



Culture: Building Resilient Communities

The Edinburgh
International Culture
Summit 2016

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Image

The Scottish Parliament
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About the Edinburgh International Culture Summit

The Edinburgh International Culture Summit is a ministerial forum held every two years. It was established in 2012 as a collaboration between the Scottish government, UK government, British Council, Edinburgh International Festival and Scottish Parliament, delivered on behalf of the partners by the Edinburgh International Culture Summit Foundation.

The aim of the summit is to build bridges between culture ministers, policymakers, artists and practitioners from around the world during the largest annual global celebration of the arts – the Edinburgh Festivals – helping to define in language that political leaders and policymakers understand the most appropriate ways to build a vibrant and financially sustainable culture sector, and to encourage a greater understanding among artists of the policy constraints facing politicians.

Following the success of the 2012 and 2014 gatherings, the Scottish Parliament again played host to the summit. From 24 to 26 August 2016 representatives gathered from 42 countries, including 22 ministerial delegations, with representatives from places as diverse as Argentina, Bangladesh, China, Iraq, Lesotho, New Zealand and Tunisia. Ministers, leaders from the culture sector, academics and policymakers discussed the role of culture in building resilient communities, with sessions focused on cultural protection, heritage-led regeneration, the economic value of culture and how to widen participation in culture and the arts.

This year for the first time a battalion of brilliant young activists and practitioners joined the summit, bringing fresh ideas, energy and challenge to the debates on the floor of the Debating Chamber and to the breakout sessions in the committee rooms of the Scottish Parliament.



Image
The Debating Chamber
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Contents

Foreword.....	2
Summit 2016: an overview	4
Executive summary.....	8
Cultural protection	14
Culture, heritage and tourism	18
Culture-led regeneration	26
Culture and society	32
Participation and legitimacy	38
The F-word.....	44
Culture and the economy.....	48
Cultural infrastructure.....	54
Conclusions and recommendations.....	58
End notes.....	60



Foreword

The Edinburgh International Culture Summit was established in 2012 by the British Council, the Edinburgh International Festival, the Scottish Parliament and the Scottish and UK Governments as a biennial ministerial forum, in which artists, cultural leaders and policy makers from across the globe come together to discuss substantial issues of mutual interest, during the largest annual celebration of the arts in the world – the Edinburgh Festivals.

The context of the Festivals in Edinburgh is vital to the summit. An unparalleled demonstration of diverse voices, international reach, and possibilities for exchange: qualities that lie at the heart of the summit's purpose and ambition as it seeks to emphasise the importance of artistic exchange in a world that is increasingly complex and multi-lateral.

The theme of Summit 2016, 'Culture: Building Resilient Communities,' reflects the summit's strong belief in the essential role that culture plays in the life of any successful community. We also acknowledge that how one defines that success is a matter of cultural, linguistic and environmental difference.

In 2016, the summit invited participants to contribute to a wide-ranging conversation across three interlinked topics: to consider the urgent social and political priorities of protecting and preserving environments of outstanding cultural and heritage importance for all of humanity and throughout the world; to compare some of the economic opportunities and challenges facing a range of governments in a variety of circumstances and contexts; and to recognise the best ways to ensure the greatest possible participation in cultural activities, by all manner of citizens, young, old, directly and in person or via digital platforms.

We were particularly grateful for the critical contributions made by the participating ministerial delegations from 42 countries, responding to the plenary sessions in the Debating Chamber. Xiang Zhaolun, Vice-Minister of Culture, People's Republic of China discussed China's work in safeguarding China's cultural heritage, and Alhaji Lai Mohammed, Federal Minister of Information and Culture, Nigeria, on work to diversify Nigeria's cultural economy. Park Younggoog, Deputy Minister of Culture, Sports and Tourism, Republic of Korea spoke about Cultural enrichment and the creative economy in Korea, and Nathi Mthethwa, Minister of Arts and Culture, Republic of South Africa discussed the significant contributions of the creative industries to emerging economies. Hon. Maggie Barry ONZM, Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage, New Zealand discussed the benefits of culture to other areas of society and Asaduzzaman Noor MP, Honourable Minister, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, People's Republic of Bangladesh discussed initiatives to broaden cultural participation in Bangladesh.



Another important addition in 2016 were the dynamic contributions from members of the Youth Programme, whose participation brought an exciting new energy to the proceedings, and we look forward to welcoming our young colleagues to the summit again in 2018.

Following the success of the Edinburgh International Culture Summits in 2012 and 2014, the Edinburgh International Culture Summit Foundation, an independent charity chaired by Sir Angus Grossart, was established in 2014, to support the work of the summit. On behalf of the summit partners, I would like to thank Sir Angus and the trustees of the Summit Foundation, alongside all our corporate, philanthropic and individual supporters, for their contributions to Summit 2016.

We are grateful to Alistair MacDonald, British Council, for this thoughtful and stimulating report, which eloquently captures the spirit of enquiry and exchange that has come to characterise the Edinburgh International Culture Summit.

Thanks are also extended to the 2016 Knowledge Partners: Aga Khan Music Initiative, Edinburgh World Heritage, World Heritage Institute of Training and Research for the Asia Pacific Region, and University of Southern California's Centre on Public Diplomacy. These organisations, who share the summit's ambition to promote genuine exchange between policymakers and artists in order to inspire positive change in cultural policy and investment, made vital contributions to the scope and potential of the 2016 Summit.

Finally we thank the Scottish Parliament, the Scottish Government, HM Government and Edinburgh International Festival, for their generous support and guidance, without which the summit would not be possible.

The summit's agenda is deliberately non-partisan, in a way that echoes the diverse, international artistic atmosphere of Edinburgh in August. It aims to present multiple points of view, rather than singular attitudes, ensuring that no country, continent or cultural perspective comes to dominate its proceedings. The summit's agenda recognises emerging artistic genres and their economic, social and political impact. The summit also offers a unique platform for promotion and advocacy through the extensive media attention and professional networks of Edinburgh's Summer Festivals.

We hope you find this report as enjoyable and rewarding as we found the 2016 Summit itself, and look forward to welcoming you back in 2018.



Sir Jonathan Mills AO FRSE
Programme Director
Edinburgh International
Culture Summit



Jackie Killeen
Director Scotland
British Council

Summit 2016: an overview

The Edinburgh International Culture Summit is a ministerial forum held every two years. It was established in 2012 as a collaboration between the Scottish government, UK government, British Council, Edinburgh International Festival and Scottish Parliament, delivered on behalf of the partners by the Edinburgh International Culture Summit Foundation.

Our aims

We aim to build bridges between culture ministers, policymakers, artists and practitioners from around the world during the largest annual global celebration of the arts – the Edinburgh Festivals – helping to define in language that political leaders and policymakers understand the most appropriate ways to build a vibrant and financially sustainable culture sector, and to encourage a greater understanding among artists of the policy constraints facing politicians.

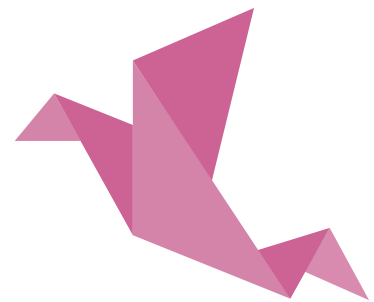
We therefore aim for this to be a highly interactive summit where participants can contribute fully throughout.

Our approach

We seek to emphasise the importance of artistic exchange in a world that is increasingly complex and multilateral. Culture and the arts have an inestimable impact on the vibrancy of the world we create and on the strength of the relations we create with each other.

We believe that every country is at its best when it is open, positive and internationalist, looking outwards and engaging widely. The Scottish Enlightenment philosopher David Hume well understood the value of internationalism, co-operation and trust in building a better future for mankind when he noted that, *'It's when we start working together that the real healing takes place... it's when we start spilling our sweat, and not our blood.'*¹

Our agenda is deliberately non-partisan and pragmatic, in a way that echoes the diverse, international artistic atmosphere of Edinburgh in August. We aim to present multiple points of view rather than singular attitudes, ensuring that no country, continent or cultural perspective comes to dominate proceedings. The summit's agenda recognises emerging artistic genres and their political and economic impact.



Culture is the process by which a person becomes all that they were created capable of being.

Thomas Carlyle

1. <https://www.britishcouncil.org/organisation/policy-insight-research/insight/scottish-enlightenment>



Summit 2016: core themes

In an increasingly complex world, cultural leaders continue to face resource constraints and a plethora of wider policy challenges – improving culture sector sustainability, making the case for the value of investing in culture to achieve both cultural outcomes and others, such as national identity, health and well-being, or demonstrating the contribution of arts and culture to economic growth. But as well as risks there are also opportunities to be seized, not least using the arts and creative industries as a tool of regional regeneration, building a commitment to heritage as a common value in nation-building as well as a motor of growth in tourism, or seizing the digital opportunity to achieve the widest possible community outreach.

In this third summit the aim was to facilitate meaningful policy development in key areas based on what we know about policymakers' interests and priorities. The Summit 2016 programme was developed in close consultation with a wide range of partners and colleagues across the world to ensure relevance.

Ministers and senior policymakers had the opportunity to share global best practice under the overall theme of *Culture: Building Resilient Communities*, reflecting the summit's strong belief in the vital role that culture plays in the life of any successful community. The programme was structured around three key discussion strands: **culture and heritage**, **culture and economics** and **culture and participation**.

Participants contributed to a wide-ranging conversation across these three interlinking topics: to consider the urgent social and political priorities of protecting and preserving environments of outstanding cultural and heritage importance for all of humanity throughout the world; to compare some of the economic opportunities and challenges facing a range of governments from a range of circumstances and contexts; and to recognise the best ways to ensure the greatest possible participation in cultural activities, by all manner of citizens: young and old, directly and in person or via digital platforms.

Each strand was the focus of a plenary session in the Debating Chamber, supported by private policy round tables and workshops. Plenary sessions comprised special messages from prominent artists and cultural leaders, and pre-prepared ministerial reflections. An informed chair guided each round-table discussion, supported by a rapporteur, with discussions led by expert speakers. Each session was designed to allow ministers and senior policymakers the opportunity to share their own experience and engage with examples of global best practice in these key areas.

Image
Official summit portrait
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Youth programme

The youth programme was a new initiative for Summit 2016. Thirty-five young people between the ages of 16 and 26 from across the UK and Europe attended the summit's full programme of public plenary sessions, policy round tables and workshops, in addition to their own tailored programme of discussion sessions. Participants were encouraged to engage directly with culture ministers and policymakers, and to take advantage of all the networking and cultural activities on offer. A final session, the youth forum, provided an opportunity for participants to reflect on their experiences of the summit, highlight key issues to ministers and cultural leaders, and identify shared action points.

Bilateral programme

Summit 2016 offered a programme of exclusive, high-level bilateral and multilateral meetings for culture ministers to identify areas for future collaboration and delivery of cultural activity in their home countries.

Summit 2016 knowledge partners

Knowledge partners for Summit 2016 were the Aga Khan Music Initiative (Aga Khan Development Network), Edinburgh World Heritage, the USC Center on Public Diplomacy (University of Southern California), and the World Heritage Institute of Training and Research for the Asia and Pacific Region under the auspices of UNESCO (WHITR-AP).

Summit outcomes and evaluation

The summit's core success criteria are that it has succeeded in attracting culture ministers and cultural policy leaders from a wide range of nations and cultures, and participants feel they have had the opportunity to share their own experience and learn from others in a significant international cultural policy forum.

Participants were asked to contribute initial feedback to the evaluation exercise during their stay in Edinburgh, to assess the benefits of attendance after appropriate reflection, and to advise the organisers how best to shape future events for maximum benefit.

Overall the response to the summit was very positive, with overwhelming support from the participants for the format, topical foci, speakers and venue.

Participation

The 2016 Summit welcomed over 32 international delegations, a mix of senior policymakers, senior officials and artists from a rich diversity of cultural backgrounds and varying levels of experience, but all with a shared interest in being together in Edinburgh to discuss key shared issues and opportunities.

The language of the summit is English. Speeches in the Debating Chamber given in another language were simultaneously translated.

The nature and size of the event required a degree of formality in the process, particularly in plenary sessions, but all participants were welcome to contribute actively to the discussion. Given our priority focus on facilitating fruitful high-level exchange, participants were asked to be as open as possible in their interventions, sharing their policy goals, the biggest challenges they face, their successes and failures, and their assessment of key factors for success.

Both public and private sessions were recorded, with rapporteurs reporting the highlights of the private sessions back to the summit delegates in the final plenary session. Additionally, observers from the British Council made their own notes of the proceedings to inform the preparation of this publication.



Image
Cape Town opera chorus
© Scottish Parliament

Executive summary

Introduction

In this section we summarise the discussions around the three core themes of the summit. This summary is then followed by more detail on the topical discussions from the plenary sessions, policy round tables and workshops. The basis for this report is the transcripts from the plenary sessions in the Scottish Parliament's Debating Chamber, the notes of the rapporteurs and British Council note-takers, and the presentations and comments made by the participants themselves.

Culture and heritage

Around the world cultural heritage is under threat. If you think heritage is something esoteric, Daesh and many other terrorist organisations do not. The struggle to protect our cultural heritage involves all humanity. It is very political and very real, and it propels what some may consider to be sedate, academic activities, such as museum curation, into a new and dangerous frontline, turning work in these fields into a political fight for freedom and identity.

There is an urgent need for international action to protect vulnerable sites and monuments – highlighted by the wilful destruction of the Buddhas at Bamiyan, Afghanistan, in 2001, and the demolition of the Temple of Baalshamin at Palmyra, Syria, in 2015 – but tragic as they are, these examples are just the most acute symptoms of a far more widespread disease. Wanton destruction by puritanical iconoclasts makes the news broadcasts but terrible damage is also being inflicted by looters, neglect, insensitive development, tourism and environmental degradation. As well as sites in Iraq, Libya and Syria, the 55 properties which the World Heritage Committee has inscribed on the List of World Heritage in Danger also includes sites in the Americas, Sub-Saharan Africa and indeed the UK. Our most precious monuments, sites and other environments of outstanding natural beauty are threatened as never before.

At the summit we learned about the terrible damage caused by the bombardment of Aleppo, the systematic destruction of Palmyra, and the impact of the illicit trade in cultural property, but we also heard from communities that are under pressure from tourism: of sites and places that through their very popularity with international visitors are under threat. We mourned the tragedy of Syria and sympathised with the challenges facing Venice. But we also learned from both the sessions on cultural tourism and the discussions on culture-led regeneration that culture and heritage can, if successfully managed, be a powerful driver of economic development.

The sustainable development of a place both respects and harnesses the historic environment for economic and social benefits; benefits that local communities – the custodians of place – can 'buy into' to better understand both the intrinsic importance and the economic potential of the sites in their care. The discussions on the role of leadership and consultation were significant. The local populace should be at the heart of sustainable development. International agencies can provide resources and advice for communities to assist them: help with planning, designation and conservation techniques, for example. Partnerships at local, national and international levels are essential.

Paradoxically, despite apparently enduring for centuries, our heritage is acutely vulnerable to damage. What we have is after all just a tiny sample of how human endeavour has shaped the world around us. The historic environment is a finite and irreplaceable resource: our universal heritage, a legacy each generation holds in trust for their successors. In the end it is our shared responsibility to ensure the universal cultural heritage bequeathed to us by our forebears is cherished and conserved so that it can be passed on to our children.



Culture and economics

Officials and politicians can at times be sceptical or even suspicious of the value of culture. In a world of limited resources and competing priorities there is a very real danger that culture can be seen as optional, a luxury that is nice to have but inessential. Decision makers face tough choices – when budgets are under pressure, why would you invest in the arts over education, health or housing? Faced with such decisions, funding for culture can be an all-too-obvious target for cuts. Across the UK, for example, local authorities faced with the choice of cutting funding for social care or culture have chosen to close libraries and museums. Some councils have closed down their arts services in their entirety. Too often such funding decisions are short term, with limited appreciation of the longer-term effects on communities. A saving in the current financial year can mean significant costs down the line. However, the role of government isn't limited to funding. Policymakers also play a critical role in facilitating a vibrant culture sector through other means, setting out the strategic framework in which individual institutions operate and convening the different players together. Government policy impacts the sector in numerous obvious and more subtle ways – e.g. through licensing laws, intellectual property standards and visa regulations – and the culture sector needs to explain how public policy impacts on their activities and find the means to work with policymakers to ensure changes do not have negative consequences.

