Chapter 4

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Why Urban Cultural Policies?

"We live in a era of priorities, not ideals. Under any form of government, there is not enough public money available to fund everything worthy of support. Money spent on art and culture needs, like everything else, to be justified against other areas of subsidy. ... Without a substantial increase in all forms of public spending, it is socially irresponsible to spend money on arts and culture, if it cannot be rigorously justified."

(Lewis, 1990:1)

Rationales in European Cultural Policy

Why is cultural policy conducted in cities? What is the overall goal and how do politicians legitimise the fact that taxpayers' money is spent on purposes that are obscure to a large segment of the voters? Policies always come with a rationale – so should cultural policies. Conventional sources of public funding are re-assessing why they give money to culture and for what purposes, and are demanding that culture provides a reinvigorated rationale of its aims and goals. The question is whether these rationales are explicit or implicit. And whether these rationales are used for governing cultural policy in practice. Or are they solely statements of intention that are aired on ceremonial occasions and polished up when cultural schemes are to be revised and politicians re-elected? What do we want with culture and art – and what does culture, and art, want with us, you could ask.

The rationales underlying cultural policy have changed during the last 10 – 20 years, or put more correctly: more rationales have appeared. In current cultural policy research the *instrumentalisation* of culture is increasingly discussed. Instrumental cultural policy can be defined as "to use cultural venues and cultural investments as a means or instrument to attain goals in other than cultural areas... the instrumental aspect lies in emphasizing culture and cultural ventures as a means and not an end in itself" (Vestheim 1994: 65).

On the basis of data and information from nine surveys conducted by CIRCLE, UNESCO and ERICArts in the 1990s Ritva Mitchell has mapped the mainstream changes in European cultural policies. Even though she concludes that few national policies have managed to harness the arts and culture to serve economic and social development, she emphasises: "One should note that an increasing number of cultural policy decision-makers are now ready to argue that cultural policy is not worth being called a policy, if it is not intended to have a role in the economic and social development of European societies, regions and local communities. In more general terms, effective cultural policy is expected to strike the right balance between the traditional promotion of the arts and culture and their contribution to economic and social development" (Mitchell 2004: 459).

In the report on *The Nordic Cultural Model*, Peter Duelund uses the concept of *performative management* to explain this tendency and he writes: "The post-war role of the welfare state in Nordic cultural policy was basically to regulate the economic institutions in order to ensure artistic freedom and cultural diversity. But today, the state, regional and local authorities have entered into a symbiosis with the private sector to give a higher priority to the economic basis of arts and culture. Experience and turnover have gradually replaced the original goals of cultural policy, i.e. participation, education and enlightenment" (Duelund 2004: 52–21).

Duelund's point is that the financial and political institutions have *colonised* the inner values of art and culture. The discussion does not possess a special Nordic flavour, but is currently influencing cultural policy related discussion on a European level, where the concern over the integrity and survival of art has ranked high on the agenda since the late eighties. "Instead of new Mozarts and Rimbauds, France can now boast only events, prestige building and statistics on the volume of visitors" was the assertion of the French critic Marc Fumaroli (Fumaroli 1991: 20).

Also British cultural policy has received strong criticism for its instrumental features (Belfiori 2003). Whereas the economic rationale became explicit with the rise of neoliberalism during the 1980s, the rationale towards the end of the century shifted at least partly from the economic to the social. It was supposed to solve the problem of social exclusion as well as stimulating enterprise.

The question is whether cultural policy has fundamentally changed its rationale today through replacing a humanistic by an instrumental rationale or whether several ra-

tionales are co-existing at the same time, a sort of layer on layer cultural policy, or rather that cultural policy is being constituted in the cross-pressure between the different rationales. As Béla Rátsky (1998) concludes in her analysis of the evolution of national cultural policy debates, there is no single simple narrative that would help us understand the development of national cultural policies in Europe.

The same is true of the development of the cultural policy for European cities. Here one will often find a more complex rationale referring to more than one objective or, in other words, a multi-rational approach. In his article *Remaking European cities: the role of cultural policies* Franco Bianchini states: "The consolidation of cultural policy's function as a strategy for economic development, city marketing and physical regeneration does not mean that older arguments for interventions in this area of cultural policy-making have been abandoned. Rather, old and new, social and economic, community and elite-orientated arguments coexist, often uneasily, within the agenda of city governments" (Bianchini 1993: 2–3).

