

# Participatory Performing Arts

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 CALOUSTE GULBENKIAN  
FOUNDATION  
UK BRANCH

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## A Literature Review

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Chrissie Tiller Associates September 2014 for the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation

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## Introduction

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‘You can’t tick a box called profundity’

Alan Davey, Chief Executive Arts Council 2014<sup>1</sup>

‘Everyone likes art. We just don’t all like the same art.’<sup>2</sup> If we concur with Matarasso that we all think about art differently, how can we agree on the value of the art we see, experience, own, pursue, want to develop, invest in or educate about: especially when trying to capture the aesthetic and cognitive dimensions of our experience? How, as artists and arts organisations, do we best evidence the impact of our own projects and programmes in a way that reflects on-going conversations about the value of culture?

One of the biggest challenges for those working in performing arts is finding ways of collecting data that reflect the value and impact of engaging with live performance rather than what cultural economists such as Klammer (2004), and those who follow him, speak of as ‘cultural goods’<sup>3</sup>: the ‘worth’ of objects being measured in the context of production. Cultural value, in these terms, often becoming something where notions of an object’s quality, nature, content and form shift in accordance with the contemporary environment and its reception, circulation and consumption, as well as on the preservation of assets, practices, knowledge or sites through which it can be recreated in the future. Like the Prado Museum taking responsibility beyond custodianship, to use its reputation and brand to mark work that was once in the public domain as now exclusive and only to be accessed by a certain elite.

It is a way of thinking about value that leads to small scale, minority, emergent practices, many of which contribute to the sustenance of culture by fostering change, edginess and creativity, being side-lined for those whose monetary worth is easier to prove. Geoffrey Crossick, (Director of AHRC’s Cultural Value project) suggests in a recent interview, ‘I don’t know anybody in the arts who does it directly to have an economic impact.’<sup>4</sup> Yet it is those working at the coalface who increasingly find themselves adjusting and reducing projects to prise them into frameworks that end up reflecting neither the ethos and values of the artists and organisations nor those of their participants. Or being asked to respond to formulas, often imported from the business world where the big E-s, of effectiveness, efficiency, efficacy and entrepreneurship reign, that leave no space for the ‘unexpected’ or ‘surprising’.

The demand to evidence value in purely economic terms has resulted in increasingly less space for work that is radical or antagonistic. Or for the risk-taking that takes into account the possibility of

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<sup>1</sup> Davey, A. Foreword

[http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/media/uploads/pdf/Understanding\\_the\\_value\\_and\\_impacts\\_of\\_cultural\\_experiences.pdf](http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/media/uploads/pdf/Understanding_the_value_and_impacts_of_cultural_experiences.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> <http://regularmarvels.com/about/francois-matarasso/>

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.klammer.nl/index.php/subjects/art-culture/179-social-cultural-and-economic-values-of-cultural-goods-formerly-titled-cultural-goods-are-good-for-more-than-their-economic-value-cultural-economics-japanese-association-for-cultural-economics-3-3-17-> Retrieved July 2014

<sup>4</sup> [http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/News-and-Events/Watch-and-](http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/News-and-Events/Watch-and-Listen/Documents/AHRC%20Cultural%20Value%20Podcast%20Transcript.pdf)

[Listen/Documents/AHRC%20Cultural%20Value%20Podcast%20Transcript.pdf](http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/News-and-Events/Watch-and-Listen/Documents/AHRC%20Cultural%20Value%20Podcast%20Transcript.pdf)

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‘failure’, or the fact lasting impact often takes place in what Reason (2013) suggests is the, ‘extending days, weeks or even months afterwards during which time the experience resonates through guided or unguided conversation, further exploration and personal reflection.’<sup>5</sup> Both impossible to capture in evaluation frameworks that seek to constrain, predict and prescribe what kind of artwork will emerge. If, as Crossick goes on to suggest, what we are looking for in arts and culture is the possibility to create, ‘The Reflective Individual and the Engaged Citizen’, measuring value needs to be about capturing ways, ‘in which people change: become more open, more understanding, more thoughtful in their society’<sup>6</sup> over time. As John Holden notes in *Cultural Value* (2004) it seems, ‘those things that [are] easy to measure tend to become objectives, and those that [are not, are] downplayed or ignored’.

How do we begin then to evidence the outcomes of work, particularly in the performing arts, in terms that capture both the aesthetic value of what is often a transient and ephemeral artistic product and the personal, often subjective, and frequently long-term experience of the participant?

## The Review

From 5<sup>th</sup> – 30<sup>th</sup> November 2013 Chrissie Tiller Associates undertook the first phase of a systematic review of published research and literature on participatory performing arts practice for the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation UK. We further developed this work, with a greater focus on evidencing value and the inclusion of case studies, from 1<sup>st</sup> July – 1<sup>st</sup> September 2014.

Whilst our main focus was on literature published within the last 10 years, older seminal pieces of work were included and a search of ‘grey literature’ (writing that may be difficult to trace via conventional channels because it is not published commercially or is not widely accessible, but is frequently an important source of information as it tends to be original and recent) was conducted. The resulting review has focused on two main areas:

- Exploring the possibility of creating a preliminary typology or classification of the different types of activity deemed to fall into the category ‘participatory performing arts’.
- Analysing reports and studies relating to the nature and type of outcomes this work can be considered to achieve and how these might be evidenced.

In particular we have attempted to focus on performing arts activities, including theatre, dance and music-making, with an identified *social* purpose and those:

- culminating in some form of public performance or sharing;
- involving non-professional participants working alongside professional artists; and
- working with groups generally regarded as lacking opportunities to have their voices heard.

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<sup>5</sup> Reason, Mathew. (2013). ‘The Longer Experience: Theatre for Young Audiences and Enhancing Engagement’. In *The Audience Experience: A critical analysis of audiences in the performing arts*, edited by Jennifer Radbourne, Hilary Glow, and Katya Johanson. Bristol, UK and Chicago, USA: Intellect.

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/News-and-Events/Watch-and-Listen/Documents/AHRC%20Cultural%20Value%20Podcast%20Transcript.pdf>. Retrieved July 2014

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There is always a certain amount of blurring of boundaries within this field and this is increasing with new arts practice that deliberately crosses those boundaries in terms of participation. In acknowledging this we have tried to indicate the range of work falling more naturally into raising awareness and encouraging action on specific social, economic and environmental issues or concerned with creating community cohesion. Practices as diverse as performance art, live art, circus, musical theatre and opera struggle to be classified within the same typology: what comes under the umbrella of participatory arts draws on a wide range of differing styles and methodologies of practice. Yet while many current, ‘practices defy clear categorisation... [but] provide clues to an emerging conceptual model for participatory arts practice,’ (Brown et.al, 2011:13). It is within the increasing cross-disciplinary and cross-sectoral nature of the form that some of the boundaries are most excitingly being challenged.

## Approach

We mainly worked, within the time frames available, with sources and material available at university libraries across London and from our own personal libraries as practitioners and academics working in the field. We have also drawn from the rich diversity of online resources, allowing us to venture beyond the borders of the UK to Australia, US, Canada and further afield.

Much of the literature is inevitably empirical in terms of reports written by practitioners or evaluators of particular projects or programmes. It is also very separate and often art-form, outcome or participant group specific. We have also, therefore, included national and regional surveys and programme reports, studies by individual art form networks and organisations, reports by arts funders from the Arts Councils to individual foundations and articles in art form journals and other online publications.

The different methodologies used for these works, their ad hoc geographical scope and the frequency of obtaining their data are exceptionally varied and so the results often differ in the same way. The nature and use of the term of participation is equally wide: as is the tracking of individuals and documentation of their participation in terms of those who rarely, if ever, participate, those who occasionally participate to those for whom participation is an on-going part of their experience of an art form.

Most, more scientific, research projects have also been further divided according to the participants involved. For example, much has been done in the field of mental health and young people’s engagement in the arts and more recently, work with elders and wellbeing. The literature is spread again according to art form. Is it theatre in education, community dance or participatory music?

Our bibliography includes literature sourced through peer referral as well as research articles on professional participatory practice. Recent online resources developed by the Paul Hamlyn Artworks programme in terms of participation<sup>7</sup>, Arts Council England’s 2014 commissioned literature reviews in terms of cultural value, (*The value of arts and culture to people and society*<sup>8</sup>, and

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<sup>7</sup> <http://www.artworksphf.org.uk/>

<sup>8</sup> [http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/media/uploads/pdf/Understanding\\_the\\_value\\_and\\_impacts\\_of\\_cultural\\_experiences.pdf](http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/media/uploads/pdf/Understanding_the_value_and_impacts_of_cultural_experiences.pdf)

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the subsequent Wolf-Brown *Understanding the value and impacts of cultural experience*) have all been instrumental in accessing literature, as well as other grey literature.

We have also drawn on a wide range of relevant journals from Journal of Arts and Communities, Arts Professional, New Theatre Quarterly, Theatre Journal, International Journal of Music Education, Animated Magazine, a-n Magazine, the Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance, Community Development Journal, Youth Theatre Journal, Arts Marketing and Cultural Trends. It is interesting to note, spread as it is across specific art forms as well as arts marketing, audience development and separate social issues, how little cross-disciplinary performing arts debate currently exists. It can also make the literature difficult to track.

The constantly evolving nature of the work, and exciting innovation in current practice, led us increasingly to blogs and online newspaper columns, such as Lyn Gardner's 'Guardian Theatre blog'<sup>9</sup>. Here she and fellow bloggers and commentators engage with an on-going debate on the increased importance of paying critical attention to this practice: including explorations of new language to describe the work. 'Performative dialogues'<sup>10</sup> being the term offered by John Fox from Welfare State International. Gardner herself, increasingly argues for participatory work to be central rather than additional to the funding agenda:

Education, community and participatory work are not an add-on. It should be at the heart of every arts organisation. It is the future. We can't afford to just play lip service to that idea. We need to make it a reality, which means we need a fundamental rethink.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> <http://www.theguardian.com/stage/theatreblog>

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.theguardian.com/stage/theatreblog/2013/nov/27/alternative-theatre-new-names>

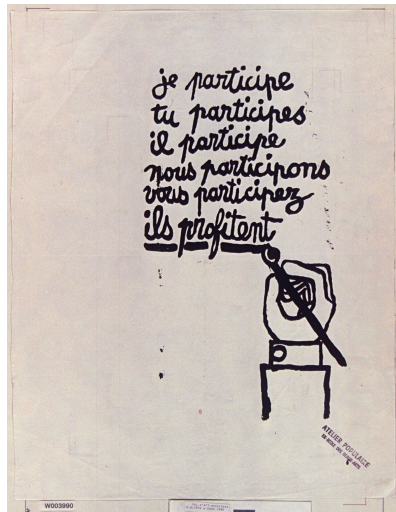
<sup>11</sup> <http://www.theguardian.com/stage/theatreblog/2012/aug/30/major-theatre-institutions-die>

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## One: Engaging with the debate

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### What is Participation?



The poster above was created by students as a creative response, and critique, to a call by De Gaulle for greater civic ‘participation’ in May 1968 that they considered was entirely compromised by the political system. In the arts, as in civic society movements (see Big Society debate in the UK), definitions of what different political and social groupings understand by ‘participation’ continue to be complex and problematic.

### Definitions

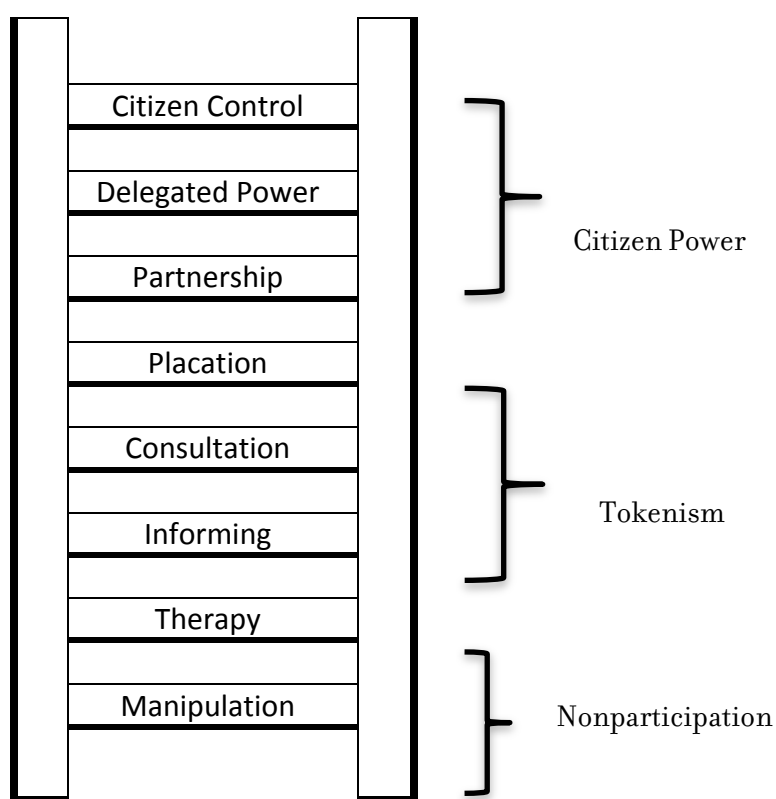
The Taking Part survey commissioned by DCMS, Arts Council England, Sport England and English Heritage, lists attendance at a cultural event, using a public library and visiting a museum as modes of ‘participation’. In the sense that each of these activities involves an active decision to engage with culture, this is true. In assisting us to define participation in terms of ‘participatory’ practice it is not especially helpful; audience development activities quickly blur with work that makes a significant contribution to engaging, sharing and making work with marginalised communities. Even Arts Council England’s new Creative People and Places funding stream currently offers little more in the way of specific guidelines than that, ‘those from areas of least engagement’ should ‘experience’ and be ‘inspired by the arts’.

### Ladder of Participation?

In discussing participation in terms of ‘participatory arts practice’ then, Arnstein’s *A Ladder of Citizen Participation* (1969) provides a useful starting point. Analysing what participation means in terms of active engagement in civic society, Arnstein identifies eight stages:

- ‘manipulation’, ‘therapy’, (clustered under *non-participation*),
- ‘informing’, ‘consultation’, ‘placation’ (clustered under *tokenism*), and
- ‘partnership’, ‘delegated power’, ‘citizen control’ (clustered under *citizen power*).





The central rungs of Arnstein's ladder seem particularly important, highlighting the dangers of projects, which are little more than tokenistic and a substitute for real participation. As Meissen similarly notes in *The Nightmare of Participation*, it is very easy for what happens in the name of participation to be little more than, 'a method of placation rather than a real process of transformation' (2011, 34).

Although Arnstein and Meissen are writing about engagement in civic society rather than the arts, and may, as Bishop suggests be missing some of the 'complexity' and possibility to embrace paradox of the arts<sup>12</sup>, the markers set out between meaningful participation and what amounts to little more than ticking the right boxes have clear resonance. Funding imperatives and government policies can often mean artists result to delivering to agendas that may well be criticised for attempting to placate rather than empower participants. Artangel's *Heygate Pyramid*<sup>13</sup> and Catherine Yass' plans to drop a piano from 27 storey block of flats<sup>14</sup> being just two recent examples of artists/arts organisations being so caught up with the regeneration plans of local authorities and developers that they totally misread the sensibilities and feelings of disempowerment of the very communities they were supposedly working with.

<sup>12</sup> Bishop, C. *Participation and Spectacle. Where are we now?* <http://dieklaumichshow.org/pdfs/Bishop.pdf>.

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2013/dec/12/heygate-pyramid-london-estate-evicted-condemn-artwork>

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/piano-drop-stunt-artist-catherine-yass-turner-prize-balfron-tower-poplar-9596914.html?origin=internalSearch>

In his *Education for Socially Engaged Art* (2011), Pablo Helguera, offers an arts-based model; defining a ‘ladder’ of participation that moves from ‘nominal’ to ‘collaborative’:

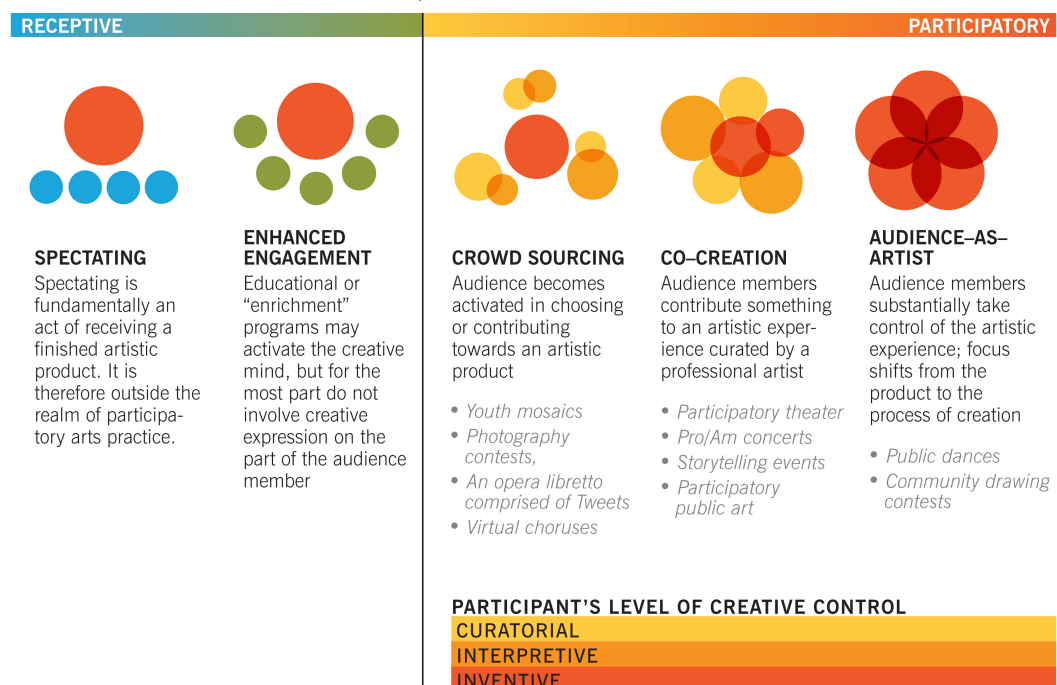
- *Nominal* Participation (participants interact with art passively as spectators)
- *Directed* Participation (participants undertake simple activities to contribute to the artwork)
- *Creative* Participation (participants make some real contribution to the work)
- *Collaborative* Participation (participants share responsibility for the structure and content of the work).

The use of ‘nominal’, like Arnstein’s ‘tokenism’ indicating a distinct qualitative judgement between work where ‘participants’ do little more than interact as spectators, or make simple, artist led contributions, and what Helguera identifies as truly creative or collaborative participation.

### Participation as audience development?

*Getting in on the Act: How Arts Groups are Creating Opportunities for Active Participation*, commissioned by the Irvine Foundation (2011)<sup>15</sup>, uses a similar range of actions but defines participation entirely on the level of ‘audience’ involvement rather than making a case for meaningful engagement. Outlining a ‘progression’ from, ‘Spectating’ to ‘Enhanced Engagement’, ‘Crowd Sourcing’, to ‘Co-Creation’ the final stage offered is, ‘Audience-as-Artist’ (Brown et.al, 2011:4). In the latter, it is suggested there is no conventional ‘audience’ at all because every person involved is ‘creating, doing or making’ art.

### The Audience Involvement Spectrum



<sup>15</sup> S. Brown, A., L. Novak-Leonard, J. L. (2011) *Getting in on the act: How Groups are Creating Opportunities for Active Participation*, James Irvine Foundation, WolfBrown: Focus <http://irvine.org/images/stories/pdf/grantmaking/Getting-in-on-the-act-2011OCT19.pdf> Accessed Nov 2013

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Expanding the model at a later date, Brown and Novak-Leonard further suggest five forms this participation<sup>16</sup> might take:

- *Inventive*: where participation engages the mind, body and spirit in an act of artistic creation that is unique and idiosyncratic, regardless of skill level.
- *Interpretive*: where participation is a creative act of self-expression that brings alive and adds value to pre-existing works of art, either individually or collaboratively.
- *Curatorial*: where participation is the creative act of purposefully selecting, organizing and collecting art to the satisfaction of one's own artistic sensibility.
- *Observational*: where participation encompasses arts experiences that you select or consent to, motivated by some expectation of value.
- *Ambient*: where participation involves experiencing art, consciously or unconsciously, that you did not select.

