ΠΑΝΤΕΙΟ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΩΝ

ΤΜΗΜΑ ΕΠΙΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΣ ΜΕΣΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ

ΠΜΣ ΣΤΗΝ «ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΤΙΚΗ ΔΙΑΧΕΙΡΙΣΗ»

ΤΙΤΛΟΣ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑΣ: «The Evidence-based Policy (EBP) question. A contextual and conceptual review»

ΤΖΙΟΥΜΑΡΗΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ: 4112Μ001

2013 – 2014

ΤΡΙΜΕΛΗΣ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ

Επιβλέπων: Επίκουρος Καθηγητής Γεώργιος – Μιχαήλ Κλήμης

Μέλη: Αναπληρωτής Καθηγητής Νικόλαος Λέανδρος

Λέκτορας Μάρθα Μιχαηλίδου

Στην μνήμη του πατέρα μου

Contents

Introduction

I came across the term "Evidence-based Policy" (EBP) for the first time, when I was studying my first master's degree in London in 2009. It captured almost immediately my attention as a policy and management concept, since my interest in culture has always been twofold. On the one hand, culture as a process and result of the human activity and on the other hand, as a product that can be managed towards certain goals, through certain processes of construction, measurement and evaluation.

It became clear to me that EBP could be a valid answer to my cultural policy questions. This means that EBP could be proved a useful tool for the development of reliable strategies and initiatives towards an efficient, effective and economical utilization of culture and cultural products in relation to other cultural, social, economic goals and aspirations. This exact promotion of the claims of the above three "Es" by EBP made me believe that I should shift my academic and professional interests towards this direction.

The pluralism in terms of definitions, concepts, uses, ways of implementation and evaluation soon made clear to me that a clarification of the EBP endeavor need to be accomplished. Although a flourishing literature related to EBP in general, exists in academic and professional contexts, it has been consistently difficult for me to acquire a holistic view of the scope and the primary characteristics and critiques of it.

The historical roots, the intellectual, the political and policy contexts and uses of EBP could only be accessed and studied in fragmented and reductive ways. It occurred to me that in order to synthesize a more comprehensive picture of EBP, a more systematic work had to be done in terms of a systematic review of the existent bibliography of the above subjects. Of course this is a pursuit that surpasses the scope, the capabilities and the goals of a master's dissertation. As a result, certain methodological limitations had to be implemented.

The presented research has taken the form of a systematic literature review. According to Petticrew and Roberts this kind of reviews are "a method of making sense of large bodies of information, and a means of contributing to the answers to questions about what works and

what does not" (2006: 2). So, this is a safe way to organize an abundance of information, to rule out repeatable pieces of knowledge and to highlight the most significant elements of a concept which are objectively required for its valid and consistent contextual and conceptual description.

Moreover, systematic reviews are quite helpful when it comes to the demonstration of conflicted and/or biased results of that can occasionally occur. A critical and systematic fashion of summarization of representative studies and related literature can be quite helpful clearing up the pathway of the researcher from work that has been undertaken according to the scientifically questionable wishes and pursuits of funders, fellow researchers and studies that have been conducted according to non-scientific ways, in general (Ibid: 5).

EBP is primarily considered to be a way of informing policy on solid grounds. This is proclaimed to be secured through the utilization of "hard" evidence. This calls for the need of objective, criss-crossed and scientifically produced data that can be used towards the construction and the evaluation of policy initiatives. Systematic reviews are important tools in the sense that they aggregate knowledge that is produced by a usually large number of single studies or other broader literature reviews. So, they tend to be an invaluable source of information that directly supports policy practitioners and professionals (Ibid: 11, 12, 15). Usually, in this kind of research a meta-analysis is being delivered, in the sense that it is based both in primary and secondary research. The *Cochrane* and *Campbell collaborations* in the USA and in the UK are significant examples of such meta-analyses in health care area in particular that are considered to be of the most influential worldwide (Ibid: 20).

Summing up, a systematic literature review is the research method of choice when it comes to the need of the process and synthesis of large amount of information of various levels of validity. They are a safe way to "provide an objective, comprehensive summary of the best evidence" and they have proven their ability in the practice and policy effort and to the pointing of new research directions (Ibid: 22, 23).

Petticrew and Roberts underline seven general stages in carrying out a systematic review:

1. Definition of the question set to answer.

2. Determination of the types of studies selected to review.

3. Comprehensive literature search.

4. Screening the results of that search.

5. Critical appraisal of the included studies.

6. Synthesis of the reviewed studies

7. Dissemination of the findings

Following the above steps our research was conducted accordingly, being adapted to the needs of our general topic. Our main goal is to understand the meaning of the EBP as a cultural policy tool. This means that we need to describe accurately the ways that it functions, produces insights, constructs evidence through the utilization and compilation of a broad range of different types of data. In order to achieve those, we need firstly to define the historical and intellectual contexts in which EBP is rooted. We need to understand the general underlying logic inside it.

The choice that we made in this dissertation is the geographical limitation of our research in the UK which is the country that according to the literature EBP, especially in cultural policy, have been diachronically developed and broadly implemented. Another, more practical, reason for this methodological choice is that information from the UK is more easily accessible in contrast to other countries. There have been conducted numerous single studies and systematic reviews and most of them are openly accessible through the internet.

Our selected bibliography consists of studies that were undertaken from the Arts Council England (ACE) and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and academic literature on broader British cultural policy themes. The time spectrum that we focused on goes roughly from the T. Blair's first win in 1996 since the Coalition government. According to the

academic literature this is the most prolific area of the EBP in terms of measurement, initiatives, projects and policies.

We proceed with the selection of our researched literature having as a guide the bibliography that the official institutions like ACE and DCMS based their research work. Having their work as a starting point, academic literature was our companion and tool for interpretation on the choices that were made by government officials and other commissioned researchers. Clearing up the historical and intellectual context and positioning inside it the cultural policy developments of almost the last 30 years, it became possible for us to achieve a greater awareness of the complexities of this particular concept, understanding it in a comprehensive way.

The present thesis consists of three broad chapters. The first one is titled "The Context Overview" and presents the historical and intellectual background of the EBP. Starting from the Puritan era it deals with the dualistic approach of the intrinsic and instrumental dipole on the value of the arts. It connects it with the British political and economic developments until the 1980s "instrumental shift" that has been defining until now the cultural policy talk in Britain.

The second chapter deals with the Premises of the EBP focusing on the UK paradigm. Here, there is a primary exploration of the various definitions of EBP and its complementary concepts. We examine the nature of what is called "evidence" and "data". We trace the close connection between social research and policy decisions and we proceed with a comprehensive description of what we call "the dominant EBP model".

Since we have explored in the second chapter the relation between EBP and public policy, in our last third chapter our research focuses on the implementation of the EBP in relation to the arts in the UK. The social and the economic impacts of the arts are coming forth. Data collection and evaluation methods are considered in parallel with a considerable strict body of critiques. At the end of the chapter there is a brief presentation of the recent developments on British EBP approach.

It has been more than clear that a further research on the EBP area needs to be undertaken, ideally in a PhD level. The promotion of good practices, a selection of benchmark studies and a valuation of the fruits of the EBP rationale on cultural policy needs to be made. We believe, though, that a strong first step is made with our present contribution to the area.

1. The Context Overview

1.1 What is Cultural Policy?

Talking about Evidence – based Policy (EBP) in arts, is of course a discussion that involves arts and evidence, obviously, but most importantly regards the concept of policy. A rather common misconception among professionals and practitioners is to confuse cultural policy with cultural talk, in general. As it will become clear, influences and tensions between culture and arts, and policy have been taking place hitherto, as expected. However in order to concentrate to our main topic, we need to constantly bear in mind that the ground of the present discussion is the policy conceptualization in relation to culture and not the other way around. The latter would be central into areas such as the sociology of art and cultural studies.

Hence, for reasons of terminological elucidation and in order to establish a common understanding regarding the complex concepts that are being presented further below in this report, clarification of definitions is a valid starting point for the EBP discussion.

According to Williams, the words "culture" "is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language" (1988: 87). This is because its use in several European languages is usually relates to different concepts and takes place in different contexts and disciplines of thought.

Bennett argues that nowadays, there are two prevailing notions of the word in real life world, in general (1995: 201):

- The 'aesthetic' notion
  According to this, culture describes the products of intellectual – artistic activities such as drama, music, dance, painting etc.
- The 'anthropological' notion
  It refers to a way of life of a small community or nation or a group of nations (eg the Western world) etc.

Following these two notions of culture, Miller and Yudice point out that it is connected with policy in two registers: the aesthetic and the anthropological (2002: 1).

- The 'aesthetic' register

  It revolves around the artistic output of creative people and is judged by aesthetic criteria as they occur from cultural criticism and history. Culture defines the "taste and status" of social groups and is regularly used for purposes of marking differences and similarities among these groups.

- The 'anthropological' register

  It designates the ways of how people live their lives and built their common sense of belonging and identity. It presupposes the notions of language, religion, custom, time and space.

As a result, the two writers conclude that, on the one hand "the aesthetic articulates differences 'within' populations" (e.g. social capital variations among different social classes) and on the other hand "the anthropological articulates differences 'between' populations (e.g. Italians prefer pasta and Germans prefer sausages) (Ibidem).

Following the above, cultural policy can be conceived as "the institutional support that channel both aesthetic creativity and collective ways of life – a bridge between the two registers" (Ibidem). One main characteristic of cultural policy is the central role of systematic, regulatory guides of action that the participant organizations adopt towards the achievement of their goals and intended outcomes. Cultural policy in this sense is highly bureaucratic rather than organic (Ibidem). It uses a more or less universally determined set of processes such as aid, funding, control, promotion, teaching, evaluation, through the implementation of a certain set of tools such as report and review compilations, funding agreements, production of strategies etc, against predetermined targets or expectations that should be reached.

For the needs of this preliminary stage of the present study, we will use as a working definition of cultural policy, what Bennett describes as "policies relating to the cultural sector as a whole,

including the so-called cultural industries of broadcasting, film, publishing, recording, as well as the live performing arts, museums and heritage" (1995: 201).

1.2 The historical context of British cultural policy

As part of the contextualization of our discussion, it will be enlightening to trace the historical and political intellectual route that leads to the present British cultural policy and practice. Continuity can reveal interesting points that will help us acquire a deeper understanding of it.

1.2.1 From the Puritans to the 1980s

Bennett identifies five pivotal interventions made by the British state in culture. The first one is the decline of the royal patronage of the arts at the mid 1600s, during the puritan revolution, which resulted in the execution of King Charles I in 1649. The writer underlines that this development took place much earlier in comparison with France and Germany. When these countries were transformed into democracies, the practice of state patronage was inherited to them by the former regimes. This explains, up to a degree, the larger scale of state support in contradiction to Britain (Ibid: 201).

The second distinct intervention took place from 1660 and onwards, when censorship had been firmly imposed on the British theatres regulating which genres or scripts would have the state approval to be performed. It is astonishing the fact that from 1737 until 1968 all new scripts had to be submitted to a senior state officer, who had the authority to censor them (Ibid: 202).

The next in line is an intervention in favor of the arts. During the 19th century a limited support of museums, galleries and schools of applied design were benefitted by the state, but only with the combined contribution of private benefactors. No government support was granted to the performing arts throughout this century (Ibidem).

Fourthly, it is in the 20th century that direct government support, occurred with the form of subsidies. The most significant development was the establishment of the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA) during the World War II. The enthusiastic reception of its contribution to the cultural life of the besieged country, by the audiences, led to

its succession by the Arts Council of Great Britain (ACGB), which became one of the primary funding bodies of individual artists and arts organizations throughout the Kingdom. State subsidies had been constantly rising from 1946 to 1980, when a major turning point occurred and which will be discussed further below (Ibid: 202, 203).

Lastly, a significant point that has to be highlighted is that the present British funding system, in general, is a "post-war phenomenon" and has to be understood as a parallel of the development of the Welfare State, which is rooted in the 19th century. It comes as no surprise, though, that this has also been under serious revision since the 1980 (Ibid: 203).

Bennett identifies six main recurring reasons explaining the rationale behind the interventions that mentioned above (Ibid: 203 – 213):

- Laisez – Faire
  During the 19th century the limited state support was an outcome of the dominant ideology of the freedom of the markets, and that included the arts, too. Bennett quotes the 1865 declaration of the then Prime Minister: "God help the government that meddles in art". This has led to another "paradox", regarding the other European Nation's practice. The establishment of a National Theatre had not taken place until 1963.
- 'National Prestige'
  Culture has been seen as source of national pride, since the Victorian era and has remained that way diachronically. Distinctive of this, is that culture is referred as "A Great British Success Story" in an official government document of the 1980s.
- 'Economic Importance'
  Since the publication of the "A Great British Success Story" document in 1985, by the ACGB, the focus on the economic impact of the arts in terms of export value, and the creation of new jobs has been steadily increasing. The pivotal publication that realized the new era of the arts in Britain, as goods capable of creating GDP was the "The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain" in 1988, by Myerscough. He made the case of the arts as a driver for economic growth, based on an economic analysis of the

contribution of the Arts in the National Economy. His agenda was gladly taken over by Conservative and New Labour governments, consecutively.

- 'Civilizing Mission'

  The civilizing idea has been, up until relatively recently, the most enduring and influential factor that has driven the British cultural policy. Having its roots in the Romantic era and under Arnold's influence, who was one of the most significant British intellectuals of the 19th century, the belief to the civilizing powers of the arts, has caught the mind of the policy makers for all the subsequent years. Arts had been seen as the means to ensure the aesthetic elevation of the masses, facilitating that way the control of them by the state, through the softening of unsocial feelings and anger. Although the government expectations for public order through arts had been diminished throughout the 20th century, the civilizing effect of them remained a central goal for cultural policy. BBC and ACGB engulfed and nurtured this concept, rather enthusiastically.

- 'Correcting the Market'

  Along with the Civilizing Mission of the arts, the 19th century's Romantic intellectuals acknowledged that it was, at least partly, incompatible with the laws and the ways of the market, and therefore needed to be supported by the state. The Ideal Public, that Wordsworth envisioned, would embody superior values that would supersede the "crude-judgments of the market-place" and its "factitious" values, correspondingly.

- 'Post-war Reconstruction and the Welfare State'

  As we have seen above, the most significant changes at the British cultural policy took place in the 20th century. This is interrelated to the rise of the Welfare State, immediately after the end of the World War II. Social provision became the centre of the then newly Labour Government's massive reform agenda, which included also, the creation of the National Health Service (NHS) and the national pension scheme. Reformations like these echoed throughout Europe, altering in a significant degree the political atmosphere of that period. Culture and arts, even though were not mentioned explicitly, they were perceived, by the state, as a very important element of the post-war society. It is in the 1945 that Keynes inaugurated the ACGB. Despite of the

restrained financial state of the Kingdom, the arts funding had been growing steadily, for the next 35 years.

1.2.2   1980s. The "instrumental shift"

1.2.2.1 Definition of the "new instrumentality"

Up until now, we had the opportunity to explore the deeper grounds on which the British cultural policy is based, through a historical and intellectual journey of almost 350 years. This long legacy has demonstrated a rather resilient continuity. Its main themes which pass on and on, from generation to generation, beyond their partial transformations due to the progression of time and history, prove sufficiently the "instrumental" pattern of the British cultural policy in its conception and implementation (Belfiore 2004: 186).

According to the definition provided by Vestheim, instrumental cultural policy is characterized by the use of "cultural ventures and cultural investments as a means or instrument to attain goals in other than cultural areas…The instrumental aspect lies in emphasizing culture and cultural venture as a means, not as an end" (1994: 65). Indeed, as it was shown above, matters of economic contribution, public order, civilizing effect, moral elevation, even national branding are themes where culture has been used as a means to a successful meeting of certain targets.

However, Belfiore underlines the repeated observation by a lot of researchers; that of a major shift in British cultural policy of the 1980s towards instrumentality. How is it possible something being already instrumental, to become instrumental? (2004: 186).

Belfiore determines two major changes that distinguish the new era of the 1980s and onwards of the British cultural policy instrumentality in contradiction to the former periods. These are:

- The radical and explicit change of rhetoric.
- The shift from vagueness to the literality of expression on the positive impacts of the arts to the people and the state (error)

1.2.2.2 The radical and explicit change of rhetoric

The instrumental element in the rhetoric in culture talk is more than ever obvious. Although, the previous hundreds of years' instrumentality had been a common rationale in cultural policy, culture and arts were always being grounded on the notions of "excellence", artistic "quality" and "value". As Belfiore points out, at the Victorian era, concepts like these were of paramount importance. The basis for the state support, even the following years, was the "arts for art's sake" principle (Ibid: 188). This is not just any art, but the "excellent" one. It is already obvious that claims such as these, belong to a realm of notions, which are not easy to be objectively measured in order to report quantifiable outcomes.

Moreover, she argues that the advent of the concept of "cultural relativism" has increased the difficulty of these romantic, in their origins, notions to survive in the then new era (the 1980s), because it has undermined the traditional interpretations of culture that these had been linked to. This phenomenon led to what Owens describes as the "crisis of cultural authority, specifically of the authority vested in Western European culture and its institutions" [Owens 1990: 57 cited in (Belfiore: 2004: 188)].

The combination of the shattering of the intellectual basis upon which the legitimacy of public funding of the arts had been standing on until then, and the experience of Thatcherism, which was promoting the reduction of public expenditure and the increase of the notion of "efficiency", was a traumatic experience for the arts (Ibidem). Public funding remained stable for the following years and the question of viability of the artists and the arts organizations was crudely and constantly on the table. The support of the economic contribution of the arts to the national economy, which seemed at the moment a sound strategy of "survival", was embraced officially by the British cultural policy until the publication of Myerscough's 1988 seminal study, which was mentioned above.

But the new political mentality and reality in the Thatcherite 1980s established a completely new world. Its novelty is obvious in its new language, correspondigly. It is exactly this perspective that can give us a more complete picture of the significance of the radical changes that took place in cultural policy, at the time. The abandonment of welfare state, access and

democratization, that dominated the previous years the British political agenda, and the adoption of a corporate mentality in terms of grasp and implementation of public policies have been reflected on the new cultural policy approach ever since (Ibid: 187). Official reports have been compiled according to corporate documents style. Phrases like 'public investment', 'products' and 'consumers' replaced 'subsidy', 'cultural activities' and 'audiences', correspondingly (Ibidem). The 1980s are the crucial transitional period that altered the course of cultural policy in Britain in a most decisive way. Arts had and still have, to deliver, and the expectations have been raised more and more.

An interesting use of the instrumental perspective of cultural policy can be found in the 'policy attachment' phenomenon. Gray, describes its function stating that "policy development in certain policy areas takes place through the attachment of that area to other policy concerns" (2002: 80). These "certain policy areas" he refers to, are usually "weak" in sense of significance in the broader public policy agenda which is evident regarding cultural policy. Belfiore refers to the latter as the "Cinderella of the public policy sphere… as an area of low priority in political discourse" (2006: 20).

