

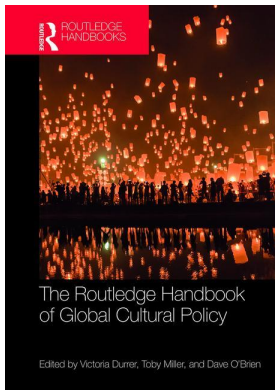
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Publisher: *Routledge*

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## The Routledge Handbook of Global Cultural Policy

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### Cultural policy in political science research

Publication details

<https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315718408.ch2>

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**Published online on: 26 Sep 2017**

**How to cite :-** Jonathan Paquette, Devin Beauregard. 26 Sep 2017, *Cultural policy in political science research from*: The Routledge Handbook of Global Cultural Policy Routledge

Accessed on: 30 Mar 2023

<https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315718408.ch2>

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# Cultural policy in political science research

*Jonathan Paquette and Devin Beauregard*

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## Introduction

Academic disciplines are, for better or worse, characterised by a certain sense of unity. They often share a common core of literature and – if only minimally – definition(s) of their object(s) of study. When students join a field, they subject themselves to a number of activities aimed at giving them the basic knowledge and essential references to that field. The socialisation process at play in a student's education also conveys a number of competencies and dispositions that are seen as essential for progression in the field. When reflecting upon academic disciplines, the narrative of unity is important; it is a belief we entertain about the social world – especially when we approach the world through the lenses of education, training, and socialisation. When we introduce the narrative of research into the equation, academic disciplines – as social worlds – appear less homogeneous: less consensual and more competitive. A sociological look at academia reveals a paradoxical juxtaposition of unity and diversity, of divisions or fractures. These divisions can serve to shape the identity of a discipline; they act as both topography and map. In economic sciences, for instance, the divide between orthodox and heterodox economists is a key element to understanding the structure of theory development. In sociology, similar theoretical and methodological divides can be observed, though divisions in sociology can also come in the form of new objects and specialisations (e.g. a sociology of family, a sociology of labour, a sociology of art and culture, etc.), that reveal the proteiform nature of the discipline.

When it comes to divisions in academic research, it is striking how political science has institutionalised some of its divisions as a way of organising its discipline. Political science has been structured by many subfields or subdivisions, wherein students and researchers specialise based on personal preferences. These subdivisions often require or make use of methods and basic theoretical literature that can vary significantly from one subdivision to the next. While these subdivisions may vary depending on one's national context, they remain, in most cases, a federation comprised of, at the very least: political philosophy, political sociology and electoral behaviours, comparative politics, international relations, and public administration. These subdivisions evolve in different institutional contexts and, historically, have even been the subject of secessionist ambitions in some cases. In North America, public

administration is often thought of as a political science – this, despite the fact that, since the 1920s, public administration programs have developed separately, with disciplinary ambitions of their own. A similar evolution has occurred for international relations, which is now increasingly thought of and taught as separate programs (i.e. international relations or public affairs). Additionally, the fact that disciplines are influenced and defined by national cultures is reflected in the shape and orientations of their subdivisions. In Anglo–Saxon traditions of political science, for instance, it is common to specialise in a country’s politics (e.g. British politics, United States (US) politics, Canadian politics, etc.); while in many other traditions, such forms of specialisation are seen as part of the field of comparative politics. This is just a sample of the myriad of institutionalised divisions that characterise political science.

In this context, how can we understand the place of cultural policy research in political science? Where can we find cultural policy research’s traces in political science? How do we identify or recognise the contributions of political science to the study of cultural policy? Are these contributions distinctive? The aim of this chapter is to provide answers to these important questions. Of course, we could simply answer, right from the start, that for political scientists today, the study of cultural policy is a subfield of public policy research, and, when compared to other subfields – such as environment policy, health policy, or educational policy, to name but a few – is not an extremely important one. That being said, by offering greater nuance, not to mention a little bit of historical background, this chapter intends to provide answers that offer a greater account of cultural policy research in relation to political science – answers that are a great deal less pessimistic than what one might expect from a political scientist.

