UNDERSTANDING *the* VALUE *and* IMPACTS *of* CULTURAL EXPERIENCES

A LITERATURE REVIEW

PREPARED FOR ARTS COUNCIL ENGLAND BY

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It's extraordinarily hard to measure and quantify an idea like value in relation to culture, because the use of the term raises so many questions – not least, 'who is asking about value?', and 'what does value mean?'. You can't tick a box marked profundity.

The Arts Council's mission is great art and culture for everyone. We want arts and culture to reach more people, but we also want to increase the depth and quality of their cultural experience. But do we understand what people actually value from their experience of arts and culture, and do those ideas of value agree with those of cultural organisations or of funders?

This is important work for the arts and for museums. Cultural organisations want to know their audiences better and to understand why they like what they like. We need to go deeper than generalities, whether enthusiasms or criticisms. When people say things like 'I loved that book', or 'that theatre makes excellent work', or 'that band changed my life' - what does that actually mean? Further, politicians require us to justify taxpayer investment, but how do we capture for them the power of culture on the individual?

These are hard questions, and coloured by subjectivity, but we should not avoid them if we are to better understand and articulate the essential contribution that the arts make to all our lives.

In the past, the question of value has been considered by academics through describing two types of impacts: those where culture makes a contribution to wider policy areas (such as supporting economic growth, health and education) and those which are associated with benefits to the individual (like happiness or inspiration). These differing areas of value have been described as 'instrumental' and 'intrinsic.'

Most people simply don't think about culture in this way, of course and neither is this thinking particularly helpful to the Arts Council's mission and goals. Would it ever be meaningful to talk about funding an excellent museum that had no effect on the world around it?

However, we cannot ignore this 'instrumental' and 'intrinsic' debate and the way it has shaped the current body of research. Earlier this year, the Arts Council published *The value of arts and culture to people and society*, a review of the existing literature on the impact arts and culture can have on, for example, health, education and social cohesion – those benefits that may be seen as 'instrumental'. This was limited in scope, but it did show that there is a considerable body of research literature available on the subject – but also many gaps. There is a lack of data, for example, about the economic benefits of museums and libraries, and about the importance of the arts to the creative industries, particularly in regard to innovation.

It also showed that we lack longitudinal studies of the health benefits of participation in the arts, and comparative studies of the effects of participation in the arts as opposed to say, participation in sport. We cannot demonstrate why the arts are unique in what they do.

As a result of this research, we decided for the first time, to provide research funding to plug some of these gaps in our knowledge about both 'instrumental' and 'intrinsic' benefits.

We asked WolfBrown to undertake this international literature review and to help us understand how others have considered this question. The focus for the report was on academically-robust research and influential policy papers from the past twenty years. Like any literature review, the range was restricted. It would be impossible to explore all the possible contributions to this debate in recent years, let alone the historical or philosophical contexts.

There are a number of other projects in the UK that aim to add to our knowledge in this area, including the Arts and Humanities Research Council's Cultural Value Project and the Warwick Commission on the Future of Cultural Value. These projects will all help shape how we understand the value and impact of our work.

We will use the lessons of these projects, along with this report, to explore what practical steps we might take to shape the evaluation of our activities. Further research and testing of new ideas will complement our current methods of measuring individual impact, and this report's Coda describes some exciting ongoing activity in this area.

Our aim in commissioning this review is to shed light on this debate, and to enliven it. A full picture depends on the contribution of diverse voices, and we hope readers will add theirs, to help us better understand and articulate the value and impacts of cultural experiences.

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WolfBrown is a leading provider of market research, consulting and evaluation services to cultural organisations and philanthropic foundations in the US, UK and Australia.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Over the past decade, there has been a lively debate over the many ways in which cultural activities add value to the lives of individuals and to society as a whole. Researchers and writers have produced a somewhat bewildering array of scientific studies, evaluations and policy papers advancing various conceptual frameworks and terminology for describing the value and impacts of arts and culture. This review, commissioned by Arts Council England, examines two related branches of this literature: 1) how individuals benefit from attending and participating in cultural programmes and activities; and 2) the creative capacities of arts and cultural organisations to bring forth impactful programmes. By and large, the focus is on English-language literature published since the turn of the millennium.

The dual focus on 'individual impacts' and organisations' 'creative capacity' has proven to be a convenient means of narrowing the scope of our review. Through these two portals, we address (and hopefully clarify) several issues that emerge when research on the immediate experience of culture intersects with larger discussions of value and impacts. To situate the detailed analysis of individual impacts and creative capacity, it is first necessary to take stock of the theoretical frameworks that have been used to conceptualise 'value' in regards to arts and culture, and the corresponding terminology.

LANGUAGE AND CONCEPTS

Within the history of Western thought, one might say that the literature reviewed here seeks to merge two branches of philosophy: aesthetics (the study of beauty) and axiology (the study of values). We do not trace the origins of these discourses to their philosophical roots here. For readers interested in exploring the aesthetic moorings of this discussion, Belfiore and Bennett (2007, 228-33) provide a gateway into the aesthetic literature. Those interested in the axiological angle may turn to Holbrook's brief overview as an introduction and guide towards further reading (1999, 3-4).

A common assumption in the frameworks discussed in the second chapter of this review is that the value of arts and culture is created in the encounter between a person (or multiple people) and an object (which may be tangible or intangible, as in an idea or activity). In this view, value lies neither fully formed in the object, nor is it entirely produced in the eye of the beholder—but is produced in the encounter of the two. While the authors reviewed here share this point of view, it is by no means universally accepted. For instance, Goldman (2006, cited in Belfiore and Bennett 2007, note 11) argues that valuing art based on the experiences it produces in fact devalues the work.

Our review starts with the work of two economists, Throsby (2001) and Klamer (2004), who establish that arts and culture give rise to forms of value that cannot be captured within the framework of mainstream, neo-classical economics. Both Throsby and Klamer maintain that 'cultural value' cannot be expressed in the same units of measurement as 'economic value'. Indeed, the cultural value of an experience may be lost if it is assessed in economic terms.

Other frameworks seek to broaden our understanding of the value and impacts of arts and culture by calling attention to components that have previously been overlooked. To provide analytical clarity, the authors propose various means of

dividing the overall value into constituent components. For instance, Holden (2006) differentiates between intrinsic, instrumental and institutional values; McCarthy et al (2004) distinguish between instrumental and intrinsic benefits on the one hand, and between private and public benefits on the other; and Brown (2006) identifies five clusters of benefits. These attempts to *analyse* the value and impacts of cultural experiences (ie, separate them into their constituent elements) have been criticised for artificially drawing boundaries between types of value and impact that are integrally intertwined, and thereby diminishing the *appreciation* of the whole. There is indeed a longstanding debate about whether the attributes of cultural objects can be split up or whether they are only to be understood as a whole (Bourgeon-Renault 2000, 12).

The vocabulary used to describe components and aspects of value and impact in the various frameworks reviewed here can be rather confusing as usage varies from one author to the next. While there is no consensus on specific definitions and the meanings of some terms are disputed in the literature, the following overview presents common interpretations of some key terms:

The term '**benefits**' is used by some authors to refer to a wide range of positive outcomes that are associated with arts and culture (McCarthy et al 2004, Brown 2006, Knell and Taylor 2011). It can be applied to individuals and communities, to internal (cognitive, emotional) processes and tangible outcomes such as monetary gains.

'**Impact**' implies that something changes as a result of a cultural experience, at least temporarily (Brown 2006, Selwood 2010). Some authors construe these changes as an inherent part of the experience of culture, while others consider 'impacts' to be external outcomes. Unlike 'benefits', impacts can be either positive or negative.

The term '**intrinsic**' is used in several phrases such as 'intrinsic value', 'intrinsic impacts' (Bakhshi and Throsby 2010), 'intrinsic benefits' (McCarthy et al 2004) and 'intrinsic arguments for the arts' (Knell and Taylor 2011). The term itself is accorded different meanings by different authors and seems to be of questionable use at this point in the discourse, especially given its association with the inconclusive debates over 'intrinsic' and 'instrumental' arguments for arts and culture (ie, art for art's sake versus art as an instrument of achieving some other end).

'**Value**' carries many different meanings on its own and in combination with other terms. All of the authors considered here agree that 'value' is not inherent in objects or events, but is attributed to them by the beholder. In relation to arts and

culture, this understanding of 'value' is closely related to notions of 'benefits' and 'impacts' though the terms are not entirely synonymous.

In the field of cultural economics, '**cultural value**' refers to the value that is created by cultural goods and experiences that is not 'economic value' (Throsby 2001). Scholars disagree as to whether 'social value' should be separated out as a third category of value (Klamer 2004). Some researchers subdivide 'cultural value' into smaller components, such as aesthetic value, spiritual value, social value, historical value and symbolic value, which are easier to interpret. Other researchers use 'cultural value' to describe a way of thinking about the many ways in which cultural organisations produce value (Holden 2004, 2006). In this usage, 'cultural value' refers to a strategy rather than an outcome. Two major research initiatives are currently underway in the UK to explore 'cultural value' in depth: the Arts & Humanities Research Council's Cultural Value Project and the Warwick Commission on the Future of Cultural Value.

'**Cultural capital**' has two distinct meanings in the economic and sociological literature. Both meanings are related in that they refer to an investment in the capacities to realise cultural value. In the economic framework advanced by Throsby (2001) the cultural capital is stored in cultural goods, whereas in Klamer's view (2004), which is closer to the sociological perspective, cultural capital is a trait of individuals who are particularly skilled at consuming cultural goods. Other researchers have used the term 'creative capital' in referring to the accumulated capacities of individuals and families to create and invent (Wolf and Denson 2009).

Due to the idiosyncrasies of the conceptual frameworks and the terminologies, it can be difficult to determine when authors are describing the same phenomena with different words, and when important distinctions are being made that should not be glossed over. Despite the ambiguities and interrelationships, the frameworks and terminology can be understood as aligning around several different senses of value, from microcosmic to macrocosmic:

1. The value of cultural experiences to individuals, which, most scholars agree, cannot be measured solely in economic terms (we settled on the term '**individual impacts**' to describe the totality of ways in which an individual is affected by a cultural programme or activity, both in the short and the long term);
2. The value represented in cultural organisations, individually and collectively;
3. The value to society of a thriving cultural sector.

Our decision to focus on individual impacts and organisations' abilities to engage the public in experiences that produce those impacts is primarily motivated by

the necessity of limiting the scope of our inquiry and our belief that there is much to be learned about the types of interrelated impacts that accrue for individuals. In placing the emphasis of our study on individuals, we by no means intend to downplay the value that arts and culture have for communities or society as a whole. Moreover, we would not suggest that the total value of arts and culture can be calculated by adding up the impacts experienced by individuals. The sum of individual impacts can only give an incomplete picture of the total value created, since it ignores values that are inherently social such as the value of active and engaged citizens (O'Brien 2010, Fourcade 2011).

MEASURING INDIVIDUAL IMPACTS

Researchers have measured, interrogated and assessed individuals' responses to arts and culture in numerous ways. Our review of this literature is organised in groups of studies that employ similar methodologies, including biometric research, post-event surveying, qualitative post-event research, and longitudinal or retrospective studies.

Physiological and psychometric responses

Biometric research is unlikely to provide a practical means of assessing the overall impact or value of cultural experiences, at least not in the near future. While research on the biological functions that underlie the aesthetic experience provides 'objective' measures of audience response (Tschacher et al 2012, Stevens

et al 2007), it is unclear whether such responses – however desirable from a research standpoint – are relevant to the discussion of cultural goods and services. It may be that subjectivity is a defining characteristic of cultural experiences and should therefore be central to the investigation of audience responses (Latulipe et al, 2011). Nonetheless, physiological and pre-cognitive psychological responses are clearly a part of the aesthetic experience, and knowledge of their relationship to the conscious experience will be of considerable value in advancing our conceptual understanding of individual impacts (Silvia 2009).

Post-event surveying

Post-event surveying has proven to be an effective means of assessing the short-term effects that specific cultural events have on participants. Since surveying requires researchers to determine the response measures in advance, it is important that the indicators are reflective of the full range of responses that constitute the cultural experience and that the questions on the survey protocols are correctly assigned to indicator constructs. There are significant similarities between the constructs used by researchers, but also inconsistencies in the ways that individual indicators are used to describe the constructs, and how they are rolled up. In light of the incongruities between the measurement constructs, it can hardly be expected that researchers will be able to corroborate or refute each other's findings and thereby develop a stable and cohesive body of knowledge in the short-term. Moreover, constructs and indicators used by individual researchers have evolved over the years, not necessarily moving closer to consensus.

