Culture, Wellbeing, and the Living Standards Framework

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

As part of its work programme to develop the Living Standards Framework (LSF) and the LSF Dashboard, the New Zealand Treasury has commissioned a series of discussion papers to offer perspectives on important aspects of intergenerational wellbeing. This publication contributes to that series. It focuses on culture, wellbeing, and the Living Standards Framework. It begins with the capabilities approach to wellbeing, recognising the considerable diversity and dynamism of cultures. It surveys previous wellbeing measurement frameworks, and provides an overview of key aspects of cultural wellbeing. It analyses how culture appears in the Living Standards Framework, and demonstrates how the structure of the Framework can be used to create a Cultural Wellbeing Framework to assist decisions on investment in culture for wellbeing. It suggests some cultural indicators, and concludes with eight key points that suggest pathways for further development of New Zealand's frameworks for monitoring cultural wellbeing.

Keywords

Cultural Policy; Cultural Capital; Cultural Vibrancy; Capabilities Approach; Wellbeing.

ANZRC Fields of Research

Arts and Cultural Policy (160502); Public Economics- Publically Provided Goods (140214); Welfare Economics (140219).

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Introduction

As part of its work programme to develop the Living Standards Framework (LSF) and the LSF Dashboard, the New Zealand Treasury has commissioned a series of discussion papers and reports designed to offer perspectives on important aspects of intergenerational wellbeing. This publication contributes to that series. It focuses on culture, wellbeing, and the Living Standards Framework.

Generic definitions of culture take us only so far, since an essential aspect of our human experience is the existence of substantial cultural diversity and dynamism. Culture is recognised as a human right, fundamental to human dignity. It is therefore an essential aspect of intergenerational wellbeing. This is recognised in New Zealand public policy. The 2007 Code of Conduct for the State Services, for example, includes a strict requirement for public servants to promote the wellbeing of New Zealand and all its people.

Understanding and Measuring Wellbeing

Many wellbeing monitoring frameworks begin with Amartya Sen's capabilities approach. This is founded on the proposition that wellbeing can be enhanced by expanding the capabilities of persons to lead the kinds of lives they value, and have reason to value. Policy advice must recognise that humans can have reasoned lifestyles that are very different. The diversity includes different ethnic groups, but it is also possible to distinguish cultures linked to socioeconomic status, gender, sexual orientation, religious tradition, age, nationality, tribal affiliation, place of birth, or place of residence.

Many countries have created wellbeing measurement frameworks in recent years. New Zealand also has a history of such frameworks. This includes holistic conceptual frameworks of wellbeing that embed Māori or Pacific cultural values, such as the Te Whare Tapa Whā model and the Te Pae Māhutonga model created by Mason Durie, and the Fonofale model created by Fuimaono Karl Pulotu-Endemann. The He Ara Waiora prototype model presented in a previous discussion paper in this series has shown how a capitals-based approach can be modified to express Māori cultural values.

Notable examples of measurement frameworks developed in New Zealand for monitoring wellbeing include the Waikato Progress Indicators, the Canterbury Wellbeing Index, the Whānau Ora Outcomes Framework, the proposals in *An Indigenous Approach to the Living Standards Framework*, the Lifetime Wellbeing Model for New Zealand Children, the Social Investment Agency's wellbeing measurement approach, the Ministry of Social Development's Social Report Framework, the Te Kupenga survey of Māori wellbeing, and the New Zealand Progress Indicators Tupuranga Aotearoa website. In 2018, Statistics New Zealand began a public consultation to create a new measurement framework called Indicators Aotearoa New Zealand—Ngā Tūtohu Aotearoa.

Based on the international and national examples, Table 2.8 of this report presents five major themes for categorising indicators under a cultural identity domain of current wellbeing: cultural development of children; cultural efficacy and competence; cultural safety and respect; cultural assets and taonga; and cultural engagement and vitality.

Cultural Wellbeing

The Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2005) has previously provided some guidance on what cultural wellbeing might involve: 'The vitality that communities and individuals enjoy through: participation in recreation, creative and cultural activities; and the freedom to retain, interpret and express their arts, history, heritage and traditions'.

It is possible to build on that definition to analyse different aspects of cultural wellbeing. A useful distinction contrasts embodied and tangible culture. Embodied culture is knowledge and skills that a young child absorbs within the family from an early age, and develops further at school. Expression of some cultural activities require shared cultural skills (perhaps the same rhythm in the performance of a particular piece), typically produced through intense practice.

Tangible culture exists in buildings, structures, sites, and locations endowed with cultural significance, as well as cultural works of art and artefacts. Museums, art galleries, and archives, for example, are devoted to preserving significant material artefacts and making them accessible to visitors. Another important aspect of cultural heritage is connectedness to nature or 'sense of place'.

Cultural identity is used in different contexts with a narrow or broad definition. A narrow definition focuses on an individual's self-concept derived from membership of a social group or groups, while a broad definition adds factors such as the social ability to be oneself, and the existence value of cultural taonga. It can be argued that 'cultural identity' does not capture the diversity and dynamism that are key ingredients of cultural wellbeing. Another phrase that could be considered is 'cultural vibrancy'.

The development of cultural identities begins in a child's family or families, and is a key part of school education. The New Zealand Curriculum lists five Key Competencies, of which the fifth specifically mentions culture. The Curriculum further recognises the importance of encouraging, modelling, and exploring values, as well as learning about the values of other groups.

Cultural efficacy and competence are two levels of personal abilities. Cultural efficacy reflects the personal resources required to engage with other members of the same cultural group in relevant social and cultural contexts. Margreet Frieling (2018b) defines cultural competencies as 'those capacities that enable people to access the deeper meanings of their culture and to maintain and transfer their cultural knowledge for the benefit of future generations' (3).

Cultural safety and respect comes from recognition that cultural wellbeing requires a person's cultural identity to be acknowledged by wider society. This includes respect for cultural diversity in a country's health and education institutions.

Cultural assets and taonga are associated with deep symbolic meanings, reinforcing the ways that people see and represent themselves in relation to others, including both a sense of commonality and a sense of difference.

Cultural vitality at a community level depends on the cultural engagement of its members. Cultural engagement refers to involvement in cultural activities, either as a participant or as a member of the audience. At the national level, the Ministry for Culture and Heritage aims to support and contribute to a New Zealand national identity that is distinct and inclusive, strengthening New Zealanders' collective sense of identity as a country.

Culture and the Living Standards Framework

The Treasury has developed the Living Standards Framework (LSF) and the LSF Dashboard to provide an integrated system for measuring wellbeing outcomes. It recognises four types of capital that provide services used by New Zealanders to generate wellbeing for themselves now and into the future. It also recognises 12 domains of current wellbeing, including cultural identity.

The four capitals are human capital, social capital, financial/physical capital, and natural capital. It is possible to define a fifth type of capital to capture elements of a country's cultural heritage. These elements are currently not well represented in the Living Standards Framework.

The Living Standards Framework could therefore add a heading of cultural capital to cover all major material and non-material assets whose value is defined primarily by their contribution to cultural wellbeing. Alternatively, the Framework could ensure that each of the four current capitals pays explicit attention to significant examples of cultural capital that fit within its definition.

The LSF Dashboard presents indicators of current wellbeing in two sections: Our people; and Our country. The report suggests that two further sections be added: Families and Whānau, including New Zealand communities; and Business, including New Zealand's place in the world.

There are well-recognised connections between a country's cultural vibrancy and the economic prosperity of its business firms. The report briefly introduces three of these connections: the cultural production sector, cultural vibrancy and skilled workers, and shared cultural values in global value chains.

Investing in Culture for Wellbeing

Investing in culture for the wellbeing and prosperity of New Zealanders is a priority of the Ministry for Culture and Heritage. Investment decisions necessarily involve consideration of economic values, but the report acknowledges the importance of intrinsic values associated with cultural activities.

The sustenance and growth of cultural vibrancy requires attention to cultural engagement and cultural production. Engagement is an important indicator because it can be presumed that people who choose to attend or participate in cultural activities do so because they consider it improves their wellbeing.

There is a specific economic issue associated with cultural production of many art forms. The issue comes from a distinction between the *fixed costs* of production and the *variable costs* of production. Further, some benefits from cultural activities are enjoyed by people who are not direct participants. These observations reflect 'market failure', which can provide a *prima facie* case for public investment in culture for wellbeing.

The Ministry for Culture and Heritage is developing a Value of Culture Framework for articulating the value of culture from an economic perspective. The Framework incorporates a range of use values and non-use values resulting from cultural activities. This research report provides an overview of techniques for measuring those values. It also presents a Cultural Wellbeing Framework using the structure of the Living Standards Framework. This emphasises the cultural capital component of each of the four capitals and recognises that all 12 domains of the LSF can be influenced by investments in cultural capital.

Indicators for Culture and Wellbeing

The Ministry for Culture and Heritage has previously created indicators for cultural wellbeing. The New Zealand Cultural Statistics Programme, for example, was a joint initiative with Statistics New Zealand between 1993 and 2009. It produced 19 indicators under five themes. The Ministry continues to identify statistical indicators to monitor progress on its priorities in its annual reporting.

The selection of indicators for a policy monitoring framework is a process that requires statistical expertise, policy experience, and widespread engagement with stakeholders and the general public. Statistics New Zealand is currently creating a new measurement framework called Indicators Aotearoa New Zealand—Ngā Tūtohu Aotearoa. Consequently, the report restricts itself to illustrating the logic of how an integrated set of indicators might be constructed for policy monitoring purposes, supported by an appendix that offers illustrative examples of indicators for future and present cultural wellbeing.

The report also considers how cultural indicators might be incorporated into the Living Standards Framework. It suggests that the wellbeing domain *Cultural Identity* might be relabelled as *Cultural Vibrancy*. It suggests four indicators monitored for future wellbeing.

- Human Capital: *Te reo Māori speakers*.
- Social Capital: *Ability to express identity*.
- Financial and Physical Capital: *Public financial support for culture*.
- Natural Capital: *Hectares of public-owned land managed for conservation purposes*.

It also suggests four indicators for monitoring the *Cultural Vibrancy* or *Cultural Identity* domain.

- *Cultural performance*, measured by the percentage of adults who in the last four weeks have taken part, outside their job, in a cultural event.

- *Cultural attendance*, measured by the percentage of adults who in the last four weeks have attended or visited at least one cultural event or venue.

- *Community cultural vitality*, measured by the percentage of adults who belong to a group described as arts or culture; religious or spiritual; or environment.

- *Indigenous cultural vitality*, measured by the number of adults who in the last four weeks have participated in selected activities related to Māori culture.

Conclusion and Future Pathways

This research report has supported the inclusion of culture in a wellbeing monitoring framework, for two reasons. First, it is universally accepted that culture is important for human wellbeing. Second, although many cultural activities can take place as a result of volunteered time or through market transactions, government has a distinctive capability to address key problems of market failure that are a feature of some cultural activities.

The report finishes with eight key points that suggest pathways for further development of New Zealand's frameworks for statistical monitoring of cultural wellbeing. Four are addressed to the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, and four are suggestions for the comprehensive review of the Living Standards Framework and its dashboard scheduled to take place in 2021.

Chapter 1
Introduction

As part of its work programme to develop the Living Standards Framework (LSF) and the LSF Dashboard, the New Zealand Treasury has commissioned a series of discussion papers and reports designed to start conversations, offer perspectives, or provide authoritative overviews on important aspects of intergenerational wellbeing.[1] This research report is a further contribution to that series. It has been commissioned by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage and by the Treasury to advance understanding of culture and wellbeing in the context of the Living Standards Framework.

This chapter introduces the three elements of this research report: culture, wellbeing, and the Living Standards Framework. Section 1.1 offers three high-level definitions of culture; section 1.2 discusses the importance of culture for wellbeing; and section 1.3 describes the international and local move to embed wellbeing in public policy. Section 1.4 then sets out the structure of the research report, explaining the connections between the chapters to create an integrated analysis of culture, wellbeing, and the Living Standards Framework. All chapters in this research report conclude with a section offering points for further discussion; three are presented in section 1.5.

1.1 Towards a General Definition of Culture

All humans are born with a genetic inheritance from their biological parents. This inheritance includes a distinctively human capacity to use language and engage in symbolic thought,[2] which creates the possibility for human 'culture' evolving from generation to generation (Throsby, 1995: 202; Wilson *et al.*, 2014). Culture is notoriously difficult to define (Spencer-Oatey, 2012: 1), but the following quotations indicate how the concept can be understood in general terms.

> Culture consists in patterned ways of thinking, feeling and reacting, acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values (Kluckhohn, 1951: 86).

> Culture should be regarded as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, … it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs (UNESCO, 2001: Preamble).

In New Zealand, a similar definition by Peter King and Charles Waldegrave (2003) has been cited in a previous discussion paper in the Living Standards Framework series (Frieling, 2018a: 13):

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1   See, for example, Clough and Bealing, with Goodall (2017); Clough and Bealing (2018); Qasim, Oxley, and McLaughlin (2018); Morrissey (2018); Au and van Zyl (2018); Frieling (2018a); Frieling and Warren (2018); Janssen (2018); Thomsen, Tavita, and Levi-Teu (2018); Yong (2018); and Te Puni Kōkiri and the Treasury (2019).

2   See, for example, Darwin (1871, chapter 3); White (1940); Szathmáry and Smith (1995); Tattersall (2014); and Chomsky (2016: 2–3).

> Culture embodies the conceptual and normative framework within which the members of a particular society, community, or other social grouping, are socialized, live, enter into relationships, think, communicate, and assign meaning to objects, events, and their very existence (King and Waldegrave, 2003: 13).

Generic definitions like these take us only so far. Children do not acquire a *generic* human language, for example, but learn the *specific* language or languages of their family.[3] Similarly, children absorb the embodied cultures of the *particular* communities within which they grow up. Thus, we humans not only receive a particular genetic inheritance from our parents; we also inherit distinctive cultural patterns and other cultural features evolving through the generations.

Consequently, an essential aspect of our human experience is the existence of substantial cultural diversity. Further, all healthy cultures are dynamic: 'each generation transforms aspects of its cultural heritage to reflect, or perhaps to create, new social conditions' (Dalziel, Saunders, and Saunders, 2018: 49). Cultural diversity and cultural dynamism pose considerable challenges for public policy that is focused on expanding personal and communal wellbeing.

1.2 Culture and Intergenerational Wellbeing

Frieling (2018b: 2) observes that 'culture' has tended to be less well-defined than other areas of wellbeing. One way to address this gap is to consider international conventions on human rights. These conventions present standards that have been agreed as necessary for the inherent dignity of all humans. It is inconceivable to think that wellbeing could exist without human dignity. Hence, these conventions provide a baseline for human wellbeing. Culture is an essential element.

Given the focus of the Living Standards Framework on *intergenerational* wellbeing, it is useful to begin with the Convention on the Rights of the Child. This was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 20 November 1989 and was the most widely ratified human rights treaty in history by the time of its 25th anniversary (Sandberg, 2014: 60). Several articles in the Convention make reference to the child's cultural heritage and development:

> States Parties recognize the important function performed by the mass media and shall ensure that the child has access to information and material from a diversity of national and international sources, especially those aimed at the promotion of his or her social, spiritual and moral well-being and physical and mental health. To this end, States Parties shall:
>   (a) Encourage the mass media to disseminate information and material of social and cultural benefit to the child and in accordance with the spirit of article 29;
>   (b) Encourage international co-operation in the production, exchange and dissemination of such information and material from a diversity of cultural, national and international sources;
>   (c) Encourage the mass media to have particular regard to the linguistic needs of the child who belongs to a minority group or who is indigenous; … (Article 17).

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[3]   Family is used here in a wide sense to include 'all those who share responsibility for the child's care and development within the child's household or households' (Dalziel, Saunders, and Saunders, 2018: 47). As New Zealand research by Sligo *et al*. (2017) has documented, 'even children within a single household can live in different "families" and experience different levels of complexity and change' (53).

States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to: … The development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own (Article 29, Clause 1, Item c).

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities or persons of indigenous origin exist, a child belonging to such a minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practise his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language (Article 30).

States Parties shall respect and promote the right of the child to participate fully in cultural and artistic life and shall encourage the provision of appropriate and equal opportunities for cultural, artistic, recreational and leisure activity (Article 31, Clause 2).

The Convention recognises the importance of a young person's cultural development, which is consistent with the observation by the Ministry of Social Development (2016) that 'cultural identity is an important contributor to people's wellbeing' (175; see also Annesley *et al.*, 2002). A child's cultural heritage often involves more than one cultural identity, of course, and this heritage is not limited to cultural identities based on ethnicity.

The Convention on the Rights of the Child specifically refers to indigenous children. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was adopted by the General Assembly on 13 September 2007 and ratified by New Zealand in April 2010 (Human Rights Commission, 2016). The Preamble welcomes that indigenous peoples are organising themselves for political, economic, social, and cultural enhancement, and its articles include the following:

Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development (Article 3).

Indigenous peoples have the right to practise and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs. This includes the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature (Article 11, Clause 1).

Indigenous peoples have the right to manifest, practise, develop and teach their spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; the right to maintain, protect, and have access in privacy to their religious and cultural sites; the right to the use and control of their ceremonial objects; and the right to the repatriation of their human remains (Article 12, Clause 1).

Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons (Article 13, Clause 1).

Indigenous peoples have the right to the dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations which shall be appropriately reflected in education and public information (Article 15, Clause 1).

Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship with their traditionally owned or otherwise occupied and used lands, territories, waters and coastal

seas and other resources and to uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard (Article 25).

> Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games and visual and performing arts. They also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions (Article 31, Clause 1).

Another key document, the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity 2001, describes cultural diversity as the common heritage of humanity:

> Culture takes diverse forms across time and space. This diversity is embodied in the uniqueness and plurality of the identities of the groups and societies making up humankind. As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense, it is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognized and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations (Article 1).

Article 5 declares that 'all persons have the right to participate in the cultural life of their choice and conduct their own cultural practices, subject to respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms'. Article 8 describes cultural goods and services as vectors of identity, values, and meaning, which therefore 'must not be treated as mere commodities or consumer goods'. Article 9 describes a country's cultural policies as catalysts of creativity:

> While ensuring the free circulation of ideas and works, cultural policies must create conditions conducive to the production and dissemination of diversified cultural goods and services through cultural industries that have the means to assert themselves at the local and global level. It is for each State, with due regard to its international obligations, to define its cultural policy and to implement it through the means it considers fit, whether by operational support or appropriate regulations (Article 9).

The 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions amplifies the 2001 Declaration with eight guiding principles. Principle 5 observes that culture is one of the mainsprings of development, so that 'the cultural aspects of development are as important as its economic aspects'. The Convention goes on to state:

> Cultural diversity is a rich asset for individuals and societies. The protection, promotion and maintenance of cultural diversity are an essential requirement for sustainable development for the benefit of present and future generations (Principle 6).

Finally, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 10 December 1948. It states simply:

> Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits (Article 27, Clause 1).

Thus, a cultural life is recognised as a human right, fundamental to human dignity. It is an essential aspect of intergenerational wellbeing.

1.3 Wellbeing in Public Policy

The Code of Conduct for the State Services includes a strict requirement for public servants to promote the wellbeing of New Zealand and all its people:

> As State servants, imbued with the spirit of service to the community, we are motivated to improve the well-being of New Zealanders. A concern for the well-being of others is central to the spirit of service. This involves each of us endeavouring to find more efficient, effective, economical and sustainable ways of making our professional contribution to the work of our organisation (State Services Commission, 2010: 9).

It became commonplace in the late twentieth century for governments around the world to focus on fostering economic growth as the primary mechanism for expanding wellbeing. To provide a representative illustration, when the United Kingdom launched its Measuring National Well-being Programme in 2010, its Prime Minister at the time made a strong statement:

> First and foremost, people are concerned that talking about wellbeing shows that this government is somehow side-lining economic growth as our first concern. … Now, let me be very, very clear: *growth is the essential foundation of all our aspirations*. Without a job that pays a decent wage, it is hard for people to look after their families in the way they want, whether that's taking the children on holiday or making your home a more comfortable place. Without money in your pocket it is difficult to do so many of the things we enjoy, from going out in the evening to shopping at the weekend. So, at this time I am absolutely clear that our most urgent priority is to get the economy moving, to create jobs, to spread opportunity for everyone (Cameron, 2010, paragraphs 4 and 5, emphasis added).

In 2008, French President Nicolas Sarkozy invited three eminent economists, Joseph Stiglitz, Amartya Sen and Jean Paul Fitoussi, to head a commission to examine the ways in which countries measure economic performance and social progress. The resulting report was unequivocal:

> Another key message, and unifying theme of the report, is that the time is ripe for our measurement system to *shift emphasis from measuring economic production to measuring people's well-being*. And measures of well-being should be put in a context of sustainability. Despite deficiencies in our measures of production, we know much more about them than about well-being. Changing emphasis does not mean dismissing GDP and production measures. They emerged from concerns about market production and employment; they continue to provide answers to many important questions such as monitoring economic activity. But emphasising well-being is important because there appears to be an increasing gap between the information contained in aggregate GDP data and what counts for common people's well-being (Stiglitz, Sen, and Fitoussi, 2009: 12, emphasis in the original).

That recommendation has been influential. As described in section 2.3 of the following chapter, countries are creating national measurement frameworks for monitoring significant dimensions of personal wellbeing. A good example is the Treasury's LSF Dashboard (Smith, 2018; Treasury, 2018a), which can be accessed at https://nztreasury.shinyapps.io/lsfdashboard/.

Chapter 4 will offer a detailed description of the LSF Dashboard (and the Living Standards Framework that has guided its construction), but here it can be simply noted that the Dashboard explicitly includes a dimension of wellbeing it labels *Cultural Identity*:

> Culture refers to the customs, practices, languages and values that define social groups such as those based on nationality, ethnicity, regions or common interests. Cultural identity is the ability to express one's culture and identity and places intrinsic value on cultural taonga. Having a strong cultural identity is important for one's sense of self and overall wellbeing. For example, cultural identity influences the extent to which people feel a sense of belonging and therefore self-worth (Treasury, 2018b: 26)

The Treasury recognises that further work is needed on this concept (Treasury, 2018b: 16), which is one of the reasons for this current research report.

1.4 Outline of this Research Report

The purpose of this report is to provide an integrated analysis of how culture might be embedded in a wellbeing monitoring framework. The reader should note that the report does not attempt to include sport and recreation in its discussion, despite their cultural significance in New Zealand.[4] The LSF Dashboard includes two measures related to recreation (access to the natural environment, and water quality—swimmability; see Treasury, 2018b: 27), but analysis of the contributions of sport and recreation to wellbeing is a specialist field of research, requiring more attention than can be provided in this research report.

Chapter 2 begins with an overview of approaches to understanding and measuring wellbeing in a national policy context. It describes Amartya Sen's capabilities approach, which has been influential in designing wellbeing frameworks internationally and in New Zealand. The chapter then illustrates how different cultures offer diverse interpretations of Sen's objective, which is to expand the capabilities of persons to lead the kinds of lives they value, and have reason to value. Within the context of that cultural diversity, the chapter addresses different international and local frameworks that have been created to measure national wellbeing. It identifies five themes that have been included in frameworks under the domain of Cultural Identity.

Chapter 3 addresses approaches to understanding cultural wellbeing. Standard practice distinguishes between intangible aspects of culture (such as norms, values, and practices) and tangible aspects (such as heritage buildings, works of art, and historical sites). The first two sections address these aspects respectively. This is followed by sections addressing the five themes in indicators of Cultural Identity and Vibrancy: cultural development of children; cultural efficacy and competence; cultural safety and respect; cultural assets and taonga; and cultural engagement and vitality.

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4   For example, the Speech from the Throne delivered by the Governor General, Sir Michael Hardie Boys, to open Parliament after the 1999 general election included the following statement. 'But a nation is not just a physical environment. It is also a culture, the identity that makes each of us a New Zealander wherever we are. Much of that identity has been bound up with our sporting prowess.' Allan, Grimes, and Kerr (2013) similarly note that 'sports are a powerful expression of culture in New Zealand' (10).

Chapter 4 turns to the Living Standards Framework and how it currently incorporates culture. The chapter introduces the framework, focusing on its distinction between foundations for future wellbeing (the four capitals) and dimensions of current wellbeing (such as the 'cultural identity' domain). The chapter then addresses the question asked by Frieling (2018a): whether the LSF might include a separate capital stock termed cultural capital, or whether cultural capital can be integrated across the current four capitals. There is a section on how the framework might recognise more collectivist understandings of wellbeing, before a section that addresses connections between cultural vibrancy and business prosperity. This includes attention to contributions of cultural production to gross domestic product, to the role of cultural vibrancy in attracting skilled workers, and to the way in which shared cultural values can contribute to creating value in global value chains.

Chapter 5 is entitled 'Investing in Culture for Wellbeing', reflecting a key priority of the Ministry for Culture and Heritage. It analyses economic issues associated with cultural engagement and cultural production that create distinctive opportunities for the public sector to invest in culture. The chapter introduces the Value of Culture Framework created by the Ministry to articulate wellbeing benefits from cultural investment, followed by an overview of economic techniques available for estimating economic values in the framework. The chapter explores how a Cultural Wellbeing Framework might be aligned with the Treasury's Living Standards Framework.

Chapter 6 draws on the earlier chapters to offer examples of potential indicators for culture and wellbeing. It recalls the New Zealand Cultural Statistics Programme between 1993 and 2009. This was a joint initiative of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and of Statistics New Zealand that produced a framework of 19 statistical indicators grouped into five themes. The chapter then considers how a set of indicators for future and current cultural wellbeing could be developed for a cultural policy monitoring framework. This is followed by a deeper discussion about how cultural indicators might be included in a future version of the Living Standards Framework and its Dashboard.

Chapter 7 is a brief conclusion. It summarises the report's main themes and suggests possible pathways for further work on culture and wellbeing in the context of the Living Standards Framework.

The report has two appendices. The first gives an illustrative example of potential indicators that might be monitored by cultural policy advisors. This is divided into indicators for monitoring different aspects of cultural capital and indicators for monitoring different aspects of cultural wellbeing. The second appendix provides a referenced glossary of terms related to culture that have been used in the report.

Two terms in this report, for example, are *cultural vitality* and *cultural vibrancy*. These terms appear in the literature with different meanings in different contexts. In this report, cultural vitality refers to people enjoying opportunities to live their culture (or their cultures) especially by engaging in valued cultural practices. This draws on Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2005). Cultural vibrancy in this report refers to the dynamism and richness of the culture itself, drawing on Australia Council for the Arts (2014). Both concepts depend on each other, of course.

1.5 Points for Discussion

This chapter began with high-level definitions of culture that focus on culture as inherited and distinctive patterns of community life (including its material artefacts) that frame ways of thinking, feeling, valuing, behaving, and relating within a social group. Cultures are diverse and dynamic, posing considerable challenges for designing public policy to expand personal and communal wellbeing. The chapter highlighted the large number of references to culture in global human rights documents, which illustrates the importance of culture for human dignity, and therefore for wellbeing. The purpose of this research report is to provide an integrated analysis of how culture can best be embedded in wellbeing monitoring frameworks such as the Living Standards Framework.

This research report was prepared as a foundation for a shorter discussion paper, which is available separately. Consequently, each chapter concludes with a small number of points for further discussion. This introductory chapter offers three.

Discussion Point 1-1. Do the three definitions of culture on pages 1 and 2 capture the most important aspects of culture, at a high level in general terms?

Discussion Point 1-2. Does the material reproduced from United Nations documents on pages 2 to 4 accurately reflect the importance of culture for human dignity and wellbeing, including its emphasis on indigenous cultures and its inclusion of the cultural wellbeing of the child?

Discussion Point 1-3. What are the implications for New Zealand's policy frameworks of the recommendation by Stiglitz, Sen, and Fitoussi (2009) in the quotation on page 5 to shift emphasis from measuring economic production to measuring people's well-being?

Chapter 2
Understanding and Measuring Wellbeing

The objective of the Treasury's Living Standards Framework is 'to help analyse and measure inter-generational wellbeing' (Treasury, 2018a: 7). This chapter focuses on how policy advisors might understand and measure wellbeing. As chapter 1 has explained, an essential aspect of human experience is cultural diversity. A national wellbeing framework, therefore, must recognise different approaches to understanding wellbeing, as noted in Germany's national wellbeing framework:

> Wellbeing is a concept that continually changes. From a longer-term historical perspective, it has been generally understood to mean the achievement of sustained social progress for as many people as possible. However, there is no clear definition of the dimensions and aspects that constitute wellbeing. In other words, the definition of wellbeing depends on the historical context and the individual values at that time (German Federal Government, 2017: 4).

This chapter discusses wellbeing at three levels. Section 2.1 begins with the capabilities approach to wellbeing, which is frequently cited as an important starting point for national wellbeing frameworks, including the Living Standards Framework. It focuses on 'the expansion of the capabilities of persons to lead the kinds of lives they value – and have reason to value' (Sen, 1999: 18), which allows room for recognising diverse cultural understandings of wellbeing. Section 2.2 demonstrates this diversity by offering illustrations of different answers to the question of what kind of life we have reason to value. The third level of wellbeing is operational, identifying wellbeing dimensions to be monitored. Section 2.3 introduces some international measurement frameworks and section 2.4 gives an overview of New Zealand frameworks. Section 2.5 summarises indicators from these frameworks and highlights some questions for further discussion.

2.1 The Capabilities Approach to Wellbeing

A high-level definition of wellbeing for policy purposes needs to allow for the considerable cultural diversity that exists in understanding what wellbeing means. Many frameworks have therefore begun with the capabilities approach introduced by Amartya Sen (1983; 1985; 1993; 1999) and developed by scholars such as Martha Nussbaum (2000; 2011) and Ingrid Robeyns (2017); see also Dalziel, Saunders, and Saunders (2018). Henry, Henry, and Van Halderen (2006: 6–7), for example, explain that the capabilities approach was important in the design of the Australian Treasury's wellbeing framework, while Gleisner, Llewellyn-Fowler, and McAlister (2011: 11–13) and Treasury (2018b: 8) make similar observations about the New Zealand Treasury's Living Standards Framework. It was a key consideration in the report of Stiglitz, Sen, and Fitoussi (2009: 151–153), and elements are reflected in the OECD framework for measuring wellbeing (OECD, 2017, Box 1.1: 23).