Moreover, this chapter reflects upon the greater political implications of studying culture: while this chapter aims to chart the contributions of political science to cultural policy research, it is done with the understanding that this presentation is debatable. As a result, what we are presenting is a discipline whose contribution to the study of cultural policy is far less critical and much more politically liberal than what is offered by other traditions such as cultural studies. For its part, the field of cultural studies has evolved contextually, in a similar fashion to other political science fields: in its narrowest of scopes, cultural studies can be said to be British in both origin and tradition. This tradition has been decidedly critical in nature, in large part as a response to sociologists who saw the field of cultural studies as “too soft” and too reliant on quantitative interpretations (Gray & McGuigan, 1993, pp. vii–viii). As a result, this criticalness has often taken on a political dimension, with many cultural researchers feeling the need to critique dominant political, economic, and social orders (Miller & Yúdice, 2002, p. 29). In this respect, one might conclude that cultural studies and cultural policy studies go relatively hand-in-hand given that policy studies invariably involve political, economic, and social considerations. Yet, cultural studies researchers have often questioned the need and importance of studying policy, let alone cultural policy (O’Brien, 2014, p. 1). The prevailing assumption has been that cultural policy – regardless of its intent – has, in some way, been compromised by political and commercial agendas. The logic follows a relatively Marxist critique that if one can answer the question of who controls the production of mass media and culture, then one can invariably understand the process of cultural policymaking (Cunningham, 2003, p. 17). Despite this critical appraisal of cultural policy – or perhaps because of it – cultural policy studies have sought to strike a balance between critical and practical policy studies, in the process exploring the relationship between government and culture (Bennett, 1998, p. 285). By contrast, political science has been more liberal in its treatment of culture and far less critical as it is primarily focused on institutions and their functions.

## Culture and political science

Culture and political science intersect in three different ways. In a first intersection, political scientists often approach culture from either aesthetic or anthropological registers. With the aesthetic register, culture is understood in the context of artistic output and is used to qualify or mark “differences and similarities in taste and status within social groups” (Miller & Yúdice, 2002, p. 1). The anthropological register takes culture a step further and articulates it as a way of life, grounded “by language, religion, custom, time, and space” (p. 1). Much in the same way that culture in the aesthetic register is understood as a question of taste, so do the elements of culture-as-a-way-of-life – that is to say the language, customs, etc., that go into a culture – represent tastes and choices – albeit “unconscious canons of choice” that have gradually evolved and come into being, sometimes over spans of hundreds and even thousands of years (Benedict, 1934 [2005], pp. 47–48). The common trait of both these registers is the notion that culture can and does serve as a foundation in the development of identity and/or a sense of community. Both provide elements around which people come to identify – both personally and collectively. A country and its citizens, for instance, will identify under the banner of that country’s name and symbols; those same citizens will often express a sense of comradeship and community – a sense of nationalism and national pride – towards each other in recognition of their shared nationality. Yet this sense of community that comes from culture is often superficial in nature; the community is imagined because the bonds that hold it together are, more often than not, built on arbitrary and often circumstantial factors (i.e. the fact that two people were simply born in the same country or geographic region or were raised in the same religion) and not on the basis of personal relations or familiarity (Anderson, 1991, pp. 6–7). In this respect, culture takes on a more substantive form and can refer to a national culture, a regional culture, or local culture for that matter; it is a signifier used to identify and distinguish people based on any number of factors (e.g. race, ethnicity, language, class, religion, sexual orientation, gender, age, status, and distinctive life experiences) (Rosaldo, 1993).

The second understanding of culture in political science has to do with “political culture.” This notion is crucial for the field and refers to different types of political behaviours. A political culture, in a nutshell, is a “conceptual umbrella” that covers a “wide and apparently homogenous range” of political issues and areas and sits in the proverbial “vanguard of the behavioural revolution in political science” (Dittmer, 1977, pp. 552–553). Emerging from the literature on nationalism – and strongly influenced by the “psychocultural approach” to studying politics – political culture is used to describe the ways in which a political system has been “internalized in the cognitions, feelings, and evaluations of its population” (Almond & Verba, 1966, pp. 13–14). The focus, with political culture, is largely on the sets of values, attitudes, and beliefs that give a political system meaning and structure; it is the political orientation of a political system (p. 13). Broadly, the famous work of Almond and Verba (1966) outlines three political cultures based around the degree to which citizens have a say in the inputs and outputs of government: parochial, subject, and participant. In a parochial culture, there are “no specialized political roles” and little expectation of change from the political system. In many respects, a parochial culture is emblematic of pre-democratic and tribal societies where citizens have no input and receive no output (pp. 17–18). In a subject culture, there is an awareness of a specialised governmental authority, but there is little impetus from the general public to evoke change at any given point; there is an awareness of the output of government, but there is no input. The subject culture is likened to a French royalist who “is aware of democratic institutions” but chooses not to “accord legitimacy to them” (p. 19). Finally, in a participant culture,