At present, groupings of individual impacts used by different researchers, especially Throsby (2001), Bakhshi and Throsby (2010), New Economic Foundation (2008), Brown and Novak-Leonard (2007, 2013), and Bunting and Knell (2014) tend to align as follows:

- **A grouping of indicators around engagement, energy and tension, concentration, captivation and absorption level**
- **A grouping of indicators around personal resonance, emotional connection, empathy and inspiration**
- **A grouping of indicators around learning and thinking, provocation, challenge and intellectual stimulation**
- **A grouping of indicators around aesthetic growth, discovery, aesthetic validation and creative stimulation**
- **A grouping of indicators around social connectedness, sense of belonging, shared experience, social bridging and social bonding**

As with any research approach, there are certain limitations to post-event surveys. Most notably: 1) surveys can only capture aspects of the experience of which

respondents are conscious; 2) there is limited comparability across events and locations (ie, the programmes being assessed are different, as are the participants and community contexts); 3) surveys immediately following events fail to capture effects that unfold over time.

The primary focus of the literature on post-event survey research has been developing tools to assist arts and cultural organisations in gathering high quality audience feedback for internal accountability purposes. The larger question of the role of post-event survey data in assessing public sector policy is not addressed in the literature, except in the work of Chappell and Knell (2012) and Bunting and Knell (2014). If anything, the literature raises questions as to the plausibility of aggregating survey data across organisations and artforms, due to the highly personal and situational nature of impact, and because of differences across the forms themselves (Belfiore and Bennett 2007). Additional research and debate is required to better understand how and when it is meaningful to aggregate self-reported participant impact data across organisations and artforms.

Qualitative post-event research

Qualitative methods have the advantage that they allow informants to focus their reflections on the areas that are most significant to them. Rather than defining constructs in advance, researchers can allow interviewees to express themselves in their own terms and subsequently derive the most relevant categories of responses inductively (Radbourne 2009, 2010a, Walmsley 2013). Thus, Foreman-Wernet and Dervin (2013) found that their informants discussed negative or mixed responses, which might not have come to light in quantitative surveys. As with formal surveying, however, qualitative methods of inquiry can only capture aspects of an experience of which respondents are aware and that they are able to articulate.

Whereas survey methods can be expected to yield consistent results over time and thus generate a stable basis of knowledge, the results of qualitative studies are not replicable, independently verifiable, or refutable. Since the conclusions drawn by one qualitative study are not disproven by contradictory findings in another, there is no inherent mechanism that weeds out research that is of substandard quality. One must therefore assess the integrity of each study by paying close attention to the research design and methodology, which can be challenging for lay readers. Nonetheless, several researchers have stressed the important role qualitative studies play in contextualising numerical data (O'Brien 2010, Klamer 2004, Holden 2006). Narrative accounts can tell us why people value cultural experiences and what those experiences mean to them, rather than just measuring to what extent they were affected. With the advent of more sophisticated textual

analysis tools, the possibilities for integrating quantitative and qualitative methods will most likely grow, as will as the possibilities for visualising qualitative data.

Retrospective identification of impactful events & longitudinal impacts

Studies of the longitudinal impacts and durable value of cultural experiences are a welcome addition to the research literature. This has opened up important new lines of inquiry. For instance, Walmsley (2013) notes that many of his informants hold on to tickets and programmes as mementos of performances they have attended to extend the value of the experience. Everett and Barrett (2011) show how a museum can mean different things to people at various stages in life.

While the retrospective identification of impactful cultural events may not be a reasonable way to assess the impact of specific works or organisations, it can inform our understanding of the role that cultural participation plays within the larger scope of people's lives. For example, researchers who have asked informants to identify the most meaningful cultural experiences in their lives have found that respondents report on a variety of cultural products and events that exceed traditional notions of arts and culture, including advertisements, stand-up comedy, graffiti, graphic and web design, comics and the cultivation of a persona/image (Foreman-Wernet and Dervin 2011, White and Hede 2008).

The qualitative studies reviewed here, especially Radbourne, Glow and Johanson (2010b), Foreman-Wernet and Dervin (2013), White and Hede (2008), Walmsley (2013), and Everett and Barrett (2011) have identified several recurring themes in participants' narrative reflections. These themes reinforce the constructs used in the quantitative studies described above (cognitive, emotional, social, aesthetic) and, moreover, add several important dimensions to our understanding of the impacts of cultural experiences, including:

- **Themes related to self-awareness and gaining an expanded worldview**
- **Themes related to well-being, aspects of which are fulfilment, respite, catharsis, restoration and escapism**
- **Benefits arising from self-expression (which may be subsumed in other constructs/themes)**

Overall, there appears to be less consistency among the themes identified in the qualitative literature than there is between indicators that have been used in survey-based studies, although this is undoubtedly a reflection of the diversity of methods used to elicit data, and the open-ended nature of the inquiry.

TABLE 2 Stages of Individual Impact

CONCURRENT IMPACTS *Those that occur during the experience*	EXPERIENCED IMPACTS *Observed post-event hours or days later*	EXTENDED AND CUMULATIVE IMPACTS *Lifelong engagement/memory — weeks or years later*
Unconscious psycho-physical responses and states, such as: • Physiological response (heart rate, skin conductance) • Pre-cognitive response (arousal) • Captivation (flow, awe, absorption, concentration) • Energy and tension	Short-term experienced impacts, such as: • Emotional affect and meaning • Spiritual uplift • Learning and critical reflection • Social connectedness • Aesthetic enrichment and creative activation These impacts can occur before, during and after experiences, but are typically measured afterwards.	Delayed impacts of individual events, and impacts that accrue through repeated engagement in cultural activities over time, such as: • Memory of event • Sense of social belonging • Increased cultural capacity • Increased capacity for empathy • Expanded worldview • Health benefits • Subjective well-being

It is beyond the purview of this review to consolidate these constructs and indicators, some arising from quantitative research and others arising from qualitative research, although there is clearly a good deal of overlap. By viewing this diverse body of research together, however, a general picture emerges of how the experience of arts and culture affects people over time (Table 2).

The literature suggests that the impacts that individuals realise through cultural participation occur in a progression of three stages defined by their temporal proximity to the cultural event: **concurrent impacts** (sometimes measured through biometric research), **experienced impacts** (typically measured through post-event surveys and interviews), and **extended impacts** (typically assessed through retrospective interviewing and longitudinal tracking studies). While the boundaries between these stages are blurry and do not always track with the individual's experience, we nevertheless find it useful to think about impacts as occurring in distinct stages as a means of understanding which impacts are captured through various research methodologies.

'**Concurrent impacts**' refers to the many ways in which individuals may respond to cultural programmes without being consciously aware of it. For instance, individuals may hold their breath, their heart rate may increase, they may lose track of time, or experience chills. Some of the physiological responses can be measured at the very moment at which they occur. Psychological engagement is more difficult to measure in the moment, as any conscious reflection on the individual's state may interfere with the experience (ie, interrupt their sense of flow or absorption).

'**Experienced impacts**' are consciously perceived. They may start accruing before the event (as reflected in heightened levels of anticipation), and also manifest during the event, and afterwards. These are the impacts that are captured in post-event surveys, interviews and focus groups. Far from distracting from the experience, the measurement process can actually generate additional impacts by inviting attendees to reflect on what they have just experienced. Indeed, cultural organisations have developed an extensive body of practice to magnify experienced impacts through educational and enrichment activities before and after the cultural programmes.

'**Extended impacts**' encompasses all impacts that result from a specific cultural experience over the remainder of the participant's lifetime. Some experiences may be quickly forgotten, in which there is little or no extended impact, except, perhaps, subconsciously. Others, however, stay in our memories for the rest of our lives, and those memories may be activated by subsequent experiences (Everett and Barrett 2011). That is, later events may lead us to revisit past experiences and perhaps appreciate some aspect of them anew. Past experiences also provide contextual knowledge that may help us gain additional pleasure from future events.

Individual impacts are not fixed or permanent in our conceptualisation. In general, we assume that a strong initial impact will be followed by a gradual decline, with the possibility of occasional spikes of extended impact if the work continues to resonate or enhances subsequent cultural experiences. The rate at which the experienced impact deteriorates is likely to be unique to each cultural event and each individual who experiences it, giving rise to a variety of 'impact patterns' of the sort shown in Figure 6.

FIGURE 6 Impact pattern of a cultural event
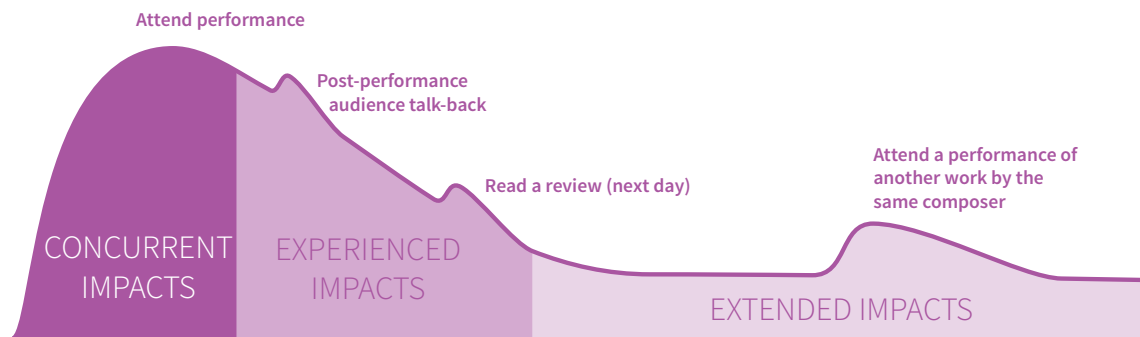
Over time, the long tails of extended impact of multiple experiences add up, giving rise to the notion of '**cumulative impacts**'. This is the sum of all of the residual impacts that an individual has experienced, as illustrated in Figure 7 (below). It is the cumulative impact of a lifetime of cultural experiences that may yield long-term outcomes such as a stronger sense of social belonging, an expanded worldview or a greater sense of well-being.

FIGURE 7 Cumulative impact or multiple experiences over time

The three stages of impact and the notion of cumulative impact do not amount to a coherent model of lifelong cultural engagement. Nevertheless, we have found them helpful in making sense of the literature and in framing additional questions.

Questions for Future Research on Individual Impacts

There is much to be learned about the relationships between the different forms of impact that we have distinguished. While the work of many researchers from different disciplinary backgrounds is slowly filling in the steps between the initial physiological response to a cultural event, the experienced impact, and the cumulative impacts, there are many unanswered questions about the relationships between these steps.

- What is an effective 'dose' of culture? Can a two-minute video clip provide as much impact as a four-hour opera or is duration an important factor?
- Which impact indicators are universal to all kinds of cultural experiences, and which indicators are germane to some, but not all, experiences?
- Are the theoretical distinctions between different impacts meaningful to the typical audience member or museum visitor?
- What impact indicators are 'reasonable' for a typical audience member to self-diagnose as having experienced (eg, 'Did you feel a sense of belonging?'), and how can these questions be asked in a way that does not favourably bias the response?
- What blend of qualitative and quantitative methods is optimal for assessing impact at the organisational level? At the policy level?
- As one's knowledge and experience with an artform or domain increases, how does the pattern of impact change?
- What factors account for extended impacts? How can cultural organisations prolong impact?
- How often must one experience culture to build up cumulative impacts?
- Can cumulative impacts, such as an expanded worldview, be tied to specific events? Can cultural organisations 'curate' impacts?
- What is the relationship between quality and impact? Can lower quality programmes yield high impacts? Can high quality programmes yield lower impacts?
- How do the impacts of various artforms, domains and modalities of participation differ from one another?
- How do the experiences of various cultural events interact with each other? Is the relationship always additive or can they also detract from each other?

The research literature begins to address several of these questions, but a great deal more inquiry and debate is needed, as well as better framing of the questions.

While children and youth were not a focus of our review, the arts education literature offers much in the way of frameworks and insight into the impacts of arts programmes on children and, by extension, adults (Lord et al 2012). Why, at the age of 18, does the river of research on positive youth development outcomes dry up to a trickle of research on adult development? This leads us to wonder,

- What can the arts education research literature tell us about the cumulative impacts of cultural experiences for adults?