Gray continues that an essential characteristic of 'policy attachment' is that it is implemented through the creation of linkages between different policy sectors. Since policy solutions are devised according the ever-changing inherent interests of every policy sector, it becomes clear that a valid target for policy makers is to "attach" the first "to other sets of policy objectives which are seen as being more worthy, or which have higher levels of political importance and acceptability" (Ibid: 81). Hence, it becomes clear that 'surviving' through instrumentality seemed at the time a promising strategy. The three policy areas where the attachment phenomenon of the arts has flourished are (Belfiore: 2004: 188):

- economic development
- urban regeneration
- social inclusion

1.2.2.3 From vagueness to literality

This shift is the second distinctive element of the post-1980s instrumentality of the British cultural policy. 'Literality' refers to the way that the positive impacts of the arts to the people and the state are expressed, rhetorically (Ibid: 189). Since, economic and social impacts of the arts have been perceived as axiomatic, they should be, by definition, measurable and therefore evident through the presentation of 'hard evidence' which of course presupposes a reliable process of data collection (Ibidem). Consequently, new terms of distinctive semiotic significance and power came forth. 'Strategies', 'aims', 'objectives', 'inputs', 'outputs', 'monitoring', 'customers', 'quality assurances', 'evidence', 'value for money', 'targets', 'achievements' are terms that gained prominence in the Tony Blair's New Labour administration that succeeded that Conservatives.

It is obvious that what is described above as a "shift in cultural policy" is connected and interpreted through an aggregation of different, but complementary developments that have occurred at the late 1970s and onwards, roughly. Political change that signaled a serious shift in the public policy agenda, the disruption of a long intellectual and practical tradition regarding arts and culture and the adoption of a corporate ethos and vocabulary are factors that explain only partly the "novel instrumentality" in the British cultural policy and the rise of EBP. In order to complete the whole picture, there are two more concepts we need to consider, which mutually enhance their functions and influences. These are:

- The 'auditing' that has led to a so called 'audit society'.
- The rise of the New Public Management (NPM).

1.2.2.4 The 'auditing'

Power informs us that auditing comes from the domain of finance. According to his definition, it "is an inferential practice which seeks to draw conclusions from a limited inspection of documents, such as budgets and written representations, in addition to reliance on oral testimony and direct observation" (2000: 111). He also stresses that auditing is not the practice of one individual that has the higher skills to judge and therefore to audit, but on the contrary

must be understood as "…collectively negotiated settlements…" as "… the product of many other factors, including training in institutionally accepted practices of evidence collection, such as statistical sampling" (Ibid: 111, 112).

The introduce of auditing from finance to other areas such as health and safety, medicine, intellectual property, education, environmental management is located in the mid-1980s, where its role in the social and economic areas gained prominence. It was coined more and more frequently among an aggregation of different people such as politicians, regulators and consultants (Ibid: 112). Power claims that it was exactly the systematic use of auditing in so different areas and the creation of a lot of bureaucratic structures of evaluation, a true "audit explosion", that led him to the assertion of the term "audit society" (Ibid: 122, 115). The writer underlines that it is so much widespread throughout the British public and private sector that it possesses a "degree of institutional stability and acceptance" (1997: 3).

Power defines three major causes, generally, for the popularity of auditing in Britain (2000: 112-114).

- The rise of New Public Management
  NPM is strongly related to the financial constrained of the British state in the 1980s, which pushed towards a more 'tight' financial policy. Therefore, a growing need for a closer monitoring and Value For Money (VFM) auditing occurred as part of a broader organizational and financial reformation.
- Auditing as a powerful demand
  This has been evident among citizens, taxpayers and others as a means of accountability and transparency of the public services.
- Audity – Quality Assurance
  Auditing has been firmly placed in processes of quality assurance (e.g. ISO certifications etc). This means that through auditing objectives, performance measures could be assessed, controlled, being reported and redesigned and verified.

It seems, in Power's words, that "delegation and internalization of control are coupled to audit processes, which seek to reconcile local learning and improvement mechanisms to demands of performance and regulatory compliance" (Ibid: 114). Another important point to be made is that the enthusiastic adoption of auditing by the British government is a phenomenon that transcends the differing ideologies of the Conservative and New Labour parties, correspondingly. Auditing, evaluation and monitoring culminated during New Labour administration from 1997 onwards. We need to keep in mind that the bigger play is the gradual change of paradigm from welfare state logic to a regulatory state one, where auditing is a central feature (Ibidem).

1.2.2.5 New Public Management (NPM)

According to Hood, NPM came forth in mid – 1970s and it was "one of the most striking international trends in public administration" (1991: 3). He underpins four major reasons trying to explain its prominence (Ibidem):

- Firstly, he relates NPM establishment to government's effort to reduce the growth of the public sector
- Secondly, NPM expresses the general shift from the core state institutions towards privatization or quasi-privatization
- Thirdly, he points to the increased and determinant role of information technology (IT) into the public services.
- Lastly, Hood underlines the significance of the fluidity of knowledge in the global level, which facilitates the interchangeable views and practices that took place among different countries, beyond the distinctive and fixed national modes of public administration.

Hood, considers NPM to be a loosely compiled set of doctrines that promote the empirical knowledge of public management along with the set of clear targets of performance that should be fulfilled, and the establishment of valid indicators measuring (performance). During this process, it is very important to emphasize on output controls, meaning that resources

allocation should take place according to performance efficiency. He continues that NPM also points to the need of disaggregation of the big "monolithic" units of the public sector and to the infusion of the new ones with the competitiveness rationale. Lastly, a crucial element of it is the shift from traditional "military-style public service ethic" to a private and flexible management practice whose one of the main focus was the strict use of resources functioning on the basis of the so called '3 Es'; 'efficiency', 'effectiveness' and 'economy' (Ibid: 4, 5).

The sum of the doctrines that are described above should be considered as a result of the combination of two different 'partners'. The first one is the 'new institutional economics' that have driven to an administrative style based on the ideas of "contestability, user choice, transparency and close concentration on incentive structures" (Ibid: 5). The second one is what Hood calls the "tradition of international scientific management movement" which advocates for an entrepreneurial sense of management. The characteristics of the latter are, in general, the commitment to a "professional management" expertise which is valued over the "technical expertise". It is based on "discretionary power to achieve results" and it is by definition central in order to achieve advanced "organizational performance" through the support of "the development of the appropriate cultures and the active measurement and adjustment of organizational outputs" (Ibid 5, 6).

Hood points that NPM gained fairly soon acceptance as a public management rationale, but he continues that the reasons for that are not quite clear (Ibid: 6). He argues that although the rise of the New Right in Britain was a favorable factor, this is not a sufficient explanation for the adoption of NPM by Labour governments at the same period, as in Australia and New Zealand.

On the other hand, he claims that the rise of NPM was facilitated by a set of four distinct of social and economic developments that had been realized during the long peace period after the end of World War II in the developed countries (Ibid: 7):

- Changes in income level and distribution that led to the prevalence of a more "tax-conscious" electorate coalitions that opposed the government growth.

- Changes in a socio – technical level that blurred the traditional barriers between the public and the private sector

- The rise of the so called "new machine politics" with their novel campaign technology, introduced, gradually, the intensive opinion polling as a major tool in public policy practice. This development granted professional party strategists the status of high authority on objective knowledge against the experiential approach of the established bureaucracies.

- Societal shift to the increase of "white-collar" people that fitted uneasily with the statist, uniform approach of public policy.

Moreover, a key characteristic that NPM brought in the politics arena was that it seemed to possess an ideological neutrality that rendered it compatible with all kinds of administrations of the political spectrum (Ibid: 8). We will see below that one of the most enthusiastic supporter of NPM was T. Blair's New Labour government. In addition to that, NPM has been implemented increasingly, in a vast range of policy areas, private corporations, national administrations, quangos etc. It was and has been perceived as a promising and effective solution for "management ills" and at the same time it could easily be adapted to different conditions (Ibidem).

2. The Premises of EBP & the UK Experience

2.1 The political context

"We will be a radical government. New Labour is a party of ideas and ideals but not of outdated ideology. What counts is what works. The objectives are radical. The means will be modern. Britain will be better with New Labour" [T. Blair, Labour Party Manifesto for the 1997 General Election, cited in (Wells 2007: 22)]

"This Government has given a clear commitment that we will be guided not by dogma but by an open-minded approach to understanding what works and why. This is central to our agenda for modernizing government: using information and knowledge much more effectively and creatively at the heart of policy-making and policy delivery" [D. Blunkett, Speech to the ESRC (02/02/2002), cited in (Ibidem)].

The modernization of public management has been one of the main goals of the New Labour administration since its rise to power in 1997. A series of official documents of the period state explicitly that at the heart of such a reformative endeavor lies the acknowledgment of the value of evidence regarding the design and implementation of public policies. Evidence has to inform the administration of the public sector in order to achieve the highest efficiency possible. This would take place through the implementation of objectively effective interventions, utilizing the state resources in the most productive way.

The "Modernising Government White Paper states clearly that public policies should "deliver outcomes that matter… that are forward-looking and shaped by the evidence…" It continues that "…Government expects more of policy makers. More new ideas, more willingness to question inherited ways of doing things, better use of evidence and research in policy-making… building on existing good practice" (Cabinet Office 1999: 15 - 16). In addition, it stresses that key principles, among others, towards the modernizing agenda would be "the learning from

experience" regarding policy as a "continuous learning process", which would be achieved by improving "the use of evidence and research" (Ibid: 17).

But even if the explicit reference to the need of design and implementation of public policies based on evidence reaches its highest peak with Blair's New Labour, there is certain continuity in time and an expansion in geography, revealing the broader impact of this idea:

"Indeed I want to see more data generated by the profession to show what works, clearer information about teaching techniques that get results, more rigorous, scientifically robust research about pedagogies which succeed and proper independent evaluations of interventions which have run their course. We need more evidence-based policy making and for that to work we need more evidence" [Michel Gove, Secretary of State for Education, 2010, cited in (Davies 2012: 41)]

Moreover, Barack Obama in his Inaugural Address as the 44th President of USA in 2009 stresses that his administration will be based:

"Not [on] whether our government is too big or too small, but whether it works, whether it helps families find jobs at a decent wage, care they can afford, a retirement that is dignified. Where the answer is yes, we intend to move forward. Where the answer is no, programs will end" (Ibid: 42).

David has already noticed in 2002 that EBP has gained significant prominence in public policy well beyond Britain (2002: 213) and Davies, ten years later, argued that it has made a worldwide impact, at least at a rhetorical and organizational level. In his account, apart from USA, EBP has been adopted also by Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and organizations such as OECD, UNESCO and the World Bank (2012: 42).

Returning in Britain, Wells notices, "what counts is what works" and "what works and why" have been statements, that not only describe a general rationale of the New Labour administration, but they express the specific direction that followed towards the implementation of the social and economic agenda (2007: 23). It is clear that "modernization"

presupposes the appraisal of evidence as the basis of the decision-making process concerning public policy.

Solesbury, notices that state agencies all over the UK, local authorities, quangos, the National Health Service, both public and private sector in general, present an increased demand of knowledge which should inform their activities. At the same moment, relevant publications, consultancy reports, research studies etc, have been increased exponentially in numbers and popularity (2002: 91).

Public expenses on social and economic research towards the production of more and robust evidence have grown continually. Davies reports in 2004, that government have been spending over 150 million pounds every year solely on research purposes related to these two areas, via the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). He highlights that the government departments and agencies occupy about 4000 social researchers from whom 1000 of them are governmental employees. (2004: 21).

Furthermore, there is a constantly rising trend of proliferation of organizations as governmental advisors or influencers during the 20th century. Pressure groups of all kinds, think-tanks, professional bodies and statutory organizations are among them and their primary tool has been the collection and presentation of all sorts of evidence (Davies et al 2000: 1).

2.2 Preliminary definitions

An all-around and universally valid definition of EBD could be proven a rather slippery slope. Nutley et al, warn us that there is a broad range of definitions depending on interpretational approach. According to a 'narrow' definition, EBP is "a movement that promotes a particular methodology for producing a specific form of evidence: systematic reviews and meta-analyses of robust (often experimental) research studies aimed at assessing the effectiveness of health and social interventions" (2007: 12-13). They continue that the synthesis of the evidence in a guideline form which can inform programs of policy interventions is of highly practical value and therefore it is of substantial importance. EBP approaches such as this generally come from healthcare and criminal justice sectors (Ibid: 13)

Davies, utilizing the contradiction between what he calls "opinion-based policy" and EBP, gives us a broader definition of the latter by stating that, it is "an approach that helps people make well-informed decisions about policies, programs and projects by putting the best available evidence from research at the heart of policy development and implementation" (2004: 3). He claims that in contradiction to EBP, "opinion-based policy relies on selective use of evidence, personal, unproven views leaving room for ideological bias and/or sheer speculations (Ibidem).

Nutley et al commenting of the above Davies' definition broaden it even more by claiming that "what counts as evidence is more wide-ranging than just research from evaluations of what works". They call for a more inclusive methodological perspective, where multiple and diverse research methods are able to extend the researcher's reach, in order to address the crucial questions of the nature of a given problem that demands solution, of the reasons of its occurrence, and of the specifications of the solution that will be granted (2007: 13).

In such a grasp of EBP, not only the expectations from the researchers rise significantly, but a big range of research and evaluation studies will have to be added in the standard bouquet of monitoring data and the expert's knowledge that is produced through stakeholder consultations (Ibidem).

2.3 Social research and the policy process

Sanderson, articulates that it is a popular view, the advent of EBP in the centre of public policy to be seen as a signifier of the domination of the Enlightenment's legacy of rationality over the forces of post-modernism and post-structuralist deconstruction. It is a common theme that the inherent position of knowledge in the "what works" principle in implementing public policy is the ultimate confirmation for such an argument. Drawing from Pawson and Tiley (1997), he states that according to this view, EBP being used as an informative tool of the rationale of "what works for whom in what circumstances" can bring forth to our understanding the way that policy mechanisms initiate change in social systems, resulting in the improvement of the designed policies that would deliver the desirable outcomes (2002: 1, 2). He concludes that this "modernist-rationalist" project is also evident at the public sector reformations of the countries

of the OECD, which in its turn claims that "results-oriented management provides a new management paradigm" (Ibid: 2).

Head, summing up the above, talks about the "promise of EBP" that is brought in the public policy area, on which politics and managers base their efforts. That is the apparent opportunity "for continuous improvement in policy settings and program performance, on the basis of rational evaluation and well-informed debate of options. The prospect of mutual benefits for managers, researchers and citizens is alluring" (2008: 1).

The linkage between social sciences research and public policy is not a novel phenomenon at all. Political power and systematic knowledge where aligned together at least since the Enlightenment, when the second was perceived as a tool against governmental legitimacy reliant on precedent, authority and religious values (Ibid: 9). The modern state, though, has greatly valued scientific knowledge too, for its contribution in economic growth, national defense and citizens' social improvement and well-being. "Relevant" and "usable" knowledge that social sciences could provide to policy and decision makers has been enthusiastically endorsed by both of them (Ibid: 1).

Davies drawing from the work of Lavis et al (2003) and Amara et al (2004) argues that there are three possible ways utilizing research knowledge, which operate together but in diverse ways at different stages of policing and contexts, accordingly (2012: 43). These are:

- **'The Instrumental way'**

  It is defined as "acting on research in specific and direct ways, such as to solve a particular problem at hand" (Lavis et al 2003: 228)

- **'The Conceptual way'**

  It "involves a more general and indirect form of enlightenment" of the public (Ibidem).

- **'The Symbolic way'**

  It is utilized not for decision-making purposes but "to justify a position or action that has already been taken for other reasons… [or] …to justify inaction on other fronts"

(Ibidem). The first one is usually called as the "political use of research and the second one is referred to as "the tactical use of research" (ibidem).

Amara et al argue that the above three ways of research knowledge utilization are not conflicted, but complementary. They also claim that according to their empirical investigation, the conceptual way of using research knowledge is the most common one in the day-to-day activities in policy context, for both professionals and managers working in governmental agencies. It is interesting to notice that they conclude, suggesting that next in the line is the symbolic use and the instrumental is merely third (2004: 98).

2.4 The Nature of Evidence

Davies et al, beginning the exploration of the notion of evidence argue that there are multiple paths to follow in order to grasp its concept. He defines two extremes of this endeavor (2000: 2):

- "All evidence must conform to certain scientific rules of proof"
- "Any observation on an issue (whether informed or not) might be considered evidence"

Beyond such deterministic views that, as we will see below, will be proved considerably contestable, the writers highlight that in any case, evidence has to be able to be observed and verified independently and that there has to be reached a unified understanding of its contend and interpretation (Ibidem). Due to the use of "evidence" in a broad spectrum of areas in social sciences and other, and the implementation of differing methodologies of research, accordingly, it tends to be defined and acknowledged in quite different ways.

For Davies et al, evidence corresponds primarily with the results of primary and secondary research according to clearly demonstrated and scientifically acclaimed methodologies (Ibid: 7). According to them, certified sources of such evidence are government departments, research institutes, universities, charitable foundations, consultancy organizations and agencies such as the Audit Commission and the Office for Standards in Education etc (Ibid: 3). Although this is the fact, they stress that they would not absolutely exclude as irrelevant the empirical knowledge that derives from professionals and practitioners (Ibidem).

It has become apparent up until now, that EBP is a concept strongly related with politics and research. These interconnections, as we will see, have serious interrelated implications on the nature of evidence and on the ways of its utilization in a given context. As a result, a formulation of a fixed all-encompassing definition of EBP would not only be reductive, but non-workable, too.

Let us make at this point a brief descriptive account of what constitutes of evidence in order to acquire a more complete picture of the policy process and more importantly the multiple factors that influences it. Davies enlightens us in a quite consistent way (2004: 7-15):

- **'Systematic reviews'**

  They are compiled with evidence that is the output of previous researches. These were conducted according to the proper and most rigorous scientific methodologies. Systematic reviews are considered to be invaluable in that they provide a balanced, representative and objective view of matters and their results can be safely used to generalizations and/or "interim evidence assessments".

- **'Single studies'**

  They are a very common tool of supporting public policies. Although there is serious critique on methodological integrity and quality of evidence, they can provide invaluable insights regarding treating policy interventions separately taking into account its specific context. Their most apparent disadvantage, as a policy tool, is that their evidential output regarding variability of populations, contexts, and conditions in which the examined policy interventions might work or not, is fairly limited.

- **'Pilot studies and case studies'**

  They are sources of evidence that use a range of methodological approaches in order to provide preliminary guidance to policy makers, a step before commencing the design process of the policy. However, it is a usual phenomenon that there is a limited amount of time to undertake such a procedure. Hence, the methodological standards of transparency and rigorousness can and in many cases are dismissed.

- **'Experts evidence'**

It is related to the experts' opinions on matters of policy and is usually used on purposes of advocacy and government policy support. However, there has been significant critique on experts themselves regarding the use of selective or out-of-date data. Davies in his most sharp critique refers to them as the "GOBSATT – good old boys sitting around talking turkey" [Davies et al 2000, cited in (Davies 2004: 10)]

- **'Internet evidence'**

Internet bursts from unlimited data, though of questionable quality and value. Again scientific and political bias and selectiveness are apparent. Hence, critical process in scientific manner is of utmost importance before its utilization.

- **'Impact evidence'**

It is acquired through systematic reviews that targeting precisely, evidence of the effectiveness of interventions. In many cases they are concerned with "the impact policy on outcomes" and the reviews that are based on, usually follow experimental or quasi-experimental methodology.

- **'Implementation evidence'**

It is closely linked to the previous category. Its distinction refers to the emphasis on the assessment of "the effectiveness implementation and delivery of policies, programs and projects". Methodologically are on the same track with the exception of the addition of high quality qualitative data that are acquired through consultation methods such as in-depth interviews, focus groups and observational methods like social surveys and participation-observation methods. However, there has been critique that refers to implementation evidence as imperfect and often inconclusive [Grimshaw et al 2003: (cited in Davies 2004: 12)]. The stress is again on the need for more clear evidence on the particular conditions of success or failure of an intervention and on the capability of generalization.