citizens are active both in the input and output of government: they have a say in what the government does and how it does it. Where the concept of political culture has been most salient is in comparisons between existing and emerging democracies (Denk et al., 2015, p. 359). While this second understanding of culture in relation to political science has little to do with what many cultural policy researchers look for or have in mind when researching art and cultural policy, it nevertheless touches on the overall malleability of culture as a concept – particularly in the broader context of political science.

Thus far, we have insisted on presenting these two notions of culture in an effort to demonstrate the diversity of meanings of culture in political science. More importantly, however, what we have tried to evidence is how the discipline's most important notions of culture are, in fact, unrelated to the definition of culture that has been most salient to the study of cultural policy. This brings us to the third understanding of culture: as both art and heritage. When it comes to historically situating the first fundamental contributions of political science to the study of cultural policy in the context of art and heritage, it would be difficult not to start with the contributions of political philosophy and its philosophers. The linkages between arts and politics are as ancient as Western philosophy, and Plato's *Republic* is one of the innumerable works<sup>1</sup> in which such links (and the questions they raise) are offered in analytical reflection. While the boundaries of philosophy, aesthetics, and political philosophy (in political science) are fluid in nature and open to debate, it remains that political scientists have incorporated these considerations – these works and authors – into their academic landscape. Today, political philosophy remains actively concerned with the political dimensions of the arts, with contributions such as Jacques Rancière's (2001, 2008, 2011), for instance, showing how political philosophy can address cultural (policy) issues with a much-needed critical eye.

In sum, apart from political philosophy, the vast majority of work done by political scientists with respect to cultural policy rests on definitions of culture that have more to do with identity (national, regional culture) or behaviour (political culture) than with arts or heritage. While this may have little if nothing to do with cultural policy's relevance, it should be stated that cultural policy research – as the study of governmental action in arts, culture, and heritage – is relatively marginal in political science in comparison to other research agendas. To better characterise cultural policy research, we should also state that – within the tradition of political science – it is mostly rooted in two subfields: it is an object of interest for international relations and for public policy and public administration researchers. With this in mind, the following subsections present the evolution of cultural policy research in political science from disciplinary, historical, and global perspectives. While this chapter has endeavoured to be as comprehensive as possible, we must acknowledge that there is a prominent Euro-American bias in our references to political science. Consequently, while there are obvious and unavoidable asymmetries, this chapter, nevertheless, sheds some light on how cultural policy research has evolved through time and from different significant turning points.

### **Political science and the arts (1930s–1960s)**

Political philosophy has engaged with questions related to arts and culture for millennia; unfortunately, the same cannot be said for the rest of political science's subfields, nor can it be said for the discipline in general. In other subfields, interest for cultural policy developed timidly in the 1930s. Over a period of roughly three decades (1930s–1960s), political science's interest in cultural policy gradually developed around four main themes: the study of political regimes and totalitarianism; international relations and cultural diplomacy; the

development and regulation of mass communication; and the rationalisation and bureaucratisation of the relationship between state and culture through the development of agencies and ministries of culture across the globe.

Interest for cultural policy in political science first grew through the study of political regimes. As with many other interests in political science, the influence of Max Weber undoubtedly played a part in political scientists' first engagements with cultural policy. In particular, Weber's (1895–1919) political essays on the German State and on cultural imperialism in Europe (Beetham, 1985) inspired a number of scholars, in the 1930s, to further his work by exploring the evolution of the German State (Salomon, 1935). This work emphasised the importance of culture as a tool for power in service to the State's aspirations. Cultural policy, in turn, was defined as an instrument that fashioned many social and political aspects – from citizenship to foreign policy (Schuman, 1934; Hartshorne, 1938). Since then, the incorporation of cultural policy in comparative politics and in the study of political regimes has become relatively common. In the 1950s and 1960s, cultural policy became one of the many dimensions studied in relation to understanding the consolidation of the totalitarian Soviet regime and the cultural imperialism employed in its sphere of influence. Many of the works that came out in this period were concerned with either the (Soviet Union's) political influence on the Arts (Slusser, 1956; Gömöri, 1958; Johnson & Labeledz, 1965) (what was valued, permitted by political elites) or by the use of culture as a tool for social regulation (Byrnes, 1958). The advent of the Cultural Revolution in China also contributed interest in the mobilisation of culture by political regimes (Gupta, 1970).