The Four E's – A Model for the Analysis of Rationales in Urban Cultural Policy

In the context of EUROCULT21, we have been working on the basis of a model that reflects the discussion in progress on rationales or on legitimisations of the cultural policy in European cities and urban areas. The EUROCULT21 model is based on The Four E's: Enlightenment, Empowerment, Economic Impact and Entertainment. The model has emerged from the theoretical and practical problems that were raised at the EUROCULT21's Training Event June 12-14 2003 in Helsinki. This event showed a clearly expressed need for a more theoretically based overall model as a platform for future discussions and analyses.

First, the aim of the model has been to serve as a framework for

the discussion of European cities' present and future cultural policy, i.e. as an attempt to structure a debate, which may easily become diffuse. Here it has been used as background material and a presentation for discussion of the trends and problems of cultural policies in cities posed in the 21st Century in connection with the ten national workshops that were conducted in a EUROCULT21 context. In presenting the model, a large number of questions were put forward. These questions should be seen as sources of inspiration for debate rather than serving as a regular checklist since, partly, time available has been limited and, partly, questions have been of differing relevance to the cities involved. The questions presented are the following:

What are the overall rationales (goals) of the cultural policies of the cities?
- Do these rationales reflect the actual goals of the cities?
- Which are prioritised?
- Have they changed over time?
- Are they implicit or explicit (formulated in official statements, plans etc.)?
- Are they in conflict or do they live side by side?
- Does the allocation of city funding reflect the chosen goals?

How do the cultural activities reflect these rationales?
- What activities in the cities underpin the Four E's – and are they public funded?
- What are the interactions between the Four E's and which partnerships are evolving?
- "Best practice" examples in all fields – and where do innovative practices happen?
- Do the cultural institutions/ projects/events fit into one "box" or are the boundaries more "blurred" – and is this a new tendency?

Which venues/spaces in the cities are specific for each of the Four E's?
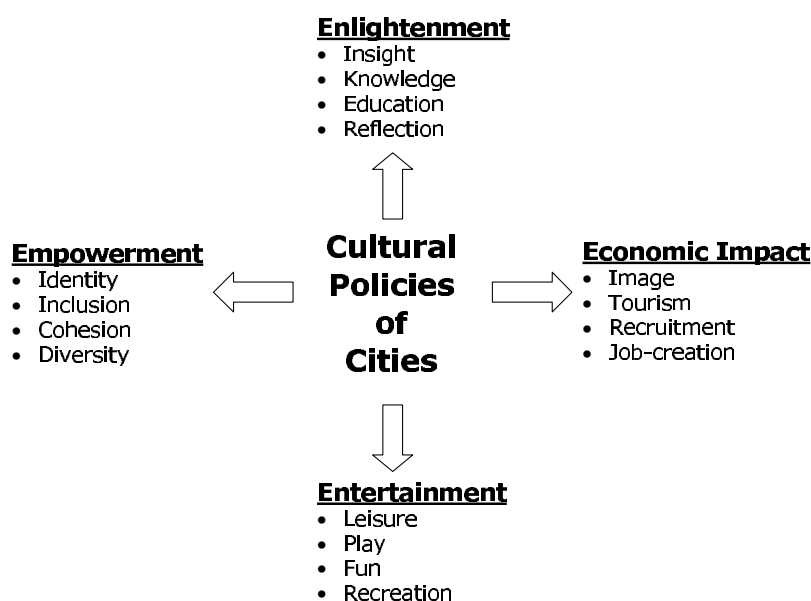- Which type of venues/spaces have the cities prioritised?

- Examples of new venues/spaces?
- Partnerships and new hybrid uses of space?

Second, the model was used as a setting for the analysis of the qualitative data, which were gathered in the context of the project, that is, the reports on the national workshops, the collection of "Best Practice" stories and the Compendium. The rationales of the model should be viewed as a set of ideal types in the sense that the individual rationales do not necessarily exist in a state of pure cultivation, and probably no city will be able to find itself within one rationale. The individual cultural institutions and activities can also, in many cases, cut across different rationales and perhaps they will not recognise themselves as being placed in one category. On the contrary, a salient feature of cultural institutions, and not least creative industries in the late or postmodern society, is that they operate in a cross-field between different rationales. Consequently, the model should be viewed as an analytical tool rather than a picture of the cultural political reality, and in this connection it has to a higher degree been used as an attempt to create order in a chaotic world rather than been considered as a true operational model.