- **'Descriptive analysis evidence'**

It is a valuable source for policy process. Its content comes from "descriptive surveys and administrative data about the nature, size and dynamics of a problem, a population, sub-groups, or social activities". Data are usually cross sectional, time-series and

comparative including diverse variables and are collected through sophisticated methods. It is also used for the measurement of processes and outcomes.

- **'Public attitudes and understanding'**

  Such researches go beyond opinion polls utilizing also qualitative research methods in parallel with social surveys. The goal is to obtain insights of attitudes, values and comprehensiveness of the public.

- **'Statistical modeling'**

  It is one of the most common sources of evidence for governmental use. It requires the application of linear and logistic methods combined with prospective policy scenarios. Precision and validity of such an analysis depends highly on sound empirical evidence.

- **'Economic evidence'**

  It refers to cost, cost-benefit and cost-effectiveness analysis. Econometrics analysis and models as evaluation methods are the methods of choice. Such data are usually very highly valued and concerned by governments especially regarding the continuation or not of the interventions. Performance management in the sense of setting and meeting targets partakes greatly in the successful or unsuccessful assessment of government's overall performance and so, caution is needed on the validity of these targets.

- **'Ethical evidence'**

  There are certain cases where governments disrupt certain policies only to replace them with others or to transfer its resources to another area or group of people. Usually the reasons for that have to do with cost-benefit issues. In that sense, certain ethical issues are raised on what grounds such an action is undertaken. Issues of the existence of sound evidence of relative effectiveness and cost, personal experiences and perceptions of the people that participated and social justice are raised. The chosen methodology in this case is public consultations and the retrieval of evidence according to social ethics area.

Young et al, highlight, though, that there is no uniform approach in the ways that evidence is thought to inform policy. They distinguish five different models based on the relation between research and policy (2002: 216 – 217):

- **'The knowledge driven model'**

  The baseline assumption is that research is ahead of policy. Confidence in the authority of the scientist is apparent, and the spirit is that if, according to his opinion, something is able to be done then surely it will.

- **'The problem-solving model'**

  In this, policy leads the process by setting the priorities agenda for the research to implement.

- **'The interactive model'**

  Policy and research influence each other, co-shape their concerning agenda, which is formulated "within policy communities" where they both belong, among other factors.

- **'The political/tactical model'**

  It is heavily characterized by the dominance of realism, in the sense that policy is understood as a political process outcome. In most cases, the research agenda is set by the politics through commissions where the actual result should be supportive of the point that the commission has put under scientific consideration. Advocacy for politically suspicious matters is an often case and scientific disinterest is out of the way.

- **'The enlightenment model'**

  According to this, the research targets are not devised to address directly to specific problems by proposing equally specific solutions. However, research is being utilized as a tool for providing to the decision makers the opportunity to contextualize their thought in an informed way and to come up with the appropriate solutions, by themselves.

2.4.1 Influences and challenges

As it has become clear up until now, the fundamental principle of EBP at its most basic and essential conceptualization is that it supports "policymakers make better decisions, and achieve better outcomes, by using existing evidence more effectively, and undertaking new research, evaluation and analysis where knowledge about effective policy initiatives and policy

implementation is lacking" (Davies 2012: 42). We have seen above the pros and cons of the use of evidence and the tensions between social research and policy expectations. Here we will summarize some of the most distinctive challenges that arise from the adoption of EBP as a policy framework in relation to the policy process realities.

- **'Factors of influence other than evidence'**

  Some of them considered to be values, beliefs and ideologies alongside with the experience and expertise of policymakers. The level of availability of scarce resources, bureaucratic particularities and lobbyists are also actively engaged in the policy formation. Hence, EBP to be effective needs to integrate the above factors in its processes in a functional and complementary to the evidence way (Ibid: 42).

- **'Evidence per se is not a driver of action'**

  Evidence is inherently, in a degree, uncertain and inconclusive. It only provides the grounds on which decision should be taken. Hence, impact and formative evaluations allongside multiple rigorous methodologies are essential for its productive use (Ibidem).

- **'Different notions of evidence and different absorbing capacities between researchers and policymakers'**

  As we have seen there are diverse thoughts on what constitutes evidence and there are also different degrees of value, usability and processing. The lack of consensus at these areas is one of the main and usual problems of EBP implementation (Ibidem).

- **'The research, evaluation and analysis process is primarily indirect and usually takes time to produce observable changes'**

  Davies drawing from Weiss (1982) articulates that this does not mean that evidence is of limited influence. High quality research is a time consuming effort and its outcomes to be inserted in policy making also demands long time. In this sense we always need to bear in mind the useful distinction between "operational (day-to-day) and strategic (medium- to long-term) use of evidence" (Ibid: 43).

- **'There is a gap of understanding between governments and researchers on research delivery, policy design and expectations'**

What is in work here are contextual and perceptual tensions. Governments expect solid, positive and conclusive policy results which are being set at a predetermined political agenda. In their views, policy is bounded by facts, norms and desired outcomes leading to different problem definitions and priorities of action and strategic policy work and problem definition is done inside the mentioned agenda. Evidence, in this framework is often contestable. These are factors that are not always in agreement with researchers' modus operandi and who often fail to acknowledge that the "political approach and interpretation" of policy is an element that cannot be ignored by them (Head 2008: 8)

2.5 Evidence in the UK public policy

2.5.1 The "dominant" EBP model

In various degrees, elements of the above five models can be found at work in UK in diverse levels of implementation. Beyond that, it can be identified in Wells words a "dominant" model of EBP that New Labour promotes in its agenda. Following Sanderson (2002), he claims that at the centre of it there is an "instrumental rationality", which is based on scientific and apolitical grounds (2007: 25).

Head, elaborating further on the latest New Labour "incarnation" of EBP sets the relation between knowledge and policy in the context of the modern emphasis on "rational problem-solving" where the focus is on "accurate diagnosis and knowledge linkages". He adds that the "what works" principle brings forth in the EBP agenda novel "strategic concerns with risk analysis" and promotes the compilation of know-how guidelines/tool-kits as a means for addressing known problems (2008: 2).

Moreover, he underlines that government plays a central role, both direct and indirect, informing the policy agenda, setting the priorities for social science research, funding research projects through commissions on governmental and non-governmental departments and agencies. Government, also promotes diversification of knowledge in methodological terms, encourages contestability among agencies, think-tanks and contractors, and rewards and

recognizes "commercially-focused knowledge and technical forms of scientific excellence (Ibidem).

Actions such as these are undertaken under the primary principles of NPM that, as we saw previously, has been adopted as governmental management model. The application of social sciences towards the continuous import of systematic-collected data to large databases and the commitment in its scientific process and rigorous analysis is an "investment on useful knowledge that is a common practice in the private sector. In Head's words "evidence-based approaches… fill important gaps in the value chain as data is transformed into information and usable knowledge" (Ibidem). This is of course the absolute conceptualization of what is known as "knowledge-management" system, which has been argued to be competent to address the dominant claims of efficiency, effectiveness and economy.

At the New Labour administration, EBP has been championed as the means to address various, complex policy problems. During the 70s and the 80s, due to the increased trend of outsourcing of public services, problems in administration and management occurred. This situation called for a shift from this, until then, dominant approach. A significant investment was undertaken in central units and the production of commissioned of evidence-based consultancy reports was increased (Ibid: 3).

The main goal was to explore new and more effective policies that would be less technocratic (top-down) and more based on a "network" approach. Through the engagement of communities, stakeholders consultations and the co-operation of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), a new rhetoric of "collaboration, joined up services and multiple networks linking stakeholders and sectors" came forth (Ibidem). Hence, during this process a major point of question became the kind of evidence that was needed in order to meet the demands for this more integrated paradigm in policy interventions. As a result, in this period we witnessed new technologies of data-gathering and analysis, towards to the introduction of more sufficient impact assessments and benchmarking processes (Ibidem).

Such a "network" approach not only was a major departure from the largely technocratic conception of the role of research and evidence in the policy process, but also signified a

completely new input of "evidence". This was the stakeholders (the other members of the network) relevant information, interpretations and priorities. Hence, it is the complexity of the nature of the social problems, and the invitation of the stakeholders to participate to the policy-making process that led to the need of utilization of diverse, new kinds of evidence, that had a crucial role to play in the policy effectiveness principle (Ibid: 4). This new broader view of evidence, required the rigorous research of the applied social sciences to be put on a wider context. Hence, Head convincingly argues for the acknowledgement of not only one, but of multiple "evidentiary bases" possessing the potential capability of facilitating the improvement of design, implementation and evaluation processes of policies, increasing their effectiveness. This whole effort consists of a function that is characterized by "a more holistic and networked policy environment" (Ibidem).

Summing up, we can distinguish three main sources of knowledge from where evidence arises and are vital for policy processes (Ibid: 5). These are:

- **The political expertise on doing things**
- **The social sciences research**
- **The experience and insights of practitioners and professionals**

Head, though, argues that the above sources, should not only be granted as formative categories but as, corresponding to them, "lenses" through which the observation of policy analysis can provide us a deeper understanding of the discussion regarding these multiple evidence bases (Ibidem). According to him these are:

- **'Political knowledge'**

  It is considered to be "the know-how, analysis and judgment of political actors. As we have seen above, politics (politicians, parties, public media etc) sets the policy agenda, defines strategic directions, communicates and advocates policy interventions and its bearing messages and ideology. Political context is a decisive formulating factor for policy decisions and actions that are undertaken at this level. Selectiveness of the

utilized data and partisanship is more than usually observed. Opportunism and ideological agenda is in many cases implicitly or explicitly evident. Accordingly, the evidence base is fairly narrow and shaped by the political convictions, which often are supported by confirmative, commissioned research projects (ibidem).

- **'Scientific (research-based) knowledge'**

  It is produced by acclaimed academic methodologies and its primary goals are to review already present knowledge, to interpret contextual conditions and to confirm causality relationships between context and facts, but also between interventions and outcomes. It is usually acquired through interdisciplinary approaches, is systematic and is concerned with claims of rigorousness and quality and consistency of data. It has to be mentioned that rigorousness in many occasions is underpinned by quantitative data which due to its epistemological relation with natural/positive sciences is considered to be explicitly "scientific". Although, this view has been dominant, qualitative data "are increasingly seen as central in helping to explain the conditions and nature of behavioral change" (Ibid: 6).

- **'Practical implementation knowledge'**

  It refers to the "practical wisdom of professionals in their communities of practice and the organizational knowledge associated with managing program implementation". The members of these communities are dispersed among all sectors (public, private, NGOs, independent). They are working at all level of policy implementation and management and they deal with the everyday reality of the area. Their knowledge, being acquired through their practical expertise, is considered to be open-minded, but tends to be undervalued. It is usually bounded to their particular area of action and it is most of the time concerned by "best practice" and effectiveness concepts. Their continuously evolving knowledge is prioritized, valued and translated to guidelines, rules and protocols. IT systems utilization is apparent, especially to the areas of practice, where business models of operation are the general trend.

Figure 2. Three Lenses of Knowledge and Evidence
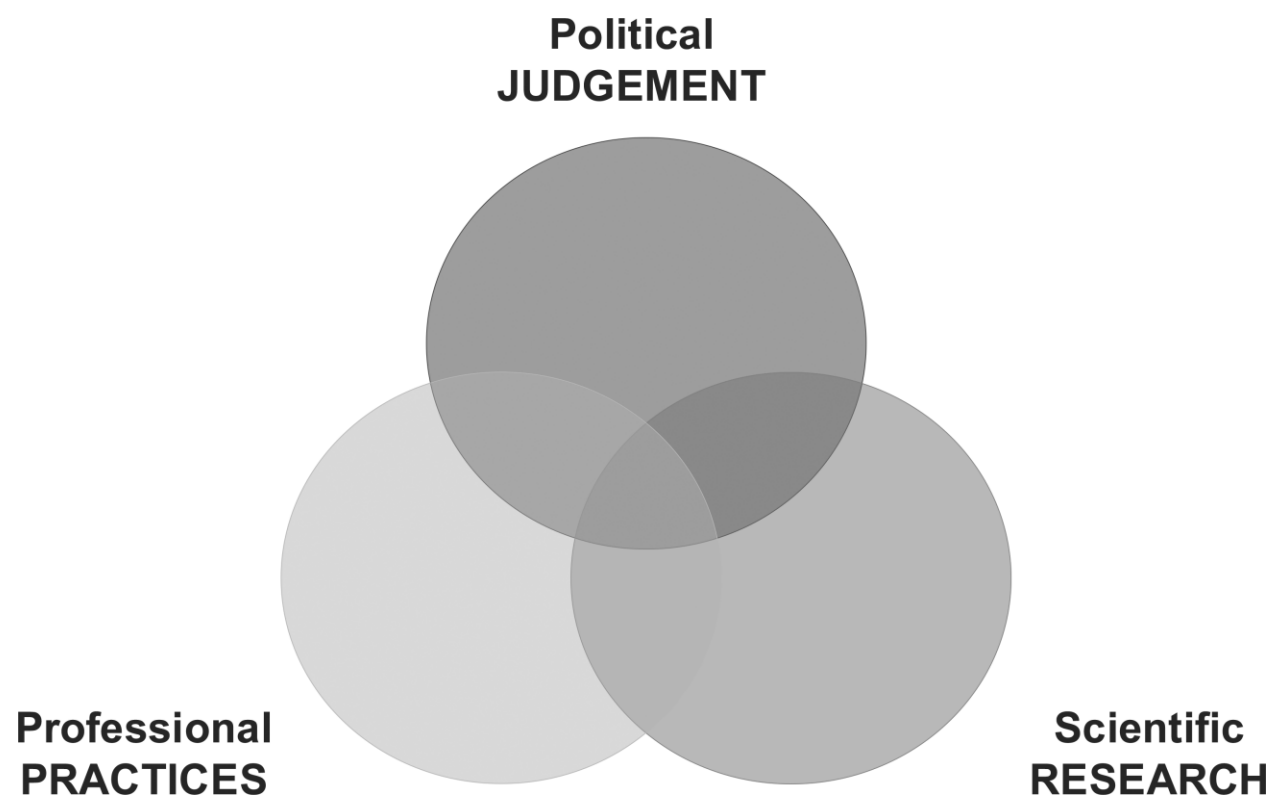
Cited in Head (2008: 6)

2.5.2 Impact assessments

Impact assessments[1] are a widely used tool of EBP, which has been granted with a significant institutional appeal, because it is always required when policymaking involves estimation of and action on "costs, a new information obligation, administrative burdens, redistribution, regulatory change or involves a European Union directive (Davies 2012: 46). They consist of a predetermined "structured way of gathering evidence". Apart from assessments of effectiveness, they are utilized to obtain insights on "the reasons of government intervention", the possible options of actions to be undertaken towards the meeting of the determined targets and to "understand the consequences of a proposed intervention" (Ibidem).

According to the governmental guidelines, impact assessments process consists of six stages:

- **Development**
- **Options**
- **Consultation**
- **Final proposal**
- **Enactment**
- **Review**

During this, the evidence that is gathered is critically appraised in terms of quality, cost-effectiveness and cost benefit (Ibid: 47). It is clear that the instrumental use of evidence is

---

[1] For complete presentation and in depth analysis on impact assessments see:

BIS (2011a), *Impact Assessment Guidance When to do an Impact Assessment*, London, Department of Business, Innovation and Skills, available at: http://www.bis.gov.uk/assets/biscore/better-regulation/docs/i/11-1111-impact-assessment-guidance.pdf.

— (2011b), *IA Toolkit How to do an Impact Assessment,* Department of Business, Innovation and Skills, available at: http://www.bis.cov.uk/assets/biscore/better-regulation/docs/i/11-1112-impact-assessment-toolkit.pdf.

apparent. Its utilization provides robust insights on the logic of the 3 Es (efficiency, effectiveness, economy) alongside with the highlight of the possible consequences of a given intervention at regulatory, environmental, social and economic levels. Symbolic use of impact assessments are not excluded as well, because they give a very good opportunity for justification of pre-determined positions (and we are again on the political agenda as a context for policy process) (Ibidem).

2.6 Facilitating the implementation of EBP

Davies drawing from a wide literature (Stocking 1992; Lomas, 1993; Davies, 1999b; Nutley and Davies, 1999; Davies, et al 2000; Nutley et al, 2002; Nutley et al 2003; Grimshaw et al 2003; Davies 2004) summarizes and distinguishes six ways that could promote and facilitate the implementation of EBP, connecting rigorous and most of the time, academic research with practice (2004: 18 – 21):

- **'Integrating research into professional competence'**

    The main assumption in policy is that researchers (doers of research) and policymakers (users of research) are two distinct worlds. Although this may be true up to a degree, it is of great importance for "users" not only to acquire some level of familiarity with the most common research methods in certain policy areas, but also to possess the ways to utilize them in their practice. Joint training alongside researchers and analysts is recommended.

- **'Ownership of evidence'**

    That is the co-work and co-operation between researchers and policy makers and practitioners. This is an effective way to avoid imposition from above of questionable quality evidence by managers, bureaucrats and others.

- **'Shared notions of evidence'**

    The establishment of a common language among all interested parties regarding fundamental notions such as evidence, impact, input, output, outcome etc, is very

important to the adoption of a common view of the policy process, facilitating mutual understanding on intended goals and methods of working. The contrary, makes the policy communities more and more receptive to questionable evidence promoted by lobbyists, pressure groups, consultants and others. In addition, the establishment of joint teams of researchers, practitioners and policymakers are the most effective way to the development of strategic approaches towards the policy process, where the questions asked and answers delivered would be mutually understood and more effectively implemented.

- **'Getting appropriate "buy-in"'**

Policy makers and practitioners apart from owning and using evidence should be "signed up" to the support both of the research project and its outcomes. Hence, in case that the researched policy intervention found to be ineffective, they will be willing to end it without having other agendas on the background (eg. political expediency or other). Moreover, proven good practice should be championed and promoted, by them, too.

- **'Incentives to use evidence'**

Actions that will effectively urge practitioners to use evidence are important for EBP adoption. Rewarding methods, such as an increased budget, would be an appropriate way. Moreover the set of achievable and grounded to reality targets that will not discourage them is also a sound method of action.

- **'Availability of sound evidence'**

The actual existence and availability of quality evidence that is reliable is at the centre of the efforts to promote its use by the policymakers and practitioners community. The trend of the foundation of institutions, such as the Cochrane and Campbell Collaboration, that are concerned about the production and circulation of quality evidence points to that way.

.

3. EBP & the Arts. Collecting Data – Constructing Evidence

3.1 Searching for evidence - The Department of National Heritage (DNH) era

Policy and performance evaluation as a requirement for the British cultural sector began in 1982 (Selwood 1999: 89). Efficiency, effectiveness and value for money were, as expected, at the centre of the cultural policy of that period. Government agencies such as the Audit Commission and the National Audit Office were responsible for monitoring and ensuring the implementation of these three targets. ACGB, one of the principal funding bodies of the cultural sector, has been encouraging its funded organizations to adopt the same managerial practice, accordingly. In addition ACGB demanded that they produce sufficient income in order to fund, partially, their activities supplementing the public subsidy that they received from it.