The capabilities approach recognises that 'ultimately, the process of economic development has to be concerned with what people can or cannot do, e.g. whether they can live long, escape avoidable morbidity, be well nourished, be able to read and write and communicate, take part in literary and scientific pursuits, and so forth' (Sen, 1983: 754). Sen (1999) explained the consequences of this recognition in his influential book, *Development as Freedom*:

> The analysis of development presented in this book treats the freedoms of individuals as the basic building blocks. Attention is thus paid particularly to the expansion of the 'capabilities' of persons to lead the kinds of lives they value – and have reason to value (18).

This formulation provides a high-level definition of wellbeing within a policy context: wellbeing can be enhanced by expanding the capabilities of persons to lead the kinds of lives they value, and have reason to value (Dalziel, Saunders, and Saunders, 2018, Proposition 2: 9).

Three aspects of Sen's formulation can be emphasised. First, the capabilities approach refers to persons leading the kinds of lives **they** value. It is not for policy advisors to determine how people should want to live, since different persons have different values.

Second, the capabilities approach does not imply that people should be supported to lead any kinds of lives they value—chosen lifestyles must be **reasoned** in communal settings.

Third, despite the reference to persons, the capability approach allows for **individualistic** and for **collective** responses to determining valued kinds of lives (Robeyns, 2017: 183–190; Waring, 2018: 70). An example is provided by Yap and Yu (2016).

These observations mean that culture has profound influences on understandings of wellbeing.

2.2 Cultural Understandings of Wellbeing

If our policy objective is to expand the capabilities of persons to lead the kinds of lives they value, and have reason to value, then policy advice must recognise that humans can have reasoned lifestyles that are very different. This can be illustrated with some quotations. These quotations are neither representative nor comprehensive, but have been selected to illustrate the point. They all involve reflections on some aspect of what the speaker considers is a valued kind of life.

> E rere kau mai te awa nui mai I te kāhui manga ki Tangaroa, ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au (*The great river flows from the mountains to the sea, I am the river and the river is me*). There is nowhere that I feel more at peace than in the still tranquillity of the Whanganui River, te awa tupua, our lifeblood, our tribal heartbeat, the sacred umbilical cord that unites us from the mountains to the sea. Every year our iwi come together to connect as one through the journey that we call the Tira Hoe Waka … a journey of hope, hope for a better future for our mokopuna. Our hīkoi always starts in the spirit of those who watch over us.
> —Valedictory speech to Parliament of Tariana Turia, 24 July 2014, cited in Leahy (2015: 506)

> For Pacific New Zealanders, … shared cultural concepts are "to serve, a duty to care, a requirement in order to sustain the community, cultural obligation or expectation and a form of love and reciprocity relating to kinship and protocols" (Tamasese, *et al.*, 2010). In Pacific culture, an individual does not exist alone, but exists in relationship with other people both living and deceased (Waldegrave, *et al.*, 2003). Relationships with, and between, people, villages (or community), the land and spirit world are paramount for Pacific peoples, and the guardianship of these aspects is vital to the Pacific ethos.
> —Su'a Thomsen, Jez Tavita and Zsontell Levi-Teu (2018: 7)

Research has classified Asians as collectivistic in comparison to Europeans, who are generally more individualistic (Begley & Tan, 2001; Podsiadlowski & Fox, 2011). Individualism celebrates the individual ownership of resources, status and wealth obtained through personal achievement and efforts (McGrath, MacMillan, & Scheinberg, 1992) whereas collectivism is founded on sharing resources with families and others within in-groups (Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). Economic self-interest, self-actualisation and the cultivation of personal interests is highly prized by individualists, compared with the social harmony, consensus and sense of belonging prized by collectivists (Cohen, 2007).

—Yong (2018: 7)

To be Pakeha in the 1940s and 1950s was to enjoy a way of life that changed beyond recognition in the succeeding decades. At the outset, for almost all of us, Britain was Home, the centre of an Empire of which our country was the most far-flung Dominion. The visit of the reigning monarch was one of the highlights of our primary school years. 'Girls were girls and men were men', in the words of the popular song, and each sex was allocated a set of pre-determined roles. Families were nuclear: mother and father (married), with three or four children.

—King (1985: 9)

I underwent a rude awakening as to the importance of the United Nations System of National Accounts (UNSNA). I learned that, in the UNSNA, the things that I valued about life in my country – its pollution-free environment; its mountain streams with safe drinking water; the accessibility of national parks, walkways, beaches, lakes, kauri and beech forests; the absence of nuclear power and nuclear energy – all counted for nothing.

—Waring (1988: 1)

Some cultures believe a long life brings wisdom. I'd like to think so. … But through the many changes I have seen over the years, faith, family and friendship have been not only a constant for me but a source of personal comfort and reassurance.

—Her Majesty The Queen (2018)

The principle of compassion lies at the heart of all religious, ethical, and spiritual traditions, calling us always to treat all others as we wish to be treated ourselves. Compassion impels us to work tirelessly to alleviate the suffering of our fellow creatures, to dethrone ourselves from the centre of our world and put another there, and to honour the inviolable sanctity of every single human being, treating everybody, without exception, with absolute justice, equity and respect.

—Charter for Compassion, 2009, cited in Armstrong (2011: 4–5)

Those who first set themselves to discover nature's secrets and designs, fearlessly opposing mankind's early ignorance, deserve our praise; for they began the quest to measure what once was unmeasurable, to discern its laws, and conquer time itself by understanding. … Knowledge is freedom, freedom from ignorance and its offspring fear; knowledge is light and liberation, knowledge that the world contains itself, and its origins, and the mind of man, from which comes more knowledge, and hope of knowledge again. Dare to know: that is the motto of enlightenment.

—A C Grayling (2011: 2–3)

These quotations portray something of the diversity and dynamism in human responses to the question of what are valued kinds of lives. Each quote draws on deeply-held cultural values inherited from previous generations, which some economists have called *cultural capital*.[5] The diversity reflects different ethnic groups, but it is also possible to distinguish cultures linked to (for example and in no particular order) socioeconomic status, gender, sexual orientation, religious tradition, age, nationality, tribal affiliation, place of birth, or place of residence. It is common, for example, to speak of youth culture (Brickell, 2017) or of business cultures (Hofstede, 1980; Beugelsdijk, Kostova, and Roth, 2017).

The diversity of cultural values deeply held by citizens is why the German Federal Government (2017: 5–7) adopted the principle of 'heterogeneous, not representative' for its national dialogue in 2015 on *Wellbeing in Germany – What Matters to Us*. This and other internal examples of wellbeing measurement frameworks are discussed in the following section.

2.3 International Wellbeing Measurement Frameworks

Recall from section 1.3 the unifying theme of the Stiglitz, Sen, and Fitoussi report: 'the time is ripe for our measurement system to shift emphasis from measuring economic production to measuring people's well-being'. The standard approach to operationalising this has been to create wellbeing measurement frameworks that identify an integrated set of key wellbeing dimensions supported by statistical measures for monitoring over time. This section provides examples drawn from the United Kingdom, Germany and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

The **Measuring National Well-being Programme** was established in the United Kingdom in November 2010 to monitor accepted and trusted measures of the nation's wellbeing (Jones and Randall, 2018: 2). Twice a year, the programme publishes 41 headline measures under 10 domain headings, listed in Table 2.1 on the following page. The Office for National Statistics also publishes a separate dataset containing 31 measures of children's wellbeing within 7 of those 10 domains. These measures are listed in Table 2.2. Both datasets contain a measure based on engagement with cultural activities:

- Engaged with, or participated in, arts or cultural activities at least three times in last year.

This series is constructed from the Taking Part Survey, which measures participation (including digital participation) by adults (aged 16 and over) and children (aged 5–10 and 11–15) living in private households in England (DCMS, 2018a and 2018b). The activities are grouped under five headings.

- The Arts.
- Heritage.
- Museums and Galleries.
- Libraries.
- Archives.

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[5]   Arjo Klamer (2002), for example, writes: 'Immeasurable as it is, cultural capital appears to generate the most important values of all, the values that can give meaning to our life' (467). See also de Bruin (1999); Throsby (1999); Dalziel and Saunders (2014a: 45–49); and Dalziel, Saunders, and Saunders (2018: 48–54). Note, however, that Marilyn Waring (2018: 57) argues against using 'capital' for cultural dynamics. The concept of cultural capital is discussed further in section 4.2 below.

Table 2.1: Domains and Measures in the UK Measuring National Well-being Programme, as at September 2018

Domain	Measures
Personal well-being	• Very high rating of satisfaction with their lives overall • Very high rating of how worthwhile they feel the things they do are • Rated their happiness yesterday as very high • Rated their anxiety yesterday as very low • Population mental well-being
Our relationships	• Proportion of those in fairly or extremely unhappy relationships • Feelings of loneliness often/always • Has a spouse or partner, family member, or friend to rely on if they have a serious problem
Health	• Healthy life expectancy at birth (male/female) • Percentage who reported a disability • Mostly or completely satisfied with their health • Some evidence indicating depression or anxiety
What we do	• Unemployment rate • Mostly or completely satisfied with their job • Mostly or completely satisfied with their amount of leisure time • Volunteered more than once in the last 12 months • Engaged with/participated in arts or cultural activity at least three times in last year • Percentage who have taken part in at least 150 minutes of sport and physical activities a week
Where we live	• Crimes against the person (per 1000 adults) • Felt fairly/very safe walking alone after dark (men/women) • Accessed natural environment at least once a week in the last 12 months • Agreed/agreed strongly they felt they belonged to their neighbourhood • Average minimum travel time to reach the nearest key services • Fairly/very satisfied with their accommodation
Personal finance	• Individuals in households with less than 60% of median income before housing costs • Median wealth per household, including pension wealth • Real median household income • Mostly or completely satisfied with the income of their household • Report finding it quite or very difficult to get by financially
The economy	• Real net national disposable income per head • UK public sector net debt as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product • Inflation rate (as measured by CPIH)
Education and skills	• Human capital—the value of individuals' skills, knowledge and competences in labour market • Those not in Education, Employment, or Training (NEET) • UK residents aged 16 to 64 with no qualifications
Governance	• Voter turnout in UK General Elections • Those who have trust in national Government
The natural environment	• Total greenhouse gas emissions (millions of tonnes of carbon dioxide equivalent) • Protected areas in the UK (millions hectares) • Energy consumed within the UK from renewable sources • Waste from households that is recycled

Source: ONS (2018a).

Table 2.2: Domains and Measures for Children in the UK Measuring National Well-being Programme, as at March 2018

Domain	Measures
Personal well-being	• High or very high level of satisfaction with their lives overall • High or very high level of happiness • High or very high level of how worthwhile the things they do are • Relatively high level of happiness with their appearance
Our relationships	• Quarrel with a parent more than once a week (mother/father) • Talks to a parent about things that matter more than once a week (mother/father) • Bullied at school physically, in other ways, or both at least four times in the last six months • Relatively high level of happiness with family • Relatively high level of happiness with friends
Health	• Term babies with low birth weight • Overweight, including obese • High or very high happiness with health • Has a disability or long-term limiting illness • Has symptoms of mental ill-health
What we do	• Participated in any sport in the last week • Engaged with, or participated in, arts or cultural activities at least three times in the last year • Spends over three hours on a social networking website on a normal school day • High or very high level of happiness with their time use
Where we live	• Was a victim of crime in the last year • Felt safe walking alone in their neighbourhood after dark • Like living in their neighbourhood • High or very high level of happiness with their accommodation • Visited the natural environment at least once a week in the last year
Personal finance	• Children in households with less than 60% of median income • Children in workless households • High or very high happiness with their possessions • Children in households with combined low income and material deprivation
Education and skills	• 3 and 4 year olds participating in funded early years education • Five or more GCSEs or equivalent A*−C, including English and Mathematics • Relatively happy with the school they go to • Would like to go on to full-time education at a college or university

Source: ONS (2018b).

Design of the **German wellbeing framework** began after the global financial crisis in 2008, and was intensified as part of the coalition agreement for a new government in December 2013 (German Federal Government, 2017: 3). A national dialogue in 2015 involved 203 separate events, an online website for digital submissions and the distribution of postcards and coupons at large events or in major newspapers (German Federal Government, 2017: 7). Independent scientific analysis of the gathered material produced a system of wellbeing categories, which the Federal Government used to define Twelve Dimensions of Wellbeing. These are presented on the following page in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: Twelve Dimensions of Wellbeing in Germany as of May 2017

Our life

- Healthy throughout life
- Equal **educational opportunities** for all
- Good **work** and equitable participation
- Having **time** for family and work
- A secure **income**

Our surroundings

- Living a life in **security** and **freedom**
- **At home** in urban and rural areas
- **Standing together** in family and society

Our country

- Strengthening the **economy**, investing in the **future**
- Preserving **nature**, protecting the **environment**
- Living **freely** and **equal before the law**
- Acting with global **responsibility** and securing **peace**

Source: https://www.gut-leben-in-deutschland.de/static/LB/en/.

The dimensions were supported by 46 indicators, including two placeholders where the indicator is known to be important for wellbeing but there is no statistical measure currently available (quality of care and global corporate responsibility). The indicators are presented in Table 2.3, below.

Table 2.3: Domains and Indicators in the German Wellbeing Framework, as at May 2017

Domain	Indicators
Healthy throughout life	• Life expectancy at birth • Prevalence of obesity • Number of residents covered by a general practitioner or general specialist • Quality of care (placeholder) • Ratio of self-reported health and income
Good work and equitable participation	• Unemployment rate • Employment rate • Standard and non-standard employment • Real net wages and salaries • Job satisfaction
Equal educational opportunities for all	• Persons who have completed at least vocational training or university entrance qualification • Early school leavers • Educational mobility between parents and children • Participation in further education

Table 2.3 continued on following page.

Table 2.3 (Continued): Domains and Indicators in the German Wellbeing Framework, as at May 2017

Domain	Indicators
Having time for family and work	• Comparison of actual and preferred working hours • Childcare enrolment rate • Reduced working hours for care responsibilities • Commuting time
A secure income	• Net household income • Gini coefficient of income • Gini coefficient of wealth • Risk-of-poverty rate • Old-age dependency ratio
Living a life in security and freedom	• Fear of crime • Actual crime • Hate crime and politically motivated crime • People's confidence in local policing
At home in urban and rural areas	• Ratio of rental costs to net household income • Travel time to educational, service, and cultural facilities • Broadband access
Standing together in family and society	• Life and family forms • Help from others • Civic engagement • Membership in sports clubs
Strengthening the economy, investing in the future	• Real gross domestic product per capita • Investment rate • National debt ratio • Public and private expenditure on research and development • Time required to start a business
Preserving nature, protecting the environment	• Air quality • Biodiversity and environmental quality • Energy productivity
Living freely and equal before the law	• Voter turnout • Perceived ability to influence politics • Guarantee of eight selected fundamental rights
Acting with global responsibility and securing peace	• Global and national greenhouse gas emissions • Public expenditure on development cooperation as a percentage of gross national income • Global corporate responsibility

Source: German Federal Government (2017: 16–17).

One indicator refers to culture, under the dimension of 'At home in urban and rural areas':

• Travel time to educational, service, and cultural facilities.

The accompanying text explains that this represents a concern about the *accessibility* of educational, service, and cultural infrastructure to people, particularly to those living in rural areas (German Federal Government, 2017: 127–130).

The **OECD Wellbeing Framework** is a tool for helping to understand whether life is getting better for people (OECD, 2017: 22–24). This is consistent with the mission of the OECD (2011) 'to promote policies that will improve the economic and social well-being of people around the world' (8). The framework is presented in Figure 2.2, below.

Figure 2.2: The OECD Wellbeing Framework as of 2017
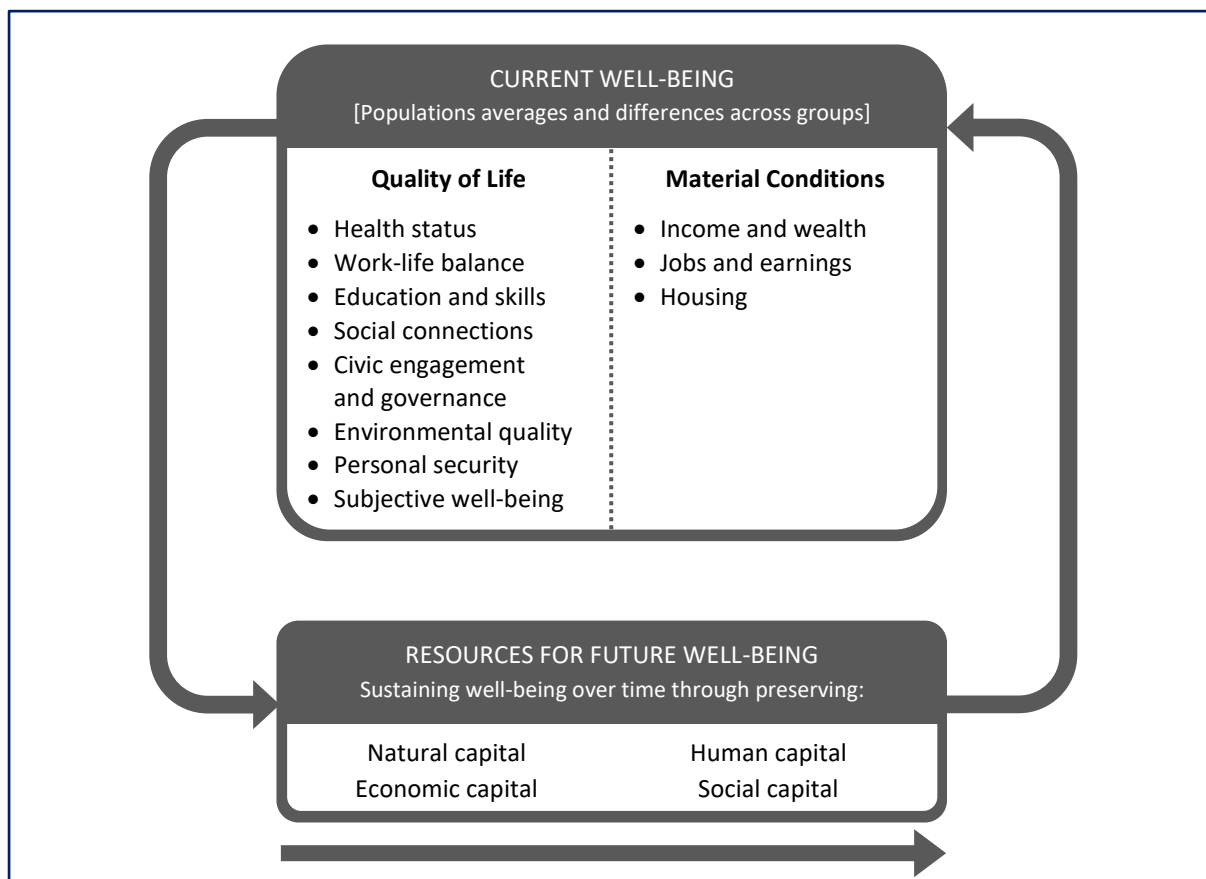
Source: OECD (2017, Figure 1.1: 22).

The framework has two major components. The first component of the framework identifies four capital stocks that are required resources for sustaining wellbeing over time: natural capital; human capital; economic capital; and social capital. The second component lists 11 dimensions of current wellbeing, grouped under material conditions and quality of life. There are between one and five headline indicators for each dimension, listed in Table 2.4 on the following page.

The OECD wellbeing framework does not include culture in its dimensions of current wellbeing; nor does it include cultural capital in the resources for future wellbeing, with one exception. The evaluation of economic capital includes measures of a country's intellectual property assets, such as research and development; software and databases; mineral exploration and evaluation; and entertainment, artistic, and literary originals. The last three items are a subset of a country's cultural assets. The OECD database advises that relevant data for this measure are not available for New Zealand (OECD, 2017: 436–437).

Table 2.4: Domains and Headline Indicators in the OECD Wellbeing Framework, as at 2017

Domain	Headline Indicators
Income and wealth	• Household income • Household net wealth
Jobs and earnings	• Employment • Earnings • Labour market insecurity • Job strain • Long-term unemployment
Housing	• Rooms per person • Housing affordability • Basic sanitation
Work and life balance	• Working hours • Time off
Health status	• Life expectancy • Perceived health
Education and skills	• Educational attainment • Cognitive skills at 15 • Adult skills
Social connections	• Social support
Civic engagement and governance	• Having a say in government • Voter turnout
Environmental quality	• Water quality • Air quality
Personal security	• Homicides • Feeling safe at night
Subjective well-being	• Life satisfaction

Source: OECD (2017: 338–339).

The three examples of this section illustrate typical features of a national wellbeing measurement framework. The framework identifies significant **domains** or **dimensions** of wellbeing, which may be grouped into **themes** (Our life, Our surroundings, and Our country in the German example). In order to monitor wellbeing, the framework defines statistical **indicators** and **measures** for each dimension. Typically, an indicator is a conceptual label (for example, Long-term unemployment), while a measure is the definition of the data series used (for example, Percentage of the labour force that has been unemployed for one year or more).[6] The framework may also report on **stocks for future wellbeing** (especially the four capitals: natural capital, human capital, economic capital, and social capital).

Within such a framework, culture is important at two levels. First, does the set of selected dimensions adequately represent all key aspects of wellbeing according to the diverse cultural values of different groups and communities in the country? Second, do one or more of the dimensions include indicators that explicitly address culture itself as a key contribution to wellbeing?

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[6]   For the sake of completeness, it can be noted that indicators are sometimes grouped into **topics**. This is not the case for the three examples surveyed here, but it is part of the new wellbeing measurement framework being created by Statistics New Zealand, *Indicators Aotearoa New Zealand—Ngā Tūtohu Aotearoa*.

The importance of these questions can be illustrated using the LSF Dashboard, which is based on the OECD Wellbeing Framework. An early report in the development of the LSF Dashboard made the following observation:

> The OECD wellbeing model uses a coherent capital stocks model to evaluate intergenerational wellbeing, and is widely used internationally. Despite this, it is not a perfect fit for the New Zealand Treasury. In particular, the OECD model fails to consider explicitly some aspects of current wellbeing that are of great salience to New Zealanders – such as culture – and is framed in language that may hinder communication with some New Zealand communities (Smith, 2018: 8).

Consequently, the Dashboard adds a 12th domain to the list of 11 domains in Table 2.4, labelled *Cultural Identity*. This report will return to the LSF Dashboard in chapter 4; the following section surveys other wellbeing measurement frameworks that have been developed in New Zealand.

2.4 New Zealand Wellbeing Measurement Frameworks

Wellbeing is widely recognised in New Zealand public policy. To give a simple example, the principal purpose of the Productivity Commission is 'to provide advice to the Government on improving productivity in a way that is directed to supporting the overall well-being of New Zealanders, having regard to a wide range of communities of interest and population groups in New Zealand society' (New Zealand Productivity Commission Act 2010, section 7). As that example also illustrates, it is standard to recognise that wellbeing must have regard to diversity among New Zealand communities.

New Zealand authors have created holistic conceptual frameworks of wellbeing that embed Māori or Pacific cultural values. These include:

- Te Whare Tapa Whā created by Mason Durie (Durie, 1998: 68–74)
- Te Pae Māhutonga created by Mason Durie (Durie, 1999)
- Fonofale model created by Fuimaono Karl Pulotu-Endemann (Crawley, Pulotu-Endemann, and Stanley-Findlay, 1995: 11–12)
- Pacific Operating Model 2018 (Thomsen, Tavita, and Levi-Teu, 2018: 13–14)
- He Ara Waiora prototype model (O'Connell *et al.*, 2018, chapter 3).

Figure 2.3 illustrates the holistic approach using the He Ara Waiora prototype model. The model includes the four capitals of the Living Standards Framework, which are the same as in the OECD framework in Figure 2.2. The model depicts the capitals in a particular relationship to each other to reflect Māori cultural values. Thus, wellbeing (waiora) lies at the intersection of human capital, social capital, and financial/physical capital, which are embedded within natural capital. The capitals are then nested within four foundational cultural values, as explained by the authors:

> **Waiora** speaks to a broad conception of human wellbeing, grounded in water (wai) as the source of all life. The foundations for wellbeing come through **kaitiakitanga** (stewardship of all our resources), **manaakitanga** (care for others), **ōhanga** (prosperity) and **whanaungatanga** (the connections between us). These foundations support the development of the four capital stocks: **financial and physical** capital; **human** capital; **social** capital; and **natural** capital. Wellbeing depends on the sustainable growth and distribution of these four capitals, which together represent the comprehensive wealth of New Zealand (O'Connell *et al.*, 2018: 7).

Figure 2.3: The He Ara Waiora Prototype Model
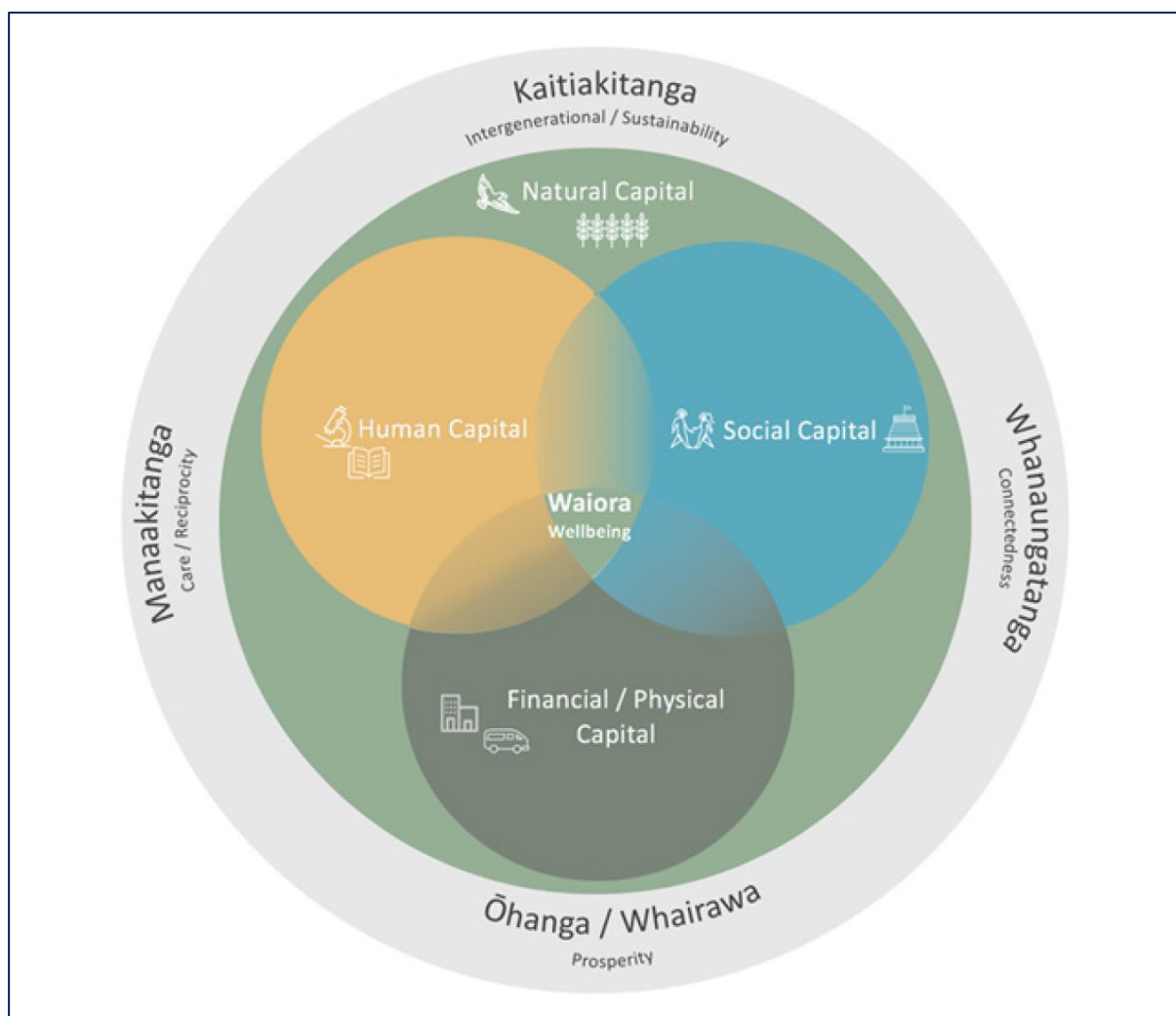
Source: O'Connell *et al*. (2018: 7).

New Zealand agencies have also developed measurement frameworks for monitoring wellbeing trends. This section discusses notable examples (other than the Living Standards Framework and LSF Dashboard, which will be discussed in detail in chapter 4).

The Waikato Regional Council developed the **Waikato Progress Indicators** (WPI) monitoring framework to support its strategic direction, policies, and integrated initiatives (Killerby and Huser, 2014). The framework is an online dashboard of 32 environmental, social, and economic indicators, grouped into 20 topics (see www.waikatoregion.govt.nz/wpi/).

Cultural identity is one of the topics, and has two associated indicators: Cultural respect and Te Reo Māori speakers (Huser and Killerby, 2018: 15 and 16). Cultural respect is measured by the level of agreement by survey respondents that New Zealand becoming home for an increasing number of people with different lifestyles and cultures from different countries makes their area a better place to live. Te reo Māori speakers is measured by the percentage of te reo Māori speakers in the total population.

