

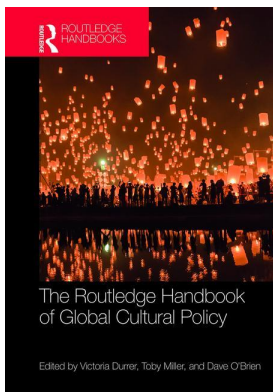
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The relationship between cultural policy and arts management¹

Victoria Durrer

For some scholars within cultural policy and arts management studies, the relationship between the field of cultural policy and arts management practice seems an obvious one. Whilst there is some academic work that makes this connection explicit or even visible, there is little scholarship that develops our understanding of how these two areas interact, how ideas are exchanged and implemented, and where the power is located within this relationship. This chapter is a start at building such understanding.

The chapter explores how the relationship between arts management and cultural policy is articulated within two main sites where arts managers are socialised into the assumptions, traditions and norms of their profession. These are the realms of education/academic study and vocational practice, both highly interconnected, epistemological domains for the discipline. Drawing from a review of academic and practice-based, or vocational, research literature within Europe and the UK and interviews with UK-based arts managers and arts management educators, the chapter shows that the relationship between arts management and cultural policy is both symbiotic and fragmented. The relationship is in one way transactional, with cultural policy viewed as a heavily influential and sometimes constraining structure in which arts management practice operates. This interpretation places valuations of art and culture as utilitarian to political issues and raises questions about the arms' length principle upon which the relationship between the state and arts and cultural bodies have been founded. At the same time, this connection is perceived as providing opportunities for mutual benefit. This interpretation places agency in the hands of arts managers to drive, influence and uphold policy objectives. These findings have implications for how we understand what individuals, networks and institutions structure the governance of cultural policy as well as how and why. Such knowledge would enhance our understanding of what, and how, value becomes attached to particular forms of arts and culture, as well as how those forms are legitimated as types of goods, services, practices and/or symbols in society.

The chapter focuses on arts management and cultural policy in relation to publicly funded arts and culture in the UK. Within the UK, public – or State, funding – of arts and culture follows an arm's length principle. The principle is argued, in theory, to keep Arts Councils at a distance from government in order to minimise state intervention into the arts and foster artistic autonomy. In practice, it means that bodies in the UK regional executives

(Creative Scotland in Scotland and the Arts Councils of England, Northern Ireland and Wales respectively), are intended to make funding and policy decisions in relation to arts and cultural practice (and management) that are independent from government influence upon receiving their own annual grants from the (devolved) state. As a result and as will be discussed further in the chapter, this principle directly impacts how arts management and cultural policy interact in the UK.

Typically, 'arts management' relates to the working practices of a profession comprising the protection, preservation, distribution, marketing, mediation and financial organisation of arts and cultural objects and experiences. Here, arts management is interpreted as encompassing both arts and cultural management with a particular focus on the fine and performing arts and heritage, including museums. While it is acknowledged that individual arts organisations have their own policies, this chapter focuses on state, government or public policy. In doing so, the chapter defines 'cultural policy' as "whatever governments choose to do or not to do" (Dye 2005, p. 1 cited in Mulcahy 2006, p. 320) in relation to art and culture.

The chapter begins with an analysis of how the relationship between arts management and cultural policy is described in academic and practice-based, or vocational, research literature within Europe and the UK specifically. Followed by a more detailed explication of the research method and rationale, the chapter presents findings from an initial audit of arts management programmes at the postgraduate level within UK universities and qualitative interviews with UK arts managers. As this is a collection of work with a global inflection, the chapter concludes with a broader discussion of questions raised and what lessons can be learnt about the relationship of arts management to cultural policy at an international level.

Academia and practice: what relationship does the literature reflect?

As the sites in which arts managers are socialised into the profession, 'practice' and 'education' are where the historical, institutional and social assumptions and traditions of arts management and cultural policy are exchanged, enacted and reproduced. As a result, this chapter begins by investigating how the relationship between arts management and cultural policy is expressed in vocational and academic literature. Paquette and Redaelli (2015) have provided a thorough and most up-to-date analysis of the interrelations of the research from both fields. While focused on the North American situation, their findings are relevant to the UK. They argue that numerous agents, institutions and groups, including academic institutions, arts organisations, government bodies, quangos and private foundations as well as specific practitioners, consultants and researchers, shape knowledge in and about both disciplines. All have differing levels and varieties of interest, knowledge and stake in the economic, social, political and aesthetic dimensions of arts and culture ranging from, for example, international tourism to local community development (Chong 2009; Vuyk 2010; O'Brien 2013). What results are epistemological viewpoints that are currently not equally valued or mutually recognised in either academia or professional practice. This disjoint contributes to a perception that the two fields are fractured parts of a whole. It also impacts the perceived and actual level of agency arts managers have, in shaping not only their own practice but also policy decisions.

This section further explores this imbalance. It is argued that the multi-discipline nature of both fields and the variety of actors and agencies involved in knowledge production has precipitated studies from multiple theoretical frameworks and fostered varying views on what forms of knowledge should be privileged over others. Cultural policy is often viewed as a space for critical discourse on the role of arts and culture in society and arts management

as an applied discipline. The involvement of state bodies in the establishment of arts and cultural management courses and educational networks in the UK and Europe has helped facilitate this view. This positioning has led to thinking, which confines arts management as an instrument for public policy. Yet, it could equally be argued to position the cultural practice of arts managers within potentially influential roles in social, economic and political spheres. This dissimilitude is not argued here to be a – or rather ‘the’ – problem, per se. Instead, in restricting our study of each as an individual field, we have limited our understanding of their relationship. In actual fact there is much interaction between the two, particularly in the arena of education and professional practice. The disparity in how the two fields are perceived to interact, has stunted our understanding of who makes policy, how and for what ends.