From 1986 and onwards, the cultural sector has been officially described as "a major employer and economic catalyst". Vocabulary change was also apparent. "Subsidy" was replaced by references such as "investment", "sponsorship" and "support". Funded organizations were the "clients" and audiences became the "consumers" (Ibidem). Economic and social issues (access, participation and social inclusion) have been seen as the drivers of cultural activities, at least for the central political agenda.

The first two major contributions in evidence literature were the "Facts about Arts" document by Nissel in 1983 and its 1986 second edition by Myerscough. These represent the first attempts that set out to prove through statistics, the significance of the cultural sector to the British economy and society (Selwood 2002: 15). The British national-level cultural profiles were constructed according to the first edition. But it was only at the end of the 1980s, when collections of national data, which were retrieved regularly from the funded bodies that were added to the initial attempts (Ibid: 18). Myerscough's "The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain" in 1988 was the first conclusive study that provided economic evidence for the

contribution of the arts to the national economy. Performance indicators appeared in the official literature at the early 1990s, mainly through Arts Council (Ibid: 19).

It is very important, though, to notice that the claims that characterise, at large, the British cultural policy until today, have their origins in the 1980s era of the Conservative administration. In general terms, these were:

- **Accountability**
- **Strategic management**
- **Improvements of the quality of public services**
- **Greater access**
- **Greater participation**
- **Identification of the cultural sector as a wealth sector**

The principles of NPM and the demand for auditing, that were described previously, were implemented at full speed (Ibidem).

The Department of National Heritage (DNH) was established in 1992 by the J. Major Conservative administration. DNH assumed responsibility for the entire cultural sector and gained its representation at the Cabinet, in contrast to its predecessors, signifying the ascendancy of the importance of culture in a state level (Ibid: 20). The newly elevated political status of the arts was not without consequences. With the succession of the ACGB by the Arts Council England (ACE) in 1993, the first signs appeared that the arm's length principal was trembling. Increased demands by the government from the DNH in the basis of accountability and contribution led to the rise of intervention to the ACE function, by the department (Ibid: 21). This occurred mainly through the arts funding system.

In 1991, there were established four principal policy objectives, according to which the performance assessment framework of the arts funding system was set up (Selwood 1999: 100). These were:

- **Excellence**

- **Access**

- **Economy**

- **Efficiency**

This assessment framework was the basis on which the national strategy for the arts would be designed and implemented in order to examine "whether the public money spent has been to best effect and how those responsible can do better in the future" (Ibidem). The performance of the arts organizations should be measured through quantitative and qualitative indicators thus each sector to be comparable with the other in terms of art form and spatiality. Due to limited sources of data, at the time, the economic indicators that were selected were overall turnover, sponsorship and earned income. Data regarding audiences' numbers and profiles was not available at the time (Ibid 101).

Accountability and strategic management were introduced in practice later than in rhetoric, apparently. It was the structure of the newly founded DNH (1992) and it's increased political status that boosted it. DNH success depended on its funded bodies' (ACE, etc) results. That was a clear distinguish among the other departments of the Cabinet. Consequently, it saw its role as a "catalyst for effective action... in part policy oriented and strategic and in part supervisory" (Selwood 2002: 22). Hence, accountability and value for money became a permanent demand. Therefore, DNH introduced a series of initiatives targeting the advancement, of the funded bodies, at these areas. Some of them included the introduction of corporate business plans, staff training, and performance indicators of social and economic impact. The ultimate goal was the creation of objective benchmark of performance and the identification of strengths and weaknesses, towards a more informed decision-making (Ibidem). Another major tool to this direction was the implementation of funding agreements in 1996, between DNH and its funded bodies as ACE (Ibidem).

Since 1994, the range of data that ACE demanded from its funded organizations, and under DNH's guidance, has been significantly broadened. These included: income; expenditure; attendance; attendance ratios; performances; exhibition days and workshops; deficits; demographic composition of organizations and boards; national companies; art form

differences; new work; education for the 14-19 group; cultural diversity; arts and disability; equal opportunities (Ibid: 101 – 102). It seems though, that the proposed system of performance indicators was not followed by all of the funded bodies, even if this was certainly compulsory, at least in a rhetoric way. Hence, in 1999, it had not been evident yet, a utilization of the collected data towards a coherent cultural planning on a national level (Ibid: 103).

Alongside with the relatively general performance talk, from Nissel report's findings and onwards, there has been an increased focus on the economic agenda of the arts. Nissel's and Myerscough's reports, in 1988, shifted attention to it. There have been two major reasons for that. The first one, was that DNH wished to disengage the fundamental reliance of the cultural sector on public funding, and the second one was that from the first time the growth prospects of the national GDP because of the arts, were presented as a realistic opportunity; not only that, but, according to Myerscough the arts were already a sector with significant productiveness and economic contribution (Selwood: 25). Through the making of the "economic case", ACGB has been able to increase public funding (now "investment") for the arts, since the mid-1980s and onwards.

Apart from the economic contribution of the arts, a major element in the cultural policy of the era was the concepts of "access" and that of "community development and volunteering". Access has become a centre political issue, since 1990s. It is strongly associated with the Labour movement of the 1970s and the local authorities in the 1980s. Its main theme was understood "in the sense of providing forms of cultural provision 'for the people', encouraging the widest possible involvement in those arts receiving public subsidies and using the arts to contribute to 'quality of life'" (Ibid: 26). The implications from the rise of this concept were twofold.

On the one hand, a shift of the perception of public services occurred as public-oriented and not for the sake of organizations themselves[2] (!). On the other hand, it signaled the recognition of the individuals' role to the policy-making process through extensive consultations in a context that promotes social democracy. The public agencies were seen as moving closer to the needs of the citizens (Ibid: 27). It is in this spirit that issues of cultural pluralism and diversity,

---

[2] This one refers to the public services of the local authorities.

community and participatory arts and volunteering came forth into the cultural policy agenda (Ibidem). According to a 1989 document of the ACGB people was the main driving force of the social regeneration and urban renewal, and volunteerism itself was a sign for social health (Ibid: 30).

As Selwood argues, it was the persistence of DNH on matters of "quality of life" that led to the rise of the importance of evidence in the cultural sector. The acknowledgement of the difficulties to the collection of "robust evidence" was one of the biggest issues that the successor department, DCMS had to deal with (Ibid: 31).

3.2 The Culmination of Evidence-based cultural policy – The Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) era

The Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) was established right after the 1997 New Labour win on the national elections in Britain. As we have mentioned before, the agenda for 'modernizing' government, which included the requirement for EBP towards an informed policy and planning, was the dominant element of the new administration and so the arts had to adopt it, too (Ibid: 32). Newbigin points that according to New Labour 1997 manifesto, arts alongside with sports had a significant role to play in the construction of "the sense of community, identity and civic pride" without undervaluing its important contribution to the economy as employers, as source of tourist income (2011: 231) and as it will become clear further below, as an export industry of great importance in terms of GDP.

Selwood provides us with a rather consistent view of the new developments through the three of the most characteristic official publications[3]. She summarizes that creativity, value for money and the strategic distribution of public funds should be pursued, promoted and achieved. Cultural economy, opportunities for children and young people, building of new audiences and promotion of accessibility were main priorities for the newly elected government (2006: 37). Cultural industries were seen as integral in the national economy and

---

[3] Create the Future (Labour Party 1997); A New Cultural Framework (DCMS 1998); Strategic Plan (DCMS 2003)

the arts, apart from their economic significance, were believed to have the power to contribute towards a beneficiary, positive social change (Ibidem).

The implementation of these rather general directions was realized by the construction of "A New Cultural Framework" (Ibid: 38). In general terms this was the actual departure from the arm's length principal and the bound of the arts through DCMS and its funded bodies to the broader government objectives (Ibidem). According to this, there were four principals that should be followed:

- Proactive action and strategic placement had to be pursued by DCMS in order to "give direction, set targets, chase progress and take direct action where appropriate" (Ibidem)
- The new relations between DCMS and its sponsored bodies would be based on the delivery of predetermined outputs and outcomes towards the benefits of the public. This new rationale was set to be the basis for the funding agreements with the arts organizations that would be introduced in 2000.
- The rise of DCMS's standards in terms of efficiency and financial management.
- DCMS's expectations have to be imposed to the sponsored organizations making clear that they had to follow the government objectives of increased outputs and improved access.

Accordingly, DCMS had to be consistent itself with the Public Service Agreement that determined its funding from the Treasury. DCMS passed the same described obligations of to the bodies of its jurisdiction (Ibidem). As Selwood points DCMS was explicitly concerned with the acute following of the governments manifesto commitments. Towards this concern it set out a reformation agenda of its own sponsored bodies (2002: 32). It enthusiastically embraced and continued a lot of DNH's initiatives that related to its social and economic agenda, alongside with its requirements for accountability, data collection and performance indicators (Ibidem).

DCMS committed itself to the 'joint-government' principal and promoted the point that culture, media and sport had an important role to play on the social and economic agenda of the

general administration. Special attention was given on the matter of evidence. As Selwood puts it "sought to transform the sector from being an evidence-free zone to one in which evidence could be used to inform policy and planning" (Ibidem). This is related to the general pursuit of the government for enhanced reliability of the national statistics and the clear demonstration through solid evidence of its commitment to 'effectiveness' (Ibid: 36). The important distinction from previous efforts of collecting evidence was that to the initial purpose of "the introduction of strategic development", now it was added the impact assessments concept. Through the data analysis, DCMS's efforts were targeting to the baseline understanding of its domain of responsibility and to the monitoring of the sponsored organizations (Ibid: 37).

The form of DCMS's reformative framework was largely influenced from the fact that its own performance assessment was heavily depended on the performance of its funded organizations. So, an interventionist approach is rather expected. Its basic elements were (Ibid: 37-38):

- Creation of a new strategic role for itself, regarding policy implementation and funding.
- Redefinition of the relationship between itself and its sponsored bodies, and implementation of three-years funding agreements, where goals and responsibilities were clearly articulated.
- Streamlined policy and programs delivery.
- Rise of efficiency and financial management of all the supervised organizations. Establishment of the watchdog named QUEST (Quality, Efficiency and Standards Team), for monitoring purposes.

The reformation agenda of the arts was following the sense that the more government invests to it, the broader the expectations for results are made. The increased budget was linked to specific demands on outcomes, which had to follow the main governmental directives. Improvement of performance was measured in terms of outputs, access, efficiency and private sector support (Ibid: 39). Alongside with these demands, HM Treasury, established bi-annual spending reviews in order to improve DCMS's accountability, which as we saw, it was coined as a major matter of the political agenda. DCSM responded to that with the establishment of

three-year funding agreements with its non-departmental public bodies (NDPBs) that followed the general sense and directions of the spending reviews. This was the way to pass on the government expectations to the base. (Ibid: 42). The same cultural policy rationale was implemented to the regions and local authorities, too.

The general claims of the arts role in society that are put forward as drivers of the renewed cultural policy agenda can be summarized as (Ibid: 49):

- **Tackling social exclusion**
- **Renewal and regeneration**
- **Facilitating learning**
- **Improving health**
- **Community strength**
- **Contribution to the government's agenda economic**

3.3 The social impact of the arts

3.3.1 Defining the social impact of the arts

As we have observed above, although the social impact of the arts is a rather old argument in art talk, it has been set explicitly in the centre of the government policy agenda only since 1997 and onwards. Since then, a plethora of studies and methodologies were employed to the measurement of it in an objective and quantifiable way, following the EBP rationale.

Social exclusion was at the centre of governmental policy agenda and arts were perceived as a prominent tool against it (Belfiore 2002: 91). The 'advantage' of this notion is that it sees poverty and disadvantage in general, as social phenomena that are not only consequences of low income, but their origins are multiple like minority issues, disability, neighborhood degradation etc. (Ibid: 92-93). Such an acknowledgement of the social role of arts was taken over rather enthusiastically by the newly founded DCMS.

Hence, government advocated that arts and culture can contribute to social inclusion and neighborhood renewal "by improving communities' 'performance' in the four key identified by

the government: health, crime, employment, and education" (Ibid: 91). As a result, due to the gravity of the importance of the arts in these areas, increased funding could be justified because it was not seen just as a subsidy, but as an 'investment' towards a greater good (Ibid: 92). New Labour's social agenda focusing on matters of social cohesion and inclusion became very popular and it contributed critically in its win at the 1997 national elections (Ibidem).

Arts organizations like galleries and museums were acknowledged by DCMS as 'centres for social change' (DCMS 2000) and those of them that have been founded onwards was believed that would be central to an 'urban renaissance' (Mirza 2012: 46). The financial stream towards the arts, under their 'new role', was literally unprecedented. Mirza informs us that DCMS's total expenditure for arts the period 1997 – 2009 was more than doubled. In the 1997-1998 fiscal period arts received from other governmental departments approximately 230 million pounds (Ibidem).

One of the first contributions on the social role of the arts was made by Landry et al (1993) which was a collection of series of case studies researches that were conducted by "Comedia" consultancy agency and supported by Arts Council (Reeves 2002: 15).

According to Landry et al, impact is "a dynamic concept which pre-supposes a relationship of cause and effect. It can be measured through the evaluation of the outcomes of particular actions, be that an initiative, a set of initiatives forming a policy or set of policies which form a strategy" [1993, cited in (Reeves 2002: 21)].

Reeves drawing from the work of Lingayah et al (1996), relates impact with "arts processes and projects" and sets inputs, outputs and outcomes as the basic measure indicators for the 3 E's (efficiency, effectiveness and economy) (Ibid: 22). The difficulty in measurement is significantly different. Inputs can be measured relatively easily and objectively and outcomes are the most difficult to do so. Though, it is exactly the outcomes that related to the notion of impact (Ibid: 21-22). Outcomes should be measured against the "purpose of the cultural activities" in order their effectiveness to be measurable (Ibid: 22).

Reeves underlines that, since impact should be considered as the sum of outputs and outcomes, in order for us to comprehend the "holistic nature and the sustainability of the effects" of artistic activity, we need to assess it. It becomes clear then that the social impact of the arts is connected with the results that are produced by the arts activities and that they (the results) supersede their (the arts activities) time of implementation (Ibid: 29) (Wavell et al 2002: 8).

Hence, the social impact of the arts could be defined in a summarized way as "those effects that go beyond the artifacts and the enactment of the event or performance itself and have a continuing influence upon, and directly touch, people's lives" [Landry et al (1993), cited in (Reeves 2002: 29)].

Wavell et al, acknowledging the difficulties that result from the definition process, choose a more responsive and immediate working approach on defining the terminology needed to impact studies (2002: 7):

- **Aims and objectives**

  They considered being "the defined and state aims of a particular service and the means by which will be implemented". The writers underline that these are set by the various stakeholders that participate, directly or indirectly, in an activity.

- **Inputs**

  These are "the resources the service requires in order to function" (eg. buildings, staff, information etc)

- **Process**

  This is "what is done with the inputs and may involve all sections of the services" (eg. Preparing and exhibition)

- **Outputs**

  They are "the direct service product of combining inputs and processes". Outputs in the measurement process are used towards efficiency and they usually are measured with quantitative methods.

- **Outcomes**

They are "the positive or negative engagement with planned outputs by an intended or unintended user". They distinguished in short and medium term.

- **Impact**

  By impact, they define "the overall effect of outcomes and conditioning factors resulting in a change of state, attitude or behavior of an individual or group after engagement with the output and is expressed as 'Did it make a difference?'". Wavell et al argue that impacts can be "short, medium or long term; direct or indirect; intentional or unintentional; critical or trivial; simple or complex".

Reeves, informs us that before 1980, there was no interest on matters of impact. The relevant debates were primarily on aesthetic issues and particularly on the matters of the intrinsic and 'civilising values' of the arts. Only after the mid-1980s the concepts of economic (at first) and the social role of the arts become prominent and as a result, arts impact studies begin to multiply (2002: 30 -31).

It was though, Matarasso in 'Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of Participation in the Arts' that defined the context of the discussion over the social impact of the arts, for the following years. It has become almost instantly a standard reference on the matter and was taken over almost immediately, by the cultural policy agenda of the then newly elected New Labour government (Merli 2002: 107).

Matarasso, right from the beginning of his study argues that, although the talk for the relation between arts and society is increasingly popular in Britain, it is flawed in two distinctive ways. The first one has to do with the focus on the financial strand of their impact, instead of a more general economic perspective that has to do with the allocation and use of society's resources.

The second one, concerns the fact that the "real purpose" of the arts is not the production of wealth, but their contribution to a "stable, confident and creative society" (1997: VI). He defends the positive social impact of the arts, and he articulates that the purpose of his research is twofold. He seeks to identify evidence of this positive impact and, to explore new

ways to assess it, in order for it to become a useful and workable tool for policy-makers and practitioners (Ibid: VII).

It is important to note that his research was conducted on 60 projects through questionnaires and that professional art projects were deliberately excluded. That is because, according to him, it is in the participatory arts programs area that "social benefits are most commonly attributed in policy discussion" (Ibid: III).

According to his research, six areas of social impact of the participation in arts can be identified (Ibid: VII - IX). These are:

- **'Personal development'**

  This relates to the improvement of people's self-confidence and hence, to the advancement of their social lives.

- **'Social cohesion'**

  Arts enhance solidarity among people through the promotion of partnership and co-operation and provide a neutral space for social engagement.

- **'Community empowerment and self-determination'**

  Participation in cultural activity gives the opportunity for involvement to community activities. This positively affects their organizational skills and helps individuals to take control of their lives. It also facilitates consultation between community members and public services. Moreover, it nurtures local democracy and supports the active citizenship and civic consciousness.

- **'Local image and identity'**

  These refer to the celebration of local cultures and identities, and to the creation of a sense of belonging through the construction of new local identities. They also renew public image of cities and reconstruct it in a more positive way, through the transformation of given perceptions.

- **'Imagination and vision'**

Arts participating increases people's creativity liberating their selves and their imagination, during an enjoyable process. It also promotes the awareness and confidence of individuals on arts and transforms the ways that art professionals work.

- **'Health and well-being'**

  Matarasso's research results that participating in arts activities could "make people feel better" (Ibid: IX). It also informs us that it improves quality of life and provides people with pleasure, and it also supports mental health service users and people with similar needs.

Matarasso, concludes that the participation in arts projects can produce solid social benefits that are integral parts of the process of participation. He stresses that although social impacts are complex, they remain comprehensible and they can be assessed and become part of planning (Ibid: X). He finally presents fifty specific social impacts of the arts that came up during his research.

Matarasso's study was the starting point of an intense discussion and controversy on the social impact of the arts. It provided "a workable methodological framework for social impact assessment" and "practical evaluation instruments to guide public policy planning and development" (Reeves 2002: 16). 'Use or Ornament?' was the first research document of a large scale that gathered and provided "authoritative evidence" on this particular matter (Ibidem).

3.3.2 Data collection and evaluation methods

AEGIS report, after conducting a thorough review of studies that deal with issues of the social impact of the arts, results that the most widely used method by far, is that of case study, followed by literature reviews, and interviews. Next in line are national surveys, meta-analyses and large scale surveys using more formal questionnaires. Studies that used focus groups and workshops are relatively few. In many cases a mixed methodological approach is preferred (2004: 26).

Such a methodological multiplicity has a twofold interpretation. The first one underlines the diversity of the nature of the researched cases. This calls for different methodological pathways to be followed. The second one is related to the fact that there isn't a consensus on the most reliable and rich in results, methodology of evaluation of arts interventions and policies (Ibidem).