Third, the model serves as EUROCULT21's contribution to a forward-looking discussion of the cultural political rationales of European cities. In this context, the 5th E: *Experience*, which is expounded at the end of this chapter, should be seen as a possible response to the question about the *meaning* of the cultural policy rather than its *impact*.

See *Model 1: Rationales in Cultural Policies in Cities* on the following page.

Model 1: The Four E's - Rationales in Urban Cultural Policy

Enlightenment
- Insight
- Knowledge
- Education
- Reflection

Empowerment
- Identity
- Inclusion
- Cohesion
- Diversity

Cultural Policies of Cities

Economic Impact
- Image
- Tourism
- Recruitment
- Job-creation

Entertainment
- Leisure
- Play
- Fun
- Recreation

Enlightenment

Public cultural policy, both nationally and locally, emerges from the Enlightenment thinking, with roots back in the 18th Century European time of Enlightenment (in German 'die Aufklärung' and in French 'les Lumières') which builds on humanism, reason and development. Enlightenment and education should, according to this rationale, serve to strengthen the democratic process, and knowledge of art, culture and cultural heritage can offer a contribution to this process. If the "good" culture (which builds on a universal aesthetic hierarchy) was made available to all the population, it would slowly supersede the "bad culture" (the commercial or "low culture"), and all would become informed and educated citizens.

Publicly financed cultural institutions are viewed as the framework facilitating the mediation of and absorption into the culture, which in the end leads to new cognition. The artists are the key persons in this comprehension process since they can, as the modern "seer," both express the modern individual's experiences and open up new horizons. Former French Minister of Cultural

Affairs André Malraux in establishing his *Maisons de la Culture* in the 1960's stood out as one of the principal ideologists behind this view with his belief that only great culture could make up for the loss of faith in God. For him the Maisons de la Culture were more places of worship than learning: "If culture has replaced religion in a secular society, the Maisons would be its 'cathedrals." (Looseley 1995)

Democratisation of culture is the strategy, which should extend political and economic equality to cover the cultural sphere so that all the population – irrespective of place, of residence or social status – is allowed to share the benefits of high culture. And even if, over time, the 'classic' cultural institutions have absorbed other rationales, they have maintained their anchorage in the enlightenment rationale. Access is a keyword in this context and the efforts to achieve this goal cover both decentralisation of activities and some forms of audience development. Audience development can be seen as an activity aimed at widening access and reaching new audiences in relation to the traditionally defined high arts, but it can also be seen as an instrument for the devel-

opment of cultural diversity in the arts. Here it is more an offshoot of the empowerment rationale.

The enlightenment rationale has become visible and manifests itself in the cultural policy of the cities through subsidies for the production of the arts, the preservation of heritage, access to the arts and high culture in cultural institutions (theatres, institutions for dance- and music performance, museums, libraries, heritage etc.) and through arts education both for children and young people in arts education programmes and more specific arts education for professionals.

Empowerment

This rationale is interconnected with the strategy for *cultural democracy* from the 1970's, a concept, which was put on the cultural policy agenda in Europe in the light of French culture researcher Augustin Girard's book entitled *Cultural Development: Experience and policies* (1972). In urban cultural policies in the late 1970s-early1980s, local politicians and policy-makers used this cultural strategy to achieve social and political objectives. As Franco Bianchini states, "they radicalised the traditional welfarist objective to promote individual and group self-expression and widen access to cultural facilities and activities to all citizens." (Bianchini 1993:10)

As opposed to the effort to support high culture, the purpose of cultural democracy was to promote the self-expression of special sub cultures, that is, culture should be used for confirming the identity and self-worth of groups and communities. Based on a broader, more pluralistic concept of culture, the idea now was that all forms of culture should be considered equal: different social groupings such as women, workers, gays, children or individuals of ethnic origin could now gain opportunities themselves for expressing their own culture within the organisational frameworks made available by the cities. Culture should give new identity to the marginalized and oppressed groupings.

The tendency to view culture as a route towards *empowering* citizens, and especially those citizens who for some reason or another are excluded from the community, has again received a place on the cultural policy related agenda as a strategy for achieving social inclusion and nurturing local citizenship (Stevenson 2004). Culture and arts are viewed as a vehicle for achieving a wide variety of goals such as social cohesion, community empowerment and self-determination, local image and identity, imagination and vision, health and well-being.