Multiple voices and viewpoints

First, as realms of both academic and vocational knowledge, arts management and cultural policy are complex. A number of scholars have demonstrated how their interdisciplinary, trans-disciplinary and/or cross-disciplinary nature – depending on one’s viewpoint – has presented challenges to the legitimacy of both as professional practices, study and research areas (for example, Scullion and Garcia 2005; Paquette and Redaelli 2015). For instance, research is produced by both academic and practitioner-based circles, involving a range of actors from higher education institutes to consultancies who have different perceptions of the validity of one another’s findings and approaches (Paquette and Redaelli 2015). Furthermore, as disciplines of practice and study, neither is wholly focused on, for example, the arts and culture, aesthetics, management, social interaction, public policy or political and economic processes, but draw on all of these in varying ways (Brkić 2009; Chong 2009). In fact, arts management and cultural policy courses in universities are housed in a variety of different departments (Sternal 2007).

Arts management and cultural policy are thus influenced by epistemological approaches from, for instance, political science, cultural studies, sociology, economics, management and the arts and humanities. Each discipline frames arts management and/or cultural policy differently, presenting unique vantage points from which to critically investigate the fields (see preceding chapters in this collection, which illustrate this point). At the same time, their relationship to multiple disciplines means that neither arts management nor cultural policy rests solely within any particular boundaries of knowledge formation (Scullion and Garcia 2005). What can result is the disparaging of different theoretical frameworks from one discipline to another. This disfavour is evidenced in some discussions within both arts management and cultural policy research where approaches to ‘management’ studies are described as ‘out of touch’ with approaches in the arts and humanities (Belfiore and Bennett 2008; Brkić 2009). So, even though arts management and cultural policy share disciplines of interest and common stakeholders and agents involved in building knowledge, their flexibility in scope presents challenges to their perceived validity as areas of practice and study. With these blurred distinctions, it has been difficult to fully appreciate and articulate their relationship to one another.

Different forms of knowledge

Differences in emphasis between the two are also evident in the literature. Cultural policy is often articulated as a space for critical discourse on the values society places on (or espouses with) arts and culture. Arts management, on the other hand, is often articulated as a space

for exploring applied management approaches to arts and cultural practice. This division, which has undoubtedly impacted the ways in which the relationship to one another may be perceived within academic and education circles, will be explored further here. Much arts management research and education has tended to privilege what are often seen as ‘transferable’, “utilitarian” and/or toolkit approaches for ‘how to’ fund, manage and share the arts with audiences and participants (Bennett 2001; Devereaux 2009, p. 65; Ebewo and Sirayi 2009, p. 282; Paquette and Redaelli 2015). As a result, arts management education in European third-level institutions has tended to value applied skills in business management and entrepreneurialism as well as the more technical aspects of producing artwork (Brkić 2009, p. 270, see also Dewey and Wyszomirski 2004; Suteu 2006).

The rationale for this emphasis has not been greatly researched, but some reasons will be advanced here. For one, arts management as a field of study developed from practical training needs that emerged in Europe in the 1960s when an increase in arts and cultural infrastructure there required professionals with new expertise to staff them (Suteu 2006; Paquette and Redaelli 2015). In addition, the development of the Bologna Process, which has allowed the transfer of qualifications from higher education institutes between European countries, has likely influenced a weighting of ‘transferable’ skills within arts management degrees (for more discussion see Sternal 2007). Since that time, there has been a breadth of development of third-level and professional development courses outside of Europe (Boylan 2000; Dragičević Šešić 2015). Many of these programmes in arts management and cultural policy have involved the engagement of practitioners in design and teaching (Suteu 2006; Paquette and Redaelli 2015). These are individuals who:

have developed their expertise ‘on the job’ ...[For them,] learning through experience, be it by trial and error or with and from colleagues, has been the norm.

(Summerton 2009, p. 115)

It is thus not surprising that ‘real world’, practical experience is highly valued in educational programme content. As a result, such programmes tend to position the relevance of cultural policy to arts management as the context (political and spatial) for actions and behaviours within arts management practice (Suteu 2006).

In this vein, educational study of cultural policy in relation to arts management has been shown to “highlight the role of public governance as a higher principle” against which arts management practice is situated (quote from Brkić 2009: 270, see also Bennett 2001, Schuster 2003, Dragičević Šešić and Dragojević 2005). Sternal (2007, p. 69) explains:

Many [arts management and cultural policy] programmes, even if they do not mention cultural policy in their names, devote substantial space to issues concerning this topic, with courses such as European/national/regional cultural policy; local and regional cultural development policies, cultural policy instruments, historical development of cultural policies in Europe; and cultural policy: study, analysis, action.

This assessment has implications for how the relationship between arts management and cultural policy is reviewed, critiqued and understood within arts management research. In fact, cultural policy is still relatively absent in much published work presented in academic journals and conference proceedings dedicated to arts management. Topics instead focus on operative, professional issues; those related to marketing, audiences, consumer behaviour, institutional governance, strategic management and planning (Evrard and Colbert 2000;

Pérez-Cabañero and Cuadrado-García 2011). Though networks like ENCATC (European network on cultural management and policy) have been addressing this gap. As a result, Paquette and Redaelli (2015, p. 10) argue that the “research discourse around arts management is still relatively weak”, while Devereaux (2009, p. 68) has found that the discipline lacks critical discourse around the “assumptions” and “traditions” from which the field operates. So, when viewed as the frame in which arts management practice exists, examination of cultural policy is often held as the purview of theoretical, critical and “intellectual” reflection, with study and research in arts management appearing to serve more functional or technical purposes (Suteu 2006; Devereaux 2009, p. 68). This delineation has tended to position cultural policy as a more legitimated field of academic study to that of arts management.

Perspectives on agency

These perspectives further imply that cultural policy has an inherent power over arts management practice. They place the arts manager as a passive delivery agent of specific and fixed approaches to practice that serve policy goals. Such an interpretation may not be surprising when considering the strong involvement of state bureaucrats and policymakers in the development of many European arts management and cultural policy training programmes. In fact, Dubois (2016) has pointed out the correlation in changes in cultural policy and the professionalisation of arts management. Suteu (2006), Sternal (2007) and Dragičević Šešić (2015) remind us of the influential roles both UNESCO and the Council of Europe have played in the development of arts, cultural policy and cultural management training worldwide. The UNESCO Chairs Programme has led to the evolution of a number of higher education programmes in places such as Serbia, Lithuania and Spain. Work by the Council of Europe helped initiate the establishment of the European Network of Cultural Administration Training Centres in 1992 as well as a number of networks for professional development and training (Suteu 1999, 2006). Dragičević Šešić (2015, p. 102) details the many networks at play today, including, but not limited to, Trans Europe Halles, Culture Action Europe and the Soros Art and Culture Network Programme. With regards to cultural policy, there is the International Federation of Arts Councils and Culture Agencies (IFACCA), which connects a global network of arts councils and ministries of culture in over 80 countries.