This loose equation of participation with audience development and the new (commercial and other) opportunities it offers for arts organisations, has little to say about participation as a social act. While identifying four possible goals, 'community need or societal', 'as a complement to artistic vision', 'in service of an artistic product', or as a 'fundamental goal' in itself, the authors are clear, 'The order in which they are listed should not be construed as indicating anything about their relative value.' The choice of examples, however, including a 'community drawing contest' at the audience as artist end of the spectrum, might suggest an understanding of 'participation' that has little to do with what Helguera and Arnstein are speaking about. Proposing The National Theatre of Wales' 'The Passion' as simply, 'participation in service of an artistic product' seems equally obtuse.

### **Interpretive or Inventive**

Brown and Novak-Leonard's later distinction between 'interpretive' and 'inventive' participation offers some kind of perspective for those engaged with participatory performing arts. Participatory work has often focused on creating an original performance with participants (inventive) such as Streetwise Opera's work with composers to create pieces that directly reflect the lives and concerns of the homeless groups they work with. But there is an equally valid argument for offering participants who lack opportunities to engage with more mainstream arts, the experience of remaking and performing an existing part of the canon (interpretive) such as Birmingham Opera's choice to work on classic pieces, 're-write[ing] the rules of engagement between audiences and performer' for its community chorus.

The role of an outside artist in creating a piece specifically for a particular participatory group can also be central in taking the work and the experience for participants onto another level. For example, The Sacred Sounds Choir's move from sharing songs from their own faith backgrounds to having an original piece of work commissioned for them by John Tavener as part of the Manchester Festival. Here the on-going practice of the participants was enhanced by what might be labelled 'inventive' but was also a direct response to participants' desire to engage in the skills development needed to tackle a 'technically and musically challenging' piece. Not only was this felt to strengthen, 'bonds between participants' and provide 'motivation to commit to and maintain

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<sup>16</sup> <http://artsfwd.org/5-levels-of-arts-engagement/>

participation’, it also offered ‘a different focus for participants which took them out of the difficulties of their ‘normal’ life to provide ... a greater sense of achievement’.<sup>17</sup>

### A different model

Developing a spectrum of participatory practice for the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Tiller (2013), proposes the continuum starts at the point at which participants are *actively* engaged: the rest being little more than audience development:

## Beyond the audience: A spectrum of participatory performing arts practice

	Active Engagement	Collaborative Making	Co-Creation	Participants' initiative
	Participants are involved <i>with</i> or contribute <i>to</i> the making of the work through stories, ideas or performances.	Artist/s remain in the leading creative role but participants have a direct involvement in the creation of the final piece, working together <i>with</i> artist/s.	Ownership is delegated to the participants as they take growing control of the artistic creation throughout the creative process.	Participants instigate and realise their own creative idea. They are the directors/curators of the piece. Where professional artist/s are involved it is the participants' decision to do so.
<b>WHO</b> is involved?	Professional artists and non-professional participants. Other partners from social contexts.	Professional artists and non-professional participants. Other partners from social contexts.	Professional artists and non-professional participants. Other partners from social contexts.	Participants. Professional artists when requested. Other partners from social contexts.
<b>HOW</b> does the work take place?	‘Inventive’ (devised) or ‘interpretive’ (already existing) – i.e. working on participants’ stories and concerns or on an existing piece. May be single-authored piece with participants helping realise artist’s response to their issues.	‘Inventive’ (devised) ‘interpretive’ (already existing) – i.e. working on participants’ stories and concerns or on an existing piece. Shared authorship. With artist/s often taking final directive/artistic decisions.	More likely to be ‘inventive’ (devised) piece of work. Shared authorship – with equal value being given to participants’ input. Shared decision-making.	Most likely to be ‘inventive’ (devised) piece of work created by the group. Often process driven as participants grapple creatively with issues. Authorship lies totally with the participants.

<sup>17</sup> Fort, S. Sacred Sounds Evaluation Report. Manchester International Festival

<b>WHAT</b> happens?	Workshops that may focus on collecting material. Performance. Artist/s share skills dependent, often, on whether participants are engaged in the final performance.	Skills workshops. Performance. Artist/s share skills towards participants making the performance.	Skills workshops. Performance. Artist/s share skills. Participants share skills/expertise.	Skills sharing. Performance.
<b>WHY?</b> Social	Building Community, Economic/Societal Impact, Social Justice, Political Activism, Celebration, Creative Placemaking, Improved Health and Wellbeing, Own or others' attitudes or behaviour changed, Transformation, Skills Development.	Building Community, Economic/Societal Impact, Social Justice, Political Activism, Celebration, Creative Placemaking, Improved Health and Wellbeing, Own or others' attitudes or behaviour changed, Transformation, Skills Development.	Building Community, Economic/Societal Impact, Social Justice, Political Activism, Celebration, Creative Placemaking, Improved Health and Wellbeing, Own or others' attitudes or behaviour changed, Transformation, Skills Development.	Building Community, Economic/Societal Impact, Social Justice, Political Activism, Celebration, Creative Placemaking, Improved Health and Wellbeing, Own or others' attitudes or behaviour changed, Transformation, Skills Development.
<b>WHY?</b> Artistic	Participants assist artist/s in realising a creative response to participants' issues or questions they have posed. Honours participants' input. Often a greater focus on professional artist/s sense of creative outcomes.	More inclusive artistic practice may still be nominally driven by artist/s but where participants' input is central and equally valued. Still a focus on professional artist/s' input into creative outcomes.	More inclusive artistic practice driven by participants. Equal focus on sharing of skills and artistic development. Shared artistic vision.	Participants as artists engaged in creative process. Participation is both the process and the product. Participant led artistic vision. May employ professional artist/s to help them realise final product.
<b>WHERE?</b>	Traditional/less traditional or site-specific spaces	Traditional/less traditional or site-specific spaces	Often less traditional or site-specific spaces	Often less traditional or site-specific spaces
<b>WHEN?</b>	Much more than a unique encounter.	Over a period of time.	Over a good period of time.	Over a substantial period of time – allowing for the artist to embed themselves with in the community.

<b>EXAMPLES</b>	Theatre/performance drawing on stories/lives of a particular group but performed by professionals. Opera where participants become a trained chorus. Community choirs performing music selected for them.	Choirs drawing on participants' own musical cultures. Theatre /opera/dance working with themes identified by participants who may also perform. Drawing on culture of participants. Professionals and non-professionals working together as equals.	Theatre/opera/dance in which the issues/concerns of participants are what drives the work. Professionals and non-professionals working together but non-professionals will have increasing input as their skills developed over time.	Dance, bands, orchestras, choirs, theatre - performances driven by the needs/desires of a particular community to celebrate their own culture, express their political or social concerns and present their ideas for change in a creative format.
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Although this version of the spectrum differentiates between ‘social’ intentions for participatory work and ‘artistic’ outcomes, Tiller is clear one inevitably emerges from the other in work that is truly participatory. And that there is little point in making participatory work that is not engaged with social outcomes. Not in the sense of using arts and participation to provide amelioration or solutions to society’s problems, but in seeking to facilitate what Lowe (2012) identifies as ‘a creative enquiry’<sup>18</sup> where the participants are placed at the heart of the project. ‘Informed consent’ as Lowe suggests, being the crucial marker between projects where participants give permission to the artist to interpret their experience (most verbatim theatre and much community theatre remain in this category) and those where artist and participants work together to create a piece of co-authored work.

The responsibility of the participatory artist, Helguera suggests, is to resist being ‘subservient’ to the status quo or providing solutions to social ills, but rather to problematise and enhance the ‘tensions around those subjects, in order to provoke reflection’ in order to bring about meaningful transformation and change.<sup>19</sup> It is in the spirit of provoking creative and collaborative reflection that the spectrum above is offered. Being able to be clear, and open, in identifying where one places one’s practice (at least on any individual project) seems essential in terms of both creating the work and evaluating its impact. Acknowledging the intentions behind a piece of participatory work and sharing that with participants, as well as funders and partners, providing a good marker for deciding whether what one is proposing goes beyond what Helguera and Arnstein would call tokenism.

## Relational/Dialogical/Aesthetic?

‘Participatory art is not a privileged political medium, nor a ready-made solution to a society of the spectacle, but is as uncertain and precarious as democracy itself; neither are legitimated in advance but need continually to be performed and tested in every specific context.’

<sup>18</sup> Lowe, T. A. (2012) *Quality Framework for Helix Arts’ Participatory Arts Practice* <http://www.helixarts.com/pdfs/Helix%20Arts%20Quality%20Framework%20of%20full.pdf> Accessed Nov 2013

<sup>19</sup> Helguera, P. (2011) *Education for Socially Engaged Art*, A Materials and Techniques Handbook. New York: Jorge Pinto Books

Claire Bishop, 2011.<sup>20</sup>

Much of the naming of practice, terminology and language in the field of participatory arts draws on the debate around socially engaged visual arts practice.

In creating his Quality Framework for Helix Arts Participatory Practice, Lowe (2012) argues the key elements of participatory arts move between, ‘the role of the participants, the authorship of the work and the ethics of participation’ (Lowe 2012). The question of authorship is central and crucial to the argument.

At either end of his spectrum are Grant Kester and Claire Bishop; both cultural critics and theorists whose concepts of ‘relational’, ‘dialogical’ and ‘aesthetic’ practice have informed the socially engaged or participatory visual art debate for the past ten years.

Kester		Bishop	
Role of participants	Participants in a process of creative enquiry, which they help to shape	Material for an artist’s work	Role of participants
Authorship of the work	Co-authored, between artist and participants	Single-authored	Authorship of the work
Ethics of participation	Informed consent, plus on-going negotiation about the content and direction of the process	Informed consent	Ethics of participation

### In one corner

On the ‘Kester’ end is what Kester terms ‘dialogical’: work that places social cohesion and breaking down the hierarchy between professional and non-professional artist at the centre of its practice. Work that has a ‘pragmatic openness to site and situation, a willingness to engage with specific cultures and communities in a creative and improvisational manner...and a critical and self-reflexive relationship to practice itself’ (Kester 2011 p. 125)<sup>21</sup>. ‘Another important component’, as he goes on to explain, being ‘the desire to cultivate and enhance local forms of solidarity which may, or may not, bear a relationship to larger political struggles or collective action’.

### In the other

On the other end is work Bishop champions as intentionally provocative and disruptive, challenging the status quo and dealing directly with the class, social and economic issues that may face the participants, while leaving the artist in a position where she/he retains their autonomy and makes the final creative decisions. Bishop’s concern around much participatory practice is that artists might increasingly be judged ‘by their working process’ rather than the resulting aesthetic<sup>22</sup>; sacrificing ‘authorship’ for the ‘quality of the collaboration’. In giving up authorship Bishop feels

<sup>20</sup> *Participation and Spectacle. Where are we now?* <http://dieklaumichshow.org/pdfs/Bishop.pdf>

<sup>21</sup> Kester, G., *The One and the Many*, Duke University Press. 2011

<sup>22</sup> Bishop, C. (2006) “The Social Turn: Collaboration and Its Discontents,” *Artforum* 44, No. 6 (Feb. 2006): 179.

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the artist gives up their capacity for creative antagonism and ‘disruption... as a form of resistance to instrumental rationality and as a source of transformation.’

Bishop draws on French philosopher Rancière’s,<sup>23</sup> belief that the ‘dialogical aesthetic’ must embrace the artist’s ‘ability to think contradiction’. As Bishop notes, ‘For Rancière the aesthetic doesn’t need to be sacrificed at the altar of social change....it already inherently contains this ameliorative process. In other words, art heals. No need to hurry it along.’<sup>24</sup> Kester’s position is much closer to art critic Bourriaud’s notion of ‘Relational Aesthetics’<sup>25</sup>: A set of artistic practices which take as their theoretical and practical point of departure the whole of human relations and their social context, rather than an independent and private space.

Here the artist is the ‘catalyst’ for ‘collective encounters’ with his audience or participants, rather than provider of goods for the individual consumption of art. Although, Kester later distances himself from what he sees as Bourriaud’s focus on projects that have a ‘choreographed’ or ‘staged event’ at the end and begins to champion more ‘immersive’, open and long-term projects, feeling only that when the embedding of the artist within the community can really authentic participation and co-creation happen<sup>26</sup>.

### **The collective space**

Despite their on-going battles and a tendency to take a stand at either end of the spectrum, however, both Kester and Bishop support what Bishop calls, ‘the communal, collective space’<sup>27</sup>, of participatory art. Both are also equally critical of the seizing of the Participatory or Community Arts agenda by the, ‘neoliberal capitalist state’ or what Kester identifies as the promotion of, ‘participation’ in the arts as a tool for ‘self-determination’ but one, ‘planned’ and administered by the state, ‘supposedly ‘on behalf of the disenfranchised’. What concerns each of them is the need to find a new language to analyse and evaluate participatory art. While Kester finds it in exploring the ‘agency’ projects offer their participants, for Bishop it is much more concerned with defining the aesthetic and a need to retain a ‘space for perversity, paradox and negation’ within the work of the artist.

Approaching participation largely from the view of the performing arts, and the work of Brecht, Boal and others, Bishop later suggests in, *Artificial Hells, Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship*, that the tensions around collaboration and relational practice are not necessarily ‘as fraught’ in the performing arts as in the visual. ‘Collective authorship in theatre’ she notes, ‘did not require a radical overhaul of its traditional modus operandi, which has always been collaborative’<sup>28</sup>. For those working in performing arts, it is clear that tensions around authorship and ownership, particularly when it comes to performing the work, are still abound. As one of the artists working on the *Scheherazade* participatory dance project for the Welsh National Opera as part of Artworks explains, ‘I think one of the most important jobs we do is editing. I edited furiously to find quality. What I mean is you really get to the nub of what it is; of what the participants can do, of the aesthetic

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<sup>23</sup> Rancière, J., *Aesthetics and its Discontents*, Cambridge: Polity. 2009

<sup>24</sup> Bishop, C. (2006) “The Social Turn: Collaboration and Its Discontents,” *Artforum* 44, No. 6 (Feb. 2006): 179

<sup>25</sup> Bourriaud, N. (2002) *Relational Aesthetics*. Les Presses du Réel

<sup>26</sup> Autonomy, Agonism, and Activist Art: An Interview with Grant Kester. *Art Journal* 66 no3 Fall 2

<sup>27</sup> Bishop, C. (2012) *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship*. London, New York: Verso Books

<sup>28</sup> Ibid



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you can build, and what the production needs.<sup>29</sup> Working with high profile organisations and meeting the expectations of regular audiences adds additional pressure. ‘It’s about reputation...I can’t afford to have WNO buy in, and the theatre to buy in, and for it to be no good. It’s my reputation.’<sup>30</sup>

### **Contextualisation**

What Kester and Bishop’s intellectual boxing match offers the participatory performing arts is one way to contextualize its own practice and an opportunity to re-visit some of the big questions. Is participatory work about the quality of the exchange with the participants or about making a piece of work where an individual artist grapples with their issues through a more single-authored piece? Bishop’s argument against collaborative authorship seems to be that its ethical stance may lead it to avoid ‘disruption’ of the status quo, omitting to reveal the ‘unease, discomfort or frustration – along with fear, contradiction, exhilaration and absurdity’ she feels is crucial to artistic and social impact.

Many performing arts practitioners might wish to disagree, suggesting instead that participation can often create an aesthetic of its own: by taking work outside the cultural institution and challenging who has the right to be seen on stage: work in the disability arts sector by companies such as Drake Music, Entelechy or The Lawnmowers being particularly potent in challenging the latter. Creativetime’s ‘Waiting for Godot in New Orleans’<sup>31</sup> and Cardboard Citizen’s ‘Minceat’<sup>32</sup> provide powerful examples of work where the aesthetic is totally interwoven through the ‘dialogic’ process: where collaboration is integral to the work’s social and political impact. Site-specific work may have been partly subsumed into the mainstream, but the possibility to create participatory work that questions, discomforts and disrupts what Kester and Bishop identify as the dominant, neoliberal consensus, remains.

## **Instrumental v Intrinsic: Social Impact and the Arts**

‘The instrumental/intrinsic debate has tended to polarise on class lines: aesthetic values for the middle classes, instrumental outcomes for the poor and disadvantaged’

John Holden, 2004.<sup>33</sup>

### **Intrinsic**

The debate surrounding the ‘intrinsic’ or ‘instrumental’ value of art is one of the oldest in history. Intrinsic usually referring to something of value in itself or for its own sake (e.g. Art for arts’ sake): instrumental referring to wider impact in terms of the social, economic and cultural environment. Plato being one of the first to point out what he saw as the inherent dangers of art (and artists) to a civilised society, while Aristotle offered a counter argument: the case for art’s capacity (through catharsis) to act as a force for moral good. This debate was compounded in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Western philosophy by Kant’s insistence on the ‘intrinsic’ or aesthetic value of what he terms ‘fine art’: art that contains within it an innate worth or value that is beyond question.

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<sup>29</sup> ‘Scheherazade’ Learning Group Report Artworks Cymru, 2013 <http://alturl.com/myb4a>

<sup>30</sup> ‘Scheherazade’ Learning Group Report Artworks Cymru, 2013 <http://alturl.com/myb4a>

<sup>31</sup> <http://creativetime.org/projects/waiting-for-godot-in-new-orleans/>

<sup>32</sup> <http://cardboardcitizens.org.uk/events/minceat>

<sup>33</sup> Holden, J. (2004) *Capturing Cultural Value*. Demos

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This focus on the ‘intrinsic’ value of certain kinds of ‘high art’, Schusterman<sup>34</sup> suggests, places it, ‘apart from and above the realm of instrumental value’ and ‘essentially distinct from reality or life’. The idea that art might also have ‘instrumental’ outcomes being generally understood as something promoted by those who wanted to bring art to the masses: an activity largely favoured by interfering governments or those politically concerned with social change. The polarisation often happening, as Holden<sup>35</sup> points out, ‘on class lines: aesthetic (or intrinsic) values for the middle classes, instrumental outcomes for the poor and disadvantaged’. A two-tier system often replicated in terms of arts funding.

### **Instrumentalisation?**

The establishment of the Arts Council post-war, followed by the rise of community arts in the ‘60s and ‘70s and the GLC’s participatory programme in London in the ‘80s, encouraged a late 20<sup>th</sup> century consensus that, ‘instrumental’ and ‘intrinsic’ might be aspects of the same thing. The arts were increasingly asked to justify public funding in terms of their contribution to public life. Comedia’s *The Social Impact of the Arts* conducted detailed case studies of projects funded by Regional Arts Boards, the Scottish Arts Council and local partners to demonstrate exactly how this was being achieved across the UK.

The findings from this research form the basis of Matarasso’s *Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of Participation in Arts Programmes*<sup>36</sup>.

In *Use or Ornament* Matarasso provides us with a seminal touchstone for the ‘instrumental’ value of participatory or community arts: placing them firmly within governmental agendas of personal development, social cohesion, community empowerment, self-determination, identity, health and wellbeing. Citing examples from projects he feels illustrate participatory arts transformational process; he concludes engagement brings about a range of social benefits. His fifty examples include the possibility to ‘(1.) Increase people’s confidence and self-worth’, ... ‘(16). Promote inter-cultural contact and co-operation’ (34). Improve perceptions of marginalised groups’. Despite such wide-ranging and often difficult to prove claims, for artists working in the field, he offered a much-needed framework from which to argue the instrumental case.