Not only did arts and cultural policy research inspire the political science's interest in political regimes, it also provided insights into the inner-life of European political parties. The work of Jean Touchard (1967) on the cultural and intellectual life of the French Communist Party is a good case in point; it illustrates how the study of arts, the cultural aspirations of a party's members, and their engagement with culture can provide insightful material for the study of political parties. A collected edition by Ralph Croizier (1970) on the Communist party's cultural policy also points to the importance of studying culture in the inner-life and history of political parties.

Perhaps the second most important contribution to cultural policy research in this era also stemmed from the era's social and political conditions. Cultural diplomacy, as an object of study – which has, in recent years, reconquered its place in academic research (e.g. Singh, 2010) – is, first and foremost, a product of academia originating from the Cold War. Cultural diplomacy broadly refers to the different programs and methods used by states to conduct their politics on a cultural front. In other words, cultural diplomacy is seen as an additional tool in the conduct of foreign affairs. In the 1950s and 1960s, political scientists developed a keen interest in “cultural exchanges” and “cultural relations” as they were seen as tools for enhancing a state's global sphere of influence (Barghoorn, 1958; 1967; Malik, 1961; Merritt, 1965; Spiller, 1966; Frankel, 1969). Frankel's (1965) book on cultural diplomacy – *A Neglected Aspect of Foreign Affairs* – was one of the first major works on the topic, and his views were welcomed by academics and practitioners alike. This is to say, this research was not only seen as policy-relevant for foreign affairs, it also attracted interest from an audience well beyond academic circles. Interest in cultural diplomacy, however, was not unique to US academics; Italian, French, and Canadian academic journals all published in abundance on the cultural dimension of foreign affairs – though, with a strong emphasis on bilateral relations and the role of cultural institutes (Magistrati, 1958; Schroeder-Gudehus, 1970).

A third stream of academic contributions that characterises this era's cultural policy research in political science concerns the development of mass communication. The freedom



of the press, censorship, and the development of radio and television (Harris, 1955) attracted the attention of political scientists who tried to chart the political issues and intricacies that were relevant to these channels of artistic and cultural expression. On the one hand, these researchers were planting the seeds for a deeper subsectoral (e.g. radio, television, publication, performing arts, etc.) understanding and paving the way for the kind of subsector research that we are accustomed to today. On the other hand, political science was also heavily under the interdisciplinary influence of communication sciences. In Canada, for instance, following the Canadian tradition of political economy, the works of Harold Innis (1946, 1950) emphasised the inter-relations of power and communications as a means of exploring culture as a space where power could be expressed and performed. This style of research – with its strong emphasis on communications – had an enduring and definitive effect on Canadian cultural policy research orientations up until the end of the 1990s; it gave Canadian cultural policy research its strong emphasis on subsector issues as they relate to publishing and (radio and television) broadcasting.

Finally, the development of governmental institutions (arts councils and departments and ministries of culture) devoted to supporting, promoting, and funding cultural initiatives has created conditions in which the question of cultural policy has become evidently more salient. The foundation of the British Arts Council in 1946, the Canada Council for the Arts in 1957, France's Ministry of Culture in 1959, Québec's Ministry of Cultural Affairs in 1961, and the United States' National Endowment for the Arts in 1965 all attracted the attention of political scientists (Harris, 1969; Morin, 1969) interested in the political intricacies and inner-functionings of these new public sector institutions.

Thus, with respect to political science, we can conclude that this era of cultural policy research was characterised by a quantitatively limited, albeit diverse, range of works focused on specific cultural issues – though works that do not necessarily recognise cultural policy as their research object. Apart from some notable works and essays that sought to raise awareness of the importance of cultural policy – such as Ralph Purcell's (1956) *Government and Art*, André H. Mesnard's (1969) *action culturelle*<sup>2</sup> in France, Arthur Schlesinger's (1960) essay on National Cultural Policy, or even Alvin Toffler's (1967) conceptual piece that laid the grounds for a systemic style of cultural intervention – there were relatively few published works in political science that substantively addressed broader cultural issues (or cultural policy, for that matter). Simply put, political science's contributions to the study of cultural policy were not nearly as ground-breaking or rich as those made by researchers in the fields of sociology or cultural studies – though that should not discourage scholars from exploring the limited offerings of political science from this era.