Governments need to listen; the culture sector is worth billions to national economies. For China, India, Japan, Korea, Mexico, New Zealand, Nigeria, the UK and the USA, the creative industries are economically vital. Both advanced and developing economies are increasingly turning to film, cultural tourism, music, publishing and video gaming to underpin prosperity. Yet it isn't just the creative industries themselves that matter, it is the capacity to create, to innovate, 'to think outside the box' that will determine who wins and loses out in what has been called the 'Fourth Industrial Revolution'. Education systems need to be assessed and adapted to respond to the demands of this digital age.

To make sound decisions over funding and strategy, policymakers need to evaluate impact in the short, medium and long term, to quantify the socio-economic and cultural ripple effects arising from decisions. This is as true for the culture sector as it is for education, health and other public services. Funding, impact assessments, value for money – policymakers have to work in numbers, 'to get the maths right'. As a result, the interests of policymakers, funders and political leaders will usually determine the measures put in place to assess the impacts of cultural investments. However, in reducing something as complex and nuanced as culture to a mere number, there is a risk that decision making becomes an arid exercise in weights and measures – and fails to capture the qualitative impact and value that culture can offer society. It is vital that the culture sector seeks to understand the dilemmas facing policymakers and makes the case for the role of culture in society, to find a common language and shared measures of the contribution of the arts both locally and nationally. There needs to be a partnership between the culture sector and policymakers to develop a more sophisticated set of tools to understand the value of cultural activities over time. A range of cultural, artistic, social and economic measures – qualitative as well as quantitative – will be required.



The case needs to be made to the public too, to demonstrate that spending on culture isn't 'throwing away' money that would be better spent on overstretched schools and hospitals. This requires the sector to find the methodology and language to communicate the value of culture in ways which are meaningful to those outside the sector, and to listen to, and respond to, the interests of communities. The public have to feel they have a stake in the fortunes of the culture sector if they are to support it. This is potentially the single best way to legitimise the investment of public money in culture in the eyes of taxpayers.



Image
Youssou N'dour
© Scottish Parliament

Culture and participation

It is no longer sufficient to just tell the public that the arts are important – they need to experience culture and participate in the discourse, to see how cultural institutions contribute to their communities. The public need to develop a sense of entitlement, to feel legitimised and empowered to participate. It is incumbent on the sector to overcome the barriers to participation, engage new audiences and support emerging talent. The sector has a responsibility but also an opportunity to give people a voice, to bring in the young, the old, women, the marginalised and the people on the fringes. We need those dissonant voices in the cultural discourse.

Whether it is wartime philosophy classes for deportees on the decks of the *Dunera* or the efforts of heroes like Professor Abdulkarim to conserve our universal heritage in Syria, the importance of culture to communities in crisis was evident to everyone at the summit. But it should not just be in adversity that the importance of culture shines out. Culture is not an added extra, a peripheral, a luxury. Culture's role in society – in community cohesion, economic success, health and well-being – needs to be better understood. Transformational programmes like Dance for Parkinson's demand to be better known, the lessons for health and social care appreciated and acted upon by service commissioners. Culture needs to be recognised as integral to the success of communities. It is the infrastructure on which society functions – as important as roads and the electricity supply. We need to better elucidate the many ways, both obvious and more subtle, in which culture contributes to the smooth and orderly functioning of our communities.

The long-term sustainability of the culture sector requires it to embrace the mixed economy model while continuing to make a robust evidence-based case for public funding. But money isn't the end of the story. Institutions should strive to be relevant and to understand the communities they serve, to break down the barriers to participation and build a sense of entitlement and ownership. Beyond the perennial anxieties over funding there is a pressing need to ensure our institutions engage with communities, to overcome the socio-economic factors that deter those who see culture as 'not for the likes of me'. The sector must be open, generous and willing to take risks, both to give those on the fringes a voice and to ensure our institutions do all they can to legitimise their continued calls on the public purse.

Conclusions and recommendations

1. The international community should come together to pressure states into signing and enforcing international conventions on the illicit trade in cultural property.
2. International partners have a critical role to play in supporting the protection of the historic environment and the intangible heritage of language and cultural practice in fragile states and conflict zones. Further investment and support for programmes like the British Council-administered Cultural Protection Fund should be encouraged.
3. Local communities are best placed to conserve the historic environment. They should be involved in decision making and see the benefits of conservation themselves – conservation must go hand in hand with economic development.
4. Much more effort needs to be made to understand fully the role of culture in society. Research is central to this, but so is prioritisation by policymakers. The potential of the arts to contribute to the delivery of better outcomes in health, education and community cohesion needs to be explored and the findings disseminated as broadly as possible. The transformative potential of programmes like Dance for Parkinson's and Streetwise Opera demands to be better known.
5. The value of culture needs to be taken seriously. The arts and creativity are going to be critical to personal, community and national success in the Fourth Industrial Revolution. Governments should recognise the need for investment and for developing the right strategic approach or face economic decline.
6. The culture sector and policymakers should seek to develop a common language and sophisticated cultural evaluation tools to develop a shared understanding of the value of culture. Success will depend on agreeing qualitative and quantitative metrics drawing on a broad range of cultural, artistic, social and economic value criteria. This will require research and analysis to both bring together best practice from around the globe and develop a coherent suite of metrics and methodologies.
7. The culture sector should develop a better grasp of the links between participation, legitimacy and public support in making the case for public funding and the prioritisation of culture in policymakers' strategic thinking.
8. The Edinburgh International Culture Summit offers a unique and essential platform for bringing together the arts sector and policymakers to share best practice and unite in addressing the key socio-economic and cultural challenges facing communities.

Cultural protection

In fragile states and conflict zones the state's capacity to safeguard cultural heritage is inevitably compromised. The institutions that exist to protect vulnerable sites and relics are neglected. Looters target sites and museums for portable goods that are easily transported across porous borders for illegal sale to foreign buyers wilfully ignorant of their provenance. Artillery rains down on cities with tragic loss of life. Those same bombs also erode the fabric of life, the fundamentals of everyday living of which culture is an essential part. Indeed, here and now in the 21st century, the deliberate, systematic destruction of cultural heritage is once again an objective of war.

At the summit, Professor Dr Maamoun Abdulkarim, Director-General of Antiquities and Museums in Syria, shared his experiences of the violent attacks upon his country's cultural heritage, explaining how 'due to the absence of cultural institutions, threats against heritage have increased, and have included systematic illegal excavations, carried out by professional army groups.' He reflected on the increased smuggling across Syria's borders and the tragedy of Aleppo – a World Heritage city that 'is now like the city of Warsaw in 1944.' Professor Abdulkarim also spoke about 'the ideological attack by ISIS groups of terrorists on Palmyra...' highlighting that the city 'is not just Syrian but our common and universal heritage.'

How should the world respond to such destruction? The revulsion felt in response to the razing of cities in the closing stages of the Second World War gave international impetus to efforts to protect humanity's shared heritage, to keep in trust what is bequeathed to the present generation that it might be passed on to the next and not lost to the fires of ideology and hate. The international community came together to recognise that the protection of heritage is not a luxury but a core obligation of customary international humanitarian law and the law of war, eventually resulting in the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict and its two protocols. However, while the international community as a whole was left appalled by the events in the closing stages of Second World War and swore never again, many states have been slow to actually sign the convention. Delegates at the summit applauded when the Rt Hon Matt Hancock, Minister of State for Digital and Culture, confirmed the UK government's announcement during the closing plenary session that it would be ratifying the Hague Convention in the 2016–17 parliamentary session.²

*An antient Cross liv'd in our
Fathers time,
With as much Fame, as did
the Worthy's nine;
No harm it did, nor injury
to none,
But dwelt in peace, and
quietly alone;...*

*Yet peacefull Nature, nor yet
humble Minde,
Shall not avoyd rude Ignorance
that's blinde,
That superstitiously beats down
all things
Which smell but of Antiquity,
or springs
From Noble Deeds, nor love,
nor take delight,
In Laws, or Justice, hating Truth
and Right;
But Innovations love, for that
seems fine,
And what is new, adore they
as divine;...*

*And so this Cross, poor Cross,
all in a rage
They pull'd down quite, the fault
was onely Age.*

Margaret Cavendish

2. The Cultural Property (Armed Conflicts) Act received Royal Assent on 22 February 2017.

Actual prosecutions for the destruction of cultural monuments have been rare. However, at the summit delegates learned of the trial of Ahmad al-Faqi al-Mahdi at the International Criminal Court. The case is a milestone – the first time the destruction of cultural property had been prosecuted as war crime³ – and offers hope to those keen for the international community to come together to deter the cultural vandals that threaten our universal heritage. More must be done by the international community to persuade other states to follow the UK's belated example. States should sign, and enforce, the international conventions relating to the protection of cultural property during armed conflict and the prevention of illicit trade. These conventions exist to safeguard our universal cultural heritage, not to denude national museums or curtail the business of honest auctioneers.

International law and conventions, enforced by effective policing of the illicit trade in cultural property, are effective deterrents that can make it much harder to move looted treasures, but they can only do so much. Legal action is not in itself sufficient to protect our universal cultural heritage. Public awareness campaigns to stop tourists buying artwork and antiquities ignorant of their illegality can also help put further pressure on the market in illicit goods. Of course there will always be a buyer, a supplier, a middleman, someone willing to risk dealing in stolen goods, but it is incumbent on governments, businesses and individuals to do all they can to frustrate the illicit trade in looted treasures.

The deliberate destruction of Dubrovnik and Mostar in the 1990s and the 21st century tragedies at Bamiyan, Palmyra and Timbuktu all reflect the limitations of international conventions. While the Taliban did hesitate before blowing up the Bamiyan Buddhas, in the end international law and opinion were not enough to protect the site. In the face of such destructive forces there is a critical role to be played by archaeologists, curators and other heritage professionals in cataloguing, mapping and photographing sites under threat. International partners can help local institutions and heritage professionals with training, equipment and expertise. Digitally recording and then sharing our universal cultural heritage online is one of the best defences against the attempts of the iconoclasts to erase the past – virtual reconstruction can allow for physical restoration, post-conflict. Here again the international community can help through agencies like UNESCO and use of overseas development assistance funding.

Himmler and Hitler's deliberate destruction of Warsaw failed in its attempt to crush the spirit of the Polish people and the city was rebuilt, to a design heavily influenced by 18th century landscapes of the city painted by Bernardo Bellotto. At the summit, Prince Ayn al-Ara Khan related how, due to previous restoration work in Timbuktu, detailed architectural drawings exist of the Sufi mausolea that subsequently suffered significant damage during the city's occupation by Ansar Dine. These drawings will allow for a faithful restoration of the monuments unembellished by artistic fancy.

3. Ahmad al-Faqi al-Mahdi pleaded guilty and in September 2016 was sentenced to nine years' imprisonment.

Ultimately, for all the efforts of the international community, it is only the people living in a place who can choose to protect rather than prey upon the cultural heritage in their locality. They are the custodians. The barbaric murder of Director of Antiquities Khaled al-Asaad by Daesh in Palmyra shows the risks people can run in trying to protect our shared cultural heritage. The international community can and should do all it can to help and protect them, including offering sanctuary when it is needed. In the long term, a sustainable future for a historic site depends upon the involvement of the local population. International agencies can help post-conflict with resources and advice to restore sites, but efforts must also be made to help local communities to better understand, value and benefit from the cultural heritage in their charge. Prince Aynn talked about how the Aga Khan Development Network worked with the local population in Mopti, in Mali, discussing with them how to improve the area around the Great Mosque to ensure the longevity of the recently restored historic monuments by ensuring the availability of funds to support the site without cost to the local community. It is a model that other agencies can learn from:

The local population responded enthusiastically and collaborated fully with us in the endeavour... so that... the neighbourhood was greatly upgraded through an extensive programme of street improvements, sanitation programmes, training programmes for masons, recycling programmes, the creation of clean toilet and bath facilities attached to a public café, and a new Centre for Earthen Architecture... Within the revived area, an array of shops, handicraft outlets and small commercial activities came into being. An entire MIAD – a multi-input area development – had in fact occurred as a result of the restoration of some monuments... largely realised... by self-help.

The support for conservation in Mopti was built up through the linkage with development. It reflects an understanding that culture can and must be at the core of international development. Sensitively managed, the historic environment offers communities benefits and new opportunities, by, for example, providing the foundations for a sustainable tourist industry – something we will return to below. Leaving aside the economic case for the moment, monuments and historic sites can also offer common ground to help heal societies riven by conflict – they are often totemic of a place, a familiar rallying point for the community. They can become a symbol of endurance, reconciliation and renewal.

Around the world our universal cultural heritage is under threat, and there is a clear and present danger to vulnerable sites in fragile states and conflict zones, from both puritanical iconoclasts and the illicit trade in cultural property. But there are interventions that can help – training and equipment for curators, scientists and archaeologists to better care for and accurately document historic sites and cultural objects, for example. The international community should come together as one to persuade more states to sign and enforce the existing international conventions on the protection of cultural property during armed conflict and the illicit trade in cultural property. But there must also be recognition of the importance of conserving the intangible heritage of language and practice. If we are to conserve our universal heritage for the next generation, international actors must work in partnership with the cultural protection professionals and local communities on the front line. Only that way can we honour our 21st century vows of never again.



Intangible cultural heritage

Most of the discourse on cultural protection has been on material culture – the historic environment and antiquities – but culture is more than just the physical relics of the past. Cultural practices, language, ways of living and community values are all under threat. The new puritan iconoclasts don't just blow up temples and statues. They forbid cultural norms, abhorring ancient rituals and modern forms alike. Daesh ban both Sufi songs and dances, and football referees who dare follow FIFA rules, making a brutal example of any Iraqi or Syrian who dares to break their strictures. It is an attack on identity, an attempt to stamp out any dissent from the true way. Just like the systematic physical destruction in Dubrovnik or Warsaw, it is an attempt to wipe out any evidence that contradicts the narrative of the 'superior culture'. Language, music, ways of thinking and long-held beliefs are all a threat to that narrative and need to be prohibited and punished. But just as international actors can support the cataloguing of artefacts and monuments under threat, so can they help communities conserve the threatened forms and practices of people through digital means, by sharing the cherished songs, shapes and colours of life and by capturing the stories of people through social media and other outlets.

Even where there are no destructive, malign thought police at work, states and international agencies should invest in, protect and nurture cultural practices. They are essential to local and national identities, providing a sense of community and shared values and experiences. Neglect can see languages die out, traditional practices lost and ways of living abandoned.

States must find a balance between conservation and progress, to cherish that which makes us who we are while allowing for development, change and the new. Lesotho, for example, has shown that conservation and development can be partners rather than competing interests with the cultural village at the Thaba-Bosiu National Monument. The village both conserves and showcases the traditional culture of the Basotho nation at one of the country's most important national monuments but also offers conferencing and other facilities to present tourists and businesses with a unique destination, bringing cultural and economic benefits to the local populace.

The scale of the task can be a daunting prospect, but it is important work and can bring huge rewards. At the summit, Xiang Zhaolun, Vice-Minister of the Ministry of Culture, the People's Republic of China, set out the immensity of the challenge of cataloguing and conserving intangible cultural heritage:

We have... spent the past 38 years documenting the folklore and arts of ethnic groups across China and have published a 318-volume, 417-million-word encyclopaedia on the subject, which was acclaimed as the equivalent of the Great Wall of China in terms of China's folk arts and ethnic cultural heritage... During a national census of intangible cultural heritage that was carried out between 2005 and 2009, we collected 290,000 valuable properties and documents; took 200 million words' worth of notes; and made 230,000 hours of recordings.