Arts and cultural activities are varied in scope of time, space, form, artistic processes employed targeted audience etc. In the same sense, intended goals and outcomes can also be quite different. Arts are broadly used in education, health services, community development etc. All these produce a variety of social impacts that is difficult to be measured an evaluated through a single uniform methodology (Ibidem). Moreover, different fields of research and researching material call inevitably, more or less, for a variety of methodologies on data collection and impact evaluation.

According to the AEGIS report, there are certain recommendations that should be followed during the evaluation process that can potentially ensure a high standard of quality in conclusions and reliability on methodology issues (Ibid: 35):

- Predetermined targets of a cultural activity, against to which evaluation process will be implemented, are of utmost importance.
- Acquisition of baseline data and the use of quantitative alongside with qualitative research methods are vital in order to ensure a rich evidence base to utilize.
- Clearly defined mechanisms through which the causal relationship between cultural interventions and intended outcomes is documented.
- Mixed methodologies implementation is a preferred research practice, for the reasons that are mentioned above.
- Utilization of reliable existing evidence can be proven rather useful.
- Development of a framework where indicators of the researched activities will reveal insights on the progress of the interventions.
- Evaluations should distinct impact on long, medium and short-term.

- In the case where arts organizations are part of an intervention, their staff should be encouraged to embrace the evaluation rationale and to adopt self-evaluation processes.
- Development of guidelines and toolkits.
- Awareness of the potential ethical issues that could be arisen during the design and the implementation of a cultural activity.

Reeves identifies five broad pathways of evaluation regarding the social impact of the arts as they come of certain studies (2002: 67):

- **'Multi-method approach'**

  (Matarasso 1997; Matarasso 1998; Hill & Moriarty 2001)

  This method is based on information on key variables that were collected and analyzed in a systematic way. It involves a range of different methodological research tools such as monitoring, collection of baseline data, questionnaires, interviews and wider groups consulting, observation, on the spot research and project documentation. Multi-method approach can be used to a summative or a summative and formative evaluation (Ibid: 68 – 71).

- **'Social Auditing'**

  (Matarasso & Pilling 1999)

  Its main theme is consultation over the researched organization's or project's objectives with its multiple stakeholders. It is generally 'multi-perspective', value – driven and the assessments criteria are set by stakeholders themselves. Benchmarks practices are one of its results. It is useful for comparisons with other organizations or projects and it offers opportunities for feedback to the stakeholders (Ibid: 72 – 74).

- **'Longitudinal research'**

  (Moriarty undated; Harland et al 2000)

  The most significant characteristic of it, is the long period of research undertaken. It involves a single or multiple cases for research. Its main objective is the identification of outcomes of an intervention. Data are usually collected from two or more temporal points (Ibid: 74 – 78).

- **'Community based multi-method approach'**

  (HAD 2000; Walker et al 2000)

  Self-esteem and social connectedness are set as indicators of well-being through the participation in the arts. Development of social capital is the central theme of this method, which in this particular context provides us insights on the relation between arts and society (Ibid: 79-81).

- **'Survey'**

  (Annabel Jackson Associates 2000)

  This approach is mainly quantitative and collection of data is conducted through standard survey tools (eg telephone interviews with the use of questionnaire) (Ibid: 81-83).

3.3.3 Critique

The claim that arts produce a distinct social impact, as it has been promoted by the British cultural policy since 1997, has undergone serious critique over the years. As we saw previously, Matarasso's study "Use or Ornament?" was the one that set the terms of the discussion on this subject, more or less, exercising considerable influence on subsequent studies in conceptual and methodological terms . As a result, it is crucial to highlight the major points of criticism that has been made on it.

The first one has to do with critique on the use of flawed methodology (Belfiore 2002: 98). Matarasso, in an earlier document of his, constructs his five-stage evaluation methodology that consists of planning, setting indicators, execution, assessment and reporting, and explicitly notes that assessment should take place after the completion of the activity. The problem with that is that as Lingayah et al underlines, observed outcomes need much longer time to be unveiled (1996) than the short-term output of an intervention.

Therefore, his enthusiastic conclusions in "Use or Ornament?" for example on life-changing experiences of the participants are highly questionable in terms of what exactly do they show. There is no clear way to distinguish between short-term enthusiasm and a more permanent

change on a broader temporal perspective. In Merli's words there is no "internal validity" in his research because the data that he gathered do not support "his conclusions about his own hypotheses" (2002:111). Long-term evaluation methods must be applied in order to present robust evidence of change in the level of outcomes (Belfiore 2002: 98).

An additional difficulty to that is that arts organizations are not usually keen on long-term evaluation researches. This is due to the pressure that a lot of the time is exercised on them to present evidence of their success by their funders (Ibid: 99).

The second even more puzzling methodological problem, not only in Matarasso's work, but in many similar studies too, has to do with the inability to prove undisputably the causal relationship between a particular intervention and its intended results (Ibidem). The source of problem in this case is whether the observed (or alleged) outcome of an intervention is a result of this intervention itself or it is produced by other factors. Matarasso himself chooses not to clarify this matter. He addresses it with a rather inconsistent and vague manner, as this causality would be self-evident, asking himself "how many swallows does it take to make summer?" (1997: 6).

Another point of criticism regards the considerable ambiguity on the use of statistics in relation with the answers that the participant has given on questions, which in many cases are structured in a biased way in order to extract a desired answer (Belfiore 2002: 99). It is not quite clear what exactly is the meaning and the utility of questions like: "Has the project changed your ideas about anything?", "Was doing something creative important to you?", "Has taking part had any bad effects for you?"(Matarasso 1997: 94, 95). These questions had to be answered with the choice of one out of three ticked boxes: "Yes, No, Don't know". The results were in the form (for example) 25%, 35%, 40%. No other elaboration or discussion followed the possible insights that these results may have given out since the only research contact with the participants was restricted to such questions (Belfiore 2002: 99).

It is also very interesting the point made by Merli that "Use or Ornament?" lacks of external validity too, in the sense that its results cannot be generalized because the research sample that is used, is not representative of the wider populations, where the cultural activities are

undertaken. Above that Matarasso does not acknowledge this explicitly, he assumes quite the opposite, as if the same activities would produce the same results in all contexts (2002: 111)

Furthermore, the purely instrumental perspective of Matarasso and the Comedia agency that through the years has undertaken lots of studies such as his, ended up to overshadow issues of aesthetic quality of artistic activities (Belfiore 2002: 100). This relates to the fact that the main concern of this particular view of arts is the artistic process and its outcomes through the participation in it and not the quality or excellence of the artistic product itself. In that way, the initial and sterile dichotomy between the intrinsic and instrumental value of the arts is again once more present, signaling the need for a revision of the current vocabulary on these matters (Ibid: 100, 101).

Apart, though, from the methodological criticism, Merli points out a very interesting conceptual flaw, too. Matarasso, and many other colleagues of his, argue that by changing the way people feel for their community and the area they live, they will tackle deprivation, poverty, bad facilities etc. (2002: 112) Merli claims that, the results for such an implicit acceptance of a deprived community can only lead to the reproduction of deprivation if the structural causes of it are not confronted.

Moreover Merli raises also an ethical issue of the view of arts as a factor of change. He argues that the researcher in many occasions can potentially see himself as a "new missionary" and in that way he actually enforces certain top-down strategies to people, imposing to them his own values and perspectives on culture. He seems to be overtly confident on knowing what the sources of enjoyment for people should be and "what levels of personal development and confidence people should possess and what should be done in order to raise them" (Ibid: 113).

A broader critique, though, has been expressed on the general concept about social impact of the arts and the evidence that support it, too. Selwood drawing from Wavel et al 2000; Moriarty 1997; Bridgwood 2002; Jermyn 2001; Shaw 1999; Matarasso 1996; Leeds Metropolitan University 2002, identifies four major points of criticism (2002: 60 – 63):

- **'Unsubstantiated claims'**

Many studies, instead of providing solid evidence of impacts, usually reflect intentions and wishful thinking on intervention's outcomes.

- **'Institutional attitudes'**

  Occasionally, there is no consensus between evaluators and arts organizations on what evaluation consists of. Moreover, a lot of institutions that are expected to collect the required data are not qualified for such an enterprise, due to lack of knowledge, tools, staff, training and funds. In some occasions evaluation is implemented in terms of advocacy.

- **'Limited Jurisdiction'**

  There are cases that the evaluation process demands research that surpasses the ends of an intervention in order to produce some evidence that make sense. Above that, some projects can be self-fulfilling and an impact of a medium or long-term nature is by definition impossible to be detected.

- **'Appropriate methodologies'**

  This point of criticism reveals the methodologically problematic collection, collation and interpretation of data. As a result, it is not possible to devise appropriate indicators of performance and the overall insight of an intervention's outcome to be vague or misleading. It is often evident that a significant sum of evaluation studies tends to focus on outputs (short-term impact) than on outcomes (long-term impact).

Similar criticism has been put forward even in later publications (a sign of the endurance of the shortcomings of the social impact evaluation) were flawed methodology, advocacy, philosophical tensions, and overtly specific desired outcomes: Belfiore (2006); Mirza (2006); Selwood (2006); Appleton (2006); Galloway (2009).

Galloway, although acknowledges the above, she argues that these shortcomings "do not represent a particular 'failing' of the research into the arts". On the contrary, she underlines that the demand for proven effectiveness through evidence, raises the same problems in all the

spectrum of public policies (2009: 127). She notes, that political imperatives, such as the above, exercise significant influence regarding the setting of goals, outputs and outcomes, even evaluation processes; and that is also a common theme in other areas such as health (which traditionally draws much bigger amount of money) (Ibidem). Galloway claims that such difficulties "are a commonly identified issue in the measurement of impact across a range of public policy areas using traditional data-driven evaluation approaches" (Ibidem).

Furthermore, identifying the failure of establishing the cause and effect link between intervention and outcome as the most serious critique, she notes that it would be more useful to address the matter of context and contextualization of a cultural intervention in order to grasp the conditions under which an impact is produced. She warns that the insistence on methodological evaluations that follows the standard natural sciences (usually medical) counter-productive. The reason is that their experimental model of evaluation is insufficient for the job, because societies are open systems, where intended outcomes cannot be repeatedly observed (Ibid: 128).

Belfiore and Bennett, tracing the intellectual origin of the role of the arts in societies since Plato, attack to the prevalent idea of the absolutely "positive" impact of the arts. Highlighting the "negative" tradition of the historical social impact debate, they remind us of Plato's and Fathers' of the Church disapproval of the arts, the Puritan dismissal of theatre in 16th century England, and the use of arts and culture as a justifying means to colonial expansion and as a tool for political propaganda in totalitarian regimes such as the Fascist, Nazi or Soviet regimes. (2007: 139, 141-142).

The two writers claim that in the British cultural policy context, especially and explicitly since the rise of New Labour, there are six false **assumptions** that define and drive it, in general terms. These are (Ibid: 136 – 138):

- There is a shared and common understanding of what arts consists of
- Arts experiences are uniform and commensurate regarding all art forms audiences and contexts.

- The social impact of the arts is primarily positive and as a result their transformative powers are exclusively positive, too.

- The positive social impacts of the arts can be proved objectively and quantifiably.

- Arts can gain public subsidies through the proof of their social impact. This position comes with three consequences: public discussion on arts is strongly interrelated to arts funding; research on value and impact very often tend to adopt an advocacy agenda that does not question effectiveness of interventions but proofs of their success; Exaggerating consumption of efforts and time on trying to prove impacts than to understand them.

- The acknowledgement of the need for "a new language" on the values of the arts in cultural policy. The proximity of such a new language to funding issues, though, is possible that enhances advocacy research and talk.

3.4 The economic impact of the arts

3.4.1 Introducing the creative industries

As we have seen previously, Myerscough's "The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain", in 1988, was the pivotal contribution to the acknowledgement of the central role of the arts in the British economy. Selwood notes that from this point arts advocacy shifted from "special pleading to higher ground" (2002: 25). This was rendered possible because another shift took place in parallel; the one from the 'arts for art's sake' principal to the instrumental use of them as a lever of economic growth. For Myerscough the arts had a whole new role to play "in an era of industrial restructuring characterized by the growing importance of the service industries (especially in the areas of finance, knowledge, travel and entertainment) and of industries based on new technologies exploiting information and the media" [Myerscough 1988: 2, cited in (Selwood 2002: 25)].

Some of the most interesting of Myerscough's findings were that cultural goods and services in Britain correspond to the 5% of the overall spending by the consumers. 2% of the employees

work in the cultural sector which generates approximately 10 billion pounds turnover with tendency for even more expansion (Selwood 2010: 75).

In order to understand, though, the significance of the developments that were triggered by the argument for the economic importance of the arts, we need to present a brief overview of the cultural and the creative industries economy, where the arts are called to function according to their economic role.

Garnham argues that cultural industries as a term loses, during the 1960s, its negative associations that were introduced by the Frankfurt's school intellectuals in terms of the homogenized powers of the capitalist production system. Its new association with the celebration of the popular culture that is strongly related to the working classes has signified a new positive content for it. It was also used to describe the changes that has been undertaken in the restructuring of these industries, where new agglomerations took place among previously distinctive areas like, movies, music, publishing etc (2005: 18 – 19).

During the 1970s and the 1980s, this democratic character of the cultural industries was firmly established alongside with the acknowledgment of their economic importance. At the same period the media industry was taken on board, too (Hartley 2005: 13). As soon as the dynamic of the cultural industries came forth, more and more governments across the world pursued to intervene and regulate it (Cunningham 2002: 5).

Hesmondalgh stresses the fact that the link between cultural industries and the public policy made its first official appearance in a UNESCO document in 1982 named "The cultural industries" (2008: 3). Though, it was in 1983 at the Great London Authority (GLA) when the potentials of the popular art forms, TV and radio were acknowledged as influencers of artistic taste and people's choices alongside of the significant role of the cultural industries in economic regeneration. At the same period, this becomes a shared belief in other cities such as Glasgow and Bilbao, too (Ibid: 3 – 4). Though, it was in the 1990s Blair's Britain that arts and culture were conceived as tools for local and national economic growth in the context of public policy (Ibid: 4).

Right from the beginning of the 1990s the changed industrial production model was calling for a redefinition of the growth paradigm. The development of new information and communication technologies (ICT) and the rapid expansion of the internet displaced the economic understanding of value from the object processing to information (Hartley 2005: 19). This is one of the most distinctive features of what is called 'the new economy'. The development of software and connectivity has also brought forth the big telecommunication companies.

Flew explains that 'new economy' is linked with the conception of information being at the centre of the production of wealth. Innovation and technology, and ICT's are at the heart of the new production model in a new kind of economy that is called 'knowledge economy' and which is 'weightless' and its products are 'dematerialized outputs' (2005: 345-6).

The collapse of the 'dot.com' companies at the dawn of the millennium revealed the limitations of the economic development that was relied on 'information' and shifted the focus on the production of 'creative content' (Hartley 20 – 22). At this same period, in the context of cultural policy, the concept of culture was broadly expanded. It was no longer associated only with arts and heritage, but it has also signified a 'way of life'. Although, such an anthropological view of culture as an aggregation of common values and experiences is not novel, it is the first time that is being implemented in practice in policy (Throsby 2010: 2).

Throsby also highlights the paramount importance of globalization that transformed radically the economic environment, where cultural products were being produced, distributed and consumed. The free movement of capital and labor among regions and countries and the rise of a global market presented a whole new set of opportunities for the cultural products and their producers (Ibid: 3). New media has been an invaluable part of this new economic configuration.

Flew points out that the new emphasis on creativity as it is originated in the cultural area and expands in interrelated sectors of society and economy, led to the phenomenon of the 'culturalization of economic life' (2005: 349). Aesthetics and design have grown on importance at the creation of new industrial products[4] against the older rationale of the mere reproduction

---

[4] For example Apple's iPhone and iPad.

of similar products (Ibidem). In this context, the concept of creativity becomes central in the cultural policy and its adjective, creativity, defines a broad series of nouns that relate to economy, cultural industries and practices.

Hartley gives us a well-known definition of 'creative industries': "The idea of the CREATIVE INDUSTRIES seeks to describe the *conceptual and practical convergence* of the CREATIVE ARTS (individual talent) with Cultural Industries (mass scale), in the context of NEW MEDIA TECHNOLOGIES (ICT's) within a NEW KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY for the use of newly INTERACTIVE CITIZENS – CONSUMERS" (2005: 5).

At such a broad social and economic context as this, the then newly elected New Labour administration, through its also newly found DCMS, positioned the British creative industries that comprised the cultural industries, at the centre of its economic agenda, acknowledging them as a distinctive economic sector (Flew 2012: 9). A special team with the name Creative Industries Task Force (CITF) was created in order to undertake the responsibility to determine monitor and support the new economic sector through the production of strategic policies (Ibidem).

DCMS edited a series of documents towards this direction. The mapping documents of 1998 and 2001 were set to define the nature and the economic expectations from the creative industries by DCMS; hence, by the British government (Oakley 2004: 69). According to the 1998 document, creative industries comprised: advertising; antiques; architecture; crafts; design; fashion; film; leisure software; music; performing arts; publishing; software; TV and radio.

According to the 2001 document, creative industries comprised: advertising, architecture, arts and antiques markets; crafts; design; designer fashion; film and video; interactive leisure software; music; performing arts; publishing; software and computer services; TV and radio; At the same time systematization and objectification of monitoring and evaluation of their performance at the economical and socio-cultural level became high priorities.

Towse underlines the need for the public policy to ensure and prove its expectations to be met. Efficiency and accountability have been taken very seriously into account not only because of

the wish for successful economic results, but also because the subsidies (AKA public investment) emanated from tax payers and so transparency has been of utmost importance (2010: 36). Of course, this enterprise would not be undertaken without significant difficulties due to the lack of consistent and reliable methodologies on defining, collecting and processing of the requisite data (Ibid: 37).

Moreover, as we saw in the first chapter of the present study, policy attachment was a valid pathway of drawing public money from other sectors such as health, housing, urban regeneration etc to arts and culture. This has been also an important reason for the use and enhancement of elaborated measuring methods of their contribution (Belfiore 2006: 21, 24).

Selwood argues that through the model of creative industries, the state reclaimed strategically the cultural policy that up until that period was implemented through the 'arm's length' principal. The increased state intervention in the artistic production and distribution led to the rise of public investment on arts and culture and to the increased demand for collection of 'robust' evidence in order to prove that the new approach would deliver the expected social and economic outcomes (2006: 41 – 44, 50).

Hence, it is obvious that arts and culture cannot and should not be evaluated, in terms of economy, only by themselves. Their close association with a lot of and diverse areas of economic activities renders the measurement of their economic impact a rather complicated process.

3.4.2 Defining the economic impact of the arts

According to Seaman, the question of the economic importance and therefore the impact of the arts are highly controversial and difficult to answer. One of the reasons for that is due to the difficulty to formulate a conclusive definition of what the researched cultural asset is (2003: 224). This varies from a single cultural activity, a venue, a festival, to a cultural sector as a whole. Things are even more complicated when the cultural asset is a non-market good (not having a price and the individuals are not paying money to use it), such as a cultural or a national symbol, a natural site etc (Ibidem).

Seaman distinguishes three types of economic impacts as broad categories (Ibid: 224 – 225):

- **'Consumption value'**

  It is the value that is perceived by both users and non-users. This can take the form of total expenditures regarding tickets, travel costs, consumer surplus, potential future willingness to pay by non-users, and life qualities that are issued by cultural assets, to name some.

- **'Long-run increases in productivity and economic development'**

  These can be the result of the acquisition of the educational value of the cultural assets. They can also apply to property values, generation of additional local tax revenues, spillover effects on the 'real economy'.