### **Delivering Government Agendas?**

New Labour was quick to recognise this potential and the arts and culture became one of the cornerstones of government initiatives to combat social exclusion and encourage regeneration of inner cities. Merli, in her critique of Matarasso<sup>37</sup>, suggests it was this, ‘strong desire to be relevant and useful to the policy process and to contribute to decision-making’ that finally negates the research. The blurring of boundaries between government social policy and artistic outcomes becoming part of the on-going tension around the role and meaning of participatory practice, especially in the neo-liberal political climate that has prevailed for the past 25 years. While earlier participatory practice, Merli suggests, was often focused on bringing about ‘emancipation and

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<sup>34</sup> Shusterman, Richard, (2002) *Pragmatic Aesthetics: Living Beauty, Rethinking Art*, 2nd edition, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

<sup>35</sup> Holden, J. (2004) *ibid*

<sup>36</sup> Matarasso, F. (1997) *Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of Participation in the Arts*. Stroud: Comedia

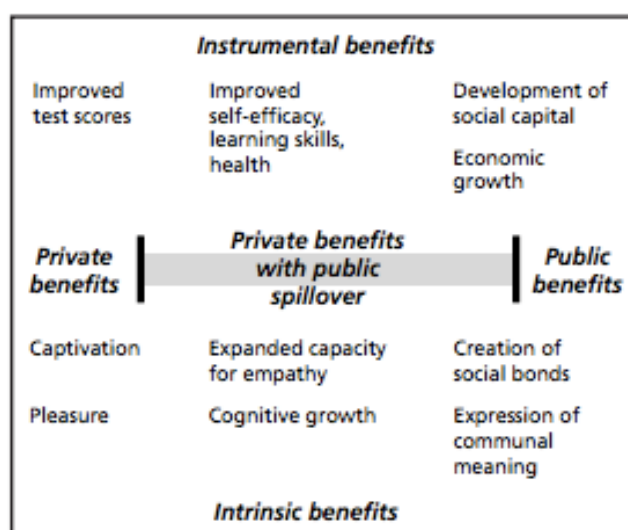
<sup>37</sup> Merli, P. (2004) *Evaluating the social impact of participation in arts activities A critical review of François Matarasso’s Use or Ornament?* Variant Issue 19

liberation from any form of social control’ the need to meet funding criteria inevitably involved compromise. In her view, Matarasso’s desire for the arts to, ‘contribute to a stable, confident and creative society’ is in total contradiction to artist’s potential to bring about radical solutions to social problems. Or what David Edgar recently suggested as their role as, ‘the voice of criticism, provocation and dissent’.<sup>38</sup>

Merli, along with Belfiore<sup>39</sup>, also criticises the flawed nature of Matarasso’s methodology, noting, ‘Many of the 50 hypotheses are expressed as relationships between abstract concepts which are not observable, nor measurable.’ More recently Matarasso himself has conceded it was probably, ‘... a mistake to transfer the word “impact” from an economic discourse to a social discourse where it is simply not appropriate’.<sup>40</sup> What Belfiore does concede<sup>41</sup>, is the value of Matarasso’s work in ‘striving for an alternative evaluation model to the output driven ‘Performance Indicator’ model favoured by the Arts Council’. As such *Use or Ornament* lays down a marker for taking social impact seriously: despite making participatory arts vulnerable to being equated solely with ‘instrumental’ outcomes.

### A false polarity?

Building on Putnam’s *Bowling Alone*<sup>42</sup> challenge to arts institutions to contribute to the lives of their communities, the Rand Foundation’s report *Gift of the Muse: Reframing the benefit of participation in the arts* offers a framework which melds ‘intrinsic’ and ‘instrumental’ benefits.



‘Common sense’, as Glenn Lowry, Director of MoMA noted, suggesting ‘the instrumental value of the arts is in direct proportion to their intrinsic value and the greater the former the more significant the latter’.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup> <http://www.theguardian.com/culture/2012/jan/05/david-edgar-why-fund-the-arts>

<sup>39</sup> Belfiore, E. (2002) “Art as a means of alleviating social exclusion: does it really work? A critique of instrumental cultural policies and social impact studies in the UK.” *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, Vol.8 (No.1). pp. 91-106

<sup>40</sup> Matarasso, F. (2010) Full Free and Equal: on the social impact of participation in the arts <http://www.demandingconversations.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/Full-free-and-equal-Matarasso.pdf>

<sup>41</sup> Belfiore, E. (2002) *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 8.1.

<sup>42</sup> Putnam, R. (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* New York: Simon & Schuster

<sup>43</sup> Glenn Lowry, (2005) Director MoMA. *Is there a Better Case for the Arts?* Arts Journal.com. 7 March 2005

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A concept Tim Joss<sup>44</sup> in *New flow: A better future for artists, citizens and the state*, (2008), develops further by suggesting a ‘false polarity’ has grown up between ‘intrinsic’ and ‘instrumental’ in the arts debate. The difference for him being that the intrinsic is concerned with the personal and individual and the instrumental with delivering a broad realm of benefits to society and civil life. ‘From an arts funding standpoint,’ he suggests, ‘the success of arts organisations and arts programmes in intrinsic terms is an essential precondition for instrumental success.’

Referencing Brown & Novak’s study, *Assessing the intrinsic impacts of a live performance* he cites their ‘six key *intrinsic* impacts’: ‘captivation, intellectual stimulation, emotional resonance, spiritual value, aesthetic growth and social bonding.’ Many of them mirror those suggested by RAND, although they might be said to be as subjective and difficult to evidence as Matarasso’s social outcomes.

### **Re-inventing the language?**

The solution may lie in re-inventing instrumentalism (in terms of artistic and public good) as Knell and Taylor<sup>45</sup> suggest or, as McCarthy et al propose, developing ‘the language for discussing intrinsic benefits’.<sup>46</sup> Highlighting the ‘limitations of the research on instrumental benefits,’ they note the difficulties involved in the arts trying to adopt the ‘social science model that focuses on measurable outcomes’; and advocate moving towards qualitative as well as quantitative models. Or, as Holden suggests in ‘Capturing Cultural Value’<sup>47</sup>, it might rest in becoming more confident in our use of existing vocabulary. Where, Business schools happily refer to ‘case studies’ as evidence of effective practice, the arts, he notes, are accused of producing ‘anecdotal evidence’. Even by those working within them. ‘When Government pays commercial private sector companies for R&D,’ he goes on to state, it enters into a contract resulting in experimentation, but in the cultural sector the same thing is called upholding the ‘right to fail’.

Dewey, despite the fact he was writing in 1934, might offer a possible starting point. Repudiating the ‘conception of art’ that ‘spiritualises it out of connection... with concrete experience’ he argues the role of the art philosopher is, ‘to restore continuity between the refined and intensified forms of experience that are works of art and the everyday events, doings, and sufferings that are universally recognized to constitute experience...’.<sup>48</sup> In that context, the intrinsic and instrumental work of the participatory arts practitioner is clearly part of the same continuum.

## **Cultural Hegemony**

‘All art is instrumentalised: everything is contextualised.’

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<sup>44</sup> Joss, T. (2008) *New Flow - A Better Future for Artists and citizens and the State*. Mission Models Money <http://www.missionmodelsmoney.org.uk/resource/new-flow-better-future-artists-citizens-and-state-tim-joss-2008> Accessed Nov 2013

<sup>45</sup> Knell, J and Taylor, M. (2011) *Arts funding, Austerity and the Big Society* RSA London

<sup>46</sup> McCarthy, K. and all. (2004) *Gifts of the Muse. Reframing the Debate About the Benefits of the Arts*. Commissioned by The Wallace Foundation RAND: Arthur Books [http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2005/RAND\\_MG218.sum.pdf](http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2005/RAND_MG218.sum.pdf)

<sup>47</sup> Holden, J. (2004) *Capturing Cultural Value*. Demos

<sup>48</sup> Dewey, J. (1934) *Art as Experience* Perigree Trade

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John Hawkes, 2010.<sup>49</sup>

Cultural hegemony, like many of the terms associated with participatory practice, is an expression rarely heard in the context of the performing arts, except perhaps in the obituaries<sup>50</sup> of radical theatre makers such as John McGrath (Founder and Director of 7.84 Theatre Company). Although originally forged from Gramsci's desire to explain and, 'theorise the role of the working class in a bourgeois revolution',<sup>51</sup> in cultural terms, it has come to be understood as a means of explaining the dominance between what is often defined as 'high art' and 'popular' culture. The former mostly seen as being of greater cultural value in terms of public funding: an assumption that begins with Keynes' proposal of 'The Best for the Most' as the first slogan for the Arts Council in 1945 and, some might say, continued in the current concept of offering, 'Great Art for All and Everyone'.

Baz Kershaw, in his seminal publications of the '90s, *The Radical in Performance* and *The Politics of Performance* celebrates the role alternative theatre movements of the '60s, '70s and 80s played in offering an oppositional view to the 'dominant culture': creating work that used 'the nature of their audience and its community' as its starting point. By embracing the aesthetics of those communities, he suggests these companies (Welfare State International, 7.84, Forced Entertainment and others) created performances that were as radical in form as they were in content.

For those engaged in participatory practice it is impossible to ignore the fact that access to the arts is still very much a privilege of the 'dominant culture'. It is equally impossible to ignore that what was once considered 'radical' in form, content and aesthetics has largely been subsumed – from site-specific, to immersive, to participatory work – to the mainstream. Bell hooks' critique of hip-hop in, *We Real Cool: Black men and Masculinity*<sup>52</sup> provides just one example of the way the 'transformative power' of counter culture can be turned around once it is adopted by the dominant culture.

As writer and analyst Meredith Tax notes in the title of her 1972 essay on 'Radical Perspectives in the Arts'<sup>53</sup> 'Culture is not neutral', not politically, socially or in any other way. The very existence of a dominant narrative within culture, Thomas and Rappaport assert, means most, 'communities are typically excluded from control over the means to uncover, interpret, and create their own identity'<sup>54</sup>. Participation in arts is one important way, they suggest, of enabling minority communities to amplify their experiences of connectedness and empowerment. Mattingly<sup>55</sup> (2001) concurs with this in her discussion of community theatre with 'at risk' teenagers'; stating that being offered increasing input into the narrative of the work increases both one's sense of 'authority' and one's ability to define oneself and one's place in the world.

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<sup>49</sup> Hawkes, J. (2010). Making sense together. Keynote address at 'My City's Still Breathing: a symposium exploring the arts, artists and the city', Winnipeg Art Gallery. Retrieved June 2014 from

<http://community.culturaldevelopment.net.au/MakingSense.html>. Hawkes, J. (2010).

<sup>50</sup> <http://www.theguardian.com/news/2002/jan/24/guardianobituaries.books>

<sup>51</sup> <http://newleftreview.org/I/100/perry-anderson-the-antinomies-of-antonio-gramsci>

<sup>52</sup> hooks, b. (2003) *We real cool: Black Men and Masculinity* Routledge

<sup>53</sup> <http://www.meredithtax.org/literature-and-culture/culture-not-neutral-whom-does-it-serve>

<sup>54</sup> Thomas, R.E. and Rappaport, J. Art as Community Narrative: A resource for Social Change in *Myths about the powerless: Contesting Social inequalities* Temple University Press

<sup>55</sup> Mattingly, D. (2001) "Place, teenagers and representations: lessons from a community theatre project." *Social & Cultural Geography*, Volume 2, Number 4, 1 December 2001 (15) pp. 449

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In seeking to reveal these stories and validate these experiences, participatory art has a responsibility to understand the context in which it sits. And to continually question whether in engaging its participants it is doing little more than imposing its own cultural hegemony or legitimising the hierarchical economic, social and political status quo. As political theorist Nancy Fraser, suggests in her essay on cultural ‘recognition’ (1995) in the twentieth century<sup>56</sup>, ‘Cultural domination’ could be said to have replaced, ‘exploitation as the fundamental injustice’ in our society: ‘cultural recognition’ or engagement with culture increasingly used as a means to deal with inequality and, ‘displace socioeconomic redistribution as the remedy for injustice and the goal of political struggle.’

## Participants or Collaborators?

*‘At best co-creation, can, ‘provide a platform for authentic engagement: at worst, it continues, ‘to foster elitism and inter-legitimation’ between those making the work and a ‘knowing’ audience.’*

Walmsley, 2013.<sup>57</sup>

A participatory art, in whatever art form, remains a highly contested practice. Its terms of reference, even for those working in the field, are still emerging and evolving: from the way people describe their creative selves (arts practitioners, community musicians, creative facilitators) to the way they identify their practice (community dance, art for social change, collaborative art) to the way they consider the role of their participants.

It is also a practice that is increasingly cross-disciplinary; cutting across different artistic and social practices and settings. ‘Participatory filmmakers, musicians, drama practitioners, writers, photographers, live-artists, AV makers, textile artists, print makers, designers, animators, dancers, painters, and sculptors<sup>58</sup>, all being drawn in, (Lowe, 2012). Speaking about the need for new terms for alternative theatre, Lyn Gardner recently questioned where we might place circus, mime or the work of companies such as Kaleider, the Exeter based arts organisation that ‘works with people from all sorts of backgrounds to design, produce and promote live experiences of many different kinds. Bringing experts from different areas – whether they’re scientists or artists or local residents or psychologists – out of their silos, brings them together and then watches to see what happens when the collisions occur.’<sup>59</sup>

## Non-professionals?

This broadening of the practice challenges the notion of labelling the participant as the ‘*non-professional*’, where many participants bring their own professional skills to the table. At the same time ‘*non-professional*’ provides a useful and all-encompassing shorthand as any to speak about those who do not earn their living in the arts but contribute collaboratively to a piece of work by

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<sup>56</sup> Fraser, N. (1995) *From Redistribution To Recognition? Dilemmas Of Justice In A ‘Post-Socialist’ Age* *New Left Review*

<sup>57</sup> Walmsley, B. (2013) *Co-creating theatre: authentic engagement or interlegitimation?*, *Cultural Trends*, 22:2, 108-118, DOI: 10.1080/09548963.2013.783176

<sup>58</sup> Lowe, T. A. (2012) *Quality Framework for Helix Arts’ Participatory Arts Practice* <http://www.helixarts.com/pdfs/Helix%20Arts%20Quality%20Framework%20full.pdf> Accessed Nov 2013

<sup>59</sup> <http://www.theguardian.com/stage/theatreblog/2012/aug/30/major-theatre-institutions-die>

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making, doing, creating or offering their stories or ideas. The expressive nature of this involvement being what most would accept makes it participatory art; whether or not a final piece is produced or performed.

Some have challenged the notion of the participant having to contribute actively to the performance by arguing the ‘audience’ in an immersive piece of theatre such as Punchdrunk’s *Faust* is clearly a ‘participant’ in that they are creating their own individual experience of the performance. But there is nothing of the collective experience here and the focus remains ‘very much on the consumption of an artistic product’, (Brown et.al, 2011:12). While not arguing every piece of participatory work needs to be an open-ended collaborative process the need for the ‘participant’ to be engaged beyond a unique encounter and be involved with other participants seems paramount in terms of creating something beyond what Helguera terms ‘nominal participation’<sup>60</sup>.

Many participatory arts projects focus on participants from marginalised and disenfranchised communities, engaging them in the social context through the arts. Using the comparison of the social work client, Helguera divides these participants into the ‘voluntary’, the coerced or ‘non-voluntary’ and those who might encounter a project in a public space – the ‘involuntary’: knowing which group her participants belong to being central to the way the artist responds. Although clearly the participatory artist is not a social worker, Helguera suggests there is much to be learned from the way social workers ‘inform themselves about a social environment and record local problems, hopes and beliefs’. In situations where artists need to earn the trust of their participants he feels it is important, ‘to understand the mutual respect, inclusivity and collaborative involvement that are the main tenets of social work’.

### **Collaboration**

It is around the question of collaborative involvement, that Beech, in an article for *Art Monthly* ‘Include me out’, makes a case for differentiating between the participant and the collaborator. In his mind it is, ‘the shortfall between participation and collaboration that leads to perennial questions about the degree of choice, control and agency of the participant. Is participation always voluntary? Are all participants equal and are they equal with the artist? How can participation involve co-authorship rather than some attenuated and localised content?’ Much verbatim theatre for example, including recent pieces such *London Road* or the politically powerful *Deep Cut*, certainly occupies a place on the participatory spectrum. At the same time, where the final script and performance remain in the control of the writer and director it also exemplifies the mismatch between artist and participants in terms of agency that often occurs in practice.

Beech suggests collaborators are ultimately distinguished from participants ‘insofar as they share authorial rights over the artwork that permit them, among other things, to make fundamental decisions about the key structural features of the work.’ Entering the collaborative process, Helguera suggests, ‘requires a reflection on the terms under which the artist and the group will interact’. The artist always brings their own expertise to the table but their role in creating a collaborative relationship with their participants often lies, Helguera claims, in the work of Paulo Freire (1972) with sugarcane workers - acknowledging difference whilst creating ‘frameworks on

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<sup>60</sup> Helguera, P. (2011) *Education for Socially Engaged Art*, A Materials and Techniques Handbook. New York: Jorge Pinto Books

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which experiences can form and sometimes be directed and channeled to generate new insights around a particular issue.’

Participation in these terms is a social and political act. Speaking about live performance and live art Shaughnessy suggests there is a range of performance work that draws on all the practices of ‘collaboration’, ‘interaction’, ‘participation’ and ‘immersion’ yet has little social purpose behind it. Walmsley (2013)<sup>61</sup>, in his study of the *Furnace* festival of new work at West Yorkshire Playhouse, questions whether what is often branded as ‘co-creation’ is at all concerned with an authentic democratisation of the process. ‘At best,’ he says co-creation, can, ‘provide a platform for authentic engagement: at worst, it continues, ‘to foster elitism and inter-legitimation’ between those making the work and a ‘knowing’ audience.

This blurring of terminology between participatory practices, which has intended to have social as well as aesthetic outcomes and which uses ‘co-creation’ as a stylistic device, can be problematic. Irvine et al, for example, place Punchdrunk’s *Sleep No More* firmly within their spectrum of participation, while Duska Radosavljevic in *Theatre Making*<sup>62</sup> offers the work of Tim Crouch, Belgium company Ontroerend Goed and Croatian company Shadow Casters as examples of ‘relational’ or ‘community’ building in the context of Nancy’s idea of ‘being together’. While not wishing to negate either of these propositions, the ‘audience’ certainly plays an active and sometimes collective role in the making of meaning in these pieces, participatory work would seem to need to go beyond the unique encounter. It is in the framework of on-going collaboration that real participation begins to happen; inviting participants into what Helix Arts<sup>63</sup> define as, ‘a shared process of creative enquiry and learning between artist and participants.’

## Ethics

*‘There is no arts practice that avoids all forms of co-option, compromise or complicity’*

Grant Kester, 2011.<sup>64</sup>

Participatory art throws up constant questions about the ethics of engaging others in the creation of artistic work: particularly in the context of working with more vulnerable or marginalised groups. Statutory guidelines exist, of course, that provide us with guidance around duty of care, equality, diversity and health and safety but where ethics and creativity are concerned the territory is inevitably more nuanced.

Levinas<sup>65</sup>, one of the philosophers most often referenced in the wider debate around art and ethics, centres his thinking around the question of ‘responsibility’, or responsiveness, to ‘the Other’: in the particular context of face-to-face encounters. While not offering a system or suggesting

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<sup>61</sup> Walmsley, B. (2013) Co-creating theatre: authentic engagement or interlegitimation?. *Cultural Trends*, 22:2, 108-118, DOI: 10.1080/09548963.2013.783176

<sup>62</sup> Radosavljevic, D. *Theatre-Making: Interplay Between Text and Performance in the 21st Century*, Palgrave Macmillan, July 2013

<sup>63</sup> Lowe, T. A. (2012) *Quality Framework for Helix Arts’ Participatory Arts Practice*  
<http://www.helixarts.com/pdfs/Helix%20Arts%20Quality%20Framework%20of%20full.pdf> Accessed Nov 2013

<sup>64</sup> Kester, H. Grant. *The One and The Many: Contemporary Art in a Global Context*. (Duke University Press 2011) 2.

<sup>65</sup> Levinas, E. (1969) *Totality and Infinity*. Duqueune University Press.



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generalised rules or guidelines, he proposes that ethical behaviour emerges from, 'the direct experience of 'lived' time and place, and our affective and meaningful relations with concrete others'<sup>66</sup>. It is in recognising our responsibility for others, he continues, we can truly become ourselves.

### **Ethics in Practice**

In trying to make sense of this complex and contradictory landscape, Rifkin's guide to the 'Ethics of Participatory Theatre' expands on the difficulties of finding convergence and agreement amongst those working in the field. In attempting to create some kind of structure, she proposes starting from what she identifies as the Radical Ethical Framework (Rifkin 2010, p15) of key practitioners such as Boal. At the same time she notes the implicit rather than explicit nature of many of the principles within Boal's work, highlighting his unwillingness to accept the existence - supporting Levinas - of 'an absolute set of moral values'. Speaking of his own practice in Theatre of the Oppressed, Boal proposes that theory does not exist in a vacuum but can only arise 'out of constant practice'<sup>67</sup>.

Rifkin finds the International Federation of Arts Councils and Cultural Agencies's (IFACCA's) report on Ethics in Cultural Policy a useful yardstick on Values: 'three ethical lenses through which cultural policy can be evaluated: virtue, responsibility and benefit. Underpinning these is the notion of Fair Culture, rooted in human rights principles.'<sup>68</sup> However she is not clear how these lenses might be used in practice and qualifies them with a further voice of dissent in the form of Rustom Bharucha's interview for Performance Paradigm's fascinating 'The End of Ethics?'<sup>69</sup> issue. Talking of his work in South Africa with people suffering from HIV/Aids, Bharucha introduces the idea of the 'ethics of betrayal': or rejection of what he calls the "'civic" limits of theatre'. Although he acknowledges the notion of 'betrayal' might seem perverse when speaking about participatory art, he feels it is essential that work guards against a tendency to 'succumb to bourgeois morality' and 'feel-good liberal ... sentiments' or 'political correctness'.

