines – that claim more effectiveness for the realisation of these organising principles. Similarly, the market, as an institutional logic,¹⁹ shapes organisational behaviour

¹⁸ DiMaggio and Powell (1991b) define this phenomenon as 'institutional isomorphism'.

¹⁹ In order to distinguish the market as an institutional logic from individual institutions, Beckert (1999, pp. 792-793) introduces concepts of 'meta-institution' and 'lower-ranking institutions'. The market as a meta-institution must have relatively greater stability. There is a whole array of lower-ranking

through relevant organising principles and institutions (Beckert, 1999; Scott, 2001; Walsh, 1995). It is in this context that the market is viewed not as a counterpart of the institutional environments, but as one of major institutional forces that make up the institutional context around non-profit arts organisations.

The institutional theory looks particularly useful for examining the behaviour of professional non-profit arts organisations. Unlike the resource dependency theory, it explains why arts organisations' behaviour is driven in many cases by non-economic motives such as professional norms and beliefs. Furthermore, the theory proposes that individual preferences and choices should be understood in the larger cultural setting and historical period in which they are embedded. Such an account elucidates why many different actors in the non-profit arts field – e.g., public and private funders, arts organisations, critics, arts supporters and audiences – tend to share certain assumptions about the organisational form, structure, function and practices of the non-profit arts. In a similar vein, the institutional approach is useful in analysing common changes among organisations in the sector by highlighting a wider context that is applied to most organisations, as well as to their funders and consumers. Compared to this approach, the resource dependency theory focuses on particular cases of individual organisations with reference to their relationship with external resource holders and thus tends to obscure the characteristics of their larger system of relations (Scott & Meyer, 1991, p. 109)

institutional rules under this meta-institution, and these can take on the status of taken-for-granted practices, which seems to be subject to competition with more efficient functional substitutes. In this thesis, the notion of 'institutional logic' is used similarly to Beckert's 'meta-institution'.

2.2. Existing Institutional Approaches

Some cultural policy analysts and cultural economists have provided institutional explanations for arts subsidy and management. Focusing on categorisation and comparison of different funding environments, they demonstrate that arts organisations in different institutional settings – e.g., funding patterns or their organisational forms – tend to pursue different aims and also operate in different ways. First, a collection of literature on comparative cultural policy (Cummings & Katz, 1987, 1989; Hillman-Chartrand & McCaughey, 1989; Zimmer & Toepler, 1996) provides accounts of patterns of state arts funding and characteristics of arts organisations that operate in each regime. Cummings and Katz (1987) propose four models of arts subsidy: patron, market manipulator, regulator and impresario. Similarly, Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey (1989) suggest four models – facilitator, patron, architect and engineer – and discuss what influence each model has upon arts organisations. Adopting three welfare models, Zimmer and Toepler (1996) categorise cultural policy patterns into the liberal, conservative and social-democratic regimes.

According to the above literature, in the ‘facilitator’ (or ‘market manipulator’ or ‘liberal’) regime where a state subsidises the arts mainly through tax deduction, arts organisations try to increase their box office income and satisfy the preferences and tastes of the corporate, foundation and individual donors in order to maximise their philanthropic contribution. The most representative facilitator model can be found in the US. Under the ‘patron’ regime, such as that in the UK, a state funds the arts through an arm’s length arts council, which makes grant decisions on the advice of arts experts, independent of political influence. As the arts council prioritises artistic excellence over other funding objectives, the subsidised organisations incline towards being keen on the improvement of artistic quality while the issues of public accessibility and accountability are likely to be neglected. Meanwhile, in the ‘architect’ (or ‘conservative’) state such as France, a Ministry or Department of Culture is in charge of arts funding and bureaucrats generally make funding decisions. In this regime, the state supports the arts, as part of its social welfare policies, and thus it tends to prioritise arts

activities that better meet community needs. Artists and arts organisations are relieved of the pressure to achieve popular success at the box office, and their status and function are explicitly recognised in social welfare policies. In the ‘engineering’ (or ‘impresario’) model, where a state owns the means of artistic production, arts organisations are expected to place their priorities on official political goals rather than pursuing artistic innovation or commercial success. This model was found in communist countries such as the former Soviet Union.

Second, some cultural economists have shown interest in comparative institutional research on the behaviour of arts organisations under different institutional contexts (Frey, 1994; Frey & Pommerehne, 1989; O’Hagan, 1998; Towse, 1994). They have investigated how the manager of an arts organisation acts in different environments: whether the organisation is in a competitive market or it functions as a monopolistic supplier; whether it receives public subsidy or earns revenue by its own efforts; and whether the subsidy is direct or not. The cultural economists have argued that institutional differences affect the behaviour of the organisation significantly and systematically.

According to Frey and Pommerehne’s (1989, chap. 3) research, for instance, three types of theatres – a co-operative, a profit-oriented and a publicly supported theatre – have different aims and incentives, and behave differently. A co-operative theatre, a group of actors with equal voting rights, tries to realise a particular goals shared by the actors. The profit is distributed among the actors and any monitoring problem is solved by mutual trust and control. However, as the company gets larger and does more business, it is likely to hire a manager with the task of monitoring the performance of members, or the theatre may be dissolved and some enterprising members form small new co-operative groups. Meanwhile, a profit-oriented theatre tends to pursue the maximisation of profit by adopting a long-run system, facilitating ticket sales and earning extra income from trading activities.

It is suggested that a publicly supported theatre's behaviour depends on the type of funding. Under the system of indirect subsidy such as tax deduction, a theatre is likely to try to attract private donations by taking non-profit status, employing highly skilled resources and showing that the donations are well used. Meanwhile, direct subsidy such as lump sum grant or deficit coverage may facilitate the survival of a theatre which otherwise would have to close down due to financial problems. However, the theatre's incentive to reduce deficit and earn profits is likely to be diminished because profit generates a cost – a loss of subsidy. This type of subsidy often causes the theatre to concentrate on the artistic side, and to disregard other possible sources of revenue besides public subsidy and the issue of managerial efficiency. The theatre chooses more plays that satisfy the preference of the leaders in the arts world and hires higher quality producers, singers and actors, whether or not they are popular with the audience. Frey and Pommerehne (1989, chap. 5) observe that a similar phenomenon is found in the field of museums subsidised directly by public money. For example, the museums have a tendency towards being interested in producing catalogues that have an art-historic value of their own, even if their production may cause a large deficit. It is also observed that little attention is paid to the profitable management of museum shops, restaurants and cafeterias.

Whilst the cultural policy analysts and cultural economists mentioned above concentrate on the comparison of categorical models of arts funding and arts organisations' behaviour, they seldom explain the complexity in the institutional environments of the arts. Their analysis of the arts organisations in the arm's length regime – this is the case of the non-profit arts in Britain – appears one-dimensional. The tendency is to highlight the non-interventionist approach of a state and the professionalism of arts experts, while ignoring the existence of other institutional forces in the sector. However, the British experience illustrates that non-profit arts have been located in rather complicated institutional context where different sets of beliefs coexist. For instance, although the Arts Council represents the arm's length patron regime, there have existed debates on the Council's primary function: whether it should behave as an advocate for the professional arts or as a policy-maker; and what is the priority of the public arts subsidy

(whether it is cultural equity or artistic excellence, or both) (King & Blaug, 1976; Pearson, 1982).

Existing institutional approaches hardly note the fact that public arts subsidy means more than the provision of financial and symbolic resources. This thesis argues that intervention of the state in the form of subsidy implies the possible application of public sector values such as democracy, equality and accountability as well as bureaucratic processes to the area of the arts. The arts may be utilised for social purposes such as cultural welfare and social development, and government may intervene in the ways public subsidy is used and subsidised arts organisations are managed. As I examined in the previous chapter (see Chapter 1.3), the ‘civilising mission’ of the post-war British arts subsidy was closely related to welfare provision, and governmental intervention – through policy-making for instance – would have been necessary if this policy objective was to have been achieved. Therefore, one should pay more attention to policy aspects in the institutional environments of the non-profit arts sector.

It should also be noted that British non-profit arts organisations, particularly theatres, have always been dependent on the market, albeit to different degrees at different points in time. According to statistics published by the Arts Council, subsidised theatres have produced approximately 50% of their income from ticket sales and other types of trading activities (ACGB, 1971b; ACE, 1996b; Cork, 1986; Hacon et al., 2000). This implies that, even during the period pre-1979, the theatres might have been conscious of their market though they did not actively use marketing strategies and techniques. Therefore, characterising the non-profit arts in Britain with a clear-cut model or pattern of arts subsidy regime looks problematic.

Another shortcoming of existing approaches is that, although they are useful to compare different institutional settings for the arts at any given time, they are too static to analyse the dynamics in the environments of the sector and the consequent changes of arts organisations over time. For example, the tendency towards marketisation in the British non-profit arts sector since the 1980s and the new role of the Arts Council as an

advocate of market-oriented knowledge and practices (e.g., arts marketing, business sponsorship, efficient management and various managerial practices) cannot be properly explained by the existing static perspective of the patron regime. Also, the recent development of official cultural policy and increased governmental pressures on the arts sector to be more accountable for their use of public money cannot be properly analysed.

Therefore, I conclude that one needs a *multi-dimensional* and *dynamic* institutional framework for the non-profit arts sector. What follows is my own attempt to formulate a new framework where different institutional forces coexist and particular forces are more dominant at different time. This framework will be able to provide a better explanation for the shift in the environments and consequent changes of non-profit arts organisations.

2.3. New Institutional Framework

To develop a new institutional framework for the non-profit arts sector, one has to pay attention to the fact that arts organisations are located in the environments where different institutional logics coexist. For instance, the concept of ‘publicly subsidised non-profit theatre’ may embrace different sets of beliefs on the nature of the theatre. Some people may expect that, as an autonomous art organisation, the theatre is dedicated to creativity and innovation, not concentrating on commercial success or conforming to political pressures (e.g., Tusa, 1999). Some are more concerned with the fact that the theatre is subsidised by public money, and suggest that it is obliged to contribute to public benefits such as public accessibility and the enhancement of quality of life (e.g., Matarasso, 2000; also see Pearson, 1982 for a similar argument as to visual arts organisations). Those people may also assume that the theatre should be accountable to the public bodies for its use of grants. Meanwhile, some believe that the theatre should make efforts to maintain or increase box office income because it is not a public organisation, and public money cannot cover every cost of its activities. In the last case, the theatre is, to some degree, expected to behave according to the market

mechanism and thus to prioritise the maximisation of earned income and efficiency.

A similar understanding is found in Vestheim's (1994) suggestion of multiple rationalities in the field of cultural policy in Scandinavian countries. Within the realm of cultural policy, he argues, there exists the 'triangle of rationality', i.e., three different ways of thinking and reasoning about culture and cultural policy: 'creativity', 'order' and 'result'. They represent different categories of thought or worldviews: creativity for chaos, meaning, arts, reflection and culture; order for planning, administration, laws and rules, control and reproduction; and result for market, economy, profit, production and technique. Vestheim argues that people who are engaged in the cultural sector tend to be linked to one of these forms of rationality. For example, the thinking and behaviour of artists or cultural workers are likely to be in the category of creative rationality while bureaucrats tend to behave according to the logic of order.

To further understand the existence of different sets of institutional logics in the non-profit arts sector, it would be useful to have a look at the conceptual models of organisations that have been developed in the fields of organisation studies and economics. According to Colebatch and Lamour (1991), for example, there exist three different models of organisations: 'market', 'bureaucracy' and 'community'. Each model is associated with its own organising principles: incentives and prices for the market model; rules, authority and hierarchy for the bureaucracy; and norms, values, affiliations and networks for the community model. The organising principles shape the organisations' calculations in setting goals, sorting out priorities and carrying out activities.

Similarly, Thompson et al. (1991) have suggested three forms of social coordination: 'market', 'hierarchy' and 'network'. It appears that each model can better explain a particular type of organisation: for example, the market model is useful for analysing the behaviour of for-profit business organisations while the community model can be used when one examines professional organisations or community groups. Nonetheless, different coordinating forms are mixed in practice because there are likely to be

elements of all three models in an organisation. For instance, non-profit organisations may participate in market competition as well as working within the government policy framework while dedicating their orientation to non-profit and voluntary missions. Therefore, Colebatch and Lamour (1991, chap. 8) argue that the organisational world is ‘full of overlap and ambiguity’.

Synthesising and modifying the above theories, I propose a new framework of institutional environments of the non-profit arts sector. On a structural level, my framework is ‘multi-dimensional’. It is suggested that three different ‘institutional logics’ or ‘rationalities’ – *artworld*, *market* and *policy* – coexist, and articulate how environments of the non-profit arts should appropriately be structured. These logics, as cultural belief systems, provide actors in the sector with different organising principles and help different types of institutions to develop. However, the presence of one set of institutional logic does not preclude the existence of others, and the distinctions between them are more usefully treated as ‘dimensions’ along which environments vary (Scott, 1991, p. 168). The following table summarises institutional environments of the British non-profit arts sector.

Table 2.1. Institutional environments of the non-profit arts sector

<i>Institutional logics</i>	Artworld	Market	Policy
<i>Organising principles</i>	Artistic autonomy	Profit maximisation	Democracy
	Excellence	Efficiency	Equality
	Creativity	Customer satisfaction	Accountability
	Originality & innovation		Public benefits
<i>Institutions (values, norms, practices, etc.)</i>	State non-intervention	Marketing	Socially oriented objectives
	Peer judgement	Trade activities	Governmental intervention
	Producer subsidy	Business planning	Policy-making
	Right to fail	Contract relationship	Monitoring & Evaluation
	Subsidy for arts' sake	Performance indicators	

The following sections will explore each institutional logic in detail.

2.3.1. Artworld logic

The logic of the artworld is based upon the belief that the arts are a distinctive area of social life, which has its own logic and values. According to Max Weber, modern society is characterised by a network of autonomous value spheres, including the political and the economic, the intellectual and the scientific, and the aesthetic and the personal (Weber, 1978; also see Swingewood, 1998, chap. 2). The areas have their own rationalities, and thus activities in each area are best judged by its own specialists who have expert knowledge and competence. The arts are believed to make their own valuable contribution to society and, thus, must not be subservient to other domains of life. From this perspective, an argument develops that the arts exist for their own sake and a work of art is an end in itself (Nipperdey, 1989, pp. 12-13).

This Weberian concept of the arts as a differentiated area of modern life appears not to be quite compatible with the romantic view of the arts, which is grounded upon the belief in civilising and moral efficacy of the arts. As the previous chapter showed, the theatre's elevation to a high art in nineteenth-century Britain was significantly attributed to its claims of social and political roles (see Chapter 1.2). However, the theoretical tension between such a romantic perspective and the Weberian view of the arts seems to have been dissolved in post-war British arts policy. The government and the arts funding system argued that the civilising power was an *intrinsic* value of the arts so the work of artists would produce moral and educational benefits for the public even if artists themselves did not have any such intention.

The rationality of the artworld provides arts-centred organising principles such as 'professional autonomy', 'non-commercialism', 'excellence', 'creativity', 'innovation' or 'originality'. With these organising principles, the arts sector may develop various institutions such as 'peer judgement'. The existence of autonomous institutional logic and distinctive practices and norms in the arts world has been well described by Bourdieu's (1993) empirical studies on the field of culture. According to him, the

cultural field develops its own organisational and professional intentions, which may deviate significantly from political or economic interests because it is 'symbolic capital' such as recognition and prestige that cultural producers tend to pursue. For example, the avant-garde in artistic style and ideas, or newcomers' attacks on the established are viewed as strategies in the struggle for artistic legitimation. The quality of art works is determined by aesthetic criteria developed in the field. It depends, for example, on whether an art work or activity is accepted by the formal system of recognition (e.g., arts critics), whether it reflects the current phase of development of the discourses arising from aesthetic theory, whether it demonstrates a comprehensive familiarity with its genre's tradition, or whether it loyally furthers this or, to the contrary, breaks with it (Becker, 1982; Nielsen, 1999; also see Alexander, 2003, chap. 5).²⁰ Thus it is generally believed that only arts experts or peer artists can properly judge the value of the works. Similarly, the question as to whether or not a work's creator is a non-commercial and professional artist becomes a decisive criterion for determining its quality. Therefore, it seems that there exists a certain hierarchy in the field of the arts: commercial and popular arts at the bottom, applied arts in the middle and, finally, non-commercial high arts at the top.

Under the institutional logic of the artworld, the main objective of an arts organisation seems to be the achievement of artistic excellence and obtaining peer recognition. The organisation's interest is also in creating ideal conditions for developing and realising its artistic talent on autonomous terms. Because there is no guarantee that consumer judgement will be consistent with the standards embedded in the assessment by arts experts, artists first produce arts works, and then present them to audiences who choose to either accept or reject them (Keat, 2000, chap. 1). The forms and contents of art products should not be changed in order to meet the preferences of audience. Rather it is the audience themselves who should be informed or cultivated in order to have the capacity to 'decode' meaningful messages in art works and aesthetically react towards them.

²⁰ Thus, Dickie (2000) suggests that the status of art is achieved through 'the recognition of an object as an artwork...by an artworld public'.

2.3.2. Market logic

The logic of the market provides its own organising principles such as 'efficiency', 'profit maximisation', 'competition' and 'customer-satisfaction', under which many types of managerial practices develop. Under the influence of this logic, organisations are expected to compete to maximise their profits, and their success or failure against the competition is supposedly determined by the relative ability of efficient management and customer satisfaction. To be more competitive, organisations may use numerous managerial tactics (Galaskiewicz & Bielefeld, 1998, pp. 10-11). Internally organisations may institute tight controls, eliminate redundant costs, and ensure quality; externally they tend to adopt tactics such as aggressive promotion, research, price competition or acquisition of competitors.

Recently, the focus of business management has been increasingly moving from its emphasis on product (sales) to people (maximising customer satisfaction leading to sales). Customer-centred or market-driven organisations are emerging as a new style of management for business organisation (McDonald, 2000; Prescott, 1995). Here, consumers are believed to have sovereignty: they choose independently what they need, and it is they who decide the value of the products. Thus, production decisions are controlled by consumer wishes and preferences, expressed by their willingness-to-pay (Keat, 2000, p. 26). The business result of an organisation is clearly estimated by financial data such as gross profit margin, return on capital, output per employee, etc. (Prescott, 1995).

In theory, the market logic supposes that the most important aims of arts organisations seem to be commercial success and profit maximisation. Thus the organisations should increase box office income through selling their products to the most marketable consumers and also developing new consumers. When consumers do not want their existing products, they are expected to create new products that can appeal to the consumers. This market logic was very influential in the British theatre industry before public subsidy (see Chapter 1.1). Today, West End theatre managements run theatres for the purpose of profit, with financial resources supplied by investors. In some cases, star

actors, writers, directors and designers take a small percentage of income as junior partners. Although this is a high-risk investment, it can offer high dividends when shows succeed.

Under the rationality of market, the size of the arts sector (e.g., the number of theatres) tends to be controlled by demands of the public for theatrical arts activities. If the demand increases, the size of the industry will increase with many new entrants. When the demand decreases, however, less competitive theatres have to cease to exist or adopt retrenching tactics such as merging with other organisations or the liquidation of assets.

2.3.3. Policy logic

The rationality of policy is based on the belief that there is a particular dimension of human activity that is regarded as requiring governmental/social regulation or intervention, or at least common action (Parsons, 1995, p. 3). According to C. Jones (1985, p. 13), public policy is defined as ‘a product of the political system in each national case; relevant policy ideas are those that feed into the political process; relevant policy activities are those that are publicly managed, publicly regulated and/or publicly financed (in whole or in part)’.²¹ The notion of ‘public’ implies that a series of political decisions pursues public interests and that the policy affects larger sections within society. That is, the benefits of the policy should be given to everyone as opposed to particular groups of people (Quinn, 1998, p. 13). In the public policy arena, all citizens theoretically have a right to make claims, and public service organisations are held accountable to the collective interest of citizens. Thus, the institutional logic of public policy provides organising principles such as ‘democracy’, ‘equity’, ‘justice’ and ‘accountability’. Various institutions may develop under these principles: policy-making, representation of social groups, conditional funding, planning, monitoring, evaluation, bureaucratic process and so on.

From the logic of policy, state funding for the arts is political. This does not mean that arts funding is political in the sense of asserting the political nature or qualities of art

²¹ Cited in Quinn (1998, p. 13).

works. Rather, it is political because it involves the exercise of public, political and state authority towards particular ends (Pearson, 1982, p. 80). Thus, arts policy comes to be placed under the same organising principles as other public policy areas. It is committed to ‘public democratic debate, the parliamentary political process, and the wider socio-political objective, which the political process makes the basis of public cultural policy at any given time’ (Nielsen, 1999, p. 189). Public opinions about the arts are likely to be taken seriously by decision-makers. The definition of the arts may be widened depending on debates and consensus between different social, cultural and identity groups.

In the policy process, which generally consists of initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation (Quinn, 1998; also see Hogwood & Gunn, 1984), government may assert the rights of superior authority over its grant recipients, including the right to demand answers for public subsidy and to impose sanctions for its inefficient use. While being accountable to government, public funding bodies are likely to request from their clients formal reports which contain detailed financial and audience data, and information about their performance, for example the extent to which public access was increased or to what degree their activities contributed to community development. This may lead to bureaucratic systems and practices and a hierarchical relationship between government and the subsidised arts sector. In this environment, one of the most important criteria for the organisational success of grant recipients is their contribution to policy objectives and conformation to funding conditions and requests.

2.3.4. Tension and dynamics in institutional environments

The three institutional logics tend to provide different understandings of the social reality of the non-profit arts, and thus legitimate different beliefs, norms and practices on the issues around arts subsidy and management. Therefore they give different answers to policy questions: whether arts subsidy should be planned and implemented as a public policy; what it should aim at; who should benefit; who should make the decisions; and who should be accountable to whom, and how the funding should be

managed. Although the features that are associated with the three rationalities are not necessarily exclusive, differences between them may lead to 'tension' in the arts policy.

For instance, the artworld rationality suggests that public arts subsidy need not belong to public policy, the rationality of policy proposes that arts subsidy should be treated as part of public policy as long as public money is spent on it. The former legitimises non-interventionist approaches where arts experts make related policies and funding decisions, but the latter demands politicians play crucial roles in those matters. Meanwhile, the market rationality prefers the non-interventionist approach because the arts are deemed to be efficiently distributed according to supply and demand. However, when the state invests in the arts, arts policy should be set up as part of industrial policy (e.g., cultural industry policy, tourism policy or regional development policy) according to the principles of efficiency and profit maximisation in the long term.

Under the artworld rationality, public subsidy is likely to aim at artistic excellence and protecting the arts from the market forces. However, the policy rationality suggests that arts subsidy be based on democratic principles, and therefore the priority of funding tends to be equal distribution of the arts to citizens. Meanwhile, according to the market logic, arts subsidy is justified as an investment for future financial returns in relation to employment, tourist income, regional development and so on.

There also exists a difference in view as to who is eligible for arts funding and who should be the main beneficiaries. The artworld logic supposes that grants should be given primarily to professional artists and arts organisations, but society as a whole also benefits indirectly from the funding. Under the market logic, public grants, as a public investment, should be distributed to areas of the cultural industries that have more potential to produce high returns for taxpayers. However, the logic of policy suggests that the main beneficiaries be citizens in terms of both arts consumption and participation. Therefore, grants may be given to amateur arts organisations or community groups as well as professional artists and organisations which have a stronger ethos of acting as public service providers.

There exist different perspectives about the ways in which public funding is processed. The artworld rationality assumes that maximum freedom should be given to the arts organisations concerning the way they spend public money. The market rationality requests from the grant recipients the maximisation of efficiency as an important condition of funding, and demands that their performance be monitored and evaluated according to the principles of efficiency, profit maximisation and customer satisfaction. The policy logic may emphasise conditional funding that requires grant recipients to be accountable to government through contributing to policy objectives set by policy-makers. The following table illustrates tension among the three institutional logics.

Table 2.2. Institutional tension in arts policy

Institutional logics	Artworld	Market	Policy
Policy questions			
Does public arts subsidy belong to public policy?	Not necessarily	Yes	Yes
What is the main objective of funding?	Artistic excellence	Economic development and future financial returns	Cultural equity and other public benefits
Who is eligible for funding?	Professional artists and arts organisations	Cultural industry	Both professional and amateur arts organisations, and community groups
Who are main beneficiaries?	Professional artists, arts organisations and arts lovers	Taxpayers	Citizens
Who makes funding decisions?	Arts experts	Policy-makers	Policy-makers
What are the funding conditions?	Unconditional funding	Contribution to the achievement of policy objectives	Contribution to the achievement of public policy objectives
		Maximisation of efficiency	Maximisation of accountability
Who grant recipients are accountable to?	Arts or arts world	Government (taxpayers)	Government (citizens)
How is funding managed?	Consensus and expert culture	Monitoring and performance evaluation	Monitoring and performance evaluation

This thesis proposes that the institutional environments should be seen from an 'historical' point of view. The environments are subject to change as different

dimensions may be emphasised depending on the political, economic and social contexts of society. That is, particular institutional regimes tend to be preferred at a particular time and play crucial roles in producing discourses and policies on the appropriate structure and function of the non-profit arts organisation, the goal of public arts subsidy and the legitimate mode of the subsidy. If particular institutional logics are dominant, actors in the field may be under the influence of those logics voluntarily, prescriptively or coercively. For instance, if the rationality of the artworld prevails, government and public funders in addition to arts organisations are likely to value the non-interventionist mode of subsidy. However, if the policy logic gains more currency, they may try to place arts issues in a public policy framework. If market rationality gains a dominant position in the sector, arts organisations should employ more managerial tactics such as marketing and trading activities. Changes in institutional regimes are therefore often associated with ‘the creation of both new social relationships and new symbolic orders’ (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 250). Similarly, DiMaggio and Powell (1991a) suggest that

When organizational change does occur it is likely to be episodic and dramatic, responding to institutional change at the macrolevel, rather than incremental and smooth. Fundamental change occurs under conditions in which the social arrangements that have buttressed institutional regimes suddenly appear problematic. (p. 11)

Institutional change may also take place on a smaller scale. Changes can occur when the performance of existing norms and practices is questioned and alternatives emerge while there is no macro-level regime change. For example, new types of marketing methods can be widespread if they are seen as more efficient, or government may replace existing policy measures to improve public accessibility with new ones that are widely believed to be more effective. As DiMaggio and Powell (1991b) point out, once a new practice, norm or rule is institutionalised, organisations in the sector conform to it mimetically, normatively or coercively, and this leads to a sector-wide change during a particular period of time.

However, there emerge three important questions around the issue of institutional change. Firstly, one may wonder what drives institutional change: whether it is some individual organisations, the market forces, or the state and its policies. The second question is what motivates those actors to attempt to shift their institutional environments. The third question is about the nature of institutional change itself. Is an institutional change a clear-cut process of adoption of new institutions by the participants in the sector and replacement of old institutions by new ones? Or is it a more complicated process in which old institutions persist and the actual consequence of institutional change depends on the interplay between the old and the new? These questions are to be answered throughout the following chapters.

Summary

This chapter has examined three theories on organisational change and has argued that the institutional theory is most useful for analysing the growth in educational work in British non-profit theatre organisations. This is because the growth has occurred sector-wide, regardless of developmental phases of individual organisations, and is deeply related to changes in taken-for-granted assumptions on the role, function and structure of the theatre organisation. Writings in comparative cultural policy and cultural economics that adopt institutional approaches have been reviewed: they categorise different types of arts subsidy systems and orientation of arts organisations into clear-cut models that can be easily compared. However, their approaches have been criticised for being one-dimensional and static.

I have proposed a theoretical framework addressing the fact that institutional environments of the non-profit arts are multi-dimensional and likely to shift over time. In this framework, recent expansion of educational work in theatres can be viewed in two ways: as an introduction of a new norm or practice in the sector or as a consequence of macro-level institutional change.

Chapter Three

Predominance of Artworld Rationality: Pre-1979

The [Arts] Council will continue to enjoy the same powers as they have exercised hitherto and will in particular retain their *full freedom* [italics added] to allocate the grant in aid made available to them. (DES, 1965, p. 17)

Introduction

This chapter analyses the institutional environments of the non-profit theatre sector in Britain before the 1980s and the relationship between the theatre organisation and education, using the theoretical framework developed in the previous chapter. Through investigating arts funding policy and changes in the theatre industry, the chapter suggests that the artworld logic was the most dominant institutional force. It was taken for granted that the arts should be given public money because of their intrinsic merits and funding decisions should be free from state intervention; consequently, the ‘arts council model’ of public subsidy developed. Another prevailing idea was that the arts could not survive in the market without public support, and if they did, it might be at the cost of artistic quality. Those beliefs provided a theoretical ground for formulating the dominant discourse on arts subsidy and management, and played an important part in shaping the expectations and behaviour of politicians, the Arts Council and subsidised arts organisations. In these environments, the arts funding system tended to view education as an intrinsic quality of the arts while leaving the provision of education programmes to the intentions and decisions of individual arts organisations. The issue of education provision maintained a low priority in the Arts Council’s funding policy and was never taken seriously by government.

This chapter has two sections. The first section explains the background of why the artworld logic emerged as a predominant institutional force in the non-profit arts sector. Then it examines the development of institutions such as the ‘arm’s length principle’, ‘peer judgement’, ‘producer subsidy’ and ‘subsidy for art’s sake’ and their influence on actors in the sector.

The second section looks at the development of different understandings of education in the arts: ‘education as an inherent nature of the arts’ vs. ‘education as explicit programmes’; and ‘education about the arts’ vs. ‘education through the arts’. In particular, this section focuses on the TIE and community arts movement. While opposing the belief in universal civilising value of the established art forms, TIE and community arts advocated ‘education through the arts’, i.e., the use of participatory arts activities for radical social and political purposes. However, their work also gave stimulus to the growth of attention to ‘education about the arts’ by the arts funding bodies and mainstream theatre organisations. Although these different approaches to education conflicted with each other in theory, they were often ambiguously categorised as activities for education, young people or participation.

3.1. Predominance of Artworld Rationality

3.1.1. Lack of policy framework

Although the arts subsidy was inaugurated as part of the welfare state, there was a weak consensus, both in government and in the subsidised arts sector, on how to apply objectives of welfare policy, such as justice and equality, to arts subsidy. Government did not attempt to clarify the policy objectives or to raise questions about policy-making such as who arts subsidy was supposed to benefit, how the funding should be allocated, who was accountable to whom, and how funding outputs and outcomes should be evaluated. This phenomenon can be called a ‘depoliticisation’ of public arts subsidy, that is, exclusion of arts subsidy from the arena of political debate and control (Pearson,

1982, pp. 68-69).

For the reasons of depoliticisation, one can point to the fact that arts policy had a relatively lower status when compared with other policy areas which needed more urgent political action, such as education and health services. The fact that the Arts Council was placed, without a Minister for the Arts, under the aegis of the Treasury with only a limited budget also served to isolate arts funding from mainstream political activities and debates (Gray, 2000, pp. 44-47; Quinn, 1998, pp. 98-99).²² However, a more fundamental reason for the non-governmental character of arts subsidy would be politicians' avoidance of engagement in the arts. Traditionally British politicians were reluctant to 'meddle with' the matter of the arts because of the general belief that political intervention would cause the submission of the arts to political intention and propaganda, and this idea was shared by people in the arts world. The non-interventionist approach was consolidated by their witnessing the instrumental cultural policies of fascist Germany and Italy. Politicians tended to see the work of artists as 'individual and free' and 'uncontrolled', and thought that state patronage should be similarly organised in an 'informal' and 'unostentatious' way, without clear directions and principles.²³

3.1.2. Arm's length principle

The prevalent belief in the independence of the arts from state intervention led to the adoption of an 'arm's length principle' in arts subsidy. The arm's length principle, which originated from the relationship between government and the University Grant Committee,²⁴ refers to the phenomenon that an unelected body consisting of relevant

²² This meant that no minister needed to reply to questions in Parliament about the beneficiaries of public subsidy.

²³ The then politicians' understanding of the nature of the arts is well illustrated by Keynes's BBC lecture on the Arts Council: 'State patronage of the arts has crept in. It has happened in a very English, informal, unostentatious way, half-baked if you like.... Everyone, I fancy, recognises that the work of the artist in all its aspects is, of its nature, individual and free, undisciplined, unregimented, uncontrolled. The artist walks where the breath of the spirit blows him. He cannot be told his direction; he does not know it himself' (Keynes, 1945).

²⁴ Established in 1919, the University Grants Committee was 'an unelected body of university men, appointed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on whose advice the Government of the day asked Parliament each year to vote money for distribution, without strings, to each university' (Redcliffe-Maud, 1976, p. 24). Similarly, the British Broadcasting Corporation was created in 1927 at arm's length from

experts distributes public money or provides public services according to its own professional judgements without government direction or intervention (Redcliffe-Maud, 1976, p. 24). It was a common belief that the arm's length distance between the government and the Arts Council would minimise the vulnerability of the arts to official pressures and any risk that the arts might be manipulated for political purposes. The role of politicians was limited to the appointment of the Council members and the decision of making annual grants to the Council. The subsidy was given as a block grant without designated areas or specified guidelines, and the detailed application of the grant was a matter within the discretion of the Council itself.

Such a non-interventionist attitude on the part of government did not change even though organisational responsibility for the arts moved from the Treasury to the Department of Education and Science [DES], and the first Minister for the Arts was appointed in 1965. The Minister's prime task was far from initiating policy-making and evaluation. It was rather to 'get money for the arts' by speaking for the arts in the Parliament and providing leadership in developing a favourable climate of public opinion towards the arts (Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1981, p. 15; Harris, 1970, pp. 63-65). Although the Minister published the first policy report, *A Policy for the Arts: the First Steps* and requested a more systematic arts funding with clear objectives and process, the report still asserted the arm's length principle (DES, 1965).

Without a formal arts policy set by government, the Arts Council was in an ambiguous position about whether it should function as a policy-maker on behalf of government or as an advocate of the subsidised arts. However, the Council's role was closer to the latter as it preferred being a spokesman for the arts (Taylor, 1995b, pp. 187-188). Arnold Goodman, the then Chairman (1968-1972) of the Council, even argued that it would be 'both politically and socially wrong' for the Council to produce a national arts policy (cited in Shaw, 1987, p. 53). Instead, the Council adopted 'a policy of response', which meant not having a policy of its own but distributing public money in response to demands from the arts sector.

3.1.3. Artistic excellence rather than cultural equity

The Arts Council's allocation of money to regional arts funding bodies²⁵ and its client organisations was made according to the Council's own judgement based on the advice of professional artists working through a system of 'peer judgement'. N. V. Linklater, who served as Drama Director (1970-1977) to the Council, observes that the funding decisions were guided by the art form panels, committees of enquiry, working parties and reports on specific issues. According to him, this means the funding policy grew from and reflected the wishes of 'the profession itself' (Linklater, 1977). Decision-making from the perspective of professional artists and arts experts tended to give rise to 'subsidy for arts' sake' and elitist attitudes. Although the Council declared two official objectives, 'artistic excellence' and 'public accessibility', the main concern of the Council had been alleged to be the enhancement of the former.