### **Cultural policy: the definition of an object of study (1970s–1990s)**

One of the first attempts to define the field of cultural policy research by a political scientist came from Canadian researcher John Meisel (1974). Elements of Meisel's views with respect to culture and cultural policy can be found in his 1974 presidential address at the Annual meeting of the Canadian Association of Political Science. For Meisel, political science had, for too long, neglected the importance of “leisure culture” as he called it, because ultimately this leisure culture has an effect on “political culture”:

In urging political scientists to lift the darkness which surrounds the political aspect of leisure culture, I admit to starting out with something close to an act of faith. Underlying my comments is the unproven assumption that certain relationships between culture

and politics in fact exists. But I find inconceivable that the programs children and adults see on television and at the cinema or hear on the radio, the games they play and watch, the comics, books, magazines they read, the town and architecture which surround them, do not exercise a strong influence on their political culture. (p. 604)

In other words, Meisel tried to articulate the importance of cultural policy research for political science by defending the idea that culture was not an end in itself, but its research could further important disciplinary themes such as “political culture.” In doing so, Meisel presented the idea that cultural policy can cultivate good citizenship – an idea that has since taken root in academia and in the ideologies of many policymakers and activists. Moreover, from Meisel’s perspective, we can conclude that cultural policy was beginning to be seen as a broad area of governmental action that includes many subsectors.

The conceptual developments and influence of public administration and public policy research in the 1970s and 1980s had seminal effects on the development of cultural policy research in political science. The basic definition of policy that most political scientists will refer to, as a last resort, takes root in notions developed in public policy research: it is defined as what a government “chooses to do or not to do” (Dye, 1995, p. 2) – a government’s action or inaction. For others, the importance in researching policy comes from its outcome; it is about uncovering the pressures, resource mobilisation, and strategies for obtaining rare resources that have shaped or influenced the policy itself. In other words, and in the classical definition of policy offered by Lasswell (1936), policy is about “who gets what, when and how.” How political scientists engage with cultural policies is often a product of one or both of these basic definitions of public policy.

In a plea for the development of cultural policy research in political science, Paul DiMaggio (1983) offers a poetic definition of cultural policy as the policies that regulate “the market place of ideas” (p. 242). However, in plainer terms, DiMaggio suggests that, in this instance, he is using “the term ‘policy’ loosely to include unintended but systematic consequences of government actions as well as action towards identified [cultural] ends” (p. 242). More recently, Clive Gray (2010) has offered a definition of cultural policies as “[...] the range of activities that governments undertake-or do not undertake – in the arena of culture” (p. 222). In this context, cultural policy refers to government action (or inaction) in and as it relates to the cultural sector – which broadly includes the arts, communications, and heritage, though it is often defined in more restrictive terms and applied to specific areas of cultural practice (publishing, performing arts, visual arts, etc.).

Over the years, attempts have been made to add or expand on these definitions of cultural policy as a means of encompassing new elements of culture and/or to delineate cultural policy’s territory vis-à-vis other policy fields. One such example would be the definition of cultural policy developed by Margaret J. Wyszomirski (2002), which suggests that cultural policies are “[...] a large, heterogeneous set of individuals and organizations engaged in the production, presentation, distribution, preservation, and education about aesthetic, heritage, and entertainment activities, products and artifacts” (p. 186). This definition emphasises the diffused nature of cultural policy development and echoes the division of labour that is commonly seen as part of cultural production. Perhaps one of the most helpful definitions of cultural policy comes from Kevin Mulcahy (2006), who posits that cultural policy should not be restricted to the confines of arts policy, but should also include areas of activity such as heritage and the humanities (p. 321). Ultimately, however, in all of these cases, the underlying elements of Dye and Lasswell’s classic definitions of policy are evident – albeit in a distinctively cultural vernacular.



To say, however, that a definitional awareness of cultural policy led to a greater appreciation of the policy field in the 1980s and 1990s would be misleading. For sure, cultural policy is – alongside environmental policy, tax policy, health policy, and transportation policy (etc.) – a public policy sector like any other. Political scientists, however, will often and unapologetically suggest that, compared to other fields, the cultural policy sector is not considered important – whether that is from the perspective of government interventions (Gray & Wingfield, 2011) or from the perspective of the discipline itself (Eling, 1999).