VALUING ARTS AND CULTURE FROM THE MARKETING PERSPECTIVE

There is a considerable body of literature in the field of marketing that explores the value of arts and culture from the perspective of consumers. This work has rarely been considered in wider discussions of value and impact, in part because marketing researchers have a narrow understanding of value, one that focuses exclusively on the components of economic value that are expressed in the marketplace through price and demand.

While marketing researchers examine consumer value, motivations and customer satisfaction, which are related to constructs of impact and value discussed elsewhere in the literature, they do so with the objective of explaining consumer behaviour (eg, repeat purchases), rather than to contribute to a broader understanding of the value and impacts of cultural experiences (Bouder-Pailler 1999). Nonetheless, much can be learned from the theoretical concepts and empirical studies of the consumption of arts and culture that have been produced in the marketing field.

One of the most influential frameworks in the marketing literature (particularly in the relation to arts and culture) is Holbrook's consumer value framework (Holbrook 1999). Holbrook defines consumer value as 'an interactive relativistic preference experience'.

By 'interactive', Holbrook means that 'value depends on the characteristics of some physical or mental object but cannot occur without the involvement of some subject [person] who appreciates these characteristics' (6). Holbrook uses 'relativistic' to suggest that consumer value is personal (ie, it varies from person to person), involves comparisons between objects, and is specific to a particular context. Holbrook's use of 'relativistic' thus addresses the three factors that Belfiore and Bennett describe as 'determinants of impact' for arts experiences

based on their review of literature on aesthetics: factors that pertain to the individual, factors that pertain to the artwork, and environmental factors (2007, 247). The final term in Holbrook's definition of 'consumer value' is 'experience,' by which he means that 'consumer value resides *not* in the product purchased, … *not* in the object possessed, but *rather* in the *consumption experience(s)* derived therefrom' (8, emphasis in original). Thus, Holbrook's concept of consumer value supports the notions of impact and value generated by cultural experiences as described by Throsby, Klamer, McCarthy et al, and Brown.

In addition to providing some useful theoretical concepts, the marketing literature offers a long history of empirical studies of arts and cultural consumption that provide helpful models for advancing more general measures of impact and value in relation to cultural programmes. Boerner and Jobst (2013) and Raajpoot et al (2010), for instance, develop and test sets of indicators that combine aspects of patrons' cultural experiences (at theatres and museums, respectively) with their assessment of product and service quality. These studies explore which assessments are the most significant in determining the overall evaluation of an experience in statistical terms.

A recent study by Calder et al (2013) found that engagement is a more significant indicator of consumption levels (eg, levels of cultural participation) than satisfaction — the outcome variable typically used in market research. This suggests a broadening of marketers' traditional focus on customer satisfaction, which would be more appropriate to applications in the arts and cultural sector.

The marketing literature was not a major focus of our review, but seems to hold much potential for informing future research on individual impacts. Of particular note is the usefulness to marketing researchers of a quantifiable dependent variable (ie, spending, loyalty, satisfaction), which allows researchers to assess the predictive power of a range of independent variables such as price and various product features. In contrast, most studies of the individual impacts of cultural experiences lack a dependent variable, aiming to characterise the various impacts without a predictive hypothesis. Several researchers in the cultural sector have experimented with dependent variables. Boerner and Jobst (2013), for example, assess the predictive power of a range of impact and quality metrics against theatregoers' 'overall evaluation of their experience'. Brown and Ratzkin (2012) use an indicator of 'summative impact' (eg, 'When you look back on this performance a year from now, how much of an impression do you think will be left?') as a dependent variable in evaluating the effects of pre-event and post-event engagement activities and other variables. Yet there is no consensus in the existing literature about the appropriate role of dependent variables in measuring impact, if any, much less what they should be. In the absence of a viable predictive hypothesis,

cultural researchers are hamstrung in terms of the statistical techniques they can use to prioritise indicators of impact.

CREATIVE CAPACITY OF AN ORGANISATION

As a counterpoint to the analysis of individual impacts, this review also addresses value and quality from an organisational perspective: what do organisations that engage people in impactful experiences look like? How can the 'quality' of cultural organisations as a whole be assessed?

Numerous researchers have explored 'artistic excellence' and attempted to deconstruct it into elements that can be assessed or quantified (Bailey and Richardson 2010). An evolution in the literature suggests that the historical focus on an organisation's reputation, technical skill and artistry (Urrutiaguer 2002, Abfalter and Mirski 2005; Boerner and Renz 2008) is giving way to a more holistic understanding of the organisational conditions in which high quality programmes are likely to be conceived and realised. The Australia Council's artistic vibrancy framework, for example, provides a multi-dimensional model for artistic health, but there is still no broader consensus amongst researchers as to what makes an organisation healthy in an artistic, creative or cultural sense. This is unfortunate, given the importance of the creative process to any cultural enterprise, and to the sector as a whole.

Once again, discourse on this topic is weighed down by ambiguous terminology such as 'artistic excellence', 'artistic quality', 'creative health', and 'cultural leadership'. Considering the range of language in the literature, we use '**creative capacity**' to refer to an organisation's ability to conceptualise and present excellent programmes that engage participants in culturally valuable, impactful experiences.

Looking across the literature, several elements of an organisation's 'creative capacity' can be discerned in two categories – core elements that do not vary from organisation to organisation, and conditional elements that may or may not apply to a given organisation, depending on its mission and programmatic focus:

Core elements of 'creative capacity'

- Clarity of intent, risk-taking – the extent to which the organisation is able to articulate clear goals and desired outcomes for its programmes (Bailey 2009b, Lord et al 2012), and an institutional policy on risk-taking (Ellis 2002, Radbourne 2013)
- Community relevance – the capacity of an organisation to diagnose its constituents' needs, interests and aspirations, and to reflect this information through its unique institutional lens and respond authentically (Bunting and Knell 2014, Brown et al 2014, Bunting 2010, Bailey 2009a)
- Excellence in curating and capacity to innovate – the quality of an organisation's *process* of selecting and developing imaginative programmes (Boerner 2004, Castañer and Campos 2002)
- Technical proficiency, skill and artistry – quality in the sense of 'excellence in craft' (Boerner 2004; Hannah et al 2003), and an organisation's commitment to developing artists at all levels of proficiency (Bailey 2009a)
- Capacity to engage audiences – an organisation's capacity to assist audiences and participants in contextualising the work and making meaning from it (Brown and Ratzkin 2011, Bailey 2009a, McCarthy et al 2004)
- Critical feedback and commitment to continuous improvement – the extent to which an organisation welcomes critical feedback from programme participants and incorporates this information into its thinking about programming (Bailey 2009a, Lord et al 2012)

Conditional elements of 'creative capacity'

- Supportive networks – an organisation's network of reciprocal relationships with artists, scholars, vendors, peer organisations, community partners, and others both inside and outside of its sector or field, which serve to support the

organisation's creative capacity (Urrutiaguer 2002, Moore and Moore 2005, Keeble 2008, Lingo and O'Mahony 2010, Robinson 2010, Bunting 2010)

- Sufficient risk capital – unrestricted funds that allow an organisation to innovate or take risks on programming without jeopardising core operations (Castañer and Campos 2002, Thomas and Christopher 2011, Bolton and Cooper 2010, Miller 2013)

Questions for Future Research on Creative Capacity

- How will the rubric for creative capacity vary by artform or domain (eg, history, science)?
- What are the interactions between the elements of creative capacity?
- What specific indicators can be used to measure each of the elements of creative capacity? Who would adjudicate them?
- What process models for creative decision-making are available to cultural organisations? Are certain models correlated with other aspects of creative capacity?
- How can creative capacity be institutionalised, so to minimise its loss due to staff turnover?
- What happens to creative output when risk capital is available vs. when it is not available?

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

A brief coda to the review discusses two current initiatives that integrate assessments from multiple sources (self-assessments, peer review and audience feedback) in the evaluation of cultural works (Chappell and Knell 2012; Bunting and Knell 2014). These interconnected projects, one commissioned by the Government of Western Australia's Department of Culture and the Arts, and the other commissioned by a group of cultural organisations in Manchester, UK, take on the considerable challenge of aggregating and comparing assessment scores across organisations, programmes and sites. Both projects offer new frameworks based on the input of artists and administrators, and both projects define indicators relating to individual impacts (framed as adjudications of product quality) as well as the creative capacity of organisations, and are in various stages of pilot testing and rollout.

Notable about these two efforts is the integration of end-user impact data (ie, self-reported data from surveys) along with self-assessments and peer review in the respective two agencies' accountability schemes. This raises questions about the accountability of public funders for different types of individual, organisational, and sector-level outcomes and impacts. In providing financial support to organisations, is it reasonable for a funding agency to hold itself accountable for individual impacts? Is the cause and effect relationship strong enough? Or, should funders be satisfied to know that an organisation is assessing individual impacts for the purposes of improving its creative capacity, but not for external accountability? At present, there are valid opinions on both sides of this question.

The literature clearly identifies the benefits to organisations of assessing programme impacts, and the potential benefits to participants of such critical reflection as may arise by virtue of completing a survey or interview. For this reason alone, further investment in research on individual impact is warranted. But an exclusive focus on immediate impacts will not serve the long-term interests of the sector. While individual experiences are the building blocks of the value system, the literature agrees that cumulative impacts – the effects of a lifetime of involvement in arts and culture – are the fuel for larger societal outcomes. The dearth of research on cumulative impacts of cultural experiences on individuals (and their families), therefore, is particularly disconcerting.

In closing, we circle back to the three senses in which the 'value' of arts and culture is explored in the theoretical literature:

1. The value of cultural experiences to individuals (concurrent impacts, experienced impacts, extended impacts, and cumulative impacts)
2. The value represented in cultural organisations, individually and collectively;
3. The value to society of a thriving cultural sector.

A holistic understanding of these three tiers may serve as a framework for future research. There is a good deal of literature at all three levels, yet little consensus as to optimal measurement approaches, and little understanding of how these three components of value interweave.

Funders seeking to support organisations in the provision of impactful programmes should focus on the conditions necessary for those organisations to do their work at a high level of creativity and competence. While the measurement of individual impacts is highly contingent on factors over which the organisation has little control (much less the funder), the measurement of an organisation's creative capacity is likely to be more straightforward, and may benefit from other bodies of literature not covered in the present review, such as the literature on organisational leadership, innovation and capitalisation. Designing and testing frameworks for an organisation's creative capacity will also serve to educate the field about how to strengthen one of its most essential – but least understood – functions: the creative process.

National arts agencies are necessarily concerned with the cultural and creative welfare of the entire citizenry. With this heavy yoke of accountability, building a stronger understanding of societal outcomes must also be a high priority. Further investments in longitudinal tracking studies and retrospective assessments of impact are necessary to complete the puzzle of value and strengthen our understanding of how impact on the microcosmic level accrues into social impacts at

the macro level. It will be extraordinarily difficult to trace these relationships and prove causality.

Perhaps what is most needed is fresh thinking about hypotheses that will drive the next decade of research. The long arc of learning about the value and impacts of arts and cultural experiences, a portion of which is reviewed here, is marked by a good deal of insightful but disconnected work. Bringing a new cohesion to this work will require academic researchers, policymakers and practitioners to work together much more closely in service of a well-articulated set of questions.

On an optimistic note, two research initiatives currently underway as of the date of this writing promise to contribute much to the discourse on cultural value: the Arts & Humanities Research Council's Cultural Value Project and the Warwick Commission on the Future of Cultural Value. Significant investments in these and other initiatives signal renewed interest in forging a deeper understanding the many aspects of the value of culture to individuals, communities and society at large.

1 INTRODUCTION

This literature review has been commissioned by Arts Council England in order to gain a better understanding of the ways in which arts and culture enrich our lives. Over the past decade, there has been a lively debate over the many ways in which cultural activities add value to the lives of individuals and to society as a whole. Rather than simply asserting these values, Arts Council England and other funders, both public and private, have endeavoured to explain how value is created, identify specific outcomes that are produced, and determine how to measure those outcomes in order to make informed decisions about investing in arts and culture.

Over the course of this inquiry numerous treatises, policy reports, research studies and literature reviews have been published on various aspects of the debate. In a recent publication, *The value of arts and culture to people and society*, the Arts Council reviews recent literature on arts and culture's impact on the economy, health and wellbeing, society and education. The report demonstrates that arts and culture have much to contribute in these areas; however, the Arts Council is very much aware that these are not the only ways in which England benefits from its rich arts and cultural offerings.

One aspect that is missing in *The value of arts and culture to people and society*—and acknowledged as such in the report itself—is an account of the benefits derived from the immediate and personal experience of arts and culture as distinct from second-order health, social and economic benefits that arise from attendance and participation. In order to fill this gap, the present literature review takes stock of the effects that arts and culture have on the individuals who engage with them based on a sampling of the available literature.