While justifying state subsidy with the egalitarian goal of cultural equity, the Arts Council strongly believed that the arts should be supported because of their intrinsic values. To subsidise arts for non-aesthetic purposes was deemed to instrumentalise them, and even to argue for cultural equity was seen as so doing. For example, Keynes regarded the main task of the Council as being to 'give courage, confidence and opportunity to the artist', and worried that 'what one may call the welfare side' might be developed at 'the expense of the artistic side, and standards generally' (Everitt, 2001, p. 64; Selwood, 1999, p. 98). Emphasis on artistic quality and standards resulted in the prioritisation of existing established art forms and prestigious organisations in metropolitan cities:

The Arts Council believes, then, that the first claim upon its attention and assistance is that of maintaining in London and the larger cities effective power-houses of opera, music and drama; for unless these quality-institutions can be maintained the arts are bound to decline into mediocrity. (ACGB, 1956, p. 24)

²⁵ Regional Arts Association [RAAs], the regional arts funding bodies, were established throughout the 1960s and 1970 as a reaction to the close of the Arts Council's regional offices in the early 1950s and to the lack of regional bodies that could promote and coordinate arts activities in the region (see Gray, 2000, pp. 67-69).

Throughout the period, the Council maintained the position that it would concentrate its resources on the maintenance and enhancement of standards and then attempt to make efforts for equal diffusion of the arts. This was clearly shown in the metaphoric phrases used by the Council such as ‘few but roses’ or ‘raise rather than spread’ (Sinclair, 1995, pp. 88-96).²⁶ The argument for arts subsidy for artistic excellence and art for art’s sake legitimised another level of arm’s length between the funding bodies and their client organisations, and also justified the need to provide suitable resources to ‘arts producers’ rather than consumers. This gave maximum freedom to arts organisations: resources were given in a ‘helpful way’, in which the providers of funds did not ask any return for public money (Willatt, 1980).

As to the equal diffusion of the theatrical arts, both government and the Arts Council barely provided policy guidance but merely suggested some measures that might facilitate public attendance in theatres. The Council thought that the provision of travel subsidy to the theatres as well as the touring of drama would be the effective means for fairer diffusion of theatre (ACGB, 1956, pp. 25-26, 1970, pp. 39-40).²⁷ The Arts Minister, too, stated in *A Policy for the Arts: the First Steps* that theatre attendance would be encouraged by subsidised travel and a reduction in ticket prices for students and special groups (DES, 1965, pp. 17-18). The Minister also recommended that theatres provide attractive restaurants, lecture rooms and other amenities for visitors who might travel long distances. Without a national policy for the equal diffusion of the arts at the levels of government or the Arts Council, however, the effort to improve public accessibility was mainly dependent on the intention and commitment of individual theatre organisations.

²⁶ According to the Arts Council’s *Broad Policy Guidelines for the Council’s Panels and Committees*, the Arts Council still observes that tension between ‘excellence’ and ‘accessibility’ but asserts that ‘the aim should be to identify quality...and to spread that quality as widely as possible’. The guidelines also clearly show the Council’s attitude towards amateur arts. They suggest that panels and committees should avoid policies which would extend the scope of the range of the Council’s present very limited support for amateur work in their fields (ACGB, 1980).

²⁷ The Council subsidised schemes that provided a combined bus-and-theatre ticket for parties of people living some distance away from the theatre (ACGB, 1970, pp. 39-40).

The lack of a policy framework and the predominance of the artworld rationality in arts subsidy had often been problematised. For instance, economists King and Blaug, in a paper which was published in 1973 with the controversial title 'Does the Arts Council know what it is doing?', criticised the Council's failure to produce a coherent policy, shedding light on conflict between two of their official objectives, i.e., artistic excellence and public accessibility (King & Blaug, 1976).

3.1.4. Limited influence of the market

The predominance of the artworld logic and relevant practices accompanied a loss of influence by the market as an institutional force in the non-profit theatre field. Politicians, as well as funding bodies and their clients, hardly believed that the arts could survive without public subsidy. For this reason, government tried to establish itself as the sole principal benefactor of the arts from the outset of public subsidy while excluding the consideration of the other means by which the Arts Council could raise finance independently of government grant (Quinn, 1998, p. 106). Thanks to public subsidy, the size of the non-profit theatre sector rapidly expanded during the two decades after the mid-1950s, the time precisely when television was gaining a dominant hold upon the leisure habits of the general public. From the market point of view, this period was a critical phase for the theatre industry as the theatre was increasingly losing its popularity as public entertainment. The victims of the national decline in box-office income were commercial theatres. According to Pick (1985, p. 8), more than 200 commercial repertory theatres closed in the 1950s. Similarly, Elsom (1971) reports that the 150 commercial playhouses outside London were at the brink of sale during the 1950s and, by 1959, the total number of these venues dropped to thirty.²⁸ Many commercial theatre buildings, which faced going out of business, preferred to be owned by local authorities or to register as non-profit charities. Of the others, some were converted into cinemas and some to bingo halls or bowling alleys.

²⁸ Similarly, *The Theatre Today in England and Wales* observes that commercial touring theatres and variety theatres in the provinces had shrunk in numbers within the last forty years (1930-1970) from 130 to about thirty (ACGB, 1970, p. 11).

Meanwhile, the size of the subsidised theatre sector grew rapidly in line with the increase in state subsidy after the mid-1950s. The number of repertory theatres operating outside London with public support was reported to almost double from twenty-eight in 1959 to fifty-two in 1969 (ACGB, 1970, p. 35). This period also saw the inauguration of two national companies – the Royal Shakespeare Company in 1961 and the Royal National Theatre in 1963. There was an astonishing spate of theatre building: at least thirty new theatres were built in the decade between 1966 and 1976 (Witts, 1998, p. 236). In a nutshell, while the theatre industry as a whole had been in decline since the war, it went through ‘reorganisation’, i.e., the decline of commercial theatres and rapid growth of non-profit subsidised theatres.

Such expansion of the subsidised theatre sector was partially due to the Arts Council’s ignorance of economic factors such as how the leisure patterns of the public were changing and to what extent it could support the non-profit arts. The reactive style of Council funding naturally induced overwhelming funding requests over time and the Council, in turn, acted as an advocate for the increase in public subsidy. This attitude was clearly shown in its opinion about the hardship of commercial theatres. In an interim report made in July 1968 on the ownership and control of commercial theatres, the Council’s Theatre Enquiry team recommended that commercial theatres transform themselves into non-profit charities:

There is one measure which could give them relief, and this, we think, they should be advised to pursue at once. They should register themselves as charities and as non-profit-distributing companies (which they are in all but name already), which would relieve them of SET [Selective Employment Tax] and secure a 50 per cent or more reduction of rates...(ACGB, 1970, p. 62)

To sum up, both government and the arts funding system were by and large indifferent to market factors and subordinated concern with audiences to support for arts producers and recognition of the value of their works. It was also often argued that the subsidised theatres were given no incentive to be economical because good housekeeping would

produce cost, i.e., the reduction of subsidy.²⁹ However, it should also be noted that individual theatres had relied significantly upon the market. According to the Arts Council's statistics, in the early 1970s, its client theatres (excluding national companies) produced much more than 50% of their income from ticket sales and then depended on public money for their remaining financial needs (ACGB, 1971b). Cork (1986, p. 110) also observes that, in 1980/81, the earned income of English theatres comprised approximately 50% of their total income. How to advertise products, how to increase ticket sales, how to care for customers and how to manage catering services were always important agendas for theatre management (e.g., Reid, 1983; Robbins & Verway 1977-1978; Sweeting, 1969).

Nonetheless, it is also true that the subsidised theatre sector's attention to the audience – e.g., how many people among the population visited the theatre, how the audience was made up, what was their experience in the theatre and what were the demands and needs of those who did not attend – was yet to develop, and managerial practices were generally regarded as informal knowledge that could be learned and accumulated through day-to-day practices and experiences. For instance, it was not until the 1980s and the early 1990s that the Society of West End Theatres, the British Market Research Bureau on behalf of the Arts Council and the Theatrical Management Association began to collect audience data on a regular basis.³⁰

²⁹ According to the Council's *Drama Financial Policy*, many subsidised theatre companies thought the way to get more out of the Council was 'go into the red and be bailed out' (ACGB, 1971a, p. 4). The document argues that 'penalising success is an old grievance'.

³⁰ In the early 1980s, the Society of West End Theatres (currently the Society of London Theatres), which consisted mainly of commercial theatres with a small number of subsidised theatres, began to collect and publish audience data on a regular basis. In 1986, the British Market Research Bureau's Target Group Index included questions on the arts consumption and related information began to be published by the Arts Council. In 1990, the Theatrical Management Association start to collect box office data from its members on a regular basis.

3.2. Dynamics in the Relationship between Theatre and Education

In the institutional environments where the artworld logic was predominant, education tended to be conceived as an intrinsic function of the arts. Although the importance of arts education was generally recognised, this did not necessarily mean that arts organisations should directly produce programmes for educational purpose. The provision of educational work was seen as an extra activity that could be carried out depending on internal factors of individual arts organisations. However, the 1960s and 1970s saw the beginning of change in the notion of education (from ‘education as an inherent nature of the theatre’ to ‘education as explicit programmes’), and the development of different approaches (‘education about the arts’ vs. ‘education through the arts’).

3.2.1. Idealist perception of the arts

That the theatre, as an art form, is ‘intrinsically’ educational meant that some general cultural and intellectual benefits would arise from people’s experience of theatrical performances. It was believed that such benefits would be produced even though artists made no purposive endeavours to do so. As Sinclair (1995, p. 62) observes, the initial objective of theatre funding was ‘to spread the knowledge and appreciation of all that is best in the theatre, and thus to bring into being a permanent educated audience all over the country’. It was taken for granted that everyone should be given a good ‘soaking’ in the arts (that is, a chance of seeing and hearing good things), and they would come back and ask for more, if they enjoyed them and wished for more of them, and wanted to learn about them (Bridges, 1958, pp. 14-16).³¹ However, ‘education about the arts’ was thought as of the best start for the soaking process because the extent and depth of the enjoyment depends on the audience’s ability to understand, appreciate and evaluate the arts.

³¹ Bridges (1958, p. 12) argues that ‘arts can give to all of us, including those who lack expert knowledge of any of them, much of what is best in human life and enjoyment...a nation which does not put this at the disposal of those who have the liking and capacity for it is failing in a most important duty.’

The need for education as a condition of arts consumption is strongly supported by Bourdieu's concept of 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1984; also see Swartz, 1997). According to Bourdieu, cultural goods differ from utility goods in that one can appropriate or consume them only by comprehending their meaning; therefore only people who have cultural capital – the ensemble of cultivated dispositions that are internalised by the individual through socialisation – can decode the meanings inscribed in high arts. Cultural capital tends to be inherited informally from parents through upbringing and formally accumulated through schooling. Therefore, it is believed that the provision of education is an effective way of helping people to accumulate cultural capital, which is necessary for their arts assumption.

However, recognition of the need for education about the arts did not essentially imply that the arts organisations by themselves should provide education programmes for the general public. Rather, it was presupposed that the responsibility of nurturing culturally literate people was entrusted to upbringing, and formal education in particular: 'The key to that problem [diffusion of the arts] lies in the school and the home, basically.'³² This belief was based upon the classical idea of education that viewed learning as the acquisition of a fixed body of inherently 'civilising' value, which includes the best in terms of literature, music, drama and art (Lawton, 1989). As to the arts funding system, therefore, the term education generally referred to an intrinsic nature of art works themselves. Thus, Owens (1998) characterises the relationship between the non-profit arts organisations and education in the early years of the public arts subsidy as follows:

The ties between arts organisation and education, then, are conceptual, philosophical, legal, historical. But education, in this context, is something intrinsic to art itself, to the experience of art. Every arts organisation could lay claim to providing this type of 'taken-as-read' education.
(p. 17)

However, the mid-1960s saw the notion of education broaden to include activities aimed at encouraging the participation of young people and community members in arts-making. It was the work of Theatre in Education (TIE) and community arts

³² Kenneth Robinson, Chairman (1977-1983) of the Arts Council, cited in *Art Monthly*, 1978, No. 15.

companies that served as one of the driving forces for this change (Pick, 1985, p. 11).

3.2.2. Education as an alternative practice

TIE and community arts emerged as part of a progressive cultural movement in the 1960s and expanded until they declined in the second half of the 1980s due to financial restraints and the wane of radicalism. They attempted to seek alternatives, not only to the practices of the mainstream arts organisations, but also to the values and structure of society at that time (Whybrow, 1994b, p. 267). They opposed existing arts practices that were grounded upon the clear distinction between arts producers and consumers and the monopoly of aesthetic authority by the former. Public participation was not merely encouraged as a legitimate form of the arts but also regarded as an essential way to empower people. It was expected that, through arts participation, people could build up a positive identity and confidence, develop communication skills, and address their needs and demands. Furthermore, many radical practitioners believed that the empowerment of people through arts participation could lead them to understand structural problems of the capitalist society (e.g., inequality and injustice) and challenge the ‘cultural hegemony’ of the dominant classes, and ultimately change society. In this light, the work of TIE and community arts can be seen as ‘cultural intervention’ in society (Kershaw, 1992).

TIE was a new form of theatre, which stemmed from a number of developments in theatre and education throughout the twentieth century in Britain: the development of belief in child-centred education; the search for the theatre’s potential as an educational medium; and the search for a useful and effective role for theatre within society and, especially, an exploration of its potential as a force for social change (Jackson, 1993a, pp. 3-4; Whybrow, 1994b, pp. 267-268). Unlike children’s theatre, which aims to entertain children and introduce them to the theatre by providing professional performances generally on the themes of fantasy and fairytales, TIE companies tried to use the theatre as a means of helping children explore issues of the real world through their active participation in theatre-making. In this light, the ultimate aim of TIE activities was ‘education through the arts’ rather than ‘education about the arts’ or

nurturing young audiences for drama. The programme of TIE companies was not a performance of a self-contained play,

but a co-ordinated and carefully structured pattern of activities, usually devised and researched by the company, around a topic of relevance both to the school curriculum and to the children's own lives, presented in school by the company and involving the children directly in an experience of the situations and problems that the topic throws up. (Jackson, 1993a, p.4)

The children were invited to participate in the programme in various ways. For example, they could play particular roles in the performance so they could react to the story or characters and establish their own voices and decisions. The children also could take part in follow-up sessions for further exploration of and discussion on the issues the programme had raised.

Once the first TIE team was formed in 1965 at the Belgrade Theatre, Coventry, more teams were created at repertory theatres throughout Britain. In order to gain autonomy and control over their work, however, the majority of them began to detach themselves from mainstream theatres during the 1970s. They set themselves up as non-profit companies and began to directly receive grants from the Arts Council and local education authorities (Jackson, 1993b, p. 22; Redington, 1983, p. 135). Although some companies were mainly concerned with helping students to learn school subjects, many TIEs were socially conscious and saw it as part of their responsibility to contribute in some way to the making of a better world. They tended to interpret social issues such as racism, gender, trade unionism, pollution, disability, war and revolution as being rooted in more structural problems of society rather than as matters of individual attitude and prejudice (King & Readman, 1992; Redington, 1987).³³

Similar to TIE, community arts emerged from both artistic and political radicalism in the late 1960s. Community artists adopted a Marxist view on the arts and their role in society. They questioned the neutrality and universality of the established arts, and

³³ However, most TIE programmes did not state an over-simplified political message; they offered children the experience of a socio-political problem without giving a pat answer (Redington, 1987, p. 2).

suggested that they were a bourgeois culture that was only immediately meaningful to that group. It was because culture was determined by material forces: class relations tended to determine the artistic tastes of people and they were also reflected in arts works. Thus, the community artists argued that those who did not appreciate the arts failed to do so because they found the particular forms of expression irrelevant, not because they were uneducated or not intellectual enough. It was in this sense that Braden (1978, p. 153) claimed that ‘the great artistic deception of the twentieth century has been to insist to all people that this [high culture] was their culture’. To community artists, public subsidy for the established arts was a compulsory imposition on society at large of the values of the ruling classes and a means of securing the cultural legitimacy of those groups (Kelly, 1984, p. 101; Tax, 1972). It was argued that what people needed was not ‘education about the (high) arts’ but opportunities to choose the arts activities that they really wanted and to participate in the process of arts-making as well as to consume finished products. Their aim can be summed up as the pursuit of ‘cultural democracy’:

The ideas that constitute cultural democracy both enable and depend upon direct participation, and take as their aim the building and sustenance of a society in which people are free to come together to produce, distribute and receive the cultures they choose. (Shelton Trust, 1986, p. 40)

In order to create arts that are relevant to the life of ordinary people, what looked important was to ensure that the public had the right to access the means (e.g., technologies, skills and facilities) of cultural production. The concentration of ownership and control of the resources of cultural production in a small number of people, the argument went, had limited the role of most of the population to that of passive consumers whose voices were marginalised. According to Kelly (1984), public participation as a specific method of artistic creation was the most innovative element of community arts because it challenged the existing concept of the arts, i.e., finished works produced by professional artists, and the monopoly of aesthetic authority by professional artists over ordinary people. Often the process was treated as more important than the finished works of art. So, it was argued that people should have a chance to be involved in cultural production, irrespective of whether there was any

product at the end. Community arts generally took the form of street festivals or carnivals, community murals, silk-screen poster workshops, photography projects, community plays (large-scale drama projects building towards a single performance), music workshops and so on (Mulgan & Worpole, 1986, p. 85).

In addition to its role as a creative experience and process, public participation was also viewed as a means of change, whether psychological, social or political, within the community (Kelly, 1984, p. 16). Through participation in the arts, people were expected to build up individual and collective confidence to make decisions about their own life and act upon them, and thus discover their own power. The people could also improve communication skills so that they could represent themselves and highlight the issues and problems they faced in powerful ways using artistic media such as image, form and language. This aspect of community arts was welcomed by radical community workers who tried to use arts activities like poster-printing, exhibition and video-making in order to inject creativity into direct actions and enhance their political efficacy. Also, community arts activists themselves tried to link up with local activism, believing that they should ultimately challenge structural problems in society.

The TIE and community arts activities – education and participatory activities as alternative practice – presented a serious challenge to the existing institutional arrangement of arts subsidy in the following two senses. First, it problematised the hierarchy in the arts sector and the distinction between production and consumption of the arts, and encouraged the redistribution of authority and decision-making power between arts professionals and participants. Second, from a macro perspective, the work of TIE and community arts can be seen as an effort to link the artistic, the social and the political together by problematising the Weberian perception of the arts as a highly differentiated sphere of social activities and also by actively searching the ways in which the arts could be used for social and political purposes.

3.2.3. Development of education in mainstream theatres

Although TIE and community arts activities by and large contested the practices of the mainstream arts organisations and the arts funding system, they also inspired the latter to take an interest in public participation and involvement in the arts. Being influenced by TIE and also driven by the self-consciousness of theatre of its civic nature, some mainstream theatres began to provide auxiliary programmes such as lectures, poetry recitals, post-performance discussions and workshops. In 1966, the Arts Council published *Theatre for Young People*, a report that addressed the need of the theatre sector to serve young people. In the subsequent year, the Council set up the Young People's Theatre Panel in order to make an allocation of grants for the purpose of encouraging subsidised repertory theatres to develop educational activities for young people. The theatres responded enthusiastically by applying for grants to begin or continue their work with young people, and this led many theatres to operate some kind of work in schools (including TIE) towards the mid-1970s (Rowell & Jackson, 1984, p. 94). The methods community arts groups used to involve and reach the community (e.g., artist residencies) were also adopted by the mainstream theatres. Some theatres established alternative theatre studios, which were devoted to experimental works and programmes for the community.

However, the issue of education and participation, whether it referred to alternative practice for 'education through the arts' or more conventional programmes for 'education about the arts', was not taken seriously by the arts funding system. The fact that the Arts Council amalgamated the Young People's Theatre Panel with the Drama Panel in 1971 and quit the earmarking of grants for theatre for young people in 1974 illustrates its reluctance to see the issue of education as a separate policy agenda (ACGB, 1986a). The Council's idea was that the issue of education and young people had to be separate at the beginning in order to get established but then it should become part of the whole (Redington, 1983, pp. 107-108). In the following decade, the provision of educational programmes was dependent on the willingness and capability of individual theatre organisations without formal policy or guidance from the Arts Council.

The second half of the 1970s saw the arrival of Roy Shaw, who had a background of adult education, as the Secretary-General (1977-1983) of the Arts Council and the Council's new attention to the issue of education. The Council appointed an education officer in 1978 with financial support from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and this led to the creation of the Education Unit in 1980. Shaw (1977) enthusiastically argued for the need of education about the arts for wider public access:

Where art required higher education to be appreciated...it is the access to a higher education which has in the past been restricted. The remedy [for people's indifference to the arts] is not to replace complex and difficult art with that which makes an instant appeal to everyone – it is to develop arts education at all age levels. (cited in Borzello, 1987, p. 136)

This approach was clearly opposed to the argument of the community artists, which requested the arts to change themselves to be more relevant to ordinary people's lives and to encourage direct participation of the people in the arts-making process. Shaw (1978) suggested that audience response must always be a criterion subordinate to the prime judgement of quality and 'relevance' could never be a substitute for 'quality'. The then Chairman of the Council, Kenneth Robinson (1977-1983), too, supported such a view:

The end of cultural inequality means making potential audiences readier to accept, savour and enjoy *what the Arts Council tries to make available* [italics added]. (*Art Monthly*, 1978, No. 15)

However, continuous growth in public arts expenditure throughout the 1960s and 1970s allowed the subsidy for alternative arts activities to be compatible with that for the established arts without significant difficulties. While educational and social values in the arts were only required of TIE and community arts, traditional art forms continued to be subsidised according to their aesthetic criteria. Moreover, the Arts Council attempted to accommodate these progressive participatory activities by distorting what they were all about, with the rhetoric of 'widening accessibility' and 'audience building'. The work of TIE was often identified with bringing young people into the theatre, and community arts activities with inducing the public to visit the venues for traditional art

forms (e.g., ACGB, 1974). By doing so, unlike the original intentions of TIE and community arts, the issue of education and participation tended to be reduced to an *internal* matter of the arts sector.

A point of interest is that although TIE and community arts as well as other types of progressive arts activities criticised the Arts Council's elitist and producer-centred practices, they never questioned the arm's length funding relationship between the state and the arts. Like mainstream arts organisations, they, too, relied heavily on public subsidy from the beginning (e.g., the Arts Council, local authorities and local education authorities), and enjoyed unconditional funding, which gave them maximum freedom. The ideological and artistic pursuits of those organisations were defended under the arts funding system in the name of artistic freedom.³⁴ Although alternative arts organisations tried to challenge the artworld logic and practices, ironically it was under this logic that those organisations flourished.

Summary

This chapter has conceptualised the institutional environments of the non-profit theatre sector during the pre-1979 period as the predomination of the artworld rationality. It was believed that arts should be autonomous from political and market forces and that the achievement of excellence in artistic quality could be the best way for the arts sector to benefit society. Therefore, both politicians and the Arts Council concentrated their attention on how to maximise autonomy of the arts and how to provide more resources for arts producers. This chapter has demonstrated that, unlike the arguments of existing writings that adopt institutional approaches, different institutional forces other than artworld logic also existed in the environments of the non-profit arts. Although the

³⁴ Thus, Roy Shaw complained in 1982 in a discussion paper: 'In *States in the Revolution*, Itzin profiles about a dozen socialist theatre groups, all grant-aided. If asked to justify giving them grants, drama officers and panels [of the Arts Council] would say that the productions are judged solely on their artistic quality and not by political criteria.... What may be more questionable is that artists expect public money to advocate the overthrow, not of the particular party in power, but of the whole system of parliamentary democracy' (cited in McGrath, 1990, pp. 32-33).

policy logic was almost denied by all actors in the field, the exclusion of policy-making from arts subsidy was often criticised. Meanwhile, the market logic seemed influential at the level of individual arts organisations.

The most noticeable challenge to the existing institutional arrangement came from the work of TIE and community arts organisations. Their work confronted the distinction and hierarchy between participation in arts-making and appreciation of finished works, and between established art forms and more popular forms of arts. They also challenged the prevailing perception of the arts as autonomous activities that are differentiated from politics and social issues, through looking for the ways in which the arts could be linked to those issues.

Meanwhile, TIE and community arts encouraged educational provision in mainstream theatre organisations and contributed to change in the denotation of education in the arts funding context: from ‘an educational value inherent in established art forms’ to ‘explicit participatory programmes’ provided by arts organisations. Increasing public subsidy during the 1960s and 1970s allowed the arts funding system to embrace two different approaches – ‘education through the arts’ and ‘education about the arts’ – without significant conflicts, though there was no coherent formal policy for this issue.

Chapter Four

(Re)turning to the Market?: Post-1979

The most profound accomplishment of New Right government in Britain may not be that it literally rolled back the state in order to release the full blast of market forces but, rather, that it inserted the *new managerialism* and *market reasoning* into the state and state-related agencies of the public sector, in effect calling upon organisations that are not themselves private business to think and function as though they were. (McGuigan, 1996, p. 62)

Introduction

Chapters Four and Five are aimed at investigating a shift in the institutional environments of the non-profit arts sector in Britain which has occurred since the 1980s. The growth in the arts funding system's concern with education and the accompanying development of educational work in the theatre are analysed within the framework of institutional change. This chapter suggests that the 1980s saw market rationality emerge as a dominant institutional force in the sector, and conceptualises this tendency as 'marketisation' of the arts. Existing writings on marketisation (Abercrombie & Keat, 1991; O. Bennett, 1996; Gray, 2000, 2001; Kawashima, 1999; Keat, 2000; Kershaw, 1992, 1999; McGuigan, 1996; D. K. Peacock, 1999, chap. 3; Protherough & Pick, 2002; Quinn, 1998) tend to suggest marketisation as the only theoretical framework with which fundamental changes in the arts sector can be articulated. Their arguments and assumptions can be summarised as one or more of the following:

- (a) The government has reduced arts subsidy and ultimately intends to withdraw it. Thus, marketisation is summed up as 'from the state to the market';
- (b) Private sources, business sponsorship in particular, have replaced or will replace public subsidy;

- (c) There has been a radical change in the ideology or culture of the subsidised arts sector. Arts organisations now operate as if they are commercial businesses; and
- (d) As market principles such as profit maximisation and customer satisfaction have been encouraged, the aesthetic authority of arts producers has been transferred to consumers.

This chapter argues that marketisation, as an institutional change coercively driven by the state, has been more about cultural change in the sector than actual funding cuts. However, it also points out that the cultural change itself has been limited. The development of education policy in the arts funding system and the sector's conceptualisation of education as a part of audience development aptly illustrate that the process of marketisation is in fact complicated.

The chapter consists of three sections. The first section analyses the background of institutional change: why the legitimacy of the existing institutional arrangement was questioned and why the market logic emerged as a dominant institutional force. It is argued that, similar to the inauguration of state arts subsidy and the formation of the non-profit theatre sector after the Second World War, the institutional change in the 1980s was mainly attributed to macro-level political and economic changes in British society.

The second section examines what changes have been caused in the arts funding structure and the culture of the subsidised arts sector by the marketisation policy. By analysing both quantitative and qualitative data on arts subsidy, the section argues that public subsidy stood still during the 1980s and has increased since the mid-1990s, while business sponsorship has remained relatively marginal. Meanwhile, it is suggested that there have been considerable changes in the rationale and justification for arts subsidy, and in attitude, language and practice in the non-profit arts sector.

The third section investigates the education policy of the Arts Council during the 1980s. While marketisation had a negative impact on TIEs and community arts organisations, this period saw education ('education about the arts') gradually emerge as an agenda of arts policy. It was often emphasised as a marketing strategy for broadening public

accessibility and developing new audiences, particularly young people. This section suggests that the integration of notions of education and marketing in the framework of audience development should be understood in terms of the complexity of institutional change and the limitation of marketisation.

4.1. Background of Institutional Change

The 1980s saw a considerable institutional change in the non-profit arts sector. The existing institutional arrangements for arts funding and management began to lose its predominance³⁵ while new institutions emerged and became widespread. In this section, the background of this change is analysed both at meso- and macro-levels. A meso-level analysis explains internal factors in the institutional environments of the sector (e.g., unsatisfying performance by existing institutions as well as the emergence of policy- or market-oriented alternative) while a macro-level analysis focuses on wider political and economic contexts of British society.

4.1.1. Crisis of existing institutions and their alternative

Part of the pressure for institutional change in the arts sector arose from the ‘performance crisis’ of the existing institutional arrangement (Oliver, 1992, p. 568). The performance associated with existing norms and practices was increasingly perceived as problematic by many people, from both inside and outside the arts world, and also from both the right and left of the political spectrum. The main accusation against the existing institutions was that the benefits of public arts subsidy were concentrated on an educated middle-class audience, which was continuously confirmed by the findings of various market surveys. For instance, the arts-related TGI (1986) produced by the British Market Research Bureau for the Arts Council clearly revealed that only a small proportion of the British population attended arts events: theatre (26% of the whole population), plays (19%), opera (4%), ballet (5%), classical music (10%) and

³⁵ Oliver (1992) defines this phenomenon as ‘deinstitutionalisation’, i.e., the erosion or discontinuity of an institutionalised organisational activity or practice.

exhibitions (18%) (Lewis, 1991, pp. 14-15). According to the Index, the majority of the arts audience was well-off and well-educated. Members of professional and managerial professions were four times more likely to go to the theatre or art gallery/exhibition, and over six times more likely to go to the ballet or a classical music concert, than members of the semi-skilled or unskilled manual workers groups. The same criticism applied to community arts activities since they also tended to attract well-educated people (Lewis, 1991, chap. 6; Lewis et al., 1986).

Another criticism was that public subsidy had been used inefficiently, skewed towards the interests of the arts producers. The writer Kingsley Amis, in his booklet *An Arts Policy?* (1979), severely criticised state arts subsidy and its expert culture. He argued that taxpayers' money spent on the arts encouraged self-indulgence by subsidised artists as well as waste and irresponsibility in public funding bodies. It was also suggested that public subsidy in the form of deficit coverage tended to discourage efficient management in the subsidised theatre sector (Pick, 1985).

Importantly, criticism of arts subsidy led politicians to question the legitimacy of the existing ways in which arts funding was managed, and this created a climate where changes were seen as necessary. The end of the 1970s witnessed an unprecedented development of arts policies by political parties that had so far denied the need for such policies. The Labour Party, in its arts policy statement, *The Arts and the People* (1977), argued that arts subsidy should be sited in the political arena and its benefits should be widely diffused:

The arts are politically important. Their funding and administration are as dependent on political decision as housing, education, defence or any other function of government....By placing the arts in the political forum, such changes will no doubt result in pleas to 'keep politics out of art', but we maintain that politics are inextricably sewn into the fabric of the arts. At present, we have an arts policy through which the most heavily subsidised arts are catering for a predominately middle-class audience. (Labour Party, 1977)

It also called for the creation of a new 'Ministry for Arts', and a radical change in the arts funding system, including the replacement of the Arts Council by a policy-making body, the National Conference for the Arts and Entertainment. In 1979, the Liberal Party published its discussion paper on arts subsidy, *The Arts: Change and Choice* (Elsom, 1979a). In this paper, it was recommended that the Arts Council should be replaced by an elected Arts Development Board and its clients should include commercial arts organisations.

Meanwhile, the Conservative Party produced its policy document, *The Arts: The Way Forward*, in 1978, and advocated a mixed economy of arts subsidy, in which both public and private sectors would have essential roles to play. In this document, market-oriented approaches were recommended as an alternative: private patronage (especially business sponsorship), limitation of state subsidy to 50% of revenue in the non-profit sector, and indirect subsidy through tax reduction. In the same year, the right-wing Selsdon Group published *A Policy for the Arts: Just Cut Taxes*, which proposed that the simplest solution to arts funding was a general reduction of taxes, which would lead to more disposable income that could be used for private arts patronage and consumption (D. K. Peacock, 1999, p. 34). Notably, the alternative to existing institutions was not grounded upon arts-centred belief but rather upon the logics of policy and the market. It generally focused on the need for either a clear policy framework for the arts and 'political action' (Pearson, 1982, p. 105), or market efficiency of the subsidised arts sector.

The legitimacy of the arts funding system, which was based on a firm belief in the universal value of the Western traditional art forms, was also continuously challenged on aesthetic grounds. As the previous chapter noted, the alternative arts practitioners and theorists argued throughout the 1970s that people-oriented participatory activities should be aesthetically valued as much as the professional high arts and given more resources by arts funding bodies. They continued to raise their voices in the 1980s (e.g., Gooch, 1984; McGrath, 1981; Kelly, 1984; Shelton Trust, 1986; see also Kershaw, 1992).

Since the mid-1980s, however, postmodern cultural theories have further questioned the cultural authority of the Western high arts, and their absolute, intrinsic, objective and transcendental value. The arguments set out by postmodern theorists can be summarised as saying that there are many more and different qualities and values in a variety of different forms of artistic activity because the arts are always socially and historically located (Storey, 1993, chap. 7). Consumption of the arts and aesthetic judgement are seen as the result of an historical encounter between the viewer/reader and the art work. Here, the cultural canon is viewed as being constructed with particular interests situated in specific contexts. From this perspective, there is no absolute difference between high and popular arts; therefore, the existing hierarchy in the arts, which places non-commercial and professional high arts at the top, cannot be justified. As postmodern theories began to gain more recognition in the field of cultural studies, the legitimacy of existing values and practices in arts policy appeared to be further problematised (O. Bennett, 1996, pp. 8-9; Jordan & Weedon, 1995; McGuigan, 1996, chap. 2).

4.1.2. Environmental changes at the macro level

However, it was the change in taken-for-granted assumptions on the role of the state and management of the public sector that played the most important part in propelling institutional change in the arts sector. The economic recession, with high rates of inflation since the oil crisis of 1973, led to a climate where the sustainability of centralised welfare provision based on large-scale public expenditure began to be called into question. There was also a shift in public attitudes towards public service provision. While the welfare state was often criticised for having failed to create the promised social improvement, the demand for public services increased as people became more knowledgeable about what they could claim and better able to articulate their demands (Evans, 1997, p. 165). Ideologically, neo-liberalism, which saw market efficiency and individual freedom as the solution to the crisis in the welfare state, was becoming more popular. These socio-economic changes were consequently realised through the victory of the Conservative Party in the 1979 General Election.

The Conservative government adopted a macro-economic strategy of reducing inflation by decreasing public expenditure through ‘rolling back the frontiers of the state’ (A. Beck, 1989). The market was proposed as the most efficient mechanism for handling resources in society and, thus, the whole public sector was under pressure to reform within this framework in order to achieve the objective of reducing expenditure and increasing efficiency. In a wide range of public services areas, the concept of the market or quasi-market was adopted, and many services were transferred to quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations (quangos). Public service functions that remained in the sector were forcibly organised according to market principles. Therefore, it was often argued that people were now in a ‘centreless society’ and central government was ‘no longer either necessarily or invariably the fulcrum, or focal organisation, of a [policy] network’ (Rhodes, 1997).