Despite this dismissal, the 1970s and 1980s had more to offer cultural policy research than simply to define its object of study – though defining an object, it should be noted, is of fundamental importance. The first kind of cultural policy research contributions this era of political science saw relate to detailed analysis, with an emphasis on institutional elements, of national cultural policies – in places such as Great Britain (Green & Wilding, 1970), France (Mesnard, 1974; Wengermée & Gournay, 1988), Canada (Fortier & Schafer, 1989), the US (Mulcahy, 1987), Nicaragua (Ross, 1990), and Norway (Dahl, 1984). This era also saw academics engage more thoroughly in policy analysis and program reviews as they related to cultural policy (e.g. McCormack, 1984; Handler, 1985). In French-speaking countries and areas, studying cultural policy also meant analysing the effects or capacities of the state in terms of “cultural development” (Dumont, 1979; Girard & Gentil, 1982; Pascallon, 1983) – a logic of governmental action in culture that finds its origins in the creation of the French ministry of culture.

Finally, some of the works from political scientists of this period took the shape of essays, wherein academics assumed the role (and voice) of public intellectual more than that of technician – though most of these writings pertain to the orientation of cultural policies rather than their applications. In North America, the notion of “public culture” (Mulcahy, 1981; Joyce, 1984) and the role of the government in the arts was a dominant theme; while in France, cultural policy debates materialised as critiques of the national cultural policy (Giordan, 1982; Ritaine, 1983) – especially its allegedly failed (forced) attempts to democratise culture. Acting as social critics and public intellectuals, many political scientists favoured an alternative logic of cultural policy that was more inclusive and respectful of the diversity of tastes. Despite their structural commonalities, both of these debates – North American and French – evolved in parallel on their respective sides of the Atlantic, never meeting though raising a number of the same questions, albeit in largely different contexts (Mulcahy, 2006).

### **Policy theories and new fieldworks (1990s–2000s)**

The 1990s marked a turn for political scientists and public administration scholars engaged in cultural policy research. Cultural policy research had gained currency because it could circulate in academic journals that were (and remain still) largely interdisciplinary. The *Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society* attracted its fair share of cultural policy analysis – mostly comparative work – while other journals – such as the *European Journal of Cultural Policy* (eventually the *International Journal of Cultural Policy*), and *Cultural Trends* – offered new platforms for debates where political scientists were welcomed to contribute. While disciplinary journals of political science and public administration were also seen as viable outlets for research, these new cultural policy-driven journals opened platforms for creative interdisciplinary discussions that had hitherto been unavailable to cultural policy scholars. Given how political scientists approach cultural policy, and their (at least minimal) agreement on the nature of the object, debates on issues such as the instrumentality of cultural policy or the implicit or explicit (e.g. Ahearne, 2009; Throsby, 2009) nature of cultural policy – reminding

us of the direct or indirect effects of governments (or their influence) through their actions or inactions – opened avenues for rich intellectual encounters where political scientist could step in and contribute to the discussion. More importantly, this period saw the full influence of the intellectual tradition of public policy research (“policy sciences”) – that had developed in political science throughout the 1950s and 1960s – take hold; it consolidated the texture of what political science contributes to cultural policy today: namely, the policy cycle and comparative research.

From a theoretical perspective, the policy cycle results from the influence of systems theory on political science and public policy research; it is an adaptation of the basic principles of these models to the world of public policy; and it is, for good or ill, the backbone of policy research (Lerner & Lasswell, 1951; Brewer & DeLeon, 1983). The role of political science in policy studies often resides in attempting to explain policy change and policy transformation – and this is usually approached through a study of the policy cycle. The policy cycle is typically approached through four (sometimes five) basic – often overlapping – steps: the emergence or recognition of an issue/problem; the formulation of a policy(ies) to address the issue; the implementation of the policy(ies); and, finally, the evaluation of the policy(ies). While political scientists studying cultural policy have been interested in the interaction among these different steps, the tendency has generally been to focus, specialise, and/or provide an in-depth analysis of one individual step. In the context of cultural policy, the first step of the cycle, issue-emergence, often begins with (various social and political) actors expressing a social or cultural demand that, in turn, is recognised and placed on the government’s agenda. Researches focusing on this stage will typically emphasise the configuration(s) of actors and their capacity to mobilise and exert pressures on government (e.g. Barbieri, 2012). The second step of the cycle, policy formulation, involves the development and selection of policy option(s). While the line between the emergence of an issue and the formulation of a policy may be thin at times, the formulation process is often a more formal stage of the cycle, where the issues are discussed and often (re)defined in political arenas (e.g. Stevenson, 2013), and research of this stage tends to focus on the contributions of the various actors involved.