The involvement of policymakers in establishing higher education training of arts managers is also seen in the UK, particularly England, where the Arts Council partnered with City University in establishing what is largely regarded as the first arts administration training programme in the late 1960s/early 1970s (Sternal 2007).² This relationship, in particular, is an example of how changing requirements for efficiency and effectiveness in public sector accountability for state funding had a direct impact on the training and development of arts managers in Europe. These developments have likely fostered the perspective that the areas of arts management and cultural policy interact as delivery agent and context, respectively.

In fact, this development of arts management as a discipline of study and research in Europe since the 1960s/70s was also a result of changing impressions of the role of arts and culture as a resource for addressing social, political and economic challenges in public policy (Suteu 2006). Since the 1970s, US and European cultural policy has associated publicly funded arts and culture with urban regeneration and tourism through, for instance, flagship cultural projects and the Capital of Culture programme as well as international cultural exchange projects (Bianchini and Parkinson 1993, Garcia 2005). Dragičević Šešić (2015) explains the increasing social, political and cultural importance of arts managers in parts of Western and Eastern Europe at local, national and international levels at the fall of the

Berlin Wall. This focus has been particularly visible in the UK since New Labour came to government in 1997. While long recognised in community art circles, this period saw the practice of cultural institutions and in turn, arts managers, in the UK officially ‘attached’ to public policies regarding major societal concerns such as social inclusion, job creation, education, diplomacy, equality and social justice (Matarasso 1997; Gray 2007). In 2000, the UK’s Department for Culture, Media & Sport, which focuses much of its work on England, declared that museums (and presumably other cultural organisations) were now ‘centres of social change’ (Department for Culture, Media & Sport 2000). Similar policies can still be found in Northern Ireland’s former Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure (subsumed into the Department for Communities in 2016) (Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure 2015), with strategies in Wales and Scotland making similar intimations (CyMAL 2010; Creative Scotland 2014). On an international level, UNESCO policies have argued for the role of culture in peace and reconciliation, protection of cultural diversity and promotion of sustainable development (UNESCO 2005, 2013, 2014). It can be argued that this evolution not only makes the role of policy significant to the work of practice, but also the work of arts managers significant in shaping policymaking. While still servicing public policy goals, arts managers are not mere instruments, but, as articulated in the UN’s *Declaration of Arc-et-Senans* in 1972, active “operators and mediators at different levels of action and decision” (United Nations 1972 quoted in Suteu 2006, p. 21).

Following studies on ‘cultural intermediaries’ (Bourdieu 2000; Maguire and Matthews 2014), reading arts managers as mediators reveals their potential agency in the policymaking process as shapers of the “use values and exchange values” of arts and culture (Negus 2002, p. 504) in the political arena. Doing so also highlights the possibility of a more reciprocal relationship between cultural policy and arts management practice. In fact, some support for public policies from managers within the cultural sector has been evidenced (see Durrer and O’Brien 2014; Nisbett 2013; Newsinger and Green 2016). Dragičević Šešić (2015) sees arts managers as participants in the cultural policymaking process alongside funders, donors and politicians. Woddis (2014) argues similarly in her study on theatre practitioners. Applying public policy research, she contends that arts practitioners, including managers, contribute to cultural policymaking in two ways. For one, they are key actors in state agencies, quangos, arts development agencies, councils and national cultural institutions that participate in the design and development of cultural policy directives and strategies (Schuster 2003). They also influence policy development in their involvement in consultation processes or advocacy activities and campaigns. This role can take place locally, nationally and internationally. It is evidenced in both professional and third-level education-based networking groups, which stress ways to influence policy through advocacy actions and international knowledge exchange activities and projects (see the work of ENCATC for third-level education networking at EU level and Trans Europe Halles for arts and cultural organisations, Suteu 1999; Dragičević Šešić and Dragojević 2005; Rowntree *et al.* 2010).

Socialisation processes are critical here, as the opportunity to actually influence policy may depend upon an arts manager’s disposition, professional status and position, management (especially advocacy) skills and network (Woddis 2014). Still, the role, perceptions and practices of arts managers are often neglected in arts management and cultural policy research (Woddis 2014; Newsinger and Green 2016). In fact, there appears to be a lack of understanding of arts management practices and their relationship to cultural policy and artistic production (see McCall 2012 for some discussion on this). For instance, Gray (2009), a political scientist by training, has demonstrated that in the six leading political and public administration journals, there were only four articles on museums and galleries in a

collective 347 years of publication. Others researching in the UK have tended to focus on the impact of policy on practice (such as Kawashima 2000; Belfiore 2004) or have called for a rethinking of cultural policy agendas for practice (for example, Miles and Sullivan 2012). Only recently have researchers, educators and practitioners started to consider the power and agency of arts managers in the policymaking process (see, for example, Newsinger and Green 2016; Dragičević Šešić 2015; Bell and Oakley 2014; McCall 2012; Rowntree *et al.* 2010; Nisbett 2013). These studies reveal a need for greater understanding of the institutional and social dynamics underlying exchanges between arts management and cultural policy. How the relationship of arts management to cultural policy is perceived and experienced in the realms of arts management education and practice will shed light on the habits and assumptions involved in these interactions.

Methodology and data

The literature reviewed demonstrates that the hybrid nature of arts management and cultural policy as both academic and vocational disciplines makes defining each field, and the precise relationship of one to the other, difficult. Still, two main perceptions regarding how these areas interact do emerge from the literature. The first describes cultural policy as an authoritative context in which arts management operates. This stance positions arts managers as passive receivers of funding and thus delivery agents for policy directives. Another interpretation emphasises a different degree of interaction between arts management and cultural policy, one in which arts managers have greater agency in the policymaking process. This perspective sees arts management practice and individual arts managers as having active roles in influencing and shaping policy. Such activity tends to occur through the exchange that takes place in the management of artistic projects, advocacy work and networks.