The subsidised arts were not immune to this process of change (Gray, 2000). As market rationality now came to shape the dominant discourse of arts policy, the claim for public subsidy based upon artistic excellence and professional autonomy withered. The arts were increasingly perceived as part of the ‘cultural industries’ that could produce a good return for public investment. Non-profit theatre organisations, which had been set up as non-profit entities against market mechanisms, were forced to (re)discover the market as their organising logic. They now needed to become more efficient in their management, and to be more commercial in their attitudes and practices so that they could raise a greater proportion of their income from ticket sales and merchandising, as well as other private sources such as business sponsorship. Therefore, McGuigan (1996, p. 53) suggests that ‘Where once was ‘the state’ there is now ‘the market’ in discussion of cultural policy.’ This institutional change has been defined as the ‘marketisation’, ‘commodification’, ‘privatisation’, ‘commercialisation’ or ‘managerialism’ of the subsidised arts (Abercrombie & Keat, 1991; O. Bennett, 1996; Gray, 2000, 2001; Kawashima, 1999; Keat, 2000; Kershaw, 1992, 1999; McGuigan, 1996; D. K. Peacock, 1999, chap. 3; Protherough & Pick, 2002; Quinn, 1998).³⁶

³⁶ These notions provide slightly different accounts of the change. However, ‘marketisation’ seems to be the most comprehensive notion that refers to the phenomenon that market logic became a dominant

It is widely assumed that marketisation has essentially caused a fundamental transformation in the sector. Quinn (1998) argues that public funding has been reduced while private money has filled some of the gap. Another observation is that aesthetic authority is being transferred from arts producers to consumers, because arts organisations are trying to appeal to consumer tastes in order to increase earned income (Abercrombie & Keat, 1991; Keat, 2000; Kershaw, 1999). For instance, Keat (2000) insists that, in the new environments, consumers rule over producers and hence the success of rival producers is determined by their ability to satisfy consumer preferences. Here, consumers are perceived as the sole and unchallengeable arbiters of product values. He suggests that there no longer exists clear distinction between the arts world and the market since organising principles of the market, such as profit maximisation, customer satisfaction and managerial efficiency, are more and more applied to the arts sector. Such marketisation theory has so far provided a powerful theoretical framework within which people in the arts sector understand their environments, identify challenges they face and decide the most effective solution to deal with the challenges.

4.2. Marketisation: State-driven Institutional Change

The Conservative government's marketisation policy was signalled by a drastic cut in its arts funding in 1981. It was the first funding cut in the Arts Council's thirty-five year history, and led to the removal of forty-one organisations from the Council's client list. Although only three out of eighteen theatre companies who were the victims finally

institutional force in the arts sector. Other notions are likely to be concerned with particular aspects of marketisation. For instance, 'commodification' focuses on the tendency that the products and services which had not previously been considered as commodities came to be bought and sold in the market under the same economic criteria that were applied to consumer goods (Abercrombie & Keat, 1991, p. 182; Gray, 2000, p. 6). The notion of 'privatisation' concerns the following: the ownership of public arts organisations was transferred to private non-profit trusts; parts of the organisational functions were contracted out; or public funding was replaced by private sources (Kawashima, 1999). 'Commercialisation' refers to the tendency of the subsidised arts sector to enlarge the proportion of earned income by increasing sales of products or services rather than public grants or private donation (Weisbrod, 2000). Meanwhile, 'managerialism' refers to the fact that arts organisations began to adopt various elements of business management from commercial organisations for the purpose of increasing efficiency (Protherough & Pick, 2002).

closed, this served as a serious warning to the sector. Subsidised theatres now found that ‘the landscape [had] changed’ and that the state’s ‘limits of hospitality’ had been reached.³⁷ Throughout the 1980s, government warned that public subsidy would decline so the arts world needed to explore private funding sources. For example, Norman St. John-Stevas, the new Arts Minister (1979-1981), stated,

Government policy in general has decisively tilted away from the expansion of the public to the private sector...but we look to the private sphere to meet any shortfall and to provide immediate means of increase. (cited in Sinclair, 1995, p. 248)

Business sponsorship in particular was welcomed as the most promising funding source for the arts and also as a good opportunity for the arts organisations to learn management skills and commercial culture from their sponsoring companies. The appointment of Luke Rittner, the then Director of the Association for Business Sponsorship of the Arts [ABSA],³⁸ as the Secretary-General of the Arts Council clearly demonstrated the government’s commitment to the exploration of private money as an alternative source for arts funding. Key individuals in the arts funding system frequently tried to persuade the business sector to pay more attention to the advantage of arts sponsorship as ‘a valuable advertising and marketing tool which allows firms to reach large and influential audiences for relatively small amount of money’.³⁹ In addition, more income should be raised from ticket sales and trading activities, and this encouraged arts organisations to become oriented around the needs and wishes of consumers. As William Rees-Mogg, the then Chairman of the Council, said, non-profit arts organisations now had to ‘value the consumer’s judgement as highly as that of the official or expert’ and to allow the consumer to discriminate between artistic products ‘through its willingness to pay for its pleasures’ (ACGB, 1988, pp. 2-3).

Marketisation policy provoked continuous criticism from the non-profit theatre sector throughout the 1980s. Famously, Peter Hall, the then Artistic Director (1973-1988) of

³⁷ Lord Gowrie, Arts Minister (between 1983-1985), cited in Shaw (1987, p. 40).

³⁸ ABSA was launched in 1976 with financial aid from the then Labour government for the provision of a forum to encourage arts subsidy from commercial companies.

³⁹ Lord Gowrie, Arts Minister (between 1983-1985), cited in Shaw (1987, p. 61).

the National Theatre, initiated a public protest against inadequate funding by closing one of the theatres in the National Theatre complex in 1985. Accusing the Arts Council of ‘dwindling from an independent agency fighting the cause of the artists into a tool of government policy’, Hall extended his opposition by calling a meeting of forty-seven artistic directors of subsidised theatres, in which the directors passed a unanimous motion of no confidence in the Council. In 1988, theatres organised a conference entitled ‘Theatre in Crisis’ and declared that ‘a free market economy and private sponsorship cannot guarantee the necessary conditions for theatre to fulfil its many functions’ so ‘funding...must be public’ (Lavender, 1989, p. 213).

The 1990s also saw a series of reports and conferences aimed at discussing the ‘plight’ or ‘crisis’ of the sector and addressing the need for more public subsidy. In 1996, Equity’s Theatre Commission published a report on the crisis of the theatre sector and warned that, without more money, theatre would quite simply disappear (Equity,⁴⁰ 1996). In 1998, the National Campaign for the Arts [NCA] published *Theatre in Crisis: The Plight of Regional Theatre*, and two years later Equity organised ‘Theatre Funding Conference’ (Equity, 2000; NAC, 1998). Both focused on the financial difficulties of the theatre sector and their negative impacts on artistic production, and demanded more funding from the arts funding system. There was a general feeling that the current instability of the sector was caused by the government: the ‘problem is that the theatre has gone down because of a drop in subsidy. It is possible to extricate the theatres from this situation [through an increase in public subsidy]’ (a participant in the Theatre Funding Conference, cited in Equity 2000, p.12).

4.2.1. Public funding

However, an analysis of central government’s grant-in-aid to the Arts Council suggests that the government never pursued an extremist line of marketisation or a complete introduction of the free market system (Gray, 2000, pp. 205-206; McGuigan, 1996, chap. 3). As Table 4.1 demonstrates, government grant during the 1980s and the early 1990s was not dominated by cuts, but was characterised by almost standstill funding with

⁴⁰ Equity is the trade union that represents artists from arts and entertainment. It was established in 1930.

some reductions in real terms on a year-by-year basis. Between 1945/46 and 1978/79 it rose by a factor of 35 from £235,000 to £51,800,000, but by a factor of only 1.4 from £63,125,000 to £225,830,000 between 1978/79 and 1993/94. For the non-profit arts sector that had expanded due to public subsidy, this standstill funding was seen as the end of a favourable environment.

Table 4.1. Government grant-in-aid to the Arts Council of Great Britain, 1979/80-1993/94

	Grant (£s)	Increase of grant	Grant index (1979/80=100) at real prices**
1979/80	63,125,000	28.8%	100
1980/81	70,970,000	12.42%	95
1981/82	80,450,000	13.35%	97
1982/83	91,300,000	13.40%	101
1983/84	96,080,000	5.20%	102
1984/85	101,900,000	6.05%	103
1985/86	106,050,000	4.04%	101
1986/87	135,600,000*	29.24%	125
1987/88	139,300,000	2.72%	123
1988/89	152,411,000	9.40%	128
1989/90	155,500,000	2.00%	121
1990/91	175,792,000	13.05%	125
1991/92	205,000,000	16.62%	138
1992/93	221,200,000	7.90%	143
1993/94	225,830,000	2.09%	144

* This includes a special grant of £25,000,000 to replace the loss of Greater London Council [GLC] arts funding caused by the Council's abolition.

** Measured by the Retail Price Index.

Source: ACGB annual reports 1979/80-1993/94; National Statistics Office (2003).

The standstill funding by central government seemed to be supplemented, to a certain degree, by an increase in local authority funding during the 1980s. In general, local authority arts subsidy had developed slowly until the end of the 1970s. Redcliffe-Maud (1976, p. 102) observes that English and Welsh local authority expenditure for the arts in 1975 was still a long way from one-half of £50 million, which would have been

reached if a six-pence rate had been levied in full. According to the English Tourist Board Socio-Economic Research Unit's report (1982),⁴¹ 370 English local authorities (excluding the GLC) spent £43.4 million on arts and entertainment in 1981/82. Between 1980 and 1985, the expenditure more than doubled to over £100 million and went on to exceed that of the expenditure of the Arts Council. By 1993/94, the proportion of arts spending by British local authorities (14%) among the total public and private arts expenditure was larger than that of the Council (11%) (Gray, 2000, table 3.2).⁴² Although local authorities' arts spending declined in the mid-1990s and has fluctuated since then, this needs to be understood in the wider context of its overall growth since the 1970s.

Importantly, the total public arts subsidy sharply increased in the mid-1990s due to the launch of the National Lottery⁴³: when Lottery income was included, the public grant for the Arts Council more than doubled in 1995/96. During the period 1995/96-1998/99, the Council's Lottery income exceeded grant-in-aid received from government. However, there has been a reduction in and slow recovery of Lottery income since then. The following table shows government grant as well as the Lottery income received by the Council.

⁴¹ Cited in D. K. Peacock (1999, p. 39).

⁴² According to the National Heritage Committee, total arts (including museums, galleries and films) expenditure in Britain (£1,291 million) in 1993/94 consisted of box office receipt (38%), DNH (16%), local authorities arts spending (14%), ACGB (11%), local authorities museums expenditure (9%), business sponsorship (4%), RABs (3%), donation/foundations (3%), British Film Institute (1%) (Gray, 2000, table 3.2).

⁴³ 28% of total Lottery income from ticket sales was equally divided between five good causes, 'arts', 'sport', 'heritage', 'charities' and 'the millennium' until 1998 when the DCMS introduced a sixth good cause, 'education, health and the environment'. Since then, the arts share has been reduced to 16⅔% from 20% of Lottery income for good causes.

Table 4.2. Government grant-in-aid and Lottery income to the Arts Council of England, 1994/95-2001/02

	Grant (£s)	Increase	Grant index ** (1994/95= 100) at real prices
1994/95	185,990,000 + 48,900* (185,948,900)		100
1995/96	191,133,000 + 255,360,000* (446,493,000)	140.16%	232
1996/97	185,133,000 + 262,802,000* (447,935,000)	0.32%	227
1997/98	186,600,000 + 297,648,000* (484,248,000)	8.11%	238
1998/99	189,950,000 + 241,748,000* (431,698,000)	-10.98%	205
1999/2000	228,250,000 + 188,021,000* (416,271,000)	3.57%	195
2000/01	237,155,000 + 183,429,000* (420,584,000)	1.04%	191
2001/02	251,455,000 + 196,252,000* (447,707,000)	6.45%	200

* Lottery income.

** Measured by the Retail Price Index.

Sources: ACE annual reports 1994/95-2001/02; National Statistics Office (2003); Selwood (2001, table 16.4).

Generally, drama funding was at a standstill throughout the 1980s, and this could be regarded as a cut in funding, because increased funding demands could no longer be properly met. While the Arts Council's expenditure on drama in England during the 1970s increased by almost 80% in real terms from £2,320,000 in 1972/73 to £9,594,000 in 1980/81, it declined by more than 20% in real terms from £9,594,000 to £14,099,000 between 1980/81 and 1987/88 (Myerscough, 1986, pp. 32-35; Nissel, 1983, pp. 24-25)⁴⁴. According to *Theatre Is for All* (Cork, 1986, para. 58), however, the reduction in Council funding for regional theatres during 1977/78-1985/86 was more than matched by an increase in local authority funding and this resulted in a net increase of £2.2 million.

⁴⁴ Grants to the national companies were not counted.

The first half of the 1990s saw standstill funding for drama (Dunlop et al., 1995)⁴⁵. Between 1994/95 and 1999/2000, the launch of the National Lottery increased total drama funding while the Council's expenditure on drama fell by more than 5% in real terms. By the end of September 1999, over £152 million of Lottery grants were made to English theatre buildings.⁴⁶ In addition, £9 million had been made available in a small number of pilot stabilisation awards, and about £10 million was granted to the theatre sector in the first four rounds of the 'Arts for Everyone' scheme⁴⁷ (Peter Boyden Associates, 2000, pp. 11-12). The turn of the new century appears to have seen a 'new renaissance' of the non-profit theatre as funding has begun to increase sharply. After a policy review of the sector in 2000, the Arts Council planned to increase its expenditure on theatres: the sector obtained an additional £12.5 million for 2002/03, and from 2003/04 an additional £25 million will go each year in support of theatres in England. According to Manton (2001, p. 27), it is anticipated that over 190 theatre organisations will benefit from these increases and 146 will receive funding increases of over 30%.

4.2.2. Business sponsorship

Under government and the Arts Council's encouragement, business sponsorship gradually increased during the 1980s and 1990s. Annual business sponsorship for the arts soon grew from £13.5 million (mainly for England) in 1983 to £60 million (for the UK) in 1993/94 (ABSA, 1994). In 1984, government and ABSA initiated the 'Business Sponsorship Incentive Scheme [BSIS]', a large-scale matching funding scheme, through which government offered financial awards of between £1,000 and £25,000 to arts organisations in order to enhance the value of sponsorship they could lever from business. This scheme has continued as the 'Pairing Scheme for the Arts' since 1995. The scheme raised a total of £95 million of business sponsorship and £45 million of

⁴⁵ Grants to the national companies were counted.

⁴⁶ This figure does not include major projects at the Royal Opera House, the Sadler's Wells, the Lowry Centre in Salford or the South Bank refurbishment.

⁴⁷ Arts for Everyone [A4E] (1996/97-1997/98) was one of first Lottery revenue funding schemes for the arts. It consisted of 'main' and 'express' programmes. The A4E main programmes offered revenue funding for professional, voluntary and amateur organisations, with priorities of new work, new audiences and participation. The A4E Express was a fast-track pilot scheme aimed primarily at youth, voluntary and small professional organisations, which had previously received no funding through the arts funding system.

matching money from the government in the fifteen years up to 1998/99 (Arts and Business, 1999).

However, the scale of business sponsorship seemed to be marginal compared with public subsidy. In 1995/96, business sponsorship for the arts in England was approximately £60 million (including support for museums and built heritage) while the Arts Council's expenditure (including Lottery grants) was around £413 million and English local authorities' arts spending (excluding support for museums and built heritage) was more than £130 million (ACE, 1996; Davies, 2001, table 14.2; Dunlop & Selwood, 2001, table 17.4). Even where sponsorship has increased, it has done so on the basis of public subsidy in the first instance, as seen in the case of BSIS, in which government has underwritten the scheme's entire administrative costs in addition to matching grants. It should also be noted that the increase in business sponsorship for capital funding since the mid-1990s was induced by the launch of Lottery capital grants that required the recipients to find matching money.

The marginality of business sponsorship is shown by the income pattern of subsidised theatres. The proportion of sponsorship has increased but has still stayed at around 5-6% of total theatre income. Earned income has also been almost at a standstill throughout the period. Although differences exist between individual theatre organisations, the following table shows general trends in the income pattern of the arts funding system's drama clients during the 1980s and 1990s.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ The large-scale injection of funds from Lottery grants and accompanying matching money from the business sector was not reflected in the income pattern because significant part of these funds was distributed to capital projects.

Table 4.3. Income pattern of Arts Council/ RAB drama clients, 1980/81-1998/99

	(%)											
	80/81	82/83	83/84	84/85	87/88	88/89	90/91	93/94	95/96	96/97	97/98	98/99
Arts Council RABs	37	39	39	37	37	36	35	34	31	32	34	32
Local authorities/ other subsidy	13	13	14	15	11	11	11	12	13	13	11	10
<i>Total public</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>42</i>
Earned income	50	48	47	48	50	49	50	50	51	50	49	52
Sponsorship/ Donation					2	3	4	4	4	5	6	6
<i>Total private</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>58</i>

Sources: ACE (1996b) for Arts Council's main drama clients between 1987/88-93/94; Cork (1986) for building based companies (including NT and RSC) between 1980/81-84/85; Hacon et al. (2000) for 35 repertory theatres constant sample for 1995/96-1998/99.

4.2.3. New justification for arts subsidy

Meanwhile, the marketisation policy resulted in a change in the perception of the role of the arts in society. Alongside commercial cultural sectors, the subsidised arts sector began to be seen as an essential part of the cultural industries, and this implies that the relationship between the state and the arts required redefinition. The state subsidy as a public investment came to be justified through expected economic returns from the arts sector in the form of job creation, boosts to local businesses, enhancement of the local image and attraction of tourists and multinational companies. This view was produced and promoted by the Arts Council's publications and a series of 'economic impact' studies: e.g., the Council's report, *A Great British Success Story* (1985) and John Myerscough's *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain* (1988) and subsequent economic impact reports. For instance, *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain* argued that the British arts sector produced an annual turnover of £10 billion, employed 496,000 people and provided a spin-off into other industries such as catering and tourism.

People in the arts world basically opposed this economic approach because of its negative effects on arts subsidy in the long term. That is, arts subsidy could lose its

legitimacy if other industries proved that they had the potential to produce greater return for public investment. In addition, the methodological rigour of economic impact studies was criticised by many people.⁴⁹ However, the studies had a huge influence on the non-profit arts sector. Arts lobbying bodies, particularly the NCA, welcomed the studies as ‘a potential weapon’ in future discussions of arts subsidy (Crine, 1988, p. 6), and the arts world began to use an economic justification for the protection of state arts subsidy. Subsequently, local authorities and even individual arts organisations started to produce their own economic impact studies using a methodology similar to that used by Myerscough (e.g., Cambridge Arts Theatre, 2000, 2001; Essex County Council, 2001; Theatre Royal, Norwich, 1999)

One economic potential of the arts was believed to be their contribution to urban regeneration, which was highlighted by the Arts Council’s report, *An Urban Renaissance* (1988) as well as Meyerscough’s economic impact studies. Belief in the regenerational effects of the arts prompted a number of British local authorities to launch cultural regeneration schemes. These included large-scale capital projects such as the Burrell Collection in Glasgow, the National Museum of Photography in Bradford and the International Convention Centre in Birmingham. Therefore, one may conclude that, despite possible adverse effects, an economic approach to the arts helped justify public arts subsidy and even attracted capital investment to cultural projects.

4.2.4. Introduction of managerial practices

Marketisation brought about a significant change in the culture, attitude and practice of subsidised arts organisations, particularly the way in which the organisations operate. A self-help mentality and entrepreneurialism were encouraged as essential elements for the survival of the non-profit arts, and this accompanied a gradual introduction of business-like practices, which were believed to increase audience, produce more money from box office and trading activities, and enhance the efficiency of management.

⁴⁹ It has been argued that the method has problems, such as the difficulty in comparing the arts sector with other industries, little indication of the responsiveness of the sector to environmental changes, too broad definition of the sector, and obscurity in the aesthetic purposes of the arts activity (see Johnson & Thomas, 2001 for detail)

Arts marketing, in particular, began to be perceived as the best solution for attracting new audiences and improving the loyalty of the existing one. Unlike promotion or advertising, which concerns the efforts to sell existing products and services to more people, arts marketing requires organisations to first identify market needs before they try to sell the products. Marketing's emphasis on customers as the starting point of business was recognised as an alternative to the traditional attitude of the non-profit arts, which saw audience as passive recipients. In 1983, the Arts Council began to acquire market data (e.g., ACORN⁵⁰), and this became available to assist subsidised arts organisations with their marketing strategies. In the subsequent year, the Council created the Marketing and Resource Department in order to provide advice to client organisations on marketing as well as business sponsorship. In the regions, a number of arts marketing agencies were set up throughout the 1980s with support from the Council, local authorities or regional arts funding bodies. During the three years from 1988/89, under the initiative of the government, the Council provided 'incentive awards' in order to help arts organisations to improve their marketing skills and resources, and increase managerial efficiency.⁵¹ By the end of 1991, approximately 150 organisations received these awards.

Business-like administration practices, such as business planning, funding contracts and performance indicators, were adopted and promoted by the Arts Council, and they were gradually transferred to its grant recipients. The Council started to formulate a three-year business plan in 1988 at the request of government, and subsequently its clients were required to create and submit their business plans to the Council. In 1994, after a one-year pilot contract-funding scheme, the Council introduced funding agreements with its clients. In 1996/7, a funding agreement between the Department for Culture,

⁵⁰ ACORN (A Classification of Residential Neighbourhoods) has been developed by the CACI Marketing Analysis Group, who have manipulated published census data to produce forty distinguishing features describing the housing, age, household and socio-economic character of the population in 120,000 districts (*Arts Council Bulletin*, 1983, No. 57).

⁵¹ From 1988 to 1991, incentive grants were distributed to the following areas: investment in merchandising, improvement of marketing, salary of corporate development officers, marketing and sponsorship resources, refurbishment of facilities, and endowment appeals.

Media and Sport [DCMS] and the Council was introduced. Thereafter there have been multi-level funding agreements between the Treasury and the DCMS, between the DCMS and the Council, and between the Council and its subsidised bodies. In addition, the arts funding system began to use performance indicators in collecting and publishing data on their regular clients.⁵² Under the Local Government Act of 1992, local authorities became obliged to use performance indicators for their services. Although there were no agreed specific indicators for the arts, local authorities started to use some self-devised indicators such as audience numbers, number of workshops or number of participants of education programmes (see Appendix 3).⁵³

Together with these managerial practices, a new set of vocabulary was introduced. Terms that reflect market-orientation (e.g., 'market', 'customer', 'consumption', 'management' and 'investment') were now preferred to traditional ones (e.g., 'audience', 'appreciation', 'administration' and 'subsidy'). New notions such as 'mission statement', 'target market', 'market research', 'marketing mix', 'feasibility study' and 'corporate development' began to be widely used. The prevalence of managerial practices in the arts sector also led to the proliferation of new managerial occupations such as arts marketer, arts management consultant, and corporate development officer. This has corresponded with the increase in the number of training courses in arts management, in which the main emphasis is placed on the acquisition of business management skills (O. Bennett, 1996, p. 16). The emergence of such occupations and training courses has contributed to the further dissemination of these new practices and language in the sector.

⁵² The PIs currently used by the Arts Council and its regional offices include information on income and expenditure, performance/exhibition days, audience number, the number of education programmes, etc.

⁵³ Actually, performance indicators have developed slowly in spite of government emphasis on them. In the late 1990s, the Audit Commission produced only four PIs for local authority's arts and museum services: (a) number of pupils visiting museums and galleries in organised school groups; (b) whether the local authority has a local cultural strategy; (c) spend per head of population on cultural and recreational facilities and activities; and (d) percentage of residents by targeted group satisfied with the local authority's cultural and recreational activities. (DETR, 1999, chap. 10). However, many local authorities have used their own PIs for their work in this area (see Appendix 3).

4.3. Education and Audience Development

This section aims at investigating the development of education policy in the arts funding system during the 1980s and the way in which education was conceptualised through the framework of marketisation. The period saw the Arts Council's new encouragement for educational work in arts organisations while there was a corresponding decline of TIE and community arts. The main logic behind this movement was that education provision would assist the development of new audiences. The importance of education was often justified by the language of arts marketing. Here, this section raises two questions: first, how the two conflicting notions, education ('the public should be cultivated to consume arts products') and marketing ('products should be created according to market needs') can be combined together; and second, what implication this gives to an analysis of marketisation of the arts.

4.3.1. Development of education policy and decline of education as an alternative practice

The 1980s saw the emergence of an official education policy by the arts funding system. The Arts Council initially showed its commitment to education by setting up the Education Unit in 1980, and subsequently published *The Arts Council and Education*, a consultative document on its education policy in 1981. This document suggested that the Council's two objectives in the Royal Charter were closely related to education and accordingly it would encourage its clients to provide education programmes for the public. This indicated that the routine meaning of the term education in the arts funding context finally departed from its original connotation of 'the inherent civilising value of the arts'; now it referred to 'extra programmes' produced by arts organisations.

As has been noted before, the Council's approach to education was very different from those of TIE and community arts (see Chapter 3.2.3). The consultation document reassured the Council's belief in 'education about the arts' by stating that 'the use of the term "the arts" in the Charter indicates that they are defined as a body of work produced by skilled practitioners' and 'the aim [of education] should be to help people

to “know” the arts’ (ACGB, 1981, pp. 4-6). In other words, the key process of education was one of ‘demystifying’ the arts, helping people to realise that the arts belonged to them and had a relevance to their lives, without distorting or oversimplifying the arts themselves. Therefore, the educational role of subsidised arts organisations was generally confined to the provision of extra activities that were closely related to their art programmes. The Council’s policy was to fund only professional activities because neither the Council nor its clients had the staff, finances or knowledge to become direct providers of education in the arts. As for the theatre, the Council’s intention was

to support professional performance work for children, young people and students. Drama workshops, youth theatre and participation sessions may well form part of a company’s programme but the Council does not directly fund this area of work... The Drama Panel would like to see a continuation of its support for theatre work which achieves an educational purpose while remaining firmly rooted in the art of drama. (ACGB, 1981, pp. 17-18)

Such an understanding of education was reflected in the Council’s official statement, *The Arts Council and Education: A Policy Statement* (ACGB, 1983). This statement clearly recommended that the aim of education provision be ‘education about the arts’. Involvement in educational work became one of the Council’s funding criteria, and each revenue client was asked to provide a report of its work in this area when making its annual application. By 1983, approximately twelve organisations funded by the Council had appointed education officers (Selwood et al., 1998, p. 65).

The Council’s Education Unit generally financed its own work (e.g., research, information and organising seminars and conferences) while organising a series of meetings of education officers from major arts companies. Since 1983/84, some of its budget had been distributed to art form departments and the RAAs to support pilot educational projects that could have national relevance and benefit (ACGB, 1986b).⁵⁴ In response to this initiative, clients of the Council and the RAAs began to take an

⁵⁴ The Council’s education budget in 1988/89 was £256,400. This is approximately 0.17% of total grant from government (£152,400,100) (ACGB, 1988b).

active interest in education and to search for ways of further collaborating with educational providers. In 1986, the Council and RAAs jointly formulated a policy for theatre for young people, which stressed the importance of education programmes in the theatre as well as activities of TIE, children's theatre and youth theatre (ACGB, 1986a).

Although the arts funding system began to pay a new attention to education, this issue was given relatively low priority. In both government and the Arts Council, policy debates were dominated by the issues of business sponsorship, efficient management as well as devolution of arts funding.⁵⁵ For example, the Wilding Report (1991), a large-scale policy review that was devoted to devolution, did not mention either the issue of education or the links between the Council's Education Unit and education officers in the RAAs. Under the encouragement of the Council's education policy, actual provision of education activities depended on the commitment and financial situation of individual theatres. As educational work in mainstream theatre organisations was yet to grow,⁵⁶ there still existed a tendency to regard education as the concern of particular types of theatre such as TIE, children's and young people's theatre, rather than as a universal feature of all non-profit theatre organisations (e.g., Robinson, 1985). There was theoretically a clear demarcation between 'education about the arts' and 'education through the arts', and the former was preferred by the Arts Council. However, TIE and community arts activities continued to obtain grants from the Council under the justification that they would contribute towards education about the theatre and increase public accessibility to the art works produced and presented by professional artists.

Nonetheless, the second half of the 1980s saw the beginning of the decline of the TIE and community arts movements. The most important factor, in terms of the loss of TIEs, was a lack of funding as well as the wane of radical thought. The 1988 Education Act

⁵⁵ Although the RAAs always demanded devolution of arts funding, it was the 1980s that saw a serious discussion on this issue take place with the government favouring decentralisation of the public sector.

⁵⁶ For instance, *Arts Report* (1987, p. 6), Arts Council newsletter, reports that the Royal Shakespeare Company did not have a specific budget for education or policy for education as of 1987.

caused a rapid decline in financial assistance from local education authorities, which had been the main supporters of TIEs, by delegating their funds and responsibilities down to individual schools. The schools, faced with pressure to be more economically efficient and to focus on key subjects, became less able to afford the cost of extra-curricular activities. Drama was not included in the ten foundation subjects and came to be taught as part of the English curriculum; this led to a tendency to see drama as a subject to be learned about rather than worked with or through. Hence, issue-based contents of TIEs and their concern with socio-political subject matter, became unwelcome in many schools (Whybrow, 1994a, 1994b). Under the threat of funding cuts, the Arts Council, too, retrenched their grants for the TIE companies. According to research by the NCA, the Council supported half of surveyed TIEs in England in 1985, but this figure had reduced to only one in eight in 1995/96 (NCA, 1997). Financial difficulties led to the closure of many TIE companies as well as the discontinuance of TIE activities by repertory theatres.

4.3.2. Education for audience development

While TIE and community arts activities were declining, education in the theatre tended to be seen as the development of new audiences, particularly young people. The importance of new audiences had long been stressed by the subsidised theatre sector because, as the existing audience – mainly elderly and well-educated middle class – were getting older, the size of audience would inevitably shrink unless current ‘non-attenders’ replaced them in the future. Furthermore, the need for more earned income forced theatre organisations to pay greater attention to audience development. In this environment, it was believed that the provision of education programmes would be effective because they would reach young people and people from underprivileged backgrounds, who were difficult to court through short-term marketing strategies such as the provision of information and incentive.⁵⁷ As a long-term marketing strategy, the primary role of education was nurturing non-attenders into a paying audience as well as

⁵⁷ Generally, short-term marketing strategies include the provision of information (e.g., direct marketing, telemarketing, brochures and a homepage on the Internet) and the provision of incentives (e.g., easy booking, concessions, special offers, friends events and socialising clubs). These strategies are more likely to appeal to the existing audience and people who already have an interest in the arts.

enhancing the quality of experience for the current audience.

Interestingly, such understanding of education, marketing and audience development seems to show that, although the arts sector became market-conscious and adopted managerial practices under marketisation pressures, there has never been any crucial change in the sector's strong belief in the universal value of the arts and producer authority over the consumer. This may lead one to critically review existing theory on marketisation, which recognises consumer sovereignty and authority as an eventual consequence of commercially oriented management of arts organisations (e.g., Abercrombie & Keat, 1991; Keat, 2000; Kershaw, 1999).

It is true that the non-profit arts sector's concern with audience development and income generation has been dominated by the language of marketing. Originally, marketing is an element of organisational management, concerned with developing and maintaining an organisational focus upon customer needs and wants and developing the mechanisms for satisfying them. The core argument of marketing is 'market (customer) orientation' (M. J. Baker, 1994; Kotler, 1976; Sargeant, 1999).⁵⁸ That is, the whole organisation should be viewed from the customer's perspective, and customer needs should be at the centre of the organisation's decision-making process. As a function, marketing means that the organisation creates a product based on what its customers need and want, and deliberately combines the product with price, place and promotion in order to maximise customer satisfaction and optimise profit.⁵⁹

Theoretically, marketing contradicts the arts-centred belief that artists and arts organisations produce their works autonomously, not as a result of market pressures, and that the value of the works is best judged by peer artists and arts experts. Therefore,

⁵⁸ M. J. Baker's (1994, p. 8) view on marketing aptly demonstrates what market orientation means: 'Marketing starts with the market and the consumer. It recognizes that in a consumer democracy money votes are cast daily and that to win those votes you need to offer either a better product at the same price or the same product at a lower price than your competitors. Price is objective and tangible but what is 'a better product'? Only one person can tell you – the consumer.'

⁵⁹ In this light, the Chartered Institution of Marketing defines marketing as 'the management process responsible for identifying, articulating and satisfying customer requirements profitably' (cited in Hill, Sullivan & Sullivan, 1995, p. x).

one may naively assume that the adoption of marketing has led non-profit arts organisations to radically change their attitude and practices so that organisations can produce what their market wants and, in turn, the market decides the value of the products.

In spite of the institutionalisation of marketing in the arts sector, however, actual understanding of marketing by the sector seems to be long way from market orientation. The starting point for arts marketing is the need to recognise artistic autonomy as its specific context. That is, an arts organisation can use various marketing techniques and try to satisfy market needs, as long as artistic production and decision-making take place autonomously (Boorsma 2002; P. Butler, 2000; Diggle, 1994; Kotler & Kotler, 1998; McLean, 1997; Sargeant, 1999, chap. 6). This sounds contradictory if compared with the original meaning of market orientation, which puts customers at the beginning rather than the end of the production-consumption cycle.⁶⁰ Arts marketing theory holds that the ultimate role of marketing is to ‘safeguard’ artistic products while actively modifying augmented products (e.g., the organisation’s facilities, atmosphere, quality of staff, catering services and gift items) in order to develop audience:

Marketing of culture and arts needs to *safeguard the core product* [italics added], while modifying the non-core elements of the augmented product. (Bhradaigh, 1997, p. 208)

There is room in the customer-driven approach for compromise between the desires of the consumers and those of the cultural organisation... All of these can be provided by the cultural organisation *without changing the cultural product* [italics added]. What would change would be the way the cultural product is communicated, presented and packaged. (Kolb, 2000, pp. 78-79)

As for the artistic products, arts marketers are greatly under the influence of the idealist view of the arts: existing arts consumers should be encouraged to attend arts events more frequently, and those indifferent to the arts should be educated into becoming arts

⁶⁰ Contrary to the original notion of marketing (‘market defines products’), for example, Diggle (1994, pp. 31-32) argues that ‘it is...the range, the style, the artistic content of your programme...that defines your audience’.

consumers. Therefore, the job of arts marketers is to convince customers that they have hidden needs for the arts, even though these needs (identified by the arts marketers) conflict with the consumers' real preferences, and then to encourage the customers to fulfil their needs. In this sense, arts marketing is better understood as 'marketing for the arts' rather than 'marketing of the arts'. In spite of the rhetoric of market orientation, arts marketing is still in fact a producer-oriented theory and practice.⁶¹

Thus one may conclude that what the adoption of marketing has brought about is not a shift of authority from arts producers to consumers, but a refiguring of 'how to persuade people' to accept the products provided by arts organisations. The key logic behind this is the same as that of the post-war consensus on the universal value of the arts and on the need for educating people in order to help them to properly appropriate art works (Lury, 1994; see also Chapter 3.2.1). It is in this context that notions of arts marketing, audience development and education (education about the arts) have been combined.

The above discussion seems to challenge the existing theory of marketisation which argues that non-profit arts organisations now think and function as if they are involved with for-profit business (e.g., McGuigan, 1996) or that consumers rule over producers (Abercrombie & Keat, 1991; Keat, 2000). Such narratives of institutional change – 'from the arts to commodity' or 'transfer of aesthetic authority to the consumer' – tend to obscure the complexity and ambiguity in the process of institutional change. On the contrary, this chapter has demonstrated that actors in the arts sector are likely to maintain their existing belief system while adjusting themselves to the new environments by adopting new norms, language and practices. Therefore, it is suggested that the actual process of institutional change should be understood as an integration or mix of different sets of beliefs and practices.

⁶¹ Thus, Lewis (1990, pp. 141-142) criticises existing marketing approaches: 'The needs of the consumer are ignored until the last possible moment, when it becomes necessary to sell what has been produced. The claim that this commodity will improve the quality of people's lives can only be based upon arrogance or ignorance, since people's needs (as consumers) have been completely disregarded during the production process. The assumption that people 'need' the cultural product on offer is based on nothing more than the artist's or producer's own view.'