This tendency is discernible, especially in British cultural policy, where cultural institutions have been reinvented as 'centres of social change'. In the Department of Culture, Media and Sports' report on local cultural strategies (2002) it is stressed that cultural services "can help tackle the problems of social exclusion, promote a wider social inclusion and assist with regeneration". Here consideration is given to libraries and museums as agents for social inclusion, but community art is also regarded as a tool for social change. The range of practice stretches from community-led projects where the initiative for arts activity comes from local people or communities, to arts or community-based organisations, to that of established arts organisations who are relatively new to this area of work (Jermyn 2001). An array of British studies have tried to demonstrate the effects of these efforts as, for instance, Francois Matarasso's frequently cited, but also strongly criticised report entitled *Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of the Participation of the Arts.* (Matarasso 1997, see critique by Belfiori 2002 and by Merli 2002)

Also, the tendency can, to a varying degree be found, and with different expressions, in other European countries. In his article on *Social Development on the Local Level: Art and Culture as means of Empowerment* Antti Karisto describes a range of examples of socially oriented culture projects in Helsinki. In this connection, he characterises

the role of art as implicit or "invisible social work", and he concludes that, "art may help to put social and moral issues on the agenda, which is the first step in modern policy-making." (Karisto 2001:250)

According to David L. Looseley's paper *The return of the Social: French Cultural Policy and Exclusion, 1993-2003* the social exclusion agendas in French cultural policy are wide-ranging, including decolonisation of communities and deconstruction of established notions of national heritage and collective memory. Also the linking of the official cultural policy with the NTA's ('New Territories of Art') – emerging urban forms such as hip-hop, techno music, graffiti or video and computer arts - is an interesting development. He concludes: "They may therefore both be read as explicit or implicit attempts to 'decolonise' contemporary culture: to treat to the 'public' as agent not object, to remove the missionary element that has been present in cultural policy since the beginning, and to deconstruct cultural space so that artists and those excluded from art can meet as equals, not as producers and receivers, centre and periphery, self and others." (Looseley 2004:9)

Cultural activities which underpin empowerment manifest themselves in a wide variety of frequently locally-based projects and venues, and this is also the case in contexts that are not necessarily cultural in the daily sphere where they occur. Examples in this direction include community arts, art projects that involve more specific social, ethnic or sub-cultural groupings, local media and the above mentioned NTA's.

Economic Impact

Since the 1980's, public investment in culture has been justified increasingly on economic grounds. John Myerscough's *The Economic Impact of the Arts* (1998) and his related city-based studies were influential not only in Britain but throughout Europe: "In a period of de-industrialization he sought to demonstrate

that investment in the arts had an effect in stimulating economic activity generally. The interest in demonstrating the relationship between investments in culture and regional and urban development was derived from both the cultural sector itself, which searched for renewed arguments for arts advocacy in times of financial cutbacks, and from politicians who were looking for new areas of development and opportunities of development in a time where global competition has created an intense race between the cities when it comes to attracting businesses, employees and tourists." (Skot-Hansen 1998)

A multitude of strategies have been adopted ranging from investments in flagship projects (or 'les grands projets') such as the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, the resources fed into mega events such as the European Capital of Culture and specialisation strategies such as the Gaudi Year and the Dali Year in Barcelona. This tendency has accelerated with the advent of the New Millennium, since, as put by Graeme Evans in his book on *Cultural Planning: an urban renaissance?* "The symbolic and political economies of culture have arguably never been so interlinked." (Evans 2001:2)

Quite a few attempts have been made to measure the returns on these investments, relying on approaches such as economic impact and cost-benefit studies of either single standing cultural events or the cultural life of a whole city or region. The issue here is that it is not only about measuring whether the investment is contributing to economic growth as such, but whether the investment might have yielded a larger return in another area (Hansen 1995). However, the problem is that all cities are now competing with each other, with the in-built tendency that the image-creating flagships are drowning in this competition and it becomes more and more difficult to hold one's own. Some projects, like for instance The Millennium Dome in London, can rather be characterised as cultural disasters. As Jim McGuigan writes

in his analysis of this phenomenon, "The Dome was a vehicle for old delusions of national grandeur allied to corporate power." (McGuigan 2004:91)

As more positive examples, the establishment of the three icons in Newcastle/Gateshead (The Baltic Centre, the Gateshead Millennium Bridge and the Sage Gateshead) should be mentioned. According to the findings of Bailey and others, they have caused a radical change in the perception and role of the arts in people's lives in the area. But as they state, "these developments were underpinned not by economic imperatives, but by a will and determination on the part of local activists and politicians to provide the area with the cultural facilities that they deserved... These developments appear to be having such a marked impact on the Newcastle/Gateshead precisely because economic benefits were not their primary motivation force." (Bailey, Miles and Stark 2004:61)