We must be clear that this survey is by no means comprehensive. While we sought to cover a wide range of cultural forms and include literature from around the

world, we are less than satisfied with our results on both of these counts. There is a marked emphasis on the performing arts and some mention of museums and film, but many other arts disciplines and cultural practices receive scant notice. We are unsure whether this reflects a bias in the available literature or whether our bibliographic research was skewed by our pre-existing familiarity with certain portions of the literature.

Unfortunately, our literature review is also largely limited to English-language publications. In part, this is due to our own language abilities, which are restricted to a few European languages, and the fact that we had limited time and resources for bibliographic research in other languages and translations. In addition, however, we sought literature that would contribute to the current discourse in the UK, a discourse which is taking place in English. We corresponded with several researchers from non-English speaking countries during the process of sourcing literature, one of whom suggested that the rhetoric of 'value' and 'impact' is less prevalent in the cultural policy discourse of other languages, which may explain the relative paucity of foreign literature on these topics.

Even within the realm of English-language literature, our review is far from all-encompassing. We are aware of some important work that we were unable to include here simply due to our limitations of time and space, and we are certain that many more studies exist of which we are entirely unaware. When forced to make decisions about which literature to include and which to leave out, we focused on the works that seemed most relevant and add a perspective that is not already covered elsewhere in the review.

Despite its limited scope, we believe this literature review provides a good overview of the major frameworks and methodological approaches that have been used to investigate how individuals are affected by the experience of art and culture. Our confidence in this regard is bolstered by the fact that a more extensive review of the older and more theoretical literature presents a similar picture (Belfiore and Bennett 2007).

The primary audience for this report is the Arts Council England, though it may also be of interest to other cultural funding agencies, policymakers and research-ers who seek a deeper understanding of the value and impact of cultural experi-ences, and who themselves will contribute further to this understanding over the coming years.

OUTLINE OF THE REPORT

This literature review focuses on individuals' engagement with arts and culture, though later sections recognise that organisations often broker these interactions. The focus on individuals has proven to be a convenient means of narrowing the scope of our review, while allowing us to address (and hopefully clarify) several issues that emerge at the point at which research on the immediate experience of culture intersects with discussions of impacts and value. In choosing to explore the ways in which arts and cultural experiences affect people on a personal level, we by no means mean to dismiss the considerable benefits that arise from lively cultural activity for the greater society, nor do we believe that these two aspects can be neatly separated. In fact, the individual and social levels are integrally connected.

The first section of the review examines concepts of 'cultural value' and goes on to consider various different frameworks and languages that have been used to discuss the values and impacts that derive from cultural experiences. Authors approach the topic from several different disciplinary perspectives without necessarily positioning their work in relation to the contributions from other fields. One of the challenges we have faced in this literature review has been determining when authors are essentially writing about the same thing, just with different sets of vocabulary, and when important distinctions are being made that should not be glossed over. We conclude this section with a summative review of the terminology that has been advanced in the literature and introduce the term 'individual impacts' to discuss the breadth of phenomena that we address in this report.

The second section examines various different ways in which researchers have measured, interrogated or assessed individuals' responses to arts and culture. We structure our discussion around groups of studies that employ similar methodologies. By viewing this diverse body of research together, we find that a picture begins to emerge of how the experience of arts and culture affects people over time.

While we maintain our focus on individual impacts throughout, the third section of this review addresses this issue from an organisational perspective: what do organisations that engage people in impactful experiences look like? How can we assess the quality of cultural organisations as a whole?

Finally, a brief coda presents some current initiatives that integrate assessments from multiple sources (self-assessments, peer review and audience feedback) in the evaluation of cultural works.

ART, CULTURE, AND THE CREATION OF VALUE: THE BIG PICTURE

Over the past three decades public arts funders have increasingly come under pressure to report on and justify their spending on arts and culture. Complying with these demands has been quite challenging, since many of the outcomes of cultural funding are not immediately measurable or easily summarised in a tidy statistic like the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). This problem is not unique to the arts. The health care and environmental protection fields, for instance, have faced similar challenges in measuring and reporting the value they produce (O'Brien 2010, 4).

The initial response to these demands was to gather evidence that demonstrated that arts and culture produce outcomes that clearly contribute to policy objectives that the government had identified as priorities. This led to an initial emphasis on economic impacts of the arts in the 1980s and early 90s, to which a number of studies of social benefits generated by the arts were added beginning in the mid 90s (Selwood 2002; White and Hede 2008, 20-21). In the first decade of the new millennium this approach was criticised for forcing cultural organisations to justify their existence based on outcomes that have little, if anything, to do with their mission statements (eg, Ellis 2003; Holden 2004, 14), which usually focus on producing high-quality art and meaningful cultural experiences. This gave rise to debates that have often been framed as a clash between 'intrinsic' and 'instrumental' arguments for the arts (described in Bunting, 2008), though it was realised early on that the two positions are in fact integrally intertwined (McCarthy et al 2004, 69; Coles 2008; Knell and Taylor 2011, 8).

To position the present literature review within the larger context of outcomes and values that are produced by arts and culture, the following overview addresses some of the main areas of inquiry within the larger field as well as methods that have been used to measure the outcomes and values that arts and culture produce in each of these areas. While this overview is of necessity brief, readers are referred to relevant literature where these issues can be explored more fully.

ECONOMIC VALUE

There are several different ways in which arts and culture produce economic benefits. On the most basic level, arts and cultural organisations contribute to the economy by selling tickets, artworks, books, etc. Often, they also induce additional spending that is associated with the cultural experience. For example, consumers may spend money travelling to and from a cultural site, pay for parking, or have dinner at a restaurant before going to a concert. Further, cultural organisations and other businesses that derive revenue from arts patrons pay their employees and suppliers, who in turn spend some portion of their income locally. All of these economic benefits are captured in economic impact studies (see Snowball 2008, ch. 2 and 3 and BOP Consulting 2012 for an introduction; Arts Council England 2014, 20 and Americans for the Arts 2012 provide recent examples); however, economic impact studies have also been criticised for failing to take costs into account (Reeves 2002, 41-44; McCarthy et al 2004, 90; Throsby 2001, 38, 134 n3)Arts and culture can also play a role in the economic redevelopment of neglected neighbourhoods (Markusen and Gadwa 2010).

All of these economic impacts are relatively easy to trace since they are reflected in observable transactions in the marketplace, which can be counted and summed. There are, however, also instances in which economic value bypasses the market (Throsby 2001, 23-26, 36-38). This is the case whenever people who do not participate in arts and culture directly are nonetheless able to reap some benefit from their existence. For instance, even Parisians who have never visited the Louvre might take pride in knowing (and might even boast to others) that the Mona Lisa is housed in their city. Economists argue that such a sense of pride is of value to the people, whether or not they actually participate in cultural activities. This is but one example of a range of economic values that are generated as 'public goods', 'non-user benefits' or 'externalities' (Throsby and Withers 1979, ch. 10; Frey 2003, 2; Heilbrun and Gray 2001, 223-30).

Since no money exchanges hands in these cases, the value of the goods cannot be inferred from the price. Researchers must therefore resort to alternative methods of assessing the goods' value. One option is to survey people about their preferences or ask them how much they would be willing to pay for particular benefits. While such 'stated preference' techniques have been used in several contexts and have been endorsed by notable economics (Bakhshi et al 2009, 11), they have also been criticised, as it is unclear whether respondents are well enough informed to answer the questions appropriately (Noonan 2004, 206-07; Diamond and Hausman 1994). Other techniques calculate the value of a particular amenity based on the effects it has on housing prices in the area or the amount of time people are willing to spend travelling to attain a particular benefit. Overviews

of these measurement techniques are provided in Snowball (2008) and O'Brien (2010).

SOCIAL VALUE

Several studies have examined the relationship between participation in arts and culture and social outcomes such as increased educational attainment, reduced crime rates, health and overall well-being (Matarasso 1997; CASE 2010; Arts Council England 2014. For wellbeing see especially Fujiwara 2013 and Tepper et al 2014). Many of these outcomes are not as easily captured through the economic methods discussed above, which can only be applied effectively if individuals experience a personal benefit and can express its value in monetary terms (either in the market or in survey responses).

Some of the benefits created by the arts—for example, community cohesion and civic engagement—are difficult to conceptualise on the individual level, since they are communal by their very nature (Throsby 2001, 32). In these instances, the impact of arts and culture are often reported in terms of the social outcomes that are achieved (increased graduation rates, reduced recidivism, etc.); however, some techniques have been developed in order to express social outcomes in monetary terms so as to render them comparable with other policy outcomes. Thus, studies have calculated the Social Return on Investment (SROI) for cultural activities, by consulting a wide range of stakeholders and beneficiaries and finding a financial equivalent that allows the monetary value of the benefit to be calculated (Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) and NEF Consulting 2009; BOP 2012). Another approach has been to measure people's subjective well-being and then calculate how much more money they would need to earn in order to improve their well-being by an equivalent amount (O'Brien 2010, 34-36; CASE 2010, 35-38; Fujiwara 2013). As with economic valuation techniques, several concerns have been raised about the measurement of social outcomes, primarily due to inconsistent definitions, questionable research methods and the challenge of proving causality (Belfiore 2002; Scott 2009, 207-09; Reeves 2002, 30-41)

Several of the outcomes that have been discussed as social outcomes here, also affect people on the individual level, of course. First and foremost, higher levels of educational achievement benefit the students who have learned more, the people who reap the biggest gains from improved health are undoubtedly those who are able to live longer, fuller lives, and the ones who feel better about their lives are the primary beneficiaries of increased well-being. To the extent that these benefits accrue to individuals—and setting aside the costs savings and contributions that

happy, healthy, educated people produce for society—one might expect them to be included within the present review of literature on the personal impacts of arts and culture. While we fully agree that arts and culture benefit individuals in these manifold ways and can contribute significantly to our overall well-being, these outcomes—and the techniques used to measure them—have been discussed in several recent literature reviews (Reeves 2002; O'Brien 2010; Arts Council England 2014). We therefore feel justified in focusing our attention on the immediate impacts of arts and cultural experiences, which, in isolation or through accumulation over years, give rise to many of the benefits that accrue downstream, and, given broad enough participation among the population, generate considerable social benefits as well.

PUBLIC VALUE

Over the past decade, 'public value' has been a recurring theme in cultural policy debates, though it is important to note that, conceptually, it exists in a different plane than economic and social value. Both economic and social value describe certain kinds of value that are created. Public value on the other hand, is a way of thinking about, articulating and (ideally) increasing the value of the services that are provided by public agencies, and thus is not a root form of value itself.

The public value framework was developed in the field of public management by the American scholar Mark Moore (1995) and gained considerable influence in all areas of government, including the cultural sector. Arts Midwest and The Wallace Foundation engaged Moore to work with State Arts Agencies in the US and write a report on how arts agencies can apply and benefit from the public value framework (Moore and Moore 2005). In the UK, John Holden is most closely associated with introducing public value thinking to the cultural sector (O'Brien 2014, 123).

The basic idea is that public agencies should pay more attention to the value they create for the general public than to fulfilling bureaucratic performance measures set by their superiors. This was a direct response to the accountability requirements and performance measures of the New Public Management that took hold

in the 1980s and 90s (Keaney 2006, 2-5). As Moore and Moore write, the public value framework is

> **a concept that encourages one to speak with expressive, passionate enthusiasm about the public value that one sees within reach and feels duty-bound to pursue, [and also] directs managerial attention to what is possible to achieve in a particular political and organizational setting. (2005, 102)**

Thus, rather than a defined form of value or set of outcomes that need only be measured, public value is 'a theory, model and practice [that] addresses management issues' (Scott 2013, xiii). The public value approach has been critiqued for its definitional vagueness and for failing to specify who the 'public' is (O'Brien 2014, 120-22; Scott 2010; Keaney 2006, 27)

While the individual impacts received through cultural experiences that are explored in this literature review may certainly help organisations and agencies articulate their public value, we do not address the topic directly. In fact, the term is only occasionally mentioned in the literature we review here, most notably in the work of John Holden (2004, 2006) and Chappell and Knell (2012). Readers may find more comprehensive discussions of public value in the arts and cultural sector in Keaney (2006), Scott (2013) and O'Brien (2014, chapter 6). In addition, Holden and Baltà (2012) survey literature on the topic.