Summary

This chapter has examined the institutional change of the subsidised arts sector in Britain since the 1980s. It has been suggested that while the post-war consensus on the legitimacy of the arts-centred institutions came to an end, market rationality emerged as a new dominant institutional force. However, marketisation of the arts has been very limited in financial terms. There has been no great change in the structure of financing the arts during the last twenty years, and the non-profit arts still rely heavily upon public money, which has been never really reduced on a large scale. Rather, it seems more accurate to say that marketisation is cultural rather than material: there have been considerable changes in the way public arts funding should be defended and the arts should be managed.

It is important to note that marketisation was initiated by a powerful drive from central government. Government appointed individuals⁶² who were sympathetic to its approach towards key positions in the arts funding system, and they addressed the needs for cultural change in the arts sector through lectures, personal remarks as well as the Arts Council's annual reports. The Council itself was mobilised as an advocate of marketisation. Under pressures from government, it had to adapt its organisational structure, language and practices to reflect market-consciousness, and this change cascaded down to its client organisations. The Council also played an essential role in diffusing market-oriented knowledge such as arts marketing, efficient management, fund-raising, and economic impact studies through its publications and training courses. Therefore, I argue that defining the recent institutional change simply as 'withdrawal of the state' or 'from state to market' looks quite problematic.

⁶² For instance, Norman St. John-Stevas (Arts Minister 1979-1981), Richard Luce (Arts Minister 1985-1990), William Rees-Mogg (Arts Council Chairman 1983-1990) and Luke Rittner (Arts Council Secretary-General 1983-1990).

Another finding of this chapter is that the arts funding system began to pay attention to the importance of education provision in the 1980s, though this issue remained marginal. While TIE and community arts activities started to decline, education ('education about the arts') became increasingly perceived as an effective way of audience development. The arts sector's emphasis on the need for education to nurture future audience reflects that its strong belief in artistic autonomy and producer authority has been sustained in spite of marketisation pressures.

The existing literature on marketisation of the arts attaches hardly any importance to the fact that full-blown marketisation has not (yet) occurred. A few commentators have attempted to give explanations. In the case of public museums, for example, Kawashima (1999) suggests that the inherent nature of museum organisations – i.e., the importance of maintaining collections and the existence of multiple constituencies – has prevented the museums from adopting more coherent market-oriented approaches. McGuigan (1996, p. 72) briefly suggests that the limitation of marketisation policy is attributed to socio-political factors such as 'the incompleteness of the Thatcherite project' and 'the resilience of expectations cultivated under social democracy'. Meanwhile, Gray (2000, p. 206) provides a different account. While acknowledging that the lack of clear movement by the arts sector towards a market-based economy is evident, he argues that managerial and cultural changes need to take place if entire commodification is to occur.

One reason why such explanations do not sound very lucid seems to be derived from their lack of attention to the complexity of institutional change in reality. As the last section has set out, if an analysis of marketisation is to be more holistic, it should pay more attention to the actual process of marketisation, i.e., how the existing value system has been sustained and incorporated with new practices, norms and theories.

Another limitation of the existing marketisation theory is its reluctance to recognise the role of the state in shaping the institutional environments of the arts. In particular, it ignores the latest development of state cultural policy – intensification of state intervention in the arts and its active utilisation of the arts for social purposes – that is

another important source of institutional change in the arts sector. In the next chapter, I will attempt to provide a new analysis of institutional change using the notion of ‘politicisation’ in order to both challenge and complement the current marketisation theory.

Chapter Five

Politicisation of the Arts: The 1990s to the Present

What are the State's rights in that relationship?...properly elected government is entitled to pursue its social, economic, even political objectives through the way in which it allocates the public resources in its custody. There is no reason why the arts and cultural sector should be exempt from this process, any more than education or health, where people are equally committed to their professional values whose working has lifelong and life-affecting outcomes. (Matarasso, 2000, p. 70)

Introduction

The 1980s saw state policy emerging as a dominant institutional force in the non-profit arts sector. During the next decade, policy rationality began to reshape discourses on the relationship between the arts and the state and on the role of the subsidised arts in society. I conceptualise such a phenomenon as 'politicisation' of the arts. As Chapter Two suggested, the institutional logic of policy is concerned with setting a policy framework for the arts and devising policy measures so that the state can utilise arts subsidy for policy objectives which prioritise production of direct public benefits over assistance for professional arts producers. In this sense, 'politicisation' does not mean state intervention in the contents or contexts of art works for the purposes of political censorship or propaganda, but a reaction against the existing tendency that policy-making was excluded from arts subsidy under the name of the arm's length principle (see Chapter 3.1).

Unlike marketisation, this politicisation tendency has not been treated as a subject of arts policy discussions, although there are a few exceptions (e.g., Taylor, 1995a, 1995b, 1997). For example, the establishment of the Department of National Heritage [DNH] in 1992, one of the most significant organisational changes in the history of the British

arts funding system, has seldom been seen as reflecting the willingness of government to assume greater responsibility for policy-making and of developing a coherent approach to arts subsidy. Instead, it has often been regarded as a mere means for the marketisation policy, which aimed ultimately at exploiting the full commercial potential of the cultural sector and facilitating business sponsorship (e.g., Quinn, 1998, pp. 256-257; Ravenscroft, 1994). Similarly, the victory of the Labour Party in the 1997 General Election has drawn attention only in terms of whether the new government would boost arts funding or whether it would focus more on popular art forms (e.g., Gray, 2000, pp. 115-116).

Only very recently has the politicisation tendency begun to arouse the interest of cultural policy researchers, as seen in the latest Policy Studies Institute's statistical report, *The UK Cultural Sector: Profile and Policy Issues*. In this book, Selwood suggests that the period 1993/94 to 1998/99 might be one of 'transition – the end of the old order and the beginning of a new': a transition from the arm's length principle and a policy vacuum to government-led policy (Selwood, 2001a, p. 1). Such a view is comparable to that of the Institute's previous statistical report on the sector, *Culture as Commodity? The Economics of the Arts and Built Heritage in the UK* (Casey, Dunlop & Selwood, 1996), which focuses mainly on economic aspects.

This chapter attempts to investigate the politicisation of the arts by looking at its two dimensions: (a) the increase in state intervention and (b) the utilisation of the arts for social purposes. The first dimension covers the emergence of a national policy framework for the arts, as well as increasing governmental control and surveillance over arts funding and management. The second is concerned with the phenomenon that the social efficacy of the arts has been taken increasingly seriously by government and public funding bodies, and now provides the main justification for state arts subsidy. In particular, participatory education programmes have been newly recognised as an effective medium through which arts organisations can generate social impacts. The definition of education has been broadened from 'education about the arts' to actively embrace 'education through the arts' for a wide range of social policy objectives, for

example, lifelong learning, enhancement of creativity, empowerment of individuals and community, improvement of human capital and social cohesion.

This chapter has three sections. The first section examines the increase in governmental intervention in the arts since the 1980s through looking at the gradual development of an arts policy framework, under which both policies for education and the theatre have also evolved. The second section investigates the active utilisation of the arts for obvious social aims, by examining the wider contexts where culture (in both its narrow and broad definitions) has become a subject of government policy since the 1990s. By doing so, the section also investigates why ‘education’ and ‘participation’ have emerged as important policy agenda in those policy areas. In the third section, it is suggested that, in the new institutional environments, the role of non-profit arts organisations has been widened to include those of creative educators and social agents. Simultaneously, there is a tendency that alternative approaches to arts participation (e.g., TIE and community arts) and policy-led approaches are converging. It is also shown that the amateur arts sector is trying to gain legitimacy as a social impact generator.

5.1. Emergence of an Explicit Policy Framework

5.1.1. Making of arts policy

According to Taylor (1995a, p. 133), in the 1980s and 1990s there was a ‘plethora of policy-makings’ in the field of the arts. Throughout the 1980s, the arm’s length principle was weakened by a Parliamentary inquiry and government-commissioned independent inquiries on arts funding. The increased concern shown by politicians regarding arts funding pressured the Arts Council to make unprecedented efforts to set objectives for its work and formulate a national arts policy. In the next decade, arts funding became gradually sited in a policy framework and an official cultural policy finally emerged in 1998.

The early 1980s heralded the beginning of serious debates concerning arts subsidy, with an inquiry by the Parliamentary Select Committee on Education, Science and the Arts in 1982. The Committee made a strong plea for more funding from government, but it also recommended structural change in the arts funding system, whereby national companies⁶³ would be financed directly by government, and the Arts Council's routine responsibility for its clients would be handed over to the Regional Arts Associations [RAAs]. Instead, the Council was asked to pay attention to designing a long-term policy. In response, it insisted that its role was not to advise government on creating a national arts policy but to 'represent to government the financial and other needs of the arts activities for which it is held responsible' (OAL, 1982, p. 14). Government accepted this description of the Council's role. In the subsequent two years, however, it effectively weakened the arm's length principle by directly permitting Clive Priestley to inquire into the operation of the Royal Opera House and the Royal Shakespeare Company, which were in severe financial difficulties (D. K. Peacock, 1999, p. 41). The Priestley Inquiry confirmed the need for extra support for the two companies, but also suggested that government should directly fund the national companies.

Facing the possible loss of major clients and of the arm's length distance from government, in addition to increasing funding constraints, in 1984 the Arts Council produced its first policy review, *The Glory of the Garden: The Development of the Arts in England*. This document mainly expressed the Council's attention to devolution, but also set out a list of fourteen funding criteria.⁶⁴ Five years later, at the request of Richard Luce, the then Arts Minister (1985-1990), the Council commissioned Richard Wilding to investigate the arts funding system, and this led to the publication of another large-scale policy review (Wilding, 1989), which too was primarily concerned with the decentralisation of arts funding. The two policy reviews were followed by the devolution of funding and clients from the Arts Council to the newly organised

⁶³ The Royal Opera House, the English National Opera, the Royal National Theatre and the Royal Shakespeare Company.

⁶⁴ Quality, creativity, achievement of aims, provision for the community, education policy, equal opportunities for ethnic minorities, value for money, income pattern (box office income, local authority support and other income), efficiency, financial problems, balance between London and other regions, etc.

Regional Arts Boards [RABs] (see Kawashima, 1996).

It is noticeable that as government and the Arts Council became more conscious of the need to clarify policy objectives, non-aesthetic aims began to be highlighted. In addition to its advocacy of the economic impacts of the arts, the Council started to suggest that arts funding should aim at producing direct benefits for the public, not arts producers. For example, the then Chairman of the Council, William Rees-Mogg (1983-1990), claimed,

The aim of arts policy is to provide the public with ample opportunity to benefit from all the major arts forms.... This is an important political choice, which applies in all areas of subsidy. Ought the health service to exist for the medical and administrative staff, or for the patients? Ought arts funding to be for the artists or for the audiences? When tax funds are concerned, I think the justification has to be one of access for audiences, although patients need doctors and audience need artists. (cited in Sinclair, 1995, p. 254)

The early 1990s saw further efforts by the Arts Council to formulate a national arts policy, under pressure from government. In 1990, the 'Towards a National Arts and Media Strategy' consultation process was launched on the initiative of Richard Luce. The Council coordinated this project with other public funding agencies, and published a series of reports for consultation in 1992. A number of issues on arts funding and individual art forms were discussed here, though they were still separate agendas without a coherent policy framework. Based on that consultation, the Council finally published its first national policy report, *A Creative Future* in 1993. In this report, ten objectives of arts funding – promoting value of the arts, equal opportunity for access and participation, education, quality, diversity, revitalising the arts of the past, facilitating international dimension, advocating increased arts funding, geographical diffusion, and accountability – and related policy pledges were suggested. However, there was no prioritisation of the objectives, which might compete for resources, and the policy process – implementation, monitoring and evaluation for instance – was not given attention.

The establishment of the Department of National Heritage [DNH] and the appointment of a Secretary of State in 1992 indicated a great change in the government's attitude towards the arts. That is, a legitimate authority that could take on the whole process of policy-making finally emerged, and arts policy began to enter into the mainstream policy area. This also implied that a further erosion of the arm's length principle would be inevitable. The Department neither produced a formal policy statement nor became involved with the detail of the Arts Council's work. However, it tried to control the context of public arts funding through policy guidance, reviews and policy directions for the Lottery funding.

The emergence of the National Lottery in 1994 as a large-scale public funding source for the arts provided the DNH with a great opportunity to intervene in the arts subsidy. The fact that a significant proportion of the buyers of Lottery tickets came from low-income groups made public arts subsidy politically more sensitive and thus increased the significance of policy-making. Also, the way in which the Lottery income was distributed reinforced the role of the DNH as a central policy-maker: it was transferred to the National Lottery Distribution Fund administered by the DNH, and then given to non-governmental distributors. The distributors, such as the Arts Council, had to take into account the policy directions issued by the DNH. Through the directions and funding criteria, the Department could identify its priorities, including 'education', 'accessibility', 'new audiences' and 'participation', and impose them upon subsidised arts organisations. For instance, the 1994 policy directions required any buildings supported by Lottery capital grants to encourage the greatest accessibility and to comply with the needs of people with disabilities. Since 1996, under new directions, the Arts Council has begun to provide revenue funding (e.g., Arts for Everyone) with the objectives of developing creative abilities, artistic talents and skills (particularly for young people) and increasing public access to and participation in the arts, especially in remote areas and areas in need of regeneration.

During the period running up to the 1997 election, the DNH published policy reviews on museums, libraries and built heritage and on issues of public access and education

(e.g., DNH, 1996a, 1996b), and provided policy guidance for local authorities' strategic plans for the arts (DNH, 1995). As Taylor (1997) suggests, the activities of the DNH may be characterised as 'contextual control' or 'setting the framework'. This means that a significant change in the 'rules of the game' in the arts policy area began to take place.

However, a much greater change followed the victory of the Labour Party in the 1997 election as the new government distinguished itself from its predecessors through its willingness to become actively involved in the arts. An official cultural policy, *A New Cultural Framework*, was published in 1998 by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport [DCMS] which had replaced the DNH. This policy document encompassed arts funding as well as the other remits including museums and galleries, built heritage and broadcasting. One characteristic of the DCMS's approach to cultural policy was its emphasis on the centrality of policy-making. In particular, it elevated the role of government to that of a primary policy-maker who would exercise 'strategic leadership', virtually repudiating the arm's length principle:

We will give direction; we will set targets and chase progress; and where appropriate we will take direct action to make sure our objectives are achieved. (DCMS, 1998b)

The DCMS has strengthened its hand with the creation of a top-down monitoring body,⁶⁵ the publication of reviews, policy reports and strategy documents as well as initiating its own funding schemes (e.g., New Audience Programme⁶⁶ in 1998 and Creative Partnership⁶⁷ in 2002). It began to develop a series of specific policies for the cultural sector. For example, 1999 and 2000 saw the publication of *Libraries for All: Social Inclusion in Public Libraries* and *Centres for Social Change: Museums, Galleries and Archives for All* respectively. Policy-making at public funding bodies and local authorities was also emphasised. Through the National Lottery Act 1998, all

⁶⁵ Quality, Efficiency and Standards Team [QUEST], a watchdog for the effectiveness of DCMS funded bodies was established in April 1999 and ceased to exist in early 2003.

⁶⁶ This was a one-off £5 million programme, designed to bring the arts to a wider audience by combating the factors that prevent people from accessing the arts. It has since been guaranteed for a further five years. For year two, elements of the programme have been adapted to support projects that focus on 'cultural diversity', 'social exclusion' and increasing access or opportunities for 'people with disabilities'.

⁶⁷ Details of this project will be given in the next section (see Chapter 5.1.2).

distributors were now required to produce strategic plans for their use of Lottery money.

Another important aspect of current cultural policy is that it has redefined the state's relationship to its sponsored bodies, requesting funded bodies to deliver appropriate outcomes which reflect the DCMS's four central themes ('access', 'excellence and innovation', 'education' and 'creative industries') and its key concern ('social regeneration') in return for public investment:

This is no 'something for nothing'. We want to see measurable outcomes for the investment which is being made. From now on, there will be real partnership with obligations and responsibilities. (DCMS, 1998b)

The new government's policy priorities have been reflected in the Lottery funding: the new policy directions put more emphasis on children and young people, geographical equality, accessibility and social exclusion. As government has intensified its intervention into arts funding and management, the Arts Council's traditional role as the main advocate for the arts as well as independent grant-maker has been seriously challenged. Instead, the Council is increasingly asked to function as a deliverer of government policy. Thus, Taylor's earlier diagnosis of the arm's length principle seems to ring true: the 'arm's length principle, so far the cornerstone of the arts sector, has now become one of the quaint conventions of British public life, lacking any real validity' (1995b, p. 195). The following table summarises policy development in the arts since the 1980s.

Table 5.1. Development of policy for the arts

1982	Commons Select Committee report on arts funding (OAL)
1984	<i>The Glory of the Garden</i> (ACGB)
1989	The Wilding Report (for ACGB)
1990	The Working Party on Planning and Accountability (until 1993)
1991	Reorganisations of funding system (creation of three Arts Councils and ten RABs)
1992	<i>Towards a National Arts and Media Strategy</i> (National Arts and Media Strategy Monitoring Group)

1992	Creation of the DNH
1993	<i>A Creative Future</i> (ACE)
1993	Price Waterhouse Report (for DNH)
1994	National Lottery started. Policy directions for Lottery distributors
1995	<i>Arts Guidance for Local Authorities in England</i> (DNH)
1996	New policy directions for Lottery distributions
1997	Creation of the DCMS to replace the DNH.
1998	The National Lottery Act including a statement of new policy and financial directions
1998	<i>The Comprehensive Spending Review: A New Approach to Investment in Culture</i> (DCMS)
1998	<i>A New Cultural Framework</i> (DCMS)
1999	<i>Local Cultural Strategies: Draft Guidance for Local Authorities in England</i> (DCMS)
1999	<i>Policy Action Team 10: A Report to the Social Exclusion Unit</i> (DCMS)
2001	<i>Culture and Creativity: The Next Ten Years</i> (DCMS)
2002	Integration of ACE and RABs into a single organisation

The development of policy framework for the arts is no exception at the local level. Local authorities have traditionally tended to subsidise the arts as part of public service rather than from a commitment to art forms. In the 1990s, however, a further political approach to arts funding was encouraged by Audit Commission reports (Audit Commission, 1991, 1995), policy guidance from the DNH (1995) and the DCMS (1999a), and ‘Best Value’, a new local authority management regime. Local authorities began to specify the aims of arts spending in the context of their own strategic or corporate objectives. How to link arts subsidy to the authorities’ strategic areas of education, planning, economic development and tourism became an important agenda for local arts policy. In addition, the policy tends to reflect four DCMS themes and national agendas such as public health, social exclusion and community safety. Under pressure and encouragement from both government and the Audit Commission, local authorities began to develop a written strategy for their activities in the area of arts and culture.⁶⁸ Through a cultural strategy, they are asked to articulate their policy process, including objective-setting, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. The ‘Best Value’ regime is also likely to facilitate the development of local arts policy by

⁶⁸ For instance, the DCMS (1999a) requires all authorities to produce a cultural strategy by 2002.

requesting authorities to be more accountable to their electorates and to focus on policy, plans, consultation, standards and performance indicators (Davies & Selwood, 1998, pp. 83-88; Speller, 2001).⁶⁹

5.1.2. Policy for education in the arts

Within an overall policy framework for the arts, the 1990s saw a fully fledged development of education policy. What is noticeable is that education has emerged as a key agenda within arts policy and that government itself has increased its voice over this issue. This accompanied the Arts Council's move to gradually widen its traditional definition of education as 'education about the arts' to embrace 'creative education through the arts', 'social inclusion through education programmes', and 'community development through participatory programmes'. Thus the distinction between 'education about the arts' and 'education through the arts' has become less clear as education provision by arts organisations began to be newly defined as 'education *in* the arts'.

In the 1990s, arts organisations had many funding opportunities to develop education programmes. In 1994, the Arts Council raised the status of education by elevating the Education and Training Unit to a full department with its own director. The department began to directly subsidise educational work under the separate heading of 'education and training'. In 1995, two initiatives were launched to encourage and support educational work in arts organisations. The Education Research and Development Initiative [ERDI] provided up to £8,000 for each of the selected organisations to develop ways in which the role of education could be newly explored. The Arts Education Agencies Development Initiative [AEADI] helped develop 'arts education agencies' which were supposed to act as brokers between artists, arts organisations and

⁶⁹ The Best Value initiative was introduced by the Labour government in 1997. This was a conscious reaction to the previous government regime of Compulsory Competing Tendering [CCT] for local public services, which had operated from 1980. Unlike CCT which focused on the issue of contracting out, Best Value emphasises effectiveness and accountability of service delivery, and a local authority's role as representative of the broad national interest. The full-scale adoption of Best Value by local authorities is expected to bring about a stronger drive for arts spending of local authorities to be tied to policy objectives (Speller, 2001).

the education sector by providing information, advice and training as well as promoting and arranging projects.⁷⁰ These initiatives served to encourage arts organisations to perceive education provision as an essential part of their work, and diffused a view that education should be integrated with the organisations' core (artistic) activity and/or marketing (Rogers 1997, 1999).

However, it was the National Lottery grants that most effectively drove the organisations to employ education staff and to develop programmes. All successful Lottery capital projects must include educational activities as part of their rationale. The 'Arts for Everyone' scheme directly provided grants to educational projects or requesting grant recipients to conduct educational work. For instance, all successful projects funded at £100,000 or above had to fulfil all of the following five criteria, while projects up to that amount needed to satisfy at least three of them:

- (a) encouraging and developing participation in arts activity;
- (b) getting more young people actively involved in arts and cultural activities;
- (c) supporting new work and helping it develop its audience;
- (d) building people's creative potential through training or professional development; and
- (e) encouraging new audiences to experience high quality arts activity.

Encouraged by the Lottery grant's concern with education and participation, the Arts Council declared that education and training were 'central to the Council and RABs' and 'no arts funding systems can be complete, or even credible, without a clear line on education and training...[and] clear-headed ideas about how they can be delivered' (ACE, 1998, p. 2). The second half of the 1990s witnessed direct government involvement in the issue of education as expressed in the publication of relevant policy reviews by the DNH (DNH, 1996a, 1996b). The DCMS took a step further by declaring that education was one of the main objectives of official arts policy and even set related quantitative targets: '200,000 new educational sessions' as well as '300,000 new chances to experience the arts' (DCMS, 1998a, 1998b). The government's interest in

⁷⁰ Currently, there exist over sixty arts education agencies in Britain (see Rogers, 1999).

education was also shown in the fact that it introduced a new, sixth, ‘good cause’ for Lottery grants and distributors: the New Opportunity Fund, which was created to allocate funds to support health, education and environmental initiatives.⁷¹

The increasing concern for education at central government level was also demonstrated in the DCMS’s cooperation with the Department for Education and Employment [DfEE] in setting up the National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education [NACCCE] in 1998. By the following year, the Committee had published a report, *All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture and Education*. Here, the importance of cultural education and the partnership between the educational and cultural sectors were greatly emphasised. In 2002, the ‘Creative Partnerships’, the biggest (£40 million) funding programme for educational work was launched for a pilot phase (2002/03-2003/04) under the sponsorship of the DCMS and the Department for Education and Skills [DfES]. This programme has given grants to education projects that intend to bring together young people in economically deprived areas and creative and cultural professionals/organisations. The government announced further funding to extend this programme to spring 2006. The following table summarises the development of education policy by the Arts Council, the DNH and the DCMS.

Table 5.2. Development of policy for education

1995	ACE’s ERDI
1995	ACE’s AEADI
1996	<i>Setting the Scene: The Arts and Young People</i> (DNH)
1996	<i>People Taking Part</i> (DNH)
1997	<i>The Heart of the Matter</i> (ERDI report) (Rogers for ACE)
1998	<i>Leading through Learning</i> (ACE)
1998	DCMS education target (200,000 new sessions)

⁷¹ Subsequently the National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts [NESTA] was launched with an endowment of £200 million in 1998 in order to support activities in those areas. It runs three programmes as follows: fellowship, invention/innovation, and education. NESTA made its first full award in May 2000.

1999	<i>Learning at the Core</i> (Rogers for ACE)
1999	<i>Partnerships for Learning: A Guide to Evaluating Arts Projects</i> (ACE)
1999	<i>All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture and Education</i> (NACCCE for DfEE and DCMS)
2002	Creative Partnerships scheme (DCMS in partnership with DfES)

5.1.3. Policy for the theatre

While development of theatre policy in the 1980s was characterised by independent inquiries on theatre funding, the next decade saw the Arts Council attempting to establish a national policy framework. In 1986, the Council commissioned an independent theatre inquiry to evaluate the needs of subsidised professional theatres and recommended a system for determining funding priorities. Consequently, *Theatre Is for All* was published (Cork, 1986), fifteen years after the previous inquiry report, *The Theatre Today in England and Wales* (ACGB, 1970). This report made a case for additional funding, addressing the need to support new writing and small touring work and to correct the imbalance between the centre and the regions. Although its proposal of a levy of 1% of the income of the BBC and the ITV for theatre subsidy was ignored, its other recommendations had some positive consequences (Brown & Brannen, 1996).⁷² The focus of the report was clearly on the artistic side, such as the survival and development of the sector, rather than considering the economic impacts of the arts.

National policy for the theatre was considered again as part of the ‘Towards National Arts and Media Strategy’ consultation in 1992. The report on drama was concerned with the theatre sector’s strategies for more funding, audience development, marketing and the development of human resources (Barnard, 1992). However, theatre policy remained on the agenda for future discussion, as did other policy issues in the consultation. In 1996, the Arts Council published *The Policy for Drama of the English Arts Funding System* in order to provide ‘the policy framework’ for drama funding. This

⁷² For instance, Brown and Brannen (1996) observe the following: several producing theatres received significant additional Council funding for new writing; mime companies were adopted by the Drama Department; and the small scale touring franchise system was established.

policy's approach was generally based upon the artworld logic, as shown in its view that the Council's role was advocating the value of drama and serving artists in the sector. The main priorities of the report were the development of high quality drama (i.e., new work, new writing, collaboration, co-production and culturally diverse work). However, the issue of education and participation of young people and community members was also emphasised. Meanwhile little account was paid to the economic justification for theatre funding.

Nonetheless, a significant change occurred when Peter Boyden Associates, commissioned by the Arts Council, reviewed funding for English regional producing theatres (ERPTs) and published the report, *Roles & Functions of the English Regional Producing Theatres* (Peter Boyden Associates, 2000). Unlike previous theatre inquiries and policy, this report clearly demonstrated that the theoretical ground for theatre funding was moving from an art-centred perspective to a policy-led approach. The report noted that 'although it is seductive to argue for the supremacy of the art, if they are to make a successful case for additional treasury resources the ERPTs must respond to the central government agenda' (p. 11). Theatre subsidy was now seen as public investment that would require a certain return in the form of public benefits:

The subsidised buildings have no meaning in the public domain unless they are driven by a clear sense of artistic and social purpose. A producing theatre working closely with and for its local community has the capacity to deliver significant returns against all for the DCMS "themes" (quality and innovation, access, education and the nurturing of the creative industries).
(p. 19)

The report required the theatres to 'deliver' three strands of objectives: artistic development (i.e., high quality, new writing, professional development and training, and development of small and middle-scale theatres); education and community development; and economic benefits. Four immediate roles for theatre were also suggested: theatre as 'presenter and catalyst'; theatre as 'creative crucible'; theatre as 'educator'; and theatre as 'community resource'.

Subsequently, the Arts Council finally published its formal theatre policy, *The Next Stage: Towards a National Policy for Theatre in England* after a consultation on the Boyden Report (ACE, 2000). Although the instrumental approach of the Boyden Report was alleviated, its emphasis on the social function of theatre was confirmed. The policy required theatres to adapt themselves to ensure that a wide range of audiences, including young people and cultural minorities, have access to bold, relevant and exciting work. Another proposal was that theatre should provide a focus for the celebration of local communities, deliver education and community programmes, and develop its potential role in tackling social exclusion. Economic impacts of funding were not taken into account in this framework.

5.1.4. Use of managerial practices

Together with policy guidance, reviews and formal policies, government has attempted to intensify its intervention in arts subsidy and management through practices that have been encouraged as part of the marketisation policy. Use of external consultancies for inquiries on arts funding was often seen by many arts practitioners as market-oriented activity. However, its real impact was the reinforcement of governmental control over the arts funding system and the erosion of the arm's length principle. Business plans, funding agreements and performance indicators began to be used by government to pressure the Arts Council to deliver policy objectives and to monitor its performance.

For instance, through a chain of formal funding relationships, the policy objectives of government are now imposed upon the arts funding bodies as well as individual arts organisations. For example, the DCMS seeks to tighten the social inclusion aims and targets given in its funding agreement with the Arts Council. The Council, in turn, has to ensure that, through funding agreements, its regularly funded organisations make a firm commitment to extending the impact of their work in relation to the communities they serve. Central government now attempts to develop more contract-like funding agreements and offers prescriptive performance indicators for arts policy. Currently, the DCMS's funding agreement (for 1999-2002) with the Arts Council consists of twenty-

eight performance indicators, of which seven set prescriptive targets: e.g., the number of new commissions by the regularly funded organisation by the Council, amount of sponsorship, percentage of adults who attend the arts and total attendance at regularly funded organisations. By doing so, the DCMS intends to evaluate outputs (what has been achieved?) and outcomes (what difference has it made?) rather than merely monitoring inputs (what was required to make the initiative work?) and throughputs (what has been done?) (DCMS, 1999). Thus, the widespread use of managerial practices should be seen not only as a matter of marketisation, but also as an instrumental strategy for government intervention in the non-profit arts sector.

5.2. Social Use of the Arts: Education and Participatory Arts as Policy Agenda

This section discusses another dimension of the politicisation, i.e., the explicit use of the arts for social policy objectives, by looking at changes in social policy in Britain since the 1990s and their implications for the arts sector. It is suggested that culture in both its narrow and broad senses – ‘culture as the arts’ and ‘culture as way of life’ – has become an important concern of social policy. Simultaneously, the social role of the arts has been increasingly recognised by decision-makers in cultural policy. It is for this reason that a new and heavy emphasis is being given to the provision of ‘creative education’ and ‘participatory arts’ for the public, particularly young people and socially excluded groups.

5.2.1. Social exclusion discourse: cultural turn in social policy

The shift in concern of arts policy from the economic impacts of the arts towards their social and educational benefits occurred in the wider socio-political contexts of the 1990s, in which the problems facing British society were newly conceptualised, and consequently new solutions were legitimised.

Under the Conservative regime, the market was thought to be the most efficient mechanism to generate and distribute resources in society, and economic inequality in

itself was seen as an engine of enterprise, which would provide incentives for those at the bottom as well as those at the top. It was suggested that entrepreneurs would create wealth that could trickle down to all members of society, and people who had so far depended upon state support would develop a self-help mentality once they were placed in the competitive market. Contrary to such assumptions, however, the 1980s and 1990s saw that poverty, job insecurity and economic inequality intensified in Britain (Hill, 1994; Oppenheim, 1997; Walker, 1997). For instance, it was observed that the number of household accepted as homeless by local authorities doubled in the decade 1978-1989, involving at least 300,000 people (Hill, 1994, p. 80). The number with less than half the average income more than doubled from 5 million in 1979 to 14 million in 1993/94: this means that, far from benefiting from the 'trickle down effect' and entrepreneurship, the proportion of people living in poverty among the population increased from 9% to 25% (Walker, 1997, p. 3). It seemed that the market-centred approach and the encouragement of competitive individualism alone could not enable marginal groups to support themselves and actively participate in economic activities. In spite of the claim that the state was being rolled back, government increased its expenditure on social security, which reflects the limits of the marketisation in the area of social policy.⁷³

In response to the social consequences of persistent market failure, the 1990s saw more attention by policy-makers and researchers to the 'cultural elements' of social life and their effects on economic activities. Behavioural explanations such as the 'underclass' theory obtained some currency (Murray, 1996). According to Dahrendorf (1994, pp. 14-15), the underclass refers to 'those who are long-term unemployed, persistent poor, disadvantaged ethnic groups, or all of these and more – who have fallen through the net'. In other words, they are people who have lost regular and guaranteed access to markets, especially the labour market, to the political community, to networks of legitimate social relations. It was often suggested by people from the right that being a member of the

⁷³ For example, Giddens (1998, pp. 113-114) observes that the proportion of UK's GDP spent on social security increased from 8.2% in 1973/74 to 11.4% in 1995/96.

underclass was attributable more to the cultural and moral characteristics of the poor (e.g., parental and family irresponsibility, lack of the sense of obligation, poor motivation as well as dependency culture) than to poverty.⁷⁴ Hence, among the first solutions seemed to be the enforcement of obligation through work-welfare schemes with their mix of education and training, as well as the removal of welfare benefits for certain groups, for example single mothers (Murray, 1996; also see Hill, 1994, chap. 4).

The cultural aspects of social problems have been further highlighted by the Labour government. Although the new Labour government agrees on the need for welfare reform and privatisation of the public sector, it believes that the marketisation strategy alone cannot solve all social problems and may lead to social fragmentation (Driver & Martell, 1998). However, the government's conceptualisation of social problems is far from the Labour Party's traditional approach where such problems were reduced to the issue of economic inequality and, thus, solutions were found in income redistribution through welfare provision. The government now tends to interpret social problems in terms of 'social exclusion',⁷⁵ focusing both on structural and cultural factors and the interaction between them. This approach is different from the rightist view that poverty and other social problems are created and maintained by a moral deficiency of the poor. According to Walker (1997), while poverty refers to a lack of material resources necessary to participate in a society, social exclusion can be defined as

a more comprehensive formulation which refers to the dynamic process of being shut out, fully or partially, from any of the social, economic, political and *cultural* [italics added] systems which determine the social integration of a person in society. (p. 8)

Social exclusion discourse contends that poverty and an individual's exclusion from

⁷⁴ Field (1989) and Murray (1996) provided an extremist view that the underclass was produced by moral decay and personal pathologies of the poor, which were encouraged and sustained by state provision of welfare.

⁷⁵ The term 'social exclusion' originated in the social policy of the French socialist governments of the 1980s and was used to refer to minority groups of people who lived on the margins of society and did not have access to the system of social insurance. However, when the term began to be used in the European context, it referred more to the EU objective of achieving social and economic cohesion. In the UK, the concept was brought to the front with the setting up by the government in 1997 of the inter-departmental Social Exclusion Unit (Percy-Smith, 2000, pp. 1-2).

society are closely connected and interact with each other, and the latter can cause and deepen the former. Therefore, it is suggested that state intervention in peoples' lives is essential but its focus should be on securing equality of opportunity and motivating excluded people to actively participate in both social and economic activities (Levitas, 1998; Percy-Smith, 2000). In other words, 'social inclusion' rather than economic equality is the primary goal of state intervention. This implies that social policy has to adopt a 'multi-dimensional' approach that sheds light on the 'cultural dimension' of the exclusion and 'cultural character' of the excluded people. I define this change in social policy as a 'cultural turn'⁷⁶ (Driver & Martell, 1999; Ray & Sayer, 1999), and will explore what implications it has for arts policy in the following sections.