Inherent in these perspectives are assumptions regarding where power is located in the relationship between arts management and cultural policy. The frames of arts management *practice* and *education* provide an effective foundation from which to explore these assumptions and how they manifest and develop in the socialisation of arts managers. These two areas are of particular interest because, as the discussion above demonstrates, they are deeply interlinked with practitioners (policymakers and arts managers) often involved in the formation and teaching of higher educational courses in arts management as well as cultural policy. More significantly, these realms are where the historical, institutional and social traditions, principles, habits and values of arts management and cultural policy are exchanged, challenged, cemented and/or reproduced (Paquette and Redaelli 2015). Gathering an understanding of the perspectives of the individuals (arts managers, educators, students and cultural policymakers) involved in these fields of practice will develop a fuller picture of how the two fields do, and may, relate on institutional and social levels. As such, this study takes an interpretive approach (Taylor 1971; Geertz 1973; Denzin 2007) to investigate individuals' interpretations and their experiences of the interaction between arts management and cultural policy. While discussions with arts managers focused on their understanding and experience of policy, those with educators/academics focused on course content and the placement of cultural policy in relation to arts management within course structure.

Arts management and cultural policy practice and study within the UK provide a good basis for examining this relationship more closely. O'Brien (2013) has previously illustrated the position of UK cultural policy research as a valuable international case study. With respect to arts management, the region has a strong tradition of state funding for the arts, heritage and culture with a well-developed cultural infrastructure and a highly professionalised

management practice that has international influence (Pick 1980; Dragičević Šešić 2003; Tchouikina 2010). This influence is underpinned by an established framework for training those who want to enter the field, including everything from university degree courses to professional development, such as the Clore Leadership Programme. Furthermore, the dynamic between arts management practice and cultural policy has changed much as a result of cultural policy since the New Labour government but in ways still in need of study (Hesmondhalgh *et al.* 2015).

This chapter draws upon early insights from two data sets, still in formation. At this stage in the study, these data sets focus on two ‘types’ of participants: arts managers (identified as AM) and educators (identified as E). Qualitative approaches, employed here, allow research participants to describe the meanings, beliefs and values they attach to their experiences, which form the assumptions and traditions of the field (Geertz 1973; Delanty 1997). First is an audit of seven arts management and cultural policy programmes within UK universities. These courses are taught by a combination of arts management practitioners and cultural policy scholars, and all produce research within both areas. All of the institutions offer courses in either cultural policy or arts management, or both. Some of these were explicitly labelled as such, for example, ‘MA Cultural Policy and Arts Management’, and others had more specific titles yet were essentially based on these fields, such as ‘Festival Management’. As Masters level programmes are more common and longer established within Europe (Brkić 2009), postgraduate rather than undergraduate degrees are the focus here. There are fewer opportunities and options to study cultural policy or arts management as an undergraduate degree, which straightforwardly reflects the level of specialisation required and the professionalisation of the sector (Paquette and Redaelli 2015).

The initial audit and scoping was then followed by email interviews (Mann and Stewart 2000) with academic staff members, where further enquiries about the structures of their degree programmes and their understanding of the relationship between arts management and cultural policy were made. These participants are teaching staff, module convenors and course directors. They were selected on the basis of their involvement in the structure, design and delivery of their degree programmes. Whilst recognising the key influence of directors in terms of course design (Suteu 2006, p. 52), it is also understood that individual staff members shape the content of courses and make key decisions about what materials to include within their modules and individual lectures and seminars. Some of the educators participating in the study would have previously worked as arts managers themselves, having shifted into academic careers.

The second set involves qualitative interviews with arts managers (N = 6) with experience working in England, Scotland and Northern Ireland. These individuals are involved in all or some of the following activities: leading, programming, planning, organising and/or marketing publicly funded arts and cultural services and goods for a public audience. Interviews seek to ascertain their understanding of the relationship between arts management and cultural policy, how they comprehend cultural policy and how political shifts impact on their daily practice. In order to ensure some exposure to cultural policy, arts managers selected for study have mid- to higher-level managerial positions. Their status means that they may manage a number of staff members or volunteers to deliver their programme of work, and/or they oversee a programme, e.g. education, artistic, curatorial, director and therefore lead in liaising with social and/or cultural policymakers in a particular area of practice (e.g. arts and health, youth arts, etc...). Most of the research participants, both practicing arts managers and educators, would have learned arts management practice ‘on-the-job’, with a few having received formal training. Thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006), a systematic technique

within the social sciences that aims to identify prominent themes and provides a complex analysis of their meaning in context, was applied to both data sets.

Before sharing this data, it is important to put it into context. At the time of collection in early to mid 2015, austerity culture as part of the global banking crisis and ensuing recession had fully hit the publicly funded sector. Funding cuts affected all the arm's length bodies for arts and culture in the UK with Northern Ireland being the most severe. Arts Council Northern Ireland passed an 11.2% cut from the Northern Ireland Executive's 2015–6 budget on to the sector. This cut was coupled with the announcement that Northern Ireland's Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure would be subsumed into a Department for Communities in 2016. Within England, recognition and debate about the geographic imbalance of arts funding between London and the regions was growing alongside blows suffered by the arts due to major changes in provision from local authorities. These difficulties have emerged aside greater recognition as to the lack of equality of opportunity and thus diversity reflected in the sector's labour force, including artists (O'Brien and Oakley 2015). These circumstances would undoubtedly impact on research participants' perceptions and articulations of cultural policy.

Discussion

Emerging findings from the data thus far support both interpretations found in the literature: 1) that cultural policy is viewed as the operational context for arts management practice, in which 2) individual or organisational influence is possible. Both educators and arts managers interviewed reveal that while power seems to reside in the policy arena, arts management and cultural policy have a symbiotic relationship that is at times compatible and at times fragmented or oppositional. Cultural policy frames the conditions in which arts management activity takes place. However, the extent to which such conditions are viewed as malleable, guiding, directing or restricting differs amongst respondents. The socialisation of arts managers into the field of practice appears to have a strong bearing on this perception and an arts manager's potential role or agency in the cultural policymaking process. Individual dispositions and beliefs as well as the like-mindedness shared among managers, policymakers and public service bureaucrats, such as political, social and aesthetic values, are factors that may influence the dynamics of policymaking as well as arts management practice.