The **Canterbury Wellbeing Index** is based on a regular survey originally commissioned by the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA) in 2012. Responsibility for the survey passed to the Canterbury District Health Board in 2016, who have extended the survey to incorporate a broad focus on wellbeing. The most recent survey was in May 2018 (Nielsen, 2018). The Index can be accessed on-line at https://www.canterburywellbeing.org.nz/. The Index is organised into three main sections:

- **Our Wellbeing**—describing the wellbeing of the greater Christchurch population across 10 domains using 56 indicators.
- **He Tohu Ora**—focusing on Māori conceptualisations of wellbeing using 19 indicators.
- **Our Population**—describing the population of greater Christchurch using 10 indicators.

The social capital domain in the Index includes three indicators that measure aspects of wellbeing related to culture: personal identity, arts attendance, and participation in the arts. The measures used for each of this indicators are:

- *personal identity*: the proportion who reported it was easy or very easy to be themselves in New Zealand, as reported in the 2018 Canterbury Wellbeing Survey

- *arts attendance*: the proportion who reported they had attended at least one arts event or location in the previous 12 months, as reported in the New Zealanders and the Arts Survey

- *participation in the arts*: the proportion who reported they had participated in least one arts form in the previous 12 months, as reported in the New Zealanders and the Arts Survey.

The He Tohu Ora section of the Index (https://www.canterburywellbeing.org.nz/he-tohu-ora/) offers indicators that have been selected on the basis of a Te Ao Māori worldview and the availability of suitable quantitative data. Its design draws on the Te Whare Tapa Whā and Te Pae Māhutonga conceptual models of Mason Durie (1998, 1999). Details were developed in liaison with Ngāi Tahu and with Te Pūtahitanga o Te Waipounamu (the Whānau Ora commissioning agency for the South Island). The data are taken from the national Census, the Te Kupenga survey of Māori wellbeing conducted by Statistics New Zealand, and the Canterbury Wellbeing Survey commissioned by the Canterbury District Health Board. The 19 indicators in the He Tohu Ora section are presented in Table 2.5, below.

Table 2.5: Indicators in the He Tohu Ora Section of the Canterbury Wellbeing Index, as at February 2019

Indicators	
• Sense of neighbourhood	• Visited marae
• Whānau support	• Tūrangawaewae connection
• Whānau contact	• Cultural support
• Unpaid activities	• Cultural engagement
• Whānau wellbeing	• Spirituality
• Self-rated health	• Housing quality
• Quality of life	• Satisfaction with income
• Te reo Māori speaking	• Access to transport
• Te reo Māori understanding	• Access to natural environment
• Tribal identity	

Source: https://www.canterburywellbeing.org.nz/.

The **Whānau Ora Outcomes Framework** is designed to guide and monitor success in the Whānau Ora programme, which is 'a culturally-grounded, holistic approach to improving the wellbeing of whānau as a group, and addressing individual needs within the context of whānau' (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2016: 1). Commissioning agencies use the framework in their annual reports to Te Puni Kōkiri on programme achievements (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2016: 4). There are seven Whānau Ora Outcomes.

- Whānau are self-managing and empowered leaders.
- Whānau are leading healthy lifestyles.
- Whānau are participating fully in society.
- Whānau and families are confidently participating in Te Ao Māori (the Māori World).
- Whānau and families are economically secure and successfully involved in wealth creation.
- Whānau are cohesive, resilient, and nurturing.
- Whānau and families are responsible stewards of their living and natural environments.

The framework further identifies a series of short-, medium-, and long-term outcomes that will achieve these aspirations (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2016: 2–3).

An Indigenous Approach to the Living Standards Framework is a recent discussion paper in this series. It offers the above Whānau Ora Outcomes, with slight adjustments, as seven wellbeing domains that 'are interdependent and interconnected, and together describe overall wellbeing for Māori', as well as providing an indigenous perspective on wellbeing that is universally applicable (Te Puni Kōkiri and the Treasury, 2019: 15). The paper offers 36 indicators (some of which do not yet have measures). Each is assigned to one of the seven domains and also linked to one of the four capitals in the Living Standards Framework (Te Puni Kōkiri and the Treasury, 2019, Table 1: 20).

The **Lifetime Wellbeing Model for New Zealand Children** is being developed by Oranga Tamariki—Ministry for Children as a tool to help map the wellbeing of all children; inform advice on what needs to be done to help different populations; and model potential impact of changes to policy on different population groups (https://orangatamariki.govt.nz/research/research-seminars/the-well/). There are five domains in the model (Deutschle and Browne, 2018, Slide 5).

- **Safety**: Children are safe and feel safe.
- **Security**: Children enjoy sufficient financial, natural, and social resources to thrive.
- **Connectedness**: Children understand who they are, where they belong, and their connection to whānau, culture, and community.
- **Wellness**: Children enjoy the best possible physical and mental health.
- **Development**: Children have the skills and knowledge to live good lives and meet their aspirations.

The third of those domains recognises connection to culture as an aspect of child wellbeing.

The **SIA wellbeing measurement approach** is being developed by the Social Investment Agency with an ultimate goal 'to measure the consequences of social sector interventions (and thereby improve those and future interventions)' (Blight, Lambert, and Wakeman, 2018: 7).[7] The approach modifies the

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[7] The working paper by Blight *et al.* (2018) includes an insightful and extensive Appendix evaluating a number of wellbeing measurement frameworks created in New Zealand and overseas.

OECD conceptual model (see Figure 2.2 of the previous section) to create 12 wellbeing domains, plus an overall measure of how people view their own wellbeing. One of the domains is Ūkaipōtanga/cultural identity, defined as belonging and ability to express your identity. The SIA working paper adds the following explanation:

> Ūkaipōtanga captures a sense of belonging, recognition and identity and the ability to express that identity, as well as acknowledging that there are aspects of culture, such as its language, that we may wish to protect for the future. The ability to live as who you are, without feeling compelled to adopt another identity to fit in with wider society, is an important aspect of wellbeing. Having a sense of belonging and connection to a culture and place is also important for most, if not all, people. Issues of cultural identity are particularly salient in a New Zealand context given the country's bicultural origins and its diverse immigrant population. While Te Ao Māori is obviously of crucial importance here – particularly from an existence value perspective – belonging and expression are important to all cultures. Existence value recognises that something is intrinsically valuable in its own right, for example Te Reo (Māori language) (Blight, Lambert, and Wakeman, 2018: 24).

The **Social Report Framework** was created by the Ministry of Social Development with four aims (Ministry of Social Development, 2016: 14), to:

- report on social indicators that complement existing economic and environmental indicators
- compare New Zealand with other countries on measures of wellbeing
- contribute to better-informed public debate
- aid planning and decision-making, and help identify key areas for action.

There are 10 outcome domains, one of which is Cultural Identity. The *Social Report* defines culture as referring to 'the customs, practices, languages, values and world views that define social groups such as those based on nationality, ethnicity, region or common interests' (Ministry of Social Development, 2016: 175). It recognises that the cultural identity of an individual based on ethnicity is not necessarily exclusive, but depends on context, and may involve more than one cultural identity.

Each of the domains in the Social Report Framework has a desired outcome statement. For Cultural Identity, the statement is:

> New Zealanders have a strong national identity and a sense of belonging, and value cultural diversity. Everybody is able to pass their cultural traditions on to future generations. Māori culture is valued, practised and protected (Ministry of Social Development, 2016: 18).

Four indicators are associated with Cultural Identity.

- The proportion of local content on prime-time (6pm–10pm) television.
- The proportion of the population who identify as Māori and who could hold a conversation about everyday things in the Māori language (te reo Māori).
- The proportion of the population who could speak the 'first language' of their ethnic group, for ethnic groups (other than Māori) with an established resident population in New Zealand.

- The proportion of the population aged 15 years and over who felt it was 'very easy' or 'easy' to be themselves in New Zealand (Ministry of Social Development, 2016: 175–188).

Te Kupenga is a survey of Māori wellbeing by Statistics New Zealand implemented in 2013 (see http://archive.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/maori/te-kupenga.aspx). Its purpose was to collect information on the social, cultural, and economic wellbeing of Māori in New Zealand, and on the health of the Māori language and culture. The survey grouped its topics into four aspects: subjective wellbeing, social wellbeing, cultural wellbeing, and economic wellbeing (see Table 2.6, below).

The questions on the cultural wellbeing topic focus on cultural efficacy (knowledge of iwi, etc.) and on cultural vitality (engagement in general practice related to Māori culture, etc.). The indicators of subjective wellbeing include an emphasis on whānau and on connection to ancestral marae (under 'Sense of connection to tūrangawaewae').

Table 2.6: Aspects and Topics of Wellbeing in the Te Kupenga Survey, as at 2013

Aspect	Topics
Subjective wellbeing	• Overall life satisfaction • Sense of control over one's life • Self-assessed health status • Sense of connection to tūrangawaewae • Sense of how one's whānau is doing • Sense of whānau progress over the past 12 months
Social wellbeing	• Type and regularity of whānau contact • Satisfaction with whānau contact • Ability to access help in a time of crisis • Involvement in any voluntary work • Experience of loneliness in the past 12 months • Trust in others • Trust in government and government institutions • Participation in the last national and local government elections • Experience of crime in the past 12 months • Experience of discrimination ever and in the past 12 months
Cultural wellbeing	• Knowledge of iwi, enrolled with iwi, and participated in last iwi elections • Knowledge of pepehā, marae tūpuna, and if ever visited a marae, and if in the past 12 months • Ability to access Māori cultural support in time of need • Engagement in general practices related to Māori culture over the past 12 months • Being religious and/or spiritual • Māori language ability • Where and with whom te reo Māori is spoken • Whether or not a native speaker
Economic wellbeing	• Material standard of living • Paid work • Housing problems

Source: http://archive.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/maori/te-kupenga/topics-2013.aspx.

The **New Zealand Progress Indicators Tupuranga Aotearoa** website was maintained by Statistics New Zealand as part of its work on monitoring progress towards a sustainable New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2002, 2009a, 2009b). The last of these reports presented data on 85 sustainable development indicators, which were organised under 15 topics. One of the topics was Culture and Identity, which was associated with four indicators and measures. These are listed in Table 2.7, below. 'Speakers of te reo Māori' was included in the subset of key indicators regularly updated on the New Zealand Progress Indicators Tupuranga Aotearoa website.

Table 2.7: Four Indicators and Measures for the Topic of Culture and Identity, 2009

Indicator	Measure
Speakers of te reo Māori	Proportion of people who identify themselves as being of Māori ethnicity and able to have an everyday conversation in the Māori language.
Children attending Māori language immersion schools	The number of children attending kura kaupapa Māori (Māori language immersion schools).
Number of historic places	Number of historic places registered with the Historic Places Trust, listed in district plans or recognised by the Department of Conservation.
Local content on New Zealand television	Proportion of local content on prime-time television on the six major nationwide free-to-air channels.

Source: Statistics New Zealand (2009b: 127–132).

The Culture and Identity topic was explained as follows:

> Culture and identity affect the way people perceive and express themselves in relation to others, and how they engage in social interaction. Expressions of culture are often closely related to the way people form, maintain, and strengthen their identity (sense of self).
>
> Culture can be defined as a general way of life that contributes to national identity and society. Culture can also be defined as the shared knowledge, values, and practices of specific groups. People's identity may relate to their ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religious and spiritual beliefs, or physical, artistic, and cultural activities.
>
> New Zealand is a varied society with increasing ethnic diversity (see indicator 1.4). This diversity can bring economic benefits through, for example, innovation, access to overseas networks, and increased market knowledge. As the indigenous culture of New Zealand, Māori culture is unique to New Zealand and forms a fundamental part of the national identity.
>
> Cultural expression and participation contribute to individual well-being and sense of belonging. The expression of, and respect for, cultural practices, language, and beliefs is part of a socially cohesive society. These expressions of culture are sustained by being passed down generations, and through the protection of heritage (Statistics New Zealand, 2009b: 127).

In 2019, Statistics New Zealand released the indicators it will use for a new measurement framework called Indicators Aotearoa New Zealand—Ngā Tūtohu Aotearoa. At the time of writing this

research report, the consultation had produced a draft set of topics for peer review. This included the following two topics and associated indicators (https://www.stats.govt.nz/indicators-and-snapshots/indicators-aotearoa-new-zealand-nga-tutohu-aotearoa/):

Current Wellbeing
Culture:
Engagement in cultural activities; intergenerational transfer of knowledge; te reo Māori speakers.
Identity:
Sense of belonging; language development and retention.

Future Wellbeing
Financial and physical capital:
Heritage assets.

2.5 Themes in Cultural Indicators

The previous two sections have presented a number of different cultural indicators drawn from some representative international and national wellbeing measurement frameworks. This section returns to the questions posed at the end of section 2.3.

- Does the set of selected dimensions adequately represent all key aspects of wellbeing according to the diverse cultural values of different groups and communities in the country?

- Do one or more of the dimensions include indicators that explicitly address culture itself as a key contribution to wellbeing?

Also addressing the first question, Yap and Yu (2016: 315) refer to research that questions the utility and relevance of wellbeing measurement frameworks, including the OECD framework, for addressing indigenous aspirations and worldviews about what makes a good life. They suggest five essential dimensions for indigenous wellbeing.

- Indigenous autonomy and self-determination, including respect for indigenous world views, is a basic human right that is also instrumental in pathways towards other aspects of wellbeing.
- Indigenous peoples' connection to country, culture, and their environment are strongly linked to many other aspects of wellbeing. [8]
- The central importance of family and kinship, transcending the boundaries of immediate blood relations, cannot be over-emphasised.
- The interconnections between dimensions of wellbeing are as important as the individual parts, so that an integrated approach is essential.
- Conceptualisations of health and wellbeing cannot be meaningfully separated from the context of colonisation and its consequences (Yap and Yu, 2016: 317–318).

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[8] Country is used here in the sense 'used by Aboriginal people to refer to the land to which they belong and their place of dreaming' (Yap and Yu, 2016: 321).

Some New Zealand frameworks have created a distinctive approach based on Te Ao Maori. This includes conceptual models such as Te Whare Tapa Whā and Te Pae Māhutonga. It also includes the Whānau Ora Outcomes Framework (and its adaption by Te Puni Kōkiri and the Treasury, 2019), the Statistics New Zealand Te Kupenga Survey and the He Tohu Ora section of the Canterbury Wellbeing Index. The He Ara Waiora prototype model of O'Connell *et al*. (2018) sets the four capitals of the Living Standards Framework into particular relationships with each other, embedded within the cultural values of kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga, ōhanga/whairawa and whanaungatanga.

In answer to the second question, New Zealand frameworks typically include indicators that aim to measure some aspect of cultural wellbeing. The most common title for the relevant domain is *Cultural Identity*, although the Canterbury Wellbeing Index places its cultural indicators under a Social capital domain. It is possible to discern some themes in the commonly used cultural indicators. This is done in Table 2.8, below, which offers five themes that will be used to organise the analysis in chapter 3.

Table 2.8: Summary of Themes and Indicators Found in Wellbeing Measurement Frameworks under a Cultural Identity Domain

Themes	Indicators
Cultural development of children	• Intergenerational transfer of knowledge • Children understanding who they are, where they belong, and their connection to whānau, culture, and community • Children attending Māori language immersion schools
Cultural efficacy and competence	• Māori able to hold a conversation in te reo Māori • Language development and retention • Cultural competency
Cultural safety and respect	• Ability to be yourself • Sense of belonging • Cultural respect
Cultural assets and taonga	• Preservation of heritage assets/taonga • Number of historic places • Travel time to cultural facilities • Speakers of te reo Māori
Cultural engagement and vitality	• Participation in cultural activities • Attendance at cultural activities or locations • Local content on New Zealand television • Inclusive national identity

The first theme is the cultural development of children, which is consistent with the emphasis on culture in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (see section 1.2). The second theme is cultural efficacy and competence. In New Zealand, this is typically discussed in the context of Māori or Pasifika experience, suggesting that European/Pākehā New Zealanders are able to take this aspect of their cultural wellbeing for granted in a way that other cultural groups in New Zealand cannot.

The third and fourth themes move from individuals to communities. The third theme is cultural safety and respect, measuring how people are able to be themselves and belong within communities that respect their cultural expression. The fourth theme is cultural assets and taonga, measuring how communities protect and pass on tangible and intangible cultural assets.

The fifth theme is cultural engagement and vitality. It includes measures of individual participation and attendance at cultural events, plus measures of New Zealand's inclusive national identity.

2.6 Points for Discussion

This chapter has adopted a high-level understanding of wellbeing as 'the expansion of the capabilities of persons to lead the kinds of lives they value – and have reason to value' (Sen, 1999: 18). Within that context, a national wellbeing measurement framework must recognise that reasoned lifestyles, individually and collectively, can be very different in diverse cultures. Globally, the typical practice is to create an accepted set of wellbeing **domains** or **dimensions**, with associated **indicators** and **measures**. The OECD framework also incorporates four **stocks for future wellbeing** (natural capital, human capital, economic capital, and social capital).

The international practice is reflected in New Zealand examples discussed in section 2.4. Section 2.5 has grouped frequently used cultural indicators into five themes, summarised in Table 2.8. These themes will be used in the following chapter, which explores the connections between culture and wellbeing in more detail. This chapter offers three points for further discussion.

Discussion Point 2-1. How can the diversity and dynamism in human responses to the question of what are valued kinds of life be reflected in a national wellbeing measurement framework?

Discussion Point 2-2. Is it feasible to expect a single national wellbeing measurement framework to reflect cultural diversity, including the values of its indigenous culture, in Aotearoa New Zealand?

Discussion Point 2-3. Do the themes summarised in Table 2.8 capture the most important connections between culture and wellbeing in Aotearoa New Zealand?

Chapter 3
Cultural Wellbeing

Chapters 1 and 2 have demonstrated the wide recognition in New Zealand and elsewhere that culture is essential for wellbeing. As a further illustration, a reform in 2002 of the Local Government Act defined two statutory purposes of local government, including 'to promote the social, economic, environmental, and cultural well-being of communities, in the present and for the future' (section 10, cited in Dalziel, Matunga, and Saunders, 2006: 267).[9] The Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2005) subsequently provided some guidance on what cultural wellbeing might involve:

> For its purposes, the Ministry for Culture and Heritage defines cultural wellbeing as: The vitality that communities and individuals enjoy through
> - participation in recreation, creative and cultural activities
> - the freedom to retain, interpret and express their arts, history, heritage and traditions (2).

The guidance then listed five elements of cultural vitality:

- It's about Arts, Creative and Cultural Activities
- It's about Languages, Film and Broadcasting
- It's about History and Heritage
- It's about Sport and Recreation
- It's about a Sense of Place (3–5).

This chapter builds on that definition to analyse different aspects of cultural wellbeing.[10] Sections 3.1 and 3.2 explain a distinction that has been made between embodied culture and tangible culture. The former is defined as cultural values and skills that people learn and use, both personally and communally (section 3.1). The later focuses on cultural artefacts and cultural connections to the natural environment (section 3.2).

Chapter 2 identified five themes for indicators that appear under the heading of Cultural Identity in New Zealand wellbeing measurement frameworks (see Table 2.8). Cultural identity is discussed in section 3.3, and placed alongside the concept of cultural vibrancy. The five themes are then analysed in sections 3.4 to 3.8. Section 3.4 begins with the cultural development of children. This leads on to analysis of cultural efficacy and cultural competence in section 3.5. Section 3.6 discusses cultural safety and respect, while section 3.7 focuses on cultural assets and taonga. Section 3.8 returns to the concept of cultural vitality in the Ministry's definition cited above, and links it to cultural engagement. The chapter finishes in section 3.9 with a short summary and points for further discussion.

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[9] Note that these purposes were amended in November 2012. This replaced the wellbeing purpose with the following: 'to meet the current and future needs of communities for good-quality local infrastructure, local public services, and performance of regulatory functions in a way that is most cost-effective for households and businesses'. The current government has announced the wellbeing purpose will be restored to the Act.

[10] As noted at the beginning of section 1.4, the report does not attempt to include sport and recreation in its discussion, since this is a specialist topic requiring more analysis than is possible in this discussion.

3.1 Embodied Culture: Personal and Communal

A previous report for the Ministry for Culture and Heritage by Allan, Grimes, and Kerr (2013: 10) drew on analysis in Throsby (1995; 1997; 1999; 2001: 3–5) to distinguish an anthropological definition of culture and an embodied definition. The former is more conceptual, referring to the 'set of attitudes, beliefs, mores, customs, values and practices which are common to or shared by any group' (Throsby, 2001: 4). The embodied definition is more functional: 'denoting certain activities that are undertaken by people, and the products of those activities, which have to do with the intellectual, moral and artistic aspects of human life' (Throsby, 2001: 4). Throsby (2001) suggests these cultural activities have three characteristics, which are:

- that the activities concerned involve some form of creativity in their production
- that they are concerned with the generation and communication of symbolic meaning, and
- that their output embodies, at least potentially, some form of intellectual property (4).

This section focuses on the embodied definition. As Throsby (1999: 4) explains, the concept of embodied culture was first emphasised by Pierre Bourdieu (1983 [1986]), who argued that, 'most of the properties of cultural capital can be deduced from the fact that, in its fundamental state, it is linked to the body and presupposes embodiment' (244).

In Bourdieu's account, embodied culture is made up of knowledge and skills that a young child absorbs within the family from an early age, and then develops further at school (see Dalziel, Saunders, and Saunders, 2018: 49–50). This is a key aspect of cultural inheritance emphasised in section 1.1 of this report, also echoed in the draft topic of *Intergenerational transfer of knowledge* currently proposed for Indicators Aotearoa New Zealand—Ngā Tūtohu Aotearoa (see the end of section 2.4). Reflecting the first theme in Table 2.8 of the previous chapter, a young person's development of embodied cultural knowledge and skills is essential for wellbeing.

Reflecting the second theme in Table 2.8, learning cultural knowledge and skills can be a life-long project. Indeed, the practice of *self-cultivation* ('the improvement of the human mind and spirit … to be achieved by deliberate effort', Eliot, 1949: 19) can itself be an important cultural value.

Cultural expression may be restricted by a lack of respect for the culture in the wider community. Also, some cultural practices require participation of more than one person. Performances by a kapa haka group (Pihama, Tipene, and Skipper, 2014) or by a professional orchestra (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2013), for example, are qualitatively different from anything a person could do individually. These communal activities require shared cultural skills (perhaps the same rhythm in the performance of a particular piece), typically produced through intense practice.

These observations lead to recognition of *artistry* in cultural performance, understood as the skilled combination of technical virtuosity and creative interpretation (Royce, 2004). Talented and dedicated artists are able to deliver performances in their genre that can astonish, inspire, shock, and perhaps transform their audiences. Dame Kiri Te Kanawa is an exceptional example of a New Zealand artist who in her international career received accolades all around the world for her artistry. The connection between artists and their audiences (and indeed between audiences and their artists) is an important aspect of a community's cultural vibrancy, which will be discussed further in section 3.3.

3.2 Tangible Culture: Material Artefacts and Sense of Place

Throsby (1999) observes that 'the stock of tangible cultural capital assets exists in buildings, structures, sites and locations endowed with cultural significance (commonly called "cultural heritage") and artworks and artefacts existing as private goods, such as paintings, sculptures, and other objects' (7). Artistry can create material artefacts that become part of a community's cultural heritage. Examples include whare tipuna, heritage buildings, paintings, carvings, sculptures, korowai, ceramics, movies, literature and other cultural objects. Some artefacts may be valued because of their association with a culturally important period, event, or technological advance. Museums, art galleries, and archives are devoted to preserving significant material artefacts and making them accessible to visitors. People and organisations purchase artefacts for their personal cultural appreciation or display.

Another important aspect of cultural heritage is connectedness to the natural environment or 'sense of place' (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2005: 5; Wilson, 2011: 13). The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples refers directly to the distinctive spiritual relationship of indigenous peoples with their lands, territories, waters, and coastal seas and other resources (Article 25; see also Throsby and Petetskaya, 2016). This certainly applies in New Zealand, where 'an ancestral connection to the natural world is critical for Māori reflected in kaitiakitanga, and the determination to preserve the mauri and wairua of the natural environment, including water and land' (Te Puni Kōkiri and the Treasury, 2019: 11).

Further, a *Survey of New Zealanders* commissioned by the Department of Conservation reported in 2016 that 85 per cent of its sample believed that their connection with New Zealand's nature improved their lives. The same percentage reported that conservation was important or very important to them (Department of Conservation, 2016: 14 and 15). The Department manages a large portfolio of historic places in New Zealand, including 24 Historic Icon locations and more than 13 000 protected historic places (Department of Conservation, 2018: 40).

3.3 Cultural Identity and Vibrancy

Many wellbeing measurement frameworks in New Zealand identify *Cultural Identity* as a key domain (see sections 2.4 and 2.5 in the previous chapter). Cultural identity is used in different contexts with a narrow or broad definition. A representative example of the narrow definition is 'that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his [or her] knowledge of his [or her] membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership' (Tajfel 1981: 255, cited by Manuela and Sibley, 2013: 85). Identity in this sense is always relational and dynamic: 'The work of crafting identity takes place in the context of relationships within families, neighbourhoods and communities, with peers, and within institutions such as schools' (Nairn, Higgins, and Sligo, 2012: 19).

An example of the broader definition can be found in the Treasury's LSF Dashboard, where cultural identity is formally defined as 'having a strong sense of identity, belonging, and ability to be oneself, and the existence value of cultural taonga' (Treasury, 2018b: 5). This broader definition is the one that tends to be used in New Zealand wellbeing measurement frameworks. Table 2.8 in section 2.5 identified five themes relevant to this definition, each of which will be explored in the following five sections.

The Treasury definition refers to 'existence value', which may need some explanation. It is a term used by economists to describe 'the value placed on knowing that a resource exists, even though no-one may ever use it' (Clough and Bealing, 2018: 4). Consider, for example, the He Tohu permanent exhibition at the National Library, which is comprised of three historical documents.

- He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni—Declaration of Independence of the United Tribes of New Zealand (1835).
- Te Tiriti o Waitangi—Treaty of Waitangi (1840).
- Women's Suffrage Petition—Te Petihana Whakamana Pōti Wahine (1893).

New Zealand citizens might agree that these cultural taonga have existence value, and so resources should be devoted to their preservation, even if they themselves never visit the exhibition.

Cultural identity in both its narrow and broad sense is widely recognised as important for wellbeing, as articulated by the Ministry of Social Development (2016) in its *Social Report*:

> Cultural identity is an important contributor to people's wellbeing. Identifying with a particular culture helps people feel they belong and gives them a sense of security. An established cultural identity has also been linked with positive outcomes in areas such as health and education. It provides access to social networks, which provide support and shared values and aspirations (175; see also King, Huseynli, and MacGibbon, 2018: 6).

There is, of course, considerable diversity and dynamism in understanding what cultural identity involves. Manuela and Sibley (2013), for example, have created a Pacific Identity and Wellbeing Scale (PIWBS), which identifies five factors of cultural identity that represent a distinctive perspective: (1) perceived familial wellbeing, (2) perceived societal wellbeing, (3) Pacific connectedness and belonging, (4) religious centrality and embeddedness, and (5) group membership evaluation. The quote from Michael King (1985: 9) in section 2.2 illustrates how dramatically cultural identities can change within a generation.

Consequently, it can be argued that the term 'cultural identity'—particularly in its narrow definition—does not capture the diversity and dynamism that are key ingredients of cultural wellbeing. Another phrase that could be considered is 'cultural vibrancy'. The Australia Council of Arts (2014), for example, identifies five essential dimensions of an artistically vibrant arts organisation, the last of which refers to a vibrant society and culture:

> An artistically vibrant arts organisation:
>
> - supports the development of great art
> - creates pathways for artists to become great
> - engages with audiences
> - connects with communities
> - contributes to a vibrant society and culture (3).

There are strong connections between cultural identity and cultural vibrancy, so that the differences between the two terms should not be overstated. Nevertheless, the authors of this report suggest that *cultural vibrancy* might be the better heading in a wellbeing monitoring framework.

3.4 Cultural Development of Children

The development of cultural identities begins from birth in a child's family or families (Bourdieu, 1983; Dalziel, Saunders, and Saunders, 2018, chapter 3). It is also a key part of a person's school years. The New Zealand Curriculum, for example, lists five Key Competencies (capabilities for living and lifelong learning), of which the fifth specifically mentions culture:

> **Participating and contributing**
>
> This competency is about being actively involved in communities. Communities include family, whanau, and school and those based, for example, on a common interest or culture. They may be drawn together for purposes such as learning, work, celebration, or recreation. They may be local, national, or global. This competency includes a capacity to contribute appropriately as a group member, to make connections with others, and to create opportunities for others in the group.
>
> Students who participate and contribute in communities have a sense of belonging and the confidence to participate within new contexts. They understand the importance of balancing rights, roles, and responsibilities and of contributing to the quality and sustainability of social, cultural, physical, and economic environments (Ministry of Education, 2007: 13).

The New Zealand Curriculum further recognises the importance of encouraging, modelling and exploring values, defined as 'deeply held beliefs about what is important or desirable … expressed through the ways in which people think and act' (Ministry of Education, 2007: 10). This exploration is not restricted to a student's own cultural heritage, but includes learning about the values of other groups:

> Through their learning experiences, students will learn about:
> • their own values and those of others;
> • different kinds of values, such as moral, social, cultural, aesthetic, and economic values;
> • the values on which New Zealand's cultural and institutional traditions are based;
> • the values of other groups and cultures (Ministry of Education, 2007: 10).

Thus students should emerge from school with a sound knowledge of their own cultural traditions and values, plus the ability to explore with empathy the values of other groups and cultures. These two outcomes from cultural development lay solid foundations for cultural vibrancy.