Firstly, the cultural turn in social policy means that culture in its *narrow* definition – e.g., the arts, media and communication – comes to be seen as an essential element of social inclusion. Without 'cultural inclusion' people are not seen as being fully included in social life (Sandell, 1998). Likewise, the concept of 'cultural citizenship' has drawn academic attention since the 1990s: cultural rights have been newly added to modern citizenship which was made up of civil, political and social rights (Marshall, 1950; Pakulski, 1997; Stevenson, 2001; Turner, 2001). It is suggested that cultural inclusion or citizenship can be achieved through broadening public access to cultural activities and increasing public participation in the process of cultural production. Another important dimension of cultural inclusion is that minority groups must have the right to be represented without distortion or stigmatisation within the mainstream cultural arena and the right to advocate and maintain their own identities and lifestyles.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ In social sciences and policy studies, the notion of cultural turn generally refers to a growth of interest in culture and a turn away from the economy. In detail, it indicates the following: a shift in interest from the political economy of resource distribution to the identity politics and cultural recognition; a shift from an economic and cultural explanation of the economy; the increasing concern of politics with moral and cultural issues; and a shift from critiques of commodification and consumerism to their celebration (Driver & Martell, 1999; Ray & Sayer, 1999).

⁷⁷ It seems that there exists a certain tension in the notions of cultural inclusion and citizenship. It is because they involve a wide range of cultural rights: from cultural rights as a universal cultural entitlement of citizens (democratisation of culture) to cultural rights as minority rights to be different (cultural democracy). While academic discussion about cultural citizenship focuses on the issue of cultural democracy, the policy-makers tend to be more concerned with the inclusion in and rights to common culture, as one may note from the Labour government's emphasis on social cohesion and strong community (Driver & Martell 2002, p. 151).

Secondly, the cultural turn in social policy also refers to the tendency that the *broad* anthropological or sociological definition of culture (e.g., people's knowledges, skills, lifestyles, attitudes, beliefs, habits, assumptions and values) becomes a matter of grave concern (Perri 6, 1997a, 1997b). The increasing attention to culture seems to be attributed to the policy-makers' understanding of political and economic changes of British society. They suggest that cultural factors such as the individual's employability⁷⁸ and adaptability are becoming essential elements of economic inclusion because globalisation makes unemployment and poverty beyond the control of national states. In particular, skills, creativity, innovativeness and the intellectual capacity of the workforce are proposed as the most important variable in an economy that seems to increasingly rely upon knowledge- and information-based industries. Culture (in its broader sense) is deemed not only a critical determinant of each individual's life chances, but an also important factor that shapes a person's relationship with society (Hodgson & Spours, 1999, chap. 1; Oppenheim, 2001).

Government intervention in culture ultimately aims to enhance 'human capital' or 'human resources'. It is believed that education and training most effectively improve human capital and the employability of individuals, and consequently tackle social exclusion. It is for this reason that Tony Blair famously described his three priorities in government as 'education, education, education' (cited in Giddens, 1998, p. 109). As Wood (2001) observes,

Education is central to the New Labour world-view. In an age of globalisation...it is *only through education* [italics added] that individuals can find stable sources of income and employment security. Only through education can we break the cycle of dependency that threatens the British welfare state. (p. 47)

In addition to basic skills in literacy and numeracy, general competencies on the following are particularly highlighted: problem-posing/-solving, teamworking, information technology, adaptability, innovation, creativity, time management, standard-

⁷⁸ According to the DfEE, employability is defined as 'the skills, experience and culture that make people better able to take up a wider range of jobs' (cited in Hillman, 1998, pp. 119-120).

setting, navigation of information sources and knowing how to learn independently (Hillman, 1998, pp. 124-125). Such skills are transferable across industrial sectors and different occupations. Therefore, individuals are encouraged to be equipped with these general skills in order to improve their employability.

Similarly, in the domain of community regeneration, people's 'way of life' is stressed as a principal element of success, as physical regeneration cannot be achieved without social and psychic regeneration. Policy-makers recognise that economic prosperity, social cohesion and quality of life ultimately depend on 'confident, imaginative citizens who feel empowered and are able to fulfil their potential' (Landry et al., 1996, p. ii). So, one of the key challenges for government is to identify the means by which it can motivate and enable socially excluded groups to be empowered and participate in the political, social, economic and cultural lives as active members of society. As Perri 6 (1997a) notes, today's government is a 'culture-changing government', which goes 'beyond the application of financial incentives and competition to influence cultures of behaviour'.

5.2.2. Social efficacy of creative education and participatory arts

Participatory arts education has come to be seen as fundamental for meeting these new demands of public policy; they are expected to produce direct impacts on people's way of life. *All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture and Education*, a report produced by the National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education [NACCCE] in 1999 pays great attention to the power of creative cultural education to enhance 'human resources', particularly creativity, adaptability and better powers of communication. The report suggests that cultural education can effectively respond to creative needs from industry, help prepare students for the cultural complexities of a diverse society by encouraging 'cultural tolerance and understanding', and also help 'promote inclusion and combat exclusion in a world of rapid social and economic change'. In other words, cultural education is not only viewed as bringing direct benefits for a particular sector of the cultural industries, but also as having a 'more general significance' in nurturing creative individuals who actively take part in both economic and social life

(Buckingham & Jones, 2001, p. 2).

A similar perspective is found in the National Foundation for Educational Research [NFER]'s recent report on arts education in British secondary schools (Harland et al., 1998). This report demonstrates that arts teachers expect a range of social effects in addition to students' enhancement of knowledge about the arts, as a result of arts education. The following items are assumed by teachers to be the effects of this education:

- (a) personal development (e.g., self-awareness, self-esteem and sense of achievement);
- (b) exploration or transfer effects (e.g., improvement of young people's performance in other areas, motivation, self-discipline, and better attitude and behaviour);
- (c) increase in knowledge, understanding and appreciation of the arts;
- (d) development in communication and expressive skills; and
- (e) development of social skills (e.g., teamworking, reliability and making friends).

* ordered according to the frequencies of answers.

Drama education is believed to benefit young people particularly through enhancing skills in expression, thinking, communication, teamworking, and providing experiences of problem-solving and risk-taking as well as facilitating personal development. In the NACCCE and NFER reports, the main rationale for arts education is clearly its 'constructive' character – i.e., arts education can produce creative, competent and responsible citizens – rather than in the enhancement of knowledge and understanding about the arts.

It should also be noted that attention to participatory arts activities sharply increased in the field of urban regeneration in the 1990s. In the previous decade, the arts tended to be seen as an industry that could be invested in for economic returns, and this belief led to public investment in large-scale capital investments (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993; also see Chapter 4.2.3). Although the economic impact argument is still influential, there has emerged a strong counterargument that the economic effects of the arts were significantly overestimated and physical regeneration scarcely benefited deprived communities (Bloomfield & Bianchini, 2001, pp. 115-117; Mayo, 2000, chap. 5).

Bloomfield and Bianchini (2001) argue that property-led urban regeneration overwhelmingly favoured capital investment in traditional, high-cost, high arts organisations while neglecting the dimension of civic development. As those funded projects concentrated on city centres, which were seen as showcases for the local economy, residents in peripheral neighbourhoods were likely to be excluded from the benefits of the flagship cultural facilities. It is also reported that the newly created jobs made available to members of the local community were mainly low paid, part-time and deskilled ones. Although large-scale capital projects were helpful in changing the local image, it seems, they could not solve the social problems – unemployment, poverty, community deprivation and crime – from which the community had suffered.

As the psychic and cultural dimension of community regeneration has been valued, the social policy sector has ‘turned increasingly to the arts as a mechanism to trigger that individual and community development’ (Landry et al., 1996, p. ii). Participatory arts projects began to be viewed as essential components of successful social policy and their efficacy: they are expected to help people to transform themselves into active participants in economic and social activities. The social efficacy of arts participation has been promoted by a series of reports published by Comedia since the second half of the 1990s (Landry et al., 1996; Matarasso, 1997, 1998a, 1998b). For example, Matarasso (1997) suggests that public participation in arts activities brings about the following benefits for individuals and community:

New confidence and skills; new friendships and social opportunities; co-operation towards achievement; involvement in consultation and local democracy; affirmation and questioning of identity; strengthening commitment to place; intercultural links; positive risk-taking – these and the other social impacts which this study has identified are crucial means of fighting social exclusion. (p. 82)

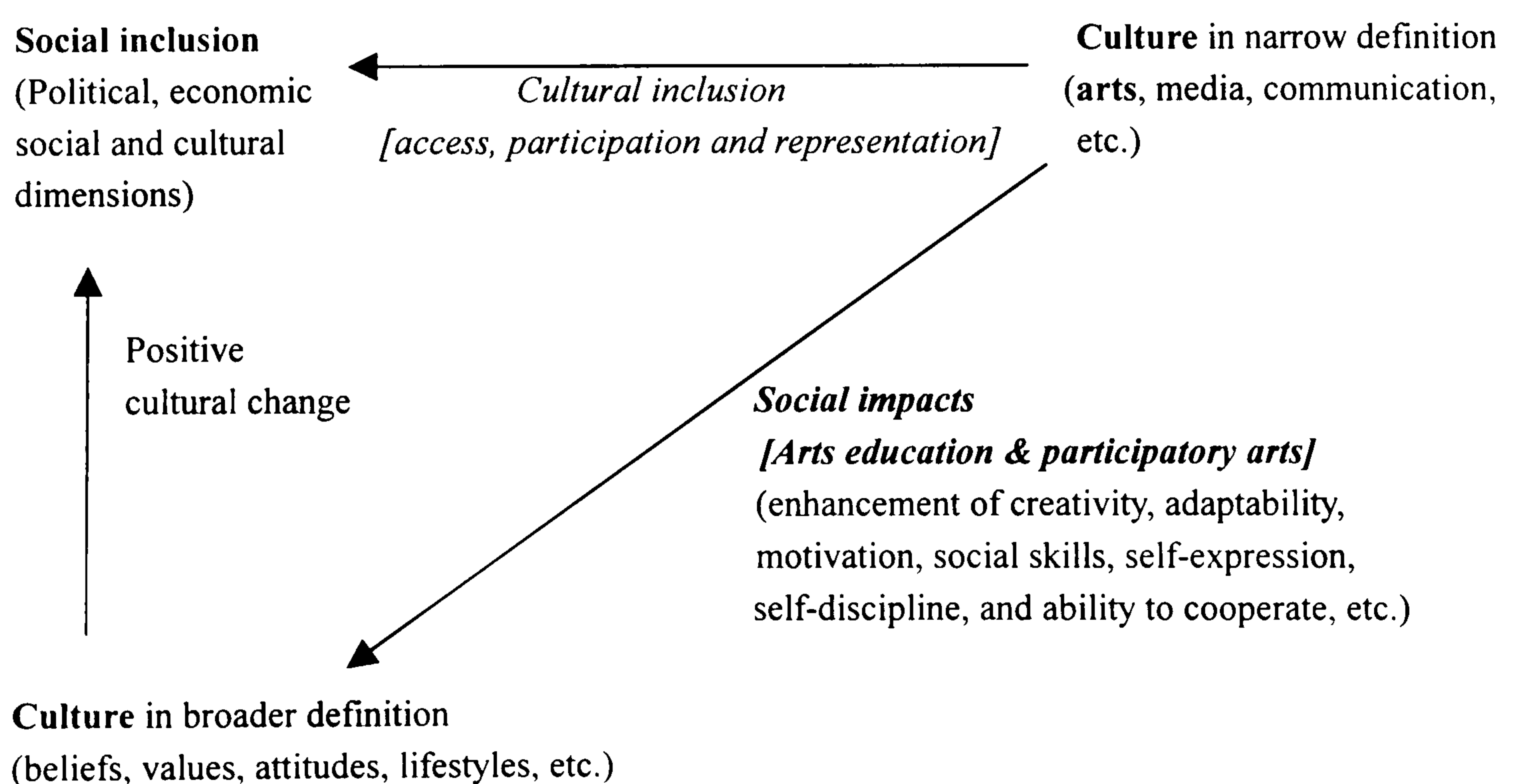
The social impacts of the arts are widely quoted in funding applications by arts organisations, cultural strategies of local authorities, the authorities’ community regeneration projects as well as by the publications of the Arts Council. The DCMS (1999b) also clearly supports the role of the arts in social inclusion and community

regeneration. In its policy report to the Social Exclusion Unit, the Department suggests that the arts can not only contribute towards ‘delivering key outcomes of lower long-term unemployment, less crime, better health and better qualification’ but also help to deliver ‘the individual pride, community spirit and capacity for responsibility that enable communities to run regeneration programmes themselves’ (p. 2). Advocates of the social impacts of the participatory arts suppose that, compared to the materialistic approach to community regeneration, participatory arts projects are not only effective but also cost very little. For example, at a recent annual report of the Arts Council, Lord Norman Warner, Chairman of the Youth Justice Board, insists,

Targeted prevention work with the most at risk youngsters in high crime estates cuts youth crime and disorder substantially, improves school attendance and raises the quality of life for those communities. It costs so little money to run [participatory arts] schemes like this, but their impact can be immense. (ACE, 2002)

The following figure illustrates the social roles of the arts in the era of ‘cultural turn’ in social policy.

Figure 5.1. Conceptual map of social impacts of the arts



5.3. New Role of Non-profit Arts Organisations

5.3.1. Arts organisations as vehicles for social change

Politicisation has brought about a great change in the relationship between the state and the arts, as well as the role of the arts in society. The arts have become both policy object and means and are asked to contribute *directly* towards the fulfilment of the wide range of social objectives. The new role of arts organisations can be defined as ‘creative educator’, ‘agents for social regeneration’ or ‘vehicles for social change’ (DCMS, 2000; NACCCE, 1999, p. 8; Sandell, 1998, p. 401). Non-profit theatres, museums, galleries and orchestras must show their qualification for public subsidy in terms which demonstrate their ability to promote social inclusion and tackle social issues as well as reach the widest possible audience. Government pressure on the subsidised cultural sector is well demonstrated in *Centres for Social Change: Museums, Galleries and Archives for All*, one of the DCMS’s specific policies for the cultural sector:

Our objective is wider than simply encouraging under-represented groups to come into museum, gallery or archive buildings. If museums, galleries and archives are to make a real difference, their goal should be to act as *vehicles for positive social change* [italics added]. (DCMS, 2000, p. 9)

Sandell (1998) suggests that museums can function as social agents through providing opportunities for cultural inclusion, through helping combat the causes and symptoms of cultural exclusion and also through exploiting their potential to communicate, educate and influence public opinion. The same tendency has been observed in theatre policy. As has already been mentioned, the latest theatre inquiry and national policy of the Arts Council demand that theatres should deliver DCMS objectives of ‘access’, ‘excellence’, ‘education’ and ‘cultural industry’ and respond to national policy issues such as social inclusion and lifelong learning (see Chapter 5.1.3).

What is seen as necessary for the fulfilment of social goals by arts organisations is their provision of ‘deliberate extra activities’, which are generally conducted in the form of participatory education. This makes educational provision the most visible way for the

organisation to show its legitimacy in terms of spending public money. In the past, educational programmes used to be perceived as aiming to improve participants' understanding of arts forms or to develop new audiences. Thus the issue of education tended to be seen as an internal issue within the arts sector or arts funding policy. However, for the current cultural and social policies, education is increasingly thought of as a 'link' which connects the artistic, the social, the political and the economic.

The West Yorkshire Playhouse's community participatory project (1999-2000) is a good example of non-profit theatres' recent commitment to the provision of extra programmes for the purpose of social inclusion (Downing, 2001). The project consisted of arts and sports programmes for after-school activity, drama workshops, youth groups, pensioners' groups, arts training for people who worked with children and parents, and celebratory community events. The main goal of the project was to help to change the culture of the community and individual participants – council house residents in an economically deprived area in Leeds – by fostering their self-confidence, creativity and communication skills, though the theatre was also keen on developing new audiences for theatrical arts. Comments made by individuals who were involved in organising the project refer to the project's outcome, which illustrates the extent to which the cultural character of the community has been positively changed:

There's communication between people. They have lots of conversation about plays....and then start talking about 'What we need to do on the estate is ...' and, 'Wouldn't it be a good idea if...' and that's different. (anonymously cited in Downing, 2001, p. 43)

People are beginning to take an interest in themselves. Talking about the future....We need to do things that enable people to think about their lives. (a community worker, cited in Downing, 2001, p. 36)

In the environments where the justification for arts subsidy relies upon the direct social impacts of the arts, the status of a non-profit theatre organisation differs from that of an arts establishment or an economic impact generator. As an arts establishment, the theatre may be highly valued simply for being what it is and is entitled to public support as matter of right. When it is part of the cultural industries, the theatre is more valued if

it is expected to produce economic benefits in return for public investments. In the new institutional environments, however, the value of the theatre organisation tends to be recognised when its social role as well as artistic or economic ones are referred to. Newly developed practices and norms in arts policy (e.g., official policy objectives, policy reviews, policy guidance, formalised funding agreements, monitoring and performance indicators) are used to encourage arts organisations to set social goals, to allocate appropriate resources and to make an effort to accomplish the goals. In the light of this, the threat of marketisation appears to function, to some degree, in a symbolic fashion. That is, the arts organisations are now no longer automatically entitled to public subsidy by being non-profit making, and they have to produce social benefits through explicit education and participatory programmes if they are to avoid being exposed to market mechanisms.

5.3.2. Convergence of alternative and policy-led approaches

The emphasis placed by the cultural and social policies on education and participatory arts activities harks back to the aims of community arts and TIE. Both policy-led and alternative approaches primarily intend to involve the public in arts participation for educational and social purposes rather than to develop an audience for existing arts products. Also, key vocabularies such as community, participation, empowerment and social change are shared. In fact, the distinction between these two approaches is already being blurred in cultural policy and community development discussion (Dwelly, 2001; Kay, 2000; Matarasso, 1998b; Mayo, 2000).

Ideologically, a fundamental difference exists between participatory activities of TIE and community arts and those developed in the policy framework since the 1990s. They have different views on the nature of the arts and society, and suggest different sets of aims for arts participation. As has been discussed earlier, TIE and community arts organisations originally emerged as bottom-up progressive movements and provided a 'critique' of the existing social and cultural order (see Chapter 3.2.2). Many of them were grounded upon the radical idea that capitalist society was divided by class interests and thus structural inequality was inevitable. For them, arts were necessarily a site of

conflict and contest between different classes or identity groups. Meanwhile, current policy initiatives for participatory arts are grounded upon an assumption that arts contribute towards an inclusive and cohesive society where all different groups of people can take part as active citizens.

However, it should also be noted that TIE and community arts have increasingly moved into the policy framework since the 1990s while experiencing difficulties due to their financial hardship and the decline of radical views. Some TIE companies have shifted away from political issue-based participation to curriculum-based work or performance-only pieces. Some have transformed themselves to fit into more specific contexts: e.g., Theatre in Health, Theatre for Empowerment, Theatre in Museum, Heritage Theatre and National Trust Theatre. Many began to look to new funding sources such as agencies involved with young people (e.g., the Health Education Council or the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children), the European Social Fund, the Training and Enterprise Councils, and grant-making trusts and foundations (Jackson, 1993b, p. 30; NCA, 1997). These funders support TIE activities in order to promote aspects of social policy, so TIE companies are accordingly required to address relevant policy issues. It seems that TIE can only survive by adapting themselves to the new environments where participatory arts are part of a wider social policy agenda, and also by establishing partnerships with organisations in this area.

Community arts also experienced changes in their orientation throughout the late 1980s and 1990s. Suffering from financial strains throughout this period, they had to make a choice whether to concentrate on artistic innovation and experiments so that they could attract subsidy from the arts funding bodies, or to serve as part of social service by local authorities in return for public money (Bilton, 1997, chap. 1). In the case of the latter, they have been increasingly utilised as programmes for public accessibility and community participation under the condition that they would contribute towards corporate objectives and policy priorities of the authorities. Nowadays the notion of community arts refers loosely to a range of arts activities that take place in a particular locality, emanate from a community of interest, have an emphasis on participation and

access, or seek to link up with a social agenda. Therefore, it tends to be interchangeable with the ‘arts in the community’, ‘arts plus social concern’ or simply ‘participatory arts’ (Community Development Foundation, 1992; Landry, 1996; Matarasso, 1997, 1998b). For example, *Vital Signs: Mapping Community Arts in Belfast* (Matarasso, 1998b) identifies community arts with a wide range of participatory arts activities in the community, which contribute to social inclusion, improvement of local image, community empowerment and capacity-building, health and well-being, economic regeneration as well as individual development.

It can be observed that the key words of TIE and community arts have lost their radical meanings. For the community arts movement, the term ‘community’, whether referring to a geographical or a social space, used to mean a site of struggle where tensions in society are most clearly exposed (Popple & Shaw, 1997, p. 195). But now with regards to the current policy framework, community is likely to refer to a social and political space where its members share values, norms, meanings, history and identity and where social problems can be tackled and resolved (Driver & Martell, 1998). The term ‘empowerment’ has also gone through a significant change in its meaning. It used to mean people discovering the power to confront structural problems in society and to take action to challenge the interests of the dominant classes (Webster, 1997). However, current cultural and social policies understand empowerment as having less to do with resistance. Instead, it means that the public actively take part in social, political, economic and cultural lives, through increasing their employability, social skills, confidence and the fulfilment of obligation. The meaning of ‘social change’ has also altered considerably. Whereas it used to refer to the structural change of society, it is now generally defined as social inclusion and social regeneration which can be achieved through the transformation of ‘the lives and hopes of those who are socially excluded or marginalised’ (Smith, 1999). Such an interpretation of social change appears to be shared by theatre organisations that are devoted to social inclusion.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ For instance, a participant in the Theatre 2001 Conference says, ‘the Housing Action Trust realised that although they had changed the housing, they also had to change the way people thought and behaved and they had to change attitudes. As a result of that they decided to take a risk and employ me as an arts

Meanwhile, radical community (arts) practitioners and theorists contend that community arts should struggle to create radical paradigms, which challenge the agenda of mainstream cultural policy and practices. According to them, in principle, community empowerment is the product of two sets of forces and interests: one is pressure from above that reflects the needs of the state or government policy; the other one is from below, which stems broadly from progressive aspiration (Braden & Mayo, 2000; Cooke & Shaw, 1996; Mayo, 2000; Orton, 1996; Popple & Shaw 1997). They insist that ‘the “new territory” for radical practice within community arts should continue to involve working to shift the balance by resisting the agendas set by dominant interests within society, albeit in a changing context’ (Orton, 1996, p. 184; also see Woodruff, 1989). It is suggested that radical community work should give more attention to the concerns of minority groups (e.g., black people, gays and lesbians, and the disabled). However, the embracing of cultural democracy in cultural and social policies under the notion of cultural inclusion seems to make it difficult for radical community arts practitioners to differentiate their work from participation projects initiated and supported by government and the arts funding system.

5.3.3. Amateur arts gaining legitimacy

Policy emphasis on the social impacts of participatory arts is likely to weaken the existing distinction between the high and popular arts and between professional and amateur (voluntary) arts organisations. For example, a group of community members participating in a rap music workshop may enjoy similar social benefits – e.g., building confidence, making new friends, feeling healthier, improving social skills and being more creative and adaptable – as those participating in an opera-making programme.

Officially, the distinction between professional and amateur arts in an arts funding context became blurred when the ‘Arts for Everyone’ scheme was open to both voluntary and community arts organisations. However, such a movement has not yet led

to the transfer of public funds from mainstream arts organisations to amateur arts and community organisations. For example in 1997, none of the RABs had a separate budget allocation for the participatory arts (Voluntary Arts Network [VAN], 1997). The position taken was that while most of their money was being spent on revenue or strategic clients – mainly professional arts organisations – this funding also had an impact on the issues of education, participation and community involvement as their clients were also involved in those activities. It is also the case that the Arts Council's competitive funds rarely go to the voluntary arts sector when a funding decision is made in art form departments.⁸⁰ Currently, the responsibility for subsidising amateur arts organisations is still by and large in the hands of local authorities.

The amateur arts sector welcomes new policy environments of the arts as it perceives policy emphasis on participation and social inclusion as a great opportunity to justify its role in society:

With Government agendas focusing on social change this is a good time to talk about what the voluntary arts can do for society. They are vital to the health, culture, social and economic development of the UK. Investing and encouraging participation in the voluntary arts offers a cost-effective way of bringing about social and community cohesion, a culture of life-long learning and a healthy nation with an enviable quality of life. (VAN, n.d., p. 1)

Advocates of the amateur arts promote the legitimacy of their activities using the *same* vocabulary and narrative that government and public funding bodies have recently developed. For instance, they ground their demands for more public funding upon amateur arts' contribution to social inclusion and community development. The sector's old argument, that the division into voluntary and professional arts sectors is problematic and people's participation in voluntary arts activities should be given fair recognition and financial support, cannot sound more persuasive. In terms of community participation, VAN insists, 'a string quartet cannot have more status than a

⁸⁰ According to VAN, only 3% of the Arts Council of England spending went to voluntary arts in 1997 (VAN, 1997).

jazz band and ballet cannot hold more importance than folk dance' (VAN, n.d., p. 1). The Arts Council recently increased its interest in amateur arts and this resulted in its support for the creation and maintenance of a national body of voluntary arts organisations (Voluntary Arts Network England) and the development of its regional bodies in England.⁸¹

Together with amateur arts, it seems that commercial cultural organisations have also begun to be recognised as legitimate 'creative partners' of public arts funding bodies and social agencies. Creative Partnerships, a DfES-/DCMS-sponsored large-scale national cultural education project, involves organisations in the areas of design, fashion, architecture and animation, in addition to traditional non-profit arts organisations such as orchestras, theatres and museums and galleries (Creative Partnership Norfolk, 2003). Although the proportion of commercial organisations in this project is low, it seems that the project has opened up future possibilities of commercial cultural organisations in terms of involvement in creative education and social inclusion programmes.

Summary

In this chapter, I have argued that since the 1990s public arts subsidy and management have increasingly been organised according to the policy logic, and defined this phenomenon as 'politicisation' of the arts. This period has seen the emergence of a policy framework for the arts – including policies for education and the theatre – and an increase in the decision-making powers of government. Managerial practices that were introduced as part of the marketisation policy have been used to intensify government control over the actors in the arts sector.

While social objectives have become integrated into cultural policy, culture (in both its

⁸¹ Interestingly, as amateur arts activities are more recognised in the arts funding framework, the organisational structure of VAN becomes similar to the arts funding system (as seen in the creation of its regional offices which are located in geographical areas in the same way as those of regional offices of the Arts Council).

broad and narrow senses) has been recognised as a key issue in the domain of social policy. It has been suggested that such a movement should be understood in the wider context of political, economic and social changes in Britain. The social exclusion discourse provides a conceptual framework within which one explains why government takes the cultural approach so seriously. Cultural inclusion, a necessary part of social inclusion, has been put high on the public policy agenda. Simultaneously, creative education and arts participation, as an effective means to positively change people's way of life, has begun to be regarded as an essential element of community regeneration, social cohesion and economic development.

In these new environments, non-profit theatre organisations are required to 'reinvent' themselves as generators of a wide range of social impacts, and tend to fulfil their new role by providing explicit education – participation, community and outreach – programmes. Another finding of this chapter is that TIE and the community arts have been included in the policy framework, and thus there no longer exists an obvious distinction between an alternative approach to education and participation and its policy-led counterpart. Similarly, distinctions between professional and amateur arts and between non-profit and commercial arts began to be blurred.

Unlike marketisation, there are few academic analyses that interpret the politicisation as a macro-level institutional change in the arts sector. There exist only some sporadic comments that show worries about the possible consequence of the current mode of cultural policy (e.g., Everitt, 2001; Tusa, 1999). They suggest that state intervention and the social use of the arts will transform arts organisations into tools of government which are deprived of their artistic autonomy and subject to specific political goals. Often it is assumed that the emphasis on education and participation may cause artistic dilution and diversion of resources to non-artistic activities. As the organisations are pressured to give more commitment to work for young people and socially excluded groups, there is also an argument that the interests and needs of the traditional theatre audience may be ignored. Unlike the groups targeted by educational programmes, the existing audience members are likely to share the artistic visions of the organisations

and be sympathetic towards arts-centred beliefs and practices. Therefore, it may be anticipated that the expansion of educational work will lead to more dependence of arts organisations on public subsidy, which in turn may impose more social responsibilities upon the organisations.

Some critics argue that the escalating emphasis on the social impacts of the arts will lead to a weakening of the legitimacy of cultural policy as a distinctive policy area and the unique roles of the arts in society (e.g., Belfiore, 2002; Everitt, 2001). For example, it is suggested that, if the instrumental view on the arts is taken to its extreme conclusion, arts provision will be absorbed within existing social policies and there will be no point in having a distinct cultural policy at all.

In the following chapter, I will explore how non-profit theatre organisations understand their new institutional environments and how they react to them, by investigating their conduct of education programmes. By doing so, I will also attempt to analyse the actual process of politicisation at a local level.

Chapter Six

Educational Work: A Case Study of Four Theatres

So...we've gone through the age of sponsorship, we've gone through the age of marketing. We are now into the age of education. (Quine, 2003)

Introduction

This chapter analyses the development of education programmes and their management in non-profit theatres. By doing so, the chapter also attempts to theorise how the theatres perceive recent institutional change – i.e., politicisation – and how they respond to it. The findings of the case study will not only provide descriptive information on educational work in the theatres but also invoke further discussion on the altering relationship between the state and the non-profit arts in general and the changing role of the non-profit theatre in society.

Four theatres in the Eastern region are examined as a case study: the Cambridge Arts Theatre; the Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds; the Mercury Theatre, Colchester; and the Theatre Royal, Norwich. The theatres were selected because they represented the variety in theatre buildings in a particular region, in terms of size and function. They include a large-scale presenting theatre, a medium-scale presenting theatre, a medium-scale producing theatre and a small hybrid (both producing and presenting) theatre. In terms of income structure, the Theatre Royal, Norwich is the most dependent on earned income while the Mercury Theatre is the least commercial, and the Cambridge Arts Theatre and the Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds are in-between. The following table summarises the four theatres.

Table 6.1. Theatres in the case study

Theatres	Cambridge Arts Theatre	Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds	Mercury Theatre, Colchester	Theatre Royal, Norwich
Established	1936	1819 1965 reopened	1972	1757 1967 reopened
Type	Receiving	Receiving & Producing	Producing	Receiving
Size	Medium scale (671 seats)	Small scale (352 seats)	Medium scale (499 seats)	Large scale (1,318 seats)
Annual audience (approximately)	148,000	72,000	107,000	364,000
Public subsidy (% of total income)	Less than 20%	25-30%	30-40%	4%

The principal method of data collection for the case study has been interview, and in total, twenty-four people have been interviewed. They include staff members of the theatres, the arts officers of the related local authorities, as well as relevant individuals in Eastern England Arts [EEA]⁸² and Eastern Touring Agency [ETA]⁸³ (see Appendix 1).⁸⁴ Most interviews took place at the theatres or offices of the funding bodies; some were undertaken through email and on the telephone. In total twenty-two interviews were tape-recorded and then transcribed. All interviews were carried out according to the semi-constructed questionnaires, for approximately one to one and a half hours each. Interview questions are mainly concerned with the following: (a) the theatres' history of education provision; (b) the reasons why the theatres have increasingly become involved with education work during the 1990s; (c) definition and interpretation of

⁸² Eastern England Arts [EEA] is the Arts Council England's regional office for the Eastern region. It was previously Eastern Arts Association [EAA] and then Eastern Arts Board [EAB].

⁸³ Eastern Touring Agency [ETA] was a publicly funded touring and arts marketing agency in the Eastern region. It had a change in its identity and transformed itself into Momentum Arts, which is involved primarily with diversity and social inclusion work, in Summer 2003. The transformation of ETA seems to be another example that shows non-profit arts organisations' adaptation to the changing institutional environments, where social functions of the arts are highlighted. In this thesis, I use the name ETA because the organisation remained so during my research.

⁸⁴ I will give the formal title of interviewees when I cite them. When I indicate people who are in charge of the top management of the theatres, education work or marketing anonymously, individually, or collectively, more general terms such as 'head(s)', 'education officer(s)' and 'marketing officer(s)' will be used.

education; (d) types of educational activities; (e) how education is managed; (f) education's relationship with artistic planning and marketing; and (g) the relationship between the theatres and their public funders (see Appendix 2).

Together with interviews, three educational programmes were observed: a pre-performance talk at the Cambridge Arts Theatre and the Theatre Royal of Bury St. Edmunds's drama club activities for young children and for school children in a village hall. I have also consulted, where available, written materials produced by the theatres (e.g., programmes, annual reports, economic impact reports, education policy documents and project reports) and those produced by their public funders (e.g., cultural strategies, cultural/arts policies, performance indicators, arts funding agreements and economic impact reports) as well as related newspaper cuttings. For some of these materials, I visited local libraries and official record offices in Cambridge, Bury St. Edmunds, Colchester, Chelmsford and Norwich.

The findings of this case study can be generalised through 'analytic generalisation' (Yin, 1992, p. 10). Although a case study does not represent a sample or enumerate frequencies (statistical generalisation), it, like an experiment, expands and generalises theories (analytic generalisation).⁸⁵ Based on the findings, a higher level of theorisation will also be possible (Flyvbjerg, 2001, chap. 6; Ragin, 1992). For instance, the study examines four theatres in the Eastern region, but the findings may be applied to organisations in the non-profit theatre sector or British non-profit arts sector in general.

This chapter consists of five sections. The first section briefly introduces the theatres under examination. Then the driving forces behind the theatres' recent expansion of education programmes are investigated in the second section. The third section describes the definitions and focus of the educational work. The fourth section demonstrates how the theatres manage education, particularly the financing, planning, implementation and evaluation. In the fifth section, the theatres' relationship with their

⁸⁵ According to Yin (1992, p. 10), a case study is generalisable to theoretical positions and not to populations or universes.

public funding bodies is examined.

6.1. Four Theatres

The four theatres in the case study have different histories. The theatres in Norwich and Bury St. Edmunds illustrate the typical history of British regional touring theatres. Their existence can be traced back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when they were originally created as commercial venues for popular entertainments. Both used to be included in the circuit of the Norwich Company of Comedians, which was a stock company in this region.⁸⁶ After having suffered from a lack of audience and financial difficulties, they were transformed into non-profit entities in the mid-twentieth century. Meanwhile the Cambridge Arts Theatre and the Mercury Theatre have relatively short histories. They were established in the 1930s and 1970s respectively, and have operated as non-profit regional theatres almost from their inception.

All of the theatres have experienced continuous financial difficulties throughout the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, and two of them suffered from fire several years ago. However, they currently claim a successful recovery from their past decline (e.g., an increase in their turnover or growth of audience) under new management, owing either to more business-oriented management (as in the Cambridge Arts Theatre and the Theatre Royal, Norwich) or to an improvement in product quality (as in the Theatre Royal, Bury St Edmunds and the Mercury Theatre). Nonetheless, it is obvious that, with the exception of the Theatre Royal, Norwich, the current recovery is attributed to increased public funding including Lottery grants.

⁸⁶ The Norwich Company of Comedians, from the early eighteenth until the middle nineteenth century, provided the towns of England and Scotland with regular seasons of theatre. The Company's touring circuit included East Anglia. Each year it visited the same places (Norwich, Ipswich, Beccles, Bury St. Edmunds, Colchester) at roughly the same time, if possible to coincide with a public event or holiday, and staged a series of plays, sketches, comic songs and broad entertainment (Mackintosh, 1979, chap. 6).

These theatres experienced similar lifecycles during the past three decades, and all began to rapidly expand their education programmes in the second half of the 1990s. Until the 1980s their educational activities had mostly been concerned with students and existing audience members. However, the next decade saw the target for activities widened to include children of pre-school age, elderly, disabled and socially excluded people. Currently, all four theatres have full-time educational staff: the Mercury Theatre has three full-time posts for education; theatres in Cambridge and Bury St. Edmunds have two full-time posts each; and the Theatre Royal, Norwich has one full-time post (two part-time officers). All the theatres have separate education departments except the Theatre Royal, Norwich.