The focus of this literature review is on the value and impacts that arts and culture create on the level of individual attendees and participants, and how cultural organisations can foster such exchanges. To commence our review, we explore conceptual frameworks that position these values and impacts within the larger picture of 'cultural value' and within the language of other impact models in the following section.

2 FRAMING THE CONVERSATION

LANGUAGE AND CONCEPTS OF CULTURAL VALUE AND IMPACT

This section reviews the ways in which cultural value has been framed and defined in the some of the most relevant literature of the past fifteen years. It pays close attention to elements that are considered to be constituent of cultural value, related terms such as 'intrinsic value' and 'intrinsic impact', and the manners in which cultural value has been positioned vis-à-vis other benefits that spring from the arts. As will be seen, many authors who have contributed to this literature use the same (or very similar) terms with quite different meanings in their discussions of cultural value, and occasionally they use different vocabulary when they are essentially talking about the same thing.

The idiosyncrasies of the conceptual frameworks and the terminologies that are used make it difficult to sum up or draw conclusions about the development of the field as a whole, particularly since the contributors to this literature only occasionally explain how their own approach relates to or extends the work of other researchers in the field. This is no doubt partly to be explained by the fact that the authors come from different disciplinary backgrounds and have different ambitions. Some seek to contribute to an academic understanding of the value of culture, some seek to assist arts organisations with practical advice, and some are primarily interested in influencing public policy. In reviewing these various explications of cultural value it is not our intention to evaluate them or declare one approach or definition to be the 'right' or most promising way forward. Rather, by laying these frameworks out side by side, this overview demonstrates the range of current thinking about these issues and provides reference points that may help position future work.

DAVID THROSBY

The field that has dedicated itself most overtly to the exploration of value in the context of arts and culture is that of Cultural Economics. While the roots of the discipline are, as David Throsby notes, 'firmly planted in economics', many of its contributors position themselves outside of mainstream neoclassical economics (2001, 12).

David Throsby, 2001, *Economics and Culture*, Cambridge University Press.

David Throsby, 2010, The *Economics of Cultural Policy*, Cambridge University Press.

Throsby, for instance, maintains that 'neoclassical economics is ... ultimately limited in its explanatory power' (2001, 2). He states,

> **To a neoclassical economist, a full assessment of the market and/or non-market value of any good or service, including cultural goods, would be provided by measuring actual payment and/or potential willingness to pay. (2010, 20)**

However, he points out that the modern theory of marginal utility determining value has been criticised for not taking into account that value is socially constructed (2001, 22) and lists several reasons why cultural value may be inadequately captured by measures of willingness to pay (2001, 32). Contrary to neoclassical orthodoxy, Throsby therefore maintains 'the necessity of regarding economic and cultural value as distinct entities... each one telling us something different of importance to an understanding of the commodity's worth' (2001, 33).

In many cases cultural value is likely to be correlated with economic values, but not necessarily perfectly. In some cases the correlation may in fact be negative, as is the case when cultural works that are popular successes are deemed to be of low cultural value (2001, 34).

Throsby disaggregates cultural value into several components in order to explain the concept 'in such a way that its importance alongside economic value can be more vigorously asserted' (2001, 31). His list of 'some of [the] more important constituent elements' of cultural value includes:

- Aesthetic value
- Spiritual value
- Social value

- Historical value
- Symbolic value
- Authenticity value

In his influential 2001 book, Throsby does not claim that this list of components of cultural value is complete. There is no compelling theoretical or empirical reason why cultural value should consist of exactly six components, or why these

six in particular. Indeed, the fact that Throsby occasionally omits some of these components (Hutter and Throsby 2008, 4; Throsby 2010, 20) and adds education as a new component in later work suggests that this list should not be considered definitive (Bakhshi and Throsby 2010, 75-76).

According to Throsby, the constituent elements of cultural value may also affect the economic value that individuals ascribe to a cultural good, and to the extent that they do, this 'would be reflected in any economic analysis of the item's value' (2010, 20). This does not detract from the fact that these values are fundamentally of a cultural nature.

Throsby notes that cultural goods may generate economic values that benefit individuals who did not experience the cultural good directly. He uses the economic language of private goods, public goods and externalities to distinguish between the benefits that can be reaped by 'users' and 'non-users', and other unintended spillover effects (2001, 36-38; Bakhshi and Throsby 2010, 18). Though Throsby is less explicit about this, it seems feasible that cultural value may likewise benefit non-users within this framework.

'The distinction between economic value and cultural value creates a dilemma for the process of valuation', Throsby notes (2010, 18). While the various types of economic value (use value, non-use value, externalities) can easily be summed due to the common measurement in currency, it is difficult to form an aggregate of cultural values even if one succeeds in measuring them individually (2001, 40). Throsby cautions that 'the duality of value and its attendant problems of valuation should not deflect the cultural policy analyst from the task of assessing value as fully and accurately as possible' (2010, 18). A number of alternative methods may be necessary to capture the components of cultural value, including mapping, thick description, attitudinal analysis, content analysis and expert appraisal (2001, 29).

Throsby acknowledges that to dissect the concept of cultural value into several pieces and assign values according to standardised (not necessarily numerical) scales 'is no more than an ad hoc means of giving formal expression to judgements that would otherwise be left simply to informal processes' (2010, 22). However, he maintains that this may be a viable means of representing the aggregated cultural value in quantitative form.

Another useful concept that Throsby contributes to the discussion of cultural value is the notion of cultural capital. While the term is used in sociological literature with a different sense (Bourdieu 1984), Throsby uses it here to suggest that

'tangible and intangible manifestations of culture [can] be articulated as long-lasting stores of value and providers of benefits for individuals and groups' (2001, 44). Following the conventional distinction in relation to 'ordinary' economic capital, Throsby differentiates between the 'stock' of cultural capital (the quantity of available capital) and the 'flow' that it creates (a stream of goods or services that may be consumed) (2001, 45). While it is relatively easy to understand how cultural objects such as paintings or heritage sites can be counted as assets in this framework, Throsby argues that intangible cultural phenomena, such as languages and traditions can also be counted as assets in this sense. The cultural capital that is stored in these assets gives rise both to the cultural and economic value of the cultural goods. Ordinary financial capital, on the other hand, is only able to provide economic value (2001, 45).

By introducing the notion of cultural capital, Throsby avoids having to make the controversial claim for an inherent, absolute value within works of art and culture. Instead he argues that such works represent a form of capital, which produce a flow of cultural goods and services that are valued by consumers—which is in keeping with the accepted economic concept of value formation.

In a more recent report, co-authored with Hasan Bakhshi, Throsby also uses the term 'intrinsic value'. While the authors generally apply Throsby's 2001 framework, they cite earlier work by Bakhshi, Freeman and Hitchen in claiming that 'economic measures such as consumer surplus and willingness-to-pay are also closely related to the intrinsic value of the art' (19).[1] Here it seems that 'intrinsic value' might be near synonymous with Throsby's use of 'cultural capital' (ie, the source of all economic and cultural value). However, the authors also state that 'a complete picture of intrinsic value requires a reassertion of the importance of the cultural value that is essential to the existence and operations of organisations in the arts', which implies that cultural value might be just one part of the larger construct of intrinsic value (perhaps including economic value). From these passing references to intrinsic value, it is difficult to gain a clear understanding of its relationship to cultural and economic value. They are certainly not to be considered a major expansion of Throsby's framework.

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1   *The 2009 paper by Bakhshi, Freeman, and Hitchen equates 'intrinsic value' with the public good (non-market) components of culture, which Throsby generally counts as part of economic value.*

ARJO KLAMER

Within the field of Cultural Economics, the Dutch economist Arjo Klamer may have been the first to recognise that economists were unlikely to solve the problem of valuation in the arts and culture on their own (Klamer, ed. 1996). Klamer realised that several different disciplines value arts and culture for different reasons, so that even if economists solved the problem of valuation from an economic perspective, this would not answer the questions that scholars in other academic fields were asking about the value of culture. Rather than one single problem in need of a solution, there is a range of interrelated questions and concerns that need to be addressed (Klamer 2003).

Arjo Klamer, 2004, 'Social, cultural and economic values of cultural goods', in *Cultural and Public Action*, edited by V Rao and M Walton, Stanford University Press.

Klamer explains his approach to the valuation of culture in relation to David Throsby's framework in his 2004 article 'Social, Cultural and Economic Values of Cultural Goods'.[2] In Klamer's view, cultural goods differ from other goods 'because people may consider it a symbol of something — a nation, a community, a tradition, a religion, a cultural episode — and endow it with various meanings over and above its usefulness'. Whereas Throsby only distinguishes between economic and cultural value (the latter consisting of several components), Klamer principally considers economic, social and cultural value as distinct forms of value that can be derived from cultural goods, and he suggests that other types of value, such as environmental value, also exist. As in Throsby's framework, Klamer's three forms of value may influence each other and may be correlated in many instances; however, they are fundamentally distinct and incommensurable. There is thus no overlap between these three forms of value. 'Cultural values', for Klamer, 'are those that evoke qualities above and beyond the economic and the social'. One might therefore consider cultural value to be the residual that remains after subtracting the economic and social values from the total value of a good. Such mental arithmetic can clarify the relationship between the types of value in theory; however, since these values cannot be expressed on the same scales of measurement, there is no practical application for such an equation.

While Klamer recognises three forms of value where Throsby only distinguishes two, a more radical difference between the two scholars' approaches lies in their respective opinions on the nature of cultural value. Klamer points out that having

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2   *There is no pagination in the version of this chapter that is published on Klamer's website, so that specific page numbers cannot be cited.*

identified components of cultural value (eg, aesthetic, spiritual, symbolic values), Throsby 'subsequently treats those values as given, as inputs in an economic valuation process'. Klamer prefers to the think of valuation as a dynamic process. Instead of assuming that values are fixed and only need to be measured, he 'considers the discursive context wherein values of cultural goods evolve'. Klamer laments that neoclassical economics focuses exclusively on the moment of exchange, so that 'all valuations and evaluations, all deliberating, negotiating and conversing, all dealings are at that moment congealed in a single value: price'. Instead, he maintains that one must understand this process, which he calls 'valorisation', in order to render a full account of the value of cultural goods.

This view provides strong support for those who emphasise the need for qualitative and narrative assessments of cultural value to accompany quantitative data in making the case for the value of arts and culture (eg, O'Brien 2010, 9). Following Klamer's rationale, even if it were possible to accurately capture the full value of culture in a single number, to do so would be missing the point. Understanding *why* people value cultural goods is just as important as understanding (and is indeed an important factor in determining) *how much* they value that good.

Like Throsby, Klamer uses the term 'cultural capital'; however, he uses it with an entirely different meaning. For Klamer, cultural capital refers to people's 'inbred, acquired and developed ability to experience the sublime or sacred character of a good, to see its beauty, or to recognise its place in cultural history'. In short, it is the capacity to experience cultural value. This use of the term 'cultural capital' is closer to that advanced by Pierre Bourdieu in the field of Sociology than to the economic meaning described by Throsby, and might be considered a component of what Alan Brown calls 'readiness-to-receive' (see below). Crucially, cultural capital accumulates in people and is increased through their consumption of cultural goods in Klamer's interpretation, whereas it is stored in cultural objects in Throsby's view. Throsby actually agrees that the ability to appreciate arts and culture develops through repeated exposure over time; however, he describes this phenomenon in terms of 'cultural competence' and 'rational addiction', rather than as 'cultural capital' (Throsby 2011, 115).

For Klamer, cultural capital is what 'lends us the ability to realise a meaningful life over and beyond its economic and social dimensions'. As an example, he cites Australian aboriginals, who may enjoy rich cultural lives on account of their rituals and practices (ie their stock of cultural capital), even if they have little formal education or income. The fact that cultural capital accumulates on the side of the consumers in Klamer's view explains why for him, 'cultural policy needs to be, at least partially, focused on education' and stimulating public discourse about

culture. By increasing people's knowledge and awareness of culture and its value, such policies build cultural capital in the population.

Klamer laments that 'lacking measurements make it difficult to take cultural values into account when developing policy', and he calls for the development of additional subjective measures of cultural value that 'can account for the experiences and perceptions of … stakeholders such as local people, visitors, experts, [and] politicians'. In doing so he cautions against trying to put an economic price on such values, since pricing sensitive goods such as friendship, love, courage and possibly art alters the value of the good. He calls this the 'Heisenberg Principle of economics': any attempt to measure the value of a good will affect that value, so care must be taken in the types of measures that are taken.