These issues are further explored below. The first section, *Framing Arts Management Practice*, explores how cultural policy can be seen to structure arts management practice. Section two details how this approach may infringe upon the arm's length principle upon which UK cultural policy is founded. What can result is an arts and cultural sector that is responsive to the social, political and economic needs of the state with little recourse to be otherwise. Sections three, four and five highlight how this alignment between policy and practice is both a social and an institutional process, subject to the professional standing of, and social relationships between, individuals and organisations within both fields of policymaking and arts management.

Framing arts management practice

Both educators and arts managers describe cultural policy as the context or “framework” (AM2) in which arts management practice occurs. At one side of the scale, cultural policy is

viewed as a set of guidelines for arts management practice; on the other, it is perceived as a set of strict requirements that legitimise arts (management) practice. Two arts managers explain:

[Cultural policy is where] ...a body of people would have collective opinion on what they would fund [or endorse in some way]... I suppose that's usually government isn't it, who make money available? Or someone like the [national] Arts Council or [the]... city council. That, I'm assuming they have a policy that they don't just look at each individual project in relation to nothing. There's some sort of guidelines....

(AM1)

Do you pander to the cultural policy or the... [strategy] of the Arts Council in order to get funding or do you not do that and continue to do the work that you want to do and not get funding?

(AM4)

So, for arts managers interviewed, cultural policy is an articulation of 'why' government funds artistic activity (Mulcahy 2006). It can feel "confining" and impact on artistic programming:

There's an awareness of how cultural policy affects the kind of work that you do and can affect how venues programme what they programme and when it comes to teaching and developing projects in education and community context. It's shaped by that, maybe because the funding is shaped by that and has been I think really since I started working.

(AM2)

The operational authority of cultural policy is wielded on arts management practice financially. As a result, the relationship between the two is typically perceived as a transactional one. An arts manager explains how negotiating policy requirements impacts finances: "We know that if we resist those [cultural policy] agendas, it is very likely that funding will be removed." (AM6). It thus becomes necessary to engage, or "fit in" (AM4) with policy in order to survive financially with some arts managers perceiving it has little relevance to the everyday realities of practice.

While educators acknowledge these realities, they tend to place conceptual emphasis on the contextual connection between arts management and cultural policy. Though not exclusively, many of the MA programmes examined here seem to stress the applied and technical aspects of management in modules on marketing, business planning, governance and fundraising. Teaching and learning involves lectures with professionals and what Devereaux (2009, p. 67) refers to as "pragmatic, action-oriented issues" – project based activity and work placements along with written assessments where students apply knowledge to essays as well as practically, in making their own fundraising and marketing strategies, for example. While theories of management, leadership, and entrepreneurship are explored there, cultural policy module descriptions more overtly emphasise "theoretical perspectives" and from diverse disciplines, including political science, cultural studies and sociology.

In cultural policy modules, arts management is but one "part of the focus of cultural policy" (E1). In being the context for arts management practice, cultural policy is typically, though not wholly, described as a wider set of circumstances in which that practice occurs. From the educators' perspective it appears that the transactional monetary exchange

between the two is how that context is realised, though it is but one aspect of their relationship. It also includes consideration of the historical, political, spatial and socio-economic conditions surrounding arts and cultural production and consumption as well as their “impact” on arts management in real terms (E1, E2, E5, E6). Lessons and assessments appear to be less focused on the technical aspects of developing a state policy and more on “intellectual reflection” where students explore the implicit and explicit “traditions”, norms and “principles” for artistic and cultural activity in society (Devereaux 2009, p. 67), as embedded in state policy.

As a result, learning about cultural policy provides opportunity for arts managers to, “evaluate”, “analyse” (E3) and think critically about power relationships and value choices inherent in the relationship between arts/culture and society and policy rhetoric (regarding, e.g. cultural participation, creative labour, international practices). Though how this relationship may play out in practice does not overtly appear to be addressed in modules, except, perhaps, so far as guest speakers may address the subject. Nevertheless, such engagement may, as Suteu (2006) implies, foster greater reflective arts management practice for those having undergone training. Specifically, “critical capacities and empowering competencies” that can promote one’s adaptability to different political and spatial contexts. Suteu (2006) indicates that by doing so, arts managers will be enabled to take a more (and perhaps realise their existing) agentic role in influencing cultural policymaking at local, national and even international level. What impact this training has in developing agency in the policymaking process is, however, unclear.

‘Directing the arm’ of arts management

Interviews with both educators and arts managers show that understanding the relationship between cultural policy and arts management as a transactional one means that cultural policy operationalises arts management activity – as both ‘goods’ and ‘services – in exchange for financial support. Within a public policy context these goods and services are recognised as socio-economic resources for the State. Gray (2007, p. 210) has explained that the low-priority set for arts and culture as a dedicated area of public policy by the UK government has cultivated an “attachment... of arts and cultural policies to other sets of policy concerns” in order to garner and maintain political and financial support. One arts manager explains, “A lot of cultural policy is driven by ideas about funding, so very often those policies grow out of a need to defend cultural spending” (AM6).

As a result, cultural policy has come to address not only creative and artistic expression, but also wider social, economic and political issues, such as promoting democracy, celebrating national image, creating jobs, and fostering social cohesion. The manipulation of the arts for tackling other public policy areas was acknowledged by arts managers interviewed. One illustrates, “You’re aware of certain reasons why you’re doing things either socially, economically, um, to develop certain things in certain areas” (AM2). In this regard, it appears as if cultural policy can be interpreted as a ‘utilitarian’ arts policy (Mulcahy 2006; Gray 2007), which one arts manager describes as being “inflicted upon artists” (AM4).

Such remarks by arts managers raise questions about the ‘arm’s length’ principle at the heart of UK cultural policy. In actual fact, valuing the arts and culture in ways relevant to other public policy areas appears to have fostered a greater level of “intimacy” between cultural policy and arts management (Quinn 1997, p. 128); a relationship by which cultural policy can be understood as directing or influencing arts managers in their work:

“Often where you work is dictated by cultural policy because that funding is targeted towards those areas. You know you might be asked to work with a certain group of people...”
(AM2)

The same arts manager continues: “I have been told by local authority staff to have projects up and ready, so that they fit in [with funding requirements as they arise]” (AM2).