Culture, heritage and tourism

The Grand Tour was an extended educational journey through Europe undertaken by aristocratic young men that became popular in the 17th century and persisted until the advent of rail in the 19th century. Travellers followed an itinerary – after Oxford a young English gentleman of means would cross the Channel and head to Paris before passing through France and on to Geneva and then into Italy for the sights of Venice, Florence and Rome. After Rome our gentleman tourist might turn south to Naples to visit Herculaneum and Pompeii, where others braved the Ionian Sea to cross to the Greek mainland. At some point the traveller would turn back to the north heading for Vienna, Dresden and Berlin. Eventually months or even years later our young gentleman would head westwards, returning home via the Low Countries. The art of the Renaissance, the remains of classical Rome, these were the height of civilised culture that a young rake must experience first-hand. He would return as a man of the world, his education complete. And with him he would bring a collection of paintings, sculptures and antiquities, mementos to showcase his wealth and refinement to his peers.

Today tourism is no longer the preserve of the rich, aristocratic white male. As societies around the world have prospered, so increasing numbers have chosen to travel. The numbers are vast and growing – the number of international tourist arrivals (overnight visitors) in 2015 increased by 4.6 per cent to reach a total of 1,186 million worldwide, an increase of 52 million over the previous year. 2015 saw the sixth consecutive year of above-average growth in international tourism following the 2009 global economic crisis, according to the UNWTO World Tourism Barometer.⁴ Sun, sea and sand remain key drivers for many families' choice of summer holiday destination but, as summit attendees noted as they experienced the many meteorological moods of Edinburgh in August, this is not a pull factor for the UK.⁵ Nevertheless, 36.1 million overseas visitors came to the country in 2015, injecting £22.1 billion into the economy. But why?

Shall I ever forget the sensations I experienced upon slowly descending the hills, and crossing the bridge over the Tiber; when I entered an avenue between terraces and ornamented gates of villas, which leads to the Porto del Popolo, and beheld the square, the domes, the obelisk, the long perspective of streets and palaces opening beyond, all glowing with the vivid red of sunset?

William Beckford

4. <http://media.unwto.org/press-release/2016-09-26/international-tourist-arrivals-4-first-half-2016>

5. <https://www.visitbritain.org/visitor-economy-facts>



Tourism is increasingly a cultural phenomenon. People travel to learn and experience other cultures, to visit places of historic, religious or personal significance, to encounter the novel, the different, to be excited by the exotic and challenged by the new. And, of course, to go shopping. It is the democratisation of the Grand Tour undertaken by William Beckford and his ilk. And just like the Grand Tour there's an itinerary, a checklist, every country having its must-visits. Times Square, the Louvre, the Pyramids, the Zócalo, the Forbidden City, St Peter's Basilica, Everland and the Taj Mahal⁶ are among the most visited places on the planet. They are all in their own way cultural meccas. The visitor goes to experience first-hand the frenetic pace of Manhattan, to contemplate the Mona Lisa's enigmatic smile or to have fun with Lenny Superstar and Friends. Tourism today is as an investment in happiness, in physical and intellectual development. Like the Grand Tour it is about personal well-being and enrichment, it's a cultural conversation, an opening up of the mind and soul.

In the previous chapter we discussed cultural protection, but the conservation of our universal heritage isn't just about the international community's response to the deliberate destruction wrought by Daesh or the illicit trade in cultural property. Tourism is also putting considerable stress on the historic environment. Mould is spreading across the walls of Queen Nefertiti's grave site, caused by the moist breath of thousands of daily visitors. The feet of the 2,000 people who scale Machu Picchu each day are slowly eroding the ancient stone walks. The authorities in Venice talk of capping the number of visitors and controls on length of stay to save the city from the ever-rising human tide. Traffic threatens Stonehenge; the A303 blights the views of the World Heritage Site while pollution – fumes and vibrations – erodes the fabric. Overcrowding in museum galleries not only diminishes the visitor experience, it causes wear and tear to buildings and collections.

Virtual tours

At the summit, delegates learned how the Google Cultural Institute has taken the technology that has revolutionised the mapping of our towns and streets to monuments, galleries and museums around the world. By replacing the famous Street View car with ultra-high-definition digital cameras, Google is documenting our most treasured artefacts and making possible virtual tours of faraway places. The results reveal details that are invaluable to researchers and curators as well creating a global museum accessible to any virtual tourist with access to the internet. The technology allows us to take a walk among the cherry blossoms of Kyoto's Daigo-ji temple, see every single hair on the head of Dürer's famous hare, or float skywards to get up close with the mosaics of the Quire ceiling of St Paul's Cathedral. Digital platforms allow for the preservation of invaluable data – and for its sharing with a global audience of armchair visitors. The educational potential is enormous, but the value to conservators and curators is equally immense. Mapping and measuring the facts on the ground to create a virtual re-creation not only offers a unique learning tool but also supports restoration efforts and stands as a last, best line of defence against the iconoclasts that seek to tear down a past that threatens their exclusive narrative.

6. www.travelandleisure.com/slideshows/worlds-most-visited-tourist-attractions

Conservation is an active, ongoing process; it requires positive intervention rather than just passive designation. Sustainable tourism development requires investment in the infrastructure needed to accommodate tourist flows, combined with conservation measures to protect the historic environment from erosion and the encroachment of associated development and infrastructure. Developers and policymakers must take care to strike a balance to ensure the very assets people will want to visit are not degraded. The human traffic flow can be managed, restricted and diverted in much the same way as a river can be dammed or culverted. International partners such as UNESCO can help with advice – on effective planning regulation that can guide development in sensitive environments and on best practice in the conservation of archaeological remains, the design of museum spaces and the conservation of collections.

Tourism can also have adverse effects on local communities, rather than being the golden goose – a panacea for the economic woes of a place; it can increase the burdens on local populations without producing any mitigating benefits. Overcrowding can make daily life in a tourist hot spot stressful, public services can be stretched, rents rise and corner shops are replaced by sellers of tourist tat. Take for example Venice, a city exhausted by tourism where the spread of ‘genuine Venetian masks’ shops has driven out the food stores that served the local community. Or Dubrovnik, a city that is regularly swamped with tourists disembarking from cruise ships who then get trapped by the bottlenecks at the city’s two gates with nowhere to go. A community expecting to benefit from increased revenues may well find a different segment of the population benefiting than those who must bear the burden of diminishing resources. Most tourist spending (air fares, hotel and tour operators’ fees) benefits foreign companies rather than the local population. Policymakers need to consider carefully how best to ensure the costs of tourism are mitigated by benefits to the local population, and that the profits are reinvested to build a sustainable future for both the community and the cultural assets that attract visitors.

It is an inevitable destiny: the very reasons why a property is chosen for inscription on the World Heritage List are also the reasons why millions of tourists flock to those sites year after year. In fact, the belief that World Heritage Sites belong to everyone and should be preserved for future generations is the very principle on which the World Heritage Convention is based. So how do we merge our convictions with our concerns over the impact of tourism on World Heritage Sites? The answer is through sustainable tourism. Directing governments, site managers and visitors towards sustainable tourism practices is the only way to ensure the safekeeping of our world’s natural and cultural heritage.⁷

Francesco Bandarin, UNESCO

7. <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-113-2.pdf>

In developing a sustainable tourism model, economic modelling is vital. At the summit existing measures were criticised as lacking the sophistication needed in what is a major economic driver to many nations around the world. We can know retrospectively how long people stay and where and how much they spend, but the data needed for qualitative analysis and predictive modelling is lacking. We need a more sophisticated understanding of the capacity of places to accommodate tourist flows, and that needs data, like advance booking information from online travel markets, to predict and respond to traffic. Tracking behavioural trends through social media will enable businesses, institutions and policymakers to identify pressure points and potential opportunities – to manage the offer.

A typical holiday to the UK means a trip to London – the British Museum, Tower Bridge, Westminster Abbey, Big Ben, Buckingham Palace, Harrods, a ride on a red bus and a photo in a telephone box. Like the Grand Tour it is an exercise in ticking off the icons. London receives the lion's share of visitors, with most never leaving Zone 1 of the famous Underground map. On a longer stay the brave may venture beyond the capital for Stratford-upon-Avon, Stonehenge, Bath or north to Edinburgh – the UK's second most visited city – for the castle, the view from Arthur's Seat and the brilliant chaos of the Festivals. Places even a little off this well-worn path are far less visited by international visitors.

The summit heard that where there are World Heritage Sites like Venice that are under threat from very high tourist flows, there are also many other places that receive relatively few visitors and see cultural tourism as a route to economic development. To successfully tap the international tourist market, partners need to really understand and to nurture a place's assets, especially the cultural and natural assets. It is part marketing and branding – what's the offer, the USP, what will make a place really stand out? But it's also essential to understand the market rather than just the supply side. What's the demand? What are today's tourists looking for? What has a place to offer to the tourist looking for a new and stimulating vacation experience?

Tourism in Tunisia

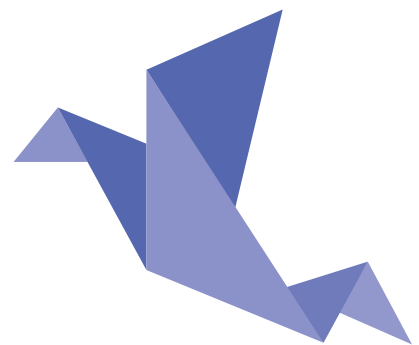
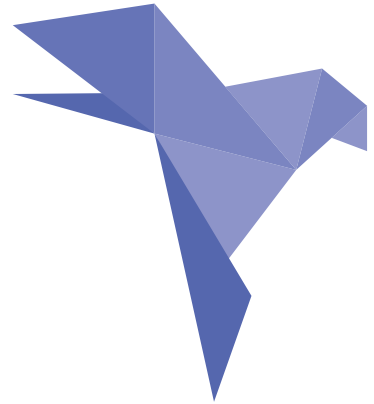
In Tunisia the tourism sector accounts for 6.5 per cent of GDP and 11.5 per cent of jobs in the country. It is the economic lifeblood of many communities, especially along the mainland coast and Djerba. The damage to the economy caused by the deliberate targeting of tourists in the terrorist attacks at the Bardo National Museum and on the beaches of Sousse has had a significant impact on the national economy, with a 20 per cent fall in tourist numbers that has resulted in the closure of hotels and attractions along the coastal tourist zone. As perceptions of the security situation improve people will return to Tunisia; it is a beautiful, welcoming country with a rich culture and is loved by many who have been visiting year after year. The international community should be doing all it can to assist with both the immediate security challenges facing Tunisia but also with support and advice for economic diversification.

Tunisia has invested heavily in – and grown dependent upon – beach hotels. Cultural tourism offers the potential for the diversification of the tourism sector and to support economic growth away from the coastal resorts. Ancient Carthage, the Berber culture and the sites that have doubled for Tatooine in the *Star Wars* saga have real potential for growth. These are 'assets' that can be marketed to cultural tourists. Investment in heritage protection and interpretation for visitors would help open up this offer. But travellers are also interested in the authentic 'Tunisian experience'. Increasingly, tourists visit to experience the here-and-now as well as the relics of past civilisations, ancient traditions and film sets. People travel to submerge themselves in local culture; they want to get lost in the sounds, colours and flavours of the souk. Tunisia's coastal resorts have the infrastructure to handle high tourist flows, but inland heritage sites are less accessible. Focusing on promoting and facilitating tourism to these cultural sights will help areas not currently attracting significant numbers of visitors to grow their local tourist trade. This will take both public and private sectors working together to sustainably develop Tunisia's offer and build a basis for growth in new centres.

It's also about accessibility. A fantastical ziggurat in the depths of the jungle might attract the adventurous, but a less impressive relic in a major city which can offer en-suite accommodation and easy travel options will potentially be able to attract far higher numbers. To unlock the potential of a monument with limited accessibility requires significant investment by both the public and private sectors – in infrastructure and conservation measures – to enable the sustainable development of the site as a tourist attraction. Even where a site is already reasonably accessible, there will still be significant costs to develop it as a tourist attraction; this might be conservation measures but it could also be a visitor centre or transport improvements.

Raising awareness of what's on offer off the well-worn path and providing reassurance that a trip is worthwhile will persuade visitors to venture beyond the local equivalent of Zone 1. It will also encourage return visits by making clear that a place has more to offer. How do you raise awareness? Look at some of the places that are already drawing the visitors. Places that are recognised through international designation – World Heritage Sites like Edinburgh Old and New Towns. Places with internationally recognised brands/associations, whether it's Disney or Manchester United. Visitors flock to visit the Three Confucius Historical Sites in Qufu; there is always a queue at Platform 9¾ in King's Cross station; and every year cars full of hipsters set out to retrace the journeys related in Jack Kerouac's *On the Road*. Such associations can draw visitors to places that might not otherwise be obvious tourist destinations.

If there is no obvious offer it is possible to start from scratch, but it needs considerable investment and ingenuity to develop a proposition that is internationally appealing. The West Kowloon Cultural District in Hong Kong, and the breath-taking developments in Dubai and Abu Dhabi are places getting international attention with exciting new cultural attractions. But not every city has the resources of these new global centres for culture. Other cities like Berlin and Singapore are rebranding through culture. Investing heavily in improving and expanding existing cultural assets – Museum Island and Triple B – are making people look at these places afresh. Ireland has taken a different approach, focusing on an international reputation for hospitality and instantly recognisable brands such as Guinness to foster culinary tourism. Fantastic food, using the freshest local ingredients from the Emerald Isle's green hills and gleaming rivers, traditional and avant-garde cooking offered in venues ancient and new. It is a clever and successful use of a country's cultural assets – and a much cheaper and more adaptable model than building your own archipelago.



The festival model can also be very useful to ‘get on the map’. The British Isles have a rich festivals culture, from the Isle of Man’s TT Races to the Edinburgh Festivals, from the Eisteddfod to Glastonbury. Cultural festivals can be big business – the Edinburgh Festivals are a massive contributor to the city’s economy, bringing in some £280 million⁸ per annum. However, big festivals present a challenge for hosts – the demand on infrastructure can be significant, and if a town or city invests in the transport, hotels, restaurants, venues and other essentials to accommodate a major event, what happens for the rest of the year? Some temporary interventions and structures – like stages and grandstands – can be taken down after the tourists have left, but cafés and hotels need regular business to be viable. Edinburgh’s annual festival cycle is only part of the story of the city’s success; the vast student population and the popularity of the city for conferences are also major contributors to the income of businesses.

The big festivals and events draw huge numbers of international and domestic visitors, but there are also numerous smaller and more niche gatherings that nevertheless make a vital contribution to local economies and help draw tourists away from the well-worn path. Every year Up Helly Aa manages to attract tourists to Lerwick amid the gales, sleet and snow of January. Ingenuity and entrepreneurialism are essential. Llanwrtyd Wells in Powys, Wales, is a tiny town of 850 people that manages to attract significant numbers every year for its unusual calendar of cultural events that include the World Alternative Games, the Man versus Horse marathon, the bog snorkelling championships and a beer festival. The cleverness of the organisers is the media attention such cultural oddities attract – national and international recognition is guaranteed when the BBC website reports the winner of the bog snorkelling championships – while the succession of festivals ensures a longer peak season than one single event. Annual festivals and events are a feature of cultural tourism, and a wealthy few do a global festival tour, visiting Glastonbury, Coachella and Burning Man. Others might combine a trip to Salzburg with a tour of the pavilions at the Venice Biennale.