The third stage, policy implementation, involves the study of strategies and means put in place (i.e. administration, plans, and funds) and their mobilisation for the delivery of (cultural) policy. Implementation research is the poor cousin of cultural policy studies and, as such, is no different from other fields (health, environment, etc.) or applications of public policy theory. That being said, beyond the strict confines of the discipline, researchers in cognate fields – such as urban studies, urban planning, or regional development – who have researched cultural policy often rely on public policy concepts and have carried out significant research on policy implementation, with an emphasis, of course, on local cultural policy implementation involving themes such as the creative city (e.g. Kovacs, 2010). Finally, political scientists are also interested in cultural policy evaluation – and by evaluation, we mean the practice of evaluation and its technical aspects – but without being restricted to the technical aspects alone. With policy evaluation, researchers are also interested in the social reception of the policy; they are interested in what the communities (i.e. artists, professionals, advocates, users, amateurs) and media have to say about the policy(ies). The notion of policy evaluation in policy research should not to be mistaken for analysing the policy itself, or serving as evidence-based policy; it refers simply to a conceptual part of the policy process that is both technical and social.

While these stages have been defined and used for a long time in public policy research, it is only in the 1990s that they truly became analytical categories commonly used in cultural policy research. Thus, the cycle provides a useful, yet minimalistic, cartography of

political science's main contribution to cultural policy studies. Beyond these broad categories, researchers often apply or test some conceptual frameworks (i.e. institutional theory, advocacy-coalition framework, rational choice theories, narrative theories, referentials, etc.) or focus on a distinct phenomenon that adds an additional level of analysis – such as policy instruments, path dependencies, policy diffusion, or policy transfer. Like other political scientists, those who seek explanations of cultural policy formulation, implementation, or evaluation often base their analysis on theoretical frameworks that privilege interest-based, ideas-based, or institutional-based explanations (Palier & Surel, 2005) to make sense of cultural policies.

The other main legacy of political science in cultural policy research has to do with comparative research, a core intellectual tradition in political science that seeks to understand the evolution of political regimes and institutions through a comparative focus on the administrative structures, institutional features, and functioning of political systems or policy subsystems such as cultural policy. This kind of research tends to be either descriptive or typological in nature. Different national, regional, or local cultural policies are compared and juxtaposed with the goal of distilling patterns and, eventually (or potentially), types. With that being said, it should be noted that the comparative tradition in political science does not always involve systematic comparisons. This may sound confusing, but researchers specialising in understanding the structures of a single country or region over time – engaging in what some may label as “area studies” – commonly belong to a comparative tradition of research from the point of view of a political scientist.

Belonging to this research tradition, the vast majority of cultural policy research conducted by French political scientists since the 1990s has focused on the study of local cultural policy. Issues of system development and cultural decentralisation have occupied a central role in academic production. The works of Guy Saez or Emmanuel Négrier (Négrier et al., 2007) are representative of the comparative orientations of French cultural policy research. In Belgium, the work of Genard (2010) also focuses on local and regional cultural policies in relation to the country's linguistic communities. In Canada, the work of Saint-Pierre and Gattinger (2010) surveyed the development and variation in subnational (provincial) cultural policies. Another important theme of comparative research concerns the development and evolution of cultural agencies around the world. The works of Gray (2000) on Great Britain or Bordat (2012) on the evolution of cultural policy in Mexico and Argentina offer a good sample of this outlook from a political science perspective. While the number of comparative cultural policy works is much greater than what has been presented here, research of this nature remains relatively limited compared to works that focus on (a step or steps of) the policy cycle.

### **Cultural policy research in political science: today and new orientations**

From this historical survey, it becomes clear that political science has made a contribution to the study of cultural policy – albeit relatively limited by comparison to its contributions to other issues (e.g. the study of political regimes, democratic transitions, or political ideologies) or policy subsectors (e.g. health policy, education policy, or social policy). Nevertheless, while political science's impact on the cultural policy sector – as a whole – is smaller, its reach via global and interdisciplinary communities of cultural policy researchers remains significant. Recently, some of the notions stemming from the conceptual apparatus of public policy research seem to have had a direct or indirect influence on how the object of research is approached by researchers in cognate fields. The policy stages can also be said to be

implicitly contributing to the organisation of cultural policy research in disciplines such as urban studies, regional development, or, in some cases, communications.