3.5 Cultural Efficacy and Competence

Cultural efficacy and competence are two levels of personal abilities within cultural contexts. Carla Houkamau and Chris Sibley (2010; 2011; 2015), for example, have developed a Multi-dimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE). One of its seven dimensions is 'Cultural efficacy and active identity engagement' or *cultural efficacy* for short. These scholars observe that cultural efficacy is 'an extremely important element of social identity' and 'vital to the continuation of living culture' (Houkamau and Sibley, 2011: 391). The concept is formally defined in its Māori context as:

> …reflecting the extent to which the individual perceives they have the personal resources required (i.e., the personal efficacy) to engage appropriately with other Māori in Māori social and cultural

contexts. These personal resources include the ability to speak and understand *Te Reo Māori* (the Māori language), knowledge of *Tikanga Māori* (Māori cultural practices and customs), *marae* etiquette (meeting house etiquette), and the ability to articulate heritage confidently (e.g., recite *whakapapa* or genealogy) … This should reflect the extent to which the individual is able to articulate and express their Māori identity by engaging in traditional Māori cultural protocols, values and practices (Houkamau and Sibley, 2010) (Houkamau and Sibley, 2011: 382).

This definition, *mutatis mutandis*, can be applied to cultural efficacy in other contexts. Indeed, Manuela and Sibley (2013: 98) have emphasised that cultural efficacy is important but highly specific to each culture (Samoan compared to Tongan, for example) to the extent that it may not be possible to assess cultural efficacy at a pan-Pacific scale (see also Salesa, 2017). Houkamau and Sibley (2011) present evidence that cultural efficacy is associated positively with self-reported measures of personal wellbeing, and cite other research supporting that hypothesis.

A term used to describe more advanced cultural capabilities is *cultural competence*. Frieling (2018b), for example, usefully defines cultural competencies as 'those capacities that enable people to access the deeper meanings of their culture and to maintain and transfer their cultural knowledge for the benefit of future generations' (3). Frieling's definition highlights that cultural competence requires more than a foundational level of cultural efficacy, and also emphasises the importance of transfer to future generations.

3.6 Cultural Safety and Respect

As the quote in section 3.3 from the Ministry of Social Development (2016: 175) noted, cultural identity is linked with positive outcomes in health and education. This is not sufficient for wellbeing, however, if that identity is not respected.

In health, for example, Irihapeti Ramsden identified the importance of *cultural safety* in nursing practice for achieving positive wellbeing outcomes (Ramsden, 1990; 2002; 2005; Papps and Ramsden, 1996; DeSouza, 2008; Wepa, 2015). Cultural safety is 'the effective nursing practice of a person or family from another culture … determined by that person or family' (Nursing Council of New Zealand, 2011: 7). In her introduction to a key document that led to the inclusion of cultural safety in nursing education, Ramsden (1990) reflected on the life and death significance of how people define their own humanity:

> Clearly in a population in which people are rapidly becoming more educated to take responsibility for their own health, the idea of the nurse ignoring the way in which people measure and define their humanity is unrealistic and inappropriate. Within this century alone many human beings in many countries have engaged in war in order to maintain these fundamental parts of their lives. People are still prepared to die in order to maintain their cultural, religious and territorial integrity (1).

Similarly in education, the Te Kotahitanga Research project to address underachievement among Māori students in mainstream New Zealand schools reported on barriers to learning when Māori cultural identity is not fostered within the classroom:

> While most Māori people, young and older, spoke passionately about their desires to achieve within the education system, they were just as adamant that this should not be at the expense of their Māori

identity. Being Māori, as an aspiration, ranked just as highly as academic achievement for the students and for their whānau. Māori people want to be able to be Māori within the mainstream education system, which has for so long been dominated by non-Māori who have effectively insisted that success means leaving Māoriness behind. This is another significant contextual factor that influences the development of learning relationships between Māori students and their teachers (Bishop and Berryman, 2006: 264).

This observation has also been made in the context of Pasifika children arriving at primary school:

O tu, ma aganu'u ma agaifanua a le tamaititi ole a le mafai ona ulufale atu I le potuaoga sei vagana ua faatauaina ma faaulufaleina muamua I le loto ma le agaga o le faiaoga.

The culture of the child cannot enter the classroom until it has first entered the consciousness of the teacher (Anon, quoted by McKenzie and Singleton, 2009: 1).

These quotations focus on ethnic cultural identities, but equivalent observations apply to other forms of cultural identity such as sexual orientation or gender identity. Generalising from these examples in health and education, personal wellbeing requires an established cultural identity (which again may comprise different identities) *and* respect by others for that identity. Cultural respect might be measured using an indicator such as *acceptance of personal identity*; that is, the proportion of the population who report it is easy or very easy to be themselves in New Zealand.

3.7 Cultural Assets and Taonga

Section 3.2 discussed material artefacts and natural places that have cultural value. These make up a large part of the country's cultural assets and taonga, although some non-material items are also important. Table 2.8 in section 2.5, for example, includes Te reo Māori speakers under this theme. This reflects the recognition by the Waitangi Tribunal, confirmed in section 4 of Te Ture mō Te Reo 2016 (Māori Language Act 2016), that te reo Māori is a taonga of iwi and Māori:

When the question for decision is whether te reo Māori is a "taonga" which the Crown is obliged to recognise we conclude that there can be only one answer. It is plain that the language is an essential part of the culture and must be regarded as "a valued possession" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1989, section 4.2.4: 20).

In Section 6 of the Act, 'the Crown expresses its commitment to work in partnership with iwi and Māori to continue actively to protect and promote this taonga, the Māori language, for future generations'.

Recall from section 1.1 that culture is 'acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols' (Kluckhohn, 1951: 86). Consistent with that definition, cultural assets and taonga are associated with deep symbolic meanings. As the Treasury observes in its major report on the LSF Dashboard, 'culture refers to the ways we see and represent ourselves in relation to others, including both our sense of commonality and our sense of difference' (Treasury, 2018b: 16, citing Frieling, 2018b).

Consider, for example, the three historical documents held in the He Tohu permanent exhibition at the National Library (mentioned earlier in this chapter). Part of the cultural value of these documents is that they symbolise characteristics of how New Zealanders see and represent ourselves to the world.

- We are a free and independent country.
- We are founded on a bicultural partnership.
- We defend the equality of women and men.

3.8 Cultural Engagement and Vitality

A key term introduced by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2005) for a flourishing community culture is *cultural vitality*. A report prepared in 2009 by two of the authors for the Official Statistics research programme of Statistics New Zealand offered the following definition for this concept:

> The way in which communities are able to participate in recreation, creative and other cultural activities, to express and extend the cultural practices and values inherited from previous generations, and to pass on their transformed culture to the next generation (Dalziel *et al.*, 2009: 21).

Cultural vitality at a community level depends on the cultural engagement of its members. Cultural engagement refers to involvement in cultural activities, either as a participant or as a member of the audience. A wellbeing monitoring framework typically sets a standard to determine cultural engagement. Thus, the UK Measuring National Well-being Programme reports on the percentage of people who engage in arts or cultural activities at least three times in last year (see section 2.3 above). The New Zealanders and the Arts survey presents data on 'anyone who attended or participated in at least one art form in the last 12 months' (Colmar Brunton, 2018: 10).

There is considerable diversity in audience engagement with cultural vitality. Creative New Zealand, for example, has commissioned three studies since 2011 on audiences for more than 40 art forms. The analysis for these studies have distinguished eight culture segments among New Zealand adults. These are listed here, with a brief description taken from Morris Hargreaves McIntyre (2018):

Essence
Essence consider the arts and culture essential to their very being. They're confident and knowledgeable and look for deeply emotional connections. High quality culture is their primary concern and they veer away from the mainstream, considering it unsophisticated.

Expression
Expression are open and full of enthusiasm with varied and eclectic tastes. They enjoy activities that help them connect with and share experiences with others. They like to be sure that everyone is welcome to join in and enjoy things, and as such put a high price on inclusivity.

Affirmation
Affirmation make considered, measured decisions, seeking endorsement before making choices. One of many leisure options, they embrace culture as important and worthwhile – it's part of their commitment to personal wellbeing. They recognise opportunity for self-improvement as well as quality time with others and like to build memories of these special experiences.

Enrichment
Enrichment tend to be lovers of history – things that have stood the test of time command their respect. They know what they enjoy, are independently minded and exert their right to be cautious. It's not that new things hold no worth, but Enrichment will look for the thread that links them to what went before.

Simulation

Stimulation are an active group who love adventure and live for the moment. They seek out new experiences to live a varied life and keep ahead of the curve. They are all about big ideas and are looking for something 'out of the ordinary'. But they also attend cultural events for the social experience.

Release

Release are looking to escape and unwind from the stresses of everyday life. They can feel a little under siege from different pressures on their time. These conflicts may be reality, but often it is the feeling of being time poor rather than the actual reality of not having any time. They'd like to go to more, but it isn't always easy.

Perspective

Perspective are very self-sufficient and don't rely on others for fulfilment. They prefer to make their own discoveries and are happy doing their own thing, driven by their own agenda. They focus on one or two existing interests they find satisfying and rewarding and have a low appetite for expanding this repertoire.

Entertainment

Entertainment tend to see culture as being on the periphery of their lives. Their occasional visits are likely to be for mainstream events or days out. Leisure time is for fun, entertainment and escapism not intellectual stretch. If they do attend it will be socially motivated but their engagement is typically among the lowest of all segments (25–26).

Figure 3.4, below, summarises the estimated distribution of adult New Zealanders among the different culture segments in 2017. The three studies found that this profile is relatively stable.

Figure 3.4: Distribution of Culture Segments among New Zealand Adults, 2017
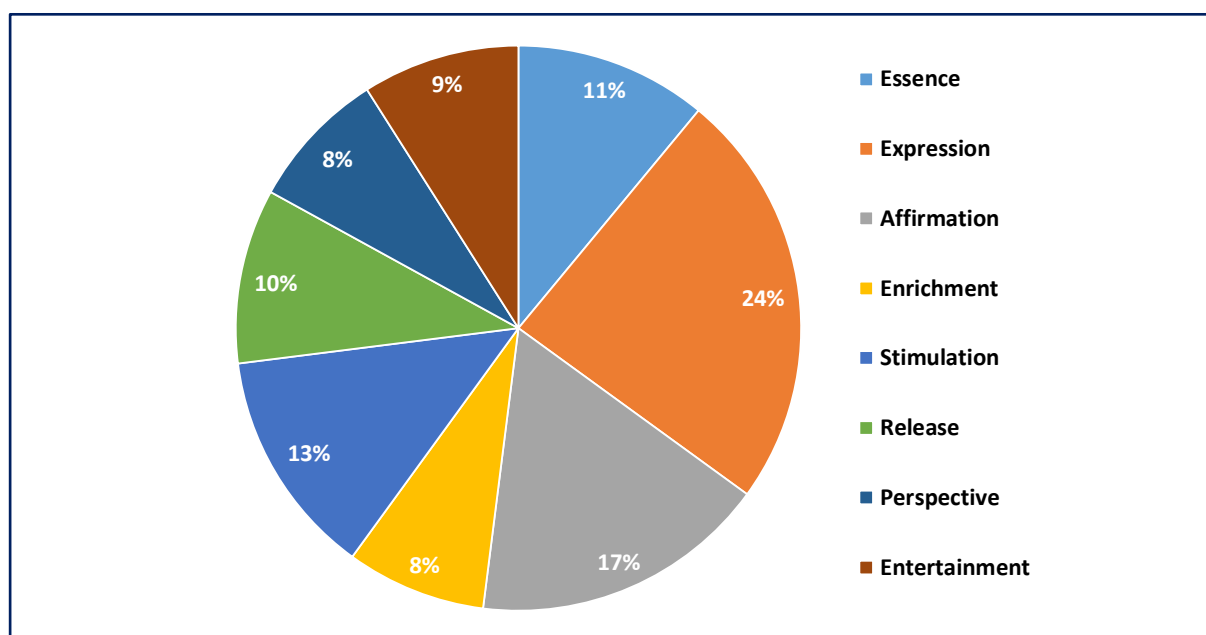
Source: Morris Hargreaves McIntyre (2018: 27).

Cultural vitality has a particular significance at the national level. In this context, reference is sometimes made to the country's national identity (Frieling, 2018b: 3–4) or to 'New Zealandness' more generally (Treasury 2018b: 16). Such concepts can be fraught with difficulty if they are interpreted to suggest it is possible to create a *single* cultural identity (Appiah, 2018), particularly in a country that is founded on a bicultural partnership and where the public sphere is now strongly multicultural. This has been well expressed in Conal Smith's (2018) report for the Treasury:

> As both a bicultural country (reflecting the Treaty of Waitangi) and a multicultural country (with an immigrant background), issues of culture, belonging and identity are of fundamental importance if a wellbeing framework is to work in New Zealand (20).

Similarly, a recent discussion paper in the Living Standards Framework series observes:

> There is a strong interest within Aotearoa New Zealand to successfully embrace biculturalism. At the same time, however, the country is experiencing increased multicultural diversity that brings new experiences, perspectives, cultures, understanding and often an increase in social acceptance and tolerance. Both are critical to a shared future (Te Puni Kōkiri and the Treasury, 2019: 7).

Instead of seeking to define a *single* cultural identity, an alternative policy approach can be based on *nation-building*, in the sense used by Easton (2001) and Leahy (2015: 299–306). Easton (2001: 10) explicitly includes cultural policy that fosters the arts and literature as an essential element of nation-building. Consistent with that approach, the Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2018a) aims to support and contribute to a New Zealand national identity that is 'distinct and inclusive' (8), strengthening New Zealanders' collective sense of identity as a country.

3.9 Points for Discussion

This chapter analysed two classification schemes for culture and for cultural identity respectively. The first scheme creates a distinction between embodied culture (section 3.1) and tangible culture (section 3.2), with further subdivisions under each of those headings. The second scheme draws on Table 2.8 at the end of the previous chapter to address five themes relevant to cultural identity. Both classification schemes contain important insights for the following chapter, which turns to the Living Standards Framework and the LSF Dashboard. This chapter finishes with three points for further discussion.

Discussion Point 3-1. Is the classification scheme of *embodied culture* and *tangible culture* in sections 3.1 and 3.2 valid for understanding different aspects of culture?

Discussion Point 3-2. Considering the discussion of *Cultural Identity* and *Cultural Vibrancy* in section 3.3, which term is the better heading for inclusion in a wellbeing monitoring framework?

Discussion Point 3-3. Do the five themes discussed in sections 3.4 to 3.8 reflect all the significant characteristics of *Cultural Identity and Vibrancy*, as understood in Aotearoa New Zealand?

Chapter 4
Culture and the Living Standards Framework

The Treasury's vision is to be 'a world class Treasury working for higher living standards for New Zealanders' (Treasury, 2018c: 8). Echoing the language of Amartya Sen discussed in section 2.1, the focus is on 'expanding the opportunities and capability of people to live the lives they value' (Treasury, 2018c: 8). Consequently, the Treasury (2018c) has designed the Living Standards Framework (LSF) 'to take into account the growth, distribution and sustainability of the Four Capitals, to increase living standards for New Zealanders' (14). The framework is now accompanied by the first version of the LSF Dashboard, 'a structured database of indicators that provide an integrated system for measuring wellbeing outcomes' (Treasury, 2018b: 3). The Treasury (2018a) acknowledges this first version has some limitations:

> The diversity of New Zealanders means no single set of wellbeing indicators will capture all that matters for each person, family, whānau and community. The LSF Dashboard described here is the first version of the LSF Dashboard (1.0). Version 1.0 has a number of limitations. Further work is needed on areas such as full expressions of Te Ao Māori perspectives, children's wellbeing and New Zealand cultural identity (7).

This chapter is a contribution to the required further work. It discusses the current place of culture in the Living Standards Framework and the LSF Dashboard, drawing on the analysis in the previous three chapters. Chapter 2, for example, included examples of wellbeing measurement frameworks that have drawn on Te Ao Māori perspectives. Section 1.2 commented on the importance of culture in the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child. Section 3.3 observed that cultural identity can be defined narrowly or more broadly, while section 3.8 warned against attempts to determine a single New Zealand cultural identity in a bicultural and multicultural country.

Section 4.1 explains how the Living Standards Framework and the LSF Dashboard currently address the importance of culture for intergenerational wellbeing. This includes the addition of Cultural Identity to the list of 11 wellbeing domains offered in the OECD wellbeing framework. Sections 4.2 and 4.3 discuss two important issues for the ongoing development of the Framework. The first issue is how the LSF might incorporate indicators associated with *cultural capital* (section 4.2). The second issue is how the LSF, which is constructed using an individualist perspective, might incorporate *collectivist approaches* to understanding and measuring wellbeing (section 4.3).

Section 4.4 then provides an overview of how economists have recognised connections between cultural vibrancy and business prosperity. It focuses on three elements. First, the production of cultural goods and services are themselves important market activities, which are included in measures such as a country's gross domestic product. Second, economists have argued that the cultural vibrancy of a city or region makes it easier for local businesses to attract skilled staff. Third, research has shown that shared values can contribute to making connections in global value chains.

The chapter concludes in section 4.5 with a brief summary and some points for further discussion.

4.1 Culture in the Living Standards Framework

The Living Standards Framework is based on the wellbeing framework developed by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development for its Better Life Index (OECD, 2017, Figure 1.1: 22). The OECD framework was discussed in section 2.3 of this report, with the OECD's diagram reproduced in Figure 2.2 in that section. Figure 4.5, below, presents the diagram for the Living Standards Framework, which is comprised of three elements (Treasury, 2018b):

- Twelve domains of current wellbeing (in the top box in the diagram), including their distribution among the population.
- Four capitals (in the lower box) that combine to generate current and future wellbeing.
- Risk and Resilience (4).

Figure 4.5: Representation of the Living Standards Framework
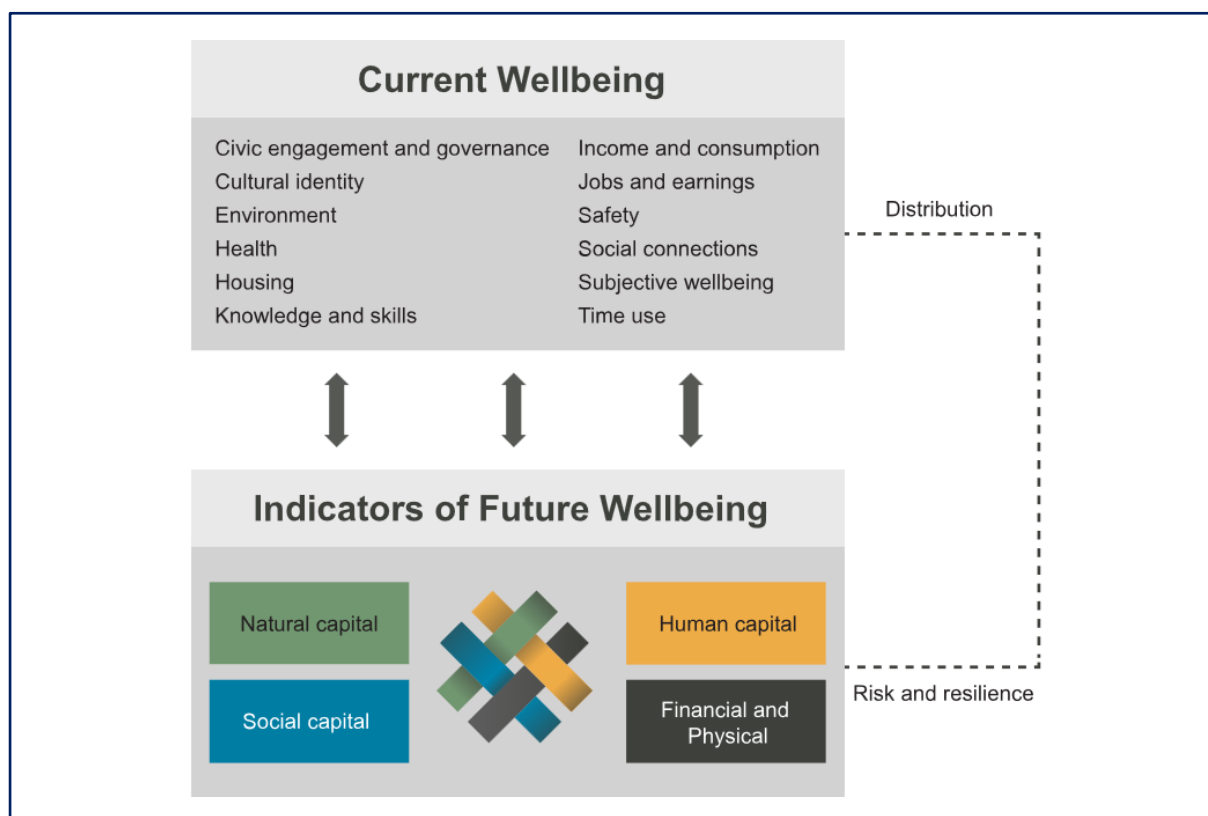
Source: Treasury (2018b: 4).

The 12 domains are intended to capture elements of wellbeing generally important to people in New Zealand. Taken together, the indicators chosen for these domains provide a snapshot of national wellbeing at a particular point in time. Analysis of the data also allows trends to be monitored of the distribution of these elements among different groups of the national population (between men and women, for example, or among different ethnic populations).

The four capitals are foundations of wellbeing that together provide services used by New Zealanders to generate wellbeing for themselves now and into the future. The Treasury has provided definitions for the four capitals, reproduced in Table 4.9, below.

Table 4.9: Four Capitals and their Definitions in the Living Standards Framework

Capital	Definition
Natural Capital	All aspects of the natural environment needed to support life and human activity.
Financial and Physical Capital	The country's physical, intangible, and financial assets that have a direct role in supporting incomes and material living conditions.
Human Capital	People's knowledge, physical, and mental health that enables them to fully participate in work, study, recreation, and society.
Social Capital	The social connections, attitudes, norms, and formal rules or institutions that contribute to societal wellbeing.

Source: Treasury (2018b, Table 2: 6).

The third element in the LSF, Risk and Resilience, is related directly to the four capitals. This element recognises that 'a more proactive, coordinated and evidence-based approach to risk management and resilience building is required to maintain societal resilience and sustainability in the face of the complex risks we are facing domestically and globally' (Frieling and Warren, 2018: 2).

The Treasury (2018b) explains the place of culture in the Living Standards Framework:

> Culture is cross-cutting with respect to all the domains and capitals. Cultural identity is included separately within the domains of current wellbeing. Among the four capitals, social capital and human capital include a number of aspects of culture as it relates to the way in which culture is expressed (57).

Section 4.2 will examine how culture is measured among the four capitals. The remainder of this section focuses on the treatment of Cultural Identity (which section 3.3 noted could be relabelled as Cultural Vibrancy) as one of the framework's domains for current wellbeing.[11]

As noted at the end of section 2.3, the Living Standards Framework adds a 12th domain to the list of domains in the OECD (2017) wellbeing framework. The additional domain, which is labelled *Cultural Identity*, is described by the Treasury as a specific element of New Zealand representation, 'which aims to reflect aspects of culture pertinent to New Zealanders' (Treasury, 2018b: 4; see also Smith, 2018: 8; and McLeod, 2018: 7). That aim is consistent with this report's discussion of cultural identity and

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[11] As well as creating a Domain for cultural identity, presentations on the Four Capitals in the Living Standards Framework have included the phrase 'cultural identity' in their explanation of Social Capital; see, for example, Ng (2017b, slide 4); Burton (2018: 2); Frieling (2018b: 1); and Treasury (2018c: 14). This is not repeated in Treasury (2018b), although it comments that culture is 'likely to be relevant to the formation, development and maintenance of certain institutions' (17), which are a form of social capital. The latest diagram includes 'cultural and community identity' under Social Capital; see Figure 7.15 in chapter 7 below.

vibrancy in sections 3.3 to 3.8. Two indicators are currently associated with this domain, which are labelled as (Treasury, 2018b):

- Te reo Māori speakers
- Ability to express identity (26).

The statistical measure for Te reo Māori speakers is the percentage of people who state in the five-yearly Census of Population and Dwellings that they could have a conversation about a lot of everyday things in the Māori language (see Statistics New Zealand, 2013, Question 13).

The statistical measure for Ability to express identity is the percentage of adults who state it is easy or very easy in response to the following question in the two-yearly New Zealand General Social Survey (see Statistics New Zealand, 2016, Module 7): People in New Zealand have different lifestyles, cultures, and beliefs that express who they are; how easy or hard is it for you to be yourself in New Zealand?

Both indicators are included in Table 2.8 in section 2.5. Te reo Māori speakers is a generally accepted indicator under the theme of cultural assets and taonga, for example, and its inclusion in the LSF can be cited as a practical example of the Crown's 'commitment to work in partnership with iwi and Māori to continue actively to protect and promote this taonga, the Māori language, for future generations' (Te Ture mō Te Reo 2016, Māori Language Act 2016, section 6).[12]

The measure for Ability to express identity is included in Table 2.8 under the title of 'Ability to be yourself' within the theme of cultural safety and respect. The title in Table 2.8 is closer to the relevant question in the New Zealand General Survey, and is also closer to the name suggested by Smith (2018: 59): Proportion of the population able to be themselves in New Zealand. This is an important capability for personal wellbeing, reinforced in legislation such as the Human Rights Act 1993.[13]

Chapter 6 will discuss whether these two indicators are better considered as part of the country's capital stocks for wellbeing, but note here that the choice of these indicators means (with one possible exception) three of the themes in Table 2.8 do not have measures in the LSF Dashboard.

- Cultural development of children.
- Cultural efficacy and competence.
- Cultural engagement and vitality.

The possible exception is that the measure for Te reo Māori speakers can be analysed by self-identified ethnicity in the Census, and so the Dashboard implicitly offers data for Māori able to hold a conversation in te reo Māori. This is a measure of an important aspect of cultural efficacy and competence, but does not capture the full range of 'those capacities that enable people to access the deeper meanings of their culture' (Frieling, 2018b: 3).

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[12] Note that the domain for Social Connections includes a measure that monitors the proportion of Māori adults who feel strongly or very strongly connected with their ancestral marae (Treasury, 2018b: 34).

[13] Experience of discrimination could also be treated as a negative indicator of cultural respect (Ng, 2017a), but this is taken here to have wider implications. In the LSF Dashboard, the indicators for Social Connections and for Social Capital both include the percentage of adults who report experiencing discrimination in the past 12 months (Treasury, 2018b: 49 and 52).

The lack of indicators for the cultural development of children reflects a more general absence of children's wellbeing from the LSF Dashboard, an issue which is well-recognised by the Treasury (2018a: 7). The lack of indicators for cultural engagement and vitality is a significant omission to which this report will return in chapter 6.

4.2 Cultural Capital and the Four Capitals

The Four Capitals in the Living Standards Framework are human capital, social capital, financial and physical capital (which can also be labelled economic capital, or produced capital), and natural capital. A previous discussion paper in this series raised the following question.

> A fifth type of capital, cultural capital, can be seen as an integral part of all four capitals above. Culture is about how we socially interact, but also influences how we define knowledge, how we perceive and respond to our health, the way we value, care for and interact with our natural environment and the ways in which we do business. … The overarching question about where cultural capital is best placed within the Treasury Capitals framework (ie, as a separate capital or integrated across the other four capitals), is currently left unanswered and requires further work (Frieling, 2018a, footnote 1: 1).

This question was addressed in the report commissioned to advise on creating the LSF Dashboard, which offered the judgement that 'cultural capital is not a capital stock in the sense used within the Living Standards Framework (ie, it is not a productive resource)' (Smith, 2018: 15). That report added concerns about double-counting and about minority culture issues becoming constrained to a cultural capital silo rather than permeating the whole framework, before recommending 'that cultural capital not be added to the Living Standards Framework' (Smith, 2018: 15).[14] This recommendation has been accepted by the Treasury, which treats culture as 'cross-cutting with respect to all the domains and capitals' (Treasury, 2018b: 57).

Against that background, this section provides a definition of cultural capital and explains that it has indeed been widely conceptualised as a productive resource for current and future wellbeing. It then draws on the classifications made in sections 3.1 and 3.2 of the previous chapter to demonstrate more precisely how cultural capital might be understood as cross-cutting across the four current capitals. The section suggests that the current set of indicators chosen to monitor the state of each of the capitals does not adequately reflect this cross-cutting objective. Hence, further work is required, as will be discussed in chapter 6.

The fundamental idea behind the concept of cultural capital is the recognition that children receive not only a genetic inheritance from their biological parents, but also cultural heritage from the communities within which they grow up. Following the definition offered by King and Waldegrave (2003: 13), this cultural heritage can be defined as 'the conceptual and normative framework within which the members of a particular society, community, or other social grouping, are socialized, live, enter into relationships, think, communicate, and assign meaning to objects, events, and their very existence'.

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[14] These arguments have been addressed in Dalziel (2019), who argues 'there are good reasons for considering cultural capital as a key asset for sustaining wellbeing into the future' (338).

Economists use the metaphor of capital to describe enduring assets that improve wellbeing outcomes by expanding the capabilities of persons to lead valued lives (Dalziel, Saunders, and Saunders, 2018: 10). A person's cultural heritage (which may involve more than one cultural tradition) is such an asset. Further, it is not just a person's own heritage. Article 1 of the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity 2001, for example, recognises that the world's cultural diversity is a source of exchange, innovation, and creation for all humanity.

Professor Anne de Bruin at Massey University was invited to provide the entry on cultural capital for the *Encyclopedia of Political Economy*. Her article (1998) presented a three-part definition of cultural capital:

> The term "cultural capital" signifies particular kinds of knowledge, social styles, talent and abilities and is used here in the Bourdieuan sense. According to sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1986) cultural capital comes in three states. The first, embodied cultural capital, can be understood as the ability, talent, style or even speech patterns of people in a group; for instance, a particular ethnic group. This is the embodiment of characteristics that in general are acquired over time and/or through the socialization process and tend to be the marks that distinguish one group from another. …

> The second type is objectified cultural capital, which comprises cultural goods such as pictures, books, instruments and so on. These objects can be an expression of cultural identity as well as being sold on the market for remuneration. The third form is institutionalized cultural capital, when the cultural capital is directed into structures which can enhance the group's economic position. For example, this occurs when cultural capital facilitates the creation of educational qualifications (169).