JOHN HOLDEN

As Head of Culture at the think tank Demos, John Holden played an integral part in launching the *Valuing Culture* debate in the UK. Unlike Throsby and Klamer, who are both academics, Holden is more concerned with practical evaluation and policy making than contributing to the development of a larger theory. Holden therefore focuses specifically on publicly funded arts, museums, libraries and heritage sites, whereas both Throsby and Klamer adopt the broad, anthropological definition of culture including religion, customs and beliefs in addition to the arts.

In *Cultural Value and the Crisis of Legitimacy*, Holden proposes the following 'Value Triangle' to illustrate the relationship between intrinsic, institutional and instrumental values (Figure 1).

While this triangle represents the core of Holden's model, he also refers to cultural, economic and public value, which are apparently related to, yet distinct from the values depicted in the triangle.

'Intrinsic value', as used by Holden, refers to 'the set of values that relate to the subjective experi-

John Holden, 2004, *Capturing Cultural Value: How culture has become a tool of government policy*, Demos.

John Holden, 2006, *Cultural Value and the crisis of legitimacy: Why culture needs a democratic mandate*, Demos.

FIGURE 1 John Holden's Value Triangle
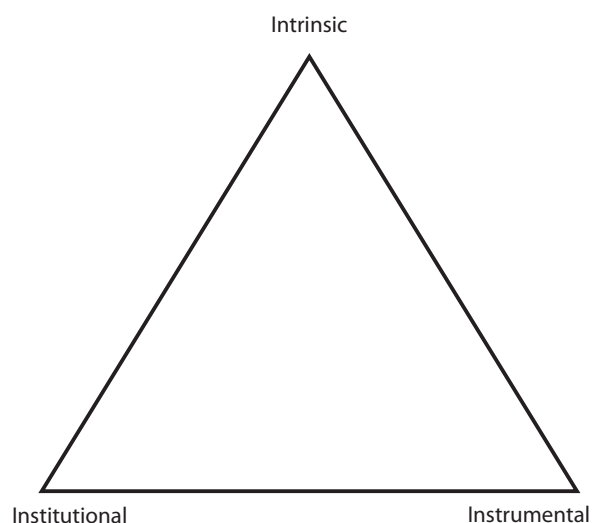
(Holden 2006, 15). Reprinted with permission from the author.

ence of culture intellectually, emotionally and spiritually', and he contends that such values are best thought of 'as the capacity and potential of culture to affect us' (2006, 14, 15). While his use of 'capacity' and 'potential' might be taken to mean that the value lies dormant within the artwork itself, whether or not that potential is released (akin to Throsby's cultural capital), Holden clarifies that 'value is located in the encounter or interaction between individuals … on the one hand, and an object or experience on the other' (2006, 15). Holden's concept of intrinsic value may thus be the closest equivalent to what Klamer calls 'cultural value'. In line with Klamer, Holden maintains that intrinsic values should not be thought of 'as measurable and fixed stocks of worth' and argues that they must be 'captured in personal testimony, qualitative assessments, anecdotes, case studies and critical reviews' (2006, 15, 14).

Continuing the analogy to Klamer's framework, one might say that Holden's 'instrumental value' encompasses both economic and social value, as defined by Klamer. Holden writes, 'Instrumental values relate to the ancillary effects of culture, where culture is used to achieve a social or economic purpose' (2006, 16). Holden associates these values with attempts to measure 'impacts', 'outcomes' and 'benefits' (2006, 16; 2004, 17). While the analogy with Klamer's usage might suggest that economic value is just one component of instrumental value, the two terms seem nearly synonymous for Holden.

Holden adopts a particularly broad definition of economic value. He specifies that 'economic value is determined by the extent to which something enhances or detracts from our well-being' (2004, 31). To the extent that health related outcomes, social integration and other instrumental outcomes of cultural participation enhance our well-being, these can all be considered to have economic value in Holden's sense. Throsby would probably agree with this. However, both Throsby and Klamer would contend that cultural value also contributes to our well-being in a very real way.

For Holden, 'institutional value' refers to the value that organisations provide above and beyond the value of their products[3]. The manner in which organisations conduct their business, their 'processes and techniques', can be of value quite independently of their physical output (2006, 17). In this way, organisations create trust, promote mutual respect and provide for a basis for sociability. Holden derives this idea from Mark Moore's concept of public value (see discussion of public value in the introduction; 2006, 17-18). Some of the attributes that

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3   *The idea of institutional value is developed more fully by Holden's colleague Robert Hewison (2006).*

that Holden mentions under the heading of institutional value, such as trustwor-thiness, transparency and fairness (2006, 18), might be referred to as 'brand value' and 'customer service' in commercial contexts; however, Holden also considers the role that cultural organisations play as arbiters of taste to be part of the service they provide to the public.

He argues that 'professional judgement must extend beyond evidence-based decision-making' (2004, 10). While Holden rejects the patrician assertion of elite cultural values (2004, 24) and maintains that 'Cultural Value must … be based on what the public themselves perceive' (2004, 51-52), he asserts that confident professional judgment need not kowtow to 'short-term public preferences' (2004, 48). Cultural professionals are thus presumed able to recognise and reveal the value of cultural products, which might be overlooked by an untrained eye. Just as newspaper readers value the judgments expressed by professional art critics, Holden considers the subjective judgment of arts funders and presenters to be a service to the public and a form of institutional value.

Holden laments that generations of cultural managers have sought to conceal the subjective nature of their judgment 'because it is essentially political' (2004, 44), preferring instead to justify their decisions with 'objective' outcome measures. Due to cultural professionals' refusal to embrace their role as arbiters of taste, 'the essence of culture has been lost' (2004, 20). Holden argues that since 'the space in which objects or performances appear, their critical reception and the climate of public and political opinion all affect cultural value' and that cultural managers must endeavour to frame cultural products in such a way that the capacity and potential that lie within them (see Holden's concept of 'intrinsic value' above) are transformed into cultural value (2004, 36). Cultural managers have the ability to influence public perception and thus create value where previously there had merely been potential. Holden's position here resonates with Klamer's call for education and public discourse as a means of building cultural capital.

Despite appearing in the title of Holden's 2004 and 2006 publications, cultural value remains a rather amorphous concept, and its relation to Holden's value triangle remains unclear. Holden's use of the term has often been taken to mean the sum of all values created by a cultural good—the whole of the value triangle (Hewison, 23; Hutter and Throsby, 8); however this is not explicitly stated in either of the works reviewed here. Indeed, the definition of cultural value formu-lated in 2004 is somewhat awkward in that it specifies what cultural value *does*, rather than what it *is*. Thus, cultural value 'recognizes the affective elements of cultural experience, … seeks a forward-looking model for assessing broad public value, … adopts unchanging public goods… as long-term objectives', etc. (2004, 10).

It appears that Holden's use of 'cultural value' might be most appropriately inter-preted not as an actual value that can be attributed to culture, but rather as a way of thinking about value in relation to culture (Keaney 2006, 40). Indeed, Holden frequently refers to cultural value as a framework, as in 'The "cultural value" framework helps people and organisations to understand themselves, articulate their purposes and make decisions' and 'The language and conceptual framework provided by "cultural value" tell us that publicly funded culture generates three types of value' (2006, 57 and 9-10).

RAND CORPORATION

When the Wallace Foundation commissioned the RAND corporation to investigate the benefits that result from the arts, McCarthy et al found that the cultural sector in the US had experienced develop-ments that paralleled those in the UK in terms of the pressure that cultural organisations felt to dem-onstrate their contribution to broader economic and social objectives that often had little to do with their cultural missions.

K F McCarthy, E H Ondaatje, L Zakaras and A Brooks, 2004, *Gifts of the Muse: Reframing the Debate About the Benefits of the Arts*, RAND Corporation.

The RAND researchers conducted a comprehensive review of the benefits associ-ated with the arts, including cognitive, behavioural, health, social and economic benefits, and various forms of intrinsic benefits. In writing their report, they con-sciously avoided terms such as 'values' and 'effects' (though they admit that these are more common in the literature on artistic experiences) in order to emphasise the comparability of intrinsic and other forms benefits (37, note 1). The authors acknowledge that the term 'benefit' may imply an outcome that is separable from the experience itself, which, however, is not the case in the intrinsic benefits that they discuss. A further drawback of the term 'benefits' is that it rules out the pos-sibility that the arts might also generate negative effects. Such an *a priori* exclusion of negative outcomes might compromise the credibility of research findings as it could imply advocacy oriented 'evidence gathering' to some readers.

McCarthy et al use the term 'instrumental benefits', when 'the arts experience is only a means to achieving benefits in non-arts areas', which may also be achieved by other (non-arts) means (3). By contrast, 'intrinsic benefits', as defined by RAND, 'refer to effects in the arts experience that add value to people's lives' (37). To the extent that the added value to people's lives increases their well-being, Holden might count such benefits as economic values.

What has proven most valuable in the RAND study is that it explicitly recognises 'that arts benefits—both instrumental and intrinsic—can have both private and

public value' (4). The authors demonstrate this in a chart that plots benefits along a continuum from private to public value and from intrinsic to instrumental on the other (Figure 2).

While previous frameworks had not necessarily denied the possibility, there was a tendency to associate the immediate, personal experience of arts with private benefits and the larger social and economic significance of the arts with more diffuse public benefits. The RAND framework shows that the arts produce benefits in all four quadrants of the diagram.

FIGURE 2 **RAND's Framework for Understanding the Benefits of the Arts**

Instrumental benefits

| Improved test scores | Improved self-efficacy, learning skills, health | Development of social capital |
| | | Economic growth |

| *Private benefits* | *Private benefits with public spillover* | *Public benefits* |

| Captivation | Expanded capacity for empathy | Creation of social bonds |
| Pleasure | Cognitive growth | Expression of communal meaning |

Intrinsic benefits
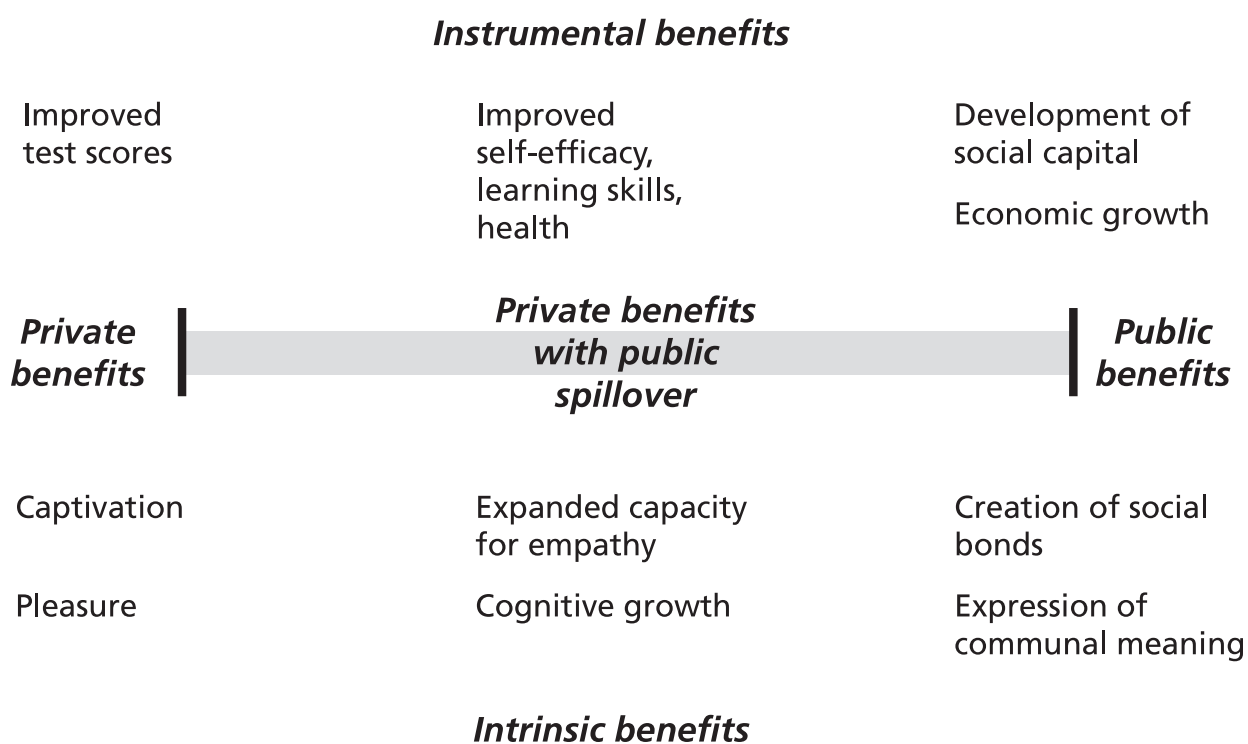
RAND *MG218-S.1*

(McCarthy et al 2004, 4). © RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA. Reprinted with permission.