From the outside, then, the relationship between political science and cultural policy research would seem somewhat tacit: the relationship exists, most definitely, but is often left unspoken in political science discourse. In recent years, even with a seeming surge in cultural policy research's popularity in political science literature, cultural policy is often contextualised as an element of another policy sector's strategy or as a piece of a much broader policy program. An emphasis on the instrumentality of art and culture – that is to say, an emphasis on its usefulness in non-traditionally cultural sectors or fields, such as the aforementioned urban studies and regional development, for more than just aestheticism (e.g. Belfiore, 2002) – has allowed for a more tangential use of cultural policy research in political science studies, though it arguably does so in a diluted fashion. Questions of culture and cultural policy are being broadly applied in political science disciplines but often only in conjunction with other policy fields – and often only in the context of their potential for fostering socio-economic growth or as an element of arts management (most notably in US cultural policy literature, re: Paquette & Redaelli, 2015). In other words, while significant strides have been made in political science towards the development and understanding of cultural policy and cultural policy research, there remains an inherent stigmatism towards using it as the primary thrust of a political science research program. Rather, the default has seemingly been to “pepper” cultural policy into a larger narrative as a means of adding a new or unique flavour to an otherwise well-treaded discourse. Thus, to a certain degree, cultural policy research has become political science's moped: everyone enjoys riding them, but no one wants to be seen on one.

Looking back at the evolution of cultural policy research in political science – considering its current state, and contemplating its future orientations – a number of questions emerge regarding cultural policy research, in general, and for political scientists, in particular. A first observation has to do with the contributions of US scholars to cultural policy research. Apart from their constant contributions to subthemes such as cultural diplomacy and local cultural planning, the US political scientists' presence on broader debates of cultural policy has become far less important than it was in the 1980s, in comparison to British, Canadian, Australian, and French scholars. Consequently, has arts management become the new home for cultural policy research in the US, with the broader field of political science serving as only an occasional backdrop for cultural considerations? There are obvious structural and contextual issues at play in the US – most notably the structure of government support for the arts – that might explain the managerial turn in cultural policy research. Nevertheless, the question of whether US cultural policy research remains the purview of arts management is salient – especially considering that most of political science's public policy vocabulary has been inspired by the US policy discourse. Similarly, will the current fascination with French policy theories (e.g. policy referentials, cognitive approaches, or French conception of policy instruments) over the last decade in English-speaking and global academic spaces eventually have an effect on how we approach cultural policy theories and cultural policy research? Finally, how will the relationship between political science and cultural policy research continue to evolve? Are political scientists simply conducting cultural (policy) research in “passing,” before moving on to another field or policy subfield – to the new “flavour” of the day? While it is unlikely that cultural policy research is entirely a “passing fad” for political scientists – as they seem to exhibit less of a desire to reorient or mobilise around other policy objects compared to researchers in different fields – this concern does raise obvious questions about the structure of political science collaborations – especially with other researchers

who more broadly work in the global community of cultural policy research. Are political scientists working on cultural policy more attached to culture? Or are they contributing to a trans-disciplinary space, with its own issues, objectives, debates and its own symbolic capital?

While it would be simple to conclude that cultural policy research will almost invariably hold a place of ambivalence in the minds of many political scientists, the truth is that as our world has become progressively more globalised, the role of culture and cultural policy, in turn, has become progressively more politicised. The place of cultural policy is changing, and so too is its appreciation by scholars from political science fields who might otherwise have snuffed their noses at it. Does this mean that cultural policy research will assume a place of prestige and reverence in the annals of political science research and discourse? Unlikely. But given its ubiquitous nature, it is relatively safe to say that culture (and cultural policy research) will always be omnipresent in political science research.

## Notes

- 1 Cultural policy researchers interested in these issues can access a comprehensive survey of political philosophy's contribution to the field in Eleonora Belfiore and Oliver Bennett's remarkable work, *The Social Impact of the Arts: An Intellectual History*, published by Palgrave in 2008.
- 2 In French, cultural policy is commonly referred to using "*politiques culturelles*" and even "*action culturelle*."

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