Domestic tourism

The focus so far has been on international tourists but it’s also worth examining the potential for developing a domestic tourist industry – international visitors will usually be the most lucrative on a per capita basis, but domestic flows can make a significant contribution and can be especially important to places that might struggle to attract international visitors away from the well-worn path. By way of illustration, in 2014 people in the UK made a total of 114.2 million domestic trips of one night or longer. However, though domestic tourists in Great Britain outnumbered foreign visitors by two to one in 2014, they spent similar amounts: £22.1 billion by foreign visitors, compared with £23.3 billion by domestic tourists.⁹ Less lucrative per visitor, yes, but those domestic tourists made a substantial impact on local economies across the UK and were especially important in places like Wales that – for all the richness of the Welsh culture and landscape – receive significantly fewer international visitors than other parts of the UK but do proportionally better in the domestic market.¹⁰

8. www.edinburghfestivalcity.com/about/edinburgh-festivals-2015-impact-study

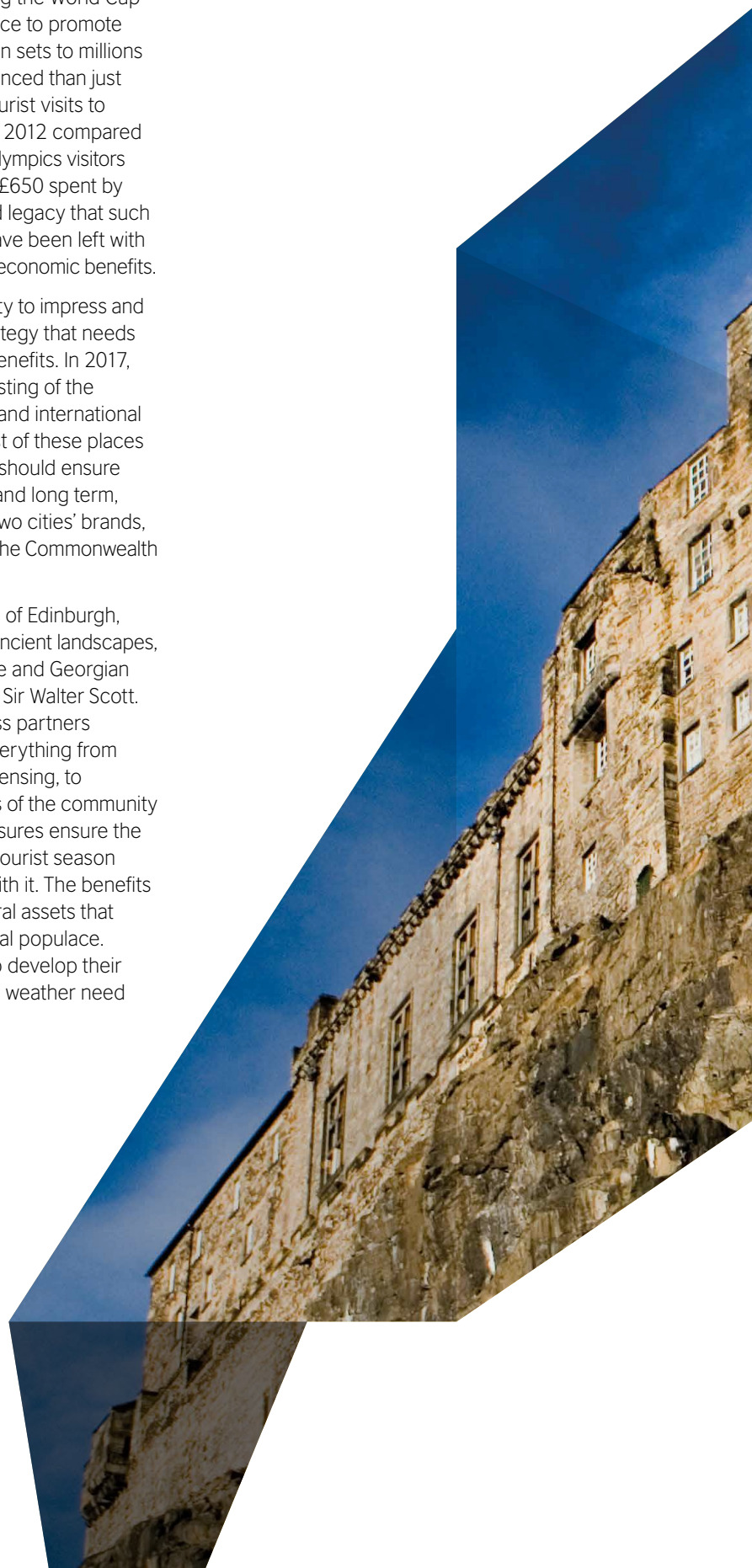
9. <http://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN06022/SN06022.pdf>

10. Tourism: statistics and policy, Chris Rhodes, House of Commons library.

There are also one-off international events – hosting the World Cup and the Olympics has provided Brazil with the chance to promote itself globally, and to showcase its offer on television sets to millions of potential visitors. However, the effect is more nuanced than just holding a big event, hoping everyone will come. Tourist visits to London were actually five per cent lower in August 2012 compared to 2011, but at the same time the money spent by Olympics visitors was £1,290 per person, almost double the average £650 spent by other visitors.¹¹ And there are the upfront costs and legacy that such massive events have – some Olympic host cities have been left with decaying stadia and vast bills with limited long-term economic benefits.

Playing host to the world is an enormous opportunity to impress and entice, but it's a potentially costly and high-risk strategy that needs careful planning and management to deliver real benefits. In 2017, Hull's status as a Capital of Culture and Belfast's hosting of the Women's World Rugby Cup will draw both national and international interest, offering a platform for showcasing the best of these places to attract tourists. Good planning and governance should ensure these events are a success both in the immediate and long term, challenging persistent perceived negatives in the two cities' brands, just as Glasgow's brand has benefited from hosting the Commonwealth Games and being European City of Culture.

Cultural tourism is already big business for the likes of Edinburgh, with its dynamic festivals of contemporary culture, ancient landscapes, world-class museums and galleries, medieval castle and Georgian crescents, tartan and haggis, and Harry Potter and Sir Walter Scott. The city authorities and its institutional and business partners co-operate to develop detailed plans that cover everything from traffic management, street cleaning and alcohol licensing, to programming, marketing and evaluation. The needs of the community are kept very much to the fore, and mitigating measures ensure the city retains its 'liveability' even at the height of the tourist season and the massive population increase that comes with it. The benefits of tourism – and of the conservation of those cultural assets that contribute to the city's success – are felt by the local populace. There are many lessons for other places seeking to develop their own sustainable tourist industry – not least that the weather need not be an impediment to success!





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11. <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160105160709/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/mro/news-release/london-2012-games-attract-over-half-a-million-overseas-visitors-in-july-and-august/ottnr111012.html>

Culture-led regeneration

There have been many striking examples of regeneration projects that have been defined by a powerful, ambitious cultural component. Culture has been used to redefine a city, transforming 'the brand'. Think the Frank Gehry-designed Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao or David Walsh's Museum of Old and New Art in Hobart. Suddenly, places previously on no one's holiday itinerary have become must-visit destinations, the latest boxes to tick on the modern Grand Tour circuit. Streets, neighbourhoods, whole towns and cities have been renewed. The grand design, the centrepiece that serves as both a powerful symbol of virility and the catalyst of real change by reviving civic pride and attracting inward investment, has been an integral element in the most successful transformative regeneration schemes in recent memory. But there are other schemes that have fallen far short of what has been achieved in Bilbao and Hobart – showcase projects in the UK like the Public in West Bromwich and the National Centre for Popular Music in Sheffield were forced to close for lack of interest, leaving planned regeneration schemes in disarray. At the summit delegates learned about how Dundee is undergoing a dramatic transformation through a massive regeneration scheme firmly anchored in culture. The £1 billion, 30-year Dundee Waterfront regeneration project covers 8km along the River Tay and is projected to lead to the creation of more than 7,000 jobs. Dundee's regeneration has been a process, the work of a generation, with successive major cultural developments along the riverside including the Discovery Centre, the DCA and soon the new V&A Museum of Design providing the backbone to the project. So what are the lessons, what are the ingredients needed to ensure success?

All regeneration projects start somewhere. A disused industrial site can remain derelict for years, a deprived neighbourhood forgotten and left to decay. Maybe the task of regeneration is seen as just too big, too expensive, too difficult. Maybe the ideas, the political will, the courage to act is just not there. It needs a spark, a catalyst, that new factor that injects energy to the mix, bringing impetus to the project. It might be an external factor – a national or international competition like a 'Capital of Culture' or a new national funding pot. At the summit we heard how Glasgow's regeneration can be traced back to its bid for City of Culture. In the late 1980s the city refused to die and instead transformed itself through culture. It might be locally led, a change in political leadership or the community itself organising to petition for change. It might even be shame – think of a documentary highlighting the benighted state of a neighbourhood left behind by the authorities that finally makes policymakers face up to their responsibilities.





Once the fuse is ignited, a regeneration scheme, especially one that has at its core a cultural element, needs a compelling vision to succeed. Ambition, passion, even a little romance are all-important. But to be compelling, the vision must also be understandable, viable, sellable. It should present a journey, an adventure that people want to go on. To attract support – from investors, decision makers and local people – the vision should excite but also offer reassurance and be inclusive and responsive to the local populace. Sharing and consulting on the vision is crucial both to bring people on board but also to bring greater definition, colour and depth to the vision. Dundee's authorities developed a draft master plan for the Waterfront project which they consulted on extensively with the community, refining and revising the proposals before developing the final plans for the regeneration programme. Culture can – must – play a critical role in the vision, providing an anchor for a development that becomes the standout expression of the big idea. It might be an iconic architectural statement, a piece of public art, a park, a venue offering new spaces for local people to participate with the arts and with their communities, or something more subtle that nevertheless brings people together and defines a sense of place.

Effective leadership is essential to the realisation of the vision. Ambition, courage and commitment from decision makers are needed to deliver the big idea. But it is also leadership that is generous, open to ideas, ready and able to engage and bring people together, and to let new/different people in, to become leaders themselves. Leadership that builds a consensus and forges the partnerships between political, commercial, philanthropic and community interests to make a success of the regeneration scheme. This takes time requiring commitment and dogged persistence. The more ambitious (expensive) the project, the greater the challenge to build a consensus and to put in place the finance, people and plans to deliver success. It can be a thankless task; results may not be seen for years after the political architects have left office. Indeed, careers and reputations have been left in tatters by some schemes even when the final outcome has been transformative.

Partnerships are integral to success. Local and national agencies, charities and businesses need to be brought together to make a reality of the vision. Trust is critical here; partners need to know what they are buying into. They need to know that support – especially government support – is secure. This can often be best expressed through long-term funding commitments, but governance arrangements are also important here to build confidence and make clear roles and responsibilities and how to access/influence decisions. Sometimes just a gesture from government is needed: seed funding to undertake the planning and impact assessments of a proposed scheme can unlock the doors of other investors and benefactors. Dundee's development is being delivered by the Dundee Partnership, which pools together the strengths of key city agencies including Dundee City Council, Scottish Enterprise and NHS Tayside, along with local academic institutions and representatives of the business, voluntary and community sectors, providing a vehicle for co-ordinated inter-agency working. Crucially it has also become the city's vehicle for the delivery of community planning.

One of the acknowledged risks of regeneration schemes is that existing communities – the very people who are meant to be helped by a regeneration scheme – end up being alienated, left behind or even pushed out as gentrification sweeps away the old and familiar. The new jobs, the new homes, the new lives, they all go to incomers able to afford the rents in the expensive new flats. The effects are similar to the impact of the mask shops in Venice. The corner shop is replaced by a hipster coffee house offering up artisanal skinny decaf latte macchiatos instead of anything as useful as a pint of milk. A place has been transformed but the regeneration programme has ultimately failed to deliver the social outcomes originally sought. Cities from London to Portland, Oregon, from Istanbul to Rio de Janeiro, have seen significant social change as gentrification has displaced established populations out to the peripheries – social problems have simply been pushed out to a new area rather than properly addressed in a coherent, inclusive way.

Communities are not passive. They have ideas and can help shape and drive regeneration programmes. That can be infuriating for developers, architects, planners and politicians, but once the cranes and diggers depart and the grand opening of that new

multi-purpose arts space has passed, they are the people who have to live with the development, they are the custodians of place. Regeneration programmes that work with communities build civic pride; they create places where people are happier, healthier and safer. Crime and antisocial behaviour fall. Schemes that are imposed on their communities are much more likely to fail; the shine soon fades on soulless developments that ignore or spite a sense of place. How quickly such unloved places get covered in graffiti! Success means being inclusive and accessible, bringing prosperity to the community as a whole.

Successful regeneration that truly benefits local communities needs to be rooted in and owned by those communities: that shiny new gallery should be welcoming, and both embrace and embody the local community rather than hide behind some grand portico that says to the locals, 'I'm not for you'. Communities need to be consulted, their needs and aspirations understood. Ask them and the answers will likely include: better public services; jobs; affordable housing; safe, accessible public spaces; 'somewhere for the young people to go'. What people want from a place is what everyone wants. Yet there will always be a local context. Perhaps there's a strong industrial heritage that has left an architectural and social legacy. The equivalent to Dundee's 'jam, jute and journalism' or Glasgow's 'Second City of the Empire'. Maybe there's a school, a park or religious space that is the heart of the community. Or maybe it's something that is particularly hated, an architectural 'eyesore', a terrible road layout, something symbolic of a past best left behind. Or perhaps it isn't even a physical thing at all but a cultural tradition, a way of life that has particular meaning and which local people value and want to hold on to. Planners and politicians need to respond positively to both the past and the future aspirations of the local population.

Creative regeneration schemes that make sensitive reuse of existing buildings, preserve landmarks and value local heritage will frequently be much easier for communities to understand and get behind than grandiose schemes that simply sweep away the past. Imaginative schemes that treat the familiar with respect will offer reassurance to people. However, the conservative instincts of a community do not necessarily preclude taking a bold and visionary approach. Investing time in widespread consultation, analysing and sifting and acting on

feedback to engage communities can build support and enthusiasm for the most novel and innovative schemes. By sharing the vision and empowering local people to help shape and define what will happen to their community, a consensus in favour of change – even radical change – can be built.

While the grand and impressive statement is important to attracting investment and people, it's also incumbent on developers to create spaces that are shared, that welcome the whole community – both new and existing residents. Just having benches set at regular intervals around a public park, for example, makes it much more accessible and attractive for older residents. Schemes should offer spaces for community enterprises, market stalls, public performances and just for meeting friends. Culture is a fundamentally human activity; it needs spaces that are human in scale, that embrace the communal, social instincts of the local populace. At the summit, Prince Ayn al-Agha Khan shared a case study of one of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture regeneration projects, which is a very useful illustration:

... we took a mountainous, centuries-old urban dump by the historic old town in an area of Cairo that was less well known to tourists, being essentially Muslim not pharaonic, and we turned it into a public park – the Al-Azhar park. The park looks across the historic city towards the citadel and measures some 28 hectares. It includes a lake, a couple of restaurants employing more than 200 local persons, a children's area, a small amphitheatre for theatrical, musical and other presentations and a number of recreational areas. It has, these past years, welcomed on average two million visitors per annum in times of peace and in times of public stress... the park generates an average annual financial surplus of some \$1 million... it has permitted us to complete a comprehensive urban regeneration programme in the neighbouring Darb al-Ahmar district... to implement health, education, micro-finance, housing and sanitation programmes as well as arts and music programmes while rehabilitating five historic monuments and smaller urban open spaces.

Al-Azhar Park is not only financially self-sufficient but has created economic and social benefits and a vastly improved quality of life for a catchment area peopled by some 200,000 citizens who are neighbours of the park. It is hoped that, in the years to come, the history and culture of Muslim Cairo will take their place alongside the more commonly known pharaonic culture of Egypt, thus offering – partly, one would hope, through increased tourism to that part of Cairo – further jobs and economic and social benefits to the population of the area. In Darb al-Ahmar, the creation of a green space has resulted in the restoration of significant monuments and an entire area's development.