In setting out Barnes' series of ethical principles that have informed her work with young refugees at Oval House<sup>70</sup>; Rifkin offers another possible starting point. Noting, however, that even this seemingly self-evident list, 'choice, equality, respect, safety and competence' could be seen as contentious. Especially where the notion of 'choice' might be said to be compromised by power relations, 'respect' open to the accusation of excluding challenge and 'safety' of negating creative risk.

### **General precepts?**

Kester and Bishop's debate (see Dialogical/Aesthetic) is equally concerned with tensions between the 'ethical' and the 'aesthetic'. Although suggesting there is no arts practice, 'that avoids all forms of co-optation, compromise or complicity' Kester proposes socially engaged art must have a place for ethical criteria such as, 'respect for difference, the cultivation of the full range of human capacities,

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<sup>66</sup> Gardiner, M (1996) Alterity and Ethics: A Dialogical Perspective Theory, Culture & Society May 1996 13: 121-143.

<sup>67</sup> Boal, A. (1993) Theatre of the Oppressed. Theatre Communications Group

<sup>68</sup> Rifkin, Frances *The ethics of participatory theatre in higher education: a framework for learning and teaching*. [Online] <http://78.158.56.101/archive/palatine/files/ethics.pdf>. Retrieved July 2014

<sup>69</sup> <http://www.performanceparadigm.net/category/journal/issue-3/> Retrieved July 2014

<sup>70</sup> Barnes, S. (2009) *Participatory Arts with young Refugees*. London, Arts in Education: Oval House Theatre

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equal opportunity for participation in decision making’ as part of its evaluation process. Bishop, on the other hand, fears, rather like Boal, that a focus on the ethical might mean the ‘emphasis is continually shifted away from the disruptive specificity of a given practice and onto a generalised set of ethical precepts’<sup>71</sup>. This, she feels, leaves the work open to fall into the realm of ‘useful, ameliorative and ultimately modest gestures, rather than the creation of singular acts that leave behind them a troubling wake.’ Using Jeremy Deller’s *The Battle of Orgreave* as an example, she suggests it is often in the artistic choices that the ethics of participation come into play. Part of the aesthetic quality of the work involving a need to make final judgments in what Bishop calls, ‘the *grey artistic* work of participatory art’ - rather than in the ‘ethical black- and- white’ of ‘good’ or ‘bad’ collaboration.’<sup>72</sup> (Bishop 2012, p 32)

### **Mutual Respect?**

The tensions around the ethical nature of the participatory ‘process’ and the ‘quality’ of the final ‘product’, and within that its ‘social impact’, remain a constant in participatory practice. Helguera’s (2011, p12) proposal that undertaking a ‘critically self- reflexive dialogue with an engaged community’<sup>73</sup> needs to be at the root of effective practice, provides a useful starting point for both artists and those commissioning participatory programmes. Or, what Suzanne Lacy, in speaking with Kester about the Oakland Projects<sup>74</sup> (with young people and the police) proposes as the need for the participatory artist to engage in ‘ethical sites of enquiry’. These being: ‘the analysis (or understanding the context in which the work is happening), the process and relationships, the commitments or intentions of the group and the representations and the results.’

Building the kind of mutual relationship that allows ethical practice to arise from on-going exchanges of ideas and beliefs between artist and participants, such as those suggested by Lacy and Helguera, takes time. But what it needs firstly is a willingness to recognise and engage with ethical issues as part of a reflective practice. As Rifkin points out, Bharucha’s caveats reminds us of the dangers of assuming an implicit ethical worth in the work:

‘We are all implicated in the very crimes that we condemn, either through complicities of silence, in difference or apathy. For performance to be truly radical, it can no longer afford to fall back on the earlier assumptions of an artist’s innate, if iconoclastic, goodness.’

### **Community/Communities**

‘The process of communication is in fact the process of community: the sharing of common meanings, and thence common activities and purposes; the offering, reception and comparison of new meanings, leading to the tensions and achievements of growth and change’

Raymond Williams, 1958.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Bishop, C. (2012) *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship*. London, New York: Verso Books

<sup>72</sup> Bishop, C. (2012) *ARTIFICIAL HELLS: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship*, Verso, London.

<sup>73</sup> Helguera, P. (2011). *Education for Socially Engaged Art: A Materials and Techniques Handbook*. New York: Jorge Pinto Books.

<sup>74</sup> [http://www2.rgu.ac.uk/obj/ats/ontheedge2/workinginpublicseminars/seminar1\\_theOaklandDialogue.pdf](http://www2.rgu.ac.uk/obj/ats/ontheedge2/workinginpublicseminars/seminar1_theOaklandDialogue.pdf)

<sup>75</sup> Williams, R. (1958) *Culture and Society* Pelican

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## What is community?

Raymond Williams' (1958) definition of community as something dynamic and moving from sharing what's common, to making offers, to 'growth and change' would seem a perfect starting point for anyone engaged with participatory practice. Communities have often been defined in terms of groups of people sharing a place, interest or identity. The McMillan and Chavis (1986)<sup>76</sup> definition builds on the notion of community involving the capacity to effect change. It includes four elements:

- Membership – a feeling of belonging or relatedness;
- Influence – a sense of mattering or making a difference to a group and the group mattering to its members;
- Reinforcement – integration and fulfilment of needs through membership of the group and its resources; and
- Shared emotional connection – the commitment and belief that members have shared and will share history, common places, and time together, and similar experiences.

Participatory arts projects have traditionally focused on particular 'communities', or groups of participants: a set of people Prentkl and Preston, in the *Applied Theatre Reader*, suggest might be defined as sharing 'certain common denominators, be these geographical, racial, experiential or circumstantial'<sup>77</sup>. In a context where these communities are often labelled as 'disadvantaged', 'marginalised' or 'excluded', it is difficult to avoid the relationship between artist/arts organisations and communities being seen as what White and Robson (in their piece on the *Happy Hearts Lanterns* project in Gateshead) identify as a 'deficit' rather than an 'asset' model.<sup>78</sup> In the public health field 'deficit' is understood as something 'focused on the problems and needs of communities to be addressed' rather than 'the community's capability and capacity to identify problems and activate their own solutions.'<sup>79</sup> This is a relationship Claire Bishop suggests too easily leads to 'a world of hand-wringing practitioners easily satisfied with the feeling of 'doing good' in a community'<sup>80</sup>: noting elsewhere her concern with the, 'instrumentalisation of people [...] with very particular economic or ethnic backgrounds' in order to deliver government inclusion agendas.

In the US, where Shannon Jackson explains that even the notion of 'prioritised public funding [is] laughable'<sup>81</sup>, this tension can sometimes seem 'hard to fathom', citing the UK diversion of public funding into 'the national image-making for the Olympics' as evidence of what can happen for her US audience. Jackson goes on to make it clear that many US participatory artists share an anxiety that their work with particular communities is similarly being funded to 'pick up the pieces of US educational, health and welfare systems', supposedly offering, 'therapeutic rehabilitation, temporary pride or imaginative escape in once-a-week artistic visits.'

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<sup>76</sup>Chavis, D.M., Hogge, J.H., McMillan, D.W., & Wandersman, A. (1986). Sense of community through Brunswick's lens: A first look. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 14 (1), 24-40.

<sup>77</sup>Prentkl, T. & Preston, S. (2009) *The Applied Theatre Reader*. Routledge

<sup>78</sup>White, M and Robson, M, (2011) Finding Sustainability: university-community collaborations focused on arts in health, *Gateways: International Journal of Community Research and Engagement* Vol 4 (2011): 48-64 © UTSePress and the authors

<sup>79</sup>ibid

<sup>80</sup>Bishop, C. in, Helguera, P. (2011) *Education for Socially Engaged Art*, A Materials and Techniques Handbook. New York: Jorge Pinto Books

<sup>81</sup>Jackson, S. (2011) *Social Works: Performing Art, Supporting Publics* Routledge

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## Creating Community

Helguera proposes, in his chapter on 'Community' in *Education for Socially Engaged Art*<sup>82</sup> that community is not fixed. It is rather in the creation or building of community between professional artist/s and non-professional participants that the success of a participatory project might be measured. This community, he proposes, is what Rancière would describe as 'an emancipated' community of 'narrators and translators'<sup>83</sup>. A community where, 'participants willingly engage in a dialogue from which they extract enough critical and experiential wealth to walk away feeling enriched.' In this kind of community, he argues, the artist 'cannot disappear' but recognises 'the value individuals bring to the collaboration', creating frameworks in which each puts their 'own expertise and interests to use' and is equally valued.

## For, with or by communities?

In considering how we might categorise the different ways in which we engage with the communities we work with, Prentki and Preston<sup>84</sup> (2008), propose distinguishing clearly between projects that are 'for', 'with' or 'by' our participants, identifying:

- Theatre 'for' a community: A piece created for a particular audience or community group often drawing on their experiences and stories;
- Theatre 'with' a community: A 'process-based' piece of work involving participants in a creative exploration that may or may not lead to a presentation to a wider audience; and
- Theatre 'by' a community: Where the community make and perform theatre themselves, possibly to communicate to a specific audience or relate to a specific setting.

Although speaking specifically about theatre practice, these terms would seem useful in looking at the kind of relationship we intend to have with our participants. Work undertaken 'for' the community often suggest arts organisations understand their needs better than the very people they want to engage with. Like White and Hope's 'deficit and asset' model, or Bishop's image of artists as 'hand-wringing do-gooders,' such an approach is in grave danger of creating a sense of arts institutions being seriously out of touch with anyone other than the more privileged audiences they already serve.

It is this need to shift this relationship between many arts institutions and the communities that make up their backyard, that Doug Borwick focuses on in his introduction to, *Building Communities not Audiences: the Future of the Arts in the USA* (2012). Taking a critical view of what he sees as the damaging disconnection between many arts organisations and their communities, he highlights the concept of 'outreach', a word he suggests already 'implies an unequal relationship' in which the 'outreacher' is central to what is being offered and those 'reached' are 'peripheral and in need of service.' By putting the focus on audience development, he intimates, many arts organisations are denying themselves and their community the possibility for a new kind of engagement: rooted in 'reciprocal' and 'mutually beneficial relationships'<sup>85</sup>.

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<sup>83</sup>Ranciere, J. (2009) *The Emancipated Spectator* London, Verso.

<sup>84</sup>Prentki, T. & Preston, S. (2009) *The Applied Theatre Reader*. Routledge

<sup>85</sup>Borwick, D. (2012) *Building Communities, Not Audiences: The Future of the Arts in the United States*. Arts Engaged, Winston-Salem, NC

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The pressing need for the arts to embed themselves more firmly within their communities, through participatory work and community engagement, forms the central argument of Borwick's influential book. Although clearly based in US realities, it underlines the fact that, 'deep engagement within community' is not only one of the markers of an arts organisation that is flourishing, but is also one of the few ways to develop resilience and sustainability for both communities and arts organisations in difficult times.

Communities, as Borwick concludes, 'do not exist to serve the arts: the arts exist to serve communities.'

## Radical Performance/Social Practice?

'We are in the middle of a long war - seemingly eternal - for the humanisation of the dispossessed. This long road begins with the restoration of the artistic capacity within each person.'

Augusto Boal, 1998.<sup>86</sup>

Pablo Helguera (2011) proposes socially engaged art contributes to social change, 'by attaching itself to subjects and problems that normally belong to other disciplines, moving them temporarily into a space of ambiguity'<sup>87</sup>. This possibility for theatre and performance to embrace complexity, contradiction and paradox is central to the work of theatre practitioners from Brecht to Boal. Where breaking down the fourth wall brings performance directly into the 'social sphere': presenting audiences with the possibility to develop the critical detachment that might eventually lead to direct 'social action'.

Suggesting it was the early division between spectator and performance that originally destroyed theatre's capacity for engaging with social change, Boal argues in the Preface to the (2000) edition of *Theatre of the Oppressed*, that, 'In the beginning theatre was the dithyrambic song: free people singing in the open air'. Only later, 'the ruling classes took possession... and built their dividing walls. First they divided the people, separating actors from spectators: people who act and people who watch - the party is over! Secondly, among the actors, they separated the protagonists from the mass. The coercive indoctrination began!'<sup>88</sup>

In the UK, the conscious connection between social change and the arts was originally influenced by the Romantic poets' engagement with the life of the 'common man', and later informed by the 19<sup>th</sup> century Arts and Craft movement's set of artistic principles for living and working. What Walter Crane describes as:

'A protest against the turning of men into machines against artificial distinctions in art, and against making the immediate market value or possibility of profit the chief test of artistic merit. It also advances the claim of all and each to the common possession of beauty in things common and familiar.'

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<sup>86</sup> Boal, A (1998) *Legislative Theatre: using Performance to Make Politics* Taylor and Francis

<sup>87</sup> Helguera, P. (2011) *Education for Socially Engaged Art*, A Materials and Techniques Handbook. New York: Jorge Pinto Books

<sup>88</sup> Boal, A (2000) *Theatre of the Oppressed* Pluto Classics

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The establishment of *Unity Theatre* and Joan Littlewood and Ewan McColl's *Action Theatre* programmes in the 1930s placed participative and collaborative performance firmly within broader social initiatives seeking to attain better working and living conditions for participants. And, even if Keynes's (1946) view of the Arts Council's purpose: 'an opportunity for common man to feel one with...a community finer, more gifted, more splendid...than he can be by himself'<sup>89</sup>, are more than suspect, its establishment in 1945 helped ensure access participation in art, music, theatre and literature and became one of the key 20<sup>th</sup> century signifiers of progress towards a more equal and fair society.

The 1960s cross-fertilisation of counter culture, new art forms and radical content meant performing artists, in particular, began to build new relationships with the communities in which they found themselves living. Peter Cheeseman's Victoria Theatre at Stoke-on-Trent and the community dramas of John Arden and Margaretta D'Arcy exemplify the new models for arts institutions and performance practice that began to emerge. For a short time cultural action and what was termed 'community arts' were synonymous. If, however, the community theatre movement continued to grow throughout the '70s, a division began to emerge between those companies who still saw themselves as firmly based in their local communities, such as Footsbarn and 7.84, and those whose work focused more on what Kershaw identifies as, 'communities of interest'<sup>90</sup> (women's theatre, black theatre, gay theatre).

By the end of the '80s and beginning of the '90s, despite the focus on local community engagement that took place under the GLC in London, and the community plays of people like Anne Jellico, Kershaw notes the fragmentation of radicalism and a move towards 'spectacle' and the celebratory, in which he includes the work of Welfare State International.

Much current literature on performance and participation focuses on what is increasingly termed 'Applied Theatre' and the practice of companies such as Clean-Break, Cardboard Citizens or Geese Theatre dealing with the politics of race, gender, sexuality, disability or individual social issues. In her recent work on ethics and participation, Rifkin (2010)<sup>91</sup> highlights both its radical antecedents and the current diversity of the practice:

'The practice...takes place in a wide variety of employment, political, social and community settings and practitioners come from a variety of backgrounds. Practitioners may be professional theatre performers and directors, dedicated trained facilitators, or professionals from other backgrounds e.g. social work or education.'

The impetus for much of the work Jackson (2007)<sup>92</sup> suggests as having largely shifted away from seeking a, 'radical change in the social order', to attempting a change in, 'action, behaviour or opinion, or even just attitude' generates, 'new understandings about the world for an identifiable audience (with identifiable needs, concerns or interests)', making a difference to 'their lives and the way they see the world around them.'

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<sup>89</sup> Keynes, J. M. (1946) 'Art and the State' *The Listener*

<sup>90</sup> Kershaw, B. (1992) *The Politics of Performance: Radical Theatre as Cultural Intervention*. Routledge: London & New York

<sup>91</sup> Rifkin, F. (2010) The ethics of participatory theatre in higher education. A framework for learning and teaching. HEA <http://78.158.56.101/archive/palatine/files/ethics.pdf>

<sup>92</sup> Jackson, A. (2007) *Theatre, education and the making of meanings: art or instrument?* Manchester: Manchester University Press

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## Social Practice

It is perhaps in the cross-over between the visual and performing arts, social activism and what is increasingly identified as 'social practice' that the radical tradition of mixing creativity and social protest might be said to have re-emerged. For example, the Occupy Movement's creative seizure of public space and its elision of art as well as activism has revived the idea that performance is a central part of engaging with civil society. As well as the digital element of the Arab Spring built on the public art practice of the streets of Eastern European resistance to communist regimes.

Social activists, as well as those artists wanting to tackle social issues, have found within the performing arts a method of working that is generous enough to encapsulate the aesthetic, the problematic and the political at the same time. Seizing the possibility to work in cross-disciplinary ways that, 'freely blur the lines among object making, performance, political activism, community organizing, environmentalism and investigative journalism,' artists engaged in 'social practice' are 'creating a deeply participatory art that often flourishes outside the ... system.'<sup>93</sup>

Aaron Landsman's agonistic *City Council Meeting*, subtitled, 'Performed Participatory Democracy', is one example. Creating the piece afresh for every city where it is presented, Landsman and his collaborators work with local artists, activists, government officials and other citizens to recreate a council meeting. Before the performance they spend time in each city, speaking to the community, identifying current and pressing issues for the particular community (standardised testing and the quality of public schooling in New York) and then combine verbatim text with improvisation to create a participatory experience that tackles the questions. As noted by one critic, the resulting piece was 'just as messy, awkward, tense, tedious, enraging, dramatic and complicated as American politics itself.'<sup>94</sup>

Referencing the work of companies, such as Rimini Protokoll, the Builders Association and Paul Chan's *Waiting for Godot in New Orleans* (see Case Studies section) Shannon Jackson, in '*Social Works: Performing Art, Supporting Publics*'<sup>95</sup> examines the creative blurring that is happening between 'post-studio' arts and what Lehmann named 'postdramatic theatre'.<sup>96</sup> Although not directly concerned with participatory work, Shannon is mostly critiquing the work of visual artists who have moved towards performance, she nevertheless offers an interesting analysis of what this re-positioning of 'performance' outside the theatre space might mean for practice in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

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<sup>93</sup> [http://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/24/arts/design/outside-the-citadel-social-practice-art-is-intended-to-nurture.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/24/arts/design/outside-the-citadel-social-practice-art-is-intended-to-nurture.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0)

<sup>94</sup> <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/05/09/theater/city-council-meeting-locally-tailored-from-here.html?pagewanted=all>

<sup>95</sup> Jackson, S. (2011) *Social Works: Performing Art, Supporting Publics* Routledge

<sup>96</sup> Lehmann, Hans-Thies. (2002) *Le théâtre postdramatique*. Paris: L'Arche,

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## Two: Reviewing the evidence

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### Providing the evidence

'National and local governments don't take decisions about arts funding based on evidence, however convincing it is. Instead, they act in the context of the wider economic picture, and in the light of their own prejudices, world-views, ideology and instincts.'

Three Johns and Shelagh, 2014.<sup>97</sup>

*Towards Plan A? A new Political Economy of arts and culture* (ACE/RSA) underlines what it sees as the importance of 'laying the foundations of a new political economy for the Arts in England, supported by hard-edged recommendations and deliverable interventions'.<sup>98</sup> Experience, unfortunately, would generally indicate that providing 'evidence' of the value of the arts, or a particular arts practice or field, rarely has impact on public policy. As Bill Ivey noted in his article for Arts Journal our 'case-making arguments are often delivered into an unreceptive void.'<sup>99</sup> National and local government, it would seem, seldom take decisions based on evidence but, as Three Johns and Shelagh (2014) suggest in *Towards Plan B*, a riposte to Arts Council's Plan A, they 'rather act in the context of the wider economic picture (recession, austerity, boom) and in the light of their own prejudices, world-views, ideology and instincts'<sup>100</sup>.

Bunting, in her review of the debate on public value for the Arts Council itself, largely agrees. Noting that even under New Labour's supposed emphasis on 'instrumental outcomes...there is little evidence that any prioritisation of social or economic objectives has had any substantial impact on the decisions that have been made about mainstream arts funding, or indeed on how artists and arts organisations go about their work.'<sup>101</sup> In fact, as Eleanor Belfiore<sup>102</sup> and Arts Professional magazine have recently noted, 'the recipients of the largest grants, which account for a very substantial portion of the available funding, have changed little since Keynes'.<sup>103</sup> Meaning almost one third of funding is still going to major, London-based organisations; such as the National Theatre, Royal Opera House, Royal Shakespeare Company and Sadler's Wells. Recent data collected for the Department for Culture, Media and Sport<sup>104</sup>, confirms the evidence presented in IPPR's 2006 survey, that participation in publicly subsidised art and heritage continues to be, 'dominated by the better educated and more affluent'.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> <http://www.johnshelagh.com/towards-plan-b.html>

<sup>98</sup> <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/media/uploads/pdf/RSA-Arts-Towards-Plan-A.pdf> Retrieved July 2014

<sup>99</sup> Bill Ivey, "Let's Get Real," *The Arts Journal*.com, 8 March 2005.