When Smith (2018: 15) judged that cultural capital is not a productive asset, he was focused on the third form of cultural capital in Bourdieu's typology. It is true that institutionalised cultural capital can be more concerned with the distribution of privilege, which is why cultural respect will be included in this report's definition of social cultural capital. Nevertheless, embodied cultural capital and objectified cultural capital (or tangible cultural capital, as it is termed in this report) both meet the capability-enhancing requirements for the capital metaphor to apply (see sections 3.1 and 3.2 in chapter 3).

Reflecting on Bourdieu's definitions and other sources, a research project funded by the Official Statistics programme of Statistics New Zealand in 2009 developed the following short definition of cultural capital:

> Cultural capital is a community's embodied cultural skills and values, in all their community-defined forms, inherited from the community's previous generation, undergoing adaptation and extension by current members of the community, and desired by the community to be passed on to its next generation (Dalziel *et al.*, 2009: 19).

The definition emphasises three aspects of cultural capital. First, cultural capital belongs to the community within which it develops. Indeed, the word 'community' appears five times in the definition. Second, cultural capital is adapted and extended by each generation. This ongoing transformation is part of a community's cultural vitality and vibrancy, with artistry being a major contributor. Third, cultural capital in its evolving state is transmitted from generation to generation, which is one of the significant reasons why cultural capital is a foundational asset for future wellbeing (as well as contributing to current wellbeing).

There are two ways that cultural capital might be incorporated into the Living Standards Framework. The framework could create a fifth capital, called cultural capital, and place under that heading all of the major material and non-material assets whose value is defined primarily by their contribution to cultural wellbeing. Alternatively, the framework could ensure that each of the Four Capitals pays explicit attention to significant examples of cultural capital that fit within its definition.

The equivalence of the two approaches can be illustrated using the first classification scheme in chapter 3, which distinguished between embodied cultural capital and tangible cultural capital (that is, between the first two types of cultural capital in Bourdieu's classification scheme explained above by de Bruin, 1998). Table 4.10 reproduces that classification, noting that embodied capital was further classified into personal embodied culture and communal embodied culture, and that tangible culture was further classified into material artefacts and sense of place.

Table 4.10: Classification of Culture and Associated Cultural Capital

Culture	Classification	Description of Associated Cultural Capital
Embodied Culture	Personal	Cultural efficacy, competence, and artistry, plus an ability to explore values of other cultures.
	Communal	Cultural respect, and cultural organisations supporting artistic vibrancy and cultural expression.
Tangible Culture	Material Artefacts	Physical assets, intellectual property, and taonga that are valued for their deep cultural significance.
	Sense of Place	Natural places being managed or conserved to maintain their high cultural value.

Source: Sections 3.1 and 3.2 of this research report.

Given the classification scheme in Table 4.10, it is not difficult to describe examples of cultural capital within each category. Thus, cultural efficacy, competence, and artistry are clearly examples of personal embodied culture, as is the ability to explore values of other cultures. Communal embodied culture requires cultural respect if it is to flourish, as well as cultural organisations that support artistic vibrancy and communal cultural expression. Tangible culture includes physical assets, intellectual property, and taonga valued for their deep cultural significance (material artefacts) and natural places being conserved to maintain their high cultural value (sense of place).

Further, these examples respectively fit the definitions given in Treasury (2018b: 6; see Table 4.9, above) for human capital, social capital, financial and physical capital, and natural capital. This is represented in Figure 4.6 on the following page.

Figure 4.6 demonstrates the Treasury's (2018b: 57) observation that culture is cross-cutting with respect to all four capitals. It would be feasible, therefore, to include indicators in the LSF Dashboard that are connected to the relevant cultural capital for each of the four capitals. This remains to be done. Each of the four capitals have five or six indicators that are being monitored (see Treasury, 2018b: 50–52), but none of the 23 indicators are connected to an item of cultural capital listed in Table 4.10.

This illustrates the risk of not having an explicit category devoted to cultural capital in a wellbeing measurement framework; it can be overlooked despite its theoretical presence as a cross-cutting factor. Further, it might be argued that cultural capital is more than the sum of its parts in Figure 4.6, so that something is lost if only four capitals are considered in the framework. Analysis of cultural capital as an integrated whole might be necessary for good investment decisions in culture for wellbeing. The report will return to this point in chapter 5, and again in chapter 6.

Figure 4.6: The Four Capitals and Cultural Capital

		Cultural Capital
Human Capital	People's knowledge, physical and mental health—human capital enables people to fully participate in work, study, recreation, and society, *including …*	Cultural efficacy, competence, and artistry, plus an ability to explore values of other cultures.
Social Capital	The social connections, attitudes, norms, and formal rules or institutions that contribute to societal wellbeing by promoting the resolution of collective action problems among people and groups in society, *including …*	Cultural respect, and cultural organisations supporting artistic vibrancy and cultural expression.
Financial & Physical Capital	The country's physical, intangible, and financial assets that have a direct role in supporting incomes and material living conditions, *including …*	Physical assets, intellectual property, and taonga that are valued for their deep cultural significance.
Natural Capital	All aspects of the natural environment needed to support life and human activity, *including …*	Natural places being managed or conserved to maintain their high cultural value.

Source: Table 4.9 and Table 4.10.

4.3 Individualist and Collectivist Approaches to Wellbeing

As already noted, the Living Standards Framework is based on the OECD's wellbeing framework created for its Better Life Index. The OECD (2017) explains that its approach to measuring current wellbeing has several important features, the first of which is: 'it puts **people** (individuals and households) at the centre of the assessment, focusing on their life circumstances and their experiences of well-being' (Box 1.1: 23, emphasis in the original).

Smith (2018) comments that this is not meant to imply a reductively individualistic approach and adds that the OECD framework 'specifically includes aspects related to the social context in which people are embedded' (5). Nevertheless, it does mean there is no place for a more collectivist approach that would include a strong focus on families, whānau, iwi, and communities. It also means there is no room for attention to business, despite the importance of market firms for wellbeing. These omissions have been carried over to the Living Standards Framework and the first version of the LSF Dashboard.

To illustrate, Table 2 in Treasury (2018b: 9) lists two items described as alternatives to the elements that influenced the shape of the Living Standards Framework and LSF Dashboard: Spirituality and Family. Consequently, these elements are currently not well represented in the framework (Treasury, 2018b: 16), but the Treasury notes in its summary of future data development that 'family- and community-level information are of some interest, since a range of policy assessments of wellbeing interactions and outcomes exist at this level' (20).[15] Similarly, the Treasury (2018b) recognises the relevance of its Living Standards Framework for business (see especially Burton, Morrissey, and Ng, 2018), but there are no indicators on items such as 'the ability to start a business (entrepreneurship)' (12–13). These omissions are relevant to this report for four reasons.

First, it is clear from previous papers in the LSF series that the quality of family relationships is an important cultural value for large numbers of New Zealanders.

> This paper suggests that any framework for describing and understanding Pacific peoples must highlight family as the dominant relationship that Pacific peoples acquire from birth, and highlight the key influence that culture plays in the social, human and physical capital stocks of Pacific New Zealanders (Thomsen, Tavita, and Levi-Teu, 2018: i).

> Research has classified Asians as collectivistic in comparison to Europeans … [where] collectivism is founded on sharing resources with families and others within in-groups (Yong, 2018: 7).

> Māori wellbeing is whānau wellbeing. This is because whānau is the foundational unit of Māori society. They are also the fundamental building block of a collective society, including hapū and iwi (Mihaere, 2015), a source of collective strength and a driver of wellbeing. Whānau are also the critical, yet often overlooked, variable in delivering sustainable wellbeing for individuals and collectives, including for intergenerational change (Te Puni Kōkiri and the Treasury, 2019: 11).

Yong (2018) observes that 'collectivist cultures strongly emphasize the needs and goals of the group as a whole over the needs and desires of individuals' and adds that 'in such cultures, relationships with other members of the group and the interconnectedness between people play a central role in each person's identity and wellbeing' (i).

European cultures are typically considered more individualists, but family relations are also important for European/Pākehā New Zealanders. Pool, Skeats, and Jackson (2018), for example, recently commented that 'socially, economically and demographically, no other institution has a more important place in society' (5). Internationally, the preamble to the Convention on the Rights of the

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15   Many of the data series in the LSF Dashboard can be analysed by what the Dashboard calls 'family type'. This is, however, a restricted view that conceptualises family as a type of household. It does not capture the rich network of family relationships that influence personal wellbeing (Dalziel, Saunders, and Saunders, 2018: 47).

Child 1989 recognises that 'the family, as the fundamental group of society and the natural environment for the growth and well-being of all its members and particularly children, should be afforded the necessary protection and assistance so that it can fully assume its responsibilities within the community.' Marilyn Waring (2018, chapter 6) highlights that work within families is easily the largest sector of the nation's economy, although this work is generally ignored in the United Nations System of National Accounts.

Second, families are where children first develop cultural identities and efficacy (Bourdieu, 1983). If families have inadequate financial or other resources, this can limit the cultural development of children in their families. The Culture and Sport Evidence Programme (CASE) in the United Kingdom, for example, has documented how attendance at cultural events or places during childhood strongly influences cultural engagement as an adult (CASE, 2010, Fig. 1: 16).

Third, a large part of cultural expression takes place at the community level. A mixture of voluntary and professional groups are responsible for organising cultural events, for example, which might range from primary school productions in front of audiences made up mostly of families and friends, through to the hosting of major cultural festivals attracting visitors from all parts of New Zealand.

Fourth, market firms are responsible for managing large values of economic assets and flows, with an enormous influence on wellbeing. This will be discussed further in section 4.4 below.

It is feasible to include collectivist values in a national wellbeing framework. Figure 2.1 of this report, for example, presented 12 wellbeing dimensions in the German framework. Two refer to family: Having time for family and work, and Standing together in family and society (German Federal Government, 2017: 16–17). The discussion paper by Te Puni Kōkiri and the Treasury (2019: 15) observes that the seven Whānau Ora outcomes could be used as wellbeing indicators for all families.

To illustrate how families and firms can be incorporated into a wellbeing framework, Figure 4.7, on the next page, reproduces a diagram from Dalziel, Saunders, and Saunders (2018) showing seven levels of choice. It begins with persons, who live in households and families, and collaborate with others in civil society. At the heart of the diagram is participation in the market economy. The levels of choice then move into the public sector, focusing in turn on local government, the nation state, and the global community.

Figure 4.7: Levels of Choice in the Wellbeing Economics Framework
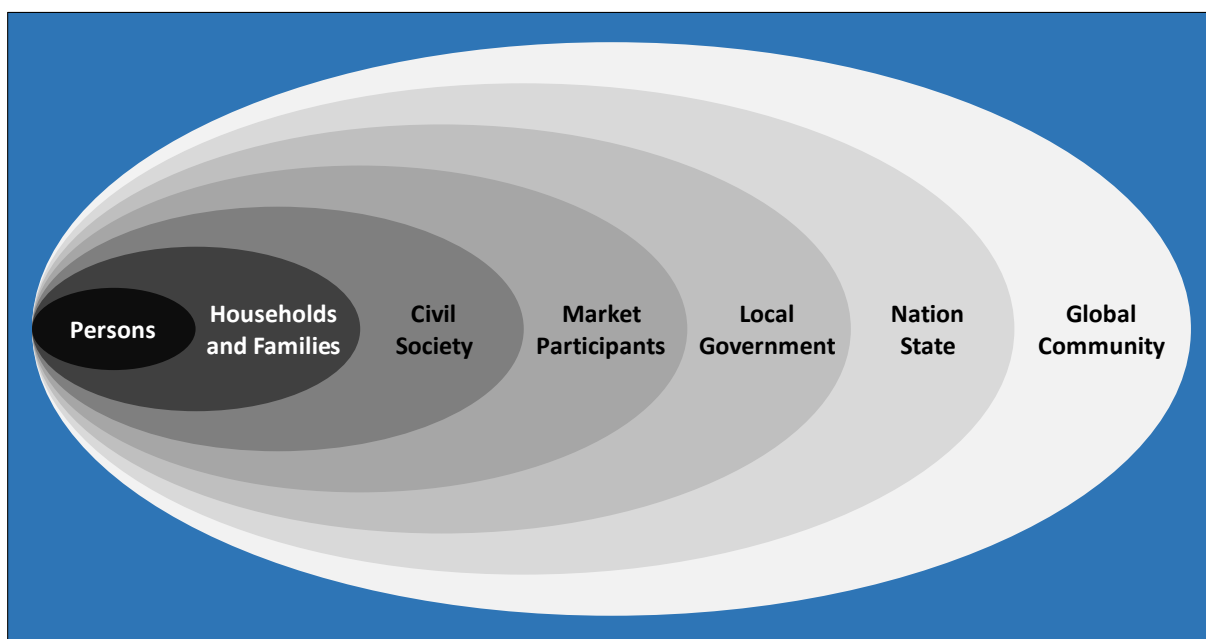
Source: Dalziel, Saunders, and Saunders (2018, Fig. 1.1: 12).

In contrast, Figure 4.8, below, presents the three sections of the LSF Dashboard: Our people, Our country, and Our future. These are explained in Treasury (2018a) as follows:

- Our people – describes the distribution of wellbeing across current wellbeing domains for different population groups of New Zealanders, using characteristics such as sex, age, ethnicity, family type, region, hours worked and neighbourhood deprivation.

- Our country – describes the current wellbeing of New Zealanders at a national level with comparisons within New Zealand population groups and other OECD countries, using 38 indicators that measure the 12 current wellbeing domains.

- Our future – provides indicators for the resources that underpin the ability to sustain higher living standards in New Zealand now, and in the future (9).

Figure 4.8: The Three Sections of the LSF Dashboard

Our people

Our people describes the current wellbeing of New Zealanders aged 15 and over across the LSF's **current wellbeing** domains.

Our country

Our country describes the progress we are making towards high wellbeing for all New Zealanders for each of the 12 LSF **current wellbeing** domains.

Our future

Our future describes the resources (four capitals) that influence our ability to have great **future wellbeing** in New Zealand

Source: https://nztreasury.shinyapps.io/lsfdashboard/.

Comparing Figure 4.7 and Figure 4.8, the LSF Dashboard currently presents data on persons and households ('Our people') and the nation state ('Our country'), but there are gaps in the data collected on families (broadly defined), civil society, businesses in the market economy, local government, and the global community. This gap could be filled using the current Dashboard template by adding further sections, for example:

- Families and Whānau, including New Zealand communities
- Business, including New Zealand's place in the world.

A section on families and 50whānau would meet the need cited above for family- and community-level information, and would also provide an opportunity to publish wellbeing indicators directly relevant to collectivist cultures in Aotearoa New Zealand. A section on business and New Zealand's place in the world would be a natural combination, given the importance of international trade for the New Zealand market sector.

Figure 4.9, on the next page, presents this proposal in a diagram based on an extension of Figure 4.8 above. This report will return to this proposal in chapters 6 and 7.

Figure 4.9: Five Sections for Indicators of Current and Future Wellbeing

Our People	**Families and Whānau**
Our people describes the current wellbeing of New Zealanders aged 15 and over across **current wellbeing** domains.	**Families and whānau** describes the current wellbeing of New Zealand families and communities using **relevant tailored indicators**.
Business	**Our Country**
Business describes the wellbeing of New Zealand businesses and New Zealand's place in the world using **relevant tailored indicators**.	**Our country** describes the progress we are making towards high wellbeing for all New Zealanders for each of the **current wellbeing** domains.

Our Future

Our future describes the resources (four capitals) that influence our ability to have great **future wellbeing** in New Zealand.

4.4 Cultural Vibrancy and Business Prosperity

The previous section ended with references to business. Two New Zealand economists researching in the United States have made major contributions to the understanding of how businesses in the market economy contribute to wellbeing. The late John McMillan (2002) published a historical overview of markets, in which he made the following observation:

> In fact, markets are the most effective means we have of improving people's well-being. For poor countries they offer the most reliable path away from poverty. For affluent countries, they are part of what is needed to sustain their living standards. Markets, then, are the most potent antipoverty engine there is – but only where they work well. The caveat is crucial. … Left to themselves, markets can fail. To deliver their full benefits, they need support from a set of rules, customs, and institutions. They cannot operate efficiently in a vacuum (13–14).

David Teece has created the capability theory of the firm, which explains that firms exist because they are ongoing institutions able to sustain operational and dynamic capabilities (see Teece, Pisano, and Shuen, 1997; and Teece, 2017 and 2019). This conceptualisation of firms sits comfortably alongside Amartya Sen's capabilities approach, and emphasises the critical role of market enterprises for expanding the capabilities of persons to lead the kinds of lives they value, and have reason to value (Dalziel, Saunders, and Saunders, 2018: 94–99).

Application of these observations by McMillan and Teece to the Living Standards Framework is beyond the brief for this research report, but there are well-recognised connections between a country's cultural vibrancy and the economic prosperity of its business firms that should be discussed. This section briefly introduces three of these connections: the cultural production sector, cultural vibrancy and skilled workers, and shared cultural values in global value chains.

Many cultural activities take place using the market economy. Statistics New Zealand analyses and publishes data on all market production within New Zealand, as part of its calculation of gross domestic product (GDP). It is difficult to distinguish cultural production in these aggregate data, but a working paper commissioned by Creative New Zealand and the Ministry for Culture and Heritage has provided a conservative estimate of the extent of arts-related activities in the country's market sector (Stroombergen, 2015). The industries categories used in the study are reproduced in Table 4.11 below.

The study found reported an increase in the total number of people employed in the industries listed in Table 4.11, from 13 100 in 2006 to 14 600 in 2013. In 2006/07 (the latest year for which the most integrated data were available at the time of the analysis), the market value added by the industries was about $0.4 billion, or about 0.24 per cent of GDP. Earnings in the industries were relatively modest, around $35,700 per annum in 2009/10, compared to an economy-wide average of about $49,800.

Returning to the capability theory of the firm, Teece (2017) emphasises the dynamic capabilities of market firms, which are *sensing* ('identification, development, co-development and assessment of technological opportunities in relationship to customer needs'), *seizing* ('mobilization of resources to address needs and opportunities, and to capture value from doing so') and *transforming* ('continued renewal') (698). These capabilities involve creating knowledge, capabilities, and other intangibles that are scarce and difficult for competitors to imitate (Teece, 2017: 699).

Richard Florida (2002) has argued that this feature has given rise to a new social class, which he calls the creative class.[16] This is made up of people whose creativity is a key factor in their work in business, education, health care, law, and other professions:

> Because creativity is the driving force of economic growth, in terms of influence the Creative Class has become the dominant class in society. Only by understanding the rise of this new class and its values can we begin to understand the sweeping and seemingly disjointed changes in our society and begin to shape our future more intelligently (Florida, 2002: xiii).

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[16] This discussion is drawn from Dalziel and Saunders (2014b, section 5.7: 36–38), commissioned by the Ministry of Transport.

Table 4.11: Selected Cultural Industries in New Zealand

Industry	Description
Book publishing	Enterprises mainly engaged in publishing (creating and disseminating) books, including atlases, textbooks, and travel guides.
Professional photographic services	Enterprises mainly engaged in providing still, video, or computer photography services, including the videotaping of special events such as weddings.
Arts education	Enterprises mainly engaged in providing non-vocational instruction in the arts, including art, dance, drama, and music.
Museum operation	Enterprises mainly engaged in preserving and exhibiting heritage objects and artefacts and/or visual arts and crafts with aesthetic, historical, cultural, and/or educational value. This class also includes people operating historical places, sites, or houses.
Performing arts operation	Enterprises mainly engaged in providing or producing live theatrical or musical presentations or performances. These are people who aren't usually involved in creating original artistic or cultural works.
Creative artists, musicians, writers, and performers	Independent (freelance) individuals or groups who are mainly engaged in regularly creating original artistic or cultural works and who may or may not also produce and perform their works. This class also includes units providing independent technical expertise necessary for these productions. It also includes celebrities engaged in endorsing products or making speeches or public appearances for which they receive a fee, which are, however, activities not considered to be arts-related.
Performing arts venue operation	Enterprises mainly engaged in operating venues for presenting and rehearsing performing arts.

Source: Stroombergen (2015: 9–10).

Consequently, Florida (2002) argues that cities and regions must create a good people environment to attract members of the creative class to their place, based on three dimensions:

- What's there: the combination of the built environment and the natural environment; a proper setting for pursuit of creative lives.
- Who's there: the diverse kinds of people, interacting and providing cues that anyone can plug into and make a life in that community.
- What's going on: the vibrancy of street life, café, culture, arts, music and people engaging in outdoor activities – altogether a lot of active, exciting, creative endeavors (232).

Specifically, Florida (2002) argues that regions must invest in 'the multidimensional and varied forms of creativity – arts, music, culture, design and related fields – because all are linked and flourish together' (320). In New Zealand, this approach was strongly advocated by Sir Paul Callaghan (2009), who made the following appeal:

> If we are to attract the best scientific and technological entrepreneurs to base their business enterprise here, if we are to attract talented expatriate Kiwis home and retain the best of our own, then we need not only a vibrant science and technology culture, but great urban environments and a stimulating intellectual climate (21).

There is a growing literature on the contribution that cultural values can make to enterprise. Hayton and Cacciotti (2013), for example, note that 'one of the oldest research questions in the field of entrepreneurship is how and to what extent does national culture influence entrepreneurial action, the rate of new firm formation and ultimately economic development' (708). Fukuyama (1995) emphasises the importance of trust in day-to-day social relations as a key contributor to economic prosperity. This is often treated as an important aspect of social capital.[17] Research has also highlighted 'the dark side of social capital' when shared values by a culturally dominant group allow outsiders to be subjected to discrimination, social humiliation, or the threat of violence (see, for example, the review in Dalziel, Saunders, and Saunders, 2018: 77–80).

A five-year research programme financed by the New Zealand Endeavour Fund is currently working 'to provide new knowledge on how local enterprises can achieve higher returns by ensuring global consumers understand the distinctive qualities of the physical, credence and cultural attributes of agri-food products that are "Made in New Zealand"' (Saunders *et al.*, 2017: 1). As part of that programme, Matthew Rout and John Reid (2019) have published a review on the distinctive cultural attributes of food. Its conclusions include the following observations on cultural values:

> Māori beliefs, values and behaviours about food production are well positioned with regard to emerging food cultures of many international markets. For example, the growing demand for animal welfare, environmental sustainability and responsible employment are all resonant with Māori beliefs, values and behaviours. The example of Miraka shows how this works in practice, with the company's behaviour going beyond the regulatory requirements in all these areas because of its adherence to core Māori beliefs and values. …

> New Zealand farming culture can add value. This comes from several different factors. First, some of the cultural attributes are highly desired by these changing international food cultures, particularly the small, family-owned and run nature of the farms and the ingenuities and efficient way that they are operated. These insights suggest that rather than allowing the supply chain to strive for consolidation of ownership or changes in the way stock are 'finished', the best way to add value would be for producers to retain these desirable farming cultural attributes (Rout and Reid, 2019: 27–28).

Those observations illustrate how cultural connections between producers and consumers can be used to create and capture value in global agri-food value chains.

4.5 Points for Discussion

The Living Standards Framework and the LSF Dashboard represent a major advance in public policy, as advisors seek to understand and monitor a wide range of data relevant to the wellbeing of New Zealanders. A strength of these tools is their attention to current wellbeing (the 12 domains) and to foundations for future wellbeing (the four capitals). Culture is identified as 'cross-cutting with respect to all the domains and capitals' (Treasury, 2018b: 57), and the framework has added the domain of *Cultural Identity* to the 11 domains in the OECD wellbeing framework. This is supported by two indicators: Te reo Māori speakers, and Ability to express identity.

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[17]   An OECD Insights report notes 'we can think of social capital as the links, shared values and understandings in society that enable individuals and groups to trust each other and so work together' (Keeley, 2007: 102).

This chapter has analysed gaps in the Living Standards Framework, most of which are acknowledged by the Treasury (2018a; 2018b). The two indicators chosen for Cultural identity mean, for example, that three themes identified in this report as relevant to that domain do not have measures in the LSF Dashboard.

- Cultural development of children.
- Cultural efficacy and competence.
- Cultural engagement and vitality.

Similarly, although culture is recognised as important for each of the four capitals, none of the 23 monitoring indicators are explicitly connected to what this chapter has called cultural capital. Figure 4.6 shows how it would be feasible to include indicators in the LSF Dashboard that are connected to the relevant cultural capital for each of the four capitals.

Further, there is currently no place in the Living Standards Framework and the LSF Dashboard for a more collectivist approach that would put a strong focus on families, whānau, iwi, and communities. Nor is there currently room for attention to business, despite the importance of market firms for wellbeing. Section 4.3 proposed that this gap could be filled by adding further sections; for example:

- Families and Whānau, including New Zealand communities
- Business, including New Zealand's place in the world.

As an illustration of the second of those bullet points, the previous section discussed three connections between a country's cultural vibrancy and the economic prosperity of its business firms: the cultural production sector, cultural vibrancy and skilled workers, and shared cultural values in global value chains.

This chapter finishes with three points for further discussion.

Discussion Point 4-1. Can the two indicators currently associated with the Cultural identity domain (Te reo Māori speakers and Ability to express identity) adequately monitor the major influences of cultural identity on wellbeing in New Zealand?

Discussion Point 4-2. What would be the advantages and disadvantages of creating a fifth capital stock under the heading of Cultural Capital in the Living Standards Framework, rather than adding one or more cultural capital indicators for each of the current four capitals?

Discussion Point 4-3. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the proposal to add further sections to the LSF Dashboard to reflect more collectivist approaches to wellbeing, such as Families and Whānau, including New Zealand communities, and Business, including New Zealand's place in the world?

Chapter 5
Investing in Culture for Wellbeing

The previous chapter observed that the absence of cultural capital in a wellbeing measurement framework can make it difficult to analyse public investment in culture (see the end of Section 4.2). This chapter picks up on that theme, recognising that oversight of investment in cultural infrastructure is an important policy responsibility of New Zealand's Ministry for Culture and Heritage. The overall direction of the Ministry's work is expressed as follows:

> **Te hono i te iwi nui tonu ki te ahurea o Aotearoa**
> **We will connect more people with New Zealand's culture**
>
> Culture is a driver of wellbeing that manifests itself in many different ways, and is meaningful in different forms to different audiences. The Ministry promotes the diversity of New Zealand society in the cultural sector, so all New Zealanders can connect to and see themselves reflected in it (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2018a: 3).

The recognition that 'culture is a driver of wellbeing' is reflected in the four priorities adopted by the Ministry (2018a: 4).

- Creating opportunities for New Zealanders to engage with Māori culture – creating an inclusive New Zealand whakapapa.
- Valuing Aotearoa's cultural diversity.
- Investing in culture for the wellbeing and prosperity of New Zealanders.
- Caring for the nation's taonga and identity.

This chapter focuses on the third of these priorities: Investing in culture for the wellbeing and prosperity of New Zealanders. This necessarily involves discussion of the economic value of culture, and so the chapter begins in section 5.1 with a discussion of the difference between cultural value and economic value. This is followed with an analysis in section 5.2 of some key economic issues associated with cultural engagement and cultural production. These issues create distinctive opportunities for the public sector to enhance the wellbeing and prosperity of New Zealanders by investing in cultural infrastructure, as explained in section 5.3.

Section 5.4 then introduces the Value of Culture Framework created by the Ministry (2018a) 'for articulating the value of culture from an economic perspective' (2). Section 5.5 provides a brief overview of economic techniques that are available for estimating economic values in that framework. Section 5.6 explores how a Cultural Wellbeing Framework might be aligned with the Treasury's Living Standards Framework. The chapter finishes with a short summary and some questions for further discussion in section 5.7.

5.1 Cultural Value and Economic Value

The economist who established cultural economics as a distinctive field in the literature is Professor David Throsby (see, for example, Throsby, 1994; 1995; 1997; 1999; 2001). Throsby (2001) has continuously emphasised a distinction between cultural value and economic value:

> In the economic domain, value has to do with utility, price and the worth that individuals or markets assign to commodities. In the case of culture, value subsists in certain properties of cultural phenomena, expressible either in specific terms, such as the tone value of a musical note or the value of a colour in painting, or in general terms an indication of the merit or worth of a work, an object, and experience or some other cultural thing (19).

Without being exhaustive, Throsby (2001) offers the following list of constituent elements that might contribute to a particular artwork's cultural value:

- Aesthetic value.
- Spiritual value.
- Social value.
- Historical value.
- Symbolic value.
- Authenticity value (28–29).

Throsby (2001) identifies 'several reasons why it may not be possible to identify cultural value via individuals' willingness to pay' (32–34), while observing that there is likely to be some positive correlation, on the ground that an artwork that is widely recognised for its cultural value might be expected to command a higher price on the market.

Another binary set of words used to express this difference in a policy context is *intrinsic value* and *instrumental value*. Joanne Orr (2008) comments that the distinction is easy to make in dictionary definitions, but…

> …in reality separating the intrinsic value of culture from the instrumental value is almost impossible at a practical level. The instrumental and the intrinsic are used broadly to describe two different approaches to cultural policy, with intrinsic assuming the value of culture as "inherent" and instrumental as demonstrating the value of culture with measurable outcomes (309).

The Chair of the Arts Council England has elaborated on this distinction in a report on *The Value of Arts and Culture to People and Society*:

> When we talk about the value of arts and culture, we should always start with the intrinsic – how arts and culture illuminate our inner lives and enrich our emotional world. This is what we cherish. But while we do not cherish arts and culture because of the impact on our social wellbeing and cohesion, our physical and mental health, our education system, our national status and our economy, they do confer these benefits and we need to show how important this is (Bazalgette, 2014: 4).

This is the approach taken in this chapter.