Dundee is in the process of reinventing itself, building on its heritage to become Dundee – UNESCO City of Design. The city has been designated for its diverse contributions to fields including medical research, comics and video games. The title recognises the design innovations Dundee has contributed to the world, including aspirin, biomedical research which has led to hundreds of new cancer drugs, comics including the *Beano* and *Dandy*, orange marmalade, and video games including *Lemmings* and *Grand Theft Auto*. What does it mean for Dundee? The City Council¹² identifies the outcomes in terms of:

- economic benefits – jobs, tourism, conferences, academic posts, teaching, business opportunities
- social outcomes – civic pride, self-esteem, city image, inward investment, retention of students and young professionals, changed social profile
- educational – the next generation, the city's reputation, investment, global recognition.

Dundee potentially offers a model for others to draw upon. It is a model that takes pride in past achievements but is ambitious for the future, that embraces the transformational power of culture to redefine a place, and that recognises that the community must be at heart of any successful regeneration programme.

12. <https://www.dundee.gov.uk/unesco>



© iStock / Photo_Iain

Gentrification and artists

Gentrification presents particular challenges for artists and creative entrepreneurs, as rising rents can push them out of an area. The demand for homes can see artist studios and practice spaces lost to housing and other development needs. Partners need to recognise the needs of this vital social segment and find ways to maintain and better yet improve provision for the creative talent that plays a vital role in the community. Initiatives like San Francisco's Community Arts Stabilization Trust (CAST)¹³ and London's proposed Creative Land Trust can help arts and cultural organisations to acquire affordable properties, offering access to funding or affordable rents. CAST's mission is to 'create stable physical spaces for arts and cultural organizations to facilitate equitable urban transformation by:

- Acquiring properties to sustain arts in selected San Francisco neighborhoods
- Building the capacity of cultural organizations to lease or own property
- Bundling leases to sustain affordable rents for those not prepared to buy
- Leveraging funding to achieve the goal.'

13. <http://cast-sf.org>

Rural regeneration

Much of the emphasis in discussions about culture-led regeneration focuses on urban and specifically city developments. Cities are after all the places where culture most obviously thrives, where the audiences and the consumers, the great institutions and practitioners of culture can be found. Yet culture is not the preserve of the metropolitan. Neither is deprivation. Rural communities also need attention and intervention. Culture-led regeneration is a model that can also be applied in arcadia. Many rural communities have important historical and natural heritage assets which are of major importance for local and sometimes also for national history or biodiversity. Sensitive development can turn such assets into economic workhorses, providing jobs and other benefits for the community. But rural communities can also offer great places for start-ups and creative businesses in need of space for studios. Digital entrepreneurs can set up anywhere they can get decent access to the internet, and given the choice many would prefer the lifestyle they can have away from the noise and pretensions of the city.


Villages and small towns also need community spaces: places for coming together, for sharing cultural experiences. Even if a particular rural centre cannot support a grand gallery or theatre, innovative programmes like Scotland's Screen Machine can make a real difference to rural communities. Screen Machine takes the latest films to more than 40 towns and villages in the Highlands and Western Isles on an 80-seat, air-conditioned mobile cinema. The National Endowment for the Arts has supported a range of successful regeneration programmes in small towns and rural communities across the USA, for example at Live Oak, Florida.¹⁴ Every month since spring 2015, Festival Park in Live Oak has played host to First Fridays. All ages are out for the live music or to see a family movie screening after dark. It is a far cry from the scene in June 2012 in the aftermath of Tropical Storm Debby, when the site was a large sinkhole. With the initial repairs needed to make the space stable and usable in hand, community members decided the city had to do more than just rebuild, but to build back a stronger community. Culture was at the heart of the community's thinking and First Fridays were born.

14. www.rural-design.org/blog/thriving-live-oak

Culture and society

A highlight of the summit was when David Leventhal and Dr Peter Lovatt presented the Mark Morris Dance Group's work with people with Parkinson's disease. Delegates in the Debating Chamber were gifted the opportunity to get up and move, to experience just a taste of the dance classes that take place around the world for people with debilitating neurological conditions like Parkinson's disease. The medical sector is increasingly aware and engaged in the therapeutic potential of dance.¹⁵ Participants in the group's community work in Brooklyn benefit from practitioners' understanding of the multiple impacts of Parkinson's disease and how these affect all domains of a person's life, from their ability to navigate and complete simple everyday tasks (communicating in a shop, drinking a glass of water, walking in a busy street) to how they see themselves and their sense of personal dignity. It's not just about movement: there are cognitive benefits, with participants in dance programmes having improved recall and improved mood and confidence as participants' self-perceptions change. 'A dance always starts in the mind' as much as a problem does, and choreographic thinking and movement enables people with Parkinson's disease to literally choreograph and problem-solve their own lives. Sessions are also fundamentally social and interactive, restoring a sense of community and improving communication, directly reducing the isolation that can come with debilitating disease.

We heard the moving story of Cyndy Gilbertson in an excerpt from David Iverson's documentary *Capturing Grace*. During an interview at her home, Cyndy is shown barely able to sit still in a chair and demonstrates to the filmmakers how her walking is stiff and difficult, marked by short steps and tremors in her arm. Yet when she turns on music, and begins to dance, she moves around the room with purpose and fluidity, her muscles holding steady and her arms free of shaking. 'There's a joy that I get from moving around.' Dance has become a critical tool to Cyndy as she navigates through life with Parkinson's disease. It effects a remarkable physical transformation, gifting not only fluidity of movement but also stillness and control, coupled with a no-less-startling metamorphosis of the psyche – Cyndy's story is one of renewed confidence, of joy and a sense of freedom regained.



Variety of form and brilliancy of colour in the objects presented to patients can have a powerful effect and are actual means of recovery.

Florence Nightingale

15. <http://danceforparkinsons.org/resources/research>



Image
Dance for Parkinson's in
the Debating Chamber
© Scottish Parliament

The idea that art and design can assist recovery is not a new one – artists have been commissioned to make work for hospitals since medieval times. Yet in the 20th century the potential therapeutic role of the arts was considered marginal – it was all a bit too ‘New Age’, especially for medical professionals. However, in the 21st century the tide has turned. The proven physiological, neurological and psychological benefits of programmes like Dance for Parkinson’s are challenging policymakers and service commissioners to seriously consider the benefits in increasing support for such therapies. They can deliver not only better health outcomes for individuals, but offer an economically viable option that has the potential to help reduce the pressures on health services. This is an area that requires further examination and evaluation. We know, for example, that Dance for Parkinson’s delivers improvements in motor skills that mean fewer falls and related hospital admissions. There can also be reductions in medications both for the treatment of Parkinson’s disease itself but also for associated conditions like anxiety and depression that can come with the social isolation and low self-esteem that too many of those diagnosed with the disease can experience. Increased independence allows people to stay at home rather than require expensive specialist housing. It is crucially important to capture and express these benefits in terms policymakers can understand and factor into their thinking to make the case for investment.

The lessons are pertinent beyond Parkinson’s disease. There are obvious parallels with care provision for older people, with the frail and people managing dementia, but also in schools and other educational institutions. For learners who find conventional schooling difficult, the arts offer alternate pathways and tools for navigating through education systems, to unlock potential and reduce the numbers of those left behind by conventional teaching methods that fail to engage or inspire. There is a growing body of evidence of the relationship between movement, dance and different types of thinking, i.e. the link between increased ‘convergent thinking’ and learning multiple steps, and ‘divergent thinking’ – the creative thought process, improvisation. Just as Cyndy Gilbertson can dance her way through Parkinson’s, so children can learn to overcome barriers to reading, mathematics and social interaction by developing alternate processes based on choreography and improvisation.

Therapies using dance, drama and art can be a highly effective complement to conventional medical treatments for mental health. Michael Gowan MSYP¹⁶ related the story of 17-year-old Courtney to the delegates in the Debating Chamber. He worked with Courtney 'on a youth work programme using arts as a way of giving young people a chance to express themselves and their feelings. She went from being a regular self-harmer who had been in and out of healthcare systems, to flourishing in an arts programme at the University of Edinburgh.' The arts are a conduit for self-expression, growing confidence and improving socialisation. Arts therapy should be seen as complementary – and in some cases a possible alternative – to conventional medications and approaches, a proven and cost-effective therapeutic option. The culture sector must do more to demonstrate to decision makers the value both in terms of the health outcomes but also the cost-effectiveness of arts-based therapies.

Dance for Parkinson's and Streetwise Opera are inspirational programmes with very practical lessons that demonstrate how culture can make a substantial, measurable difference in physical and mental health outcomes. They present service delivery models that can be adapted for different communities and challenges. We need more hard data on the impact of interventions like *The Passion* to inform policy decisions. We need that evidence disseminated as widely as possible to share best practice. What works? What didn't work? What can be replicated and applied to 'my problem'? This evidence is vital to the development of partnerships and collaboration between arts organisations and the health and education sectors that have the potential to deliver very significant social benefits in a cost-effective way. But it isn't just about data and best practice – the stories are really important too, they make us stop and ask ourselves 'what do we want for ourselves, for our families and communities?' It is important to avoid falling into the trap of reductionism, where the arts are valued only in so far as there are demonstrable, quantifiable returns on investment. Cyndy's story is one of hope and dignity in the face of debilitating disease. We can all empathise: it's what we'd want for ourselves and our loved ones should the worst happen in our own lives.

To effectively pitch the museum as educator, for the artist as therapist or social worker, or to make the case for culture's role in 'belonging', we need to find a common language and provide credible evidence of impact using qualitative and quantitative data and analysis. This is definitely a challenge. Various attempts have been made to evaluate this social dimension. One approach has been to think in terms of culture's contribution to personal and national well-being. The focus here is in particular the impact on mental and physical health outcomes – culture as a vehicle for increasing social interaction and providing meaningful activity; for improving cognitive function, confidence and self-esteem. Cultural participation is presented as offering opportunities for physical exercise, intellectual stimulation and socialisation.

In the UK, national data on well-being¹⁷ is collected and analysed by the Office for National Statistics. As part of its annual population survey it asks four questions:

- Overall, how satisfied are you with your life nowadays?
- Overall, to what extent do you feel the things you do in your life are worthwhile?
- Overall, how happy did you feel yesterday?
- Overall, how anxious did you feel yesterday?

Intuitively we know culture is a significant contributor to well-being and in turn on societies' prosperity. But measuring the contribution culture makes to how satisfied you are with your life is a real challenge. Further research is needed to understand the role of culture in everyday wellness, to explore the links between cultural activity, and personal and community resilience, and to unpick the cultural thread from the other factors – work, family, friends – that all influence how a person feels on a day-to-day basis.

16. Member of the Scottish Youth Parliament.

17. <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/wellbeing/bulletins/measuringnationalwellbeing/2015-09-23>

Streetwise Opera

Every two years, Streetwise Opera stages a major new opera. For 2016, it was *The Passion*, a landmark site-specific production for Easter in collaboration with world-renowned ensemble The Sixteen and in association with Manchester's international centre for contemporary visual art, theatre and film, HOME. Streetwise Opera's founder, Matt Peacock, related to the delegates the background: how in 2000, a resident of the Passage (a homeless night shelter) read out a quote from a politician in the newspaper, saying that 'the homeless are the people you step over coming out of the Opera House'. The comment made some people angry while others saw it as an opportunity – if homeless people were *in* an opera it would challenge the public's attitude to homelessness. Streetwise Opera was born. But what might have been seen as a political statement or media stunt has proven to be much more. Participants in *The Passion* developed increased self-esteem and self-confidence, felt more positive about the future and benefited from increased creative and social skills. The improvements in mental and physical health, reduced drug and alcohol use, and increased social inclusion among people who are among the most vulnerable in society are remarkable. In an analysis of impact, Streetwise found that between April 2015 and March 2016 97 per cent of participants maintained or moved into stable accommodation, 13 per cent started paid employment and 32 per cent remained in or started volunteering. Participation in the arts had had a transformational impact on the singers' lives.



Well-being indicators can be a stretch for some policymakers, but where they have a really difficult time understanding the value of culture is in its power to enrich and expand. They can understand the sales figures for Adele's latest album, but comprehending the power of her voice or the impact of her lyrics on the human psyche? Everyone knows intuitively that a cultural experience has personal value, but how do you measure it? How do you turn that tingle in the spine into a metric? Some have simply argued you can't, that no measurement can represent the essence of the arts, that uniquely personal, intellectual and emotional response. That to even try is to surrender to the philistines in their ill-fitting grey suits.

For those eager to demonstrate the importance of culture for culture's sake to sceptical funders it is a challenge worth pursuing. The difficulties of coming up with standards for evaluating artwork that balance subjective and objective measures of aesthetic value has haunted the culture sector. Artists, curators, policymakers and philosophers have all struggled with the concept. Researchers have as a result deployed an array of quantitative and qualitative methods for measuring aesthetic value – everything from narrative interviews and surveys to lab studies using functional magnetic resonance imaging of brain activity. Work undertaken for the Government of Western Australia's Department of Culture and the Arts¹⁸ is particularly interesting and has been followed by Arts Council England's work on quality metrics,¹⁹ including a recent trial with arts institutions in Manchester. The Goethe-Institut, EUNIC, the Open University and other international agencies are also working in this space to develop workable models for measuring cultural value. Drawing together these multiple strands of research could have a transformational impact on how policymakers, finance ministries and the culture sector communicate and engage in debates about funding. Success will provide a stronger understanding of intrinsic value, of what is important and impactful, and should result in better policy making, better decisions on funding priorities and a greater appreciation of the value of the arts.

What is clear from the discussions at the summit is that culture is recognised around the world as being of vital importance to the health and well-being of both individuals and communities, and as an end in its own right. Elucidating this value in a common language and through numbers that governments, institutions, taxpayers and other partners public and private alike can all understand is integral to making the case for culture. Qualitative and quantitative approaches that are methodologically robust yet expressed in terms that all sides can understand are essential to discussions about public support for the arts. 'Getting the maths right' will help us to put the case for culture to be at the heart of planning and decision making in broad terms, not as a niche or add-on activity. But that should not be the end of our ambition. We need to not only make the socio-economic case for culture or even of the importance of art for art's sake. We need to move beyond defensive self-justification to develop models that demonstrate the essential role of culture in our daily lives.

18. www.dca.wa.gov.au/research-hub/public-value/

19. www.artscouncil.org.uk/quality-metrics/quality-metrics#section-1



Identity

2016 was marked by resurgence in interest in identity as an issue – nationalism, nativism, tribalism, racism; various -isms have been trotted out to explain the Brexit vote and the rise of Donald Trump. But there should be no surprise at the role of identity in the political upsets of recent months. We all come from somewhere – even those global citizen-butterflies who flit endlessly from time zone to time zone will have their cultural roots somewhere. The landmarks, the history, the songs and stories, the food and the drink, our friends, families and neighbours – these define a place and give us our sense of belonging. We should nurture and celebrate our roots, local and national. Culture has an important role to play in exploring and realising our sense of self. That doesn't mean we can't also be open to new cultures. The foreign and alien doesn't necessarily need to be a threat. Understanding where we're from can give us the pride and confidence to look outwards. Rather than breed jingoism or isolationism, we can use cultural participation, self-expression and exploration of one's own identity to reveal who we are and arouse the curiosity to learn about others. Culture is the lens through which we see and interpret the world around us. It offers a 'safe space' for engaging with the new and the different. It provides the skills and confidence to explore. It is through cultural exchange that we can build shared understanding and encourage engagement with the wider world. Culture empowers us to reject the -isms that would have us cower in fear behind walls and drawbridges and to instead step confidently out into the big wide world.

Image
Sir Jonathan Mills
© Scottish Parliament



Participation and legitimacy



Often it's the great and the good – the old and the privileged – that dominate the cultural public discourse and resources. The Edinburgh Summit sought to address that imbalance in practice by including the voices of young people from across the EU, to great effect. The crucial lesson for the organisers of the summit, and for the representatives from across the cultural and political spectra in attendance, was the essential nature of the contribution the youth delegates were able to make after they insisted on being brought into the general conversation as equal participants. By opening up the conversation, real passion and fresh insights were brought to the fore. Questions were put to ministers, and culture sector practitioners and managers were challenged to justify what they themselves perceived as obvious givens. Giving people – all people – a voice should be a prime concern for the culture sector. It's not only a moral imperative, but the creative dissonance and challenge brought by alternative points of view is needed to enrich and enliven the discourse and creative output.