<sup>100</sup> <https://www.a-n.co.uk/news/towards-plan-b-a-different-approach-to-arts-funding> Retrieved July 2014.

<sup>101</sup> Bunting, C. Public value and the arts in England: Discussion and conclusions of the arts debate. Arts Council England.

<sup>102</sup> <http://www.artspromotional.co.uk/news/lottery-pretence-ends-funding-streams-merge?> 2014

<sup>103</sup> [http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/51182/1/WRAP\\_Belfiore%20Final%20CT%20accepted%20-%20Defensive%20instrumentalism.pdf](http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/51182/1/WRAP_Belfiore%20Final%20CT%20accepted%20-%20Defensive%20instrumentalism.pdf)

<sup>104</sup> Department of Culture, Media and Sport *Taking-Part\_2013-14\_Quarter-3\_Report.pdf* DCMS online <https://www.gov.uk/government/policies/supporting-vibrant-and-sustainable-arts-and-culture/activity>

<sup>105</sup> Keaney, E. (2006) *From Access to Participation: Culture, Participation and Civil Renewal*. IPPR North



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## Age of Austerity

In an ‘age of austerity’, with even greater demands on the public purse, the need to evidence the value of participation in arts and culture is seen to be even more pressing. Three central pillars of the current debate are centred on how to evidence:

- Wider social (and political) impact in terms of ‘public value’;
- the contribution the arts make to health and wellbeing agendas; and
- how to best capture ‘cultural value’

Participatory art is inevitably entangled in this wider ‘value’ debate. However, when the notion of ‘participation’ covers any form of public engagement with arts and culture; it is also left seeking ways to identify its own set of values. Speaking at ‘Because We’re Worth It’<sup>106</sup>, the ICA 2012 summit on participatory arts, Matthew Taylor, Chief Executive of the RSA, suggested there is a, ‘need to disentangle these different rationales for the value of the arts more distinctively, and then seek to strengthen the whole spectrum of instrumental arguments.’ But even his choice of the word ‘instrumental’ is loaded. While the debate between ‘intrinsic’ and ‘instrumental’ continues to play itself out in programmes such as AHRC Cultural Value Project<sup>107</sup> and the Warwick Commission<sup>108</sup> it seems important to search for language and processes that the participatory arts identify as meeting their own needs.

We have looked at current approaches to doing this in the other evidence sections.

## What are we evidencing? Context

‘Should community arts projects with a social aim be evaluated on the grounds of the same criteria of excellence and quality that inform Arts Council’s relationship with its traditional client organisations or should they rather be assessed merely on the grounds of their positive effect on the participants, with little concern for their artistic merit?’

Eleanor Belfiore, (2004).<sup>109</sup>

The debate around measuring the value of the arts, has always largely taken place at a policy level. While individual artists, arts organisations and project managers have sought to find ways to best evaluate their programmes in order to maximize their own learning, the agenda around what they should be evaluating has usually been set elsewhere. As recipients of public funding, the arts have over the last thirty years, been increasingly expected to deliver on particular government objectives in the same way other public services are required to do.

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<sup>106</sup> <http://www.theguardian.com/culture-professionals-network/culture-professionals-blog/2012/apr/05/participatory-arts-worth>

<sup>107</sup> <http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/Funded-Research/Funded-themes-and-programmes/Cultural-Value-Project/Pages/default.aspx>

<sup>108</sup> <http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/research/warwickcommission/futureculture/>

<sup>109</sup> Belfiore, E. (2004) “Auditing culture: the subsidised cultural sector in the New Public Management.” *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, Vol.10 (No.2). pp. 183- 202

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## Apples and oranges?

The original impetus to do so might be seen in a desire to demonstrate arts and culture's major contribution to wider economic development. The Policy Studies Institute's (1983) *Facts about the Arts*<sup>110</sup> mapped out the territory, (summarising statistics on everything from finance and employment to VAT and bestselling books) while John Myerscough's (1988) research into the 'Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain'<sup>111</sup> furthered the argument. Here was a way, it seemed, for the arts to finally demonstrate they had real 'public value' in terms of their contribution to the economy, or GDP (Gross Domestic Product). An argument Madden, in his (1998) *Discussion Paper: the 'economic' benefits of art*<sup>112</sup>, sadly suggests is economically weak and largely flawed. 'If a government is interested solely in wealth and jobs' he notes, 'then the arts are a bad investment.' Even in relative terms, he suggests, 'the financial arguments are weak: the popular practice of comparing the financial size of the arts with other industries (such as fishing, forestry or communications) is essentially comparing apples with oranges.' What this kind of measurement does not even start to capture, he remarks, is the relationship to people and communities and the 'personal well-being' generated by the sector.

## Cultural Industries

The concept of the 'Cultural Industries' (with none of the benefits belonging to industries such as contracts, agreed working conditions and unionisation) did, however, become the byword for value throughout the '90s. The arts advocated for the legitimacy of their funding through evidencing evidenced the contribution they were making to employment, GDP and export agendas, as well as innovation and creativity: £60 billion in revenue, exports of £7.5 billion every year as well as creating over 1.4 million jobs according to 1998 DCMS figures. Although the terminology has largely shifted to speaking about the 'Creative Industries' and the 'Creative Economy', the Department of Media, Culture and Sport (DCMS) and others such as NESTA are still employing a similar economic argument,<sup>113</sup> even if the definition has now expanded to include digital media, computer programming and advertising agencies. However, a means of measuring for the performing arts through Gross Added Value is not applicable. Although they do figure better in terms of employment (including people who are on zero hour contracts or used as cheap or volunteer labour): which could be a useful indicator of why the economic argument might be a misplaced one.

## Access, Inclusion and Participation

As the '90s went on, however, even the newly created Department of National Heritage (DNH) began to recognise that actual engagement with the arts remained the prerogative of a small elite<sup>114</sup> and made a policy shift towards asking arts and cultural institutions to evidence how they were 'widening access'. 'The investment of taxpayers' money,' DNH suggested, bringing with it 'a responsibility to ensure that those who pay have the opportunity to benefit'. In 1997, with the

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<sup>110</sup> Nissel, M. (1983) *Facts about the Arts*. PSI Report 165. Policy Studies Unit. London

<sup>111</sup> Myerscough, J. (1988) *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Great Britain*, Policy Studies Institute, London,

<sup>112</sup> Madden, C. (1998) *Discussion Paper: the 'economic' benefits of art*

<http://christophermadden.files.wordpress.com/2009/02/economicbenefitsofthearts2.pdf> Retrieved July 2014

<sup>113</sup>

[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/271008/Creative\\_Industries\\_Economic\\_Estimates\\_-\\_January\\_2014.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/271008/Creative_Industries_Economic_Estimates_-_January_2014.pdf)

<sup>114</sup> DNH (1994) *Annual Report 1994*. London: HMSO, p4-5

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election of a New Labour government, this focus expanded to embrace the contribution the arts could make to wider social agendas, particularly in terms of tackling social exclusion.

For those working in participatory and community arts there was a short lived delight that policy makers had finally recognised what we felt the work was about: making a difference to the lives of people and communities. Although there was a certain amount of unease around finding ourselves seemingly ‘delivering government policy’, the publication of Comedia’s (1993) *The Social Impact of the Arts*<sup>115</sup>, followed by Matarasso’s (1997) *Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of Participation in the Arts*<sup>116</sup> seemed to place participatory work and its concerns at the centre of the agenda. Arts Council language echoed government rhetoric: the move from ‘access to participation’ becoming not only central to ‘cultural policy’ but the cornerstone of ‘civic renewal’.<sup>117</sup>

Thomas Putnam’s seminal piece on social capital, *Bowling Alone*<sup>118</sup> highlighted the link between participation in cultural activity and civic engagement, especially for those groups who were more disadvantaged or marginalised. Keaney’s IPPR research demonstrated this was borne out across Europe; countries where there was greater participation in arts and culture, such as Denmark and Norway, also showing greater trust in society and its institutions. What Putnam and colleagues went on to critique in the later, ‘*Better Together*’ was the difference between creating social capital through ‘bonding’ (bringing people of the same social class, ethnicity, and gender together) and through ‘bridging’ (bringing people from different backgrounds together). Most major arts institutions, they suggested, continued to do ‘far more bonding than bridging’, reinforcing rather than combatting ‘entrenched patterns of exclusion’.

### **Intrinsic Value**

A perceived lack of ‘robust evidence’ (Selwood<sup>119</sup>), academic criticism of Matarasso’s methodologies, (Merli, Belfiore<sup>120</sup>) on one side and interventions at a political level by such as John Tusa<sup>121</sup>, and Tessa Jowell in favour of ‘art for arts sake’<sup>122</sup>, set the pendulum swinging in the other direction. The value of the arts, it was suggested lay not in its capacity to bring about ‘instrumental’ outcomes (which it was claimed had only provided qualitative, anecdotal evidence of their worth) but in its ‘intrinsic’ value. Or what Holden<sup>123</sup> later identifies as, ‘the capacity of culture to affect us’.

Unfortunately, this ‘intrinsic’ value was largely seen as something irreducible and immeasurable although somehow connected with highly subjective views of ‘quality’ and ‘excellence’<sup>124</sup>. A

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<sup>115</sup> Landry, C, Bianchini, F, Maguire, M and Worpole, K, *The Social Impact of the Arts A Discussion Document*, Comedia, Stroud, 1993

<sup>116</sup> Matarasso, F. (1997) *Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of Participation in the Arts*. London: Comedia [http://mediation.danse.ch/fileadmin/dokumente/Vermittlung\\_ressources/Matarasso\\_Use\\_or\\_Ornament.pdf](http://mediation.danse.ch/fileadmin/dokumente/Vermittlung_ressources/Matarasso_Use_or_Ornament.pdf)

<sup>117</sup> Keaney, E. (2006) *From Access to Participation: Culture, Participation and Civil Renewal*. IPPR North

<sup>118</sup> Putnam, R. (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster

<sup>119</sup> Selwood, S. (2002) ‘Measuring Culture’ Available from <http://www.spiked-online.com/articles/00000006DBAF.htm>

<sup>120</sup> Merli, P. (2000) *Evaluating the social impact of participation in arts activities: A critical review of François Matarasso's Use or Ornament?*

<sup>121</sup> Tusa, J. (2007) *Engaged with the arts: Writings from the Frontline*. I. B Tauris

<sup>122</sup> T Jowell, (2004) *Government and the Value of Culture*. London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport.

<sup>123</sup> Holden, John. *Capturing Cultural Value – How Culture has become a Tool of Government Policy*. London: Demos 2004. <http://demos.co.uk/files/CapturingCulturalValue.pdf>

<sup>124</sup> McMaster, B. (2008) *McMaster report: Supporting Excellence in the Arts* London: DCMS

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situation Brown and Novak<sup>125</sup> suggest allowed for a separation between ‘art’ (of value in itself) and the need to measure impact: Artistic decisions being left in, ‘the provenance of highly skilled curators and artistic directors who prize their artistic autonomy’, and who see little reason for concerning themselves with something as compromised as impact assessment. In other words, it was usually left to the education or learning departments of major institutions to justify their spending in terms of instrumental outcomes.

In the US context, the Rand Corporation's 2004 study *Gifts of the Muse*,<sup>126</sup> attempted to draw a line in the sand by suggesting one is inevitably part of the other. And, more importantly perhaps, that most participants are rarely concerned with societal impact. ‘What draws people ... is not the hope that the experience will make them smarter or more self-disciplined. Instead it is the expectation that encountering a work of art can be a rewarding experience, one that offers them pleasure and emotional stimulation and meaning’. It was a proposition most artists and arts organisations, feeling constantly compromised by attempting to justify their activities solely in terms of government policy, welcomed. Bunting, in the recent Arts Council review, *Public Value and the Arts*, bears out this lack of division in the minds of the public: ‘It may have been expected that a debate about the value of the arts would be dominated by arguments for and against funding the arts ‘for art’s sake’ and funding the arts in order to deliver some tangible social and economic outcomes. ... in reality these simplistic divides are not recognised by, or relevant to, the majority of people.’<sup>127</sup>

John Holden’s (2004) paper for Demos, *Capturing Cultural Value: How Culture has become a tool of government policy*, however, introduced the notion of ‘cultural value’ as a means of evidencing intrinsic value to the debate. We have engaged with the on-going discussion around ‘cultural value’ in a separate section.

## What are we evidencing? Cultural Value

‘What is a cynic? A man who knows the price of everything and the value of nothing.’

Oscar Wilde, 1892.<sup>128</sup>

Having offered a critique of what he felt were increasingly tortuous ways of demonstrating benefit in the arts, and the use of increasingly ‘complicated and contested assessments of causation’, in *Cultural value and the crisis of legitimacy: Why culture needs a democratic mandate*<sup>129</sup>, Holden (2006) proposed a value triangle that demonstrates the inter-connectedness between the intrinsic, the instrumental and the institutional.

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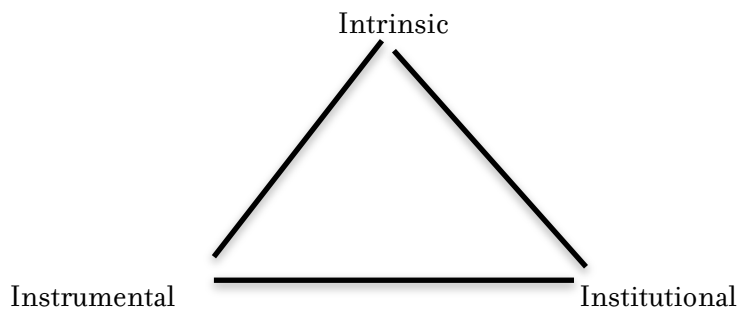
<sup>125</sup> Brown, A. and Novak, J. (2007) *Assessing the intrinsic impact of live performance* Available from <http://wolfbrown.com/images/books/ImpactStudyFinalVersionFullReport.pdf> Retrieved 25/9/2010

<sup>126</sup> Kevin F. McCarthy, Elizabeth H. Ondaatje, Laura Zakaras & Arthur Brooks, *Gifts of the Muse – Reframing the Debate About the Benefits of the Arts, RAND 2004*

<sup>127</sup> Bunting, C. *Public value and the arts in England: Discussion and conclusions of the arts debate*, Arts Council England, November 2007, p7

<sup>128</sup> Wilde, O. (1892) *Lady Windermere’s Fan*

<sup>129</sup> Holden, J. (2006) *Cultural Value and the Crisis of Legitimacy* Demos



Value, Holden suggests, finally being ‘located in the encounter between individuals (who have all sorts of pre-existing attitudes, beliefs and levels of knowledge) on one the hand and an object or experience on the other’.

As a definition of where value might lie in terms of participatory practice it provides an excellent starting point. Unfortunately, however, except in suggesting it as framework ‘for helping people and organisations to understand themselves, articulate their purpose and make decisions’ it provides nothing in the way of concrete approaches to measuring this value.

### **Cultural Economics**

The arrival of the ‘age of austerity’ and major cuts in public funding meant the arts once more needed to be able to prove their ‘public value’ in new ways. Policy makers began to re-visit notions of cultural economics, (the application of economic analysis to the creative and performing arts, the heritage and cultural industries) as a possible method. Throsby, in his influential (2001) publication, *Economics and Culture*, is one of the first to suggest ‘economic value’ and ‘cultural value’ might be regarded as ‘distinct entities’. Indicating willingness to pay (asking people how much they would be prepared to pay to maintain the existence of something like the arts) and other more traditional economic indicators might be less than adequate in terms of measuring ‘cultural value’. Throsby indicates we might also need to take account of:

- Aesthetic value – in terms of beauty, harmony and form,
- Spiritual value – in both a religious and/or secular context,
- Social value – in terms of identity and place as well as connection to others,
- Historical value – in providing a continuity with the past,
- Symbolic value – as a repository or conveyor of meaning, and
- Authenticity value – in being original and unique

He also suggests culture may have economic value for those who do not experience it directly. The focus of his argument however being almost entirely based on the value of ‘goods’ rather than experiences. In his later (2010) publication *The Economics of Cultural Policy* he notes the distinction between the ‘economic’ and the ‘cultural’, might ‘create a dilemma for the process of valuation’, suggesting, however, this should not deter, ‘the cultural policy analyst from the task of assessing value as fully and accurately as possible’. Like Holden, while offering some sense of the ways in which cultural objects might be valued in terms of what he calls ‘cultural capital’, he offers little in the way of proposing how cultural engagement or participatory experiences might be measured.

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Bakhshi, Freeman and Hitchen in their 2009 paper, *Measuring Intrinsic Value: How to stop worrying and love economics*,<sup>130</sup> suggest the arts might be in danger of backing themselves into a ‘needless’ corner, especially by continuing to insist on the immeasurable nature of ‘intrinsic’ value. Rather than spending energy on resisting the instrumental, they propose the arts learn to embrace ‘cultural economics’ and strengthen the case for public investment by revisiting the economic rationale.<sup>131</sup> In particular, they propose ‘Contingent Value’ and ‘Willingness to Pay’, although the latter is rejected by Throsby as a means of establishing ‘the public’s own estimate of the intrinsic value of art’. Surveys in Australia in the 1980s, it seems, having pleasantly surprised researchers in demonstrating that even those who didn’t participate in arts and culture still placed real value on its existence.

### The Green Book

This need to further engage with the economic argument is developed by O’ Brien in his, *Measuring the Value of Culture*<sup>132</sup> report for the Department for Media, Culture and Sport (DCMS). Here he makes the case for arts and culture coming directly under the direct guidance of the Treasury’s ‘Green Book’<sup>133</sup>. Whilst acknowledging the importance<sup>134</sup> of providing narrative accounts of ‘intrinsic’ or ‘cultural value’, he suggests these offer; ‘little in the way of commensurable data for a cost-benefit analysis’. Insistent that clear economic arguments are needed, he underlines the necessity for the arts to start to make the ‘business case’. Whilst he acknowledges the drawbacks of many existing techniques to do this satisfactorily he nevertheless suggests it is incumbent on DCMS to provide clarity on what it wants ‘the cultural sector to measure and how it wants this measurement carried out’. And for the arts to fall in line and learn to meet Treasury demands.

BOP’s, Arts Council commissioned, report, *Measuring the economic benefits of art and culture*<sup>135</sup>, offers a practical approach to tackling these economic imperatives. A mixture of case studies and analysis, it introduces the additional economic concept of SROI (Social Return on Investment); ‘a type of ‘social accounting’ which includes non-economic costs and benefits alongside the monetary. Offering a means to create ‘an impact map’ that includes negative as well as positive outcomes, SROI, focuses on involving all stakeholders in defining value and impact. BOP argues this makes it ‘non-comparable in measuring value’: especially when linked to the recent nef (Markers) guide for the Cabinet Office.<sup>136</sup> At the same time, the challenges in providing, ‘a suitable financial proxy’ for things such as ‘raised self-esteem’ or ‘improved personal relationships’ are acknowledged.

Bakhshi’s more recent blog for NESTA<sup>137</sup>, intriguingly offers 5 principles for measuring cultural value, suggesting, having moved ‘from the City’, as he has, he finds ‘we both over-complicate and

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<sup>130</sup> Bakhshi, H., Freeman, A., & Hitchen, G. (2009). *Measuring intrinsic value – how to stop worrying and love economics*. [http://mpira.ub.uni-muenchen.de/14902/1/MPRA\\_paper\\_14902.pdf](http://mpira.ub.uni-muenchen.de/14902/1/MPRA_paper_14902.pdf). Retrieved July 2014.