The discussion about culture-led regeneration has taken a new turn after the emergence of Richard Florida's more differentiated approach to the relations between culture, life style and economics, which is developed in his book *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002). His concept about *creative cities* has spread like wildfire within town planning, and the three T's (Tolerance, Talent and Technology) have become the new mantra for developing regions as well as cities. His main thesis is that economic growth takes place in cities that are tolerant, multifarious and open towards creativity, and that the life conditions of the new creative classes should be financially supported. This has provided new fuel for the discussion about urban development. In this respect, we are far removed from the more trivial flagship and specialisation strategies and thus Florida's broader view of what needs to be provided as a prerequisite of attracting talents and technology can be viewed as an alternative to the more hardcore-like instrumentalisation of the cultural policy.

But at the same time Florida is criticised for the fact that the analysis of power conditions and structures, perceived as the relations between the various classes or social segments in the city, is largely absent in Florida's thinking. That which is good for the creative class appears to be good for everybody. Only a few questions are asked with reference to the trend that the special subsidising of the life style of members of this class is, in many cases, undermining the needs of other classes, for instance the need for reasonable housing rents or opportunities for cultural realisation.

Entertainment

Maybe entertainment is not viewed as a truly formulated goal for public cultural policy, but it is rather related to the capitalisation by the market of our needs for playing and relaxing. Still, the entertainment value of culture has had a greater implicit impact on cultural policies in the cities. The tendency can be traced to the period of French Minister of Culture Jacques Lang that has been labelled *The Politics of Fun* in David L. Looseley's book with the same title. Here he states that "the post - 1968 concern with cultural democracy was translated into a highly publicised binary policy: a festive approach to amateur practices and participation, and a *tout-culturel* approach directed at professional creation and the cultural industries." (Looseley 1995)

In the cultural policy of cities, the entertainment rationale can be found when centres of culture, as centres for experience and adventure, give a stronger priority to play at the expense of learning. The tendency of prioritising entertainment above enlightenment in museums corresponds to changing audience expectations. The audience seem to be looking for "emphatic experiences, instant illuminations, stellar events and blockbuster shows rather than serious and meticulous appropriation of cultural knowledge", as asserted by Andreas Huyssen, and he continues by pointing out

that the current museum scene "has buried the museum as a temple for the muses in order to resurrect it as a hybrid space somewhere between public fair and department store." (Huyssen 1995: 14–15)

The question is whether enlightenment and entertainment must be seen as opposites or if enlightenment can be obtained best through enlivenment? Is it also outside the realm of cultural policy to subsidise activities that are experienced as fun and recreation as for example circus, theme parks, playgrounds, parks, skateboard-ramps and many other facilities underpinning the quality of leisure time? When is cultural policy which aims at establishing "Fun City", a disneyfied world of fun and entertainment and when is entertainment an integrated part of agendas of "info"tainment and "edu"tainment? This question cannot be answered by cultural critics embedded in the enlightenment rationale – for them culture is a serious matter.

Cultural activities crossing the Rationales

If you speak about networks, co-operation and partnerships, the situation appears less difficult in cases where two or more potential collaborative partners share the same rationale, as might for instance be the case within the enlightenment rationale. Here they speak the same language, have adopted a joint frame of reference and conceptual framework. Two libraries should not start from scratch trying to define their activities if they are going to collaborate – nor is this the case if art museums or cultural history museums are included. Rationales and legitimisations look alike and even if these are also exposed to verbal attacks, the same issues and perspectives will be recognised and often we are faced with an implicit understanding.
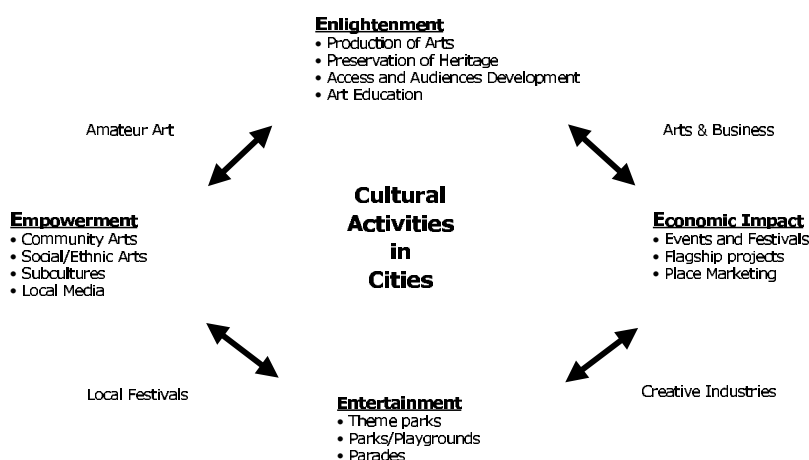
But settings or situations where conflicts may seriously occur are those where institutions, organisations and companies with different