6.1.1. Cambridge Arts Theatre

The theatre is a presenting venue, which was set up in 1936 by the economist John Maynard Keynes, the first chairman of the Arts Council, in order to provide a home for a wide range of performing arts in the City of Cambridge. In 1938, control of the theatre was transferred to a charitable trust for the purpose of avoiding Entertainments Tax and obtaining income tax relief. The theatre audience had declined since the 1950s, and the theatre's trust established an endowment fund in the 1960s through a public appeal in order to underpin the increasingly inevitable losses by theatre management.

A large-scale appeal was launched and carried on throughout the 1980s, which in 1993 saw the beginning of a fundraising campaign for the renovation of the theatre building. Partly supported by a capital grant from the National Lottery, the theatre was renovated between 1993 and 1996. However, a financial crisis after the refurbishment resulted in a major reorganisation of the theatre's trust. Some assets were sold and the board resigned. A new governing body was set up under a new chairman, and in 1998 a new General Manager (now Executive Director) was appointed, who had a strong business background. Together with the income from assets sales, a more commercial approach to the planning and management of the theatre helped it recover from its financial difficulties. The theatre's current public funders are EEA, Cambridge City Council and South Cambridgeshire District Council.

This theatre undertook virtually no educational work until the early 1960s when it introduced a children's theatre club, which held theatrical sessions on Sundays. During the 1960s and 1970s, there were children's theatre groups as well as a few lectures and demonstrations for school children. Throughout the period from the early 1980s to the early 1990s, the theatre provided only a few workshops for students and a couple of pre-/post-show talks for adult members of the audience. In mid-1990s, sign language interpretation gradually increased, and drama courses for adults, newsletters for schools and special events for disabled young people were introduced. Since a full-time post of education officer was set up in 1997, the theatre's education work has rapidly expanded.

6.1.2. Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds

This theatre was built in 1819 as part of the circuit of the Norwich Company of Comedians in Bury St. Edmunds, a small market town in Suffolk. Following the disbanding of the Company in 1843, the theatre suffered economic difficulties and theatrical gloom for more than half a century. It closed and reopened several times, and finally came to be used as a barrel store by a local brewery.⁸⁷ It remained as such until 1965, when a group of local people raised over £37,000 to restore the theatre, and it reopened as a non-profit organisation. Since then, the theatre has functioned as a regional presenting theatre. As the third oldest working theatre in the country, the building was vested in the National Trust in 1975 on a 999-year lease.

The 1990s saw the theatre suffer from financial difficulties and the launch of a large-scale fundraising scheme. A Lottery Feasibility grant was given for its refurbishment after a fire in 1998. In the same year, the theatre also experienced a significant change: it was transformed from a pure receiving venue to a hybrid organisation, which both receives and produces theatrical performances.⁸⁸ The Regional Arts Lottery Programme

⁸⁷ The theatre was closed in 1903 but reopened in 1906 when alterations were made. However, it closed again in 1925 in the face of overwhelming competition from two new cinemas. The local brewery, Greene King, who had purchased the theatre in 1920, had struggled to keep it in operation. However, this attempt failed and the building was used as a barrel store until 1965.

⁸⁸ For in-house productions, the theatre hires three to four actors on a project base.

[RALP] provided financial support for production and tours (both national and small-scale tours) of in-house work for the initial three years. To increase its own productions and tours, the theatre is planning to apply for a RALP grant for another three years. The theatre currently receives public funding from several sources, including the Arts Council, EEA, Suffolk County Council and St Edmundsbury Borough Council. The latter three are considering a so-called ‘harmonising scheme’ under which they will cooperate and produce only one funding agreement for the theatre.

The theatre used to have a little educational work – occasional programmes for children – before the 1990s. Once a part-time education officer was appointed in the early 1990s, the theatre’s commitment to education began to grow. However, only since the mid-1990s has it formulated a formal policy for children’s theatre and also expanded educational work to include programmes for students, young children and elderly people, and youth theatre.

6.1.3. Mercury Theatre, Colchester

The Mercury Theatre opened in 1972 as the new home of the Colchester Repertory Company, which had been in existence since 1937. The Arts Council and Colchester Borough Council contributed a significant sum of grants for the establishment of the theatre and remained main funders until it was devolved from the Council into then EEA in 1984. The theatre experienced financial difficulties and launched several fundraising initiatives throughout the 1980s and 1990s. It was closed for several months due to a fire in 1996 and was repaired with support from a Lottery capital grant. It came to the verge of bankruptcy in 1998 as a result of running up a huge accumulated deficit. Fortunately, it received a Lottery Recovery Programme grant in 1999 with which it resolved the deficit and expanded education and outreach programmes. In the same year, the theatre decided to set up an in-house company, the Mercury Theatre Company,⁸⁹ in order to boost audience numbers by offering quality products. In 2001, the theatre secured £1 million from EEA and announced it would use the grant to develop community and education work as well as core activities. The theatre’s main funders are

⁸⁹ Before that time, the theatre used to hire actors and actresses on a seasonal basis.

EEA, Colchester Borough Council and Essex County Council, who recently began to use a harmonising scheme to support the theatre.

The theatre has a relatively wide experience in education work. From its inception, it used to be engaged in youth theatres and TIE activities, and occasionally provided educational programmes such as drama clubs and playwright workshops for young people. In the early 1990s, the theatre introduced post-performance talk sessions. It appointed an Associate Director to be in charge of education and community work at the end of 1994. Upon his arrival, the theatre began to organise daytime activities for toddlers, young children and elderly people, and to plan to bring its educational activities into the local community.

6.1.4. Theatre Royal, Norwich

The theatre was established in 1757 as a venue for a variety of public entertainments. Until the mid-nineteenth century, the Norwich Company of Comedians presented their programmes here. After the disbandment of the Company, the theatre depended upon visiting companies who brought both serious and popular performances. In the first half of the twentieth century, the theatre experienced dramatic changes: its ownership changed several times, and consequently it became a hippodrome, a receiving house, a repertory theatre and finally a cinema in the 1950s. In 1967, Norwich City Council purchased the theatre building and transformed it into a civic theatre. Soon afterwards, a non-profit trust was formed and began to manage the theatre under the condition that the building would be leased free of charge and the council would provide a subsidy. A studio theatre was attached, but has been run independently by its own management.

Through a combination of size, location and aggressive marketing, the theatre was able to produce operating surpluses for several years during the 1970s, but it soon had financial difficulties and closed for a period in the early 1990s. The theatre reopened in 1992 under the management of the current Chief Executive, and this was followed by a two and a half-year period of modernisation and refurbishment. The Chief Executive, who had worked in the West End as a producer, has emphasised commercial approaches

and the theatre actually became nearly self-financing. Currently, 96% of its income comes from box office, catering and grants from trusts/foundations, and only a small amount of money is given by local authorities.

Although the attached studio theatre has provided drama and acting classes for the public since its opening, the main theatre itself was hardly involved in any educational activity until the early 1990s, when it began to facilitate occasional workshops by visiting companies. A full-time post of an Education and Training Manager was set up in 1996, which was taken up by a member of the marketing staff. The theatre initiated large-scale school projects in 1997, when it began to actively engage in educational provision.

6.2. Driving Forces behind the Recent Development of Education

6.2.1. Political pressures

All the interviewees from the theatres explain why they have begun or expanded educational work, by primarily referring to ‘a great deal of political pressures’ from central government and public funding bodies at local level. They clearly recognise that there has been a ‘big change’ in the environments. Surprisingly, none of the interviewees mention ‘market economy’, ‘value for money’ or ‘funding cuts’ as the most important environmental factors, which questions those academics who conceptualise recent institutional change within a marketisation framework. What they emphasise is that the assumption about the role of arts organisations has significantly changed, and theatres have to produce direct benefits to their communities, and even play the role of social engineers:

Government started this process by saying ‘freedom of choice’. Although the process was driven by money, it is now driven by social policy objectives. It’s a big change. (Marketing and Publicity Director, Theatre Royal, Norwich)

It is true that over the years theatres are becoming the instrument of social engineering. It's the way society is moving. (Chief Executive, Theatre Royal, Norwich)

As the social roles of the arts have been highlighted and education reflects the government priority, the theatres have felt obliged to do educational work in order to justify their use of public money. The Chief Executive of the Theatre Royal, Norwich observes that the pressures from funding bodies are felt by *all* theatres in the sector regardless of actual size of public funding. Staff at the four theatres suggest that the adoption of new practices by EAA and local authorities – in particular, the development of formal arts policies or cultural strategies and the use of formalised funding agreements – has also forced them to be more committed to education.

The recent decade saw EAA and local authorities formulate formal policies for the arts and clarify their funding objectives, which included education, participation and community involvement. For example, while EEA's aim in 1980 only vaguely called for 'support for the artists, arts and audience', its objectives in 1999 focused on the issue of education (lifelong learning) as well as access, excellence and innovation and cultural economy (EAA, 1980; EAB, 1999). The recent tendency for local authorities to adopt corporate objectives and their demands for grant recipients to fulfil the objectives has brought out the importance of education. For instance, Essex County Council's corporate objectives include providing 'opportunities for lifelong learning and creative leisure'. The authorities' cultural strategies and arts policies also pay attention to issues around education:

To create the conditions in which artists, audiences and *participants* [italics added] will thrive; to create opportunities for residents to experience a broad range of high quality arts provision...to advocate the values of the arts, for their own sake and also *for the contribution they make to the quality of social, environmental, educational and economic life* [italics added]... (from South Cambridgeshire District Council's arts objectives)

To create support and widen access to and *participation in the arts* [italics added]... (from Colchester Borough Council's arts policy objectives)

To maximise the contribution of arts and sports to the well-being of Essex...to enrich the range and diversity of arts and sports activities across Essex, improving opportunities for all especially *young people* [italics added]. (from Essex County Council's cultural service objectives).

To actively promote *inclusion* [italics added] and access to and through the arts for all...to promote and support *lifelong learning* [italics added] in the arts; to ensure that service to the arts meets the needs of local communities... (from Norfolk County Council's arts policy objectives)

To support the efforts of arts organisations to integrate *education work* [italics added] within their artistic programmes, and educational institutions to incorporate arts learning into the national curriculum. (from Norwich City's arts policy)

Local authorities also ask the theatres to make efforts to reach their 'priority group'⁹⁰ such as young people, low-income groups, equality groups and people from particular geographical areas (e.g., Cambridge City Council and Essex County Council). In Essex, the local arts organisations had a conference in 1998 and reached a consensus around a series of objectives for the arts among which were 'developing people', 'developing community' and 'developing access'. These objectives request both local authorities and arts organisations to place heavy weight on educational, outreach and participatory activities (Essex County Council, 2001, pp. 9-11).

All the interviewees share the view that a formalised funding relationship has played an important part in forcing the theatres to pay more attention to education. EEA and four authorities out of six that I contacted use formal funding agreements. In the agreements, the subsidy recipients should clarify what they would do in order to help deliver the objectives of the funders. As the drama officer of EEA observes, the use of such a formal agreement has helped education to become an essential requirement for public funding. The Marketing Manager of the Cambridge Arts Theatre acknowledges,

in the last two or three years, the funders changed their attitude towards the theatre and now they largely request the theatre to do education programmes. There used to be companies that

⁹⁰ Minority groups in terms of gender, age, race and disability.

had no interest in education several years ago: they did not want to do signed performances and did not want anything that would interfere with the integrity of the performance. However, nowadays everybody agrees on the provision of education programmes.

The Director of the Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds, points out that education is one of the best ways of proving that his organisation is ‘accountable’ for the public money it receives. However, he is critical of increasing political pressures on arts organisations:

We are not trying to be politicians, as we are not trying to be educationalists. But we do it because the money is public money. Education work is one of the ways they [funding bodies] can see how public money is properly used.

Such an attitude is shared by the Chief Executive of the Theatre Royal, Norwich: ‘It is only a play. Theatre is only a theatre. I think it’s real a danger that people see themselves as social engineers.’ Meanwhile, education and marketing staff at the theatres are more generous towards the new roles of the theatre:

cultural diversity...social inclusion...we are already doing them all the time. (Marketing Manager, Cambridge Arts Theatre)

We are not social engineers or social workers. However, we’ve seen the result in last couple of years of our own education projects which had addressed social inclusion. We’ve seen that the individual rewarding of those people is greater. (Marketing and Publicity Director, Theatre Royal, Norwich).

Besides the political pressures, the expansion of education is clearly attributable to the availability of funding sources. Public money, especially Lottery grants, was given to three theatres and this allowed them to employ education staff and set up separate departments. In the Cambridge Arts Theatre, the post of full-time education officer was created with a Lottery grant. The Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds, could employ a full-time education officer and explore the role of education with the help of the Arts Council’s three year Venue Development Fund and ERDI grant. The Mercury Theatre, too, could extend its education programmes with a Lottery grant. In the case of the Theatre Royal, Norwich, subsidy from the Paul Hamlyn Foundation played an

important role in setting up large-scale school project by covering all the costs for the first three years.

6.2.2. Internal need for audience development

Interestingly, however, most of the theatre staff strongly argue that their theatres have become involved with education not because of funding but because of their ‘genuine’ concern about the issue of accessibility and the development of future audiences. External pressures from public funding bodies are suggested as rather ‘general’ trends in the sector: it was ‘other theatres’ or the ‘non-profit arts sector in general’ that they tended to point to when mentioning funding requirements and opportunities as principal driving forces behind the growth in education. The theatre staff are critical of current funding environments where every theatre and theatre company is expected to be involved in ‘routine’ educational work. According to them, some theatre organisations provide education solely because others do or education makes them look ‘appropriate’ (‘it is a feel-good-factor’) (Head of Education, Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds).

For many theatre staff, an important role of education seems to be cultivating future audiences in the long term. They believe that, by enhancing people’s knowledge of theatrical art forms such as opera, drama and dance, education programmes can remove the barriers that have prevented the people from enjoying the theatre: ‘education in theatre makes theatre more accessible through introducing great Western arts’ (former Education and Training Manager, Theatre Royal, Norwich). Therefore, the primary targets of education tend to be people who otherwise would not visit the theatres (e.g., the young, disabled, aged and low-income groups).

In the short term, education is regarded as increasing the competitiveness of the theatre when it is up against other entertainments and recreational activities such as going to cinemas and playing computer games. Theatre staff think that educational provision helps the theatre to appeal to families and school groups, who tend to justify their spending though taking part in something educational. Participatory activities related to modern or popular forms of arts are used to attract young people to the theatre: for

example, Cambridge Arts Theatre has used a modern dance company's education programmes to encourage visits by young people. In this case, there is a direct relationship between educational programmes and the main show.

The tendency to view education as a means of securing future audiences has been observed in all theatres, albeit to a different degree. The Mercury Theatre and the Theatre Royal, Bury St Edmunds, prioritise the personal development of participants over the need for audience development. Meanwhile, the Theatre Royal, Norwich, tends to see education as 'a branch of marketing' both in the short- and long-terms. The theatre's Chief Executive recognises that education is important in selling tickets to school groups, which account for approximately 10% of income in financial terms and also contribute close to 20% of the audience. This is the reason why the theatre has not created a separate education department but instead places education staff in the marketing department:

The theatre has a particular self-interest in doing education programmes. In commercial terms, an education programme is classified as new audience development. It is a way of encouraging and capturing new audiences. Therefore, the theatre places education staff in the marketing department. If you have a separate education department, there would not necessarily be the connection between what they do and what happens on the stage. (Chief Executive, Theatre Royal, Norwich)

6.3. Definitions and Focus of Educational Work

6.3.1. Many definitions and interpretations

While the interviewees suggest political pressures and internal needs to develop the audience as the principal driving forces behind the rapid expansion of educational work, their definitions and interpretations of education are still very broad and ambiguous, and there exist differences even among the staff from the same theatre. Their understanding of education ranges from 'education as an intrinsic nature of theatrical arts' to 'education as explicit programmes'. Also it embraces 'education about the arts' as well

as ‘education (empowerment, social inclusion, discovery, communication and self-discipline) through the arts’. The following are the theatre staff’s definitions and interpretations of education:

Education is the best way to get the younger generation. (Executive Director, Cambridge Arts Theatre)

Theatre is an educational resource for the community. The theatre is education. (Education and Community Manager, Cambridge Arts Theatre)

Education is more about community....Education changes the perception of theatre itself. (Marketing Manager, Cambridge Arts Theatre)

Education is the demystification of theatre....For us, it is about access, opening up the art form....We do not have to deliver the National Curriculum. (Director, Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds)

By its nature, theatre is educational. Education is an absolute part of the whole ethos of theatre. Theatre is educational because actors, directors and school children learn as well. (Head of Education, Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds)

It helps give youngsters self-confidence, self-discipline and the ability to express themselves articulately. It really is empowering. (Chief Executive, Mercury Theatre)⁹¹

Education makes people feel better, confident and proud. (Associate Director, Mercury Theatre)

Education is creating a different kind of people. (Education Officer, Mercury Theatre)

It is not teaching but sharing experience. (Education Officer, Mercury Theatre)

We have skills to offer...the skills actors have...skills about communication....Education helps people gain these skills. Also we do education because of audience development reasons. (Press and Marketing Assistant, Mercury Theatre)

It is developing new audiences. (Chief Executive, Theatre Royal, Norwich)

Self-development...communication skills....education makes them a more employable...more desirable person. (Marketing and Publicity Director, Theatre Royal, Norwich)

It is experiencing and discovering, and making a connection with somebody else....It is removing barriers. (Former Education and Training Manager, Theatre Royal, Norwich)

The definitions and interpretations of education which are given by individuals from the local authorities, EEA and ETA are also similarly broad:

Theatres do education because of marketing...[and education is also about] engaging young people into arts activities. (Drama Officer, EEA)

It is about young people. (Advisory Teacher for English and Drama, Suffolk County Council)

⁹¹ Interview with the East Anglian Daily Times (2 February 2001).

Education is about outreach...access...and community....It means the increase in the ownership of the local community....It raises the profile of Colchester. (Cultural Services Manager, Colchester Borough Council)

Education is activities which engage young people in understanding plays and theatrical products...[and]...activities which enable young people to explore and express their ideas about themselves and their world through drama-based activities. (Arts in Education Coordinator, Essex County Council)

It has many definitions...for example, statutory education, lifelong education, early years, out-of-school education. (Performing Arts Development Manager, Essex County Council)

Education is about lifelong learning...and engaging people... (Arts Officer, Norfolk County Council)

Education is firstly teaching people. In the case of quite sophisticated art forms like opera or orchestra, teaching social context and background of the works is helpful. Secondly, education means actual participation of people in the arts. (Marketing Development Manager, ETA)

The notions of ‘community’ and ‘participation’ frequently accompany education. For example, the Cambridge Arts Theatre names its senior education officer the ‘Education and Community Manager’, and educational activities ‘Education and Participation’. The Mercury Theatre calls its educational activities ‘Education and Community Programmes’. As to the blurring between education and community development, Downing, Ashworth and Stott (2002, p. 90) have argued that although any attempt to narrow the definition of education may risk excluding valuable work, some efforts are needed to distinguish activities which are directly educational from those which are not. Otherwise, education work may be so broad and bland as to be meaningless. However, the theatre staff suggest that the variety in definitions and interpretations of education is very advantageous to them, particularly with regards to securing funding and justifying their contribution to the fulfilment of a wide range of policy objectives.

6.3.2. Focus and range of education

According to Owens (1998, p. 7), education is ‘the conventional catch-all term for activities which do not constitute what is commonly understood as the core artistic programmes’ of the theatre. However, the educational work in the four theatres actually consists of a *certain* range of rather familiar types of activities in spite of the ambiguity of definition and interpretation: performance-based workshops, curriculum-based

workshops, drama clubs, classes/courses, programmes for specific groups, pre-/post-performance talks, residencies, teachers' workshops, courses, theatre tours, secondments for students and so on. Many of these activities have developed in the subsidised theatre sector or arts sector in general since the 1960s, often under the influence of TIE and community arts activities (Elsom, 1971, chap. 7; also see 3.2.2 and 3.2.3. in Chapter Three). The following table summarises the educational work of the four theatres.

Table 6.2. Educational work of the four theatres (excluding children's shows)

Education activities	Cambridge Arts Theatre	Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds	Mercury Theatre, Colchester	Theatre Royal, Norwich
Workshops in school or theatre (performance-related)	Yes*	Yes**	Yes	Yes*
Workshops in school or theatre (curriculum-related)	Yes	Yes		Yes
Residencies			Yes	Yes*
Talks (pre-/post-performance)	Yes*	Yes**	Yes	
Drama clubs for children		Yes	Yes	
Programmes for the elderly	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes*
Programmes for the disabled	Yes		Yes	
Programmes for toddlers			Yes	
Programmes for homeless, offenders, illiterate, etc.			Yes	
Youth theatres		Yes	Yes	
Teacher's workshops	Yes			Yes
Courses (drama, acting, writing, etc.)	Yes			Yes
Theatre tours	Yes	Yes		Yes
Staff training & secondment	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

*: These programmes are organised and led by visiting companies.

** : Some of these programmes are organised and led by the theatres' education staff.

The boundary of 'education' is slightly different depending on the theatre. For the Cambridge Arts Theatre and the Theatre Royal, Norwich, educational work embraces ticket discounts for students, the disabled, the unemployed and the elderly. In the Cambridge Arts Theatre, education also includes the issue of accessibility for disabled people: e.g., signed performances, audio-described performances, accessibility for wheelchair users and touch tours.

It appears that the Mercury Theatre and the Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds, which are more dependent on public money, are keener on programmes for the wider community other than curriculum-based and performance-based workshops. The Mercury Theatre recently increased their programmes for people from disadvantaged sections of community. For example, it took part in drama projects for young offenders from the Mid-Essex area (2000). The aim of the project was to help the young offenders to break a vicious cycle of crime through involving them in drama presentations based on their own experiences and encouraging them to seek ways back into society. This theatre was also involved in the 'Early Years' arts education project (2002), which was initiated by Essex County Council in order to provide opportunities for the development of imagination, creative thinking and self-esteem for young children, particularly boys. Theatre Royal, Norwich, the most commercially oriented theatre, tends to mainly concern itself with performance-based workshops. The Chief Executive of the theatre says that it is very difficult to imagine education programmes that are not linked to what happens on the stage because they approach education in terms of audience development.

Unlike performances on the stage, which are normally consumed individually (except in the case of school groups), many education programmes are designed to approach their target groups *collectively*. Only pre-/post-performance talks, ticket discounts for the concessionary groups and disability facilities are provided individually. Performance-/curriculum-based workshops, residencies and programmes for the community are provided for 'groups' of people. Some of them are existing groups (e.g., school classes)

or newly formed groups specifically for education programmes (e.g., groups of young offenders or homeless people). Some are open to voluntary participation by particular categories of people such as the disabled, the elderly, mothers and toddlers or children. It has been also observed that the theatres tend to 'categorise' people into the target groups for their programmes, according to the contexts of cultural and social policies (e.g., 'young people' and 'the disabled'). In particular, the notion of 'social exclusion' has given the theatres a new conceptual framework, with which they understand the people (e.g., young offenders and expelled students as well as other categories of under-privileged people) they aim to involve.

However, internal factors of individual organisations, such as their intentions and concerns, also influence which groups of people the theatres choose to target for their education work. For instance, all theatres are keen on education provision for young people, but there is a difference in their interpretation of 'young people'. The Cambridge Arts Theatre targets school children for curriculum-related workshops and youngsters between 13 and 18 for its summer school. The Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds, focuses on 4 to 11-year-old children because they are 'young enough' to accept new experiences and develop new tastes. The case of the Theatre Royal, Norwich, is slightly different. Its main education programme, the Norfolk School Projects, mostly consists of opera-making activities aimed at children at Key Stage 2 (age 9-11) only. The theatre believes that this age group is 'the most suitable' for the introduction of various concepts of music (e.g., listening, composing, comprehending and performing). This group is also regarded as being 'easiest to target': they are not cynical towards theatre; they still think that theatre can be exciting; they are not taking any examinations; and they are not going through the teenage tunnel. The diversity in targeted age groups and in the justifications for choosing particular groups over others shows that the theatres' approaches are contingent on *their* understanding of the receptive capacity of young people.

6.4. Conduct of Educational Work

6.4.1. Optimism about financing education

Regardless of the differences between theatres in the scale of expenditure, their spending on education, excluding staff wages, is similar: around £30,000 to £42,000 per annum. This indicates that there is a gap between theatres in the proportion of education expenditure as part of the total running expenses. While in the Theatre Royal, Norwich, education makes up approximately 0.6% of total running expenditure, the figures are approximately 3% and 10% respectively for the Mercury Theatre and Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds. An interpretation of these differences is that the more market-oriented the theatre is, the lower the proportion of education expenditure. Another interpretation is that there exists a shared assumption of the appropriate scale of educational activities in each theatre, and this has led to similar levels of education expenditure in the four theatres despite the differences in their size, function and orientation.

In Cambridge and Norwich, the education departments are allocated small budgets so that they have to raise funds for their activities. In Cambridge, the Education and Community Department, with a budget of around £5,000, raises approximately £30,000 from external sources such as grants, awards, sponsorship and workshop fees. The department tries to make the books balance at the end of the year and prevent any deficit. In a similar vein, in Norwich the small education budget is mostly allocated for the training of theatre staff. The Education and Training Managers have to raise funds for projects from external sources, mainly trusts and foundations as well as local authorities. Meanwhile, education staff in the Mercury Theatre and the Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds, have their own budgets of approximately £40,000 each, which already include external support and which are expected to fund all educational activities.

The theatre staff insist that education does not cost much money since they can break even or attract funding from external bodies:

I have no problem to make money with education. (Education and Community Manager, Cambridge Arts Theatre)

Education doesn't drain money. It earns money. (Marketing Manger, Cambridge Arts Theatre)

Some programmes, such as drama clubs in the Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds, and curriculum-related school workshops in the Cambridge Arts Theatre, can break even with the income received from fees. However, more socially oriented programmes – e.g., programmes for social inclusion or residency programmes in the Mercury Theatre – cost much more than the fees. Accordingly they have been funded by public subsidy, such as the Regional Arts Lottery Projects grants. Similarly, the large-scale school projects (1997-2000) at the Theatre Royal, Norwich, were fully financed by the Paul Hamlyn Foundation. Since the foundation's regulations do not allow the theatre to apply for further consecutive funding, the theatre has applied for grants to fifty foundations and trusts. The theatre is optimistic about the results of their grant applications.

The theatres and their funding bodies are confident that education is not taking funding away from the core work. On the contrary, they strongly believe that education can easily draw in funding even when the core work may not be able to do so. While artistic programmes are funded by traditional arts funding sources, education can attract a wider range of funders including trusts/foundations that are devoted to educational goals and social service agencies. Staff at the Mercury Theatre suggest that education work, especially its social action programmes, can attract funding from other areas outside traditional arts funding bodies. The Theatre Royal, Norwich has recently identified 300-500 trusts and foundations in the UK that have educational aims and remits.

6.4.2. Opportunistic and incremental development

Despite their claimed dedication to education, the theatres do not have long-term plans for it. Planning is rather 'opportunistic' and 'incremental'. The theatres tend to organise education programmes that they think are appropriate at the time. The majority of the programmes have been developed through internal initiatives, occasionally in consultation with community groups, schools, local authorities and local arts education groups. Sometimes, ideas and suggestions come from external sources. For instance,

drama clubs at the Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds, were first suggested by a group of mothers in a local community.

Often, potential funders request a particular type of education. For example, the social service department of a local authority asked the Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds, to organise workshops for students who were expelled from school. The theatre is also currently considering an offer of funding from a sheet music company, which has suggested that it would provide a grant on the condition that the theatre organises music education programmes so it could advertise its funding in the theatre's brochures. The reaction of the theatre towards these offers is positive: 'if financially possible, we will willingly accept the opportunity...why not?' (Head of Education). The education officers contend that opportunistic approach could lead to a positive change of the theatre's direction and focus.

The development of educational work seems to be 'incremental' in terms of the career path of education officers. All the officers have education, drama, theatre, acting, arts consulting or TIE backgrounds. Their career paths are anecdotally similar: from being an actor/actress, teacher or a member of a TIE company, running workshops or taking degrees in theatre or education, to becoming education officers. This implies that the expansion of educational work in the theatre has not involved an import of new breeds of human resource or knowledge from external sources. Rather, the expertise used for educational work has gradually developed in the theatre sector over time. It is also suggested that, as Robinson (1998) points out, there exists continuity between TIE and current education programmes in the theatres in terms of human resources and skills:

all of the people who were involved [in TIE and community arts] have gone on to do other things....They're now coming to key positions [in the theatres] and instinctively understand the connections between the arts, social action, education and community development. (p. 58)

6.4.3. Relations to artistic and marketing decisions

In all theatres, education staff members are almost exclusively in charge of planning and implementing the programmes. They tend to create their own programmes depending on their abilities, ideas and expertise. At Bury St. Edmunds, children's drama clubs that focus on physical expression in a theatrical context have developed once an education officer who studied physical theatre was employed. For the implementation of particular routine programmes, the theatres hire part-time or freelance education workers. Exceptionally in the Theatre Royal, Norwich, the actual job of education officers is limited to mainly facilitating and coordinating the education activities of visiting companies. Their role is more about planning and fundraising. This is because its school projects have been mainly devoted to exploring opera-making, and the previous education officer had no expertise in music or teaching. For the design and delivery of the projects, the theatre has developed partnership with the Children's Music Workshop, which specialises in music education for primary school children. Current education officers who have backgrounds in performing poetry and TIE hope to organise their own programmes in the future.

Heads of theatres rarely interfere in the detail of contents and formats of educational programmes, while they provide endorsement and resources. However, their role is significant in that they plan artistic programmes, and education has to fit in with the overall arrangement of the programmes. Far from there being any prescriptive assumption on the education's 'integration' with artistic decisions (Rogers, 1997), the relationship seems to be one-sided. Most interviewees agree that while artistic decision-making and planning play important roles in developing education programmes, education has little influence on the artistic side of theatre management. In the Mercury Theatre, the main artistic decisions are made by discussion between the Chief Executive and the head of the resident company, and education has little impact on this process with a few exceptions (for instance, their regular invitation to the Out of Joint theatre company, which has good education programmes). The Head of Education in the Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds, points out the difficulty for education in influencing the artistic side:

I take part in the programming meeting. As long as this continues to work, the education perspective can influence the whole direction of the theatre. However, on a day-to-day basis, it is the Director who books productions and he decides finally. The education viewpoint influences but it does not lead by any means.

In the case of the Theatre Royal, Norwich, the Marketing and Publicity Director suggests slightly different reason for education's lack of influence on artistic planning:

The Chief Executive does not consider the educational factor when he decides which show to put on the stage. Because...even though visiting companies do not bring education programmes, the theatre can run its own programmes.

Another finding is that, in spite of a frequent claim that 'marketing and education are two sides of the same coin' (e.g., Rogers, 1998), marketing departments have no significant influence on what education departments do and *vice versa*. Generally, there exists a cooperative relationship between the two departments. In Cambridge, they share the same resources such as school contacts and audience data. In the Mercury Theatre, the two departments regularly exchange information and meet formally every three months in order to discuss on-going issues such as how to promote educational activities. However, there have been no initiatives from the marketing departments towards education programmes, and marketing staff do not have their say in the issue of education. Rather, the role of the marketing staff is to support education work by helping it to raise its profile: one marketing officer says, 'marketing is auxiliary...the core is stage and education.'

6.4.4. Evaluation: gap between expectation and practice

The evaluation of education work tends to be internal and subjective. When the theatres conduct an evaluation, they scarcely use criteria or specific performance indicators, although they collect some quantitative data such as the number of participants, the number of free tickets taken up,⁹² and the size of discounted tickets sales. The breadth

⁹² For example, the Theatre Royal, Norwich, gives every participating child in its Norfolk School Projects six free tickets that allow the child and its parents to attend performances at the theatre.

in the definition and interpretation of education seems to prevent theatre staff from reaching a consensus on the objectives and expected outcomes of education work. However, it is clear that evaluation focuses on the impact of the programmes on personal or social development rather than their contribution to artistic development. As the Marketing Development Manager in ETA points out, evaluation of education seems to be concerned with the ‘attitudinal aspects’ (i.e., changes in way of life) of participants.

The most prevailing method is the observation of programmes by educational staff themselves. The staff argue that they can assess the programmes by simply ‘seeing the change of participants’ (Education and Community Manager, Cambridge Arts Theatre). Another evaluation method is to look at feedback from participants, which is generally collected through questionnaires. The questionnaires are likely to be concerned with changes in participants’ attitude, behaviour and social skills, and their perception of theatrical arts. For example, education staff at the Mercury Theatre generally look at the following:

- (a) whether the participants enjoyed the project;
- (b) how much they learned about themselves;
- (c) how much they learned about others;
- (d) whether they would like to do a similar project;
- (e) which words, the participants thought, applied to themselves when they started the project and which words they apply to themselves now (among confident, secure, popular, alive, frightened, aware, eager, bored, inspired, closed, good, suspicious, cool, aggressive, disinterested, friendly, interested and proud); and
- (f) whether they would say the project was good or bad.

Education staff in the theatres emphasise that they try to be critical about themselves: ‘be critical and hard on ourselves’; ‘Even though people say it is a success...it is often failing for me’ (Education and Community Manager, Cambridge Arts Theatre). Only the Theatre Royal, Norwich, conducted an external evaluation of its school projects with financial support from EAB (Burgess, 2000). An external arts consultant evaluated the projects using methods of observation, interview and survey using questionnaires, which were similar to those used for internal assessment, but the scale was much larger.

As has been previously mentioned, there is a strong belief that education contributes to the development of new audiences. However the theatres are not concerned with whether education has really contributed towards marketing, though they measure the number of users brought in as a result of educational activities. The Theatre Royal, Norwich, the most market-conscious theatre, is not an exception. The Chief Executive is critical of having a stand-alone education department because the achievements of such a department are not measurable. He argues that his marketing department clearly measures the outputs of educational work. The theatre gives six free tickets to every participant after its school projects finish in order to encourage the children and their parents to visit the theatre. Approximately 180 children are offered the tickets over one year, so a total of 1,080 tickets are available, of which around 750 are taken up. This figure makes up 1.8% of the 42,000 tickets that are sold to first time buyers over one year. Although the theatre staff are satisfied with the high percentage (70%) of take-up of the free tickets, they acknowledge that they can neither judge whether this proves education's contribution to creating new audiences nor know whether those families will revisit the theatre as a paying audience in the future.

As to the marketing impacts of educational work, the Executive Director of the Cambridge Arts Theatre simply states, 'I have a strong positive feeling but I cannot prove it'. In the Theatre Royal, Bury St Edmunds, the Head of Marketing observes that attracting the first comer is not generally through education but through the stage, while agreeing that educational activities help create a new audience to a certain degree. A member of the marketing staff of the Mercury Theatre also acknowledges that the theatre has never investigated the exact relationship between education and marketing, while saying that he 'believes' in the benefits of education for audience development. Neither EEA nor ETA has made any attempts to investigate the long-term effects of education programmes on the marketing side.

Furthermore, most of the education and marketing officers claim that it does *not* matter to them whether these educational activities have produced more arts attendees or not.