This intimacy is “politically determined” (Mulcahy 2006, p. 320). Two respondents explain,

“... I keep abreast of political debate, it’s a specialist political debate ... and if you do that and you’re paying attention to what politicians say and the kind of things they respond to ... you get a better sense of what [policies] might come next”
(AM6)

“The ‘need to know’ about policy is more urgent because of the pernicious things [funding cuts] that are now going on ... if you were working in the arts pre-2008 in a period of growth and investment and your reality has been that economic bubble, you might not have engaged with cultural policy in the way that you’ll need to now [during this time of austerity]”
(AM5)

Arts managers interviewed share Schuster’s (2003, p. 45) perspective from his research on cultural policy in the United States; specifically that policies respond “to the politics of the moment.” In other words, the political climate and which party holds government office has impact on how cultural policy is interpreted and experienced by arts managers (see also Chaney 2014). These circumstances leave the sector in a state of structural “impermanence” (AM5), with policies subject to the values and beliefs of changing political parties, politicians and public administrators (see also Belfiore and Bennett 2010). Without a perceived “coherent narrative” (AM5) for State support for the arts, the sector is left to determine what types of political alignment might foster their survival. One educator indicated that viewing policy in such a deterministic way gives it too great a “status” (E1). Both educators and arts managers reflected on how engaging with and learning about policy, then, becomes about “crisis management” (E1, AM5) rather than about “self-sufficiency” (E1).

As a result, the arm’s length principle allows bodies like the Arts Council to yield significant authority over the arts in practice. Agendas can be set without clear accountability to, or recourse by, the sector (Quinn 1997, p. 154). One arts manager explains:

“...If you feel a policy is not appropriate, you can have that conversation and you can resist to an extent but if you take it to an extreme or you don’t win that argument then your funding will be removed so it’s something you have to be constantly aware of and you can’t let the ball drop”
(AM6)

This perception indicates that informal dialogue and negotiation rather than any formalised process is how recourse is achieved. Such an approach means that individual beliefs, personalities and mutual affinity between arts managers, public service bureaucrats and cultural policy makers may play a large part in shaping policy and funding decisions as well as practice.

Alignment between practice and policy

Arts managers appear to recognise and/or accept a relationship between cultural policy and arts management that is based on social and economic return for investment in the arts. Where arts management activity must be aligned with policy goals, arts managers appear to look for mechanisms, which are perceived to be mutually beneficial to the aims of both policy and practice. One arts manager demonstrates the importance of finding alignment:

“...[Cultural policy goals have] to be really aligned with our artistic vision and it has to go together... I think probably, it’s about trying to match those two things together over the next period and see where there’s common ground.... “

(AM2)

Political alignment is perceived to both protect and challenge artistic and creative autonomy. In describing how policy can hamper arts management practice, one arts manager positions cultural policy as oppositional to arts management:

“I worry from my organisation’s perspective that it [cultural policy] confines you. Then I worry about how that affects the work that people are making. You’re trying to fit into strands [policy dictates] that have come down from...[ministerial department] policies into the Arts Council’s policy down to the arts organisations. Sometimes I wish there were no restrictions...I think being aware of it [cultural policy] might be restrictive...”

(AM4)

Another highlights the tensions that result from alignment:

“Of course there is a wonderful impact in terms of developing confidence and skill sets and citizenship etc... But you can’t lead by the utilitarian argument. The poetry has got to be there and the imagination and the space for the unexplored and unthinkable. You can’t be too prescriptive... that’s always hovering around as a backlash... I think that’s something to be really wary of”

(AM3)

However, politics can also be perceived to help arts managers advance artistic agendas, an idea that will be explored further in the next section. This support was most widely perceived to take place at the local level. Arts managers reflected positive relationships with their local authority funders, both historically and currently. It appears that the shared territorial space fosters opportunities to find commonalities for two-way dialogue, engagement and learning through practice, and partnerships through which individuals feel they are being heard and in ways that may “inform...cultural policy” (AM4). Similarly, local authority arts services provide opportunities for educators to give students direct, ‘real-world’ perspectives and experiences of cultural policymaking not necessarily available at Arts Council or ministerial level. Further research is needed to explore the extent of this impression.

Practice driving policy

The intimacy perceived between policy and practice, particularly the operationalisation of the arts as resources for social and economic policy concerns, indicates that there is the

potential for arts management to yield influence on cultural policy. Arts managers and educators reflected on the potential role of arts managers in innovating and directing change in the sector. For instance, one arts manager described how her organisation's practice in the 1980s and 1990s "ultimately did lead to a shift in cultural policy" (AM3) in the way that it challenged the expectations of funders and policymakers. She continues:

"We decided [to develop a programme outside our usual activity]... ..And the Arts Council said to us, 'why are you doing that? We don't fund you to do that. You don't have to do that.'

"...We sort of looked at them and it was like, 'Do you think we do the work that we do just because you give us the money to do it?'..."

"So ... in that sense, cultural policy was lagging behind [arts management practice] again. People couldn't really understand what we were doing..."

"...[As a result], the practice was a catalyst, which ultimately feeds into cultural policy. And what is new and different, and there is resistance to adopting at one point [what] will soon become common"

(AM3)

Examples where arts managers interviewed described they have made an impact on policy are in areas of public health, international exchange, youth arts, and the establishment of arts and business partnerships. Whether or not this impact on policy was actual or perceived is a question.

How the tacit knowledge developed from arts management practice might integrate, or translate, into cultural policies also requires further understanding. The structure of UK public policymaking is based on a culture of evidence-based policy-making, which has become more prevalent since New Labour government (Sanderson 2002). In this process, policy sets arguably measurable targets for public service performance based on equally arguable 'objective' evidence. Research in the UK has long contended that this linear, deterministic and reductionist approach is inappropriately applied within cultural policymaking, where arts and cultural activities rely on risk-taking, flexibility and experimentation rather than predictability (Selwood 2002; Belfiore 2004; Geyer 2012). Both academia and the professional arts and cultural sector have produced studies and evaluations that both legitimise and challenge this method (Newsinger and Green 2016).