<sup>131</sup> <http://www.nesta.org.uk/blog/five-principles-measuring-value-culture-0>

<sup>132</sup> <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/measuring-the-value-of-culture-a-report-to-the-department-for-culture-media-and-sport>

<sup>133</sup> HMT (2003) *The Green Book: Appraisal and evaluation in central government* London: HMT

<sup>134</sup> Rumbold, K. (2010) ‘From “access” to “creativity”’: Shakespeare institutions, new media and the language of cultural value’ *Shakespeare Quarterly* 61(3)

<sup>135</sup> [http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/media/uploads/pdf/Final\\_economic\\_benefits\\_of\\_arts.pdf](http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/media/uploads/pdf/Final_economic_benefits_of_arts.pdf) Retrieved July 2014

<sup>136</sup> nef Guide to Social Return on Investment, The SROI Network, 2012

<sup>137</sup> <http://www.nesta.org.uk/blog/five-principles-measuring-value-culture-0>

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over-simplify the issues in culture'. Principle 1, he suggests, being: 'We must get more comfortable working with economists.'

### **Economic, social and cultural value**

Dutch economist, Arjo Klammer, brings a refreshingly pragmatic perspective to the table, especially for those working in participation<sup>138</sup>. Differentiating between economic value, social and cultural value he proposes:

- Economic value is about the pricing of goods at the point of exchange i.e. what people are prepared to pay for them.
- Social value is about being a member of a group, identity, social distinction, freedom, solidarity, trust, tolerance, responsibility, love and friendship.
- Cultural value evokes qualities beyond these e.g. the aesthetic, the spiritual, the historical and the symbolic.

For Klammer 'the cultural economic perspective compels us to distinguish social and cultural values from economic values.' Using the rebuilding of the Mostar Bridge after the war in Bosnia as a model, he suggests the cultural and social outcomes of bringing both Muslim and Bosnian communities together to carry out the task far outweigh any economic considerations. (What he doesn't mention, except in a footnote is the additional symbolic value of the bridge since 1566 and its place in the cultural narratives of both communities). 'A cultural policy', Klammer concludes, 'that is geared solely to the market or government' therefore, 'fails to see the point'. Although he acknowledges this is hardly a 'practical message' for policy makers.

In describing the aims of the AHRC Cultural Value Project, Belfiore<sup>139</sup> suggests cultural value is 'inherently a political process and one in which power relations play an important role'. Citing Richard Hoggart's conclusion in *The Way we Live Now*<sup>140</sup> (1996) this means when there will never be enough money, that, 'Choices will always have to be made, judgments-between'. She wonders whether the concept of cultural value might yet 'be harnessed as part of an emancipatory intellectual, cultural and political project aimed at achieving greater social justice'.

If we seriously want to find ways to begin to articulate wider social and cultural outcomes, participatory arts practice would seem well placed to make an important contribution to this understanding.

### **Health and Wellbeing**

'Art is not, as the metaphysicians say, the manifestation of some mysterious idea of beauty or God but a means of union among men, joining them together in the same feelings, and indispensable for the life and progress toward well-being of individuals and of humanity.'

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<sup>138</sup> <http://www.klammer.nl/index.php/subjects/art-culture/179-social-cultural-and-economic-values-of-cultural-goods-formerly-titled-cultural-goods-are-good-for-more-than-their-economic-value-cultural-economics-japanese-association-for-cultural-economics-3-3-17> Retrieved July 2014

<sup>139</sup> <http://culturalvalueinitiative.org/2014/08/07/politics-cultural-value-towards-emancipatory-framework-eleonora-belfiore/>

<sup>140</sup> Hoggart, R. (1996) *The Way We Live Now* Pimlico

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Tolstoy: What is Art? 1897.

### How to evidence?

One of the complications of sifting the evidence for the value of the arts in health and wellbeing lies in the current tensions between evaluation, advocacy and academic research. Paul Devlin's, often cited, (2010) report for Voluntary Arts England, '*Restoring the Balance: the effect of arts participation on well-being and health*',<sup>141</sup> for example, uses a mix of qualitative interviews with experts and a series of case studies. With not one reference to the Treasury Green Book in sight, Devlin confidently concludes everyone should have the opportunity to engage with arts and culture because it:

- is a fundamental aspect of human expression;
- plays a valuable role in developing culture, identity and community; and
- produces personal, social – and on occasions, economic benefits – for participants, their families and the communities in which they live and work.

The Arts Council's '*Be Creative: Be Well*'<sup>142</sup> evaluation of its partnership with the Well London Alliance, similarly relies on an effecting series of case studies to demonstrate the impact of the projects on participating communities and individuals. Yet, when control groups were brought into the equation, in a report for the whole programme, '*The Well-London Evaluation Phase 1*' (2011)<sup>143</sup>, it was clear that, 'while individual project evaluations [evidence] significant benefits to participants' it was 'more difficult to establish impact at a population level'.

And, while a fascinating piece of research looking at older adults in care contexts, funded by the Pfizer Foundation, '*Art Impact: Arts for Well-being in Derbyshire*' (2014)<sup>144</sup>, draws much of its evidence from the reflective diaries of artists and carers, at the other end of the spectrum, Fujiwara's recent research for DCMS suggests data based on the *Wellbeing Valuation Approach*<sup>145</sup> as the only way forward. The case for arts and sport best being expressed in the following equation:

#### Arts and sports model

$$LS_i = \alpha + \beta_1 M_i + \beta_2 Q_i + \beta_3 X_{1i} + \varepsilon_i$$

### Is it participation?

A further challenge, especially for those engaged in participatory practice, is the conflation of participation as an audience activity and participation as co-creation. Especially where one is often used to evidence the other: much of the literature using the word 'participation' is to cover 'attendance at' rather than 'creative engagement with'.

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<sup>141</sup> Devlin, P. (2009) *Restoring the Balance: the effect of arts participation on well-being and health* Voluntary Arts Network

<sup>142</sup> Ings, R. Crane, N. Cameron, M. (2010) *Be Creative: Be Well*. Arts Council England

<sup>143</sup> *The Well-London Evaluation Phase 1* (2011) University of East London. <http://www.welllondon.org.uk/1145/research-and-evaluation.html>

<sup>144</sup> [https://www.artsderbyshire.org.uk/projects/arts\\_and\\_health/arts\\_impact/default.asp](https://www.artsderbyshire.org.uk/projects/arts_and_health/arts_impact/default.asp)

<sup>145</sup> Fujiwara, D. Kudrna, L. Dolan, P. (2014) *Quantifying and Valuing the Well-being Impacts of Culture and Sport*. DCMS



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A recent version of the ‘*Canadian Literature Review of the Value and Benefits of Performing Arts Presentation*’ (2011-13)<sup>146</sup>, for example, uses the work of Gene Cohen (2006) on participation in chorale activity, *The Creativity and Aging Study*, in the context of claiming positive outcomes for engagement with the performing arts in a more general sense: ‘there is now strong evidence of links between performing arts attendance and several health indicators such as self-reported health, stress, mental health and longevity. The more frequently people attend performing arts and other receptive arts; the more likely they are to report good health’.

Research undertaken as part of a large Norwegian Health study published in 2011<sup>147</sup>, is also often being used in making the case for participation (including by recent Arts Council Reviews) when the actual focus of the research is the effect of *attending* concerts, theatre or film. Interestingly what it does seemingly show is those who regularly attended performing arts events are, ‘significantly healthier, have lower anxiety and are less susceptible to depression’, especially men. Much research around actual participation indicates that women are the ones most likely to benefit and engage with the arts in terms of health and wellbeing.

### **Elders and wellbeing**

A good deal of the literature, including the above studies, also centers round particular issues, such as dementia, and, in particular, on the effect of the arts on the developed world’s ageing population. 10.8 million people in the UK, for example are currently over 65 years old<sup>148</sup>. In 20 years time that figure is expected to have grown to 15 million from a population of 70 million. As Arts Council England underlines in its report on *Adult Participatory Arts*,<sup>149</sup> ‘at a macroscopic level, we are all part of this changing demographic’, which makes research into this field feel even more pressing.

*Ageing Artfully: Older People and Professional Participatory Arts*<sup>150</sup> (Cutler 2009), a study of 120 arts organisations working with the elderly, attempted to provide a comprehensive guide to UK practice, while importantly noting the lack of public policy and adequate research in the field. The Mental Health Foundation’s *Evidence Review* (2011)<sup>151</sup> for the Baring Foundation, two years later, includes 31 case studies of particular interventions (2,040 participants aged 60 to 96) but also draws on culturally transferable documentation from the US, Canada, New Zealand and Europe as well as UK resources, covering music and singing, drama, dance and storytelling in terms of performing arts.

Very much a response to ‘*Ageing Artfully*’ it also draws on the work of Cohen et al’s (2006) study for the US National Endowment of the Arts: ‘*The Impact of Professionally Conducted Cultural Programs on the Physical Health, Mental Health and Social Functioning of Older Adults*.’<sup>152</sup> One of the few studies

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<sup>146</sup> Petri, I, *The Value of Presenting: A Study of Performing Arts Presentation in Canada* (2011-2013) <http://www.diffusionartspresenting.ca/> accessed Nov 2013

<sup>147</sup> “Patterns of receptive and creative cultural activities and their association with perceived health, anxiety, depression and satisfaction with life among adults: the HUNT study, Norway.” Koenraad Cuypers, Steinar Krokstad, Turid Lingaas Holmen, Margunn Skjei Knudtsen, Lars Olov Bygren, and Jostein Holmen. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 2011, DOI: 10.1136/jech.2010.113571

<sup>148</sup> Mid-2012 Population Estimates UK Office for National Statistics, 2013

<sup>149</sup> <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/advice-and-guidance/browse-advice-and-guidance/adult-participatory-arts>

<sup>150</sup> Cutler, D. (2009) *Ageing Artfully: Older People and Professional Participatory Arts in the UK*.

<http://www.baringfoundation.org.uk/AgeingArtfully.pdf>

<sup>151</sup> Mental Health Foundation (2011) Mental Health Foundation, *An Evidence Review of the Impact of Participatory Arts on Older People*. The Baring Foundation 2011

<sup>152</sup> *The Gerontologist*, Vol. 46, no 6. 726-734.

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working with a control group, who had no access to the arts, Cohen indicates there is clear evidence those ‘taking part in arts activities’ benefit from:

- Overall better health,
- Fewer doctor or hospital visits,
- Less medication use and
- Increased activities, better morale and more social engagement.
- In particular mentioning the ‘possible saving to the public purse’ that reduced medication might bring about: an estimated saving of \$6.3 billion per year being given.’<sup>153</sup>

### **Need for further studies?**

Concerning itself largely with research literature, the Baring Foundation’s Evidence Review notes that ‘Participatory art is a new and emerging research field, with little available high quality research to draw evidence from.’ While the authors suggest this makes ‘drawing conclusions from the cumulative effect of a number of studies, or comparing the impacts of one art form against another difficult’ and underlining the need for ‘larger samples and longitudinal impact studies’ to strengthen the case, they do also make a fairly confident argument for, ‘the beneficial impact of participatory art in terms of mental and physical wellbeing ... at the individual, community and societal levels.’ Carefully choosing words such as ‘perceived’, ‘appears’, ‘maybe’ and ‘can help to’, they divide these ‘potential’ outcomes into:

- those that impact at an individual level in terms of both mental and physical health, e.g. increased confidence, self-esteem, feelings of accomplishment and increased mobility;
- those that effect community e.g. providing opportunities for meaningful social contact and the possibility for altruism or giving something back; and
- those that effect society e.g. challenging both the self and external stigmas of being older.

More recent work undertaken for the Scottish Government, *Healthy Attendance*,<sup>154</sup> the Arts Council of Wales<sup>155</sup> and the results from the DCMS’ Culture and Sport Evidence Programme<sup>156</sup>, seem to bear these claims out in terms of the wider population: concluding there is, ‘consistent evidence that people who participate in culture and sport or attend cultural places or events are more likely to report that their health is good’ and are ‘more satisfied with their lives’ than those do not participate. Even when controlling for factors such as economic status, age, deprivation or general health, these findings are borne out:

- Of those who had attended a cultural place or event in the previous 12 months were almost 60 % more likely to report good health than those who had not. Those who visited the theatre being 25% more likely to report good health than those who hadn’t.

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<sup>153</sup> Cutler, D. (2009) *Ageing Artfully: Older People and Professional Participatory Arts in the UK*. <http://www.baringfoundation.org.uk/AgeingArtfully.pdf>

<sup>154</sup> The Scottish Government *Healthy Attendance: The Impact of Cultural Engagement and Sports Participation on Health and Satisfaction with life in Scotland 2013*, online: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2013/08/9956/downloads#res430649>

<sup>155</sup> The Arts Council of Wales. *Arts and Public Engagement: Patterns, Processes and Levers for Change*. The Arts Council Wales 2009

<sup>156</sup> Department of Culture, Media and Sport CASE, *The Culture and Sport Evidence Programme CASE Evidence data online*: <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistical-data-sets/regional-and-local-insights-data>

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- Of those who had participated in a cultural event were 38% more likely to report good health compared to those who did not. A figure that rises to 62% for those who participated in dance.

### **Dance and participation**

Some of the work on dance does, usefully, focus more clearly on the effects of people and communities in actually getting involved with making work. Trinity Laban's literature review on the impact of dance on health and wellbeing in older people, (2011) *'Dancing towards wellbeing in the Third Age'* making an important, and very useful, differentiation between dance therapy (which focuses on individual interpretation and outcomes) and dance which takes place in groups and involves using some kind of dance steps. Like the BUPA (2011) *'Keep Dancing'* report, it highlights the relationship between dance and exercise in terms of its physical health and wellbeing benefits but also identifies the psychological benefits that can come from being part of a group social activity. The role of performance in offering visibility and strengthening a sense of identity is also noted in the BUPA report, The Company of Elders being offered as a particularly effective model of engaging elders in high quality public sharing of work.

### **Markers of wellbeing**

The New Economic Foundation's (2008) *'Five Ways to Wellbeing: The Evidence'*<sup>157</sup>, a review of the work of over 400 scientists working on different aspects of health and wellbeing, is not directly focused on the arts. While not ignoring the fact that decent living standards remain a prerequisite for 'a flourishing life'<sup>158</sup> or imagining increasing poverty and deprivation and inequality in our society can somehow be cancelled out by encouraging people to 'feel better', what it does demonstrate is, beyond achieving relative economic security and a more equal society, our sense of wellbeing is largely based on the strength of our community engagement and our social relationships.

The five key markers of wellbeing identified by this research are increasingly being used as guidelines for measuring the impact of participation:

- Connect – with others,
- Be Active,
- Keep Learning,
- Take Notice,
- Give.

Ings et al, for example, using these measures as a thread running through the, *'Be Creative Be Well'* report referred to the above, state with confidence: 'we recognised that these five actions correspond closely to behaviours than can emerge in well- designed participatory arts projects.'<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Thompson, S. Aked, J. Marks, N. Cordon, C. (2008) *Five Ways to Wellbeing: The Evidence* nef

<sup>158</sup> <http://www.neweconomics.org/blog/entry/well-being-is-about-more-than-lollipops-and-birdsong>

<sup>159</sup> Tepper, Steven J, with contributions from Blake Sisk, Ryan Johnson, Leah Vanderwerp, Genevieve Gale and Min Gao. 2014. *Artful Living: Examining the relationship between artistic practice and subjective wellbeing across three national surveys*. The Curb Center Vanderbilt University. [http://d31hzlkhk6di2h5.cloudfront.net/20140409/6a/a2/45/b3/10e00761760189048ab167b1/NEA\\_Final\\_Report\\_Wellbeing\\_3.6.14.pdf](http://d31hzlkhk6di2h5.cloudfront.net/20140409/6a/a2/45/b3/10e00761760189048ab167b1/NEA_Final_Report_Wellbeing_3.6.14.pdf)

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## The correlation between art making and wellbeing

- Steven Tepper's (2014) *'Artful Living'*, for the US Curb Centre, draws on three national surveys on health and subjective wellbeing to examine the correlation between being engaged directly with arts practice and wellbeing. Suggesting that alongside creating 'flow'<sup>160</sup> (as state psychologists claim as being central to efficacy and wellbeing) and making of meaning, artistic practice is also connected to self-expression, self-control, self-esteem, confidence, and resilience. His conclusions include:
- Intensity and frequency of participation matter;
- historically disadvantaged social groups (non-whites and women) benefit more than others; and
- not all forms of artistic practice are equally related to wellbeing. 'While making fine arts and crafts are consistently related to wellbeing, music is related to wellbeing for some groups and not others, but participating in theater seems unrelated to wellbeing in our data.'

Matarasso's (2012) series of interviews for the Baring Foundation, *'Winter Fires'* would suggest this sense of what he calls 'agency' continues into later life for those engaged with their own arts practice. Yet, in referencing a (2008) piece of Canadian research on, the, *'Impact of arts-related activities on the perceived quality of life'*<sup>161</sup>, Tepper notes that whilst the authors had 'excellent measures of well-being' the size of the sample mitigated against robust proof of the relationship in terms of the wider population.

Capturing the complexity of the relationship between arts and wellbeing, and the creative processes involved, seems to need new ways of linking qualitative approaches that keep artists and participants engaged at the centre of the conversation with the robust data analysis increasingly needed to justify public spending. As Tepper remarks in his final paragraph, 'This exploratory study provides strong support that engaging in an artistic and creative practice on a regular basis might indeed be one important pathway to a higher quality of life. Policymakers and scholars would be remiss not to work arduously to clear the brush from this pathway and reveal a future role for the arts in public life.'

## Who takes part? Some Statistics

'Participation data ... reveals a negative correlation between the art forms preferred by audiences and those on which public investment is concentrated'

The Warwick Commission Executive Summary, 2012.<sup>162</sup>

The current data and statistics on cultural funding and attendance and participation are (as the recent report from the Warwick Commission<sup>163</sup> on Cultural Value notes) highly fragmented. For those working in participatory contexts the research that is available makes challenging reading.

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<sup>160</sup> see Csikszentmihalyi, M. 1997. *Flow and the psychology of discovery and invention*. HarperPerennial, New York.

<sup>161</sup> Michalos, Alex C. and P. Maurine Kahlke. 2008. "Impact of arts-related activities on the perceived quality of life." *Social Indicators Research*, 89: 193-258.

<sup>162</sup> <http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/research/warwickcommission/futureculture/>

<sup>163</sup> Belfiore E, Holdaway D, (2013) *The Warwick Commission. The Future of Cultural Value*, University of Warwick

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Evidence from the Arts Council of Wales<sup>164</sup>, Scotland<sup>165</sup> and the DCMS<sup>166</sup> all make clear access to, and participation in, publicly funded arts and culture persistently dependent on level of education, income, social class and disability. Cultural consumption largely remains the privilege of those from higher socio-economic and educational classes.

We have included some of these statistics below to indicate the divide that still exists between those who access arts and culture regularly and those who are excluded. And to note the even greater gaps between those who access or take part in what might still be termed as elite art forms of art (opera, ballet, classical music) and those who don't. As Bunting et al indicate in one of their on-going pieces of analysis of DCMS on-going Taking Part research, 'There are still some activities – for instance contemporary dance, opera, ballet and jazz – that those in the lowest attendee groups are extremely unlikely to attend ... We must therefore conclude that those who interact regularly with the outputs of public funding for the arts are a small minority.'<sup>167</sup> Or, as the Warwick Commission points out in its executive summary, 'Participation data ... reveals a negative correlation between the art forms preferred by audiences and those on which public investment is concentrated'.

### Attendance

- 79.8% of the UK population engages with one arts and/or cultural event per annum
- 60% attend 3 or more events
- 27% attend a live piece of theatre (including musicals and pantomime)
- 14% attend a dance event
- 7% attend a classical concert
- Opera and ballet have the smallest reach at less than 4%
- In terms of background social and economic background:
- Those with a degree or equivalent professional qualification are twice as likely to attend opera, ballet, classical concerts, theatre and dance as those with few qualifications;
- Those who are most deprived are over 25% less likely to attend opera, ballet, classical concerts, theatre and dance than the least deprived; and

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<sup>164</sup> The Arts Council of Wales. *Arts and Public Engagement: Patterns, Processes and Levers for Change*. The Arts Council Wales 2009

The Arts Council of Wales. *Arts in Wales 2005. Attendance, Participation and Attitudes. Report of Survey of Findings*. Arts Council Wales. 2005.