In short, it seems that there exist gaps between the expectation of the theatres and the practice. Theatres insist that they invest resources into educational work with genuine interest in developing new audiences but, in practice, they are not that concerned with the audience development impacts of educational work. The language of evaluation is dominated by references to ‘social impacts’ which the programmes are believed to generate: e.g., social skills, self-confidence, self-expression, cooperation, creativity, adaptability, self-discipline, empowerment and community participation. A Marketing Development Manager in ETA summed up the theatres’ attitude as follows:

[Theatres] get public funding to do something for their community. It isn’t necessarily concerned with getting people back into the theatre. Education in itself is a good thing.

6.5. Limitation of External Intervention

6.5.1. Funding agreement in reality

Both the theatres and funding bodies attribute the recent growth in educational work partially to the formalised funding relationship, which is now a legitimate means for the transfer of public money. However, it should be noted that the role of such an agreement seems to be considerably limited in reality. The drama officer in EEA and arts officers in local authorities have a tendency to prioritise the ‘artistic freedom’ of the theatres over their control over the theatres’ use of public funding. For instance, although Colchester Borough Council emphasises that its funding for the Mercury Theatre is ‘not a grant but an investment’, its funding agreement fails to contain any requests relating to specific outputs, including requirement on educational work. It is because the arts officers of the Council view elaborating funding conditions or outputs as restricting artistic independence. An arts officer iterates, ‘the County can’t tell theatre what to do nor interfere’.

Public funds tend to be allocated in light of some expected, but usually unspecified, contribution of the theatres to the objectives of their funders. The common form of

funding agreements is to stipulate the policy objectives of the funding bodies and to ask the theatres to state how they can help realise these objectives. Even if funding agreements have items for education, they are rather close to a loose consensus between the theatres and funders. The means of monitoring and assessment are decided by negotiation between the theatres and the funders. Thus, some funding bodies define their relationship with the theatres as a ‘two-way contract’ or ‘developmental encouragement’. The main elements of funding agreements include the following:

State how your [theatre’s] work will meet our [funding body’s] cultural policy objectives.

As to each objective, what specific things do you want to achieve?

How will you identify whether you have achieved each objective?

When do you aim to achieve each objective?

Outline your commitment to involvement with young people.

Outline any work it is carrying out which will benefit our target group.

How do you know when you succeed?

How do you want us to monitor your performance (among reports/reviews, interviews/meetings, board meetings/minutes, invitations to events/attendances, photographic/video, etc.)?

How do you want us to evaluate your performance (among reports/reviews, performance indicators, attendance figures, financial projections, external assessor, etc.)?

It seems that the use of funding agreements has been successful in creating an arts policy context and supporting the theatre in ‘doing something’ about the policy objectives of education, young people, participation and lifelong learning. In the absence of any objective definitions and references, however, the sense of how the theatres achieve those objectives and what constitutes appropriate performance is still left to the theatres.

6.5.2. Monitoring rather than evaluation

The case study has found that that public funding bodies have difficulty in evaluating the achievement of the theatres’ educational work. Some local authorities have used performance indicators (PIs) for monitoring their support for the theatres (see Appendix 3). For example, the Essex County Council’s PIs for the Mercury Theatre regarding education include the following:

number of workshops or classes outside schools or social services settings (for each local area); number of their participants (and their gender, disability, and ethnicity); number of school sessions; number of workshops or classes for social services (for each local area); and number of social service users. (from *Mercury Theatre Harmonising Statistics Questionnaire 2000'01*)

However, the Council also recognises the ambiguity in the use of PIs for evaluation:

To be effective performance indicators need to be set in some sort of context. For example if 40 people were involved in a project did this represent an appropriate number or not? In certain circumstances 40 people could represent 95% of the targeted audience, in other circumstances 40 people may only represent 12%. Clarification of the context is the only thing that makes the number of 40 meaningful. (from *Strategic Arts Organisation Programme Service Level Agreement 2000-2003*)

According to Carter, Klein and Day (1992, pp. 49-50), PIs are categorised into three types: prescriptive, descriptive and proscriptive. 'Prescriptive' PIs are linked to objectives or targets: they are used to monitor progress towards an organisation's achievement. It is this type of PIs that the DCMS has encouraged local authorities to develop for their arts expenditure. 'Proscriptive' or 'negative' PIs specify neither targets nor ends, but things that simply should not happen in a well-run organisation. Meanwhile, 'descriptive' PIs simply record what has been done and what changes have occurred. The case study finds that, despite the central government's intention, the local authorities and EEA mostly use PIs only for descriptive purposes such as information collection. Exceptionally, Cambridge City Council uses a few prescriptive PIs (e.g., a set number of education participants) for the evaluation of its large-scale funding clients. Using PIs, public funding bodies are likely to be more concerned with the monitoring of 'what the educational programmes have done' and 'whether the programmes have involved the target groups of the funding bodies', rather than the consequence and impact of the education activities.

Evaluation of education is generally carried out in informal and subjective ways – or in a qualitative way as an arts officer put it – such as routine contact with the theatres through review or board meetings, attending education activities, observing

participants' responses, and observing information such as business plans, annual reports and board meeting minutes. This gives professionals in the theatres a bigger voice in the assessment of their work, and their languages and narratives tend to be shared by the funding bodies.

6.5.3. Trust-based relationship

Regarding the definition of their relationship with the theatre, the drama officer in EEA and arts officers in the local authorities have emphasised 'trust' and 'partnership'. The arts officers say that they know the theatres very well and their partnership has grown over a long period. One arts officer suggests,

no matter how structure is being changed...personal relationship is the most important factor in the nature of our relation to the theatre.

St. Edmundsbury Borough Council's relationship with the Theatre Royal is particularly informal: the council does not use a funding agreement or PIs for monitoring. For the arts officer in the council, formal procedures are not necessary because there is good dialogue and contact with the theatre. The arts officer says that, personally, he does not want to use a funding agreement with the theatre even though the Council is planning to replace the current informal relationship with a more formal one (harmonising funding with Suffolk County Council and EEA) in the future.

The trust of the arts officers in local authorities and the drama officer in EEA towards the theatres seems also to have been shaped by their shared identity. One of the arts officers used to be an actress and worked in community theatres. Another is a current arts manager while the third was a dancer and has worked for a national dance organisation as an administrator. The drama officer of EEA was an actor and used to work for TIE companies. The officers think that their role is 'ultimately helping the theatre to fulfil their artistic achievement'. They also have a very strong 'normative' view that subsidised arts organisations should be free from close supervision and scrutiny by specific impersonal rules. Thus, 'communication in forms of advice, information and consultative discussion' are preferred over 'orders, commands, and

directives'. The officers say that they often contact the theatre staff for discussion on general cultural policy and arts funding, and listen to the advice that the theatre staff give them.

Interestingly, the theatres seem to have a slightly different idea of their relationship with public funders. While the funders show their trust towards their client organisations, the theatres tend to regard the relationship as rather opportunistic. They are critical of the increased intervention by public funders and utilisation of the arts for explicit social purposes. Theatre staff insist that they are not conforming to all the demands from public funding bodies but adapting themselves in order to 'take advantage' of the changing policy environments. According to them, it is 'not difficult' to use the language that government wants them to use and take the opportunities offered. This attitude is amply illustrated by the fact that the theatre staff, the heads in particular, frequently used the metaphor of 'game-playing':

I find it frustrating that the only way to get a big level of subsidy is to *play the game* [italics added]. I hope the theatre is not influenced politically though there is a great deal of political pressure upon them. Government, politicians and bureaucrats change. So if I take the organisation in that way, it ends up with nothing. Policy changes but I don't. (Executive Director, Cambridge Arts Theatre)

I am *playing games* [italics added] because I need the money. It is not difficult to play games. As long as we tick bigger boxes, they say arts can deliver....For example, in a place like rural Suffolk, cultural diversity is nonsense...We can't tick these boxes because we have no black or Asian communities...[but] we can tick disability boxes. (Director, Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds)

The theatre staff think that many of the cultural policy vocabularies are so ambiguous, undefined and not easily quantifiable that there is 'a great deal of confusion...' (Director, Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds). Thus they can interpret the vocabularies according to their needs or circumstances. The provision of education programmes looks particularly important since it tends to add a new source of interpretation and discretion to the theatre organisations.

Summary

The study has found that the provision of education in the four theatre rapidly increased during the second half of the 1990s and that its primary driving force was political pressure from the government and public arts funding system, while the need to develop new audiences was the second important factor. The creation of the full-time post of education officer and separate educational departments, and the increase in availability of funding have all helped education to become established as an important part of theatres' work. This shows that the growth of educational work, as an organisational change, is more than a simple expansion of existing education services or an adoption of education as a new practice; it is a consequence of macro-level institutional change in the arts sector.

The remarkable expansion of education appeared to be sudden, but it has been rather incremental in terms of the career paths of education officers. The officers have worked in the theatre sector for a long time in various ways, and their professional skills and knowledge have generally developed over time. The incremental development of education is also reflected in the fact that the theatres' educational work consists of familiar types of activities, many of which have been developed by TIE and community arts companies. The programmes are generally provided to groups of participants that are targeted within cultural and social policy contexts.

In spite of assumptions about the integration of education, artistic decision and marketing (e.g., Rogers, 1997, 1998), it is difficult to say that education has been actually integrated with artistic planning or marketing in the theatres. On the contrary, education work seems rather to be independent of decision-making in these areas, and neither does it in turn have any influence on them. Education staff are exclusively in charge of planning, implementing and evaluating, though it is within the framework of overall artistic decisions which were made by heads or artistic directors of the theatres. Nonetheless, education helps the theatres to maintain their core work by attracting funding and providing political justification for the existence of the theatres. Despite a

common belief in the audience development effects of education, the theatres do not attach any importance to whether education attracts new audiences. Education is generally perceived as an end itself, which can produce a wide range of personal and social benefits.

Finally, the case study has shown that the politicisation of the arts is a complex on-going process. While the arts funding context is changing and the roles of theatres are being newly defined, much of the traditional relationship between the theatres and their public funders has been maintained and the theatres are trying to gain advantages through opportunism and game-playing. Education provision plays an important part in this process because it justifies the theatres' use of public money, attracts extra funding, satisfies the expectations of funding bodies, reshapes the theatres to community-oriented organisations and provides a new professional arena in which the theatres can extend their remit.

Chapter Seven

Education, Institutional Change and Organisational Strategy

Change, even fundamental change, of the social world is not the passage from one order to another but rearrangements in the patterns of how multiple orders are interwoven. (Stark cited in Scott, 2001, pp. 192-193)

This move to reduce state expenditures, which might seem like a death knell for the nonprofit arts, is actually their condition of continued possibility. (Yúdice, 1999, p. 26)

Introduction

So far, I have articulated the nature of three different institutional forces in the non-profit arts sector and attempted to conceptualise institutional changes since the Second World War as the predominance or dominance of particular institutional forces. The change since the 1990s has been theorised as ‘politicisation’: intensification of state intervention and use of the arts for obvious social purposes. The case study of four English theatres has demonstrated that the theoretical framework of politicisation provides a useful analytical tool for an investigation of the recent expansion of their educational work. However, it has also suggested that an institutional analysis needs a holistic approach: it should be aware of the complexity in institutional change and the strategic behaviour of the theatres. This chapter is devoted to discussing such issues. However, it first examines the close relationship between the supposed educational effects of the arts and institutional changes in the arts sector in Britain.

The chapter is in three sections. The first section defines the efforts of nineteenth-century theatre managers to raise the status of the theatre, the repertory movement, the

inauguration of public subsidy, the TIE and community arts movements and the socially slanted cultural policy of today as attempts to change existing institutional structures of the arts sector. It is argued that belief in the educational power of the arts has provided the actors in the sector with motives and justifications for institutional change. However, the section points out that it is state policy and its mobilisation of financial resources that have finally brought about large-scale changes in the institutional context.

The second section examines complexity in institutional change. It is argued that the complicated and ambiguous process of the change is greatly attributable to the persistence of existing beliefs, values or practices. In particular, persevering belief in the autonomy of artists and arts organisations has significantly influenced individuals from both the arts world and public funding bodies as to the extent to which they should embrace the institutional logic of policy and relevant practices. Thus, one can find an inevitable gap between formal and informal practices. It is concluded that the actual consequence of politicisation seems to depend on reconciliation between existing and new institutions. With these findings, the section revisits the institutional framework that I proposed in Chapter Two.

The final section argues that the integration of different institutional forces is providing a ground on which non-profit theatre organisations can re-position themselves as more policy-oriented organisations, without radical transformation in either their aesthetic paradigm or management. Within the new dominant narrative of cultural policy, the theatres are recognised as being ‘expert’ in creative education and social inclusion programmes.

7.1. Education and Institutional Change

7.1.1. Education: a motive behind institutional changes

It is notable that what makes the arts – participatory arts and education projects in particular – an important element of current public policy is policy-makers' strong confidence in the power of the arts to positively transform people. Although cultural and social policies use instrumental vocabularies (e.g., 'arts should address policy objectives and key concerns' or 'arts cost little money but their impact can be immense'), their approach is basically grounded upon the idealist or romantic view of the arts, which was developed by the English romantic poets and cultural elites in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Thus, one may think that the romantic view might have survived in spite of the recent institutional change. However, I would argue that the romantic view *itself* has been very closely involved with most institutional changes in the arts sector since the nineteenth century.⁹³ Furthermore, it can be said that such a view has actually motivated or justified actors in the arts sector to attack old institutional arrangements and attempt to set up new regimes.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, theatre managers succeeded in elevating the theatre to a cultural institution by claiming the theatre's educational and spiritual mission. Their efforts can be seen as a challenge to the then prevailing assumption on the nature of the theatre as a mere venue for popular amusement. In order to reform the theatre itself and gain respectability, they changed the structure of the theatre and introduced new norms and conventions. However, their endeavours could not lead to a fundamental transformation in the industry, primarily because they kept

⁹³ The use of the arts to transform – govern or reform – people's way of life in modern Britain has been thoroughly investigated by a groups of academics who use Michel Foucault's concept of 'governmentality' as their theoretical framework (T. Bennett, 1995, 1998, 2001; Foucault, 1991; Lloyd & Thomas, 1992, 1998; Miller, 1996; Miller & Yúdice, 2002). For instance, T. Bennett (2001) argues that the public museum was born as an instrument for social management, and this function has remained a major part of contemporary museum practice. From this perspective, current cultural policy that emphasises the transforming effects of participatory arts is another example of governmentality. Nonetheless, this analysis appears to be considerably limited because it is hardly concerned with institutional changes in the arts sector, particularly the predominance of the artworld logic in the early twentieth century (in the case of public museums) and in the post-war period (in the case of performing arts organisations and the arts funding system).

operating theatres as for-profit businesses. Meanwhile, the repertory movement presented the theatre professions' and supporters' another step towards a transformation of the traditional structure and practices in the industry. The pioneers of repertory theatre advocated the educational utility of the theatre but doubted that such utility could be fully enacted under the profit-oriented management and production style. What they proposed was a new type of theatre (i.e., non-commercial repertory theatre). Together with the diffusion of the idealist view of the theatre, the introduction of a new organisational form seemed to be a sign of significant shift in the environments in the future, although the theatre industry was still dominated by commercial managements.

A great institutional change in the arts sector occurred after the Second World War, when the state inaugurated public arts subsidy, as a part of the welfare state, and expanded it. The consensus on the civilising effects of certain activities – e.g., drama, dance, opera, etc. – served to legitimise those activities as serious arts, which were worthy of public support, and consequently contributed to their distinction from mass entertainments and commercial businesses. The growth in public funding resulted in the restructuring of the theatre industry, i.e., its division into the rapidly growing non-profit sector and the declining commercial counterpart. The 'non-profit' organisational form (as an educational charity) placed the theatre in the new institutional setting, in which arts-centred beliefs and practices developed, while the commercialism began to wither. Although different institutional forces always coexisted, the post-war period saw the artworld logic gradually predominate the environments of the subsidised arts sector in Britain. As a social and political consensus on the Weberian idea of the arts was forged, the state was positioned as a mere grant-maker who should not meddle with arts subsidy, and the market was deemed to be incompatible with the arts world.

Such institutional change appears to be as part of 'differentiation' of the arts; precisely speaking, it can be interpreted as 'the final and crucial moment' of the differentiation process. According to Weber (1978), modernisation of society is characterised by the 'differentiation' or 'autonomisation' of distinct fields of social activities, one of which

is the arts. The British experience suggests that the differentiation of the arts from other spheres of society was greatly attributable to the social recognition of the educational and moral values of the arts, the increased autonomy of professional arts producers and the non-interventionist financial support from the state. This finding seems to complement existing theories of modern arts that tend to pay little attention to the active role of the state in the differentiation process. For example, Bourdieu's analysis of the cultural field is mainly concerned with the struggle of cultural producers to secure autonomy from the political and economic forces and to obtain more legitimation within the field (Bourdieu, 1993; also see Lash, 1990). His account of the development of modern arts is centred in the general historical trend towards the autonomisation of the cultural field and the mechanisms which result in this change. Here, the development of the market for cultural products is often seen to contribute towards artists' struggle to secure independence from political powers, though market pressures are also conceived as constraining artistic autonomy.⁹⁴ Meanwhile, as Swartz (1997, chap. 6) notes, he is scarcely concerned with the role of the state in shaping institutional environments (e.g., the formation of distinct field logic) of modern arts.⁹⁵ This thesis argues that, at least in the British context, public subsidy which was justified by the romantic view of the arts played an important part in the autonomisation of the arts from external forces and the development of artworld logic and related institutions.

The growth of TIE and community arts as part of the radical cultural movement presented a serious challenge to the institutional arrangement of the post-war period, particularly the belief in the universal value of the high arts and the isolation of the arts sector from political and social issues. However, it should be noted that the arguments of TIE and community arts had much in common with the idealist view: they believed that people could positively change and be empowered through the arts. and this would

⁹⁴ According to Bourdieu (1993, p. 112), the process of autonomisation of the cultural field is correlated with the growth of a public of potential consumers which guarantees cultural producers minimal conditions of economic independence.

⁹⁵ Bourdieu tends to perceive state intervention in the arts as a means of political propaganda or oppression. According to him, 'The state, after all, has the power to orient intellectual production by means of subsidies, commissions, promotion, honorific posts, even decorations, all of which are for speaking or keeping silent, for compromise or abstention' (p. 125).

lead to the betterment of society. It is for this reason that Bilton (1997, chap. 1) defines the approach of the community arts as ‘a hybrid of Marxist cultural theory and cultural idealism’. In their attack on the cultural establishment and arts funding policy, community artists drew on Marxist analysis of society (‘production and consumption of the arts are determined by class relations’). However, when they described the impacts of cultural democracy, their argument resembled that of English romantic poets and Matthew Arnold. This seems to explain why community arts could be embraced by the policy framework during the 1990s and be converged with government-led initiatives for participatory arts programmes.

Besides their obvious political aims, however, TIE and community arts companies advocated new ideas on how arts activities should be organised and how the arts should be connected to society. It was believed that people could better learn about themselves and society through ‘direct participation’ in the arts-making process and accompanying social interaction. Their views clearly opposed the then prevailing assumptions and practices in the sector, for example, art for art’s sake, producer authority, peer judgement and expert culture. However, the TIE and community arts movements were not successful in bringing about a large-scale institutional change. They kept taking marginal places in the arts world and were embraced by the arts funding system that saw their politically and socially conscious approaches as a mere matter of public accessibility. In addition, community arts activities themselves were often criticised for attracting people mainly from well-educated classes. This made ‘public participation’ or ‘education through the arts’ more difficult to be perceived by actors in the field as an alternative to existing producer-centred practices.

The marketisation process that started in the 1980s seemed to provide an absolutely different idea of the arts: the exchange values – economic impacts and commercial potential – of the arts tended to substitute their intrinsic – enlightening and aesthetic – values. People in the sector have severely criticised marketisation policy for this reason, though it has never caused actual funding reduction on any significant scale nor has private money replaced public funding. Marketisation has been mainly about changes in

the ways in which arts organisations manage themselves, describe their work and justify public funding. However, the arts sector's belief in the intrinsic value in the arts and producer authority has been sustained despite the prevalence of the rhetoric of consumer sovereignty or economic impacts of the arts. This is why notions of marketing and education have been combined in the framework of audience development. Marketing, a market-oriented knowledge, has been adapted and modified in order to fit in with the beliefs and practices in the arts sector; although arts marketing uses techniques and vocabularies developed in the commercial business sector, it is in fact a producer-centred approach.

Marketisation can be seen as an end of the predominance of artworld logic and 'de-differentiation' of the arts: the obvious boundary between arts and commercial businesses began to be blurred in terms of organisational attitude, language and practice.⁹⁶ So far, this notion has been used by academics who analyse the recent institutional change in the arts sector within the marketisation framework (e.g., Abercrombie & Keat, 1991; Keat, 2000; McGuigan, 1996, chap. 2; also see Lash, 1990). According to them, a de-differentiation implies that we have reached the postmodern era, where there no longer exist distinctions, boundaries and hierarchies pertinent to modern society. It has also been assumed that market logic and institutions ultimately replace the existing belief system in the arts sector. Nonetheless, this thesis suggests that de-differentiation be understood as an 'integration' of market and artworld logics rather than the former replacing the latter.

The 1990s witnessed the beginning of another crucial moment, which reshapes the institutional environments of the sector. Behind the unprecedented development of a national policy framework exists government intention to use the arts for changing people's way of life and tackling social problems that cannot be easily solved by

⁹⁶ According to Rojek (1993, pp. 4-5), de-differentiation is defined as 'a condition in which former social, economic and political distinctions cease to obtain'. Similarly, Abercrombie and Keat (1991, p. 3) contends that marketisation of the cultural sector is a process of 'de-differentiation of previously distinct modes of organisation, self-understanding and conceptual representation'.

conventional social policies. Besides the DCMS's cultural policies, the Arts Council's manifesto, *Ambitions for the Arts 2003-2006*, clearly shows that, although 'innovation' and 'excellence' are mentioned as key policy agenda, now the legitimacy of subsidised arts is primarily grounded upon their 'transforming effects':

We will argue that being involved with the arts can have a lasting and transforming effect on many aspects of people's lives. This is true not just for individuals, but also for neighbourhoods, communities, regions and entire generations, whose sense of identity and purpose can be changed through art. (ACE, 2003, p. 1)

In this short document of four pages, the Council mentions the term 'transforming' several times: 'transforming effect...life-changing artistic experience...transforming experiences...marketing the "transforming power" of the arts'. The new emphasis of the educational mission of the arts and the use of the arts for explicit social purposes seems to be another process of 'de-differentiation' between the arts and politics and between cultural and social policies. However, it appears to be a two-way and interactive process rather than one substituting another. Social policy increasingly recognises the 'unique' value of the arts. Apart from replacing the arts with conventional social services, policy-makers have attempted to include arts provision as a part of social services in a wide range of areas. Meanwhile, cultural policy has actively embraced new concerns with social policy issues as one of its mainstream policy areas. This is aptly demonstrated by the fact that the DCMS recently created the Education and Social Policy Unit as a cross-cutting team. According to O'Regan (2001), the above two approaches to the integration of cultural policy with social policy can be defined as 'de-centring cultural policy' (i.e., cultural policy elements being explored by a wide range of social policy areas) and 'cultural policy at the centre' (i.e., cultural policy widening its remit to actively address social issues).

As to the matter of how to link the arts to society, current cultural policy believes that the arts sector can most effectively address social issues through directly involving the public in participation arts and creative education programmes. This seems to imply that the harmony of the romanticism and the Weberian view of the arts (i.e., art works

produce moral and educational benefits for the public even if artists themselves do not have any such intentions), which had existed in post-war British arts policy, began to break up. In order to directly contribute to the community, therefore, arts organisations should now provide ‘intentional’ activities. Such a policy climate encourages a wide range of non-conventional arts activities (e.g., community arts, TIE, amateur arts, participatory arts activities in social service agencies as well as education programmes provided by arts organisations) to be gradually perceived as legitimate activities that should be further encouraged by the arts funding system.

7.1.2. The state: the initiator of institutional changes at the macro level

Although the romantic view of the arts has provided motive and justification for most attempts at institutional changes, history shows that not all such endeavours have had significant impacts on the environments of the arts sector. The findings of this thesis suggest that it is *state policy* and its *mobilisation of financial resources* which have actually brought about institutional changes on a large scale: predominance of the artworld logic during the post-war period; marketisation since the 1980s; and politicisation since the 1990s. In addition, it has been observed that shifts in state policy have been caused by macro-level changes in politics and economy in British society: the creation of the welfare state and its expansion, its decline and the prevalence of market ideology, and cultural turn in social policy.

The importance of the role of state subsidy in shaping and changing the institutional context of the arts sector seems to imply that the resource dependency theory can be helpful in an analysis of institutional changes. The resource flows from the state to the arts sector often mean that public policy directly imposes its requirements on arts organisations, as has been seen in funding criteria of the National Lottery grants and funding agreements. However, the mobilisation of financial resources has also aimed at altering the environments, for example through encouraging the creation of new types of organisations, funding new types of activities, and disseminating new knowledge and practices. The state-led institutional changes can be characterised by the following:

- (a) *formation of new dominant (official) discourses on arts funding, arts management and cultural policy* (e.g., arm's length principle, 'raise rather than spread', economic impacts of the arts, and social impacts);
- (b) *introduction of new types of organisations* (e.g., non-profit arts organisation, public arts funding bodies, ABSA, policy monitoring body,⁹⁷ and arts education agencies);
- (c) *restructuring of the sector* (e.g., the division of the theatre industry into non-profit and commercial sectors, differentiation of professional from amateur arts, and de-differentiation/convergence between alternative and mainstream organisations and between professional and amateur arts);
- (d) *emergence of new professions* (e.g., arts marketer, arts management consultant, corporate development officer and education officer); and
- (e) *sector-wide introduction of new norms and practices* (e.g., peer judgement, unconditional funding, business plan, marketing, funding agreement, use of performance indicators, and educational activities).

7.2. Complexity in Institutional Change

The politicisation of the arts, as the latest state-driven movement to shift institutional environments of the sector at a macro level, has caused a significant alteration in the way the state governs the arts sector. New practices have been widely used to strengthen the role of the state and public funding bodies in planning, monitoring and evaluating of outputs/outcomes of public subsidy and in management of non-profit arts organisations. However, the case study of four English theatres has found that politicisation is not a one-way institutional change.

A notable finding of the study is that although political pressures for institutional shift are put on the theatres and their funders, many of their existing ways of working have been sustained and have a great impact on how and how far they embrace the new institutional arrangement. This phenomenon can be defined as 'institutional persistence' (Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; Powell, 1991). According to

⁹⁷ For example, QUEST (Quality, Efficiency and Standards Team), a watchdog for the effectiveness of DCMS funded bodies.

Powell (1991), institutional persistence is likely to occur in the following: (a) when existing institutions are supported by those who have benefited from them: (b) when change in the institutions may require change in many other elements in the network of practices and procedures, (c) when institutions are taken-for-granted so they are not questioned or compared against alternatives, and (d) when organisations are path-dependent.

As Powell points out, a source of institutional persistence in the field of non-profit arts seems to be the active but implicit support of subsidised organisations for the existing way things are done. The case study shows that non-profit theatre organisations support the view that they are given public money because of their artistic contribution rather than their roles in tackling social issues. They also believe the use of the money is ultimately decided according to their own artistic and managerial decisions. Interestingly, the beliefs and practices developed and advocated under the logic of artworld are valued not only by the theatre staff but also by individuals from the public funding bodies. This makes actual policy-making practices at the local level – e.g., local authorities and regional offices of the Arts Council – different from central government's intentions. The individuals in those organisations tend to regard themselves as genuine supporters of the arts who take the norms and conventions of the arts world for granted. Their artistic background and long work experience in the arts sector seem to have shaped their identity as arts advocates and make them feel uncomfortable with their role as policy-makers or arts bureaucrats. They are generally very sympathetic towards the arts-centred belief concerning the issue of what arts funding should aim for, how funding should be managed, and who should assess the work of the theatres.

Another source of institutional persistence seems to be the limitation of newly adopted practices in actually governing the arts. Central government's cultural policies and local authorities' cultural strategies have been successful in changing 'the rules of the game' or setting a new 'framework' for arts subsidy and management. However, they do not provide specific guidelines or prescriptions for how arts organisations should operate in

order to realise their new roles and obligations. Partially this is because, similar to old agendas of arts policy such as artistic excellence and quality, new agendas of education, participation, community empowerment and social impacts also need a qualitative approach. It is difficult to define these notions precisely and specify relevant outputs or outcomes. In fact, this is the reason why official performance indicators for arts expenditure have developed very slowly in spite of central government's encouragement (see Chapter 4.2.4).

The persistence of the existing way of working does not necessarily mean that, as has been suggested in Chapter Two, explicit tension or contradiction in institutional environments is increasing. While formal institutions (e.g., official policies, policy guidance, policy reviews, funding agreements, business plans, performance indicators, etc.) are apparently well adopted and widely used by organisations in the sector, the work activities of individuals at those organisations tend to be 'de-coupled' or 'loosely coupled' from them (Meyer & Rowan, 1991; Newman, 2001, chap. 2).⁹⁸ That is, there exist gaps between formal institutions and their informal way of doing things. Such a loose coupling exists between policy and action and between organisations' intentions and individuals' practices.

For example, funding agreements between the theatres and their public funders are, in reality, between grant and contract. According to Osborne and Waterston (1997), a grant can be defined as an arrangement which is a general contribution to an organisation, not intended to support an identified output of an organisation. It is not legally enforceable against the grant-maker because it does not represent a contract in law. Meanwhile, a contract generally refers to an arrangement which is made for the production or delivery of a 'specific output', with the magnitude of the payment determined by an agreed price to the client of this output. It is legally enforceable against the client or contractor under the contract, respectively for the payment for or for the production of the output. Through funding agreements, the four local authorities and EEA intend to redefine their

⁹⁸ Thus, Meyer and Rowan (1991, p. 41) argue that institutionalised products, services, techniques, policies, and programmes function as powerful myths, and many organisations adopt them ceremonially.

relationship with the theatres as that between public investors and service deliverer. In spite of some contract-like features, however, the agreements are still close to grants: they tend to clarify more general objectives (e.g., creativity, access, education, participation and social inclusion) rather than specific individual outputs (e.g., number of performances, number of education programmes, size of audience and number of participants).⁹⁹

The same is applied to evaluation. In policy terms, evaluation can be defined as ‘learning about the consequence of public policy’ (Dye, 1995, p. 320). Evaluation aims at measuring a policy against the goals it sets out to achieve. According to Weiss (1972, chap. 2), evaluation is intended for decision-making in the future and is also ‘judgemental’ in character. In other words, evaluation should be committed to the ‘principle of utility’: if it is not going to have any effect on decision, she maintains, it is an exercise in futility. While public funders use performance indicators in addition to seeing business plans and annual reports and attending board meetings for formal monitoring and evaluation, their actual practice tends to rely considerably upon personal dialogues and self-control of arts organisations. In spite of formal processes and language, identity-/knowledge-based trust relations are dominant between the theatres and their funders.¹⁰⁰ The attitudes of individuals from the funding bodies are not far from those found in what Fox (1974) defines as a ‘high discretion syndrome’ in many ways: funders regard arts organisations as having commitment; colleague relationship exists between the funders and the organisations; the funders value self-control of the organisations; and funders take helpful mode when the organisations’ performances are seen as failure or inadequacies.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Similarly, Osborne and Waterston (1997) observe that, in public service areas, there is a growing ‘grey area’ of a variety of types of agreements which operate between the ideal types of grants and contracts.

¹⁰⁰ According to Newman (2001, pp. 100-101), ‘knowledge-based’ trust is formed over time through experience of and information about the other party. This type of trust is based on a longer-term stake in the relationship of reciprocity. ‘Identity-based’ trust is formed through common patterns of identification and the principles of mutuality and loyalty. Meanwhile, ‘calculus-based’ trust derives from rational calculation and relationships of exchange: it encourages the instrumental behaviour of actors and is also linked to the operation of incentives and the threat of sanctions. It is the last type of trust that central government intends to develop.

¹⁰¹ According to Fox (1974), a ‘high-discretion syndrome’ is compared to a ‘low-discretion syndrome’ which is characterised by the following: funders closely supervise the organisations; the organisations are perceived as unmotivated; funders call for punishment, closer supervision and more rules when failures or

Therefore, this chapter proposes that the actual outcome of institutional change is likely to be a consequence of an interplay between the existing institutions and new ones, and an incorporation of formal and informal practices. However, tensions seem to arise when some actors tend to ‘explicitly’ oppose or challenge the existing institutional regimes. For instance, the TIE and community arts movements produced institutional tension by actively producing counter-narratives on arts production and public subsidy (see Chapter 3.2.2). Another institutional tension has occurred when people in the subsidised arts sector have severely criticised marketisation policy (see Chapter 4.2). Such tensions are characterised not only by competing practices and norms but also by contradicting discourses and languages. To the contrary, it appears that the arts sector’s reaction to politicisation tendency has been ‘implicit’ decoupling, incorporation, and game-playing rather than explicit opposition. In the same vein, little academic debate has yet been produced around the issue.

Interestingly, the last couple of years have seen some resistance from the arts funding system to the increasing governmental intervention in the arts. The Arts Council, which had up to then been passively responsive to policies initiated by the DCMS, began to show its reluctance towards governmental control and the accompanying bureaucratisation. In March 2002, Peter Hewitt, Chief Executive of the Council, in a speech, demanded a relaxation of government control, accusing it of stifling creativity and innovation in the arts sector:

I want the new Arts Council to have...a co-operative and creative relationship with Government, based on trust and common objectives....I ask the Government to take a lead in trusting the new Arts Council and the bodies it funds to allow artists and the arts...the space to grow and create....I call on our own new organisation to act likewise in our relationship with the arts community. But if support for the arts becomes too controlled and prescriptive it will kill off the very creativity it is meant to set free. (Hewitt, 2002)

inadequacies occur in the organisations’ performances; and the contract between them is made through bargaining.

The subsequent year, the Arts Council, in its manifesto for the years from 2003 to 2006, asserted the importance of the 'trust' relationship between the arts funding system and the subsidised arts sector instead of control or dependency (ACE, 2003). At this moment it looks unpredictable whether the Council will be able to take the lead again in defining the role of the arts and their relationship with the state, and whether there will emerge consensus- and trust-building cooperation between central government and its funded bodies. It is also difficult to know whether the Council's reaction towards state intervention represents any movement of the subsidised arts sector as a whole to challenge the new institutional regime of politicisation. If many people in the sector come to explicitly oppose formal institutions backed by government policies and produce counter-narratives on cultural policy and arts funding, this may lead to institutional tension and contradiction.

The above discussion on the complexity in the institutional change of the British non-profit arts sector and the gradual integration of different institutional logics may make one revisit the theoretical framework that I proposed in Chapter Two. The framework suggests that the institutional environments are multi-dimensional in terms of structure. That is, the three institutional forces offer particular sets of assumptions about the nature of arts subsidy and management of arts organisations. Thus, it is proposed that there exists inevitable tension in the environments. Another assumption is that the environments are dynamic so that particular institutional forces are preferred and tend to dominate the institutional context at different times in history. This framework has provided a useful theoretical tool for the analysis of institutional changes in the British non-profit arts sector since the Second World War. Different institutional regimes have been described as 'predominance of artworld logic' (pre-1979), 'marketisation' (since the 1980s) and 'politicisation' (since the 1990s). With this analysis, I have criticised the limitation of the marketisation theory and argued that one should give attention to the politicisation tendency in order to understand recent institutional change in a comprehensive way.