Still, policymakers draw on more than these assets for making decisions. Writing in 1978 (p. 304), LJ Sharpe explained the significance of practice, or "accumulated experience" in shaping the British policymaking tradition. Other sources can include academic research, consultancy reports, professional publications and activities by interest groups and professional associations (Jennings and Hall 2012). Weiss (1995) and Jennings and Hall (2012) have found that the types of information policymakers consult vary considerably, as does the value they place on these different sources. In fact, social interaction and personal value systems have a strong bearing on policymaking and analysis (Bevir *et al.* 2003). Information can be communicated formally, via written submission or meeting or informally, in conversations over lunches and at conferences, for instance.

Within the arts, Suteu (2006) and Woddis (2014) identify network memberships and activities aimed at specific advocacy and lobbying goals as ways to impact on policy. While this work is not necessarily solicited by cultural policymakers as part of any consultation process, the financial and intellectual resources evident in the collective group make arts managers part of legitimised "networks and circles [of policy] influence" (AM2). This influence increases when arts networks join into larger coalitions (Beyers and Braun 2014). Nisbett's

(2013) research on cultural diplomacy activities carried out by museum professionals goes a step further in exploring arts managers' potential involvement in policymaking. Her work demonstrates how specific arts management activities may foster support for and the development of new cultural policies that are mutually beneficial to policymakers and practitioners. The study sets out a cause to look more closely at the "positive and symbiotic" (Nisbett 2013, p. 562) nature of the relationship between arts management and cultural policy.

Sites of access

The capacity to influence policy, however, is dependent upon having direct access to policymakers and civil servants. Access points to cultural policymaking bodies, individual policymakers and public service bureaucrats may be established in various ways. Policy studies, including cultural policy specifically, demonstrate that the policymaking process typically involves the interaction of a network of different types of governmental and non-governmental actors that have professional and/or social relationships with one another (Hogwood and Gunn 1984; Beyers 2004; Woddis 2014). Education in arts management has become a way in which to make connections to policymakers. In fact, studying arts management in itself is an opportunity to build one's professional network (Suteu 2006). For instance, all of the programmes reviewed so far have policymakers from local authority and Arts Council levels as guest speakers. Within the profession itself, access (or not) to cultural policymakers is established based on the following: 1) the art form in which an arts manager specialises, 2) the arts manager's position or status within the organisation in which he or she is based and/or 3) the focus of the work that person does, for instance, as a marketing or community outreach professional or artistic director. Each contributes to a perceived level of legitimacy for involvement in a given policymaking venture.

Beyond the obligatory funding application process, an organisation's position within the arts and cultural sector, artistically, politically, geographically, spatially and financially can correlate with the level of access to, engagement in and influence on cultural policymaking at local and national levels. As mentioned above, the resources available to an organisation or group play a large part in influencing the access individual practitioners have to cultural policymakers. These resources include budget, number of staff and status within the art world (Woddis 2014; Beyers and Braun 2014).

Financial resources, or more specifically the monetary exchange that takes place between policy body and arts organisation can influence not only awareness of policy, but also access to policy makers:

If you are a regularly funded organisation, you're going to understand a lot more [about cultural policy] but if you are a freelance producer, you're maybe not going to know... I do think that when you're in a small arts organisation, it's not high on people's agendas. (AM5)

Beyers (2004, p. 5) explains that in order to have access to policymakers, "credible and valid expertise" is required. A "regularly funded organisation" in the UK is one that receives funding for core operational costs from the regional Arts Council. This award is an acknowledgement that the organisation is conducting itself in a way that matches the regional Arts Council's own mission. It is thus a financial validation of expertise within the arts and cultural sector of a given region, area of practice (e.g. community arts, arts in education)

and/or artform. The research also indicates that the position of the arts manager within the cultural organisation is crucial to determining access. Those in leadership positions appear to have little choice but to engage with cultural policy:

I'm much more aware [of policy], as a director, as I'm having direct conversations with the funders and in order to be able to do my job well, I need to be on top of those agendas. (AM6)

For others, engagement appears to be on a 'need to know basis', which suggests that there is little desire to learn about policy for its own sake. Another arts manager reflected on how during her previous experience working in larger arts organisations she had no engagement with, or awareness of, cultural policy. Now, working in a smaller arts organisation with less staff she is acutely aware of the influence cultural policy holds on the arts:

Previously ... I suppose I was working with such large organisations, that I, or being a freelance, I would have had no, nothing to do... but having [now] worked at ... a small organisation and having to deal with all of the funders and things.... (AM5)

Art world status also appears to be a determinant of access to policymakers and decision-making processes. Status is typically determined by the commercial exchange, audience figures and/or critical reception of creative/artistic output (Harris 2004). One arts manager indicates that the art form in which she works influences her personal and professional access to cultural policymakers:

I work in the dance sector ... where it's quite a small world, so I would meet people who work for [the] Arts Council—both people who do the research and the policy development there. (AM1)

Her experience resonates with research from political science, which indicates that smaller territories of practice provide individuals with social and spatial 'nearness' to centres of power and elite decision makers (Bray 1992; Olafsson 1998). Territories of practice could constitute a geographical area, an art form or a funding relationship, for instance. Regarding geography, the same respondent continues,

We're also a regional organisation, so we would have sat on different...[art form specific] networks which work with Arts Council to develop policy around arts development. (AM1)

Additionally and as previously explored, direct contact and exchange with local government arts officers or public servants and local level politicians also appears to be an important access point:

Relationships and trust further down the chain [at local government level] are definitely strong. But um, why is that, because I think with the council we're engaged in our local community more on the ground... We're not far away sitting [or meeting] in an office in [national government] or in the [national] Arts Council's head office. (AM3)

As these examples show, access to policymaking is predicated on perceptions of power, prestige and mutual interest. These perceptions are based on economic circumstances, party politics and administrative, institutional and art form structures and cultures. As a result, alignment of beliefs and values, as well as mutual trust, is necessary to develop mutually beneficial policy objectives (Bevir *et al.* 2003). Arts managers clearly have a role to play here. Their ability and capacity to do so is likely related to how they are socialised into and within the profession. Yet, the extent is not yet fully understood.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored how the fields of arts management and cultural policy interact through the experiences and interpretations of individuals involved in practicing arts management and teaching arts management and cultural policy courses in the UK. In doing so, the chapter investigates the manifestation of the relationship in both training and practice. These areas not only constitute important epistemological foundations for both arts management and cultural policy but are also significant sites of socialisation for arts managers. This section will summarise the findings emerging from this study thus far. It will also point to new areas of research that could promote better understanding of the institutional and social dynamics involved in how the value of arts and culture is defined in society and by whom. While this study has focused on the UK specifically, attention will be paid to what may be learnt about the relationship of arts management to cultural policy at an international level.