As part of this conversation Jude Kelly, Artistic Director of London's Southbank Centre, presented the summit with a series of insights about women's contribution to and participation in culture. She began by recounting a conversation she had during a trip to the cave paintings at Laas Geel in Somaliland.

...I was shown these beautiful paintings, I said – provocatively, I have to admit – to the chap who was showing us around, 'The women did this marvellously, didn't they?' He was really shocked and said, 'Women did not do this.' When I said, 'But this happened thousands of years ago. How do you know that?' he said, 'Women can't do this.' I said, 'Well, they can,' but he said, 'Women don't do this.' What he was actually getting at was that women do not have the theological or philosophical right to make a mark that is an enduring statement for humanity. His reaction was very profound, and out of the idea that women did not do those cave paintings comes the fact that the whole idea of women as artists, as creators, as people who speak on behalf of the whole of humanity has still not been legitimised.

Jude challenged the culture sector to engage with women's empowerment, to persuade the world that a woman's voice can speak on behalf of humanity. She exhorted the delegates in the Debating Chamber to champion women's participation in the cultural discourse, to recognise that it is necessary and 'not just a nice extra, a tick for diversity or something that ought to be done,' and asked, 'for the imagination of a group such as this one to think of the economic power that we would release if women as artists in the creative sector were really given confidence.'



Beyond the inclusive circular space of the Debating Chamber, how do we ensure we bring in the voices of the women and the young? How do we bring in the non-elite, the marginalised and left behind into the cultural space? How do people who might be in crisis or operating on the edge influence the debate? At the summit the cultural elites were challenged to recognise and respond to the challenges of inequality, participation and social fragmentation, and the implications for their own legitimacy and authority.

For many people outside the summit, even in a city as avowedly cosmopolitan as Edinburgh, high culture is almost entirely alien. Many people never engage as consumers, never mind as participants. Perceptions of powerful links between the governing 'Establishment' and the rarefied heights of the culture sector persist. This isn't just unfair but also risks a crisis of legitimacy – the arts can seem remote, a preserve for elites. Elites that self-select, that have the connections and access to influence the priorities of government. Elites that could afford to shoulder the full costs of that Wagnerian opera cycle that only they go to see. Recent events might suggest these elites are often more comfortable with their own establishment peers – regardless of international borders – than with their own brethren. They, we, have become so detached and complacent that the behaviour and choices of the 'plebeians' is shocking, almost *foreign*. There is a real challenge here for our institutions. If recent history has any lessons it is that the established order is actually much more fragile than any of us realised, public opinion is volatile and, empowered by social media and other popular platforms, has become a much stronger driver of political decisions than perhaps it has been in the past. The conventional wisdom of today can very quickly become yesterday's folly. If popular sentiment turns against subsidies for the arts, cuts in funding become that much more politically easy for cash-strapped governments. Both morally and for self-preservation it is incumbent on the sector to tackle the barriers to participation, to overcome the perceptions of elitism and appeal to new audiences.

Images

Jude Kelly, Michelle Saidi, Maamoun Abdulkarim
© Scottish Parliament

The taxes of people who may never have stepped inside a gilt and marbled opera house fund the most brilliant productions yet they find themselves excluded from taking part by the cost of tickets and/or perceived socio-cultural barriers. Cost is a formidable bar to participation; high culture especially is an expensive 'treat' for many and quite beyond the reach of those on low incomes or who live in places far removed from the capital city, where the additional costs of travel and accommodation have to be factored in. Others are deterred by social rather than financial barriers. The price of a ticket for a rock concert can be as eye-watering as the best box seats in the grandest of theatres, but there are plenty of people who will pay to see Taylor Swift or the Rolling Stones who would never buy a ticket for La Scala or Rambert. For those who could afford it but would never dream of attending the theatre or ballet, personal taste is of course a key consideration. But there are also those who are intimidated by the opulence and 'poshness' of the opera house or theatre, perceiving the grand portico not as a welcoming open door but a portcullis gate designed to keep them – and their kind – out.

Institutions do find ways around these barriers, for example by offering reduced-price tickets to local residents or those on low incomes, or by hosting special events targeted at particular segments of the populace. They also take performances out to new and unexpected venues – in places communities feel some sense of ownership, where individuals do feel welcome. Places like parks and gardens, schools and village halls. World-class performances by the Met Opera, the Royal Shakespeare Company and other institutions can be seen at multiplexes across the UK. Exhibition On Screen's *The Curious World of Hieronymus Bosch* took the *Hieronymus Bosch: Visions Of Genius* exhibition from the Noordbrabants Museum in the Netherlands to a global audience. Such interventions seek to normalise the cultural experience and build a sense of entitlement among target social groups. Projects like *The Passion* offer other models for demonstrating how art forms that can be seen as elitist and 'not for me' are actually not only accessible but personally transformational. Building the arts, culture and creativity into education systems is another way to address the legitimacy challenge. Mass participation ensures all sections of the population/community are able to become involved in the arts, creating 'entitlement' and breaking down barriers, potentially leaving dead

the idea that certain types of culture are 'not for the likes of us'. This is crucial if we are to tackle perceived elitism and build support for continued public funding of arts institutions. It shouldn't just be the elites, the establishment, that exude entitlement; a sustainable future for the culture sector depends upon everyone sharing that feeling of privilege.

Establishments are naturally conservative. For them, change is evolutionary not revolutionary. Complacency, entitlement and inertia are very real risks. More often than not, innovation comes from individuals, smaller organisations and coalitions on the periphery. It is the insurgent, the upstart, the start-up that invents the 'next big thing': outsiders with something to say – or to rage against. It was not in the least surprising that the most passionate interventions at the summit came from the youth delegation. New forms and ideas emerge not in the mainstream but along the fringes. Rap and hip-hop are now mainstream and accepted, even feted, by cultural elites, but they came from the streets without any patronage. Young people with something to say found a platform in music and dance to make their voices heard. The 'next big thing' will be found in back alleys, schoolyards and other unglamorous stages far from the hallowed halls of the great institutions. However, where it can be made to work there is real potential in the interactions *between* the big institutions and small cultural social enterprises, the old and established working in partnership with the new and exciting. In the longer term it is in institutions' own interest to support and nurture the ephemeral, to collaborate and provide space and a voice to the novel and the different. Innovation needs to be nurtured to keep art forms alive; without taking risks and partnering with the young and fresh, institutions can ossify. Many of our institutions still often enjoy generous public subsidies and can afford in turn to be generous. Partnerships and even small grants for grassroots groups can make a vital difference to practitioners operating on the fringes. But it isn't just about money; sharing studio spaces or offering a public platform to perform, for example, can make a huge difference to emerging artists. Sharing knowledge and skills, giving a little time for mentorship, can have a transformative impact. And not only for the new artist; staff in institutions can find such engagements insightful, even thrilling. By being generous, the sector can challenge the perceived stuffy and elitist nature of the arts, reach out to new audiences and show a real commitment to the community.

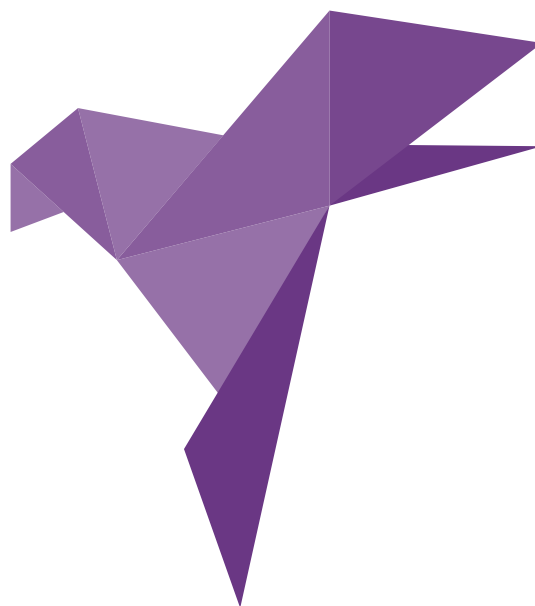
Glasgow Life

Glasgow is an example where the civic authorities have worked hard to address the legitimacy challenge. The city council brought together the majority of the city's sports and cultural infrastructure and institutions under the umbrella of Glasgow Life and strived to create a sense of entitlement across all segments of society. The city's culture strategy²⁰ sets out how the city 'will provide opportunities for everyone to take part in culture and sport, from the very earliest age, to the growing number of older people... [and] support these people to become more confident and to achieve their full potential.' The strategy goes on to set out how the city aims to deliver a range of cultural entitlements to:

- encourage people to get involved
- promote health, education and recreation
- achieve social benefits, including developing a sense of belonging for all communities by celebrating the varied culture and traditions of Glasgow's population
- provide opportunities for people to fulfil their creative and sporting potential.

The rhetoric was backed by specific commitments, for example, a guarantee that every primary school child should have one visit to the city's world-class museums or art galleries, and one experience of a theatre, dance or music performance every year – so that all primary school children, no matter where they live, can experience the city's cultural assets.

The strategy also goes on to recognise that 'culture and sport can help build community spirit and give all members of the community a sense of belonging' and sets out an ambition to increase the contribution of culture and sport to Glasgow's economic redevelopment, and to improve and promote its national and international profile as a creative, cosmopolitan city which appeals to tourists and businesses. This strategic, 'cultural infrastructure' approach is one we will return to below.



20. www.glasgowlife.org.uk/policy-research/cultural-strategy/Documents/GlasgowsCulturalStrategyExecutiveSummary.pdf

It is understandable that a certain conservatism and caution can prevail where an institution is required to earn its keep, to demonstrate value for money to funders through ticket receipts and audience figures. Brand reputation and the financial cost make failure toxic. Risk must be managed. The safe bet, the blockbuster exhibition, the bankable show or name that will fill all the seats in the dress circle, this is often perceived as the safe path to sustainability. With ticket sales an increasingly important part of the mix, the need to offer popular fare that will reliably pull in audiences grows. This commercialism need not necessarily be a negative, but the cultural conservatism it can breed can have deleterious effects, altering the expectations of the audience, reinforcing stereotypes of bourgeois stuffiness and potentially stymying the creativity of new and emerging talents. The aversion to risk also manifests in self-censorship to avoid causing offence – or stirring up negative media coverage. The danger is that this institutional timidity can ultimately lead to irrelevance – art as endlessly repeated spectacle. There are commendable exceptions where brilliant new works are offered to braver audiences, but this is most often in the big cities or at festivals like the Edinburgh Fringe where the numbers of those with an appetite for the novel and the provocative are sufficient to guarantee ticket sales. For other institutions, juxtaposing the popular with the new and the challenging can counter the risk of an institution losing track of its mission and becoming indistinguishable from any other ‘attraction’. Taking an informed, measured approach to risk can enable institutions to strike a balance; they can continue to serve as incubators for fresh talent to learn and experiment while generating the revenue needed to keep the footlights shining. Risk and innovation are closely interlinked, with both critically important to the vitality of the culture sector.

Maximising opportunities for participation, for creating a sense of entitlement in the young and the old, men and women, for the whole of the communities we serve, needs to be recognised as equally important to the long-term sustainability of the culture sector as the perennial anxieties over funding. It is essential that institutions take risks and act in a spirit of generosity towards those operating on the fringes, recognising that it is very often in the least-expected places that the most raw and powerful voices rise. Dissonant voices need to be legitimised; they need to be heard, not least by the monochrome elites that for too long have claimed exclusive rights over the cultural heights.

Grassroots talent

The big institutions in our capital cities depend on talent that is nurtured in the wider country. Yet in the UK, for example, many local and regional theatre companies have suffered very significant funding cuts while national institutions have been, comparatively, protected. But without that vital infrastructure the flow of talent to London’s stages – and Hollywood’s studios – is threatened. Even as social attitudes have arguably become less hostile to emerging artists, the grassroots opportunities to participate have become rarer. Is it right or desirable that it is less likely for a Billy Elliot to emerge in the Britain of the 21st century than it was in the 20th century? That is not to denigrate the achievements of the many brilliant artists and actors who through luck of birth have had the independent means to take up a career in the arts, but rather to appeal for the creation and protection of pathways for those from other backgrounds, through the chance to participate at school and with local arts institutions. For the talented to have access to the same opportunities for professional training and participation regardless of background. New voices, new ideas, these come from the grass roots. We need a cacophony of voices. Even those with a provincial or working-class accent. Wealth, gender, race, disability, age, belief... none of these things should be allowed to silence those with something to say. The tendency for participation in the arts to become the preserve of those who can afford it puts at risk the vibrancy of the culture sector – and threatens the legitimacy of national institutions that should reflect the diversity of society as a whole rather than just the privileged few.



The F-word

At the summit a series of striking exchanges took place between ministers and members of the youth delegation on the preoccupation with numbers in policymakers' thinking around culture. Challenging the view that culture can be measured in pounds (or dollars or pesos or yuan) when it is so much more than that, the youth delegates drew loud applause from the Debating Chamber. Yet as the Hon Maggie Barry ONZM, Minister for the Arts, Culture and Heritage in New Zealand, made clear in responding to that challenge:

Practicalities are important, of course, and we have to get them right. I am going to use the F-word here – funding. Funding is a necessary evil, which is an important thing to take note of and address... We cannot lose sight of the heart and soul of what do, but if we do not get the numbers right, we are at peril of having all else falter. It is therefore important to use leverage – another word that I have heard quite a few times at this summit – to maximise the Crown funding and make the taxpayers' dollars go further, and for that to be matched so that we have public-private partnerships... We need to be imaginative and creative about those things, and we have to get those fundamentals right.

As the minister acknowledged, numbers are essential to policy implementation. The numbers have to be right both for the viability of the culture sector and to maintain the support of taxpayers. Funding is a perennial concern for the culture sector. That F-word haunts the thinking and planning of policymakers and practitioners alike. In austere times there is less and less money to go around. In the UK the arts and culture have suffered significant reductions in traditional grant funding, especially those organisations and institutions dependent on support from local authorities. Yet these cuts pale in comparison to the challenges faced elsewhere in Europe and beyond. Orchestras have been silenced, galleries forced to close, stages left dark. Collections have been broken up. Priceless treasures have been

sold to private buyers, to be put into permanent storage for want of public funding for acquisitions. Questions over public funding, the role of the private sector and partnerships, leadership and risk-taking were raised throughout the summit. How can the culture sector not only survive but thrive in the 21st century? How can new models of funding, new patterns of public and private investment, new approaches to philanthropy and the development of 'mixed economy' models lead to greater sustainability, less reliance on the public purse, wider and deeper links between the publicly funded and the commercial parts of the sector, and the creation of an innovative independent sector?

The direct grant funding model of the past has been under pressure for a long time now, with governments challenging cultural institutions to generate more and more income for themselves even as levels of subsidy have steadily declined. For some 'publicly funded' institutions half or more of all income is self-generated.²¹ This mixed economy model means shops, catering and venue hire for corporate events, runway shows in galleries, fine dining in rooftop restaurants and shopping catalogues full of scarves and umbrellas 'inspired by' Monet and van Gogh. Arts institutions are expected to be entrepreneurial. Many of the big institutions have risen to this challenge, utilising their often prime site locations, perceived exclusivity and (not least) their actual cultural offer. Whole new shopping centres have been carved out of the fabric of historic buildings by ingenious architects to provide rental incomes. Institutions seeking to emulate the success of organisations like the Tate Group²² should develop clear plans for income generation, identifying and prioritising areas for growth and managing risk. They should also consider investing in developing skills in branding, partnerships and entrepreneurialism to fully realise the potential for income generation from their multiple assets.