5.2 Cultural Engagement and Production

The sustenance and growth of cultural vibrancy requires attention to cultural engagement and cultural production. Cultural engagement refers to people making choices to attend or participate in certain activities because those activities express significant cultural values. Examples include:

- attending or taking part in a cultural performance or festival
- collaborating in an intercultural event drawing on different cultural traditions
- participating in a local community cultural group
- practising Ngā Toi Māori or traditional craft and object art
- reading literature (defined in a wide and inclusive sense)
- travelling to a place of historical significance or to an ancestral marae
- viewing cultural content on a digital or analogue platform
- visiting a cultural venue such as a museum, art gallery, or archive
- volunteering personal time to assist in the production of cultural activities.

Cultural production refers to the organised creation of the cultural goods and services that allow cultural engagement to take place. The greatest attention is typically made to organisations involved in the market production of these goods and services, but volunteered contributions to cultural activities are an important aspect of community cultural vitality.

Figure 5.10, below, presents a time series of New Zealanders' engagement over the previous 12 months in selected art forms: visual arts, craft and object art, performing arts, literary arts, Pacific arts, and Māori arts. The data is taken from the three-year-long New Zealanders and the Arts survey, broken down into three groups: respondents who said they attended at least one of the art forms, but did not participate; respondents who said they were a participant in at least one of the art forms, but did not attend as an audience member; and respondents who reported both types of engagement.

A feature of the most recent survey is the statistically significant increase in participation in the arts to 52 per cent (compared to 43 per cent in 2014), largely driven by increased participation in the visual arts. More than one in five New Zealanders attend the selected art forms 11 times or more a year (22 per cent), and 20 per cent participate more than once a month (Colmar Brunton, 2018: 10).

Engagement is an important indicator because it can be presumed that people who choose to attend or participate in cultural activities do so because they consider it improves their wellbeing.[18] This is because engagement typically involves financial expenditure (admission costs, club fees, purchases of specialist equipment or materials, travel costs, and the like), and also requires a person to sacrifice time that could have been spent on other valued activities (see, for example, Dalziel, Saunders, and Saunders, 2018: 26–28). Thus, people who engage in cultural activities must receive direct benefits from that choice that are greater than the associated sacrifices of time and money.

For some cultural activities, including what has been termed 'popular culture',[19] the economic costs are covered by the direct benefits to participants and audiences. All costs of production are met by a

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[18] In economics, this presumption comes from the theory of *revealed preferences*, introduced by Samuelson (1938 and 1948).

[19] For a nuanced discussion of what this term can mean, see Storey (2018).

mixture of volunteered time, financial donations, and audience revenue, with perhaps small subsidies from local government (through below-cost access to a community venue, for example, or by the creation of a subsidised inner-city cultural precinct) to foster a region's cultural vitality and vibrancy. This part of the cultural industries produces a small number of superstars earning very high income from their artistry (Adler, 2006), but Throsby (1994) observes that 'artists as a group differ [from other workers] by virtue of the fact that their professional creative work alone is, in the majority of cases, unlikely to generate a living wage over a reasonable period of time, either because the hourly earnings are too low and/or because remunerative work opportunities are not available' (17).[20]

Figure 5.10: New Zealanders' Annual Engagement with Selected Art Forms, 2005–2017
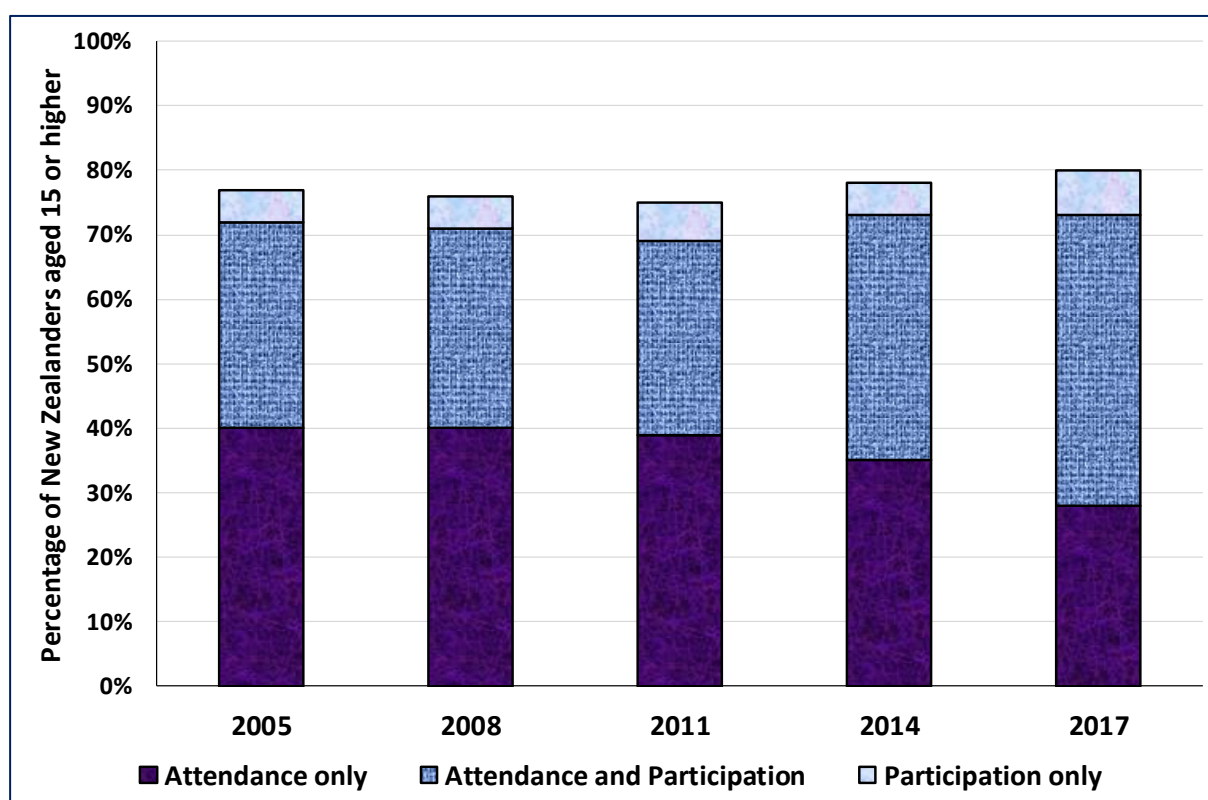
Note: The selected art forms are visual arts, craft and object art, performing arts, literary arts, Pacific arts, and Māori arts.

Source: Colmar Brunton (2018, chapter 6: 15–20).

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[20] In New Zealand, Allan, Grimes, and Kerr (2013) cite evidence from a Creative New Zealand survey in 2003 which found that 'the median annual income for artists was around $7,000 lower than the median annual income for all New Zealanders in paid employment in 1999 ($20,700 vs. $27,934 ... despite the fact that artists tend to be highly educated' (18).

5.3 The Economic Case for Public Financial Support for Culture

There is a specific economic issue associated with cultural production of many art forms. The issue comes from a distinction between the *fixed costs* of production and the *variable costs* of production. Fixed costs refers to the costs that are incurred if any amount of the cultural activity takes place, regardless of the number of people who engage with the activity. To illustrate, once a decision is made to sustain a national or regional museum, there are substantial fixed costs such as the imputed rental of the building and the museum's collection, the salaries of the staff, and the operating costs of lighting and heating that must be paid for the museum to open, regardless of the number of visitors.

Variable costs refer to the increasing costs incurred as the volume of cultural engagement increases. This could include the museum's cleaning costs, or the costs of security staff, which might be expected to rise as the number of visitors grows larger.

As the museum example illustrates, the fixed costs of cultural production can be very high compared to the variable costs (Throsby, 1994: 9). Other examples are easy to find. The services of a Māori television station involve substantial fixed costs, but the variable cost of one more audience member is zero. Performance art often involves a large number of artists and practitioners, whose salaries represent substantial fixed costs for training, rehearsals, and other preparation, while the cost of one more ticket sale is negligible (at least until the venue capacity is reached). An historical site may require significant fixed costs for conservation and management, with the costs of one more visitor being minor in comparison.

Figure 5.11: Average and Marginal Costs with High Fixed Costs and Low Variable Costs
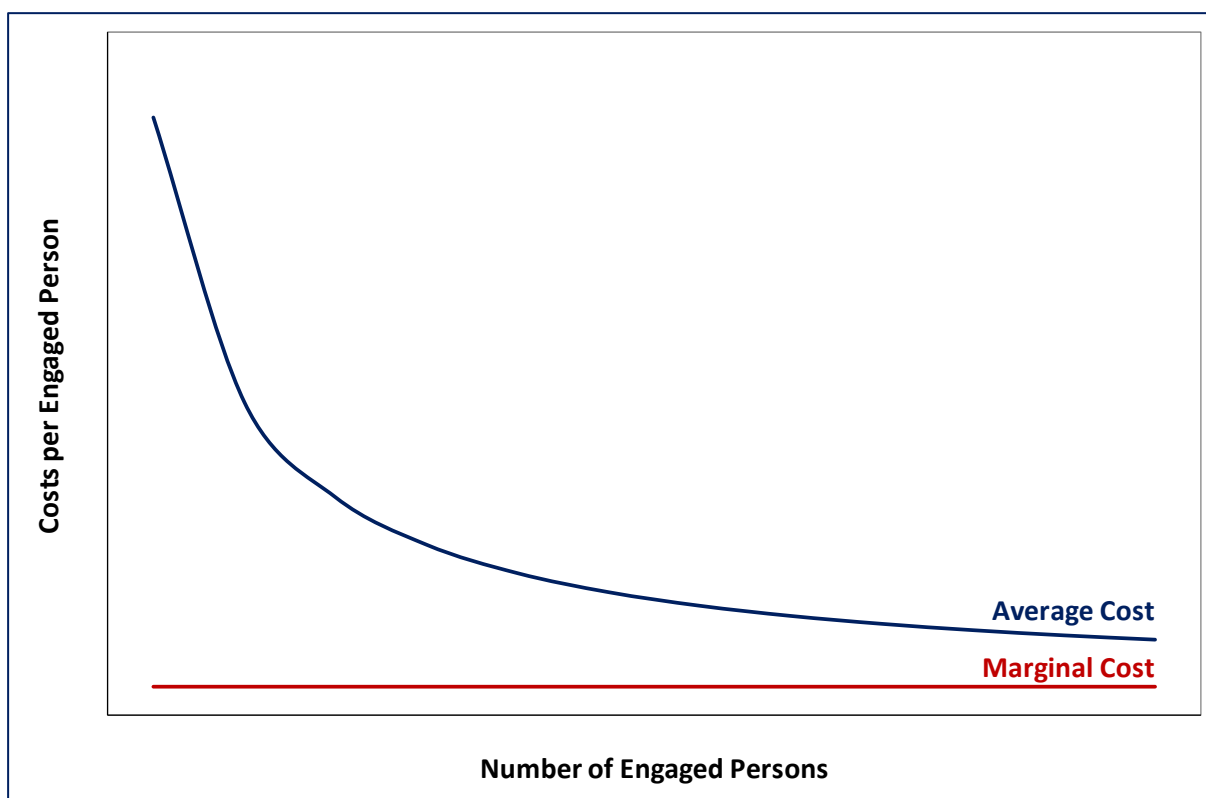
Production with this type of cost structure (high fixed costs and low variable costs) has an important economic implication illustrated in Figure 5.11 on the previous page. The figure presents two more types of costs. *Average Cost* refers to the total cost of producing the cultural activity divided by the number of engaged persons. This is the entrance fee that each person must pay if the total costs of the museum must be covered by revenue from the museum's visitors. *Marginal Cost* refers to the extra cost of production if one more person engages with the activity. This is the entrance fee that each person must pay to cover the extra costs of his or her visit.

As Figure 5.11 shows, when fixed costs are high relative to variable costs, the average cost of production can be greater than the marginal cost of production for feasible ranges of audience size. This has a number of important consequences.

- Economic efficiency requires that a person should pay only the marginal cost of his or her engagement, but because marginal cost is less than average cost, marginal cost pricing will not cover the total costs of the cultural activity.

- If the cultural activity is priced at average cost, on the other hand, some people who are able and willing to pay the marginal cost of their cultural engagement will nevertheless be excluded from the activity.

- If the cultural activity is priced at average cost, the volume of ticket sales (or the equivalent) may be so low that the value of fixed costs must be reduced, perhaps considerably, resulting in potentially much lower levels of cultural vitality and vibrancy.

- If cultural producers in a small country like New Zealand must charge the average cost of their production, while much larger overseas cultural producers are able to export cultural goods and services at their marginal cost of production (in the screen and media sectors, for example), New Zealand producers will be unable to compete.

- If New Zealand cultural producers cannot compete, high-quality, diverse New Zealand content will not be made available to New Zealanders, further damaging New Zealand's cultural vibrancy and identity, and hence wellbeing.

- Cultural vitality and vibrancy contribute to a community's wellbeing, so that the sustenance of these qualities produces benefits that go beyond the direct benefits enjoyed by those people who engage with cultural activities.

In the language of economics, these consequences are a manifestation of 'market failure', which can provide a *prima facie* case for corrective government action (Throsby, 2001: 140).[21] An obvious example of a government response is public investment in culture for wellbeing. Even if this principle is accepted, however, there are still important questions to answer about the level of investment, relative to other opportunities for investment in (say) education or health for wellbeing. This requires a framework for identifying and measuring all of the benefits from culture, which is being addressed in current work to develop a Value of Culture Framework.

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[21] Throsby also notes that attention must be given to the possibility of 'government failure' before concluding that public sector intervention is justified. Consideration should also be given to the possibilities of corporate sponsorship or private philanthropy as other sources of funds that might contribute to fixed costs.

5.4 The Value of Culture Framework

The Ministry for Culture and Heritage commissioned research by Motu (Allan, Grimes, and Kerr, 2013) and by Simetrica (Fujiwara, Mourato, and Lawton, 2019) to assist in creating and implementing a Value of Culture Framework 'for articulating the value of culture from an economic perspective' (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2018a: 2).[22] This has resulted in the draft framework presented in Figure 5.12, below, which will be used by the Ministry to consult with cultural sector agencies and interested parties.

Figure 5.12: Draft Value of Culture Framework

Note: This diagram is a draft framework as at May 2019. **It is not Government policy.**

Source: Supplied for this research report by Ministry for Culture and Heritage.

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[22] Hutter and Throsby (2008) emphasise that 'a distinction can be made between economic and cultural value, and that it is the nature of these twin concepts of value, how they are formed and how they relate or do not relate to each other, that needs to be investigated' (1). As noted in section 5.1, the analysis in this research report focuses on the economic value of culture, but this is not intended to suggest that all cultural value is reflected in economic price.

At the centre of the framework is the wellbeing of New Zealanders, which is described as having cultural, social, economic, and environmental aspects. The framework is then divided into two halves, reflecting the two ways in which culture contributes to wellbeing through creating:

- *use value*—the value derived from experiencing culture

- *non-use value*—the value of knowing that culture exists, and that it is available for other people and for future generations to experience.

The framework distinguishes six types of economic value arising from these sources.[23] At the top of the diagram is **Direct Value**, which is defined as the direct benefits that derive from cultural engagement, as discussed in the previous section.

The framework identifies two other types of use value. **Indirect Value** is the benefits that people can obtain from cultural activities without directly engaging with those activities themselves. An example given in the diagram is that a museum might create an outreach programme for young people that expands educational opportunities in a region. Allan, Grimes, and Kerr (2013: 19–22) list other examples, such as social cohesion, a stronger democracy, and the ability to attract talented people, under the heading of *instrumental value* of culture.

Option Value refers to the wellbeing benefits that may arise if people know they have the opportunity to engage with a cultural activity in the future (such as visiting Te Papa), even though they do not have that opportunity in the present (perhaps because they live outside Wellington, with no immediate plans to visit the capital but intentions to do so sometime in the future).

The remaining three types of value are non-use values. **Existence Value** was described on page 32, because the term is used in the Treasury's (2018b: 5) definition of cultural identity. It describes 'the value placed on knowing that a resource exists, even though no-one may ever use it' (Clough and Bealing, 2018: 4). The Value of Culture Framework gives as an example the existence of Sir Ernest Shackleton's hut in Antarctica, conserved by the New Zealand-based Antarctic Heritage Trust (see https://www.nzaht.org/pages/shackletons-hut-cape-royds#).

Altruism Value refers to the wellbeing benefits that people from knowing that other people (who are alive today) can access cultural activities that are important to those other people. This can also be interpreted as a community recognising the wellbeing benefits of maintaining cultural diversity, as expressed, for example, in Article 1 of the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity 2001 (see page 4 of this report).

Finally, **Bequest Value** refers to the wellbeing benefits to the current generation of passing on cultural heritage to future generations. As the examples in the diagram attest, this includes non-material and material aspects of that heritage.

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[23] Allan, Grimes, and Kerr (2013: 18–19) point out the possibility of a seventh category of value, which they label *non-monetary return to producers*. This is the satisfaction that artists enjoy as a result of displaying their artistry, perhaps in collaboration with other artists, or the reception that their artistry receives from the audience (including being honoured with artistic awards). This aspect of value is analysed by Throsby (1994) who comments that 'nonpecuniary motives relating to work satisfaction exert a significant influence on patterns of time allocation' (17) by artists.

These different sources of economic value can be difficult to measure, because there are no associated market prices available for an analyst to use in order to evaluate people's willingness to pay for these benefits. Nevertheless, economists have developed a number of techniques to perform what is termed non-market valuation (see, for example, Champ, Boyle, and Brown, 2017), which are discussed in the following section.

5.5 Techniques for Measuring Economic Value

Mourato and Mazzanti (2002) provided one of the first reviews in the economics literature on the application of non-market valuation techniques to cultural assets. Its second paragraph, for example, recognised the key concepts of existence value, altruism value, and bequest value as the major non-use values associated with cultural heritage (Mourato and Mazzanti, 2002: 51). The review went on to set out basic principles of economic valuation, focused on expanding wellbeing:

> A benefit is defined as anything that increases human well-being, and a cost as anything that decreases human well-being. Measurement of preferences is obtained by finding out individuals' maximum willingness to pay (WTP) for a benefit or for the avoidance of a cost, or their minimum willingness to accept (WTA) compensation for tolerating a cost or forgoing a benefit (Mourato and Mazzanti, 2002: 53).

If a good or service is traded in a competitive market, and if all benefits and costs of the transaction are confined to participants in that market, then the market price will reflect the consumers' willingness to pay for one more item of the item (its *marginal benefit*) as well as the suppliers' willingness to accept payment for that extra item (its *marginal cost*). In this way, a competitive market ensures marginal benefit equals marginal cost, which results in strong economic efficiency outcomes. A feature represented in the framework in Figure 5.12, above, however, is that many benefits from cultural activities are enjoyed by people who are not directly engaged in those activities. As already explained, this is an example where markets fail to allocate resources efficiently.

Even the direct benefits of cultural activities may not be reflected in a market price that can be used to estimate consumers' willingness to pay. General admission to the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, for example is free. Further, there are no market prices for the other types of benefits listed in Figure 5.12. Consequently, non-market valuation techniques must be used. In their review, Mourato and Mazzanti (2002) presented four non-market valuation methodologies, which are reproduced in Table 5.12, below, under two headings.[24]

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[24] See, also, Allan, Grimes, and Kerr (2013) and Fujiwara, Mourato, and Lawton (2019) for surveys of these techniques. Mourato and Mazzanti (2002) include a third revealed preference method that had been used, which relied on calculated cost savings implied by reduced damage rates to cultural assets, but as the authors explained, 'maintenance costs are not the correct measure of the benefits derived by society from reduced damage to cultural resources' (55). Allan, Grimes, and Kerr (2013) note that *Impact Analysis* has also been used to measure multiplied economic benefits arising from a city hosting a large cultural event or significant cultural facility, but also explain that there are severe limitations of this technique, especially when applied at a national level of analysis.

Table 5.12: Selected Economic Non-market Valuation Methodologies

Revealed Preferences	Stated Preferences
Hedonic Price Method	Contingent Valuation Method
Travel-cost Method	Choice Modelling Method

Source: Mourato and Mazzanti (2002, Table 1: 54).

Revealed preferences were mentioned in footnote 18 above. The key idea is that certain choices by people can be analysed to reveal knowledge about their preferences and willingness to pay for valued goods and services. An analysis might reveal, for example, that houses close to a regional art gallery typically sell for a higher price than similar houses further away. The difference in price can be used as an indicator of the willingness to pay for a cultural centre close to a person's home. This is an example of the *hedonic price method*. Alternatively, it might be possible to record information on the distance people travel to visit a heritage site of historical importance. The travel includes sacrifices of time and money, so that is reasonable to infer that the benefits of visiting the site must be greater than those costs. This is an example of the *travel-cost method*.

Stated preferences are obtained by surveying people with questions designed to elicit their willingness to pay for a good or service. The *contingent valuation method* asks questions directly about how much income the survey respondent would sacrifice for a particular cultural amenity (access to a regional museum, for example), and relates the answers to respondent characteristics such as age, gender, ethnicity, and income to produce population-wide estimates (see, for example, Noonan, 2003; and Lawton *et al.*, 2018). The *choice modelling method* presents a series of choices and asks the respondents to indicate which item they would prefer in each choice. The choices are designed to vary some aspects of the items being considered, such as the significance of the item's cultural qualities. The data is then analysed with sophisticate econometric techniques to estimate total willingness to pay for the cultural qualities (Mazzanti, 2003; Miller, Tait, and Saunders, 2015).

More recently, economists have introduced a technique known as the *subjective wellbeing valuation method* for estimating willingness to pay for non-market goods and services (Fujiwara and Campbell, 2011; Trotter *et al.*, 2014). This method has been applied to cultural services; see, for example, Fujiwara, Kudrna, and Dolan (2014), Fujiwara and MacKerron (2015), Smithies and Fujiwara (2015), and Fujiwara, Mourato, and Lawton (2019). It relies on survey data that must include a question on subjective wellbeing; that is, on the survey respondent's self-assessed judgement of their wellbeing on a fixed scale. Examples of the different types of questions that might be asked to assess subjective wellbeing are presented in Table 5.13, below.

Using answers to the subjective wellbeing question and other data collected in the survey, it is possible to undertake an econometric analysis of how changes in access to selected non-market goods and services impact on wellbeing. The survey must also include a question on the respondent's annual income. It is then possible to calculate by how much income would need to increase in order to achieve the same impact on subjective wellbeing as any of the selected non-market items. This provides a monetarised estimate of the value of the item.

Table 5.13: Representative Survey Questions for Different Types of Subjective Wellbeing

Wellbeing Assessment Type	Representative Survey Question
Positive Experience	Overall, on a rising scale from 0 to 10, how happy did you feel yesterday?
Negative Experience	Overall, on a rising scale from 0 to 10, how anxious did you feel yesterday?
Evaluation	Overall, on a rising scale from 0 to 10, how satisfied are you with your life nowadays?
Eudemonic	Overall, on a rising scale from 0 to 10, to what extent do you feel that the things you do in your life are worthwhile?

Source: Adapted from Dolan, Layard, and Metcalfe (2011, Table 1: 14).

The result can be very powerful statements about cultural engagement and wellbeing. A subjective wellbeing study for the Department for Culture, Media & Sport in the United Kingdom, for example, reported the following two results:

Arts engagement

Arts engagement was found to be associated with higher wellbeing. This is valued at £1,084 per person per year, or £90 per person per month.

Library engagement

A significant association was also found between frequent library use and reported wellbeing. Using libraries frequently was valued at £1,359 per person per year for library users, or £113 per person per month (Fujiwara, Kudrna, and Dolan, 2014: 9).

A similar study for the Australia Council for the Arts reached the following conclusion:

Applying the Wellbeing Valuation approach to this analysis, the identified wellbeing increase of 0.143 is worth an equivalent of AUD$4,349 per person, per annum. When applied to the proportion of the Australian population aged 15 years and above who engage with the arts, this equates to an overall societal value of about AUD$66 billion per year (Smithies and Fujiwara, 2015: 43).

Nevertheless, the method cannot always be applied. A study of the Natural History Museum and Tate Liverpool, for example, was unable to produce meaningful estimates using a subjective wellbeing approach, although contingent valuation estimates were possible in the study (Bakhshi *et al.*, 2015). Fujiwara, , Mourato, and Lawton (2019) note that difficulty and conclude that the method is more suited for valuing items that have a large effect on wellbeing.

Applying a non-market valuation methodology to a particular research question can be expensive and time-consuming. Consequently, scholars have developed methods to allow an analyst to use benefits previously estimated for a similar case (or perhaps similar cases) and transferring those estimates to the case of current interest. The *benefit transfer method* typically requires adjustments to the previous estimates so that they will fit the new case, but this can still involve errors of unknown size (Johnston

et al., 2015, section 2.7; Tait and Rutherford, 2018, chapter 4; Fujiwara, Mourato, and Lawton, 2019, section 4.3). Applying this methodology therefore requires considerable expertise:

> Although benefit transfers generally require less time and resources than comparable primary studies, they do not necessarily require less expertise—methods such as meta-analysis and structural benefit transfer, for example, can require a level of expertise that parallels or even exceeds that required to conduct primary valuation research. Even simpler methods such as single-site benefit function transfer and unit value transfers require considerable expertise to evaluate such influential factors as the choice of transfer method, site and commodity correspondence, the suitability of functions or values for transfer, the quality and interpretation of primary studies, the aggregation of benefit estimates, and many others (Johnston et al., 2015: 51).

5.6 A Cultural Wellbeing Framework

The Living Standards Framework (LSF) is a tool to enhance Treasury's policy advice on lifting broad living standards (Treasury, 2018a: 7). The Treasury is clear that the LSF is a complement, not a replacement, for frameworks developed by other public sector agencies (Treasury, 2018b: 15). Indeed, Treasury's (2018b) intention is to 'work with agencies as it develops the LSF to improve alignment and coherence between these frameworks' with a vision that 'in the mature system, living standards advice on wellbeing from the Treasury will cohere with domain-specific wellbeing advice from sector and population agencies that draws on their own frameworks and expertise' (15).

Consistent with that vision, this section considers how the Value of Culture Framework might be aligned with the LSF. Recall that the Living Standards Framework was presented in section 4.1, with its diagrammatic representation reproduced in Figure 4.5. Figure 5.13 on the next page uses a similar template to suggest a Cultural Wellbeing Framework.

The Living Standards Framework distinguishes between indicators of current wellbeing (the 12 domains, including their distribution among the national population) and indicators of future wellbeing (the four capitals, recognising the need to monitor risk and resilience). The same distinction is easily made if the focus shifts to cultural wellbeing.

Thus the bottom half of Figure 5.13 incorporates the four capitals of the Living Standards Framework as indicators of future wellbeing, but emphasises the cultural capital component of each one (see Figure 4.6). Following the example of the Living Standards Framework, it is part of the mission of public policy to monitor the risk and resilience of those capital stocks. A large part of cultural policy is investing in these four capitals to expand capabilities for future wellbeing.

The top half of Figure 5.13 reproduces the 12 domains of wellbeing currently in the Living Standards Framework. One adjustment has been made, to change the title of the Cultural Identity domain to Cultural Vibrancy. This follows the discussion in section 3.3. This domain has been written in bold letters, since it is clearly a focus of cultural policy. Nevertheless, all 12 domains are reproduced, since the analysis of use and non-use values in the Value of Culture Framework (Figure 5.12) illustrates that they can all be influenced by investments in cultural capital.

Figure 5.13: Representation of a Cultural Wellbeing Framework
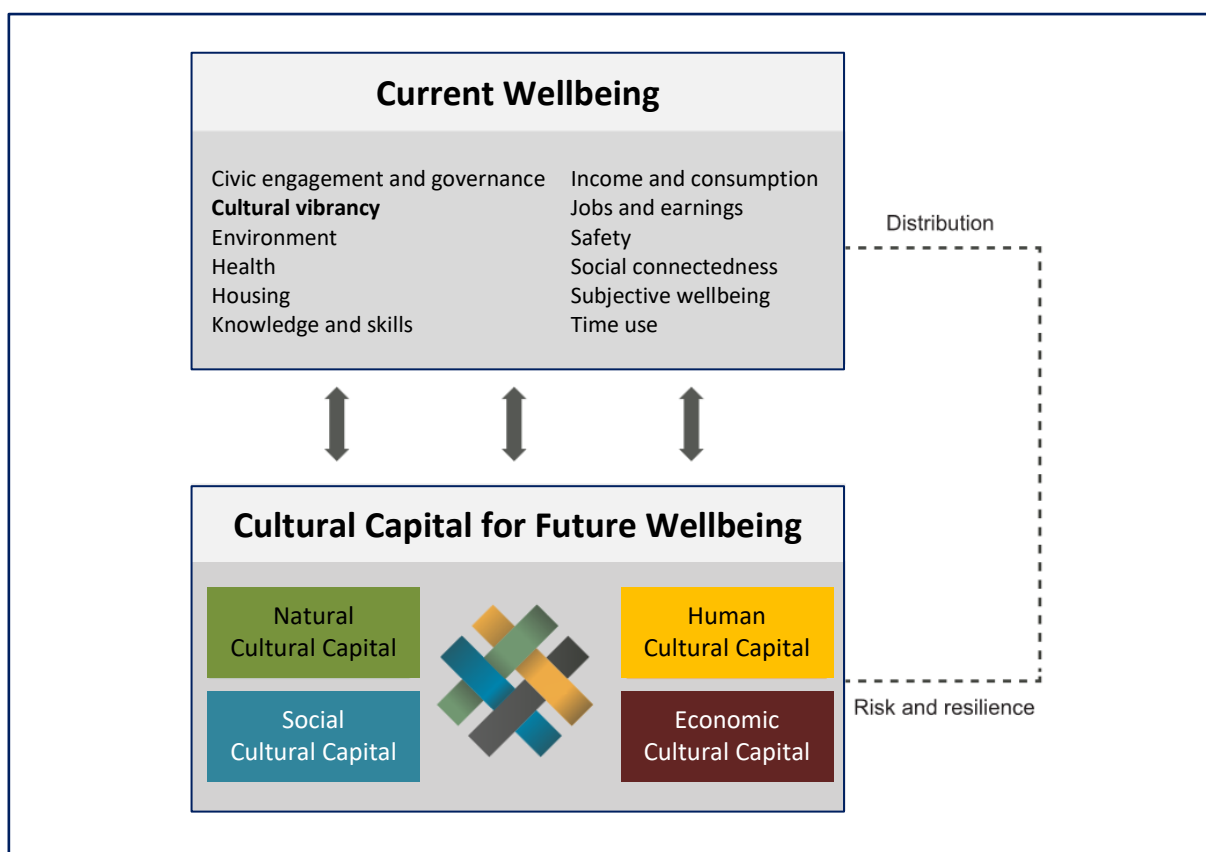
Note: Economic Cultural Capital is written here as short-hand for Financial and Physical Cultural Capital.