- **'Short-run net increases and intermediate-run increases'**

  These are economic output, income and employment. They occur due to the additional net spending that cultural activities can generate. The second type of increases is expressed through the "indirect multiplier effects" of the new net spending.

Seaman summarizes neatly the above three types of impact in the following equation (Ibid: 225):

Total Impact (TI) = Consumption Impact (C) + Long-run Growth Impact (LRG) + Short-run Spending Impact (SRS)

Hansen states that economic impacts can be measured regarding (1995: 309):

- **A single artistic activity.**
- **The cultural activity in a town or region level.**
- **The cultural activity of a country as a whole.**

He stresses the fact that the majority of the undertaken economic impact studies focuses on the short-term effects that cultural activities produce which, as we saw above, have to do, in general, with matters of consumption, income and employment (1995: 319). He distinguishes three broad types of short-term economic effects associating with them (1995: 310):

- **'The direct effects'**

  These are employment and income and they regard local arts activities, arts organizations and the whole cultural sector

- **'The induced effects'**

  These are produced by the spending that accompanies cultural consumption (e.g. .food, accommodation, transportation etc). Thus, jobs and income are generated at other sectors than the cultural one.

- **'The indirect effects'**

  These are the so called 'multiplier' effects and are closely related to the above two. In plain words, the multiplier effect takes place when the one's extra consumption produces a series of incomes and expenditures. Calculating these series as a whole, we will find that it surpasses the initial amount of spending. The two amounts are directly analogous. In Belfiore's words, "… to estimate the multiplier effect of the cultural sector on the economy it is necessary to establish to what extend the money spent on culture circulates within local economy, thus creating additional local spending and positive indirect effects on the local economy at large" (2003: 3).

Reeves drawing from Radich, argues that economic impact is the effects that occur in the micro level, such as economic behavior of the consumers, business, markets and industries and in the macro level that includes the overall economy, national wealth, employment and capital (2002: 27 − 28). Drawing from the European Task Force for Culture and Development (1997), she defines the economic impacts of the arts in two ways that are close to Hansen's classification (Ibid: 26):

- **'Direct economic impacts'**

  Arts and culture are perceived as major content producers. They are valued as job – creators and significant contributors to the national GDP. Cultural products are 'value-adding' and they represent significant financial investment (e.g., paintings etc). Moreover artistic activities and arts organizations and institutions produce important economic impacts at a local level, too.

- **'Indirect economic impacts'**

  Arts and culture "offer cultural credit or esteem for people and institutions" such as financiers, connoisseurs, collectors etc. They produce "stocks of ideas and images" that can generate income through cultural tourism and advertising. They also add value to the urban landscape (e.g. buildings, urban design etc).

Ruiz, following the same sense, articulates that any cultural event has an economic impact on the local and/or on the wider economy. She emphasizes to the notion of 'additionality' as an important element of the assessment of the economic impacts. This refers to the additional employment and expenditure that is generated by cultural activities. Her argument is that additionality can be calculated considering three factors (2004: 83):

- **'Leakage'**

  This refers to the positive effects that appear outside of the area that the actual intervention takes place and is predetermined to produce results.

- **'Deadweight'**

  This describes the outcomes that would have been produced if the intervention had not been taken place.

- **'Displacement and Substitution'**

  This has to do with the determination of the extent of the possibility that observed outcomes are 'byproducts' of the reduction of output or employment in other sectors of economic activities.

Ruiz, stresses the fact that according to the above, in order to calculate the actual economic impact of a given cultural intervention, we need to conduct appraisals in order to determine the overall produced costs and benefits of it. These should take under consideration all kinds of impacts, such as, economic, environmental, social and regeneration (Ibidem).

3.4.3 Evaluation methods

Reeves presents us some of the most commonly used methods of economic evaluation of cultural interventions. As she argues, these are the ones come of some of the most prominent studies on this particular area:

- **'Descriptive Research Method (quantitative analysis)'**

  (O' Brien and Feist 1995; Casey et al 1996; Selwood (ed) 2001)

  This method is based on primary and secondary data and can be used to describe the key economic characteristics of a given sector such as, for example, the extent of employability, and the economic value of overall revenues. The assessment is not limited only at the assessment of economic impact. It is particularly useful on underlining sector issues that need to be resolved (Ibid: 51)

- **'Financial Survey Model'**

  (Arts Business Ltd 1998; Cambridge Arts Theatre Economic Impact Study 1998 – 2000 2000; Myerscough 1988; Travers et al 1998; Chichester Festival Theatre 2000; Norfolk Arts Marketing 2000)

  'Financial Survey Method' is based on quantitative analysis that relates to financial issues. For example box office data, market assessment, business services etc. It is invaluable on providing insights about internal and external financial activity of an institution ranging from a simple venue to a whole sector (Ibid: 53).

- **'Input – Output Model'**

  (WERU and DCA Ltd 1998)

  This particular model helps us comprehend money flows among sectors, businesses arts organizations and their customers. It is also utilized to highlight multipliers and their effects on a given economy. Moreover, it can provide insights on the changes that are undertaken in an economy at a macro level. It, also, shows the economic contribution of certain 'sectors/establishments' in particular. Such kind of evaluation can be adapted regarding the specificities of local economies and conditions in general (Ibid: 54 – 55).

- **'Production Chain Model'**

  (O' Connor 1998; WERU and DCA Ltd 1998)

'Production chain' describes the process of developing products, in our case the creative ones. It presents the different stages of this development starting with the generation of idea continuing to research, distribution, up until the presentation of the new products. It comprises analysis of SIC/SOC codes, primary data regarding work and trade patterns, business capacity and operations. It also utilizes information regarding networks, markets and sub-sector's needs and potentials. It has significant value informing strategic decisions and interventions. Lastly, it provides knowledge that can support advocacy strategies influencing policy debates and developments (Ibid: 56 – 57).

- **'Sector Mapping Model'**

  (York Consulting 1998; Bretton Hall; 2000)

  This is a model that is not explicitly economic, though it comprises elements from the 'Descriptive Research Method' and the 'Input – Output Model'. Its main target is to use primary and secondary data in order to map and analyze the arts and culture sector or the creative industries. It can offer strategic insights on issues related to potential sectoral or sub-sectoral economic contribution.

3.4.4 Critique

The critique on economic importance and impact of the arts has been substantial since Myerscough made his case in 1988. Hansen argues that the majority of economic impact studies tend to exaggerate about their results. This occurs because most of the times they present consumption, employment and tax revenue as gross quantities instead of focusing on whether the arts can be a lever of economic growth through the creation of new consumption and new jobs (1995: 310). This means that all they describe is the circulation and not the actual generation of new money.

Secondly, she states that since these studies are commissioned in order to provide economic insights on public funded arts activities, at some point they have to research the level of the stimulation of economic development by the subsidies and whether this is greater than would have been if this money had been invested in other areas of economic activity (Ibidem).

Thirdly, she continues that arts should not be investigated at all for their economic impact in terms of being an "instrument for creating jobs and economic development". On the contrary, she claims, it should have been considered as a "goal in itself" (Ibid: 311).

Lastly, Hansen calls that it would have been more useful to study the economic value of arts and culture in relation to innovation, creativity and quality of life (Ibidem).

Van Puffelen draws our attention to the fact that there is considerable inconsistency regarding what economic importance of the arts actually means. He argues that in some cases this refers to the economic products "linked to or attributable to the arts" and in others to "the growth of the economic product of employment as a consequence of the existence of the arts" (1998: 244). He also claims that in addition to their questionable qualities as economic studies methodologically, the fact that they are commissioned primarily for advocacy purposes render them even more suspicious for erroneous results, since these tend to strengthen the case of the one that made the commission, without outlining, necessarily, the real economic facts (Ibid: 248 – 249). In the same spirit, Snowball in her methodological critique attacks on the data collection processes of many of the economic impact studies charging them for inconsistency and bias, which as a result produces misleading conclusions (2008: 51).

Seaman examining economic impact studies in a closer more technical manner identifies six general types of errors (2003: 228- 229):

- **'Direct base' (spending diversion) error**
  This is the "failure to subtract local *sources* of funds and non-local uses of funds from the budget of the subject entities"

- **'Induce base' (ancillary spending) error**
  A usual wrongful argument is that all the ancillary spending (hotel, restaurant, retail etc), occurs due to the existence of the cultural activity itself of a given area.

- **'Multiplier' (indirect impact) error**
  This is a twofold error. Firstly, there is the failure to adapt the multiplier to a distinct region and secondly there is, in many cases, no recognition of the fact that less self-

sufficient areas that usually have bigger flows of net non-local spending, also present smaller multipliers due to greater spending leakages.

- **'Supply constraint' (crowding out) error**

  This error refers to the unexamined possibility that local infrastructure in terms of transportation and hospitality cannot provide sufficient services simultaneously to both the abruptly risen influx of arts events visitors and the usual population of tourists.

- **'*Ex post* verification' error**

  In many cases researchers fail to objectively count on the adverse economic impact of arts organizations' closure or any other negative development in a given area's cultural life.

- **'Policy interpretation' (partial vs general equilibrium) error**

  Failure to dissolve the usual misconception that a positive impact of a cultural good/service or organization on a local area is by itself sufficient reason for governmental support, without considering first the possible opportunity costs of diverting public funds from other areas of policy that would have achieved a potential higher return.

3.4.5 Recent developments on economic evaluation methods of arts in UK

Another sum of economic valuation methods of the arts was published in a 2010 report to the DCMS by O' Brien. He argues that the previous years, it was the concept of 'impact' in the economic and social level that has driven the policy decision-makers regarding the arts and culture. However, the new "cooler climate" that arts organization confront these days in terms of public funding calls for novel ways to be employed in order to support the economic importance of the cultural sector (2010: 4). According to O' Brien, the new governmental approach on the cultural sector funding consists of the adoption of the HM Treasury's 'Green Book' (2003) on policy appraisal and evaluation (Ibid: 8). This could meet the government's expectations from the cultural sector "to more clearly articulate the value of culture using methods which fit in with central government's decision-making" (Ibidem).

O' Brien informs us that the 'Green Book' underlines the importance of Cost-Benefit Analysis (CBA) on government decisions and so, he stresses the need for arts organizations to employ valuation methods that would be compatible with it (Ibidem). He argues that 'Green Book' is a manifestation of welfare economic position which means that "the objective of policy should be to maximize social welfare, where welfare is the sum of individual utility. Maximizing welfare can therefore be understood as the efficient allocation of public resources (Ibid: 16).

In the 'Green Book' is stated that all policy programs should not be adopted unless they have answered the following questions previously (2003: 1):

- **"Are there better ways to achieve this objective?"**
- **"Are there better uses for these resources?"**

These two questions are compatible with CBA understanding of the government. 'Green Book' provides us a brief definition (Ibid: 4):

CBA is the "analysis which quantifies in monetary terms as many of the costs and benefits of a proposal as feasible, including items for which the market does not provide a satisfactory measure of economic value".

It continues that CBA should be implemented in contrast to cost-effectiveness analysis which is defined as (Ibidem):

"Analysis that compares the costs of alternative ways of producing the same or similar outputs"

Hence, the dominant rationale in the proposed valuation process is that wider social costs and benefits of the policy proposals and the proper use of public resources must be considered at all times (Ibid: 1).

O' Brien's proposal of evaluation methodologies takes under serious consideration the widely intense and popular talk about the value of culture and the ongoing debate about the measurable or non-measurable qualities of itself and its effects on individuals and society under the overarching framework of the governmental demand on commensurable ways of valuation. In Selwood's words "we have found that everyone in the arts and cultural sector is struggling

with talk about 'value'. It is no good trying to relate all the value of arts and culture to monetary valuations, and equally unhelpful to try to justify the arts as some kind of special case, different from all other spending priorities and subject to unique criteria" [2010: 5, cited in (O' Brien 2010: 13)].

It is on this ground that he promotes the evaluation methods that we will present right below. O' Brien describes two primary kinds of economic valuation methods:

- **'Stated preference techniques'**

  These comprise 'contingent valuation' and 'choice modeling/conjoint analysis'. These techniques present ways of capturing users' and non-users' valuations of culture that can be utilized according to CBA. They are broadly used in environmental and transport economics and they are able to "monetize valuations of the cultural activities and institutions". Their primary drawbacks are that they are complex and expensive regarding money and time and that they have been under serious critique on technical and philosophical grounds for their highly monetized approach (2010: 22).

- **'Revealed preference techniques'**

  These comprise 'hedonic pricing' and 'travel cost method'. Both set to preference based valuations regarding with the actual market (real world situation) behavior of people. They are invaluable supplements of the stated preference techniques and their main disadvantage is that they cannot capture non-use and option values (Ibid: 28-29).

Before we proceed to the brief presentation of all the four techniques, it is important to analyze the notion of 'total economic value' that it is important to the adequate understanding of them. It is employed by the economists as a means to understand economic value, when it is not possible to do so through market prices. Pearce et al define economic value of something "as the extent to which people would be prepare to sacrifice something else in order to obtain or to safeguard a quantity of it" (2002: 21).

They articulate that there are two broad categories of value:
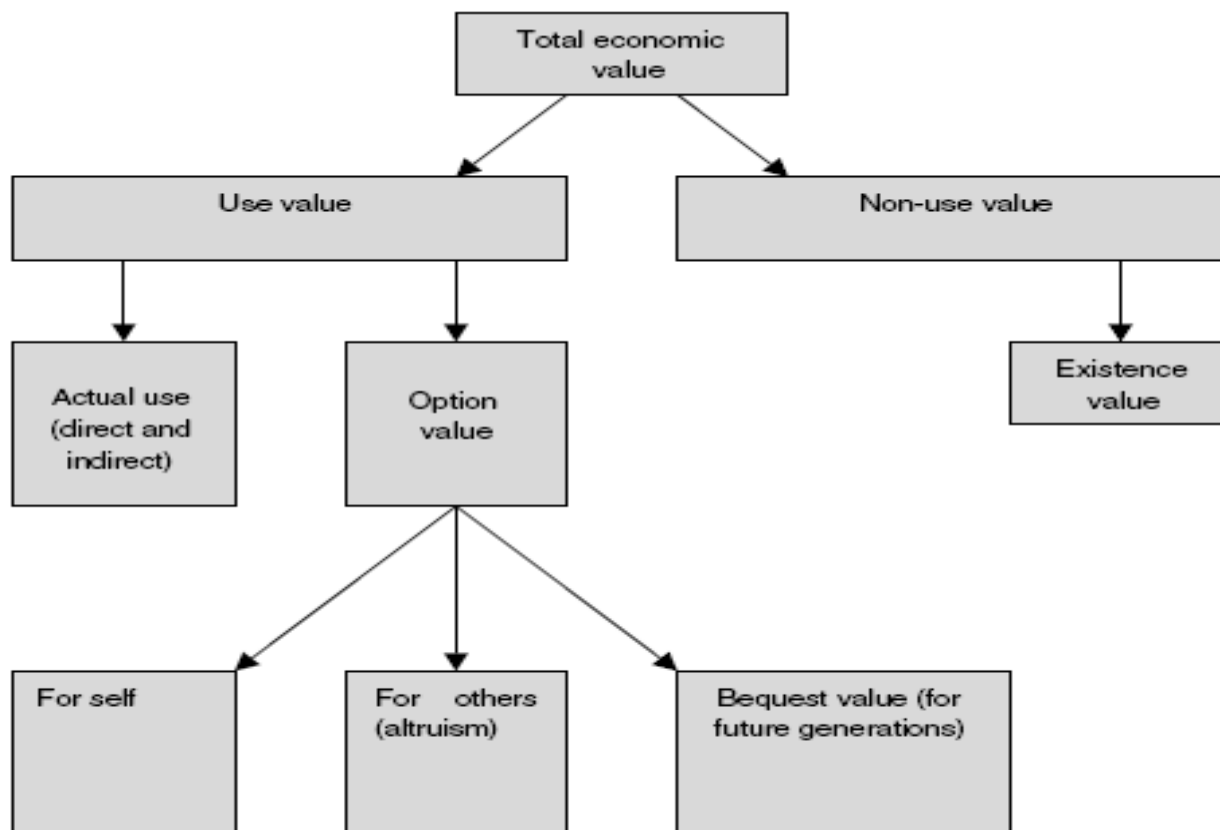
- **'Use value'**

This refers to the 'direct value', which is demonstrated for example by consuming a good, or visiting a site and to the 'indirect value', which has to do with securing some benefit from the good without directly using it. An example of this is the indirect use-value of a forest as a mechanism of cleaning the atmosphere (Ibid: 23). In addition to that, people's willingness to pay for a good may relates to their wish to preserve it for a future use. This refers to the 'option value'. When this future use is paid on behalf of others (e.g. one's children) then this is called 'bequest value' (Ibidem).

- **'Non-use value'**

    It refers to the one's willingness to pay for something that will not directly or indirectly use or benefit from, not only at present, but also in the future, without even wishing to bequeath it to someone else (Ibidem).

The sum of use and non-use value is termed 'total economic value (TEV). This sort of categorization and definition of TEV gives us the capability of acknowledging and researching a series of impacts and effects that have to be valued. Hence, policy process is informed by applying CBA by estimating whether the TEV benefits are greater than the TEV costs (Ibidem).

Figure 2: Total economic value

```
                    Total economic
                        value

         Use value                    Non-use value

   Actual use      Option                        Existence
   (direct and     value                          value
   indirect)

   For self    For   others    Bequest value (for
               (altruism)      future generations)
```

Cited in Pearce et al (2002: 24)

Contingent valuation

This is a stated preference technique, widely used in environmental policy. Its sets out to understand what one would pay for a given good or service. It involves the construction of a hypothetical market, where a non-market good would be valued and then be attached with prices, by asking directly the potential customers/consumers/audiences about "their willingness to pay or willingness to accept compensation for it" (O' Brien 2010: 24). In that way people's preferences are presented in monetary terms and what is traced is the changes that they wish to see regarding quantity and quality of the valued non-market good. The standard tool for this investigation is the use of a questionnaire.

In contingent valuation, the given good/service, its institutional context, and its way of finance and allowance, are defined by the hypothetical market, and the random sample of people participating in the research express their maximum willingness to pay (WTP) and/or their minimum willingness to accept (WTA) "for a change in the provision of it (good or service) (Ibid: 25).

A series of critiques have been put forward on contingent valuation. O' Brien drawing from Klamer (2004); Fourcade (2010), Gray (2008), Pinnock (2009), Eftec (2005) and Mulgan et al (2006), highlights that the main criticism questions the validity of the monetary measurement of valuing something like the arts that their very essence contradicts the market perspective and function. It is argued that such a valuation based on individuals' utility may alter culture's nature leading to "erroneous conclusions and policy decisions" (Ibid: 26).

Moreover, other criticisms stress the fact that individuals' preferences cannot represent wider social convictions on arts and culture and that, after all, preferences themselves take long time to be clearly manifested (Ibid: 27).

In addition, it is argued that contingent valuation does not take under consideration that individuals possess a dual identity as consumers and citizens. Hence, responses can differ significantly, when a question is researched in the context of their WTP, as customers than in the context of their support on policy decisions to be made, as citizens (Ibidem).

Lastly, Pearce et al state that beyond the above critiques there are also practical issues to be considered. Contingent valuation is expensive to be conducted and in the case that is not done by experienced experts can potentially produce misleading conclusions. Especially in the cultural sector, an additional possible danger has to do with the fact that there is a lack of best practice studies (2002: 29).