21. <https://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2004/01/0304235.pdf>

22. https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/537529/56047_HC_473_Tate_Gallery_Accounts_2015-16_Web_Accessible.pdf

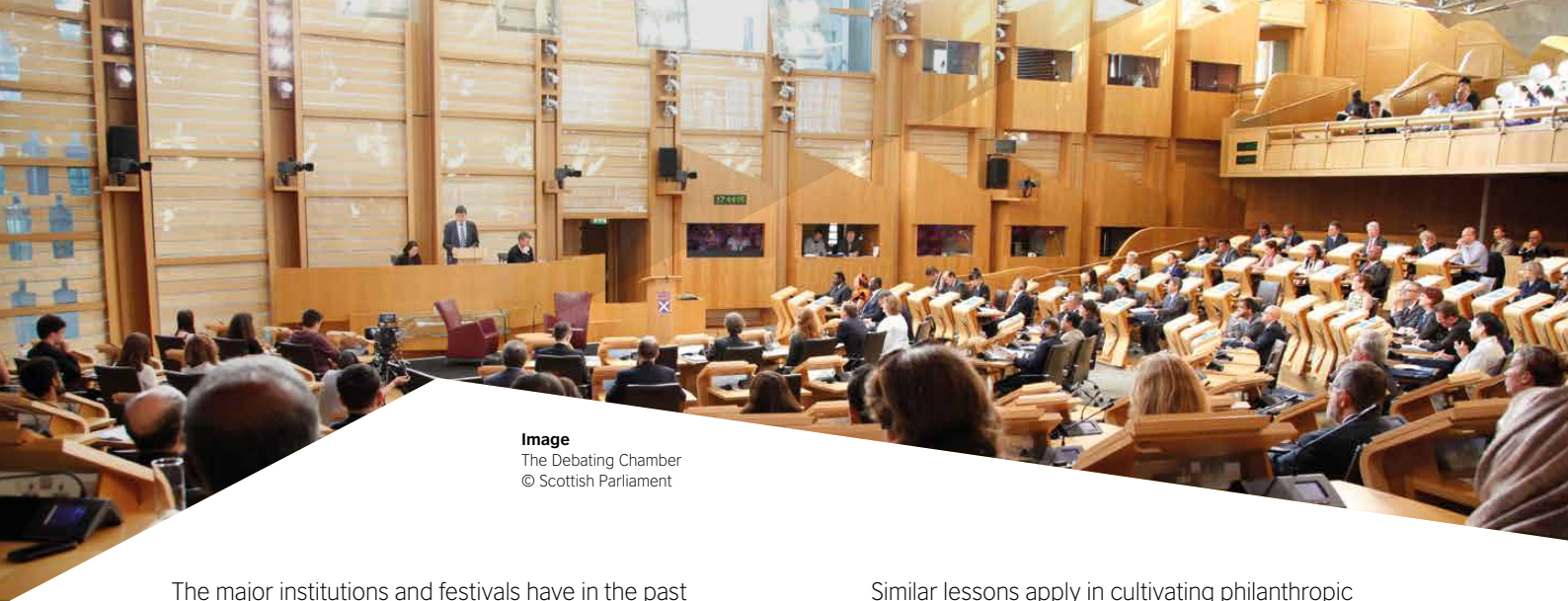


Image
The Debating Chamber
© Scottish Parliament

The major institutions and festivals have in the past raised substantial sums through fundraising. However, funding from corporates fell substantially during the financial crisis. Companies slashed budgets for publicity – marketing – meaning the end of many established sponsorship deals.²³ Today the nature of these public–private relationships has changed. Multinational companies such as the big banks are now looking to rebuild the trust lost during the economic crash through corporate responsibility programmes. Usually smaller than the former marketing budgets they have effectively replaced, corporate responsibility funds seek to restore confidence by association. Cultural institutions are well placed to attract partners looking to build public confidence, utilising their own stock of trust as independent public institutions in exchange for funding. This partnership model differs from traditional sponsorship; it goes beyond merely writing cheques and erecting branding. At the summit, Michelle Constant, CEO of Business and Arts South Africa (BASA), explained that to maximise partnership opportunities, cultural institutions need to adopt innovative new practices and frameworks. BASA has developed a useful business sponsorship toolkit²⁴ designed to support companies looking to develop partnerships with arts organisations, which is well worth considering as model. Michelle explained how the partnership approach to art sponsorship involves a more strategic integration between the partners. These relationships are typically longer-term and involve the fusion or synergy between the core values of the two organisations. The dominant form of interaction in this approach is more two-way and interdependent than traditional sponsorship models, with corporate citizenship and broader societal goals driving decision making. A company will be looking to balance three key targets and beneficiaries of arts sponsorship – audiences, artists and brand – and will look for the partnership to deliver value to all three.

Similar lessons apply in cultivating philanthropic donors, whether they are wealthy individuals or charitable trusts and foundations. Attracting donors is a time-intensive undertaking. It requires absolute clarity on organisational mission and offer, and then the identification and cultivation of the donors who most closely identify with that unique brand. Careful relationship management, networking and brand management to develop and deepen the perceived closeness between the organisation's and the donor's objectives over time is critical. Based upon their past experience and through sustained cultivation, a donor that has already invested in an organisation may well be inclined to provide further support and may also offer to serve as an advocate with other potential donors and partners. The strategies for engaging donors and partners apply to a third important group for securing funding. Stakeholders may or may not have direct control over funding – the term encompasses all those individuals and organisations that can influence an institution's position. This includes the key figures in the government who determine budgets and strategy but also the people that influence the thinking of government – those who can bring pressure to bear when cuts are threatened. That includes media contacts, academics, business leaders, lobbying groups, think tanks, the 'great and the good'. Stakeholders can be engaged through special events – the preview of the latest exhibition being the classic example – but also through more intimate conversations such as private dinners and meetings. Social media and other communication channels are also important to keep those conversations running. Stakeholders need to be identified, prioritised and cultivated in much the same way as donors and partners, with the interactions tracked over time. Packages like Salesforce²⁵ can be used to monitor the ebb and flow of these relationships – partner, donor or stakeholder. It's important to be focused – ruthless, even – as the depth of the most critical relationships is more important than the number of contacts that can be accumulated via clicks on Facebook.

23. <https://www.artsmanagement.net/index.php?module=News&func=display&sid=1681>

24. www.basa.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/BASA-Business-Sponsorship-Toolkit.pdf

25. <https://www.salesforce.com/uk/form/sem/landing/salesforce-products.jsp?d=70130000000tQwC&DCMP=KNC-Google&keyword=salesforce&adused=62133951530&gclid=CM2dvefHstlCFRBMGwod0ygGnA>

Virtually all at the summit would agree that public funding remains essential to the public service ethos of a sector that is critical to the health and success of our communities. But cultural organisations should also embrace the mixed economy model. Innovative approaches to income generation and taking managed risks to develop reliable alternative funding streams is the only option. The clock is not going to be turned back: the trend is for levels of traditional public funding to fall further rather than recover to previous levels. Developing corporate partnerships and maximising opportunities for revenue generators like venue hire will become ever more important to the financial viability of cultural institutions. The sector should also work with governments to explore other options for broadening the funding base. Enterprise zones and university-based business incubators offer possible models for creative hubs to foster designers, artists and entrepreneurs. State and locally sponsored incentive schemes and tax breaks like those used to attract film production to sound stages in Prague and Vancouver may also offer possibilities for other cultural enterprises. There are numerous innovative ways for governments and their partners to provide the infrastructure and support for a thriving cultural scene in communities beyond simple hand-outs.

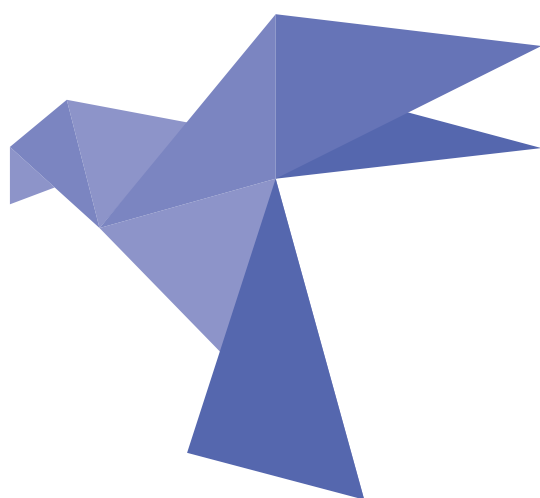
Entrepreneurialism in smaller institutions

Less glamorous 'venues' away from regional and national capitals cannot utilise their assets in quite the same way as the big institutions. Certainly those places off the well-worn path will rarely be able to attract the major awards ceremonies or milk the tourist hordes that can fill the halls (and shops and restaurants) of the British Museum or the Louvre. A little imagination can work, though – offering spaces for the local community can generate an income. Entrepreneurship is not the exclusive preserve of the big institutions, with artisan cafés, shops selling crafts and other unusual gifts, after-school clubs, yoga classes and social enterprises. Creative use of spaces can offer some relief in tight financial circumstances. They can also cultivate new and existing visitors, building local support and expectations. That social capital can be very useful to an institution when the axe threatens to fall on public funding, perhaps even more so than what can be quite modest profits. 'It's not just a museum; it's the heart of the community... It's the place we can meet for coffee while the kids are kept occupied in art class.'

Smaller institutions can also look to clustering – pooling limited resources and sharing some functions between other local organisations. Sharing back-office functions – finance and/or human resources – is often presented as a means for reducing costs, but pooling resources can also open up opportunities. It might be that by working closely together institutions can find the collective means to invest in improvements to educational or conservation services that individually would be impossible to realise, co-funding an education officer or a shared store with improved security and environmental controls. Partnerships need not be limited to other cultural institutions either; local social clubs and enterprises may also offer opportunities for sharing resources for mutual gain. Sustainability for local organisations lies as much in innovation and new models as it does the leading institutions. The key is in making themselves an essential – and visible – part of the community fabric. Brand is a part of that. The offer must be engaging but also clearly supporting and serving the needs and interests of the local populace.

Money and ethics

Partnerships are not without risk. Some potential suitors can prove toxic, attracting protests from pressure groups like the Art Not Oil Coalition.²⁶ Social media enables such groups to quickly mobilise and launch high-profile campaigns on the partnering decisions of institutions they disapprove of, eroding the precious trust that is the very capital being traded for funding. Reputations need to be protected. Organisations are well advised to develop and publish ethical policies to explain when, how and with whom they will partner – *and then to stick to them*. Pragmatism may outweigh any squeamishness over the moral ambiguities of a potential suitor. If the ends justify the means then at least make sure the financial return for the potential loss in trust is truly worth it and not just a short-term win at the cost of long-term credibility in the eyes of the public and other possible partners. The reality of the mixed economy model of funding is that sometimes institutions need to compromise, to triangulate between their responsibilities to serve the best interests of the public and the need to grow their self-generated income.



Public sector funding for the arts is a privilege, not an entitlement

While the delegates at the summit were generally accepting of the necessity of at least some public funding for culture, there exists a sizeable constituency of small-state-minded politicians and opinion formers who would vigorously contest that proposition. They would have the arts fend for themselves without any subsidy at all. Under this model a combination of ticketing, commercial activity, philanthropy, fund-raising and partnerships would supply the needs of the culture sector. Those cultural enterprises that cannot generate sufficient income to be self-sustaining should be left to fail. Any state interventions in the sector should be strictly limited – perhaps where there is evidence of market failure or as part of an urban regeneration project. It may not be the view of the vast majority of attendees at the summit but it is a view that has some increasingly vocal and influential proponents in the world beyond. The culture sector needs to be alive to this growing challenge and develop the arguments and evidence to make the case for culture if it is to successfully champion continued public investment in the arts.

The culture sector also needs to be sensitive to the views of a second, much larger grouping that includes a significant proportion of the taxpaying public. While not ideologically hostile to the idea of public funding for the arts, this socially conservative constituency does not instinctively regard culture as equivalent to ‘essential’ public services such as hospitals, schools or the police and might well regard maintaining subsidies for culture when cuts are falling on other ‘more important’ services with suspicion. The public need to be engaged and a convincing case for culture made. It is their money that governments are investing after all. Events and campaigns that highlight and reinforce the link between institutions and the publics they serve are important to build support. Credible arguments on the socio-economic benefits of culture can also win over this constituency, especially when the case sets out to address the concerns of local communities.

26. www.artnotoil.org.uk

Culture and the economy

Policymakers' scepticism towards the value of the arts is a perennial issue for the culture sector but there is one area ministers and treasury officials around the world are getting increasingly excited about – the creative industries. There is a growing understanding of the substantial contribution culture makes to national economies. As societies have prospered people have had more leisure time and disposal incomes have grown, the demand for culture has ballooned. The sector has shown remarkable resilience and impressive growth. According to the UK government's statistics the sector is worth £84.1 billion to the national economy and is set to continue to expand as the international market for cultural exports grows. The sector grew by 8.9 per cent in 2014,²⁷ generating £9.6 million an hour, with the number of jobs increasing by 5.5 per cent to 1.8 million. These are the sorts of numbers that officials in finance ministries can understand. They provide the basis for the film industry to argue for tax breaks to encourage more international production companies to film in British studios and for universities to bid for funding for high-tech studios for video game designers. It is not just a UK phenomenon either: think India, Korea, Bollywood and K-pop. From *Game of Thrones* to *Grand Theft Auto*, the creative industries are big business, and states and cities around the world are keen to get in on the action.

Museums, theatres and historic monuments are also measured by and valued for their economic contribution. They are marketed as tourist attractions, often selling themselves as such to government with a pitch built around investment, resulting in increased visitor footfall and increased returns for local businesses. Here the value of culture is measured in terms of the impact on the economic success of the wider community, extrapolating from projected visitor figures to calculate hotel stays, spend in restaurants and shops, etc. One of the most successful exemplars of this approach is the Tate Modern development on London's Bankside. In July 1994, ahead of the development, McKinsey & Company undertook a study to assess the potential economic impact to inform policymakers and funders' decision making.²⁸ They then repeated the assessment one year on from the gallery's actual opening. In 2001 the estimated economic benefit of Tate Modern was around £100 million, of which £50–70 million was specific to Southwark (the projected figures in 1994 were £50 million overall and £16–35 million for Southwark). Approximately 3,000 jobs in London were created, of which about just over half were specific to the Southwark area. (The projection in 1994 was in the region of 1,500). Unlike the apparently modest claims made in advance of the Bankside development, such assessments have often overestimated the economic potential of a project, a practice that has led to a distrust of 'flaky' cultural regeneration schemes by some policymakers. With the Tate Modern development the impact far outstripped projections and directly contributed to partners' confidence in supporting the gallery's subsequent expansion proposals for the Switch House. Not all projects can rival the runaway success of Tate Modern, but, by offering realistic projections and sound analysis, individual schemes give confidence to both public and private funders and build credibility for the sector as a whole.

27. https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/523024/Creative_Industries_Economic_Estimates_January_2016_Updated_201605.pdf

28. www.tate.org.uk/about/press-office/press-releases/economic-impact-tate-modern

Nollywood

At the summit, Alhaji Lai Mohammed, Minister of Information and Culture for the Federal Republic of Nigeria, discussed how the Nigerian government has fostered a thriving creative industries sector. Long before the recent dramatic fluctuations in the price of oil, policymakers recognised both the potential and necessity for economic diversification from an over-reliance on the primary sector. To respond to that challenge Nigeria identified the creative industries as one of their priority growth sectors for the economy. The history of cinema in Nigeria dates back to as early as the history of film itself, but since the early 1990s Nollywood has grown to become the world's second-largest film industry by volume. Thousands of movies are produced each year for distribution to both a thriving domestic market and to audiences across Africa and internationally.

The government has nurtured the sector with a series of grant programmes targeted to support quality content, training and improvements to the distribution network. Loans are offered to film producers, and sponsorship programmes support filmmakers to attend film schools. The result has been a renaissance in Nigerian cinema in the 21st century. New Nollywood films are taking the world by storm with films like *The Figurine* drawing international acclaim. But it isn't just film: Nigerian cultural exports include everything from music to fashion, showcasing Nigerian ingenuity and entrepreneurialism to an international audience, again with targeted support from the government through programmes like the Creative and Entertainment Industry Intervention Fund. There are welcome lessons here for other states and cities seeking to harness the potential of the creative sector to diversify and foster sustainable economic growth.