Source: Adapted from Figure 4.5, Figure 4.6 and Figure 5.12 of this research report.

5.7 Points for Discussion

The title of this chapter is *Investing in Culture for Wellbeing*, which is a strategic priority of the Ministry for Culture and Heritage. The chapter has focused on how to monitor contributions of culture to wellbeing and also how to monitor the different types of capital that will sustain cultural identity and vibrancy into the future. The analysis resulted in the Cultural Framework presented in Figure 5.13, which reflects the structure of the Treasury's Living Standards Framework with its emphasis on the four capitals.

Figure 5.13 provides a coherent framework to monitor investment in the four cultural capitals to expand capabilities for personal, community, and national wellbeing. The next step is to populate the framework with potential statistical indicators, which is the subject of the analysis in chapter 6. This chapter finishes with three points for further discussion.

Discussion Point 5-1. Does the Value of Culture Framework in Figure 5.12 capture all the important types of wellbeing value that arise from a vibrant Arts and Culture sector?

Discussion Point 5-2. Could the subjective wellbeing valuation method presented at the end of section 5.5 be applied to New Zealand survey data?

Discussion Point 5-3. Does the Cultural Wellbeing Framework presented in Figure 5.13 offer a useful representation of how to monitor New Zealand's investment in culture for the wellbeing and prosperity of New Zealanders?

Chapter 6
Indicators for Cultural Wellbeing

This chapter draws on material presented in previous chapters to describe how a set of cultural indicators could be created by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage for policy monitoring purposes. Between 1993 and 2009, a joint initiative by the then Ministry of Cultural Affairs and Statistics New Zealand implemented the New Zealand Cultural Statistics Programme, which developed 19 cultural indicators grouped into five themes. Those indicators are discussed in section 6.1. The Cultural Statistics Programme ended when the 2011 Christchurch earthquakes led to a delay in the Census scheduled for that year; nevertheless, the Ministry has continued to develop indicators for its annual report to Parliament. These are also discussed in section 6.1.

Section 6.2 then explains how the Ministry might develop a set of cultural indicators that is consistent with the structure of the Living Standards Framework (LSF). The key feature of this analysis is that it distinguishes between indicators of future wellbeing (reflected in the four capitals of the LSF) and indicators of current wellbeing (reflected in the 12 domains). An appendix to this report illustrates the recommended approach with examples of indicators that might be included in each of the two parts of the framework.

Section 6.3 discusses how a small subset of headline indicators might be included in the Treasury's LSF. It suggests that one cultural wellbeing indicator might be included among the indicators for each of the four capitals, and then offers four indicators for the cultural vibrancy (or cultural identity) domain. These last four indicators focus on the cultural engagement of individuals and the cultural vitality of communities. The chapter finishes in section 6.4 with a brief conclusion and some points for further discussion.

6.1 Cultural Statistics Programme, 1993–2009

The New Zealand Cultural Statistics Programme began in 1993 as a joint initiative by the then Ministry of Cultural Affairs and Statistics New Zealand (Hong, 2014: 97). The first task was to create the New Zealand Framework for Cultural Statistics, which was published with initial data by the Statistics New Zealand and Ministry of Cultural Affairs (1995a; 1995b). Further work with widespread consultation developed New Zealand's first cultural experiences survey, implemented in 2002 as a supplement to the Household Labour Force Survey (Statistics New Zealand and Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2003).

That work laid solid foundations for the development of *Cultural Indicators for New Zealand: Tohu Ahurea mō Aotearoa*. The first report in that series was published in 2006, presenting data for 13 indicators (Statistics New Zealand and Ministry of Cultural Affairs, 2006). This was followed by a second report with 19 indicators three years later (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2009). A further report was scheduled for 2012, but this did not happen when the 2011 Census of Population and Dwellings was postponed after the Christchurch earthquakes (Hong, 2014: 100).

Table 6.14, below, reproduces the 19 indicators in the 2009 report, grouped into five themes.

- Engagement.
- Cultural Identity.
- Diversity.
- Social Cohesion.
- Economic Development.

The first theme—Engagement—had the most indicators associated with it. Four indicators monitored cultural experiences (including barriers to these experiences), expenditure on cultural items, and accessing cultural activities and events. This first theme also monitored cultural production. Thus, three indicators measured employment and income of people involved in the cultural sector and creative occupations, with a further indicator on the maintenance of heritage sites.

The second theme—Cultural Identity—focused on aspects of the contribution of culture to New Zealand's distinctive national identity. There was a direct measure on this: 'the proportion of New Zealanders who believe that culture and cultural activities are important to New Zealand's sense of national identity' and two measures of Māori cultural vitality (Māori speakers of te reo Māori and Māori TV ratings). Local content on television and proportion of New Zealand events at a sample of venues were the other two measures under this theme.

Table 6.14: Cultural Indicators for New Zealand, 2009

Indicators	Measures
Theme 1: Engagement	
Cultural employment	The number of people in cultural employment as a percentage of total employment.
Employment in creative occupations	The number of people employed in creative occupations as a percentage of total employment.
Median incomes from creative occupations	The median income received by people in creative occupations as a percentage of the median income of all employed people.
Cultural experiences	The average (per adult) frequency of experiencing cultural activities.
Barriers to cultural experiences	The proportion of adults encountering barriers which prevent them from experiencing particular cultural activities.
Household spending on cultural items	The value of household spending on cultural items as a proportion of all household expenditure.
Heritage protection	The proportion of those sites either registered with the New Zealand Historic Places Trust, or listed as places with heritage value in territorial authority District Plans that have been destroyed, relocated, or partly removed during the period.
Access to arts, culture, and heritage activities and events	The proportion of shows, performances, and exhibitions at a sample of venues outside the five main centres.
Unpopulated Engagement Indicators	• *Audience numbers* • *Employment of arts, culture, and heritage events and activities*

Table 6.14 (Continued): Cultural Indicators for New Zealand, 2009

Theme 2: Cultural Identity	
Speakers of te reo Māori	The proportion of Māori able to hold an everyday conversation in Māori.
Local content on television	First-run hours of local content as a proportion of the total television schedule.
Māori TV ratings	Viewer ratings for Māori TV by Māori and non-Māori viewers of this channel.
The importance of culture to national identity	The proportion of New Zealanders who believe that culture and cultural activities are important to New Zealand's sense of national identity.
New Zealand events	Proportion of New Zealand shows, performances, and exhibitions at a national sample of venues.
Theme 3: Diversity	
Cultural grants to minority ethnic groups	An index of the percentage of grants made by the New Zealand Lottery Grants Board (LGB) for arts, culture, and heritage purposes to non-Māori and non-New Zealand European ethnic organisations and individuals, relative to those ethnic groups' percentage of the population of New Zealand.
Attendance at and participation in ethnic cultural activities	The percentage of the population aged 15 years and over attending or participating in at least one cultural activity in the year before the survey.
Minority cultural activities	The proportion of arts, culture, and heritage events and activities produced by minority cultures, taking place at a national sample of venues.
Theme 4: Social Cohesion	
Unpopulated Social Cohesion Indicators	• *Non-Māori attendance at Māori cultural events* • *Other-ethnicities attendance*
Theme 5: Economic Development	
Income of cultural industries	The value of the sales of goods and services and other income of the cultural industries in constant prices.
Value-added contribution by the creative industries	The value added by the creative industries in year 2005 dollars expressed as an index.
The creative industries' proportion of total industry value-added	The proportion of total industry value-added produced by the creative industries.

Source: Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2009).

Theme 3—Diversity—contained indicators related to cultural activities excluding European/Pākehā or Māori events. This included the proportion of events and activities produced by minority cultures at a sample of venues, and the percentage of the adults attending or participating in at least one cultural activity (other than Māori or European/Pākehā) in the previous year. A third indicator monitored the proportion of cultural grants made to minority ethnic groups.

There were no indicators populated under Theme 4—Social Cohesion—although space was provided for two indicators to be developed: Non-Māori attendance at Māori cultural events, and Other-ethnicities attendance. The idea behind inclusion of this theme was 'that arts, culture and heritage events and activities are a means by which New Zealanders can communicate across social, economic, cultural and ethnic groups' (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2009: 67).

Theme 5—Economic Development—included three indicators of the market value generated by the cultural and creative industries. The creative industries were defined as a subset of cultural industries, restricted to publishing, motion picture, and sound recording activities; broadcasting; architectural services; other specialised design services; professional photographic services; and creative and performing arts activities (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2009: 74).

These 19 indicators were developed by analysts with strong expertise in statistics and in cultural policy advice in a process that included widespread consultation. They have solid foundations, but have not been updated since 2009. In some cases, data were drawn from surveys that have not continued (for example, the Ministry's Venues Survey of 2008).

Nevertheless, the Ministry for Culture and Heritage continues to identify statistical indicators to monitor progress on its priorities (see Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2018b: 8–14). Relevant examples are listed in Table 6.15, below. Some, but not all, were mentioned in the wellbeing frameworks reviewed in chapter 2.

Table 6.15: Selected Statistical Indicators of Progress for Cultural Policy

Indicators of Progress	Statistical Data Sources
Sense of belonging in New Zealand	New Zealand General Social Survey
Ease of expressing identity in New Zealand	New Zealand General Social Survey
Active participation in arts and culture	New Zealand and the Arts Survey
Active participation in sports and recreation	Active New Zealand Survey
Māori participation in cultural activities	Te Kupenga Survey
Proportion of Māori able to converse in te reo Māori	Census of Population and Dwellings
Positive global perceptions of New Zealand	Anholt-GfK Nation Brands Index
Choices available to consumers in provision of cultural content	Indicators under development
Public funded content for New Zealand audiences	NZ On Air (indicators being developed)
Proportion of sector funding obtained from public sector	Annual reports of the funded entities
Equity of New Zealand's largest cultural institutions	Annual Reports of the institutions
Household expenditure (real) on cultural products and services	Household Economic Survey
Arts and recreation enterprises new births	Annual Business Frame Update Survey

Source: Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2018b: 8–14).

6.2 Indicators of Cultural Wellbeing

Chapter 5 explained how a Cultural Wellbeing Framework might be aligned to the Living Standards Framework by distinguishing between indicators of current wellbeing and indicators of future wellbeing (see Figure 5.13). This framework is useful for cultural policy advisers for the following reason. A priority of cultural public policy is to invest in culture for wellbeing. The four capitals are essential foundations for future wellbeing. Hence, policy should monitor trends in those capital stocks as part of its investment decision-making process. The ultimate objective is enhanced wellbeing, and so policy advisers must also monitor trends in the indicators of current wellbeing.

The selection of indicators for a policy monitoring framework is a process that requires statistical expertise, policy experience, and widespread engagement with stakeholders and the general public. As previous noted at the end of section 2.4, Statistics New Zealand is currently creating a new measurement framework called Indicators Aotearoa New Zealand—Ngā Tūtohu Aotearoa. Consequently, the purpose of this section is simply to illustrate the logic of how an integrated set of indicators might be constructed for policy monitoring purposes. This is further supported by the Tables A1 and A2 in an appendix to this report, which offer illustrative examples of indicators for future and present cultural wellbeing respectively.

The indicators for future wellbeing need to cover all four capitals: human capital, social capital, natural capital, and financial/physical capital respectively (see Figure 4.6 in chapter 4).

Human capital refers to 'people's knowledge, physical and mental health' (Treasury, 2018b: 6).[25] The model of cultural knowledge developed in this report identifies three levels of capability in a person's own culture or cultures: cultural efficacy, cultural competence, and cultural artistry. The model also recognises a further capability, which is the ability to explore with empathy the values of other groups and cultures (intercultural capability).

The Ministry of Education is tasked with shaping New Zealand's education system to deliver equitable and excellent outcomes (Ministry of Education, 2018: 6). As discussed in section 3.4, cultural and intercultural skills are embedded in the New Zealand Curriculum's fifth key competency, *Participating and contributing*. There may be an opportunity for a joint project between the Ministry of Education, the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, and Statistics New Zealand, to develop statistical measures to monitor trends in the cultural and intercultural skills of young people as they leave the three different levels of the education system.

Cultural artistry requires advanced skills of technical virtuosity and creative interpretation in an art form. The development of these skills may involve some form of tertiary level education and training (see, for example, Nielsen, 2008, chapter 7).

Social capital refers to 'the social connections, attitudes, norms and formal rules or institutions that contribute to societal wellbeing' (Treasury, 2018b: 6). Some aspects are particularly relevant for cultural wellbeing. Cultural respect, for example, might be indicated by the percentage of people reporting that it is easy or very easy to be themselves. This is often used as an indicator of current wellbeing, but it says more about the social environment than about the individual person reporting

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[25] Te Ao Māori would add spiritual health in this definition (Durie, 1998).

on their experience (see, for example, the discussion in Dalziel, Saunders, and Saunders, 2018: 77–80). Cultural respect in the community is an essential foundation for future and current wellbeing.

Indicators might also be developed for cultural support, which is stronger than cultural respect, requiring more than permissive tolerance. Another important aspect of social capital is institutions. Community cultural institutions are committed to artistic vibrancy or communal cultural expression, so their health is important for cultural wellbeing. A feature of cultural institutions is that they are supported by large amounts of volunteered time, which is another key indicator of social capital.

Financial and physical capital is the term used in the Living Standards Framework for 'the country's physical, intangible and financial assets that have a direct role in supporting incomes and material living conditions' (Treasury, 2018b: 6). The wording of that final clause is unnecessarily restrictive in a wellbeing framework, and the concept is easily adjusted to include relevant indicators of physical, intangible, and financial assets that support wellbeing (including material living conditions).

Natural capital is 'all aspects of the natural environment needed to support life and human activity' (Treasury, 2018b: 6). Some aspects of the country's natural environment are particularly important for supporting cultural life and activity, such as the land managed for conservation purposes, and protected cultural places.

Taken together, a set of indicators covering the four capitals would offer a monitoring framework for the range of assets needed for current and future cultural wellbeing. Trends in these indicators could be an important input into investment decisions to strengthen foundations for future wellbeing.

The Living Standards Framework Dashboard has three sections to organise its measures of current and future wellbeing. This research report has proposed adding two sections to produce the structure of five sections presented in Figure 4.9 of section 4.3. The last of those sections, labelled *Our Future*, contains Indicators and measures for the four capitals. Indicators and measures of current wellbeing—focusing here on *cultural wellbeing*—can be discussed under the other headings:

- Our People.
- Families and Whānau, including New Zealand communities.
- Business, including New Zealand's place in the world.
- Our Country.

The indicators grouped under *Our People* in the LSF Dashboard all come from the New Zealand General Social Survey (NZGSS). There are questions in that survey related to cultural wellbeing. These data can be analysed to provide separate summary data for people who identify themselves as Māori. To illustrate, one of the questions in the NZGSS asks respondents to indicate how often in the previous four weeks they had done any of the following:

- Been to a musical, dance or theatre performance.
- Been to a live music performance—this may be at a pub, music festival, or concert.
- Been to the movies.
- Been to an art gallery or museum.
- Been to a New Zealand site or building because of its historical importance.
- Been to a community event, such as a fair, cultural festival, or a fireworks display.

This question provides data that can be used to construct a measure of cultural engagement. Further, the NZGSS also asks if the person had participated in each of the above activities in the previous 12 months. This means it is possible to construct three levels of engagement: (1) *no engagement*—adults who had not engaged in the activity in the previous 12 months; (2) *weak engagement*—adults who had engaged in the activity in the previous 12 months, but not in the previous four weeks; and (3) *strong engagement*—adults who had engaged in the activity in the previous four weeks.

Treasury (2018b: 16) notes that children are mostly unrepresented in survey-based wellbeing data collected in New Zealand, although note that the *New Zealanders and the Arts* programme includes a survey of young people aged 10–14 years (Creative New Zealand, 2017: 18–23). This absence in the data makes it difficult to construct indicators under the heading of *Families and Whānau*. Nevertheless, the transmission of culture within families is an important aspect of cultural wellbeing, which should be monitored within a wellbeing policy framework. In the United Kingdom, for example, the Children's Well-being Measures include data on how many children engage with, or participate in, arts or cultural activities at least three times in the last year (ONS, 2018b; see Table 2.2 of this report). In Australia, a three-yearly supplement to the Monthly Population Survey used to collect data on the participation of children aged 5–14 years in organised cultural activities (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012).

Indicators under the heading of Our Families might also monitor cultural diversity and cultural vitality in communities. The NZGSS, for example, asks a question on whether the respondent belongs to each of the following types of group, club or organisation:

- Arts or culture (eg cultural groups, craft, heritage).
- Sports or recreation (eg teams, tramping clubs, golf).
- Education or research (eg play centre, school boards).
- Religious or spiritual.
- Health (eg cancer support, mental health).
- Social services (eg self-help groups like Alcoholics Anonymous, Civil Defence).
- Environment, conservation, or animal protection (eg SPCA, Greenpeace, Forest and Bird).
- Community development or housing (eg tangata whenua organisations, community centres).
- Law, advocacy, or politics (eg political parties, local advocacy groups).
- International development or aid (eg Amnesty International, World Vision).
- Business or professional associations, unions (eg Rotary, Public Services Association).

A subset of these groups can be defined as cultural. A measure of the percentage of adults who belong to these types of group could then be taken as a measure of community cultural vitality. For people who say they are a member of arts or culture groups, they are further asked to indicate if any of the groups are based on Māori, Pacific, or another ethnic group's cultural activities, allowing for further analysis under these headings.

A third set of indicators is required for *Business*, including New Zealand's place in the world. The commissioned research report by Stroombergen (2015) shows how official data can be used to define culture-related industries and culture related employment, after which it is a simple matter to monitor trends in the value-added, the number of people employed, and the average incomes analysed by industry or occupation. It is also possible to construct measures that indicate New Zealand's cultural contribution to the world.

Finally, it is possible to develop high-level national indicators for *Our Country*. This might cover topics such as indigenous cultural vitality, local cultural content, and New Zealand's inclusive national identity. This could be capped with a measure based on the research currently being done to develop a Value of Culture Framework for New Zealand (see Figure 5.12 and associated discussion in chapter 5). The strength of that framework is that it will develop estimates for different use values and non-use values arising from cultural activities. This will support a narrative explaining the importance of culture in the national life of New Zealand, which would go beyond the direct benefits derived by people who engage in diverse cultural activities.

6.3 Cultural Indicators in the Living Standards Framework

The Living Standards Framework is designed for a specific purpose: to enhance the quality of the Treasury's advice about lifting broad living standards (Treasury, 2018b: 3). Thus, the LSF will contain a narrower range of indicators than would be expected in a cultural policy framework.

As noted earlier in this report, the Living Standards Framework is based on the conceptual wellbeing framework produced by the OECD (2017). The LSF adds an extra wellbeing domain to the OECD framework, which it labels *Cultural Identity* (Treasury, 2018b: 26) and which section 3.3 suggested might be relabelled *Cultural Vibrancy*. Further, the LSF recognises that 'culture is cross-cutting with respect to all the domains and capitals' (Treasury, 2018b: 57). These are important developments in creating a wellbeing framework that is relevant for New Zealand (Smith, 2018: 14–15).

Nevertheless, the LSF Dashboard currently includes 23 indictors to monitor the four capitals, but there is no measure that refers to the items of cultural capital listed in Table 4.10 of section 4.2. Thus, although the Living Standards Framework recognises that culture is cross-cutting with respect to the capitals, this has no practical expression in the chosen indicators.

Further, there are only two indicators currently associated with the Cultural Identity domain of current wellbeing (Treasury, 2018b: 26).

- Te reo Māori speakers.
- Ability to express identity.

This report suggests that the measure of Māori and non-Māori who have competency in te reo Māori is recorded as an indicator of *future* wellbeing. This is because language is clearly a learned skill; hence, it is an element in a person's embodied human capital. Similarly, this report also suggests that ability to express identity is better interpreted as a *future* wellbeing indicator, since it is a measure of the community's cultural respect, which is an element of social capital.

This analysis amplifies the point already made in the LSF Dashboard that *Te reo Māori speakers* and *Ability to express identity* are important indicators of wellbeing in New Zealand. This report's further claim is that these are measures of core elements of human and social capital. They therefore have an ongoing impact on future wellbeing, which magnifies the consequences of weaknesses in either aspect of a person's skills or social experience. These measures need to be monitored under the indicators for the four capitals, to highlight any need for investment in culture for wellbeing if there is an observed decline in their values.

Considering the indicators for future wellbeing, the Treasury has already judged *Te reo Māori speakers* and *Ability to express identity* as important for its work. A pragmatic approach to further development of the LSF would be to identify a cultural indicator for Financial and Physical Capital, and a cultural indicator for natural capital, so that an aspect of cultural capital is embedded in each of the four capitals, while further work takes place to develop other indicators that might be important for Treasury policy advice.

To illustrate, chapter 5 has explained why public financial support for cultural activities is important (see section 5.3). The level of this public support (which is the underlying asset) might be monitored by recording the financial assistance (which is a flow from the underlying asset) provided by central government and local authorities each year. Central Government makes appropriations each year for Vote: Arts, Culture and Heritage. Statistics New Zealand publishes data on operating expenditure on culture by local authorities. Figure 6.14, below, shows trends in these series in real terms from 2009/10 to 2016/17.

Figure 6.14: Public Financial Support in Real Terms for Culture, New Zealand, 2009/10– 2016/17
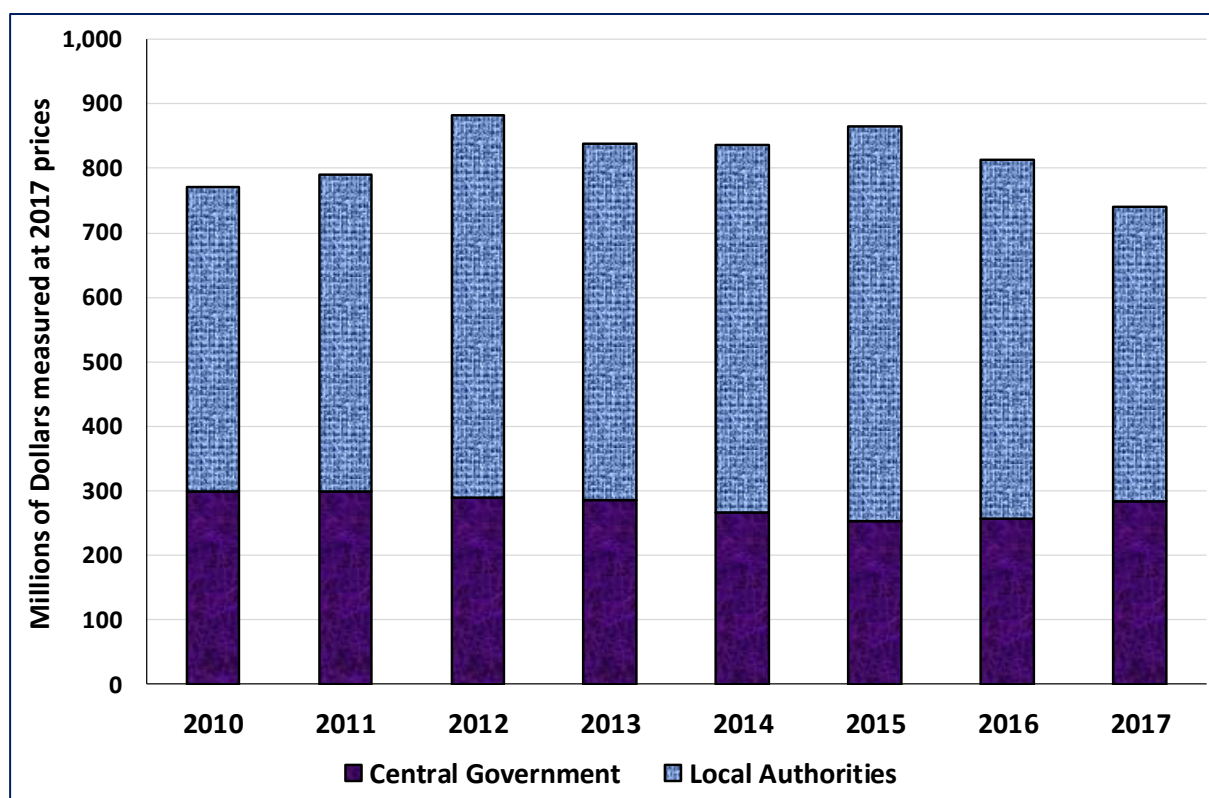
Note: Central Government financial support is the total of Output Expenses and Other Expenses in Vote: Arts, Culture and Heritage. Local Authorities financial support is total operating spending on culture (including museums) recorded in Local Authority Financial Statistics. Both series have been deflated by the Consumer Price Index for the December quarter of the relevant financial year.

Source: Treasury Budget Documents and Statistics New Zealand Local Authority Financial Statistics.

For natural capital, a potential indicator that might be easily monitored is *Hectares of public-owned land managed for conservation purposes*. This would produce the following four indicators monitored for future wellbeing:

- Human Capital: *Te reo Māori speakers.*

- Social Capital: *Ability to express identity.*

- Financial and Physical Capital: *Public financial support for culture.*

- Natural Capital: *Hectares of public-owned land managed for conservation purposes.*

Consider now the Cultural Identity or Cultural Vibrancy domain in the LSF. The LSF Dashboard has two indicators under this domain, which this report suggests are more appropriately placed under Human Capital and Social Capital. There are indicators in other domains, however, that might be considered relevant for cultural vibrancy or cultural identity.

Sense of purpose, for example, is monitored in the Subjective Wellbeing domain (Treasury, 2018b: 35). This is a subjective assessment of eudemonic wellbeing (see Table 5.13), which corresponds to the high-level concept of wellbeing discussed in section 2.1 at the beginning of the report; namely, the capabilities of persons to lead the kinds of lives they value, and have reason to value (Sen, 1999: 18). Thus, sense of purpose is relevant for monitoring cultural wellbeing, but is well-placed in the subjective wellbeing domain, especially since there is no assessment in the survey data about factors influencing this score (Treasury, 2018b: 35).

A second indicator that might be relevant for cultural vibrancy is *Sense of belonging*, which is included as an indicator for Social Capital under the title *Sense of belonging* (Treasury, 2018b: 41). This might be considered instead as a measure of *Inclusive national identity*, but again this is not a big issue.[26]

Instead, section 4.1 has argued that the lack of indicators in the LSF Dashboard for cultural vitality and vibrancy, such as engagement in cultural activities as participant or attendant, is a significant omission. Consequently, this report suggests that the following four indicators (all of which are drawn from the New Zealand General Social Survey) should be monitored under this domain.

- *Cultural performance*, measured by the percentage of adults who in the last four weeks have taken part, outside their job, in a cultural event.

- *Cultural attendance*, measured by the percentage of adults who in the last four weeks have attended or visited at least one cultural event or venue.

- *Community cultural vitality*, measured by the percentage of adults who belong to a group described as arts or culture, religious or spiritual, or environment.

- *Indigenous cultural vitality*, measured by the number of adults who in the last four weeks have participated in selected activities related to Māori culture.

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[26] The LSF Dashboard can have an indicator in both halves of the Framework. Footnote 13 notes, for example, that discrimination is included in the domain for Social Connections and in the indicators for Social Capital.

6.4 Points for Discussion

This chapter has explored potential cultural indicators for wellbeing, using the distinction in the LSF between future and current wellbeing. The chapter has proposed that a small subset might be included in the Living Standards Framework to meet its designated purpose. Thus, section 6.3 proposed that the LSF might include one indicator of cultural capital under each of its capital headings as follows:

- Human Capital: *Te reo Māori speakers.*

- Social Capital: *Ability to express identity.*

- Financial and Physical Capital: *Public financial support for culture.*

- Natural Capital: *Hectares of public-owned land managed for conservation purposes.*

It also proposed four indicators for the wellbeing domain *Cultural Vibrancy* (or *Cultural identity*), focusing on cultural engagement and vitality as follows:

- *Cultural performance*, measured by the percentage of adults who in the last four weeks have taken part, outside their job, in a cultural event.

- *Cultural attendance*, measured by the percentage of adults who in the last four weeks have attended or visited at least one cultural event or venue.

- *Community cultural vitality*, measured by the percentage of adults who belong to a group described as arts or culture, religious or spiritual, or environment.

- *Indigenous cultural vitality*, measured by the number of adults who in the last four weeks have participated in selected activities related to Māori culture.

The chapter finishes with three points for further discussion.

Discussion Point 6-1. What set of indicators and statistical measures would represent a satisfactory selection of indicators relevant for monitoring the contribution of cultural capital to *future wellbeing* in Aotearoa New Zealand?

Discussion Point 6-2. What set of indicators and statistical measures would represent a satisfactory selection of indicators relevant for monitoring the contribution of cultural capital to *current wellbeing* in Aotearoa New Zealand?

Discussion Point 6-3. Are the indicators proposed in section 6.3 for inclusion in the Living Standards Framework suitable for the Framework's purpose to enhance the quality of the Treasury's advice about lifting broad living standards?