Choice modeling/conjoint analysis

Pearce articulates that 'choice modeling's' central idea is that "any good can be described in terms of its attributes, or characteristics, and the levels that these take" (2010: 54). The changes that occur on these levels result in a different good and these are the exact changes,

which 'choice modeling' seeks to describe. Monetary approach of value is also evident in this technique as was in 'contingent valuation'. Its main distinction though, is that instead of asking in a direct manner the individuals for their preferences, the researcher tries to comprehend them through "their responses to a choice of options" (O' Brien 2002: 28). These are the choice experiments; contingent ranking; contingent rating; paired comparisons (Pearce 2010: 54).

Although 'choice modeling' goes beyond the matters of values that were present at the 'contingent valuation', the financial measurement that is employed here, too, leaves space for a similar line of critique. Another common drawback is that it is also costly and it needs to be conducted by experts (O' Brien 2002: 28).

Hedonic pricing

This technique belongs to the revealed preferences techniques. Its main goal is the identification of the relationship between goods/services and market prices (Ibid: 29). In 'hedonic pricing' "the total value of a good is broken down into constituent parts, to see to what extent individual aspects of the good or service contribute to the overall value" (Ibidem). Although it is generally considered to utilize sophisticated methods to the exploration of the values that associate with a given good/service, its usual emphasis on property values reduces the significance of the insights that are produced in relation with cultural goods. This is because property prices are not considered to be connected with the value of cultural goods (e.g. the economic value of a venue as a building does not seem to be analogous of the value of the cultural goods or services provides to its audiences). This partly explains the fact that is rarely employed to the cultural sector ((Ibidem).

Travel cost method

This is the second revealed preferences technique. It sets to calculate economic value through the presentation of the cost in time and money people pay in order to consume a good/service. It relies on actual market prices meaning that it does not acquire the construction of a hypothetical market (Ibid: 30). It has been used at several cases in the cultural sector mainly regarding cultural sites such as festival and places of historic significance.

However, there are two primary points of criticism. The first one is that it tends to overestimate value in the sense that people enjoy travel, too. So, it cannot be clearly stated that preference is generated only by the cultural good that waits at the end of the travel. The second one is a reversal of the first. It is argued that 'travel cost method' underestimates value, because it misses the value that is held by the individuals that do not need to travel a long distance in order to enjoy a cultural activity (Ibid: 30-31).

O' Brien proceeds his report, by going beyond the explicit economic methods of valuation. The method he outlines next, was recently employed in the DCMS's ambitious program 'CASE' (Ibid: 34 – 38).

Subjective Well-being and Income Compensation

The main purpose of this method of valuation is to understand how people value the changes occurred in well-being, generated by culture (Ibid: 34). This emerging evaluation method has been developed as a possible alternative of the previous more 'economist' methods and it has gained popularity among governments and institutions, during the last ten years (Ibid: 35). There are no direct questions on people about their WTP. In contrast, the evaluator seeks to infer how the individuals value the relationship between well-being and income. This method meets the Green Book's requirement for the monetary way of presenting impact results and above that, it demands fewer expenses for its implementation than the previous methods (Ibid: 34). Its main area of focus is on the 'real world'. Hence, no hypothetical markets need to be devised (Ibid: 36).

The researcher underlines that one of its major drawbacks is the fact that it cannot be stated clearly if distinct cultural factors contribute in a determined way in one's well-being. This is because these factors "are far from fully understood", meaning that there is no clear and widely accepted definition of the concept of 'well-being' among individuals and nations (Ibid: 34, 36). The same is true for the relationship between income and well-being. It tends to understand well-being in terms of separate individuals which makes it difficult to reach to a generalized conclusion. Furthermore, it is a method that requires significant levels of expertise

in order to be conducted properly and it needs additional research itself if it is to efficiently replace the current methods of economic evaluation (Ibid: 34).

Moreover one last but not least important drawback of this particular evaluation method relates to the ongoing failure of the researchers to objectively prove the causality relation between cultural intervention and its outcomes and how exactly these contribute to one's well-being (Ibid: 36).

Conclusion

EBP in culture is a complex, multi-layered concept that requires the combination of professional and academic data, knowledge and insights in order to provide a valid and objective mentality and methodology of thinking and acting, strategically and tactically. As it is shown above its philosophical and historical roots can be traced to the diachronic discussion about the status and the role of culture in western societies. The United Kingdom, though, is the place where it takes its present and more organized form. The British ethos of objective measurement, collection of data, the demand of three "Es" in public policy and management, in parallel with

the incremental literacy among the general population explain sufficiently why EBP has been established in the UK the last few decades.

NPM and audit society call for a system of cultural governance and planning, where all the details are measured, evaluated, policies are expected to deliver certain results and all these under a general demand of transparency and accountability. Above this, solid evidence based on objective data must be the cornerstone of all the stages of the EBP implementation.

As it is shown from our research, definitions are one of the biggest problems, when it comes to EBP. "Hard evidence", "data", "impact", "evaluation" and lots of other things are variables that need constant clarification. This is crucial because the scope, the range and the purpose of the EBP especially in culture can vary greatly from purpose, to planning, to implementation. So, in every case crucial elements, such as the above, need to be clear in a contextual way. This seems to be a recurring contradiction of EBP.

On the one hand, objective and, so, standard ways of EBP implementation have to be compulsory principles in order for it to actually "work". On the other hand the shifting contexts and diverse purposes that EBP is called to deal with, makes it extremely difficult to define and sustain them. As a result, a plethora of definitions, tools, kinds of data and evidence, characteristics and demands have been occurred hitherto.

British cultural policy has embraced EBP rather enthusiastically since M. Thatcer's administration and onwards. The convergence between political ideology and economic priorities, and distinct British characteristics of public management, like the existence of diverse, multiple data sources and measurement mentality, have led to the adoption of both leading political parties, Conservatives and New Labour. It is a fact that a concept that seems closer to the Conservatives in terms of political pedigree reached its culmination with T. Blair's administration. This should not surprise us since the general claims on public, and so cultural, administration has been since the 1980s roughly, the same: Accountability, strategic management, improvements of the quality of public services, greater access and participation, identification of the cultural sector as a wealth sector.

Political pursuits, financial and cultural pragmatism, the strengthening of the instrumental role of the culture in British society paved the way for EBP establishment as the primary policy framework that have seemed to be political neutral, scientifically objective and so a prominent way of doing things closest to the three "Es" general demand.

In this process and in a context such as this, evaluation of policies and initiatives against projected social and economic impacts is of paramount importance. Measurement of success has to be conducted and proved. As a result, this part of EBP has become crucially important. A diverse bouquet of methodologies has been applied since the 1980s, but a definitive answer has not been achieved yet.

Although EBP has been evolved considerably since Thatcer's administration and has been supported by many politicians, professionals and academics, it has been criticized fiercely, too. It has been accused of lack of hard evidence supporting unsubstantiated claims. In a nutshell, this means that it does not deliver what it claims it does. That evidence-based policy is a policy that lacks of substantial evidence to be based on.

Although certain results can be demonstrated in socially and economically, these, though, have been accused of unreliability. It is argued that they cannot be generalized or repeated and it is difficult to be definitively proved. This is also, in general terms, the reason that the argument of the economist – numeric – quantified way of measuring success in cultural policy is valid, at all. At the moment, it seems that the economist way of measurement of the value of the arts and culture still dominates the general discussion, but at the same time not without increased uneasiness.

However, professionals and academics that deal with cultural EBP have produced and implemented over the years a considerable amount of methodologies, data and of course evidence that have opened new ways in cultural policy and management. Although, it is argued that it has enhanced instrumental views of culture and that has led to an increased governmental interventionism, it is also true that from an economic aspect results have been rather impressive. The rise of creative industries as a vital sector of the British economy is, at least, partially connected of EBP implementation.

It seems that collection of data and the use of it into the construction of policies and initiatives, beyond the strong criticisms are established firmly in cultural policy as in other policy sectors before. Ongoing refinement of methods, targets and expected results contributes to the constant evolution of EBP and as a concept it seems that is here to stay, especially in the present economic crisis where every penny of public money counts and its use has to be properly justified.

Although EBP relates mostly with public policy, the mentality of producing, collecting and constructing data and evidence is essential in the context of the new economy. Private enterprises and institutions are of great need of data and evidence in order to produce new cultural products and services both reliable and effective. Data is everywhere and has become increasingly valuable. EBP has opened new ways of thinking on and of data and evidence and this development seems that it will go on for the foreseeable future, at least.

Appendix

The following tables include paradigms related to general areas of social and economic impacts according to selected bibliography.

Economic contribution of the arts and culture

Direct economic impacts	The arts and culture serve as a main source of contents for the cultural industries, the media and value-added services of the telecommunications industries.
	They create jobs and contribute significantly to the Gross Domestic Product.
	Cultural institutions, events and activities create locally significant economic effects, both directly and indirectly through multipliers.
	Works of art and cultural products have their own autonomous 'value-adding' markets (eg, gallery sales and fine-art auctions), which often give them good investment potential.
Indirect economic impacts	The arts are 'socially profitable' in that they offer cultural credit or esteem for people and institutions (eg, financiers, sponsors, collectors or connoisseurs.
	Works of art and cultural products create national and international stocks of ideas or images which can be exploited by the cultural industries (eg, in advertising or cultural tourism).
	Works of art can enhance and so add value to the built environment (eg. by adorning buildings and in urban design).

Source: The European Task Force on Culture and Development (1997)

Cited in Reeves (2002: 28)

Approaches to economic impact assessment in the arts

1. Descriptive research method (quantitative analysis)

Method	Features

| Produces data which enables measurement of different characteristics of the sector, eg. employment levels

Examples include:
O' Brien and Feist, *Employment in the arts and cultural industries: an analysis of the 1991 Census,* 1995

Casey et al, *Culture as Commodity? The Economics of the Arts and Built Heritage in the UK*, 1996

Selwood, S (ed), *The UK Cultural Sector, Profile and policy issues*, 2001 | • not strictly economic impact assessment
• present overview and description of key economic characteristics of the sector
• use of primary and/or secondary data sources
• important for highlighting the extent of cultural sector employment, or the economic value of sector revenues, for example, and for highlighting issues to be resolved |

2. Financial survey model

Examples include:

Arts Business Ltd, *Assessment of the Economic Impact of Battersea Arts Centre*, 1998

Cambridge Arts Theatre *Economic Impact Study 1998–2000*, 2000

A small number of studies have attempted a more sophisticated analysis through the incorporation of further analyses: proportional multiplier analysis (Myerscough, 1988), or some form of Input-output analysis.

Relevant studies include:
Myerscough, J, *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain*, 1988

Travers et al, *The Wyndham Report: The Economic Impact of London's West End Theatre*, 1998

Chichester Festival Theatre, *Economic Impact Assessment*, 2000

Norfolk Arts Marketing, *Making Creative Capital, An economic study of the cultural industries in Norfolk*, 2000

- provide a broad sweep of internal and external financial activity of a venue, facility, sub-sector cluster or the sector as a whole

- typically based on quantitative analysis of financial accounts, box office data, attender or local business surveys etc. and market assessment

3. **Input-output model**

Examples include: WERU and DCA (Cardiff) Limited, *The Economic Impact of the Arts and Cultural Industries in Wales*, 1998	- provides more comprehensive way of estimating money flows between sectors/sub-sectors, businesses, organisations and consumers and tracing the various multiplier effects through an economy - often used either to analyse the effects of macro-economic changes to the local economy, or examine the contribution of particular sectors/establishments in the local economy - Input-output models can also be tailored to specific local conditions and economies - problems in addressing economies of scale associated with changes of output.

4. Production chain model

Examples include: O'Connor, J, *The Cultural Production Sector in Manchester*, 1998 This model has also been used in combination with an Input-output Table in the study, WERU and DCA (Cardiff) Limited, *The Economic Impact of the Arts and Cultural Industries in Wales*, 1998	• concerned with examining dynamics, interdependencies and linkage within and between sub-sectors • focus on parts of the production chain responsible for the generation of 'creative content' • typically includes: analysis of SIC/SOC codes, primary data collection from sector players to gather information on work and trade patterns, business capacity and operations, information and networks, markets, sub-sectoral issues, needs and potential. • often used to identify/influence strategic interventions to grow sector/creative industries • often includes advocacy strategy to influence policy debate and development.

5. Sector mapping model

Examples include:	• while not economic impact studies, incorporate elements of the Descriptive Research Method and the Input-output Model in terms using primary and/or secondary data to map and analyse the cultural sector or creative industries.
York Consulting, *The Impact of Creative Industries on the Yorkshire and Humber Economy*, 1998	
Bretton Hall, *Cultural Industries: Key Data, The Cultural Industries in Yorkshire and the Humber*, 2000	• combined with case study or subsectoral analysis to identify strategic issues associated with the potential economic contribution of the sector as a whole and the sub-sectors within it.

Cited in Reeves (2002: 51 – 62)

An overview of the evidence of culture's contribution to regeneration

Physical regeneration	Economic regeneration	Social regeneration
Policy imperatives:	**Policy imperatives:**	**Policy imperatives:**
Sustainable development	**Competitiveness and growth**	**Social inclusion**
Land use, brownfield sites Compact city Design quality (CABE, 2002) Quality of Life and Liveability Open space and amenity Diversity (eco-, landscape) Mixed-Use/Multi-Use Heritage conservation Access and Mobility Town Centre revitalization	Un/Employment, Job quality Inward investment Regional development Wealth Creation SMEs/micro-enterprises Innovation and Knowledge Skills and Training Clusters Trade Invisibles (e.g. tourism) Evening Economy	Social cohesion Neighbourhood Renewal Health and Well-being Identity Social Capital Governance Localism/Governance Diversity Heritage ('Common') Citizenship
Tests and measurements: Quality of Life indicators Design Quality Indicators Reduced car-use Re-use of developed land Land/building occupation Higher densities Reduced vandalism Listed buildings Conservation areas Public transport/usage	**Tests and measurements:** Income/spending in an area New and retained jobs Employer (re)location Public-private leverage/ROI Cost benefit analysis Input-Output/Leakage Additionality and substitution Willingness to pay for cultural amenities/ contingent valuation Multipliers—jobs, spending	**Tests and measurements:** Attendance/Participation Crime rates/fear of crime Health, referrals New community networks Improved leisure options Lessened social isolation Reduced truancy and anti-social behaviour Volunteering Population growth
Examples of evidence of impacts: Reuse of redundant buildings, studios, museum/gallery, venues Increased public use of space, reduction in vandalism and an increased sense of safety Cultural facilities and	**Examples of evidence of impacts:** Increased property values/rents (residential and business) Corporate involvement in the local cultural sector (leading to support in cash and in kind)	**Examples of evidence of impacts:** A positive change in residents' perceptions of their area Displacing crime and antisocial behaviour through cultural activity (for example, youth)

workspace in mixed-use developments High density (live/work), reduce environmental impacts, such as transport/ traffic, pollution, health problems The employment of artists on design and construction teams (Percent for Art) Environmental improvements through public art and architecture The incorporation of cultural considerations into local development plans (LPAC, 1990) Accessibility (disability), public transport usage and safety Heritage identity, stewardship, local distinctiveness/ vernacular	Higher resident and visitor spend arising from cultural activity (arts and cultural tourism) Job creation (direct, indirect, induced); enterprise (new firms/start-ups, turnover/ value added) Employer location/retention; Retention of graduates in the area (including artists/ creatives) A more diverse workforce (skills, social, gender and ethnic profile) Creative clusters and quarters; Production chain, local economy and procurement; joint R&D Public–private– voluntarysector partnerships ('mixed economy') Investment (public–private sector leverage)	A clearer expression of individual and shared ideas and needs Increase in volunteering and increased organisational capacity at a local level A change in the image or reputation of a place or group of people Stronger public–private– voluntary-sector partnerships Increased appreciation of the value and opportunities to take part in arts projects Higher educational attainment (in arts and 'non-arts' subjects) Greater individual confidence and aspiration

Cited in Evans (2005: 971-2)

Research agendas

Using existing data, to ...
• Establish what evidence about impact already exists and how useful it is
• Identify and evaluate what data are currently available1
• Identify bodies that are collecting such data
• Gather evidence which can be used to inform policy and advocacy initiatives
• Assess the comprehensiveness and quality of the existing evidence base
• Collate and review existing research
• Evaluate different models of initiating and delivering projects
• Share understanding of methodologies and measures used for assessing the impact of arts projects, facilities and programmes, as well as the creative industries
• Identify characteristics of successful initiatives, as well as approaches that do not work and why0

Undertake strategic initiatives, to...
• Share understanding of methodologies and measures used for assessing the impact of arts projects, facilities and programmes, as well as the creative industries
• Identify key research needs to improve the robustness of research methods and evidence demonstrating the contribution of arts and culture to the social and economic objectives of national and local government, and other key partners
• Establish the needs for data about the sector
• Establish what the needs are for information about impact — in particular the government's needs and the sector's needs
• Identify gaps in existing provision
• Identify gaps in data provision and prioritise the filling of them
• Develop and, where practical, implement methods and mechanisms for filling those gaps
• Develop and test appropriate methodologies for evaluating arts initiatives with aims relating to social inclusion
• Gather evidence to be used to inform policy and advocacy initiatives
• Help to ensure that the relevant data are pulled together to present a coherent, workable, consistent and sustainable system that satisfies stakeholders
• Inform the future agenda for impact research within the sector, and support evidence-based policy making

Disseminate findings throughout the sector
• Provide a practical resource to assist those working in the field

Sources:
a) Resource's vision for its Impact Evaluation Programme
(http://www.resource.gov.uk/information/evidence/evjmpev.asp, accessed
16.12.03);
b) Resource's vision for its Statistics Programme
(http://www.resource.gov.uk/information/evidence /ev_stats.asp, accessed

16.12.03);
c) Overall objectives of the ACE research exploring models of social inclusion work, cited by Jermyn, 2001;
d) Reeves, 2002

Cited in Selwood (2002: 54)

Summary of claims as to the impact of the cultural sector by select research reports

Matarasso, 1997	General	Benefits to individuals	Community benefits
		Participation in the arts is an effective route for personal growth, leading to enhanced confidence, skill-building and educational developments. which can improve people's social contacts and employability'	It can contribute to social cohesion by developing networks and understanding, and building local capacity for organisation and self-determination, h brings benefits in other areas such as environmental renewal and health promotion, and injects and element of creativity into organisational planning. It represents a flexible, responsive and cost-effective element of a community development strategy
PAT 10, 1999	Arts and sport, cultural and recreational activity, can contribute to neighbourhood renewal and make a real difference to health,	... they appeal directly to individuals' interests and develop their potential and self-confidence	They relate to community identity and encourage collective effort; help build positive links with rapidly growing industries

	crime, employment and education in deprived communities		
Coalter, 2001	... cultural services are an important part of the civic infrastructure of communities, providing a social focus and contributing to their quality of life ... diversity of cultural services enables them to provide 'something for everyone' — offering a wide range of opportunities for people to realise their potential, to feel a sense of achievement, to increase social contacts and develop a sense of well-being	In terms of 'personal capital', they axe perceived to deliver: social contact; development of confidence and self-esteem; education and life-long learning; health and well-being	In terms of 'social capital', they are perceived to deliver: economic and employment effects; social cohesion and community empowerment; community safety; environmental improvements
Research Centre for Museums and Galleries, Leicester University,	There is now increasing recognition that the museum can act as a catalyst for positive social	Personal growth and development (the impact that involvement with museums has had on the	Community empowerment (the impact that museum initiatives have had in regenerating and