Soft power

Cultural assets, including museums and heritage, are an essential part of a state's soft power. Soft power is a nation's ability to make friends and influence people not through military might or coercion but through the things that make people love rather than fear a country. Research²⁹ by the British Council has found that cultural and historic attractions, countryside and landscape, cities, the arts and people are the characteristics most important to a country's international attractiveness. Tourists, students and skilled workers choose to visit, study, live and work in places that are vibrant and culturally rich. With an increasingly mobile workforce, especially in key growth sectors like the knowledge economy and creative industries, foreign investors are also drawn to the places that are culturally rich. The enduring international popularity of cities like Edinburgh, Barcelona and Hong Kong are testament to the economic pulling power of culture.

Measuring the impact of soft power, cultural relations or cultural diplomacy is difficult – it is by nature long term and largely intangible. Simply measuring audience sizes fails to tell us anything about the influence upon that audience. One academic has said, 'Attempts to evaluate cultural diplomacy can seem like a forester running out every morning to see how far his trees have grown overnight.'³⁰ However, qualitative research has found that soft power can be analysed in terms of increases in the trust³¹ between peoples. Trust is incredibly important in international relations. It helps bring down barriers to trade and facilitates the international co-operation to address global challenges like climate change and mass migration. In economic terms, increases in levels of trust have a direct impact on the prosperity of states. When Dutch academics³² modelled the impact of increased trust on both levels of trade and levels of foreign direct investment (FDI) the results were striking. They found that if mutual trust between the populations of two countries increases by one per cent, exports increase by 0.6 per cent and the stock of FDI increases by three per cent (all other things being equal). The economic benefits of soft power are therefore significant. A country's ability to draw the best international talent and FDI powers growth, drives innovation and can even boost domestic productivity. The evidence base for the impact of soft power on national prosperity is growing, but more research would be very welcome.



29. <https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/as-others-see-us-report-v3.pdf>

30. Nicholas J Cull, *Public Diplomacy: taxonomies and histories*, 2008.

31. <https://www.britishcouncil.org/organisation/policy-insight-research/research/trust-pays>

32. www.scp.nl/dsresource?objectid=dc8589a6-b1e3-4fd3-a473-62098c7a55ca&type

Culture's contribution to the economy is significantly greater and more subtle than the sales figures for records and overnight hotel stays. Culture has an impact in surprising ways, as we have seen with the role of the arts and heritage as an attractor for FDI. The modern economy is dependent on creativity, on the skills the workforce gains from studying and participating in the arts. The creative industries, services and the knowledge economy are the obvious growth areas where success depends on the ability to create and innovate, but across all sectors the ability to think creatively and adapt to the ever faster pace of technological change will be increasingly essential to both individual and national prosperity. We are in the midst of a digital revolution – the German government are calling it Industrie 4.0³³ – the Fourth Industrial Revolution. Cyber-physical systems, the internet of things and cloud computing are combining to transform our workplaces. Increased automation and artificial intelligence are bringing dramatic change to the jobs market, not just in manufacturing but across all sectors. Traditional jobs are disappearing. Against this backdrop, education systems need to adapt, to provide young people with the skills and confidence to innovate and challenge. Creativity, critical thinking, scepticism, communication, collaboration and adaptability are the skills needed by the modern workforce, and they are exactly the skills that come from an arts and humanities education.

Recently, especially in Western states marvelling at the success of the 'tiger economies' of South and East Asia and businesses like Huawei, Nissan and LG, there has been a focus on STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) to provide workforces with the technical skills to succeed. But ironically, even as they attempt to play catch up, the West is again behind the times. Increasingly, policymakers in China, Korea and the ASEAN states are recognising that STEM is not enough, and that it's through the arts that people develop the thinking patterns that foster innovation, 'to think outside the box'. This isn't just about the creative sector – as important as digital and cultural exports are to national economies. Studies³⁴ have shown that an arts education improves student cognition, memory and attention skills – capabilities that are as invaluable to scientists and programmers as they are to dancers. Conversely, while the arts and humanities equip us with the ability to create and innovate and express themselves they also, crucially, teach us to ask not only if we *can* do something but also if we *should* – through culture we explore meaning, morals and ethics. There is also a risk that by focusing relentlessly on STEM teaching, education systems engender rote learning and simple acceptance of received wisdom, suppressing the curiosity and capacity to innovate. The arts teach us nuance, ambiguity, to think critically and to question. The intellectual dexterity that can come through the arts and humanities equips thinkers with the ability to adapt and think creatively to find solutions. As one delegate told the summit, 'it is through the arts that we learn to ask the questions that Google can't answer.'

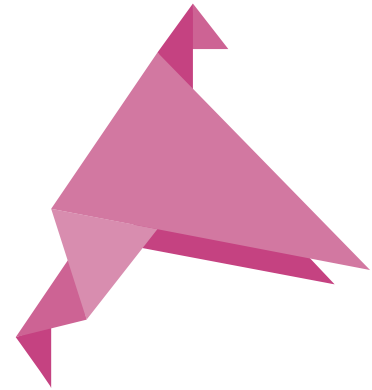
33. <https://industrie4.0.gtai.de/INDUSTRIE40/Navigation/EN/Topics/Industrie-40/what-is-it.html>

34. www.nsead.org/Downloads/TheCasefortheArtsinSchools.pdf

The challenges were set out at the summit by Asaduzzaman Noor, Minister of Cultural Affairs, Bangladesh:

...although I can make a strong claim that mass cultural participation still exists in Bangladesh, and that culture is a crucial medium for ensuring an inclusive and pluralistic society, we cannot deny the disconnect between cultural education and the wider education system of Bangladesh. As more and more students are pressured to achieve top grades and get into good universities, cultural activities are beginning to take a back seat in their priorities. The constant cycle of school and extra lessons that students are forced to endure leaves them drained at the end of the day and gives them very little room to engage in cultural activities. In fact, forcing students to study and, in many cases, to memorise textbooks can have negative psychological impacts, thus making them even more susceptible to developing antisocial tendencies and being exploited for radicalisation. We must act at once to stop the constant pressure and the rote memorisation to pass standardised tests, and instead acknowledge the diversity of students' needs and the important role of culture in ensuring an holistic education.

Policy thinkers that recognise the skills gaps that a focus on STEM can create talk in terms of STEAM or TEAMS to restore the arts to their proper place in curricula. Of the two acronyms perhaps TEAMS is the better as it also infers those other key skills for success in the modern economy that can come through participation in the arts: collaboration and communication. The innovations that are reshaping society are borne of international teams working together through multiple communication and supply networks. Laboratories in Basel, Boston and Bangalore partner to pool talent, ideas and expertise to deliver solutions that none could develop alone in isolation. Through the arts we learn how to relate to different cultures, to explore and accept differing attitudes and identities, facilitating the global creative networks that are the steam engines of this latest industrial revolution. There is a crucial role for culture in education systems, the skills and ways of thinking are invaluable in the modern workplace and are essential to both personal and national success. And not just in schools. Local museums and galleries, libraries and theatres are an essential part of arts education offering quality opportunities to engage and participate to the broadest possible cross section of the populace. Policymakers need to look beyond STEM and understand how critically important the arts and humanities are to developing the creative and critical thinking needed by innovators and entrepreneurs. To date many studies of the value of the arts in education have been too small scale, and we need larger, more credible research to help make the case for TEAMS.



It is the tension between creativity and skepticism that has produced the stunning unexpected findings of science.

Carl Sagan

Today, culture is big business. Measures of the economic value of culture like FDI, record sales and employment figures are the culture sector's easiest 'sell' to government. So long as the standard methodologies are followed and the data is credible and robust, it is quite possible to successfully present an economic case for public investment in culture-led regeneration and state interventions to support the creative economy. Attractive places with a vibrant cultural life are vital to drawing in investment and talent. More challenging is the economic case for maintaining funding for the less glamorous programmes and institutions where there aren't such obvious taxable dividends for exchequers, for the role in fostering creative talent of local arts organisations and schools. But the case needs to be made that national institutions depend upon talent – talent nurtured at the grass roots. Established industrial champions and tiny start-ups alike need people with the skills and experience to thrive in the face of an ever faster pace of change. Creativity, the essence of culture, has never been more important.

Image
Thomas McEachan
© Scottish Parliament



Cultural infrastructure

In trying to conceptualise a credible methodology to reconcile the needs of both government and the culture sector, Professor Michael Power from the London School of Economics made the case to the summit for viewing culture as essential economic infrastructure – as important to the successful function of communities as energy, water and the built environment. He identified culture as the critical element in community resilience and local identity, the civic infrastructure that provides the context and forum for day-to-day economic and social activity and long-term sustainability. He proposed that culture should not be conceived ‘as an instrument of economy but as an infrastructural condition for the possibility of the optimism and emotional energy that animates economy.’

Professor Power went on to describe how communities under extreme stress will turn to culture for solace:

It was my great fortune to study philosophy at the University of Cambridge in the early 1980s. My research supervisor, Gerd Buchdahl, told me the story of how, having escaped the Nazis and fled to England, he and his brother Hans were eventually deported by the British as enemy aliens in the 1940s. The deportation ship was horribly overcrowded. The conditions were unimaginably bad, and the deportees – very few of whom were the Nazi sympathisers who were the intended target of the British – were often physically beaten. Buchdahl... related to me how, in those circumstances, under the continuous threat of being torpedoed, he and others had held philosophy classes on the deck of the boat using C Joad's Guide to Philosophy, which was published in the 1930s, as a text. Somehow a copy of that book had made it on board the ship. In this case, it was philosophy, but it could have been music, poetry, theatre or anything else – that is not important... In having those regular philosophy classes on the decks of the Dunera in 1940, Buchdahl and his colleagues created a tiny infrastructure... There are many examples of a turn to culture in extremis, amidst the rubble of societies... this very festival [in Edinburgh] and many other festivals like it have their roots in post-trauma or post-war reconstruction.

For people facing the most horrendous of conditions and situations, culture provides a sense of normality and communal solidarity; a respite from the ever-present threat of conflict; intellectual stimulation and social interaction; the chance to reaffirm one's identity and humanity; and a safe outlet for understanding and processing their experiences. The societal need for culture is ever present but only finds its most visible expression in communities under extreme duress. That's when it is shown that culture is neither a minor nor optional matter in people's lives. Professor Power challenged policymakers to understand and translate this phenomenon to everyday decision making and planning.



Thinking of culture as infrastructure, as an integral element in the smooth running of the economy and society, presents us with a challenge as well as a possible solution. If governments neglect energy supplies there can be blackouts, and poorly maintained roads cause traffic jams and accidents. By contrast, what impact do cuts and mismanagement of cultural infrastructure have experientially to tax payers? What does a 'brownout' in the cultural infrastructure look like? As Professor Power concedes, 'we do not know the ways in which culture is connected to other sections of the economy and society [but] we have very strong intuitions about them.' If we are to argue for the arts and culture to be mainstreamed economically, socially and politically, we need to be able to elucidate the impacts of success, failure or the absence of critical cultural infrastructure to potentially sceptical policymakers in terms and language they understand. Whereas failures in traditional infrastructure can be highly visible and even life-threatening, the effects of weak leadership and poor investment decisions on cultural infrastructure will usually be less obvious. Conversely, the impacts on communities in the longer term as quality of life, community cohesion and civic pride are eroded can be much more insidious and difficult to remedy, just like the hidden rot that weakens the foundations of a building and leaves it prone to collapse. Cultural infrastructure is the foundation upon which the healthy community stands or falls. The signs of failure are likely to be found in changes in statistics on educational and health outcomes, indices of deprivation, both perceptions of and real rises in incidents of crime and antisocial behaviour, employment figures and overall economic performance.

A place with poor cultural infrastructure is a less attractive place to live and do business, those that can move away, talent and investment go elsewhere; the community becomes stressed, depressed, fearful and resentful at being left behind. The outcomes for the community will be the poorer. In the long term the costs of reversing the deterioration through the surgery of regeneration will be significantly higher than the costs of simply maintaining a healthy cultural infrastructure. If only the library or the museum had stayed open, if only the park or the high street were a bit more lively and loved, if only the kids had somewhere to go. What happened to the places that inspired, that gave a sense of pride and space to breathe and think? Culture provides the colour, light and joy to communities, neglecting the cultural infrastructure impoverishes the spirit – inevitably having a negative impact on the socio-economic health and day-to-day well-being of the local populace. Further research is needed to be able to test these intuitions and identify the tangible qualitative indicators and metrics for assessing the integrity of cultural infrastructure in our towns and cities.

Taking an infrastructure approach to culture can also help governments and the culture sector move away from a project-based approach and individual funding choices between competing institutions to work together in a much more strategic way that examines the shape of the existing infrastructure and how it intersects with and underpins other local priorities. An infrastructure approach invites questions like: do we have the right delivery model for culture? Is the inherited infrastructure right for today and will it be right for tomorrow? Are the relevant people present at the table? If not, what should we do about it? It is an approach that analyses risk and thinks in the medium and long term rather than just in short-term spending commitments. It is a model rooted in sound economic principles and underpinned by the application of sophisticated quantitative and qualitative datasets and methodologies that measure cultural value but also place that value into the broader economic and societal context. It requires an understanding of all the cultural assets in a place and how they link together and contribute to the smooth function and well-being of the community.

This could potentially be uncomfortable for vested interests as this approach could mean less support for one art form or institution and more resources for other platforms as the needs and aspirations of the community are better mapped and understood, and the cultural infrastructure tailored to better meet those priorities in a sustainable way. It is a model that applies equally at the national level with those questions about delivery models and fitness for purpose as relevant for the cultural equivalent of the National Grid as they are for local communities. We need to collectively develop models that integrate the needs of the local, regional and national to maximise participation, foster the brightest talents and ensure the most effective distribution of limited funds between the grandest and more humble institutions. We do not yet have all the answers. But by taking Professor Power's cultural infrastructure model as our starting point, we may at last be asking the right questions.



Image
Américo Castilla
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Conclusions and recommendations

1. The international community should come together to pressure states into signing and enforcing international conventions on the illicit trade in cultural property.
2. International partners have a critical role to play in supporting the protection of the historic environment and the intangible heritage of language and cultural practice in fragile states and conflict zones. Further investment and support for programmes like the British Council-administered Cultural Protection Fund should be encouraged.
3. Local communities are best placed to conserve the historic environment. They should be involved in decision making and should see the benefits of conservation themselves – conservation must go hand in hand with economic development.
4. Much more effort needs to be made to understand fully the role of culture in society. Research is central to this, but so is prioritisation by policymakers. The potential of the arts to contribute to the delivery of better outcomes in health, education and community cohesion needs to be explored and the findings disseminated as broadly as possible. The transformative potential of programmes like Dance for Parkinson's and Streetwise Opera demands to be better known.
5. The value of culture needs to be taken seriously. The arts and creativity are going to be critical to personal, community and national success in the Fourth Industrial Revolution. Governments should recognise the need for investment and for developing the right strategic approach or face economic decline.
6. The culture sector and policymakers should seek to develop a common language and sophisticated cultural evaluation tools to develop a shared understanding of the value of culture. Success will depend on agreeing qualitative and quantitative metrics drawing on a broad range of cultural, artistic, social and economic value criteria. This will require research and analysis to both bring together best practice from around the globe and develop a coherent suite of metrics and methodologies.
7. The culture sector should develop a better grasp of the links between participation, legitimacy and public support in making the case for public funding and the prioritisation of culture in policymakers' strategic thinking.
8. The Edinburgh International Culture Summit offers a unique and essential platform for bringing together the arts sector and policymakers to share best practice and unite in addressing the key socio-economic and cultural challenges facing communities.





End notes

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About the British Council

The British Council is the UK's international organisation for cultural relations and educational opportunities. We create friendly knowledge and understanding between the people of the UK and other countries. We do this by making a positive contribution to the UK and the countries we work with – changing lives by creating opportunities, building connections and engendering trust.

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