rationales have to co-operate. Here it is crucial that you are not only conscious of your own starting point, but that you are able to change "optics," so that you can put yourself in another person's place. It is all about being reflexive; that you can see yourself from outside.

Maybe the most interesting activities taking place in the development of culture in cities in these years are exactly in the spaces between the rationales, or where they clash. Because it is often the case that the possibilities of conflict become more obvious when we are navigating in the collaborative space between different rationales. In the following, we shall outline a few examples of cultural activities and commercial firms that are placed in a cross-pressure of this nature.

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Model 2: Cultural Activities in Cities

Enlightenment
• Production of Arts
• Preservation of Heritage
• Access and Audiences Development
• Art Education

Amateur Art

Arts & Business

Empowerment
• Community Arts
• Social/Ethnic Arts
• Subcultures
• Local Media

**Cultural
Activities
in
Cities**

Economic Impact
• Events and Festivals
• Flagship projects
• Place Marketing

Local Festivals

Creative Industries

Entertainment
• Theme parks
• Parks/Playgrounds
• Parades

Between Enlightenment and Empowerment

In the model, the *amateur arts* are placed in between the two rationales, Enlightenment and Empowerment. On one hand, the 'arts' amateurs are striving to fulfil their aspirations to the highest possible level of artistic expression, often building on the repertoire of the professional scene. Here the product is in focus and the Enlightenment rationale is overruling the Empowerment rationale.

On the other hand, amateurs may define themselves as 'voluntary arts', e.g. the arts and crafts which people undertake for self-improvement, social networking and leisure with the process as the main focus. These groups play a vital role in promoting community cohesion and they are strongly associated with the Empowerment rationale.

A third type of amateurs are the often young and more sub-culturally orientated networking groups floating somewhere in between the two rationales with their never- ending dream of becoming professionals and their disdain of the more social aspects of the voluntary arts. For them, artistic expression becomes a lifestyle or even the meaning of life, even though it seldom makes a living. These new 'independent' layers of growth are an important creative force in urban cultural life, being part of a vibrant youth culture, even though they are often overlooked in the cultural policies of cities.

Between Enlightenment and Economic Impact

"The arts are the new secret weapon of business success" it says on the homepage of Arts & Business. Arts and business have been connected sectors in arts policy through many years, especially through sponsorship of the arts. What is new is the strategy to embed the arts more deeply into individual businesses, and new partnerships are evolving as an integral part of business culture. It is not only what business can do for the arts, but also what the arts can do for business. Whether you like it or not, the concepts of *creative alliances* and *culture partners* have come to stay and many European cities now do as the American cities have done for years.

Co-operation can be difficult because, where arts policy has its focus on the *creative individual* and cultural policy has turned its focus onto the *citizen*, trade and business-related policy has put its focus on *the consumer*. What do you do to make these policies form a synthesis? Here, it is all about creating a win-win situation – that means accepting that both parties should be enabled to benefit from the collaboration. But at the same time, it is all about maintaining the cultural orientation within the commercial sphere, because if you start reducing your quality requirements here, you will be emptying the activities of the energy which should be inherent in the collaborative undertaking. As Adrian Ellis expresses it, the impacts of arts organisations on the economy are incapable of full realisation unless their *cultural* purposes are effectively fulfilled. (Ellis 2003)

Between Economic Impact and Entertainment

Here you find the *creative industries* – a concept that has emerged during recent years in connection with cultural policy and planning and which is much broader even than the notion of *cultural indus-*

tries. Creative industries are defined as "those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property." (UK's Department of Culture, Media and Sport)

They cover, among other things, advertising, architecture, design, fashion, film, video and other audiovisual production, television, radio and internet broadcasting, the popular music industry, and publishing. All that which could also be termed the economics of adventure, that is, put briefly, cultural companies which produce and sell aesthetic experiences and adventures on commercial conditions. They cut across a large number of sectors or as *Creative Clusters*, a network for creative industries, states "strategies for growth in this sector should address the whole creative ecology, challenging traditional boundaries between art, business, education and science, between for- and non-profit enterprise, between economic, social and cultural policy."