The emergent findings reflect a fragmented yet allied relationship between arts management and cultural policy. Access to the processes of exchange that take place between cultural policy and arts management is largely based on financial authority, professional standing and/or mutual interest. Due to the transactional nature of state funding for the arts in the UK, cultural policy can no doubt be seen as the framework in which arts management practice takes place. Yet, this influence is erratic, dependent upon changing political interests, individuals' personal beliefs, dispositions and skills and social relationships. Some arts managers appear to respond adeptly to the transitory nature of cultural policy directives, finding ways and means to align their goals to the political interests of the day and beliefs held by individual actors. Such an approach may simultaneously be a form of "crisis management" in the face of adverse funding conditions as well as initiative and "self-sufficiency" (E1).

Mutual interests do exist between the two fields. They share too many common stakeholders for it to be otherwise. In fact, arts managers have been found to match their practice quite comfortably with public policy objectives and in ways that can be perceived to lead rather than follow. Still, while there is acknowledgement of the resourceful nature of the arts for other public policy areas, there is tension around being "too prescriptive" with a sector that requires flexibility and experimentation. So, while alignment between policy and practice is not always forced, it can be contentious. Recognising the role and relationship of arts managers as actors in the cultural policy process locates them as actors in the *business of governance*, rather than as passive recipients of funding merely deployed to implement and deliver the state's vision for culture. Yet, how and why they may do so, and what impact these decisions make, remain unclear (Newsinger and Green 2016).

As a result, a number of new areas of research emerge from this initial analysis. Policy and public administration studies have demonstrated that individuals and institutional cultures and practices play an important part in public policymaking. Yet there are very few studies that unpick the roles arts managers and arts organisations play in the cultural policymaking process. Greater consideration of this role is needed, particularly how specific arts

management activities may justify existing and/or develop new cultural policies. Furthermore, study of the impressions of cultural policymakers themselves is an important area not yet explored by this study.

Policymaking is dependent upon a number of variables as yet not fully explored in the study of arts management practice and cultural policymaking. These include, for instance, the personal beliefs and preferences of individual policymakers for particular issues or practices; the perceived or actual reputation of the arts management practitioner and/or organisation within the arts and cultural sector; personal and professional relationships between policymakers and arts managers and the autonomy and discretionary authority of policymakers and public sector bureaucrats involved (Bevir *et al.* 2003; Schuster 2003; Lipsky 2010; Jennings and Hall 2012). Such investigation would help develop understanding of how tacit knowledge, institutional dynamics and social interaction may influence policy decisions and thus the legitimisation and privileging of particular forms of arts and cultural practice and expression.

This study has indicated there may be different impressions and experiences of influence and alignment between spheres of policy influence at national and local levels. The social interaction that occurs between arts managers and cultural policymakers through network activity and the development of funding bids and projects may contribute to shaping new initiatives in cultural policy at local and regional levels in the UK.

As a result, further study of the interrelation between policy and practice is needed on different regional scales. For instance, comparative examination across different UK executives (i.e. Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England) may yield new insights regarding the specific role that politics and personalities play in cultural policymaking and funding decisions. At an international scale, globalisation and internationalisation have influenced the variety and number of international exchanges taking place in the arts and cultural sector, both commercial and publicly funded. Within the publicly funded sector, exchanges have increased through European networks and cultural-cooperation funding (see Suteu 1999 for the history) and also through international artist residences, festivals and arts management education. These exchanges, which happen at personal levels, have broader political implications as they have been shown to facilitate learning and policy mobility at both organisational and public policy levels (Rowntree *et al.* 2010; Bell and Oakely 2014). Yet, very little is understood about the role of individual practitioners and institutions in this global process (Durrer *et al.* 2016).

Finally, the field of arts management education is vastly under-researched. The research presented here shows that studying cultural policy is thought to build arts managers' capacity for critical and reflective thinking. Suteu (2006, p. 62) goes as far as to say that studying international models of cultural policy can inspire and "internationalise" the perspectives of (future) arts managers. Yet, what impact these courses have on promoting greater "intellectual reflection" and "analysis" of policy or of practice in reality is not fully known. Further comparative research on arts management and cultural policy education at both national and international levels is needed. Such research requires moving beyond an audit of courses to exploring how students apply learning.

In summary, it is certain that arts management and cultural policy are deeply interdependent fields of practice and study. Yet very little research has progressed our understanding of how the two fields interrelate. Further scholarship would develop our understanding of the epistemological foundations – the beliefs, values, assumptions and traditions – on which both fields are based. While focusing on the impressions and experiences of UK arts managers and arts management and cultural policy educators in academia has furthered such understanding, greater knowledge of the complex network of actors involved, how they interact

and where the power is located among them at personal, institutional and spatial/geographic levels is needed. In their work with creative and aesthetic expressions, which are inherently reflective of cultural ideas, knowledge and values, arts managers and cultural policymakers have a critical role directing, administering and mediating “who gets to ‘consume’ and who gets to ‘make’ and what is at any time considered legitimate culture” (O’Brien and Oakley, 2015, p. 3). More study would build critical discourse regarding the institutional and social dynamics underpinning the power structures that determine how and what value becomes attached to particular forms of arts and culture in society.

Notes

- 1 The author would like to thank Dr. Melissa Nisbett for her contribution to the development of the study as well as early stages of the writing process.
- 2 See also Paquette and Redaelli, 2015, p. 20, who talk about the courses as being separate and Suteu, 2006, who refers to the original situation of the course at the Polytechnic of Central London and the transfer to City University.

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