<sup>165</sup> The Scottish Government *Healthy Attendance: The Impact of Cultural Engagement and Sports Participation on Health and Satisfaction with life in Scotland* 2013, online: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2013/08/9956/downloads#res430649>  
The Scottish Government *Scottish Household Survey Culture and Sport 2011* online:

<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2012/08/5277>

<sup>166</sup> Department of Culture, Media and Sport *Taking-Part\_2013-14\_Quarter-3\_Report.pdf* DCMS online  
<https://www.gov.uk/government/policies/supporting-vibrant-and-sustainable-arts-and-culture/activity>

Department of Culture, Media and Sport *Taking-Part\_2012-13\_Quarter-1\_Report.pdf* DCMS online:  
[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/77537/Taking-Part\\_2012-13\\_Quarter-1\\_Report.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/77537/Taking-Part_2012-13_Quarter-1_Report.pdf)

Department of Culture, Media and Sport, 2012, 'Taking Part 2011/12 Adult and Child Report: Statistical Release', online:

[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/77920/Taking-Part\\_2011-12\\_Annual\\_Report.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/77920/Taking-Part_2011-12_Annual_Report.pdf)

<sup>167</sup> Bunting, C. Chan, T.W., Goldthorpe, J., Keaney, E. & Oskala, A. (2008) *From Indifference to Enthusiasm: patterns of arts attendance in England*. London: Arts Council England.

- Those with ill health or a limiting disability are over 25% less likely to attend opera, ballet, classical concerts, theatre and dance than those who don't.

### Participation

The figures for participation would seem even more damning:

- Excluding reading for pleasure, 45% of the UK population participate actively in an arts or cultural event per annum.
- 50% of those engaging more than 3 times a year with an art or cultural events also participate in at least one event.
- 15% have participated in a musical activity – including belonging to a choir and playing an instrument for pleasure.
- 4% participated in a live performance before an audience.
- 2% participated in a non-professional theatre.
- Less than 1% participated in an opera, ballet or piece of contemporary dance.

### Who participates?

In research undertaken for the Arts Council of Wales<sup>168</sup>, but largely borne out by that carried out in Scotland and Wales:

- 87% of those who have degrees or equivalent qualifications participate in arts and cultural activities (including reading for pleasure).
- This falls to just over 50% of those with few qualifications (including reading for pleasure).
- Those who participated in arts and cultural events as children are over 20% more likely to do so as adults.
- Those who are the most deprived are over 20% less likely to participate than those who are least deprived.
- Those with ill health or a limiting disability are over 20% less likely to attend than those who don't.

One of the most interesting responses being to the statement, 'the art is not for people like me':

- 31% of those with a limiting disability or ill health agreed
- 32% of those with the lowest household income agreed
- 40% of those with few or no educational qualifications agreed
- 35% of those who didn't engage as children agreed

While the debate around cultural value continues to focus on economic indicators, audiences and cultural goods many arts organisations clearly remain separate and distanced from many of those who make up their communities. A new model of participation and collaboration is needed. As

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<sup>168</sup> The Arts Council of Wales. *Arts and Public Engagement: Patterns, Processes and Levers for Change*. The Arts Council Wales 2009  
The Arts Council of Wales. *Arts in Wales 2005. Attendance, Participation and Attitudes. Report of Survey of Findings*. Arts Council Wales. 2005.

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Doug Borwick (2013) explains in his seminal book, *Building Communities not Audiences*, the economic, social and political environments out of which the infrastructure for Western ‘high arts’ grew have changed. Today’s major arts institutions, products of that legacy, no longer benefit from relatively inexpensive labour, a nominally homogeneous culture or a polity openly managed by an elite class.’ 169

On the linked website, *art engaged*<sup>170</sup>, Borwick further proposes it is only through developing, ‘close working relationships among artists, arts organisations, and the broader community enable better living conditions for all and create a healthier, more sustainable environment for the arts.’ He suggests three actions that may help bring this about:

- **Advocate** among artists and arts organisations – for the adoption of a community engagement agenda.
- **Train** artists and arts organisations in the skills required for engagement; prepare communities for arts-based collaborations.
- **Support** artists and arts organisations in transitioning to community-focused engagement.

For arts organisations truly committed to shifting the agenda in terms of who takes part, these would seem to be excellent starting points.

## Providing the evidence: Creating an evidence base

‘What am I trying to do? Why am I trying to do it? How will I know if I’ve succeeded or not?’

Ian Moss Createquity, 2012.<sup>171</sup>

Finding a way to prove the value of engaging people with the arts is a little like the search for the Holy Grail. Presenting evidence to funders often means engaging with complex lists of tools and processes, many derived from fields other than the arts: Psychology, Health, Development, Human Rights, Education, Social Science. All of them favouring different approaches to evaluation and imposing different criteria on the work.

### Logic models and theories of change

In her damning blog post on what is wrong with foundations,<sup>172</sup> Arlene Goldbard names her particular *bête-noirs*: ‘I refer in particular to three bits of new orthodoxy stuck like shreds of spinach in the present-day foundation lexicon: *best practices*, *logic models*, and *theories of change*.’ The search for ‘best practices’, she suggests, mitigate completely against risk-taking on the part of funders while suggesting anything that works is completely replicable, regardless of context. Logic

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<sup>169</sup> Borwick, D. (2012) *Building Communities, Not Audiences: The Future of the Arts in the United States*. Arts Engaged, Winston-Salem, NC

<sup>170</sup> <http://artsengaged.com/> Borwick, D. (2012) *Building Communities, Not Audiences: The Future of the Arts in the United States*. Arts Engaged, Winston-Salem, NC

<sup>171</sup> Moss, I. <http://createquity.com/2012/06/in-defense-of-logic-models.html>

<sup>172</sup> Goldbard, A. (2010) *Here to get your hopes up*. <http://arlenegoldbard.com/2010/05/27/924/>

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models and theories of change<sup>173</sup> are as fiercely dismissed, as devices for ‘reducing the aims, assumptions and activities embodied in a particular project...to a chart!’

Although Ian Moss’ blog for Createquity<sup>174</sup> ‘*In Defense of Logic Models*’ provides some kind of redress, presenting the case for the defense as well as the prosecution, the negative responses and comments are almost all from artists. Despite reflective practice being central to every artist’s creative process, an inbuilt resistance to what can often feel like ‘tickbox mentality’ endures.

But artists are not alone in wanting to question the ubiquity of what social scientists and philosophers such as Hayek and Popper sometimes identify as ‘scientism’. Speaking about outcome-based evaluation in *Community Change*<sup>175</sup>, Stoecker compares it to conducting a quasi experiment, ‘designed to measure the difference between a baseline (data collected before the project begins) and an endpoint, with some form of intervention in between’. He highlights the difficulty of, firstly, finding ‘data that is measurable’ and, secondly, of ‘counting things - even when that’s what you are trying to do’. How, he asks, can evaluations be anything other than a ‘quasi experiment’ when most lack control groups (people who haven’t had the experience) and few have the time or funding to take other influences into account. Mirroring Goldbard, he underlines the fact that unlike scientists, those of us working with communities are, ‘operating in the real world rather than in a laboratory’.

Goldbard does go on to acknowledge the basic questions asked in theory of change/logic models are the ones any artist/arts organisation would want to ask of any project:

- What do we want to accomplish?
- What do we need to do to accomplish it?
- What do we expect the short term/long-term outcomes to be?

It is the pseudo-scientific ways we are often asked to ‘prove’ these, when what we are dealing with is ‘actual human beings’ that discomferts her.

### **Arts Based Models**

The ‘*How Art Works*’ 2012 report for the US National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) offers a possible alternative. Placing the making of art and participation in the arts at the centre, it draws on more recent work in the social and physical sciences, and uses ‘system mapping’ (demonstrating the interconnectedness between different ideas) to create what it names ‘a Theory of Change for the Arts’.

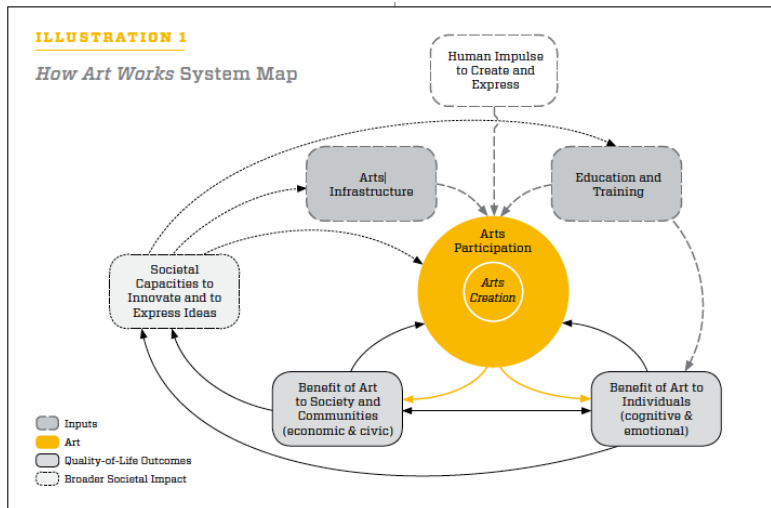
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<sup>173</sup> Theory of change is defined as being “all building blocks required to bring about a given long-term goal” (Center for Theory of Change, 2012). A logic model is a graphical depiction of these building blocks.

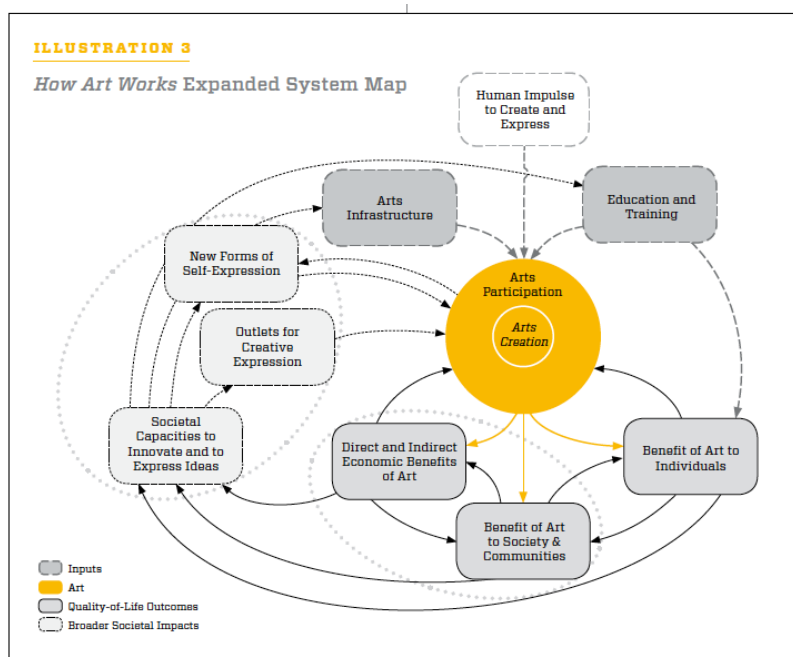
<sup>174</sup> Moss, I. *ibid*

<sup>175</sup> Stoecker, R. (2012) *Research Methods for Community Change: A Project-Based Approach: A Project-Based Approach*. SAGE





Here the interrelatedness between creative inputs (making art) and possible outcomes (impact on people’s lives) are captured in a non-linear system of cause and effect. This basic map is then expanded to demonstrate how particular outcomes, such as economic benefits, might fit into the model.



Whilst acknowledging, the work is still very much at a preliminary research stage. Its authors propose one useful starting point might be to begin distinguishing between ‘value’ and ‘impact’.

**Value**, they suggest, being something best captured in ‘descriptive information, primarily statistical’ and concerned with the economic ‘characteristics, and conditions’ of the arts ecosystem. (Quantitative evidence)

**Impact**, on the other hand, being ways of describing and demonstrating the benefits of the arts to wider society. e.g. capturing its impact on:

- Health and Well-Being
- Cognitive Capacity, Learning, and Creativity

- 
- Community Livability
  - Economic Prosperity (Qualitative evidence)

### **A more holistic approach**

Building on this proposition, Kim Dunphy<sup>176</sup> agrees a ‘theory of change model’ is a useful approach to planning projects. What she feels is currently missing from the NEA model, is the possibility to differentiate between things like the length and intensity of people’s engagement. I.e. is what is being proposed just a unique experience or an on-going collaboration? As well as a means to identify whether the participation is anything other than nominal.

In her attempt to create a framework that captures some of this complexity she proposes starting by identifying our *values* as artists/arts organisations, then being clear what we want to achieve, and finally deciding (with our participants wherever possible) how we think we can show we have achieved it. Noting on the way where we are now, what resources we have access to and what particular activities are going to get us to where we want to be.

All our outcomes, she suggests, could then be captured in a more holistic, ‘dimensions of change’ model.

Taking John Hawke’s four pillars of sustainability for the Culture Development Network as her starting point<sup>177</sup>, she proposes six dimensions (each of which has a number of sub-dimensions) of impact:

- Cultural Vitality;
- Economic Vitality;
- Social Equity;
- Environmental Sustainability;
- Personal/Spiritual Well-being; and
- Civic Engagement.

By approaching evaluation in this way she maintains we will be better able to capture, ‘all possible outcomes of a participatory arts initiative, including outcomes that were intended or unintended, positive, or negative.’

There is nothing in what Dunphy, Stoecker or the NEA proposes that any artist or arts organisation would disagree with in terms of outcomes. Whilst Dunphy’s model in particular might seem dauntingly complex she, like the NEA, does not suggest any single project would be likely to lead to all these outcomes nor that we should be necessarily attempting to measure all of them. For those who continue to share Goldbard’s frustration around how to best to ‘evidence’ what we may have a

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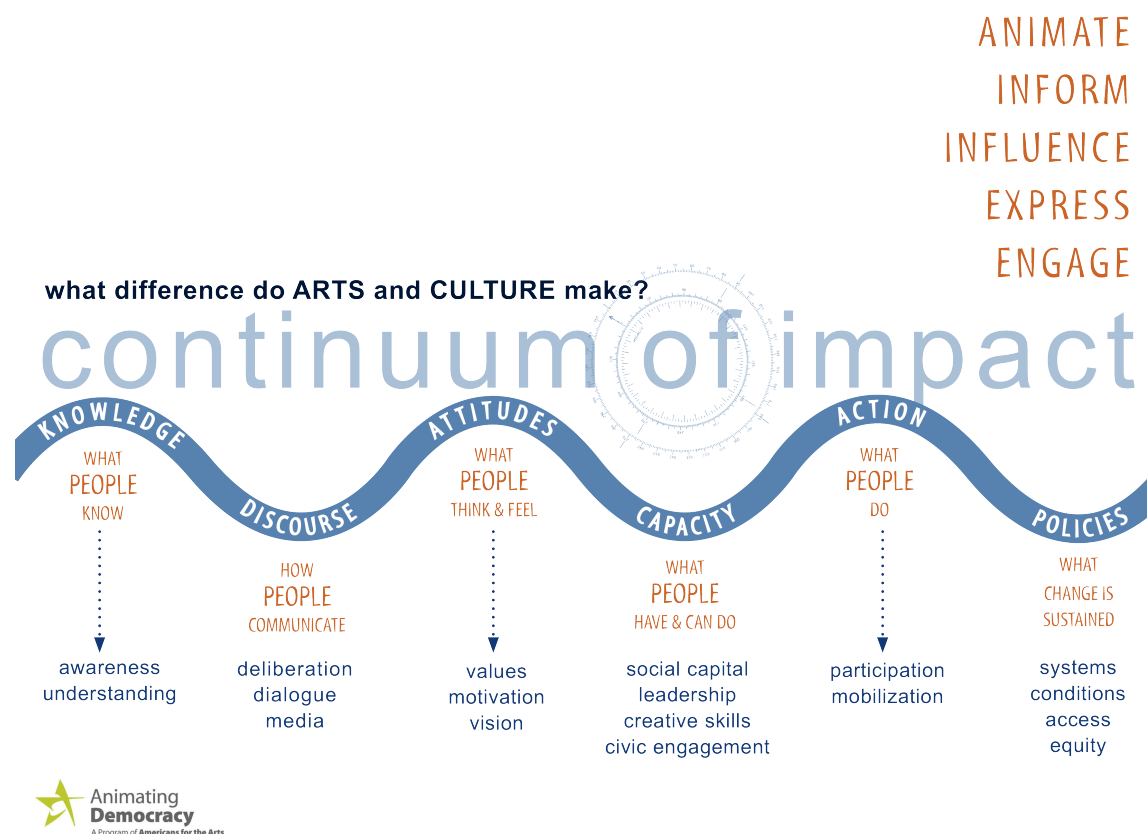
<sup>176</sup> Dunphy, K. (2012) *The Role of Participatory Arts in Social Change in Timor Leste: Discussing Outcomes for Project Stakeholders* [https://www.academia.edu/1831452/The\\_role\\_of\\_participatory\\_arts\\_in\\_social\\_change\\_in\\_Timor\\_Leste\\_discussing\\_outcomes\\_for\\_project\\_stakeholders](https://www.academia.edu/1831452/The_role_of_participatory_arts_in_social_change_in_Timor_Leste_discussing_outcomes_for_project_stakeholders) Accessed Nov 2013

<sup>177</sup> Hawkes, J. (2001), *The fourth pillar of sustainability*. Melbourne: Cultural Development Network.

clear sense ‘happened’, Animating Democracy’s<sup>178</sup> Continuum of Impact offers alternative approaches.

### Clarity of Intention

What finally matters, they suggest, in capturing the effect of a particular project is having *clarity of intention* about the impact we hope to have and proposing a clear timeframe within which we hope to achieve it.

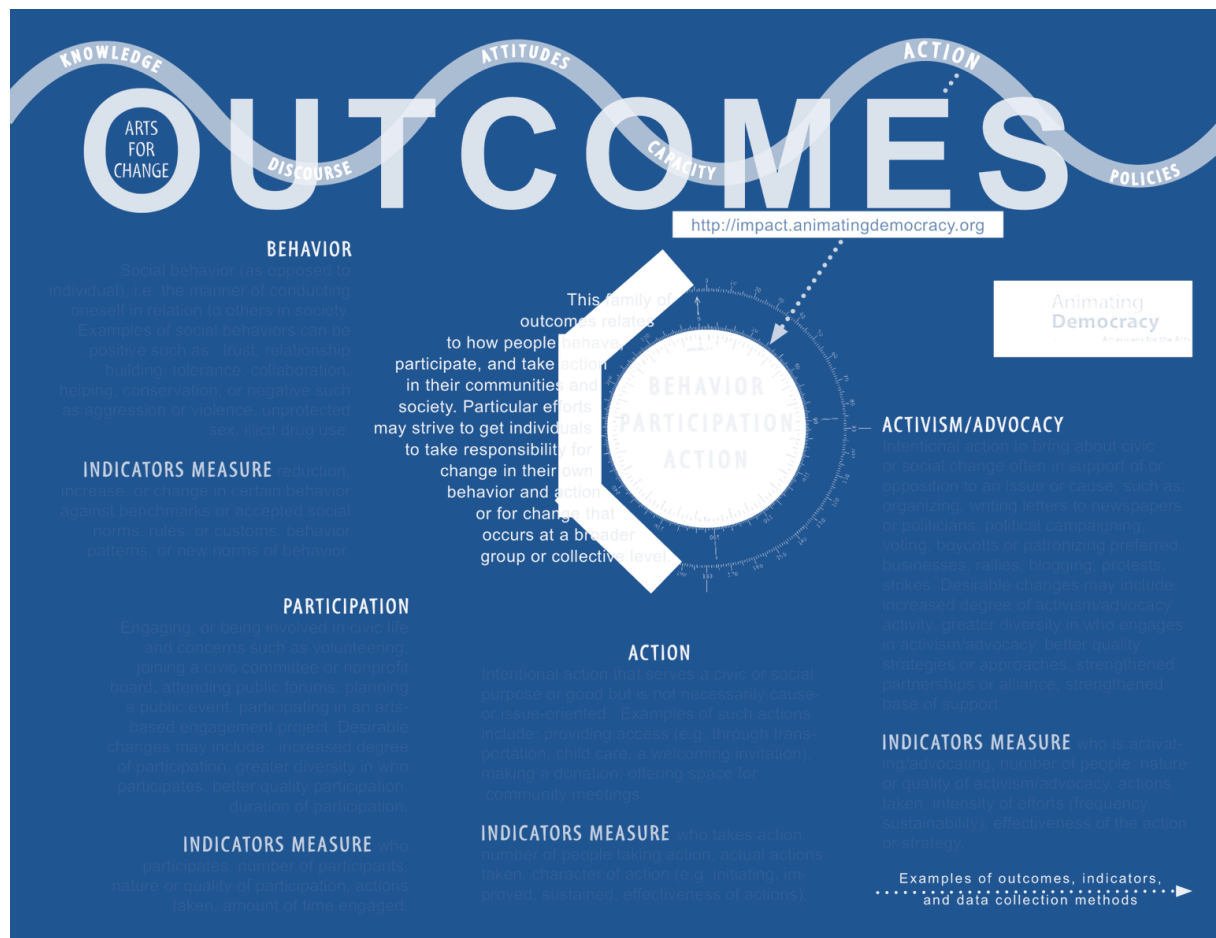


They too propose 6 categories of outcomes, making it clear, ‘There is no necessary sequence or hierarchy of importance among these outcomes; nor are they mutually exclusive. A single program could achieve outcomes at more than one point on the continuum.’ These are:

- Changes in Awareness & Knowledge — what people know
- Changes in Attitudes & Motivation — what people think and feel
- Changes in Behaviour & Participation — what people do
- Changes in Discourse — what is being said and heard
- Changes in Capacity — know-how and resources
- Changes in Systems, Policies, & Conditions — change that is lasting

<sup>178</sup> <http://animatingdemocracy.org/social-impact-indicators>

For each category they provide links to possible indicators against which success might be evidenced.