While benefits accrue in all sectors of chart, McCarthy and his colleagues assign special significance to the intrinsic benefits at the bottom of the diagram due to 'the central role intrinsic benefits play in generating all benefits' (69). In their view, the individual's experience of art is the source of both private and public benefits (4). That is, even the benefits that seem to have little to do with the appreciation of art, such as economic spillover effects accruing to businesses

adjacent to an arts complex, only come into being on account of the intrinsic benefits experienced by the arts patrons. The authors therefore conclude 'that not much is gained by separating the discussion of instrumental effects from that of intrinsic effects—the two are intimately linked' (70).

Another important step forward in the RAND study is that the authors reflect on what types of arts experiences are likely to generate more or less benefits. Based on earlier studies of arts participation, they reason that the depth of participants' engagement affects the benefits that may be reaped (57). Moreover, they argue 'that the higher-order benefits require sustained arts involvement' (63), which is consistent with Klamer's theory of the accumulation of cultural capital. While the RAND study does not test this hypothesis with empirical research, the suggestion that different ways of engaging with the arts are likely to yield varying levels of benefits and that the ability to reap these benefits is developed over time is nonetheless a step towards practical application of the framework.

Regarding the measurement of intrinsic benefits, McCarthy et al note the need to investigate various forms of qualitative data. They conclude, 'Intrinsic effects may not ultimately be susceptible to rigorous quantitative analysis' (72).

The RAND framework has proven useful as a basis upon which other scholars could build, as is exemplified in a recent dissertation at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden. The author, John Armbrecht, plots responses from interviews with arts patrons according to their position in RAND's arts benefits framework. His findings support McCarthy et al's claim that the arts generate benefits in all four quadrants; however, the interviewees' responses are more heavily clustered in the private-intrinsic and public-instrumental fields. While this might indicate that the benefits in these areas are of greater importance to arts patrons, Armbrecht also acknowledges that the respondents may simply have been more familiar with these types of benefits and therefore more likely to mention them (Armbrecht 2012, 134).

Armbrecht then expands the RAND framework by labelling each benefit according to the standard economic categories of use and non-use values. He is thereby able to observe where clusters of use and non-use values fall in RAND's framework, how concentrated they are, and where they overlap (Figure 3).

Existence values
Direct use values
Bequest values

Indirect use values
Option values
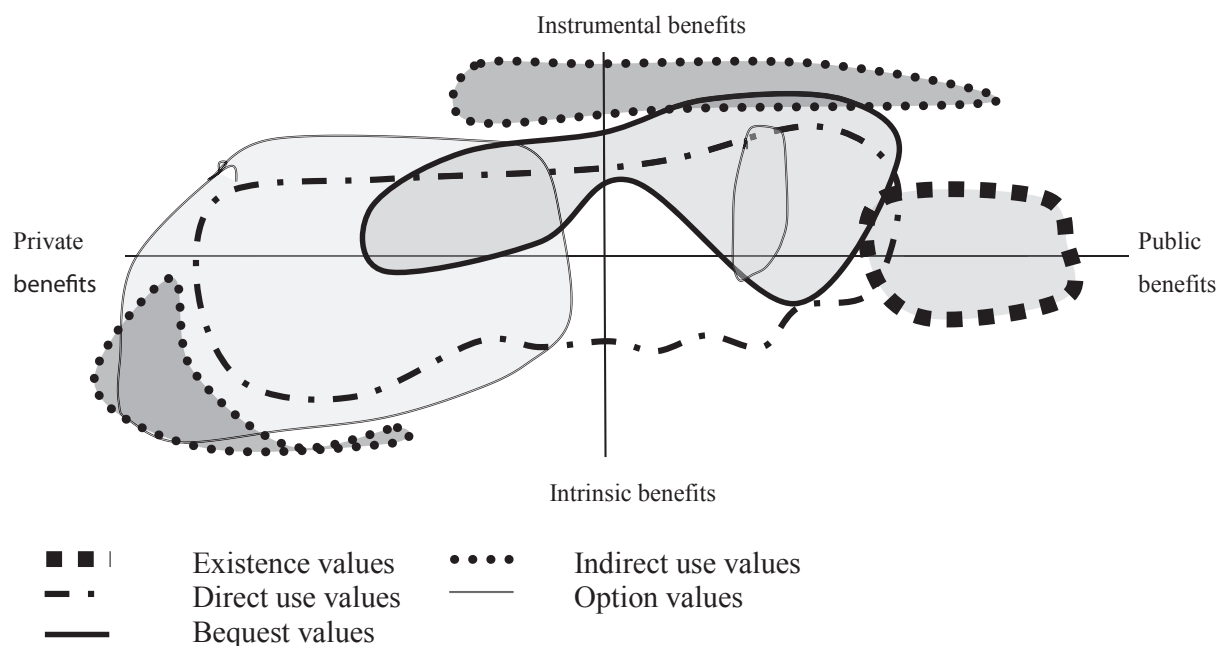
(Armbrecht, 132). Reprinted with permission from the author.

BROWN AND NOVAK-LEONARD

The work of Alan Brown also builds upon McCarthy et al's study. In his 2006 essay 'An Architecture of Value', Brown modifies the RAND corporations' framework by moving the axes to the sides of the chart and replacing the intrinsic-instrumental continuum along the vertical axis with a measure of time (Figure 4).

Alan S Brown, 2006, 'An Architecture of Value', in *Grantmakers in the Arts Reader* 17.1, 18-25.

A S Brown and J L Novak-Leonard, 2007, *Assessing the Intrinsic Impacts of a Live Performance,* commissioned by 14 major university presenters.

Whereas McCarthy et al sought to emphasise the fact that benefits arise in all quadrants of the diagram, Brown's reconfiguration is designed to place particular emphasis on the bottom left corner (where the arts experience is located), from whence all other benefits are thought to radiate outwards (2006, 25 note 7).

In developing his model, Brown consciously sets out to 'develop new language that will be useful and intuitive' in articulating the benefits of the arts (2006, 18). He therefore avoids use of 'private benefits', 'private goods with public spillovers' and 'public benefits' and replaces them with the terms 'individual' (referring to the person experiencing the art), 'interpersonal' (referring to small groups such as families or groups of friends) and 'community' (referring to the local residents or society at large).

FIGURE 4 Five Clusters of Benefits

Personal
Development

Self-Actualization
Improved Social Skills
Creative Competency
Ability to Think Critically
Character Development
Emotional Maturity
Health & Wellness

Economic &
Social Benefits

Tolerance
Civic Pride
Social Capital
Creative Workforce
Economic Impact
Harm Avoidance
Community Engagement,
Stewardship

Human
Interaction

Expanded Capacity for Empathy
Larger Social Network
More Satisfying Relationships
Family Cohesion
Teamwork Skills

Imprint of the
Arts Experience

Health and Wellness
Social Bonding
Aesthetic Growth
Intellectual Stimulation
Spiritual Value
Emotional Resonance
Captivation or "Flow"

Communal
Meaning

Community Engagement,
Stewardship
Sustain Cultural Heritage
Political Dialogue
Create Shared Memory,
Communal Meaning
Transfer Values and Ideals
Social Contact,
Sense of Belonging

5 Value Clusters

CUMULATIVE • BEFORE/AFTER • DURING

INDIVIDUAL → INTERPERSONAL → COMMUNITY

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(Brown 2006, 20)

Along the time scale, Brown distinguishes between benefits that are reaped in the very moment at which the art is experienced, benefits that accrue in close temporal proximity of the experience, and those that accumulate over time through multiple encounters with the arts. The notion that benefits can be generated before the actual experience of art may be counterintuitive, and it leads to the awkward portrayal of time simultaneously flowing forwards and backwards along the timeline in the visualisation; however, it reflects a growing consensus in the field of arts marketing that art is not experienced in an isolated moment, but rather in a sequence of interactions (or 'touchpoints') from the moment of first learning about the artwork, through the decision to attend and the purchasing of a ticket, to the experience itself (Complete Communications 2012, 15; Brown and Ratzkin 2011, 13-21). The preceding events and experience shape expectations,

establish an interpretive frame and may therefore influence the benefits that are reaped once the work is finally experienced (Walmsley 2013, 81).

One of the primary advantages of Brown's use of time along the vertical axis is that it sidesteps the terms 'intrinsic' and 'instrumental', which have become controversial and are seen by some as being of limited use (eg, RAND 2004, 70; Coles 2008; Knell and Taylor 2011, 8). Time, by contrast, is an easily interpretable variable that clearly plays a role (though as of yet, a poorly understood one) in the accumulation of benefits from cultural experiences.

Brown adopts the term 'benefits' from the RAND study, but uses it more or less interchangeably with the term 'value', though he acknowledges that they both have somewhat different connotations. He writes, 'Compared to "value" the word "benefit" feels more transactional and less abstract or subjective' (2006, 25 note 1). Though the distinction is apparently affective rather than substantive, he maintains, 'The sum of the many possible benefits resulting from an arts experience is its value' (2006, 25 note 1).

Within the diagram, Brown groups benefits (a total of 30 of them) into five clusters (Brown 2006, 20). The economic and social benefits in the top right corner refer to broad based public policy outcomes such as economic impacts and improved graduation rates, but also intangible benefits such as national pride. Under communal meaning, Brown categorises benefits that arise from collective participation in cultural events, such as the sense of communal meaning that is created through the collective celebration of cultural rituals. The benefits in the top left corner of the chart contribute to the individual's long-term personal development. Examples include better health and improved cognitive abilities.

Whereas the value clusters discussed so far largely group together benefits that were already captured in the RAND framework, Brown locates a new set of benefits in the centre of his diagram under the heading 'human interaction' (Brown 2006, 19). Here, Brown departs from the economic dichotomy (included in all of the frameworks discussed so far) between private and public goods. From an economic perspective, utility is gained either by an individual (in which case it is considered a private good) or by society at large (in which case it is a public good). Some goods provide utility to individual consumers and the public at large simultaneously, in which case they are considered 'mixed goods' (Throsby 2001, 23) or 'private benefits with public spillover' (RAND 2004, xv). However, Brown identifies a set of benefits that are neither limited to individual consumers nor available to the public at large. Instead they accrue for small groups such as

families and groups of friends. Brown counts benefits such as family cohesion and stronger personal relationships, in this cluster of values.

One drawback of Brown's elimination of the distinction between private and public goods is that his framework loses some of its power as a justification for public arts funding. The reason that many commentators, particularly those with a background in economics, emphasise the public good characteristics of culture is that there are well-defined and accepted reasons why governments should support the provision of public goods with public funds.

The final cluster of benefits, located in the bottom left corner of the diagram is designated as the imprint of an arts experience (2006, 19). This term is used to capture the benefits that arise for the individual during and immediately after an arts experience. This immediate imprint may yield a memory that lasts a lifetime, or it may dissipate quickly. Brown's idea of an imprint is roughly equivalent to Holden's narrow definition of 'intrinsic value'. Both refer to the 'raw', unprocessed experience. For Brown, the imprint is a benefit in itself, but it can also give rise to any number of higher-order benefits. For Holden, intrinsic value is the value that is attributed to the experience for its own sake; any benefit that is derived from the experience (such as learning or a sense of well-being) is an instrumental value.

When Brown sets out to survey audiences about arts experiences in later work, he uses the term 'intrinsic impact' instead of 'imprint' (Brown and Novak-Leonard 2007). It may be that the imprint cannot be assessed without disturbing the experience itself, so that the intrinsic impact is the most immediate measurable benefit of an arts experience. Like imprints, "intrinsic impacts occur during the experience" however, these impacts 'may increase or heighten with contemplation (eg, discussing the performance afterwards)' (Brown and Novak-Leonard 2007, 22). The significance of isolating the initial effect that the cultural experience has on audiences is not merely theoretical, it also has practical implications for measurement. According to Brown and Novak-Leonard, 'measures of intrinsic impacts must be taken within several hours after the experience ends, while the memory is still fresh' (22). By assessing these intrinsic impacts of arts experiences the authors seek to understand how audiences are transformed by the experience (2); however they acknowledge that survey-based methodologies will never be able to capture 'subconscious aspects of the aesthetic experience" (Brown and Novak-Leonard 2013, 4).