The inclusion of cultural or creative industries in the area of cultural policy is not new – film, TV, radio, publishing and other mass media have received public subsidy, especially at the national level. Here the aim has been to secure the excellence of the artistic content and ensure the principle of public service. Investing in the creative industries as part of urban regeneration and development, such economic reasons are often used to justify the public investment and creativity is seen as a parameter of economic success rather than an inherent quality of arts and culture. This is an important issue to discuss whenever public funding is allocated to the creative industries.

Also, the lack of "financial muscle" of the arts is a dilemma of the creative industry: When it comes down to money, the arts cannot, in any way, compete with other components of the broad creative industry spectrum such as the communi-

cation and IT areas. The advantage gained by being part of a greater portfolio becomes a disadvantage when the arts are marginalized to one side. (Caust 2002)

If the layer of growth between art, culture and creative industries were to be seriously subsidised, a targeted effort is required such as, for instance, that which you can experience in Helsinki's successful Cable Factory. Here sixty companies within the cultural industries are operating in the same environment as more than a hundred artists working in the studios and workshops. There are eight galleries, three museums and dance theatres. There are also training facilities for several sports. The Factory has a restaurant and a café, and it has 250,000 visitors per year.

Between Entertainment and Empowerment

Festivals, Pride Parades and other local celebrations are examples of cultural activities crossing the borders of entertainment and empowerment. The festival or carnival has since the Middle Ages been a way of expressing identity and turning around the power relations. Today Pride Parades make private sexual orientations public and the ethnic festivals, often based on food, music and dance, celebrate the notion of cultural diversity. At the same time festivals based on local traditions ensure community cohesion and the feeling of belonging.

Of course, the element of entertainment is an important and necessary aspect of such activities and cannot be distinguished from the empowerment potential. The problem of discerning between the two is not relevant unless the activity involves public funding: how much fun, play and even subversive action is allowed on (other) taxpayers' money? This question cannot be answered once and for all but must be negotiated in each case. In some instances this will be an area where the tolerance of the cities' cultural policy will be challenged and tested.

The Fifth E: Experience

In the section above, we have briefly explained the Four E's and their collaborative interfaces. As mentioned, the model is conceived as a model for analysis and it should be used to focus on current cultural policy, as it has been developed for and implemented in the EUROCULT21 cities. How do they legitimise the expenditure on culture at the political and administrative/local government level and which activities are supported by these rationales? But in a very general sense, it boils down to the question of why cities should provide financial support for activities within the cultural sector – are arts and culture an instrument?