Chapter 7
Conclusion and Future Pathways

The purpose of this research report has been to advance understanding of culture and wellbeing in the context of New Zealand's Living Standards Framework. Given that policy orientation, the report has approached wellbeing on three levels. At the most general level, Amartya Sen's capabilities approach proposes that wellbeing is enhanced by expanding the capabilities of persons to lead the kinds of lives they value, and have reason to value. At the second level, the report recognises that diverse cultures offer different answers to the question of what is a valued kind of life. This diversity includes different ethnic cultures, but it is also possible to distinguish diverse cultures linked to (for example and in no particular order) socioeconomic status, gender, sexual orientation, religious tradition, age, nationality, tribal affiliation, place of birth, or place of residence. The third level of wellbeing is operational, as policy officials identify key wellbeing dimensions to be monitored in a framework of selected indicators and statistical measures.

Many countries have now designed national wellbeing frameworks for policy purposes. Chapter 2 of this report presented examples from the United Kingdom and from Germany. There are also international frameworks, such as the OECD Better Life Index. This report also reviewed a growing range of wellbeing monitoring frameworks created in New Zealand in recent years. The Treasury's Living Standards Framework is an example of this trend (see Figure 7.15 on the following page). Like many other New Zealand examples, but unlike the OECD framework upon which it is based, the Living Standards Framework includes cultural identity as a core dimension of wellbeing. It also recognises that culture is cross-cutting with respect to all its wellbeing domains and also to the four capitals underpinning future wellbeing.

This research report has supported the inclusion of culture in a wellbeing monitoring framework, for two reasons. First, it is universally accepted that culture is important for human wellbeing. Evidence for this was taken from global declarations on human rights, which recognise, among other statements, that children have a right to cultural education; that indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination in freely pursuing their economic, social, and cultural development; that cultural diversity is a rich asset for individuals and societies, benefiting the present and future generations; and that everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts, and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

Second, although many cultural activities can take place as a result of volunteered time or through market transactions, government has a distinctive capability to address key problems of market failure that are a feature of some cultural activities. This can occur when a cultural activity has high fixed costs relative to its marginal costs, for example, or when the benefits from cultural activity are enjoyed by people not directly involved in the market transactions (see section 5.3). Under these circumstances, the government may be able to contribute to greater wellbeing by judiciously 'investing in culture for the wellbeing and prosperity of New Zealanders' (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2018a: 4). A well-designed wellbeing framework can help policy advisors monitor whether key aspects of cultural wellbeing are improving, both for the country as a whole and for particular cultural groups.

Figure 7.15: The Treasury's Living Standards Framework

Source: https://treasury.govt.nz/information-and-services/nz-economy/living-standards/our-living-standards-framework.
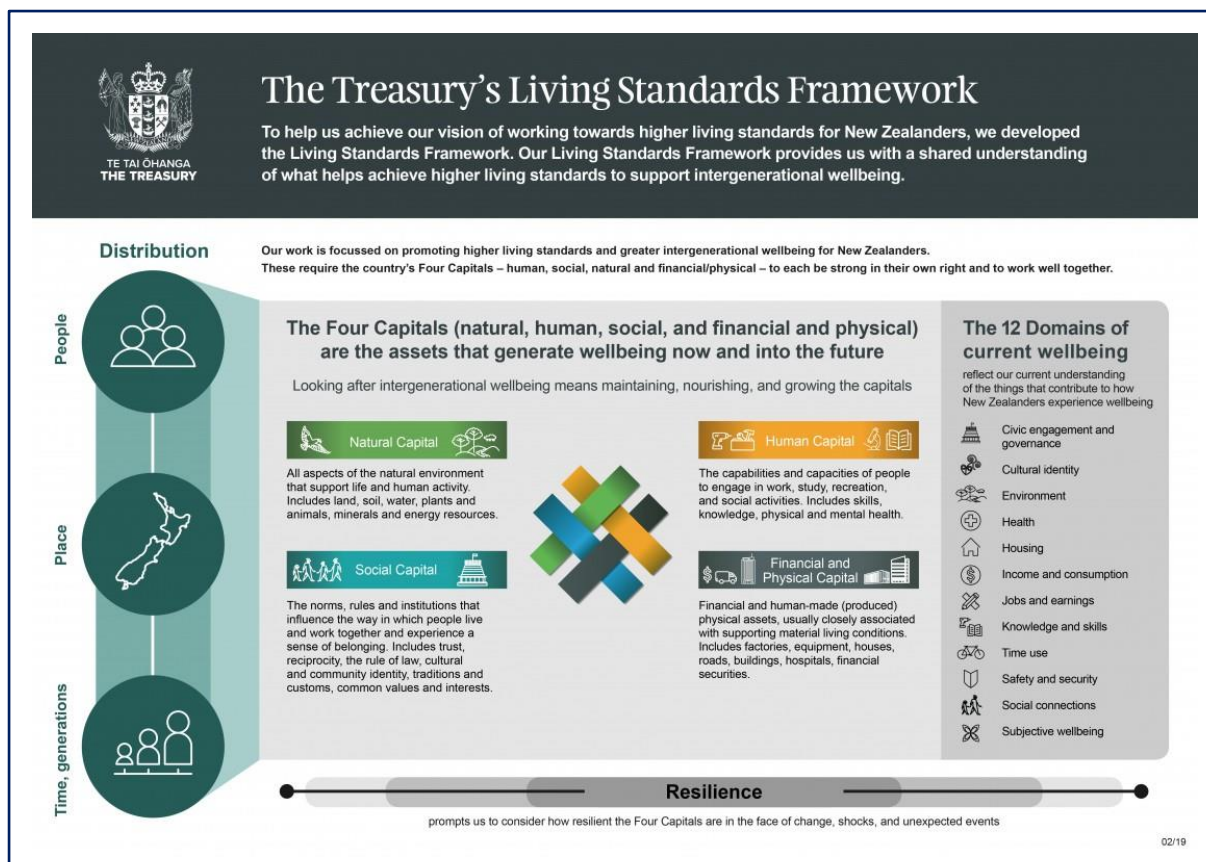
This report was commissioned by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage and by the Treasury. It has therefore addressed two policy audiences: (1) policy advisors on cultural policy, and (2) policy advisors on economic policy. This is consistent with the vision that 'living standards advice on wellbeing from the Treasury will cohere with domain-specific wellbeing advice from sector and population agencies that draws on their own frameworks and expertise' (Treasury, 2018b: 15).

With that vision in mind, this report has adopted the capitals-based structure of the Treasury's Living Standards Framework for discussing how a set of potential indicators and statistical measures might be constructed for monitoring cultural policy and for monitoring economic policy. That structure reflects the policy goal of investing in culture for the wellbeing and prosperity of New Zealanders. The investment is conceptualised as occurring in four types of cultural capital stock.

- The cultural abilities of people (human capital).
- The cultural vitality of communities (social capital).
- The conservation of culturally important places (natural capital).
- The provision of economic assets, such as cultural venues (financial and physical capital).

Similarly, the analysis addressed indicators and statistical measures to monitor current cultural wellbeing. In New Zealand, these are typically grouped under a heading labelled Cultural Identity. This report has suggested four sites for monitoring cultural wellbeing.

- Our People.

- Families and Whānau, including New Zealand communities.

- Business, including New Zealand's place in the world.

- Our Country.

This suggestion extends the approach currently taken in the LSF Dashboard, which focuses on Our people and Our country. As the Treasury recognises, the Dashboard does not reflect the weight placed on families by more collectivist cultures, and this report has argued it does not reflect the importance of families for the wellbeing of European/Pākehā New Zealanders. This report has also argued that business should be included, since market firms are responsible for managing large values of economic assets and flows, with an enormous influence on wellbeing.

The report has discussed potential cultural indicators that might be included in the Living Standards Framework to meet its designated purpose. It suggested one indicator of cultural capital under each of the four capitals as follows:

- Human Capital: *Te reo Māori speakers.*

- Social Capital: *Ability to express identity.*

- Financial and Physical Capital: *Public financial support for culture.*

- Natural Capital: *Hectares of public-owned land managed for conservation purposes.*

The report has suggested that the wellbeing domain *Cultural Identity* might be relabelled as *Cultural Vibrancy*. It has suggested four indicators and statistical measures for this dimension of current wellbeing, focusing on cultural engagement and vitality.

- *Cultural performance*, measured by the percentage of adults who in the last four weeks have taken part, outside their job, in a cultural event.

- *Cultural attendance*, measured by the percentage of adults who in the last four weeks have attended or visited at least one cultural event or venue.

- *Community cultural vitality*, measured by the percentage of adults who belong to a group described as arts or culture, religious or spiritual, or environment.

- *Indigenous cultural vitality*, measured by the number of adults who in the last four weeks have participated in selected activities related to Māori culture.

This research report now finishes with eight key points that suggest pathways for further development of New Zealand's frameworks for statistical monitoring of cultural wellbeing. These points are numbered for ease of reference, but are not presented in any order of priority.

1. This report has affirmed the role of a Value of Culture Framework for articulating the value of culture from an economic perspective. This project of the Ministry for Culture and Heritage is still in its early stages of development, requiring more work to create quantified estimates of its use and non-use values. Completion of this project would enhance our knowledge of the economic value of culture in New Zealand.

2. Footnote 23 noted that the literature makes reference to a category of value not currently included in the Value of Culture Framework. Non-monetary return to producers is the satisfaction that artists enjoy as a result of displaying their artistry, perhaps in collaboration with other artists, or the reception that their artistry receives from the audience (including being honoured with artistic awards). Consideration might be given to whether this should be acknowledged in the Value of Culture Framework.

3. There is a worldwide trend to create statistical monitoring frameworks for policy purposes. The Ministry for Culture and Heritage might consider creating such a framework for cultural wellbeing in New Zealand. An appendix to this report offers an illustrative example.

4. The Ministry of Education includes important references to cultural and intercultural skills in *The New Zealand Curriculum*. It might be appropriate for the Ministry of Education, the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, and Statistics New Zealand, to create suitable statistical measures that would provide data on the extent to which school leavers from diverse cultural backgrounds in New Zealand can demonstrate cultural efficacy, cultural competence, a degree of cultural artistry, and intercultural capability.

The Treasury is planning to undertake a comprehensive review of the Living Standards Framework and its dashboard in 2021 (Treasury, 2018b: 1). As part of that review, the Treasury might consider the following suggestions made in this report.

5. The LSF Dashboard is currently organised into three sections: Our people, Our Country, and Our Future. This report suggests that two further sections would be valuable: Families and Whānau (including New Zealand communities), and Business (including New Zealand's place in the world).

6. The report suggests that *Te reo Māori speakers* is an indicator of human cultural capital, and *Ability to express identity* is an indicator of social cultural capital. It suggests indicators for financial and physical cultural capital (*Public financial support for culture*) and for natural capital (*Hectares of public-owned land managed for conservation purposes*).

7. This report offers four alternative indicators of current wellbeing under the Cultural Identity domain: *Cultural performance*, *Cultural attendance*, *Community cultural vitality*, and *Indigenous cultural vitality*.

8. The report suggests that the current wellbeing domain labelled 'Cultural Identity' might be relabelled 'Cultural Vibrancy'.

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Appendix: Examples of Cultural Indicators

Section 6.2 explained how a set of cultural indicators might be created using the structure of the Living Standards Framework. This appendix illustrates this by presenting two tables of potential indicators of future cultural wellbeing (Table A1) and current cultural wellbeing (Table A2). These listed indicators are simply to illustrate the feasibility of this approach; it would take considerable expertise and widespread consultation to develop a set of indicators that would be fit for purpose.

Table A1 presents the proposed set of indicators for future cultural wellbeing. The set is divided into four components, covering human capital, social capital, natural capital, and financial/physical capital respectively (see Figure 4.6 in chapter 4). Short names are given for the proposed indicators in the first column, with descriptions in the second column.

This research report has created a model of cultural knowledge that identifies three levels of skills in a person's own culture or cultures: cultural efficacy, cultural competence, and cultural artistry. The model also recognises a further skill, which is the ability to explore with empathy the values of other groups and cultures (intercultural capability). These are represented in Table A1. The indicator to illustrate intercultural capability is the number of people who are competent in more than one language.

Table A1 acknowledges two aspects of human capital relevant to Māori: Māori with a sense of connection to tūrangawaewae, including a knowledge of pepehā and marae tūpuna; and Māori and non-Māori with competency in te reo Māori. These skills are often placed in New Zealand wellbeing frameworks as indicators of *current* wellbeing, but the proposal in this report is that this knowledge and competence are clearly examples of human capital skills, and hence a foundational asset for *future* wellbeing.

Table A1 highlights three aspects of social capital relevant for cultural wellbeing. The first is cultural respect, indicated by the percentage of people reporting that it is easy or very easy to be themselves. The second aspect is labelled cultural support. The description comes from a question in the Te Kupenga survey on ability to access Māori cultural support in time of need. This has been generalised in Table A1 to general cultural support, but a measure for this in non-Māori contexts is not currently available.

The third aspect refers to 'institutions' in the definition of social capital. Cultural organisations are institutions committed to artistic vibrancy or communal cultural expression. These can range from a small local group of enthusiastic amateurs (the Patea Māori Club is an example that achieved global recognition with its hit song 'Poi E') to large cultural institutions with an annual turnover measured in millions of dollars. A feature of cultural institutions is that they are supported by large amounts of volunteered time, which is another key indicator of social capital.

The first heading under financial and physical capital is labelled financial support for culture. This measures financial flows, rather than a financial asset, but cultural activities depend on support from central government, local government, sponsorship, and private philanthropy. The extent of that ongoing support is the underlying capital asset reflected in this indicator.

The Annual Report of the Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2018b: 13) currently publishes trends in the equity of New Zealand's largest cultural institutions, defined as total assets less total liabilities. In a capitals-based framework, the more relevant indicator is the value of the total assets being managed by these institutions.

Another class of physical assets that contributes to future and current wellbeing is the country's stock of heritage buildings. A difficulty in New Zealand is that it can be impossible to distinguish between a protected heritage building and a protected cultural place. To avoid double-counting, Table A1 suggests that places managed by Heritage New Zealand could be included under physical assets, with buildings managed by the Department of Conservation included under natural capital.

Intangible assets in this context typically refers to intellectual property with some commercial value, such as computer software, patents, and copyrights. Table A1 gives as an example the records held by Archives New Zealand. Note that this indicator would measure public records only.

Table A1 focuses on the aspects of natural capital needed to support cultural life and activity: land managed for conservation purposes, and protected cultural places. The former includes New Zealand's conservation estate managed by the Department of Conservation, and also land that has been set aside under a Queen Elizabeth II National Trust covenant.

Table A2 presents possible indicators of current cultural wellbeing. It is based on the four relevant headings presented in Figure 4.9 of section 4.3: Our People, Families and Whānau (including New Zealand communities), Businesses (including New Zealand's place in the world), and Our Country. Table A2 illustrates what is possible by presenting four cultural indicators of current wellbeing under each heading. The table includes a statistical measure for each indicator, although for two of the indicators the measure is a placeholder. This means a relevant statistical series is not currently available, but data could be collected for a suitable measure.

Like all indicators grouped under *Our People* in the LSF Dashboard, the first set of indicators in Table A2 come from the New Zealand General Social Survey (NZGSS). These data can be analysed to provide separate summary data for people who identify themselves as Māori.

The first illustrative indicator is Sense of Purpose, which is measured by the average score by adults in the NZGSS to the following question: Where zero is not at all worthwhile, and ten is completely worthwhile, overall, to what extent do you feel the things you do in your life are worthwhile? This is a subjective assessment of eudemonic wellbeing (see Table 5.13), which corresponds to the high-level concept of wellbeing discussed in section 2.1 at the beginning of the report: namely, the capabilities of persons to lead the kinds of lives they value, and have reason to value (Sen, 1999: 18).

The second and third indicators measure the two aspects of cultural engagement: performance and attendance. A question in the NZGSS asks respondents to indicate how often in the previous four weeks they had done any of the following:

- Taken part in performing arts, such as dance, music, or theatre.
- Done any creative writing, such as poetry, short stories, or song-writing.
- Taken part in any arts or crafts, such as weaving, carving, or knitting.
- Made a film or video, or taken photographs for artistic purposes.

The responses to that question can be used to construct a measure for cultural performance. A similar question then asks about how often in the previous four weeks respondents had:

- been to a musical, dance, or theatre performance
- been to a live music performance—this may be at a pub, music festival, or concert
- been to the movies
- been to an art gallery or museum
- been to a New Zealand site or building because of its historical importance
- been to a community event, such as a fair, cultural festival, or a fireworks display.

This question provides data that can be used to construct a measure for cultural attendance.

The fourth indicator reflects the wellbeing dimension 'sense of place'. A measure can be based on the NZGSS question that asks respondents how often in the previous four weeks they had:

- been to a park or reserve, such as a national park, botanical gardens, or the zoo.

The NZGSS also asks if the person had engaged in each of the above activities in the previous 12 months. This means it is possible to construct three levels of engagement: (1) *no engagement*—the percentage of adults who had not engaged in the activity in the previous 12 months; (2) *weak engagement*—the percentage of adults who had engaged in the activity in the previous 12 months, but not in the previous four weeks; and (3) *strong engagement*—the percentage of adults who had engaged in the activity in the previous four weeks.

Treasury (2018b: 16) notes that children are mostly unrepresented in survey-based wellbeing data collected in New Zealand. This absence in the data is reflected in the LSF Dashboard, and also in the illustrative indicators gathered under *Families and Whānau* in Table A2.

Thus, the first indicator is Family Cultural Transmission, which might be measured by the percentage of children who in the last four weeks have attended or visited at least one cultural event or venue. In the United Kingdom, the Children's Well-being Measures include data on how many children engage with, or participate in, arts or cultural activities at least three times in the last year (ONS, 2018b; see Table 2.2 of this report). In Australia, a three-yearly supplement to the Monthly Population Survey was used to collect data on the participation of children aged 5 to 14 years in organised cultural activities (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012). The authors are not aware of any similar data in New Zealand, and so this potential measure is listed as a placeholder.

The second illustrative indicator in this set is straightforward (see, for example, Stroombergen, 2015). The Household Expenditure Survey publishes data that can be analysed to focus on expenditure on cultural items such as musical instruments, cultural services, newspapers, and books.

The third and fourth indicators are for cultural diversity and cultural vitality in communities. The measure for the former is another placeholder. Cultural indicators for New Zealand published in 2009 included the proportion of arts, culture, and heritage events and activities produced by minority cultures, taking place at a national sample of venues (see Table 6.14). This was based on a survey of venues that has not been repeated. The measure in Table A2 is similar, but would rely on data being collected on New Zealand's community cultural festivals.

The final measure in this set comes from the NZGSS, which asks a question on whether the respondent belongs to different types of group, club, or organisation. A subset of these groups could be defined as cultural (for example: arts or culture; religious or spiritual; and environment, conservation, or animal protection), with a report on the percentage of adults who belong to these types of group. This can be taken as a measure of community cultural vitality. For people who say they are a member of arts or culture groups, they are further asked to indicate if any of the groups are based on Māori, Pacific, or another ethnic group's cultural activities, allowing for further analysis under these headings.

The third set of indicators refer to *Business*, including New Zealand's place in the world. The first three indicators under this heading are standard measures of economic contribution. They require definitions for culture-related industries and culture-related employment (see Stroombergen, 2015), after which it is a simple matter to monitor trends in the value-added, the number of people employed, and the average incomes analysed by industry or occupation.

The fourth indicator in this set is a potential measure of New Zealand's cultural contribution to the world. The Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2018b: 9) reports on New Zealand's ranking in the Anholt-GfK Nation Brands Index as an indicator of progress. A related source is the Anholt Good Country Index (https://www.goodcountryindex.org/index/source-data).

The last set of indicators are potential high-level national indicators for *Our country*. The first indicator offers a measure of indigenous cultural vitality. The NZGSS asks questions about the following activities:

- Have you watched a Māori television programme, such as Te Karere or Code?
- Have you participated in kapa haka?
- Have you sung a Māori song, performed a haka, given a mihi or speech, or taken part in Māori performing arts or crafts?
- Have you been to a Marae?

Again, it is possible to provide data on the number of adults who had done at least one of those activities in the previous 12 months (weak engagement) or at least one of those activities in the previous four weeks (strong engagement).

The second indicator refers to local cultural content. Hours of New Zealand broadcast content has been a commonly used indicator, but this statistic does not capture on-demand content and so has been discontinued (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2018b: 12). NZ On Air is developing a new suite of indicators for its funded content, which could be used to monitor this aspect of national culture.

This report has noted at several points a policy commitment to foster an inclusive national identity. The NZGSS asks a question about the extent on a scale of zero to ten to which respondents would describe their sense of belonging to New Zealand as a whole. The average score for this question could be an indicator of inclusive national identity.

Finally, Table A2 proposes a measure based on the estimated total use value and non-use value of cultural activities in New Zealand (see Figure 5.12 and associated discussion in chapter 5). Producing a measure of this type is a current project of the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, which is still in its early stages.

Table A1: Potential Indicators for Future Wellbeing, Analysed by Cultural Capital Type

Potential Indicators	Descriptions
Human Cultural Capital	
Cultural efficacy	• Young people who leave school understanding who they are, where they belong, and their connection to whānau, culture, and community. • Māori with a sense of connection to tūrangawaewae, including a knowledge of pepehā and marae tūpuna.
Cultural competence	• Adults with the necessary skills (including language skills) to access the deeper meanings of their culture, and to maintain and transfer vibrant cultural knowledge for the benefit of future generations. • Māori and non-Māori with competency in te reo Māori.
Cultural artistry	• Artists with advanced skills of technical virtuosity and creative interpretation in their art form.
Intercultural capability	• Young people who leave school able to explore with empathy the values of groups and cultures other than their own. • People with competency in more than one language.
Social Cultural Capital	
Cultural respect	• People who report it is easy or very easy to be themselves.
Cultural support	• People who report they are able to access cultural support in time of need.
Cultural organisations	• Number of cultural organisations committed to artistic vibrancy or communal cultural expression. • Value of volunteered time in cultural organisations.
Financial/Physical Cultural Capital	
Financial support for culture	• Total central government spending on culture. • Local Authority Financial Statistics operating expenditure on culture. • Total sponsorship and philanthropic donations to cultural institutions.
Cultural assets	• Value of total assets managed by New Zealand's largest cultural institutions.
Protected heritage buildings	• Number of historic places registered with Heritage New Zealand or listed in District Plans.
Public archives	• Number of records held by Archives New Zealand.
Natural Cultural Capital	
Conservation land	• Hectares of public-owned land managed for conservation purposes. • Number of Queen Elizabeth II National Trust covenants.
Protected cultural places	• Number of historic places in the Tohu Whenua programme. • Number of heritage sites managed by Department of Conservation. • Number of Wāhi Tūpuna and Wāhi Tapu registered with Heritage New Zealand or listed in Iwi Management Plans for Māori heritage.

Table A2: Potential Cultural Indicators and Measures for Current Wellbeing, Analysed by Our People, Families and Whānau, Business, and Our Country

Potential Indicators	Potential Measures
Our People	
Sense of Purpose	Average adult score for the self-reported extent to which people feel the things they do in their lives are worthwhile (NZGSS).
Cultural Performance	Percentage of adults who in the last four weeks have taken part, outside their job, in a cultural event (NZGSS).
Cultural Attendance	Percentage of adults who in the last four weeks have attended or visited at least one cultural event or venue (NZGSS).
Sense of Place	Percentage of adults who in the last four weeks have been to a park or reserve, such as national park, botanical gardens, or zoo (NZGSS).
Families and Whānau	
Family Cultural Transmission	Percentage of children who in the last four weeks have attended or visited at least one cultural event or venue (Placeholder).
Household Cultural Spending	Average weekly spending per household on musical instruments, cultural services, newspapers, and books (Household Economic Survey).
Community Cultural Diversity	Number of community cultural festivals involving at least one minority culture in the formal festival programme (Placeholder).
Community Cultural Vitality	Percentage of adults who belong to a group described as arts or culture, religious or spiritual, or environment (NZGSS).
Business	
Cultural Value Added	Total value added by culture-related industries (Annual Enterprise Survey).
Cultural Employment	Number of people employed in culture-related occupations or in culture-related industries (Census of Population and Dwellings).
Cultural Incomes	Estimated average earnings in culture-related industries (Integrated Data Infrastructure).
Place in the World	New Zealand's ranking for global contribution to culture in the Anholt Good Country Index (https://www.goodcountryindex.org/results).
Our Country	
Indigenous Cultural Vitality	Number of adults who in the last four weeks have participated in selected activities related to Māori culture (NZGSS).
Local Cultural Content	Public-funded content for New Zealand audiences (under development by NZ On Air).
Inclusive National Identity	Average adult score for the self-reported extent of people's sense of belonging to New Zealand as a whole (NZGSS).
Economic Value of Culture	Estimated total use value and non-use value of cultural activities in New Zealand (under development by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage).

Note: NZGSS is the New Zealand General Social Survey.

Glossary of Terms

This report has used a number of terms related to culture that may not be familiar to all readers. This glossary provides referenced definitions that are consistent with the usage of each term in this report.

Collectivist cultures: 'Collectivist cultures strongly emphasize the needs and goals of the group as a whole over the needs and desires of individuals. In such cultures, relationships with other members of the group and the interconnectedness between people play a central role in each person's identity and wellbeing' (Yong, 2018: i).

Cultural content: 'The symbolic meaning, artistic dimension and cultural values that originate from or express cultural identities' (UNESCO, 2005: 13).

Cultural competencies: 'Those capacities that enable people to access the deeper meanings of their culture and to maintain and transfer their cultural knowledge for the benefit of future generations' (Frieling, 2018b: 3).

Cultural diversity: 'The manifold ways in which the cultures of groups and societies find expression. These expressions are passed on within and among groups and societies. Cultural diversity is made manifest not only through the varied ways in which the cultural heritage of humanity is expressed, augmented and transmitted through the variety of cultural expressions, but also through diverse modes of artistic creation, production, dissemination, distribution and enjoyment, whatever the means and technologies used' (UNESCO, 2005: 13).

Cultural efficacy: 'The extent to which the individual perceives that they have the personal resources required (i.e., the personal efficacy) to engage appropriately with other [members of their social group] in [that group's] social and cultural contexts' (Houkamau and Sibley, 2015: 281).

Cultural engagement: 'Anyone who attended or participated in at least one art form in the last 12 months' (Colmar Brunton, 2018: 10).

Cultural heritage: 'The conceptual and normative framework within which the members of a particular society, community, or other social grouping, are socialized, live, enter into relationships, think, communicate, and assign meaning to objects, events, and their very existence' (King and Waldegrave, 2003: 13).

Cultural identity: (1) 'That part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his [or her] knowledge of his [or her] membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership' (Tajfel 1981: 255, as cited by Manuela and Sibley, 2013: 85). (2) 'Having a strong sense of identity, belonging, and ability to be oneself, and the existence value of cultural taonga' (Treasury, 2018b: 5).

Cultural industries: 'Industries producing and distributing cultural goods or services' (UNESCO, 2005: 14).

Cultural safety: 'Cultural safety is the effective nursing practice of a person or family from another culture, and is determined by that person or family. Culture includes, but is not restricted to, age or generation; gender; sexual orientation; occupation and socioeconomic status; ethnic origin or migrant experience; religious or spiritual belief; and disability' (Nursing Council of New Zealand, 2011: 7).

Cultural value: 'Subsists in certain properties of cultural phenomena, expressible either in specific terms, such as the tone value of a musical note or the value of a colour in painting, or in general terms an indication of the merit or worth of a work, an object, and experience or some other cultural thing' (Throsby, 2001: 19).

Cultural vibrancy: 'An artistically vibrant arts organisation: supports the development of great art; creates pathways for artists to become great; engages with audiences; connects with communities; contributes to a vibrant society and culture' (Australia Council for the Arts, 2014: 3).

Cultural vitality: 'The way in which communities are able to participate in recreation, creative and other cultural activities, to express and extend the cultural practices and values inherited from previous generations, and to pass on their transformed culture to the next generation' (Dalziel *et al.*, 2009: 21).

Cultural wellbeing: 'The vitality that communities and individuals enjoy through participation in recreation, creative and cultural activities [and] the freedom to retain, interpret and express their arts, history, heritage and traditions' (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2005: 2).

Embodied culture: 'Certain activities that are undertaken by people, and the products of those activities, which have to do with the intellectual, moral and artistic aspects of human life' (Throsby, 2001: 4).

Interculturality: 'The existence and equitable interaction of diverse cultures and the possibility of generating shared cultural expressions through dialogue and mutual respect' (UNESCO, 2005: 14).

Lived culture: 'The set of attitudes, beliefs, practices, values, shared identities, rituals, customs and so on, which are common to a group, whether the group is delineated on geographical, ethnic, social, religious or any other grounds' (Frieling, 2018b: 3, drawing on Throsby, 1997; and Hawkes, 2001).

Material artefacts: 'Material things people make and use … that contribute to one's identity' (Way, 2010: 436).

National identity: 'People's sense of cohesiveness as being New Zealanders, which transcends cultural diversity within New Zealand' (Frieling, 2018b: 3).

Nation-building: '…"inventing New Zealand" (as Allen Curnow described it), creating national symbols – by a cultural policy that fostered the arts and literature, by an economic policy that created public works that promoted material prosperity, and by social institutions (such as those in education, health and social security) which were seen as contributing to the nation's social welfare' (Easton, 2001: 9–10).

Self-cultivation: 'The improvement of the human mind and spirit … to be achieved by deliberate effort' (Eliot, 1949: 19).

Sense of place: (1) 'Feeling at home and secure there, with feelings of belonging for the place being one anchor for his or her identity' (Hay, 1998: 6). (2) 'A combination of an individual's place meanings and place attachments' (Blizard and Schuster, 2007, cited by Wilson, 2011: 13).

Tangible culture: 'Exists in buildings, structures, sites and locations endowed with cultural significance (commonly called "cultural heritage") and artworks and artefacts existing as private goods, such as paintings, sculptures, and other objects' (Throsby, 1999: 7).