2000	change, that it can deliver a range of social outcomes, at both individual and community levels, aimed at tackling social inequality. discrimination and disadvantage	lives of individuals at risk of exclusion) ... enhancing educational achievement and promoting lifelong learning	empowering disadvantaged) communities; the representation of inclusive communities (the impact that museums have had through representing diversity and celebrating plural identities, in challenging negative attitudes towards minority or marginalised communities and in providing a sense of place and enhanced community identity for groups at risk of exclusion); promoting healthier communities; tackling unemployment; tackling crime

Cited in Selwood (2002: 52)

Arts Council of England/Department for Culture, Media and Sport: performance indicators, 1999-2002

GOAL 1: Encourage excellence at every level

1.1 a statement on the introduction during the first year of this agreement of mechanisms for the assessment of artistic quality

of subsidised arts organisations, including assurance that regular and development funding are all informed by such

quality assessment

1.2 a statement of ACE's assessment of how national and other leading English companies compared during the first year of

this agreement to similar organisations in the same field in other parts of the world, by peer review body

GOAL 2: Encourage Innovation at every level

2.1 the number of commissions of new work by funded organisations

2.2 a statement providing evidence that regular and development funding is informed by assessment of innovation

GOAL 3 . Thriving arts sector and creative economy

3.1 a statement of progress made in promoting the health of the arts economy (including small businesses and craftspeople)

over the first year of this agreement, drawing as far as is possible on quantitative indicators with proposals for indicators

against which progress could be assessed in subsequent years

3.2 the amount of commercial sponsorship secured by the arts and crafts sectors, as measured by Arts & Business

GOAL 4. More consumption of the arts by more of the people

4.1 the proportion of the population attending arts events

4.2 the proportion of the population attending arts events regularly (at least twice a year)

4.3 attendance at funded organisations by art form

4.4 a statement of progress in developing new indices to improve and/or replace 4.1 to 4.3 above

4.5 a statement of achievements in creating new audiences under the auspices of the New Audiences Fund over the first year of the agreement,   drawing wherever possible on quantitative indicators

4.6 a statement of progress in promoting attendance at funded organisations' events by people from ethnic minorities, drawing

wherever possible on quantitative indicators

4.7 a statement of progress in promoting attendance at funded organisations' events by people with disabilities, drawing

wherever possible on quantitative indicators

4.8 a statement of progress made in the first year of this agreement on promotion of the use of the internet and other modern

communication technologies by funded organisations in support of broadening access to the

arts
GOAL 5. More participation In the arts by more of the people
5.1 a statement of progress in developing one or more performance indicators for participation, with the aim of introducing
the indicators) from the second year of this agreement
GOAL 6. More relevant training for the arts sector
6.1 an ACE/DCMS joint strategy for supporting a National Training Organisation for the arts and entertainment industry
6.2 a statement of progress on ACE"s research into the training needs of the arts and crafts sectors in the first year of this
agreement
GOAL 7. Better use of arts In education in schools and In lifelong learning
7.1 ACE, in consultation with DCMS and others, to develop quality assurance scheme for arts organisations education
policies which will, in subsequent years, lead to the introduction of numerical targets for the proportion of funded organisations
achieving particular levels of quality in education
7.2 the number of subsidised arts organisations with written strategies for education provision
7.3 the number of education sessions by funded organisation"
GOAL 8. To develop and enhance the contribution the arts make to combating social exclusion and promoting regeneration
8.1 a statement of the impact over the first year of this agreement of the New Audiences Fund and other initiatives on barriers
to consumption of the arts by specific target groups, drawing on quantitative indicators wherever possible
8.2 a statement of ACE's contribution over the first year of this agreement to broader social inclusion and regeneration initiatives,
including its response to the recommendations of the Social Exclusion Unit Policy Action Team's Report" on the
contribution the arts and sport can make to combating social exclusion
GOAL 9. To improve public perceptions of the arts
9.1 those agreeing with the statement 'that the arts play a valuable role in my life
9.2 those agreeing with the statement 'that the arts play a valuable role in the life of the country
GOAL 10. To promote British culture overseas
10.1 a statement of progress made in the first year of this agreement in promoting ACE's international role, including the creation of a framework agreement with the British Council covering future co-operation
OTHER GOALS
Strategic review to ensure that support of particular art form in directed towards the goals set out in this agreement
Regional dimension ACE will encourage the RABs to work, as appropriate, with Government Regional Offices and other regional
bodies, and expect them to participate in the development of Regional Cultural Consortia and

the development
and delivery of regional cultural strategies in so far as they relate to the arts and crafts sector
Efficiency target proportion of ACE's grant-in-aid accounted for by total of ACE non-Lottery
administration costs

Cited in Selwood (1999: 106-108)

50 SOCIAL IMPACTS OF PARTICIPATION IN THE ARTS

1. Increase people's confidence and sense of self-worth
2. Extend involvement in social activity
3. Give people influence over how they are seen by others
4. Stimulate interest and confidence in the arts
5. Provide a forum to explore personal rights and responsibilities
6. Contribute to the educational development of children
7. Encourage adults to take up education and training opportunities
8. Help build new skills and work experience
9. Contribute to people's employability
10. Help people take up or develop careers in the arts
11. Reduce isolation by helping people to make friends
12. Develop community networks and sociability
13. Promote tolerance and contribute to conflict resolution
14. Provide a forum for intercultural understanding and friendship
15. Help validate the contribution of a whole community
16. Promote intercultural contact and co-operation
17. Develop contact between the generations
18. Help offenders and victims address issues of crime
19. Provide a route to rehabilitation and integration for offenders
20. Build community organisational capacity
21. Encourage local self-reliance and project management
22. Help people extend control over their own lives
23. Be a means of gaining insight into political and social ideas
24. Facilitate effective public consultation and participation
25. Help involve local people in the regeneration process
26. Facilitate the development of partnership
27. Build support for community projects
28. Strengthen community co-operation and networking
29. Develop pride in local traditions and cultures
30. Help people feel a sense of belonging and involvement
31. Create community traditions in new towns or neighbourhoods
32. Involve residents in environmental improvements
33. Provide reasons for people to develop community activities
34. Improve perceptions of marginalised groups
35. Help transform the image of public bodies
36. Make people feel better about where they live
37. Help people develop their creativity
38. Erode the distinction between consumer and creator
39. Allow people to explore their values, meanings and dreams
40. Enrich the practice of professionals in the public and voluntary sectors
41. Transform the responsiveness of public service organisations
42. Encourage people to accept risk positively
43. Help community groups raise their vision beyond the immediate

44. Challenge conventional service delivery
45. Raise expectations about what is possible and desirable
46. Have a positive impact on how people feel
47. Be an effective means of health education
48. Contribute to a more relaxed atmosphere in health centres
49. Help improve the quality of life of people with poor health
50. Provide a unique and deep source of enjoyment

Cited in Matarasso (1997: 6)

Template for assessing economic, social and cultural impact

1 Organisation: art form and activities, amenities provision and opening hours	**7 Current and Future Plans and Challenges**: facilities development
2 Income: contributed income– grants, lottery awards, donations, sponsorship, earned income– admissions, sales, fees, membership, room hire, café/bar, bookshop, interest	**8 Cultural Benefits and Impact**: work which took place which otherwise wouldn't have reached the area, new work created, role of organisation in promotion of a positive image for city/town, contribution to tourism
3 Outgoing: staff costs – wages, travel, training, running costs, marketing, fund-raising, VAT, National Insurance and PAYE, local trade as percentage of turnover	**9 Social Capital**: contribution to the communication of ideas, information and values, helping improve participant's skills in planning and organising, improving understanding of different cultures and lifestyles, improving the understanding of the role of arts and culture in the community, partnership building, active membership of staff/board in other organisations and artistic collaboration with others.
4 Capital Improvements: income and expenditure	**10 Building and developing Communities**: contribution to developing sense of community identity, social cohesion, recreational opportunities, development of local enterprise, improvement of public facilities and amenities, and help to convey history and heritage of an area
5 Attendances and performances: total number of audience opportunities (for example, performances, cinema screenings) in city/town, region, nationally and internationally, number of admissions/attendees (paid full, concessions, free, website and hits	**11 Social Change and Public Awareness**: contribution made to stimulating and developing public awareness of important issues and changing people's attitudes on political, ethnical, religious or moral issues
6 Staffing: paid, full- and part-time	**12 Human Capital**: contribution to

staff and volunteers, mix of artistic, marketing and technical staff, board	improving participant's human and communication skills, analytical and problem-solving skills, creative talents, and social awareness.

Source: Kelly and Kelly, 2000

Cited in Reeves (2002:64)

Key outcome areas for the arts in community cultural development

Outcome areas	Indicators
Building and developing communities	Stronger sense of community identity A decrease in people experiencing social isolation Improved recreational options for community Development of local or community enterprises Improvements to, and increased use of, public facilities
Increasing social capital	Improved levels of communication in community Improved levels of community planning and organisation Greater tolerance of different cultures or lifestyles Improved standards of consultation between government and community Increased appreciation of community culture
Activating social change	Increased community awareness of an issue Community action to resolve a social issue Greater tolerance of different cultures or lifestyles Increased in local or community employment options Increased levels of public safety
Developing human capital	Improved communication skills Improved ability to plan and organise Improved problem solving abilities Improved ability to collect, sort and analyse information Improved creative ability
Improving economic performance	Cost-savings in public services or programs (sic) Increase in local or community employment options Improved standards of consultation between government and community

	Development of local or community enterprises Increased business investment in community cultural development Increased resources attracted into community and spent locally

Cited in Reeves (2002:112 -113)

Bibliography

Amara, Nabil, Ouimet, Mathieu, Landry, REjean (2004) 'New Evidence on Instrumental, Conceptual, and Symbolic Utilization of University Research in Government Agencies' *Science Communication*, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 75 – 106.

Appleton, Josie (2006) 'Who owns public art?', in Munira Mirza (ed), *Culture Vultures. Is UK arts policy damaging the arts?,* London: Policy Exchange, pp. 53 – 70.

Australian Expert Group in Industry Studies of the University of Western Australia (2004) *Social impacts of participation in the arts and cultural activities. Stage Two report: Evidence, issue and recommendations,* Cultural Ministers Council, Statistics Working Group (Australia)

available   at http://www.arts.tas.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0020/23627/Social_Impacts_of_the_Arts.pdf

Belfiore, Eleonora (2002) 'Art as a means of alleviating social exclusion: Does it really work? A critique of instrumental cultural policies and social impact studies in the UK', *International Journal Of Cultural Policy,* Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 91 – 106.

Belfiore, Eleonora (2003) 'Economic impact – Inconclusive evidence' *Arts Professional,* No. 43.

Available at http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/53103/.

Belfiore, Eleonora (2004) 'Auditing Culture', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 183 – 202.

Belfiore, Eleonora (2006) 'The social impacts of the arts – myth or reality?', in Munira Mirza (ed), *Culture Vultures. Is UK arts policy damaging the arts?,* London: Policy Exchange, pp. 20 – 37.

Belfiore, Eleonora & Bennett, Oliver (2007) *The Social Impact of the Arts. An Intellectual History*, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bennett, Oliver (1995) 'Cultural policy in the United Kingdom: Collapsing rationales and the end of a tradition', *The European Journal of Cultural Policy,* Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 199 – 216.

BIS (2011) *Impact Assessment Guidance When to do an Impact Assessment*, London: Department   of   Business,   Innovation   and   Skills,   available   at: http://www.bis.gov.uk/assets/biscore/better-regulation/docs/i/11-1111-impact-assessment-guidance.pdf.

BIS (2011) *IA Toolkit How to do an Impact Assessment,* London: Department of Business, Innovation and Skills, available at: http://www.bis.cov.uk/assets/biscore/better-regulation/docs/i/11-1112-impact-assessment-toolkit.pdf.

Cunningham, Stuart (2002) 'From Cultural to Creative Industries: Theory, Industry and Policy Implications'. Τελευταία προσβ. 10/02/2013 στο QUT e-Prints. http://eprints.qut.edu.au/588/

Davies, Philip (2004) 'Is evidence-based government possible? Jerry Lee Lecture 2004', Paper presented at the 4th Annual Campbell Collaboration Colloquium, Washington, DC, 19 February.

Davies, Huw T. O., Nutley, Sandra M. & Smith, Peter C. (2000) *What Works? Evidence-based policy and practice in public services,* Bristol: The Policy Press.

DCMS (1998) *Creative Industries Mapping Document 1998.* Available at http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20100407120701/http://www.culture.gov.uk/reference_library/publications/4740.aspx

DCMS (2001) *Creative Industries Mapping Document 2001.* Available at http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http:/www.culture.gov.uk/reference_library/publications/4632.aspx/

Evans, Graeme (2005) 'Measure for Measure: Evaluating the Evidence of Culture's Contribution to Regeneration', *Urban Studies*, Vol. 42, Nos. 5 – 6, pp 959 – 983.

Flew, Terry (2005) 'Creative Economy' στο John Hartley (ed), *Creative Industries,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, pp. 344 – 360.

Flew, Terry (2012) *The Creative Industries. Culture and Policy*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Galloway, Susan (2009) 'Theory-based evaluation and the social impact of the arts', *Cultural Trends,* Vol. 18, No. 2, pp. 125 -148.

Garnham, Nicholas (2005) 'From cultural to creative industries', *International Journal of Cultural Policy,* Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 15 – 29.

Gray, Clive (2002) 'Local Government and the Arts', *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 77 – 90.

Hansen, Trine B. (1995) 'Measuring the Value of Culture', *The European Journal of Cultural Policy,* Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 309 – 322.

Hartley, John (2005) 'Creative Industries' στο John Hartley (ed), *Creative Industries,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, pp. 1 – 40.

Hesmondalgh, David (2008) 'Cultural and Creative Industries' στο Tony Bennett & John Frow (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Analysis,* London: SAGE Publications Ltd

available at <http://www.sage-ereference.com/view/hdbk_culturanalysis/n26.xml>.

Head, Brian W. (2008) 'Research Evaluation. Three Lenses of Evidence-based Policy', *The Australian Journal of Public Administration,* Vol. 67, No. 1, pp. 1 – 11.

HMT (2003) *The Green Book: Appraisal and evaluation in central government,* London: HMT.

Hood, Christopher (1991) 'A Public Management For All Seasons?', Public Administration, Vol. 69, pp. 3 – 19.

Lavis, John N., Robertson, Dave, Woodside, Jennifer M., McLeod, Christopher B., Abelson, Julia, The Knowledge Transfer Study Group (2003) 'How Can Organizations More Effectively Transfer Research Knowledge to Decision Makers?' *The Milbank Quarterly,* Vol. 81, No. 2, pp. 221 – 248.

Lingayah, Sanjiv, MavGillivray, Alex, Raynard, Peter (1996) *Creative Accounting; Beyond the Bottom Line,* Shroud: Comedia

Matarasso, Francois (1997) *Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of the Participation in the Arts,* Stroud: Comedia

Merli, (2002) 'Evaluating the social impact of participation in arts activities', *International Journal of Cultural Policy,* Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 107 – 118.

Miller, Toby & Yudice, George (2002) *Cultural Policy*, London: Sage Publications.

Mirza, Munira (2006) 'Introduction', in Munira Mirza (ed), *Culture Vultures. Is UK arts policy damaging the arts?,* London: Policy Exchange, pp. 13 – 19.

Mirza, Munira (2012) *The Politics of Culture. The Case for Universalism,* Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Myerscough, John (1986) *Facts about the Arts 2,* London: PSI.

Myerscough, John (1988) *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain,* London: PSI.

Newbigin, John (2011) 'A golden age for the arts?', *Cultural Trends,* Vol. 20, Nos. 3 – 4, pp. 231 – 234.

Nissel, Muriel (1983) *Facts about the Arts. A summary of the available statistics.* London: PSI.

Nutley, Sandra M., Walter, Isabel, Davies, Huw T. O. (2007) *Using Evidence. How research can inform public services,* Bristol: The Policy Press.

Cabinet Office (1999) *Modernising Government. White Paper*, London: The Stationery Office.

Oakley, Kate (2004) 'Not so cool Britannia. The role of the creative industries in economic development', Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 67 -77.

O' Brien, Dave (2010) *Measuring the Value of Culture: a report to the Department for Culture, Media and Sport,* DCMS.

Pearce, D. and Ozdemiroglu, E. (2002) *Economic valuation with stated preference techniques: Summary guide,* London: DTLR.

Petticrew, M. and Roberts, H. (2005) *Systematic Reviews in the Social Sciences. A practical Guide,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Power, Michael (1997) *The Audit Society: Rituals of Verification,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Power, Michael (2000) 'The Audit Society – Second Thoughts', *International Journal of Auditing*, Vol. 4, pp. 111 – 119.

Reeves, Michelle (2002) *Measuring the economic and social impact of the arts: a review,* London: ACE.

available at http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/media/uploads/documents/publications/340.pdf.

Ruiz, Janet (2004) *A Literature Review of the Evidence Base for Culture, the Arts and Sport Policy,* Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

Sanderson, Ian (2002) 'Evaluation, Policy Learning and Evidence-based Policy Making' *Public Administration*, Vol. 80, No. 1, pp. 1 – 22.

Seaman, Bruce A. (2003) 'Economic Impact of the Arts', in Ruth Towse (ed), *A handbook Cultural Economics*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, pp. 201 – 210.

Selwood, Sara (1999) 'Access, efficiency and excellence: Measuring non-economic performance in the English subsidised cultural sector', *Cultural Trends,* Vol. 9, No. 35, pp. 13 – 84.

Selwood, Sara (2002) 'The politics of data collection: Gathering, analysing and using data about the subsidised cultural sector in England', *Cultural Trends,* Vol. 12, No. 47, pp. 13 – 84.

Selwood, Sara (2006) 'Unreliable evidence', in Munira Mirza (ed), *Culture Vultures. Is UK arts policy damaging the arts?,* London: Policy Exchange, pp. 38 – 52.

Selwood, Sara (2010) 'Review Essay: The economic importance of the arts in Britain', *International Journal of Cultural Policy,* Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 74 – 75.

Snowball, Jeanette D. (2008) *Measuring the Value of Culture. Methods and Examples in Cultural Economics,* Berlin: Springer.

Solesbury, Peter (2002) 'The Ascendancy of Evidence', *Planning, Theory & Practice,* Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 90 – 96.

Throsby, David (2010) *The Economics of Cultural Policy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Towse, Ruth (2010) *A Textbook of Cultural Economics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Van Puffelen, Frank (1998) 'Abuses of conventional impact studies in the arts', *The European Journal of Cultural Policy,* Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 241 – 254.

Vestheim, Geir (1994) 'Instrumental Cultural Policy in Scandinavian Countries: A Critical Historical Perspective', *The European Journal of Cultural Policy,* Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 57 – 71.

Wavell, Caroline, Baxter, Graeme, Johnson, Ian, Williams, Dorothy (2002) *Impact Evaluations of Museums, Archives and Libraries: Available Evidence Project,* London: RE:SOURCE

Wells, Peter (2007) 'New Labour and evidence based policy making: 1997 – 2007', *People, Place & Policy Online*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 22 – 29.

Williams, Raymond (1988) *Keywords : a vocabulary of culture and society,* London: Fontana Press.

Young, Ken, Asby, Deborah, Boaz, Annette, Grayson, Lesley (2002) 'Social Science and the Evidence-based Policy Movement' *Social Policy and Society,* Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 215 – 224.