At the EUROCULT21 Workshop in Birmingham, Adrian Ellis in his lecture 'The need to refocus on causes rather than results' pointed out that cultural policy has been 'hyper-instrumentalised' in our preoccupation with what culture can do for tourism, inward investment, educational standards, job creation etc: "The arts community deserves some of the blame for this – in their efforts to appropriate the budgets of adjacent policy areas, they have developed extraordinarily ingenious arguments about the efficacy of culture as a policy instrument. However, the empirical basis for the claims is often dangerously thin and the cumulative impact may be an over-extended, thinly capitalized, organizationally weak arts sector with an underlying 'legitimacy crisis' as its imperial ambitions come to be seen as based on shaky, self-serving foundations." (Ellis 2003)
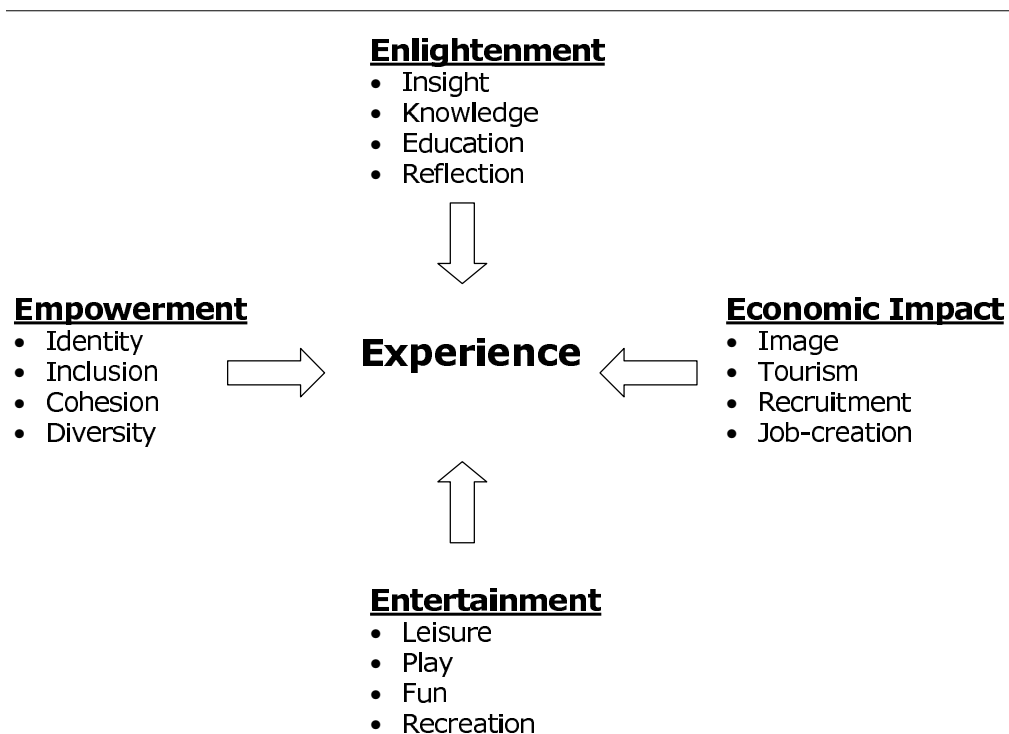
In the final analysis, what it is all about is defining a joint starting point for this variety of different efforts – to locate the Archimedean point, or in other words, to define a rationale, which is superior to the other rationales. Basically, all four rationales presented here are instrumental – i.e. they serve as means rather than goals in themselves – including the Enlightenment rationale with its emphasis on education as the route towards the enlightened democracy. As Joli Jensen points out

in her thought provoking article *'Expressive Logic. A New Premise in Arts Advocacy' (2003)* all of these rationales are instrumental in some way or other and they all focus on what art/culture *does* rather than what it *is.* The arts are seen as a remedy – as cultural spinach, social medicine, economic impact or plain relaxation, instead of what they *mean* to the individual and society.

The question she poses is: Can we find a perspective for advocacy of the arts that is not as instrumental, but is still persuasive in dealing with politicians and administrators? In contrast to an *instrumental* logic, she defines an *expressive* logic: one that sees art as experience. Art is a form of life that can enliven and deepen our lives as well as enliven and deepen our ability to join in the public conversation. This is the Fifth E: *Experience.*

EUROCULT21

Model 3: The Fifth E: Experience

Enlightenment
- Insight
- Knowledge
- Education
- Reflection

Empowerment
- Identity
- Inclusion
- Cohesion
- Diversity

Experience

Economic Impact
- Image
- Tourism
- Recruitment
- Job-creation

Entertainment
- Leisure
- Play
- Fun
- Recreation

The arts are forms of social inquiry that are deeply human and deeply meaningful. But they are intrinsic proclivities rather than extrinsic forces. They exist in all of us, not just the gifted few. And they encompass everyday activity. The aesthetic experience we can get when singing in the bath, gardening or walking a tightrope. The defined high arts are simply more intense, meaningful, distilled and portable versions of the widely dispersed aesthetic impulse. They are valuable because of the aesthetic experience they offer, not because they make us "better".

This is another way to look at the discussion of cultural policy: not as an impact that can be measured but as a way of expression. Here we must focus on whether people, groups and communities have access to rich, complex and divers aesthetic experiences, and we must start learning more about how and why people like what they like and choose what they choose. As Jensen concludes: "If we do this, we will find ways to make much stronger arguments for the importance of varieties of art forms, because they will offer a richer more meaningful array of aesthetic experiences. There is a strong case to made in support of an ever-enlarging arena of cultural forms, including high, low, commercial, non-commercial, mainstream, alternative, national and international." (Jensen 2003:79) Using an expressive logic and basing cultural policy on the rationale of Experience we can broaden the field of cultural policy from the traditional high arts to a whole world of aesthetic experiences including the self-expression of amateurs, social end ethnic groups and local communities. And we can include the products of creative industries as well as the results of partnerships between arts and business. The main objective will be whether these activities fulfil the need for meaningful aesthetic experience for all groups and lifestyles of the city, not only the privileged.

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