However, the thesis has found that, like marketisation, politicisation has not been a clear-cut process of the new institutional arrangement replacing the existing one. From a macro perspective, current institutional change in the arts sector is better understood as a part of the de-differentiation process, at least in terms of public policy. The end of predominance of the artworld logic and the beginning of the de-differentiation process do not necessarily mean the substitution of artworld logic by the market or policy logics, or the absolute disappearance of all existing boundaries. The three institutional logics have not only competed but they have also been mixed and cross-linked during the past two decades. While the market and state control has considerably increased, existing arts-centred beliefs and practices are still influential in shaping the perspective and behaviour of actors in the sector. From the above findings, I suggest a revised institutional framework for the analysis of the current environments of the non-profit arts sector. However, the original framework still seems useful especially for the analysis of institutional changes over time. The following figures demonstrate my original and revised frameworks.

Figure 7.1. Institutional framework for the non-profit arts sector

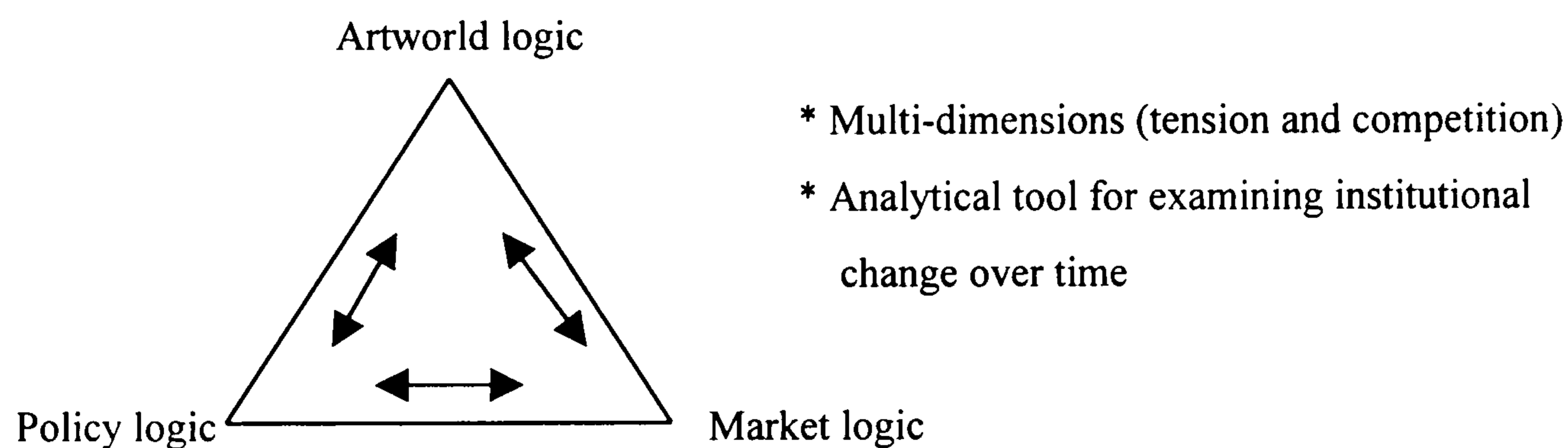
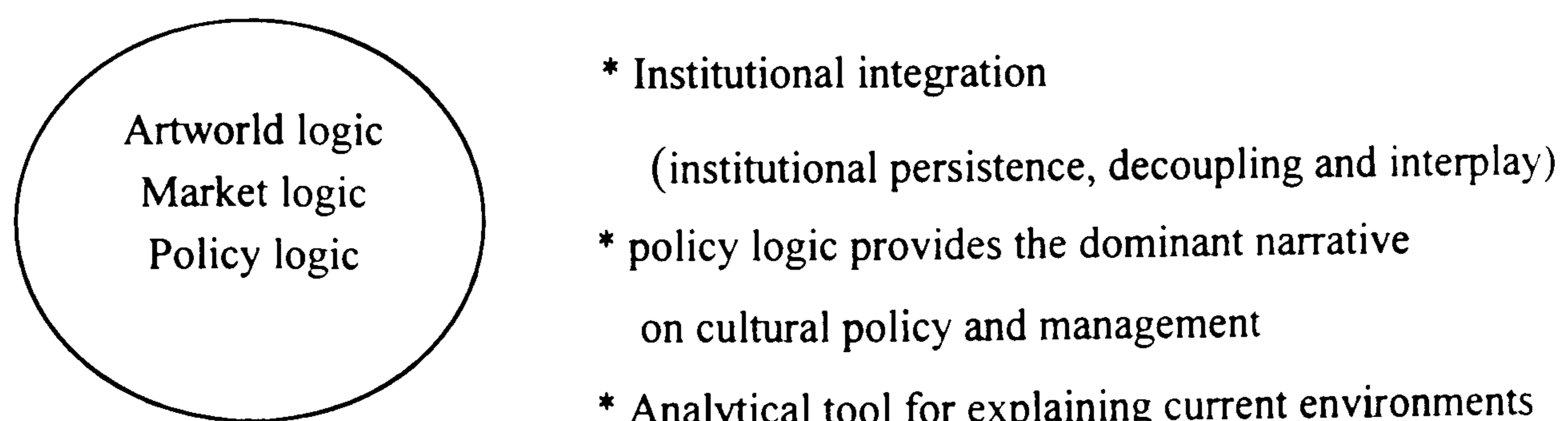


Figure 7.2. Revised institutional framework for the non-profit arts sector



7.3. Educational Work as a New Remit of the Non-profit Theatre

Non-profit theatre organisations fully recognise new institutional environments and have strategically adapted to them. They are now reinventing themselves as ‘multi-purpose’ or ‘hybrid’ organisations that perform many different functions at the same time and also manage to satisfy different demands from different institutional forces. In order to fulfil their responsibilities as creative educators and providers of social programmes, they are increasingly concerned with the developing of education programmes. However, this change has so far occurred *without* a radical transformation in their organisations. Management of the theatres is little influenced by their new social roles as, due to the abundance of funding opportunities, education provision hardly causes any transfer of human and financial resources from other areas of the theatres’ work. It is also notable that the theatres’ increasing concern with participation, community involvement and other social issues has neither accompanied changes in their artistic parameters nor decreased their commitment to the traditional audience.

According to D. C. Wilson (1992), the levels of organisational changes are categorised into four degrees: status quo, expanded reproduction, evolutionary transition, and revolutionary transformation. While ‘status quo’ refers to no change in current practices, ‘expanded reproduction’ means operational and quantitative change such as an increase in the amount of existing products and services. ‘Evolutionary transition’ is mainly strategic: significant change occurs but the organisation retains existing parameters such as expertise, technology and overall structure. Meanwhile, ‘revolutionary transformation’ is predominantly strategic: change involves shifting or redefining existing parameters and affects all parts of the organisation at the same time. The expansion of educational work has not been only involved with change in organisational structure, service and image, but also with change in the non-profit theatres’ role in society and their relationship with the state. However, it has so far hardly brought about fundamental changes in terms of artistic and managerial decision-making. Thus, it can

be defined as an ‘evolutionary’ organisational change.¹⁰²

Of course, there exist some theatres that tend to integrate education with artistic decision and management in radical ways. John McGrath, who was one of the pioneers of the political theatre in Britain in the 1970s and 1980s, divided theatres into two types – ‘do it’ theatre or ‘see it’ theatre – and suggested it was the ‘do it’ type of theatre that could attract people, especially young people, who otherwise would not visit theatres (Kellaway, n.d.). The Contact Theatre in Manchester, where McGrath worked, is a good example of ‘do it’ theatre: it provides activities that appeal to young people (e.g., club nights) as well as writer’s groups, performance and dance projects, drop-in drama sessions, and also embraces young people in many areas of management (e.g., on the board and in the marketing department) (Jackson, 2001). McGrath’s idea of ‘do it’ theatre looks similar to participatory work pursued by community artists in that it ultimately aims to share decision-making power and aesthetic authority with the participants.

For most mainstream non-profit theatre organisations, however, the growth in educational work neither means that the organisations are replacing their core work with participatory activities nor that participants are allowed to actively take part in the artistic planning and management of the organisations. In current policy framework, production of art works by professional artists and public participation in arts-making process are seen not as contradictory but as complementary. The former is justified for public funding as long as it accompanies the latter. Radical community arts theorists and practitioners, therefore, argue that although the term ‘participation’ in current arts policy context evokes images of active involvement of the community, the real implication of its use is that a monopoly on defining the arts by established arts organisations remains

¹⁰² Greenwood and Hinings’s (1996) explanation of two aspects of organisational change also looks useful: first, the difference between ‘convergent’ and ‘radical’ changes, and second, the difference between ‘revolutionary’ and ‘evolutionary’ changes. The convergent change is fine-tuning the existing orientation while radical change or ‘frame bending’ involves the busting loose from an existing orientation. Evolutionary and revolutionary changes are defined by the scale and pace of adjustment. While the former occurs slowly and gradually, the latter happens swiftly and affects virtually all parts of the organisation at the same time. In this categorisation, the growth in education can be seen an evolutionary change which is between convergent and radical changes.

unchanged.¹⁰³

Officially, current cultural policy is not concerned with whether or not established art forms – e.g., opera, drama, classical music and ballet – are intrinsically superior to popular arts. Instead, it is more interested in whether subsidised arts organisations can contribute to the achievement of policy objectives such as public accessibility, participation, education and social inclusion. In theory, this can be interpreted as more funding opportunities being open to non-conventional activities including community arts, amateur arts or arts activities that are provided as part of community development projects. However, it should be also noted that there exist many traditional arts organisations who have for long been regular clients of public funding bodies, and that they are actively expanding their education programmes. The government's current intention seems to be to utilise *existing* major clients of public subsidy as its partners rather than transferring considerable public funding to non-conventional organisations or activities. The Labour Party's *Industry, Culture and Agriculture: Second-year Consultation Document* mentions,

a practical step [towards ensuring more education programmes] would be to give money to *large cultural centres* [italics added] with provisos that they should supply a certain level of education and community activities linked with their trade....realistic core subsidy could prevent closure of *existing* [italics added] theatres and orchestras. More positively it would permit a salary structure that would invite actors who could attract new and young audiences.
(cited in Labour Party, 2000, p. 40)

In this environment, opera companies, which have often been accused of serving the well-off middle class, can be newly viewed as playing an important role in producing social impacts, as heard in the following remark by Chris Smith, the then Secretary for

¹⁰³ For example, Webster (1997) insists that the provision of participatory programmes is 'an approach that gives the appearance of the sharing of power without the necessity of actually changing anything. Many institutions, better able to see the advantages of being seen to give up power rather than actually giving up power, have seized on participation as a very effective tool of legitimation....Participation becomes an effective method to preserve the status quo rather than to challenge it....Orchestras now have community outreach programmes, theatres run workshops for community groups, and museums have culturally specific programming whilst running workshops in various media....It does not, however, necessarily change or challenge anything' (p. 20).

Culture, Media and Sport, at the Theatre 2001 conference:

I saw just last week some of the work that English National Opera has been doing in Bermondsey, working with groups of teenagers to develop first of all their own musical about their own lives and the history of their own club, but now moving on to make a video of a production that those children are doing of **Orpheus and Euridice**. It will be an experience that for those teenagers will probably be more formative in developing them as fully rounded human beings than virtually anything else they do. (Smith cited in SOLT, TMA & ITC, 2001, p. 28)

For participants or potential participants of the programmes, non-profit arts organisations function as one of the professional organisations in many areas that are ‘an essential ingredient of empowerment’ (Baistow, 1994). Their provision of educational programmes can be seen as ‘expert services’, which become part of everyday life of the public in helping to shape the individuals’ sense of identity – as an active and creative member of the community – and in enhancing their relation with society (Giddens, 1990, pp. 27-29). The non-profit arts organisations’ new roles as experts of personal empowerment and social inclusion are reinforced and supported by the emerging new formula for the roles of government, the public and the subsidised arts organisation:

- (a) government as an enabler, institution-shaper and policy-maker;
- (b) a non-profit arts organisation as ‘an expert’ that provides creative education and social inclusion programmes as well as producing the arts;
- (c) the public as empowered citizens and active participants in social, political, economic and cultural life.

Educational work is an ‘expert area’ also in that its planning, design, implementation and evaluation tend to be virtually self-controlled. The persistence of the traditional mode of the relationship between non-profit theatre and their public funders allow the theatres to interpret the notion of education in many possible ways, decide what is the best way to achieve it and whom they should target, and mostly self-evaluate education programmes. This means that, rather than being reduced to being government’s instrument, the theatres are being positioned as a partner of the public sector.

Nonetheless, it is also true the strategy of the theatres has so far been 'passive'. Although they have made efforts to take advantage of the changing environments and maximise their professional autonomy through 'game-playing' and 'decoupling' from formal institutions, their strategy has been bound up with the policy framework. For instance, the case study has demonstrated that the theatres incline towards categorising target groups according to policy agendas, and opportunistically organise programmes that fit in with the current funding context. However, it seems unclear how far such a passive strategy can be effective, especially when de-differentiation between the arts, the market and politics is being accelerated.

The non-profit theatres should also note that their expertise in social inclusion and community development is often challenged by people who are more directly involved in these areas of work. For instance, the amateur arts sector is clamouring for more recognition and financial assistance from the arts funding system. Similarly, people from the field of community development tend to cast doubt on whether conventional arts organisations have adequate expertise. For example, Gould (2000, p. 69) argues,

It is important that both Government and the arts recognise that this is an area of specialist activity. Not all arts organisations and artists should be expected to deliver in this area, because unskilled practitioners and organisations can pose risks to the beneficiaries. My only concern about recent arts policy is that it has not attempted to resource specialist practitioners and agencies, but has concentrated on existing, regularly funded clients who in some cases do not have the right expertise.

In order to play more part in shaping their institutional environments, the theatres – if not subsidised professional arts organisations in general – may need to actively engage in developing new notions and frameworks that can better demonstrate their artistic values, and new practices that are more substantial in reflecting their relations with public funders. What is clear from my observation is that perceiving the arts world as having an exclusive logic and reluctantly embracing social roles can hardly be a helpful strategy for the arts sector. The changing institutional context seems to make it impossible for organisations to oppose the newly evolving interconnections between the

arts and other areas of social activities, with the old means of calling for artistic autonomy and the non-profit arts' inherent right to be subsidised. This would probably delimit the place for the arts in society and block their ability to redefine themselves in a changing world. Rather, the arts sector needs to recognise the importance of 'cross-links' or 'synthesis' among formerly distinct areas, according to the specific context of today's society. What is necessary is that the sector builds up its capacity to actively explore the ways in which the arts can be connected to society and in which arts organisations' needs and visions are also well addressed. Moreover, the professional arts organisations may need further articulation of their language and approaches in order to demonstrate that they can produce, for their communities, something which cannot be easily replaced by the work of other types of organisations.

Summary

In this chapter, I have attempted to explain the close association of the belief in the educational function of the arts with the institutional changes in the arts sector in Britain since the nineteenth century. It has been argued that the romantic view of the arts has motivated various actors in the sector to challenge existing institutional regimes and create new ones. The notions of 'differentiation' and 'de-differentiation' of the arts have been introduced in order to explain significant consequences of macro-level institutional changes in the recent history. It has been pointed out that such large-scale institutional changes have been driven by the state policy and its mobilisation of financial sources.

The chapter then moved its focus to the complexity in institutional change itself, looking at some aspects of the actual process of politicisation. Under the policy logic, actors in the sector have developed new justification for public subsidy and adopted new practices, but they are still greatly influenced by arts-centred beliefs and norms. Thus, the chapter has concluded that politicisation can be seen as an integration of artworld and policy logics. This has also led me to revisit the institutional framework which was proposed in Chapter Two. As a consequence, a revised framework has been suggested

for an analysis of the current institutional context of the non-profit arts: here, institutional persistence and integration are emphasised more than tension.

Finally, the chapter has argued that in the new environments where different institutional logics are increasingly integrated, non-profit theatres can redefine themselves as an 'expert' in arts programmes for educational, social and civic purposes, without radical organisational change. While keeping their traditional roles as professional producers of high arts, they are expanding their remit to newly emerging areas of 'creative education', 'participatory arts for social inclusion' and 'arts for community development'. Nonetheless, the chapter has suggested that, in order to play an active role in determining their environments, organisations in the non-profit arts sector need to make an effort to take the initiative in exploring the ways in which the arts can be linked to social issues and in producing relevant policy agendas.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have attempted to theorise about the huge expansion of educational work in British non-profit theatres since the 1990s, from an historical and institutional perspective. One of my assumptions was that the integration of education programmes as a taken-for-granted activity of the theatres was an ‘historically specific’ phenomenon. This assumption was supported by the finding that the relationship between theatre organisation and the notion of education had been dynamic throughout recent history. Another assumption was that the institutional approach would be most useful for explaining the sector-wide organisational change. Consequently, I proposed a multi-dimensional and dynamic institutional framework, where three different institutional forces – logics of artworld, market and policy – are likely to coexist and shape the environments of the non-profit arts. With this framework as an analytic tool, the changes in arts policy and in its conceptualisation of education have been examined.

The post-war period of arts policy was characterised by the ‘predomination of the artworld logic’. Arts subsidy was excluded from political debates, and the influence of market logic on the view and behaviour of actors in the sector was considerably limited. Arts-centred organising principles such as ‘artistic autonomy’ and ‘excellence’ were highly valued, and relevant norms and practices (including ‘arm’s length principle’, ‘peer judgement’, ‘producer subsidy’ and ‘subsidy for arts’ sake’) developed. During this period, the arts funding system inclined towards interpreting education as the intrinsic nature of the arts – its civilising, enlightening and refining values – that were heralded by late nineteenth and early twentieth theatre professionals and cultural elites. Provision of extra programmes for educational purposes was viewed as an option that individual theatres could take. Although the TIE and community arts movements challenged such an institutional arrangement, they did not bring about large-scale

institutional change in the sector.

The period since the 1980s has seen market logic emerge as a newly dominant institutional force and begin to shape the official discourse on the arts and public arts subsidy. Although marketisation policy did not cause any significant transformation in the arts funding structure, it resulted in changes in language, norms and practices in the sector. The arts were redefined as part of cultural industries and arts subsidy as public investment that aimed at economic returns. Individual arts organisations were forced to be more efficient and market-oriented. However, the evolution of education policy in the arts funding system and conceptualisation of education in terms of audience development illustrate that marketisation was not a neat alteration of institutional regime but a more complicated process where old and new institutions (e.g., belief in artistic autonomy vs. market orientation) interplay and reconcile.

The thesis has argued that, since the 1990s, the non-profit arts have entered a new era of 'politicisation': state intervention has intensified and the role of the arts in society has been newly defined in terms of their social impacts. A policy framework for arts subsidy has developed and new practices (e.g., 'official policies', 'policy guidance', 'policy reviews', 'funding criteria' and the government's own funding schemes) were introduced. Managerial practices have been widely used as part of this process. The social and educational efficacy of the arts became recognised as a new justification for public arts subsidy. In particular, creative education and participatory arts projects began to be seen as an innovative way to change people's way of life and tackle social issues. Such a shift in the environments has pressurised arts organisations to take on the new roles of social agencies and vehicles for social change. It has also accompanied a gradual change in the geography of the subsidised arts sector: convergence of alternative and state-led activities, and amateur arts gaining legitimacy.

The case study of four English theatres has demonstrated that their increasing involvement in education is an organisational strategy to adapt to the new environments. However, it is also shown that, although education is now a taken-for-granted part of the

theatres, it is in practice positioned as an additional activity and hardly influences the artistic and managerial sides. Another finding is that external intervention is still limited while the traditional non-interventionist approach persists. Thus the thesis concludes that educational work has entitled the theatres to a new expert area, on which they are acknowledged to have authority and knowledge, and government and public funding bodies cannot easily intervene. These findings imply that, like marketisation, politicisation should be perceived as a complex process of institutional change, where different logics and practices tend to mix and combine while policy logic provides new dominant narrative on cultural policy and management.

In the following section, I will summarise the contribution of the thesis towards research into cultural policy and suggest future research agenda.

Institutional approach to analysis of arts policy and management

This thesis has tried to explore institutional theory for analysing shifts in arts policy and changes in non-profit arts organisations. The existing theories on modern arts (e.g., Bourdieu, 1993; Danto, 1964; Dickie, 2000; also see Weber, 1978) can be seen as adopting institutional approaches: they generally suggest that participants in the arts world or cultural field tend to think and behave according to a unique logic. Similar accounts are provided by some of the comparative cultural policy and economics literature. The existing writings elucidate why and how the unique culture in the arts world has developed, but they are limited in analysing the ever-changing institutional context of the subsidised arts sector in Britain since the 1980s.

For conceptualising institutional change from a macro perspective, the notions of ‘institutional logics’ (Friedland & Alford, 1991) and ‘dimensions’ (Scott, 1991) have been helpful. With ‘institutional logics’, the thesis has suggested that cultural belief systems or sets of worldviews play an important role in legitimising particular types of values, practices and norms in the sector, and encouraged all actors to share them widely. With the notion of ‘dimensions’, complexity in the environments has been articulated. Combining those two notions, the thesis has argued that artworld logic is one of many

institutional forces in the non-profit arts sector, and thus one needs to pay more attention to other dimensions such as the market and policy, in particular when one investigates large-scale institutional changes. It has been demonstrated that any investigation of the development of new norms and practices or consequent organisational changes in the arts sector should be undertaken on the condition that the broader institutional context is fully analysed.

The thesis has also thrown light on the role of the state in determining the institutional context of the art sector. Existing institutional approaches to the British model of arts funding tend to perceive the state simply as a source of benevolent funding (see Chapter 2.2). However, I have pointed out that the state's involvement in the arts has more significant implications: since the outset of arts subsidy, the state has played an important part in shaping the environments of the arts sector. Above all, state subsidy directly led to the formation of the non-profit theatre sector, and helped differentiate professional non-profit theatres from their commercial, popular or amateur counterparts. Also under state support for the non-interventionist model of arts subsidy, arts-centred beliefs, norms and practices could be legitimised and consolidated. However, the role of the state has been more obvious since the 1980s when it began to apply market and policy logics to the sector through a wide range of policy measures: coercive introduction of new language and practices, new funding opportunities, and dissemination of new knowledge and skills. In this light, I have suggested that resource dependency theory, too, provides a useful explanation of how new norms and practices have been institutionalised in the sector. Nonetheless, use of this theory should be made on the ground that one first examines why key resource holders came to have particular expectations on the role of arts and why they regarded certain practices of arts organisations as more appropriate.

Another contribution of this thesis is that it has called attention to complexity in the institutional change itself. By examining institutional persistence and the gap between formal and informal institutions, one may better explain why existing beliefs and values are still supported by many actors and how they coexist with new norms and practices.

More concern with such complexity may help one to avoid deterministic interpretations of recent institutional change, which are often found in the existing writings on marketisation. The thesis suggests that a close investigation of the interplay and integration of different sets of institutions should be one of the key agendas for cultural policy research.

Education as a site of convergence and potential conflict

The thesis has shown that the relationship between the theatre and education has been dynamic, and the recognition by society of their close relations has played important roles in shaping and reshaping the nature of theatre organisation throughout recent history. Interestingly, it has been found that belief in the educational mission of the arts has motivated actors in the sector – including arts professionals, cultural elites, the state and alternative artists – to attempt to change existing environments and set up new institutional regimes. Although the actors have argued for different rationales and goals, their understanding of the arts is in line with the romantic argument developed in the nineteenth century ('the arts can bring about positive transformation of people').

However, conceptualisation of the notion of 'education' in the arts funding context has been, in turn, determined by the overall institutional context: from 'the intrinsic nature of the arts' to 'participatory programmes' aimed at radical social and political purposes, and to 'a necessary part of audience development'. Since the 1990s, education has been re-conceptualised as a medium through which the arts can be connected to society, politics and economy and produce direct benefits for the public. Such understanding of education is likely to encourage de-differentiation of different types of arts activities in terms of their provision of participatory activities.

However, there also exists potential conflict around education in the arts. For instance, professional non-profit arts organisations show a tendency to interpret education as 'audience development' as well as 'personal development' rather than services directed to social purposes, though they place emphasis on the social impacts of education programmes in order to justify their use of public money. Their strategy is to take

advantage of funding opportunities while continuing to devote themselves to their traditional role as professional arts producers.¹⁰⁴ Organisations in the amateur and cultural development sectors claim more recognition and public subsidy for their activities, while often questioning the authority and expertise of professional arts organisations in the area of social and community development. Meanwhile, radical community artists are critical of participatory arts projects developed within the policy framework, and argue that the arts should produce an alternative agenda such as the diffusion of decision-making power to participants. It would be interesting to observe how those different groups try to legitimise their activities and formulate policy agendas of education and participation.

‘Politicisation’ as a complementary or alternative notion to ‘marketisation’

This thesis has challenged existing cultural policy research that sees marketisation of the arts as a radical and fundamental transformation of the arts funding structure and/or culture in the subsidised arts sector. It has been pointed out that existing writings show little interest in the unprecedented development of state cultural policy since the 1990s and the increasing use of the arts for social purposes. In order to fill this gap in cultural policy analysis, the notion of ‘politicisation’ was proposed: this notion can be used as a theoretical framework that is complementary or alternative to the marketisation framework. By highlighting the strengthening role of state policy in the field of arts, this thesis also provides a counterargument to the theories that conceptualise changes in overall public policy areas since the 1980s as simply the ‘end of the state’, ‘hollowing out the state’ or ‘from the state to the market’ (e.g., Gray, 2000; McGuigan, 1996; Rhodes, 1997).

Departing from reciting ‘market economy’ either as an alternative to or enemy of the welfare state, this thesis provides new accounts of the recent shift in public policy. The decline of the welfare state, the failure of the market alternatives and the prevalence of

¹⁰⁴ For example, Maitland (2002), a well-known arts marketing consultant, says ‘The more rash our claims to be able to help the homeless, feed the hungry, stop people thieving and turn youngsters into responsible (and arts attending) adults, the more arts funding is available to us – which encourages us to be not altogether honest about our activities in order to keep our arts organisations alive’.

social exclusion discourse have encouraged the state to adopt a more 'cultural' approach to social issues (see Driver & Martell, 1998, 2002; Giddens, 1998). This movement implies that the roles of the arts and the state and their relationship are altering again. While the state's concern tends to move from welfare provision (redistribution of wealth) to cultural governing, the arts become imposed social responsibilities under direct state intervention. Thus, I suggest that attention to the politicisation tendency should be at the centre of any analysis of contemporary British cultural policy. However, it should be noted that my analysis has put more stress upon the changing relationship between the state and the arts: how the state attempts to increase its control over the arts sector, how far it has been successful, and how non-profit arts organisations react to the new environments. Meanwhile, an analysis of the actual impacts of arts participation on individuals and society is beyond the scope of this thesis.

So far, there has been little examination of the effects of creative education and participatory arts programmes. Although Comedia and NFER reports have attempted to measure them mainly through participant surveys (using questionnaires and interviews) and had very positive results (e.g., Harland et al., 1998; Matarasso, 1997, 1998a, 1998b; also see Downing, 2001), more multi-faceted analysis of the long-term impacts of arts participation is yet to be done. Also, it will be interesting to see how the impacts can be distinguished from those of conventional social services or non-participatory arts consumption. Such investigation seems to be a large research project that may need both theoretical and empirical, and qualitative and quantitative approaches.

Nonetheless, the findings of this thesis may provide an implication. That is, externally driven institutional change (or cultural change) scarcely brings complete transformation in beliefs, values, norms and practices of organisations or people. The existing ways of life are likely to persist especially when they are deeply associated with individuals' identities. These findings may encourage policy-makers and arts organisations to give more attention to involving participants with central decision-making with regards to how to define their needs and how to make the participatory programmes reflect their identities and preferences. It is in this context that alternative approaches to education

and participation still remain to be explored.

Another question concerns the relationship between cultural governing and the welfare state. For both cultural and social policies, it seems to be an important research agenda to examine how far the cultural approach can tackle social issues caused by structural and economic problems. As Walker (1997) suggests, social exclusion is an outcome of a complex process of people's failure to access political, economic and social as well as cultural lives. This implies that the cultural approach alone cannot solve social problems, in the same way the traditional approach of the welfare state (i.e., redistribution of wealth through welfare benefits) cannot. Therefore, how both approaches can be cross-linked and what cultural policies can do for it should be another important agenda for future research.

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Appendix One List of Interviewees

1. List of Interviewees for the Case Study (total twenty-four individuals)

- Colin Blumenau, Director, Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds
- Natasha Buckley, Actress/Education Officer, Mercury Theatre, Colchester
- Carrie Carruthers, Programme Director, Cambridge Drama Centre
- Adam Clarke, Policy and Grant Officer, Cambridge City Council
- Helen Dilley, Head of Education, Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds
- Sam Glazer, Press and Marketing Assistant, Mercury Theatre, Colchester
- Simone Goddard, former Education and Training Manager, Theatre Royal, Norwich
- Jonathan Goodacre, Marketing Development Manager, Eastern Touring Agency
- Header Griffin, Education and Training Manager, Theatre Royal, Norwich
- Roberta Hamond, Education and Community Manager, Cambridge Arts Theatre
- Mark Hazell, Marketing and Publicity Director, Theatre Royal, Norwich
- Kim Jameson, Cultural Services Manager, Colchester Borough Council (telephone communication)
- Ronessa Knock, Arts in Education Co-ordinator, Essex Arts in Education Service, Community Education, Essex County Council (written communication)
- Jos Leeder, Advisory Teacher for English and Drama, Suffolk County Council
- Mari Martin, Arts Officer, Norfolk County Council
- Bridget O'Brien, Education Officer, Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds
- Alan Orme, Drama Officer, East England Arts
- Ian Ross, Executive Director, Cambridge Arts Theatre
- Matthew Sanders, Head of Marketing, Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds
- Adrian Stokes, Associate Director, Mercury Theatre, Colchester
- Valerie Tinker, Performing Arts Development Manager, Essex County Council

Nicola Upson, Marketing Manager, Cambridge Arts Theatre

Nick Wells, Festival, Arts and Entertainment Manager, St. Edmundsbury Borough Council

Peter Wilson, Chief Executive, Theatre Royal, Norwich

2. List of Additional Interviewees (total seven individuals)

Norrine Betjemann, Senior Education Officer, Arts Council England

Brian Bishop, Education Officer, Warwick Arts Centre

Simon Dunmore, Chair, Theatre Director's Committee, Equity

Tony Jackson, Senior Lecturer, Department of Drama, Manchester University
(written communication)

John Pick, former Professor, Department of Arts Policy and Management, City University (written communication)

Michael Quine, Senior Lecturer, Department of Arts Policy and Management, City University

Toby Scott, Finance and Business Planning, Arts Council England

Appendix Two Interview Questions for the Case Study

1. Questions to Individuals at the Four Theatres

(a) General information about the interviewees and their organisations

How long have you worked for this organisation? *

What was your background before this position? *

How many people visit your theatre per year?

Where does the audience come from?

What has been the most important change in your organisation (in terms of organisational structure, management or artistic direction) in recent years? *

(b) History of educational work and driving forces behind its expansion

Do you have an education department?

Do you have a full-time education officer?

When did you create the post of full-time education officer?

How was the post financed in the first place?

Before the mid-1990s, what types of education activities did you have?

Has your theatre been involved in TIE activities?

What made your theatre increasingly committed to education in recent years?

(c) Definition and interpretation of education/ types of education activities

What is your own definition of education? *

What do you expect from educational work? *

What types of education activities do you have?

Who are the main targets of the activities?

(d) Management of educational work

How much budget do you have for education?

Where do education expenses come from?

Do you think running education programmes can break even?

Do you have a long-term plan for education? If not, why?

How do you initiate a new project?

When you plan education, whom do you consult with?

Do education officers run programmes by themselves? If not, why?

What is the structure of the education department?

Do you hire freelance education officers? If so, why?

How do you evaluate your education activities?

If you use questionnaires for evaluation, what kind of questions are normally asked?

Do you use performance indicators for evaluation?

Have you ever carried out an external evaluation?

(e) Relationship between education and artistic planning

What is the role of the Director (Chief Executive or Executive Director) in planning education programmes?

How, and to what extent, does education have an influence on artistic programming?

Has your theatre invited particular theatre companies because their educational programmes are good?

(f) Relationship between education and marketing

How do you promote educational activities?

What do you think is the general relationship between education and marketing? *

How do marketing and education officers cooperate?

Has the marketing department proposed any initiatives in planning or designing education programmes?

To what extent is education helpful to marketing? Have you conducted any quantitative evaluation on the marketing impacts of education? *

(g) Relationship between the theatre and public funding bodies

How would you describe your relation to EEA or local authorities?

What impacts have the recent changes in cultural policy had on your relationship with them?

* marked questions were also asked of the Marketing Development Manager, ETA.

2. Questions to Individuals at the Local Authorities and EEA

(a) General information about the interviewees

How long have you worked for this organisation?

What was your background before this position?

(b) Information about the organisations

What has been the most important change in your organisation (in terms of organisational structure, management or arts funding policy) in recent years?

Do you have a written arts policy or cultural strategy? If so, when did you create it? /

If not, why?

What are your main objectives and criteria for arts funding?

(c) Definition and interpretation of education/ types of education activities

What is your own definition of education?

What do you expect from educational work?

(d) Relationship between the funding bodies and the theatres

What type of grant do you provide the theatre?

Do you have representatives on the board of the theatre?

How do you perceive your relationship with the theatre?

Do you have any formal relationship (e.g. formal funding agreements) with the theatre? If so, when did you start to use the agreement? / If not, why?

What are the contents of the agreement?

Does the agreement specify requirements for educational activities?

How do you monitor and evaluate the performance of the theatre?

Do you use performance indicators? If so, when did you start to use them? / If not, why?

What kinds of indicators do you use? What is their ultimate use?

What happens if the theatre cannot achieve the outcomes or outputs specified in the agreement?

Do you think that you have a say in the management of the theatre? If so, how? / If not, why?

Appendix Three

Local Authority Performance Indicators for the Arts

1. PIs of Four Local Authorities in the Eastern Region

Excellence

- Number of performances
- Number of new works commissioned
- Number of international collaborations

Cultural economy

- Number of people employed
- Spending with business in the region, local area and town/city

Lifelong education and inclusion

- Number of workshops and classes
- Number of participants of workshops and classes according to locality, gender, disability and ethnicity
- Number of workshops given for social services according to locality
- Number of social service users who took part
- Number of workshops given in health care settings according to locality
- Number of participants of workshops in health care settings

Equality

- Disability-led activity
- Activities made available to people with disability
- Activities that are African, Caribbean, Chinese or Asian-led

Audience development

- Number of tickets sold
- Percentage of tickets sold
- Number of audience according to locality, gender, disability, ethnicity

Partnerships

- Whether or not the client formally consults the public about its work.
- Whether or not the client has been involved in any regeneration, community development or similar initiatives.

2. Current Use of PIs by Local Government Arts Officers in England

Indicator	% of surveyed arts officers
Financial indicators	
£ cost per user	44
Earned income per year	44
£ subsidy per user	37
Outcome indicators	
Total attendances/uses per year and/or total number of events/activities per year	74
Efficiency indicators	
Percentage of total capacity achieved	44
Subsidy per user	37
Quality and innovation indicators	
Consumer satisfaction	58
Total number of educational visits	55
Number of new activities/events and exhibitions per year	45
Press and media coverage, and critical responses	43
Equality indicators	
Visits by target groups: age	25
Visits by target groups: ethnicity	15
Visits by target groups: disability	17
Visits by target groups: gender	15
Outcome indicators	
Community benefits	47
Social impact (including relevance to local arts plan or corporate strategy and economic benefit)	32

Source: Selwood (1999, table 3.9).