These are subsequently linked to methods and tips for collecting data appropriate to each outcome and a vast number of possible techniques to use. ‘Outcome Harvesting’<sup>179</sup>, for example works on a ‘forensic science’ approach: collecting evidence at the end of the project and working backwards to determine what contributed to the change, while the wonderfully named, ‘Ripple Effect Mapping’<sup>180</sup> meanwhile draws on elements of Appreciative Inquiry<sup>181</sup>, mind mapping, group interviewing, and qualitative data to visually map the ‘performance story’.

Art Council England’s ‘Self-Evaluation Framework’<sup>182</sup> section on ‘Participation and Engagement’ largely focuses on participation as audience development. Offering a series of questions one might want to ask and a 5-point plan that includes, agreeing the scope of the project, defining the evidence, collecting the information, analysing the information and reaching conclusions. It notes this will mean using ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ (quantitative and qualitative) measures. It further suggests drawing one’s evidence, ‘from more than one source to ensure that your conclusions are reliable, applicable and valid.’

<sup>179</sup> [http://www.managingforimpact.org/sites/default/files/resource/outome\\_harvesting\\_brief\\_final\\_2012-05-2-1.pdf](http://www.managingforimpact.org/sites/default/files/resource/outome_harvesting_brief_final_2012-05-2-1.pdf)

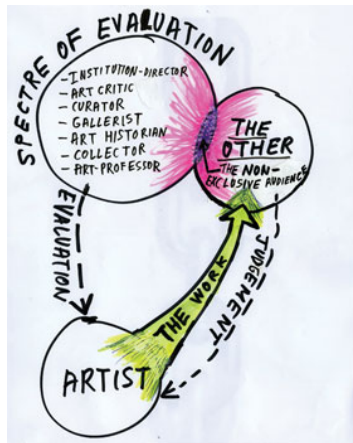
<sup>180</sup> <http://blog.lib.umn.edu/vitality/ripple-effect-mapping/>

<sup>181</sup> a positive focused approach to solving problems by looking at what is working

<sup>182</sup> <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/selfevaluation/framework/>

One of the dangers of trying to promote ‘best practice’, Goldbard argues, is it often ignores the importance of context. Yet Moss suggests the questions are almost always the same. ‘What am I trying to do? Why am I trying to do it? How will I know if I’ve succeeded or not?’<sup>183</sup> Changing the ‘I’ to ‘we’ (participants, partners, communities) and focusing on the particular context in which we find ourselves working might be a useful starting point.

### Providing the Evidence: Evaluation and Quality



Thomas Hirschhorn, 2008, The Spectre of Evaluation.

At a time when evaluation of arts projects has almost become a separate profession, the role of artists and curators has sometimes been neglected: ‘doing’ and ‘making’ being increasingly separated from the evaluation process in favour of statistics and monitoring. The technocracy of target-driven outputs often produces linear, fixed ‘objects’ of knowledge, or data to be provided, ignoring creative processes, practices and experiences. Through wanting to prove value in a way that make sense to those providing the money we have moved to employing statistical systems of collection, ordering and recording impacts and outcomes. Often ignoring the possibility of an examination into the nature of the creative work and its impact on participants.

Sociologist William Bruce Cameron once observed (in a quote often attributed to Einstein), ‘Not everything that can be counted, counts. Not everything that counts can be counted.’<sup>184</sup> The Three Johns and Shelagh would seem to concur with him in terms of evaluating the arts, suggesting, ‘...evidence collected solely through science does not work’<sup>185</sup>. Yet this has not mitigated against an on-going sense that if we could only collect the right kind of data in the right kind of way our problems would be solved. In her (2002) article for *spiked-online*<sup>186</sup> Selwood, for example, is insistent, ‘collecting statistics to prove the value of the arts has largely been useless’ while suggesting more objective collection and analysis is the solution. In terms of policy decisions this may well be true. In terms of individual project evaluation, reliance on data would seem to be a poor

<sup>183</sup> <http://createquity.com/2012/06/in-defense-of-logic-models.html>

<sup>184</sup> Cameron, W.B. (1963) *Informal Sociology: A Casual Introduction to Sociological Thinking* Random House

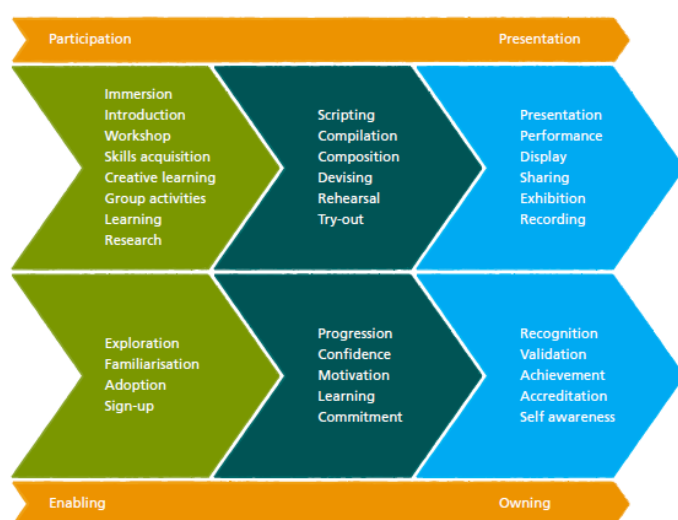
<sup>185</sup> <http://www.john3shelagh.com/towards-plan-b.html>

<sup>186</sup> [http://www.spiked-online.com/newsite/article/6851#.U\\_uFVJSwJ1w](http://www.spiked-online.com/newsite/article/6851#.U_uFVJSwJ1w)

choice. Audience numbers, impressive graphics and visitor profiles, while satisfactory as marketing tools, can be as inadequate and unreliable as any other tools of measurement.

Artists are generally confident in making critical judgements of their own work; knowing they have the language to speak about it. The challenge, as Matarasso so clearly identifies in his recent essay, *'Creative Progression: reflections on quality in participatory arts'*, being how these judgements are made, 'when an artist's practice involves work with other people, for purposes and within judgement frameworks determined by yet others, notably those who pay for it'<sup>187</sup>. The thirteen companies whose work was reviewed in the Art Council's review of *'Adult Participatory Arts: thinking it through'*, identify similar difficulties: 'The ambiguity of the artistic process and its language of metaphor and symbol does not always sit easily alongside the pragmatics of output and outcome, targets and milestones.'

In trying to capture the complex journey that might be taken by artist and participants where performance or presentation is a central part of the experience, they offer a possible model:



In speaking of how we identify 'quality', Matarasso proposes looking at the five separate stages of the process, 'conception, contracting, working, creation and completion', concluding one of the ways in which this evaluation process might happen is by using the 'creative activity itself' to 'promote inquiry and gather data'.

Finding ways in which both artist and participants can engage creatively with the evaluation process seems to be central to any participatory arts process. Not only can it help to capture what can sometimes be an 'ephemeral' experience but, as Moriarty suggests<sup>188</sup> (2002) it can also help to make the, 'reflective practice of creative work explicit and conscious' for those who have not been part of that experience.

Although frequently dismissed as 'anecdotal evidence', participants' creative journeys and responses, like their stories, are a central part of capturing and communicating the effects of arts

<sup>187</sup> [https://www.academia.edu/5138812/Creative\\_Progression\\_-\\_Reflections\\_on\\_quality\\_in\\_participatory\\_arts](https://www.academia.edu/5138812/Creative_Progression_-_Reflections_on_quality_in_participatory_arts)

<sup>188</sup> Moriarty, G (2002). *Sharing practice: a guide to self-evaluation in the context of social exclusion*. London: Arts Council of England.

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activities on those who take part in them. The solution would therefore seem to begin to produce appropriate, varied and robust evaluations that draw on creative and artistic responses as part of a range of methodologies: recognising the subjective, affective and personal character of cultural experience alongside more traditional, numeric, quantitative data sets, as well as finding different prisms through which to interpret them.

Speaking about the use of ‘performance’ in ethnological research, Alexander<sup>189</sup> lists a number of ways in which it can contribute to our understanding of the world: as a method of inquiry, a way of knowing, a means of reporting, of critical response, publication and interpretation. The interdisciplinary nature of the performing arts would seem to lend itself particularly to finding more creative ways to capturing impact: approaches that engage more directly with the artistic experience. These might include:

- Photographing, streaming or videoing the piece from at least two points of view; one of place and performers, the other of the public. These videos and/or photographs might also provide an offstage narrative, including discussions with the audience pre/during/after the event.
- Creative approaches to more formal analysis techniques, such as interviews and surveys captured, if possible, on camera, on paper or online, and later ‘performed’ according to the nature of the discipline: sung, danced or played as a piano piece for example. In such a process even ‘data’, such as the number of participants or audience members needs to be collected and calculated with the choreography or music sheet in mind. The quality of the display illuminating the quality of the artwork; especially where one emerges naturally from the other.
- Embodied narratives offer another possibility, often using movement or dance to capture what participants might not be able to adequately describe in words.

Drawing on the writing of critics, reviewers, bloggers and social media commentators, including audience members, to indicate the impact of the performance. Although the success of this method will need to take into account the status and scale of the venue, arts organisation or artist. NT performances, for example, being expected to gain a page in the Guardian’s Saturday Review, Riverside Studios to be found in Time Out while independent productions in new spaces are likely to need to rely on ‘likes’ on Facebook or tweets. Although responses to the recent LIFT festival might suggest social media’s inadequacy in the media in transmitting the richness of a particular experience:

**Julian Richards**@julianofclapton · Jun 29 @vlatkahorvat @Tim\_Etchells @battersea\_arts @LIFTfestival #AfterAWar The most important thing is sadly untweetable.

Although there are increasing examples of software that enable us to visualise data as part of the ubiquitous ‘evaluation toolkit’ this is not what we are proposing. Audience statistics can be broken down by class, gender, age etc. to create pleasingly aesthetic images. But they continue to rely on numbers alone and, in doing so, often provide little more than a partial visibility of data sets; frequently appearing as ‘glorified pie charts’. What technology has not yet acquired is the possibility to capture the richness of the performance itself or its evaluation through the art.

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<sup>189</sup> Alexander, B. K. (2004) Performance ethnography and inciting of culture, from Denzin NK & Lincoln, Y, Eds., *the Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research, third edition*.

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Canadian Artist, Justin Langlois, in '*Methodologies of Failure: Evaluation practices for socially engaged art*',<sup>190</sup> offers his own wonderfully creative series of questions artists might like to ask themselves when evaluating participatory work. Some refer very directly to the particular context of the visual arts but we think people will find there's more than enough resonance.

### **Methodologies of failure: evaluation practices for socially engaged art**

1. Did your artwork involve other people?
2. Are you uncomfortable with calling your artwork an artwork?
3. Would you rather discuss this as a project?
4. Did you refer to the other people involved as a community?
5. Have you tried to explain at length the ways in which you are defining the terms 'involved' and 'other people' and 'community'?
6. Are you painfully aware that there are unavoidable power imbalances at play in this project?
7. Did you document the results or process of this project using a digital SLR, a camera phone, or Instagram?
8. Are there obvious formal possibilities for exhibiting this documentation?
9. Did you wonder if it would be inappropriate to sell this documentation?
10. Are there power struggles immediately evident when viewing the documentation?
11. Have you considered trying to present this work as a book, documentary, or play?
12. How much pressure did you feel to defend the work as tackling political change?
13. Did you assume that your project needed to continue indefinitely towards achieving some political end in order for it to be successful?
14. Were you asked about success, measurable outcomes, attendance levels, or evidence of change?
15. Did you expect there to be answers to those questions?
16. Did your research for this project lead you to briefly attend a series of parallel community meetings at which you felt the need to excuse a comment or thought as coming from the perspective of an artist?
17. Did your project dissolve after a public presentation / workshop / town hall meeting / charette / or screening?
18. Did you feel an unresolved guilt around its dissolution?
19. Can your work be critiqued by a painter?
20. Did you feel belittled when approached by a visual artist, theoretician, or architect?
21. Have there been discussions of 'radical' theory offered from a great distance to the work?

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<sup>190</sup> <http://www.psocialpractice.org/paradoxes-loopholes/2013/1/13/methodologies-of-failure-evaluation-practice-for-socially-en.html>



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22. If your project was a math equation, did the sum always end up as a critique of capitalism?
  23. Is your project illegible enough to likely never be printed in Art Forum or your local newspaper?
  24. Can you imagine yourself being awarded a large-scale prize some years after the launch of your project that you didn't necessarily locate as an art project in the first place?
  25. Could your work easily be mistaken for a project found in surveys of Fluxus, Conceptual Art, or Dada?
  26. Did this project align itself to a set of political goals that have already been articulated?
  27. Is there form evident in the project that would allow it to most easily fit into an identified granting opportunity?
  28. Could your project be mistaken for a restaurant, social service, after-school program, or a guerrilla marketing campaign?
  29. Could your role in the project be defined as that of a facilitator, organiser, or teacher?
  30. Were you asked to explain the reason you think your project is art?

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## Conclusion

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In his foreword to Doug Borwick's *Building Communities not Audiences*, Rocco Landesman, Chairman of the US National Endowment for the Arts, describes a piece of participatory work by The Foundry Theatre. The piece, *The Provenance of Beauty: a South Bronx Travelogue*, performed on a bus that travelled through the South Bronx, Landesman suggests 'literally (and figuratively) bringing some audience members to parts of the community they had never before visited, whilst simultaneously showing other audience members the blocks of the city they call home through the lives of the poet.'<sup>191</sup> Bubble Theatre's recent show *From Docks to Desktops* did a similar thing for Bermondsey in South London<sup>192</sup>.

The current imperative for arts organisations to make themselves more relevant to their communities is clearly impacting on the way institutions across the UK, USA, Canada and Australia are approaching participatory practice. In the UK, major institutions, such as the Royal Opera House, are beginning to build new partnerships and engaging with the practice of smaller grassroots initiatives such as *Streetwise Opera*<sup>193</sup> that are hopefully going beyond education or outreach. The National Theatre of Wales' *De Gabay* project devised with the local Somalian community<sup>194</sup> and the National Theatre of Scotland's *Tin Forest*<sup>195</sup> work with four 'post-industrial' communities across Glasgow to envision and reinvent the future, are similar examples of initiatives at a national level that are giving participatory practice a new profile.

This move towards more mainstream engagement with participation, while encouraging on one level, is not, however, without its challenges: as the title of the (2013) *Cultural Studies Journal* vol. 22.2, *'Problematizing Participation'*<sup>196</sup> suggests. The need to question many of the ethical and political realities behind the promotion of what is frequently named participatory practice, is as real as it has always been. As Hope suggests in her PhD *'Participating in the Wrong Way'* (2011)<sup>197</sup> and Tiller (2013) notes in her chapter *'Participatory Arts and Community Development: Taking Part'*<sup>198</sup> the issues are not new. Particularly when the practice is still often driven by pre-determined civic and state agendas while public funding continues to prioritise certain forms of art and culture. Participation can too frequently be used to provide a reason to legitimise what is already happening rather than to question fundamentals.

There is also an on-going concern with what artists themselves understand by the term participatory. As Goldenberg comments in a conversation in the *Canadian Journal*, Phillip (2008),

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<sup>191</sup> Landesman in Borwick, D. (2012) *Building Communities, Not Audiences: The Future of the Arts in the United States*. ArtsEngaged, Winston-Salem, NC

<sup>192</sup> <http://www.londonbubble.org.uk/page/from-docks-to-desktops-performances/>

<sup>193</sup> <http://www.theguardian.com/music/2014/may/30/simon-rattle-revolution-royal-opera-house-dialogues-des-carmelites-poulenc>

<sup>194</sup> <http://nationaltheatrewales.org/degabay>

<sup>195</sup> <http://www.thetinforest.com/>

<sup>196</sup> *Problematizing Participation* <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09548963.2013.783158>

<sup>197</sup> Hope, S. *Participating in the Wrong Way*, 2011. [http://sophiehope.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/SH\\_PhD\\_Final.pdf](http://sophiehope.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/SH_PhD_Final.pdf)

<sup>198</sup> Ed. Mayo, M, Mendiweso-Bendek, Z, Packham, C (2013) *Community Research for Community Development* Plagrave Macmillan, London

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there are still a disturbing number of projects ‘which are participatory in name only’<sup>199</sup>. In the *Problematizing Participation* volume of Cultural Studies, Walmsley interrogates the current fashion for audience ‘co-creation’, for example, suggesting a framework for the work that might begin with the questions, ‘What are the main levers and barriers to co-creation?’, ‘What other aesthetic, intrinsic and instrumental value can it have for audiences and artists? And, ‘What are the implications...for arts organisations and cultural policymakers?’ reaching the conclusion that the ‘theatre literate’ audiences that engage with the kinds of productions that are presented as involving ‘co-creation’, such as with their audiences, hardly represent an ‘opening up’ or ‘democratisation’ of the arts.<sup>200</sup>

Much of the evidence of emerging practice in the field, like the radical performance practice of the ‘60s, ‘70s and ‘80s remains ephemeral, experiential, based on word of mouth or, increasingly, captured in online discussion. There is nothing such as Su Braden’s seminal piece *Artists and People* (1978), originally commissioned by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, which brings together the debate in a way it can be accessed by those who should be engaged with it most. In the conclusion to her research, Braden argues that ‘it is essential...that artists themselves should have access to the wide range of information and experience available in this area.’ Undertaking this literature review has made it clear much of the current literature in the field continues to be written, and largely accessed, by academics, funders and professional evaluators. Only in the very disparate reporting of individual projects is the voice of the artist heard: frequently specific to a piece of work with a particular group and situated in a particular time and space. Unlike the visual arts, the theory and methodology of participatory performing is rarely reflected on, or contextualised, in wider contexts.

We return, therefore, to the diversity of terms and practice that is included under the umbrella of participatory performing arts: from social theatre to changing communities, radical theatre, work on the edge of interesting locations, re-enactment, performance as protest, development theatre, majority theatre, people’s theatre, travelling theatre, parade, bonfire, masquerade, picnic, video, installation, website, site specific, radical circus, place making... And, in doing so, sense a need, for the sake of both the practice and the participants, for a ‘space’, be it an online or off line presence, a series of seminars, a publication/publications where the debates around this work can be opened up, a ‘place’ where artists, participants and those supporting the work can begin to share ideas and projects alongside looking again at the questions of ethics, principles and authorship that inform the work.

In the introduction to *Winter Fires*, (2011)<sup>201</sup>, Matarasso suggests ‘art confers agency on its creator’ offering ‘a capacity to act in the world by making something that did not exist before’. The section on Community and Communities opens with a quotation from Raymond Williams’ where he proposes the process of community he proposes, is about, ‘*the sharing of common meanings, and*

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<sup>199</sup> Goldenberg, D. and Reed, P. (date unknown) *What Is a Participatory Practice? Fillip*. Accessed Nov. 2013  
<http://fillip.ca/content/what-is-a-participatory-practice>

<sup>200</sup> Walmsley, B. (2013) Co-creating theatre: authentic engagement or inter-legitimation?, *Cultural Trends*, 22:2, 108-118.  
DOI: 10.1080/09548963.2013.783176

<sup>201</sup> [https://www.academia.edu/2206955/Winter\\_Fires\\_Art\\_and\\_Agency\\_in\\_Old\\_Age](https://www.academia.edu/2206955/Winter_Fires_Art_and_Agency_in_Old_Age)

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*thence common activities and purposes; the offering, reception and comparison of new meanings, leading to the tensions and achievements of growth and change.*<sup>202</sup>

It is in the space between the 'sharing of common meanings', the 'offering' of new ones and 'making something that did not exist before' that participatory practice would seem to have an important contribution to make to both the arts and society.

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<sup>202</sup> Williams, R. (1958) *Culture and Society* Pelican

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