Brown identifies several factors that influence the types and levels of benefits that are created by individual experiences. Benefits may vary across arts disciplines, by the mode of participation (Brown identifies five such modes: inventive, in-

terpretive, curatorial, observational and ambient) and according to the audience members' 'readiness-to-receive' (a combination of knowledge of what to expect and the individual's physical and mental state at the time of the experience) (Brown 2006, 20-21: Brown and Novak-Leonard 2007, 22).

SARA SELWOOD

In a report to the UK's National Museum Director's Council (NMDC), Sara Selwood seeks to introduce the notion of 'cultural impact' as a means of assessing the work of museums. Since NMDC represents a wide range of museums, including science, history and arts museums, Selwood adopts a broad definition of culture in this study, which she, quoting Clifford Geertz, sums up as '"stories we tell ourselves about ourselves" and, by extension, those that we tell others' (10). 'Culture' is thus closely related to (individual and collective) identity formation in Selwood's use of the term.

Sara Selwood, 2010, *Making a difference: the Cultural Impact of Museums*, National Museum Directors' Conference (NMDC).

Selwood distinguishes cultural value from cultural impact, noting that value has 'to do with worth and importance', while impact is 'about effect' (11). In her study, she particularly hoped to focus on 'actual effects, as distinct from potential impacts', but found it difficult to distinguish between the two in practice (10).

Selwood's research is based primarily on materials that were submitted by museum staff in response to an open call for documentation of their institutions' cultural impact (10). In her essay, she cites language from the Department of Culture, Media and Sports (DCMS), National Museum of Science and Industry (NMSI), the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA), as well as the concept of 'knowledge transfer' to demonstrate possible meanings of the term 'impact'; however, it was ultimately up to the respondents to determine what 'cultural impact' meant in the context of their institution and what types of materials appropriately demonstrated such impacts. Rather than adopting a single definition, Selwood allows a multitude of divergent understandings of 'cultural impact', and as a result conveys a concept of the term that is simultaneously 'broader, more intimate and contextualised …than we are used to' (51).

This strategy bears a risk of watering down the term to the extent that it is no longer meaningful. Rather than defining a specific effect that can be measured or at least described anecdotally, it risks turning the term 'cultural impact' into a

label that administrators and advocates are free to adopt for whatever measures or anecdotes they happen to have available.

While Selwood considers 'technical details of potential methodologies' to be outside the scope of her work (63, note vi), she repeatedly cites the UK Film Council's 2009 report *Stories we tell ourselves: The Cultural Impact of UK Film 1946– 2006* as a useful model. Using a sample of 200 British films, the study examines whether British cinema has tended to reinforce values (used here to mean accepted behaviour and moral mores) that are considered quintessentially British, or whether they challenge and satirise those values. In addition, thirty case studies are examined for their performance in four categories of cultural impact:

- **Censorship and notoriety**
- **Quotations in other media**
- **Zeitgeist moments (capturing the spirit of a moment)**
- **Cumulative impact (changing cultural perceptions and social attitudes)**

In light of these cultural impact categories, cultural impact might best be understood as the impact something has *on* culture, rather than the impact that is created *by* culture. It seems feasible that events that would generally not be considered cultural would score quite highly in these indicators. In this sense, one might argue, for instance, that the emergence of AIDS in the 1980s has had a profound cultural impact.

One problem with using cultural impact as a measure of effects is that that it may be difficult to demonstrate the effectiveness of cultural works that seek to preserve cultural heritage, celebrate continuity or otherwise reaffirm the status quo.

KNELL AND TAYLOR

Due to the widespread perception around the turn of the millennium that instrumental arguments had come to an undeserved level of prominence in the formal assessment of cultural work (White and Hede 2008, 22-23; RAND 2004, 67-69; Holden 2004, 17-21) considerable effort has been invested in exploring the intrinsic and cultural benefits/values in order to rebalance the scale (or tip it the other way). Like many others, John Knell and Matthew Taylor are dissatisfied with the debate over intrinsic and instrumental justifications for the arts; however, they take a different approach towards resolving the problem.

J Knell and M Taylor, 2011, *Arts Funding, Austerity and the Big Society*, Royal Society of Arts (RSA).

They argue that all art serves the purpose of providing value and benefits to those who experience it, so that all arguments in favour of the arts are in fact instrumental arguments[4]. They even go so far as to state, 'the traditional intrinsic argument for the arts – the so-called arts for arts sake plea – is a form of instrumentalism' (25). Rather than claiming some form of abstract intrinsic value, they propose 'making a robust instrumental case for arts funding but in terms that recognise what is different and special about artistic participation and appreciation' (8). To do so they envision 'a spectrum that spans artistic instrumentalism and public good instrumentalism' (18).

While the rhetorical strategy is different, this position is in fact not so dissimilar from Brown's. For Brown, everything from the first imprint to the most remote influence on social and economic outcomes is considered a benefit, and to the extent that the arts serve the purpose of creating these benefits, it is easy to apply Knell and Taylor's language of instrumentalism to this model.

As part of their call for a new instrumentalism, Knell and Taylor note the endeavour will require 'a commitment to measure artistic (intrinsic) value more effectively' (19), though they do not specify how that might be achieved. The authors voice a strong critique of arts advocates who have argued that intrinsic benefits are a necessary precondition for instrumental benefits that accrue downstream:

> **Central to the sector's advocacy case for funding has been the argument that the scale of instrumental benefits depends wholly on the scale of the intrinsic benefits of the arts. …**
>
> **These arguments are neat and elegant but patently untrue (13)**

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4   *A similar argument is advanced by Kees Vuyk (2010).*

While this might seem like a clear refutation of the positions held by Brown and the RAND Corporation researchers, this apparent opposition results from the fact that Knell and Taylor conflate intrinsic benefits with what one might call 'quality'. The example Knell and Taylor provide is that of a 'people's orchestra':

> … our experience of evaluation evidence suggests that these outcomes will be more powerful if the participants have an excellent experience – lively, creative, and artistically rewarding. But clearly the artistic outcome (the performance) may not be excellent when judged in any traditional peer artistic review sense. (14)

This description in fact resonates strongly with the idea of varying levels of engagement described by McCarthy et al and Brown's hierarchy of forms of participation.

DISCUSSION OF TERMINOLOGY

In reviewing the various frameworks that have been proposed in the effort to define the unique ways in which the arts, and culture more generally, enrich our lives, the lack of a standardised and widely accepted language to discuss these issues is sorely felt. A first step towards remedying this may be to take stock of how some of the most significant terms have been used in the literature and discuss their relative merits in serving the needs of the field.

Benefits

Brown uses 'benefits' following the work of McCarthy et al, and the term is also used by Knell and Taylor. Its main advantage is that it can be applied equally well and with a consistent meaning across a wide range of situations. It can be applied to individuals and communities, to internal (cognitive, emotional) processes and tangible outcomes such as monetary gains. The main drawback, as noted above, is that all benefits are by definition positive, so that findings may be suspected of serving an advocacy related 'evidence collection' agenda rather than objective research.

Impact

Brown and Selwood associate 'impact' with transformation and effect, respectively. Whether the result is lasting or not, the implication is that something changes as a result of the cultural experience. For Brown, these changes may be internal and part of the intrinsic experience, however Holden associates the measurement

of impacts with instrumental values and cites earlier work by Selwood (2002) in which she likewise contrasts impacts with intrinsic value (Holden 2004, 14). In either interpretation, 'impacts' can be positive or negative, thereby sidestepping the problem with 'benefits'.

Intrinsic

This is perhaps the most contested term in the literature reviewed here. It is discussed variously as 'intrinsic value' (Holden), 'intrinsic benefits' (McCarthy et al) and 'intrinsic impact (Brown). Holden uses 'intrinsic' in a very narrow sense, referring to the value that a cultural experience has *as an experience*. If the experience gives rise to some other value, such as a sense of well-being, he considers this a separate outcome. Well-being for Holden is an economic (and thus instrumental) value.

The definition employed by McCarthy and his colleagues is far broader. Indeed, the RAND framework emphasises the fact that intrinsic benefits can accrue for the individuals experiencing a work of art as well as for society at large (ie, for people who do not experience the cultural object personally). For example, the arts can communicate the sentiments of a particular community, and members of that community can benefit from the fact that their voice was heard, whether or not they where there to witness it.

Brown's use of 'intrinsic' falls somewhere in between the narrow view held by Holden and the broader interpretation suggested by McCarthy et al. 'Intrinsic impacts' are by definition only received by individuals who experience art directly. Beyond that, 'intrinsic' is defined temporally, in that the impact must be received during or in close temporal proximity to the experience itself.

Given the diversity of meanings and the fact that the term evokes the heated debates over 'intrinsic' and 'instrumental' arguments for arts and culture, the term is of questionable value at this point. It is likely to stir up controversy without bringing much clarity to the subject matter. It may be best to stop using the term. Several alternatives (eg, 'inherent', 'immediate') have less connotative 'baggage' and provide opportunities to etch clear definitions on blank slates.

Value

Value is a deeply fraught term but appears to be unavoidable. All of the authors considered here agree that value is not inherent in objects or events, but is attributed to them by the beholder (though this is subject to debate in philosophical circles: Holbrook 1999, 5). In relation to arts and culture, this understand-

ing of 'value' is closely related to notions of 'benefits' and 'impacts' though the terms are not entirely synonymous. Brown, RAND, Klamer and Holden agree that education may be necessary to experience value, and Klamer and Holden maintain that it may take the trained eye of an expert to recognise a hidden potential for value that can be brought to blossom by appropriately framing the cultural experience and engaging the public.

Cultural value

For Throsby 'cultural value' refers to the value that is created by cultural goods and experiences that is not 'economic value'. Klamer largely agrees with this, except that he also separates social values out from the cultural. In both cases, it is unfortunate that cultural value is defined in the negative: it is value that is not economic value and is not social value. So what is it? Throsby's identification of several constituent elements of cultural value (largely adopted by Klamer) is a useful step towards answering this question; however, this approach has several flaws. In subdividing cultural value, we are cutting a pie into pieces without knowing how big the pie is. How would we know if Throsby missed any significant components of cultural value in his list? How would we know if the components he has identified are the right ones?

Despite these lingering problems, the notion of 'cultural value' as that which exists in excess of any economic and social value is extremely useful. Holden uses 'cultural value' in a less technical sense, to describe a way of thinking about and describing the many ways in which cultural organisations produce value. In this usage, 'cultural value' refers to a strategy rather than an outcome. If 'cultural value' is used as a rhetorical catchall for the work cultural organisations do, there is a danger that the term will be reduced to a hollow slogan or rallying cry. Since both the term and the concept are well established in cultural economics, future references should take the prevailing definitions in that literature into account.

Cultural capital

In thinking about the development of more productive language to debate issues related to valuation and evaluation in the cultural sector, it is clear that conflicting definitions of the same term, as exist in Throsby's and Klamer's respective notions of 'cultural capital', are to be avoided whenever possible. Since both the economic sense of the term (Throsby's) and the sociological (used by Klamer) are well established in their respective disciplines, it will be difficult to resolve this conflict at this stage in the conversation. This is a great pity since both meanings of the term are potentially significant in understanding how value is created through arts and culture. Both meanings are related in that they refer to an investment in

the capacities to realise cultural value, though in Throsby's framework the capital is stored in the cultural goods whereas the capital is invested in the consumers in Klamer's view.

Valorisation

'Valorisation' is a term used by Arjo Klamer to describe the social process of debate and argumentation which gives rise to the value of any good. According to Klamer, understanding *why* people value cultural goods is just as important as understanding (and is indeed an important factor in determining) *how much* they value that good. This suggests that qualitative understanding of the valorisation processes is necessary in order to complement numerical assessments of value.

SUMMARY

As has been seen, there is currently little consensus about how best to describe the many ways in which arts and culture enrich our lives. This overview is intended to help readers select an appropriate language for a given purpose and guide them towards the literature that will help them ground their work in an established framework. When used in the context of evaluation and assessment, the language of impact should facilitate the accurate characterisation of how people actually experience art and culture.

Considering the language and frameworks reviewed here, we use the term 'individual impacts' to describe the totality of ways in which individuals are affected or changed (at least temporarily) by a cultural programme or activity. This may include pleasure, emotional engagement, learning, therapeutic restoration, creative stimulation, a heightened sense of belonging to a larger community, stronger social ties to fellow attendees, increased social status and a greater sense of well-being. Our focus is on the individuals who experience the cultural work. We do not include impacts received by individuals who did not experience the programme or activity, such as a spouse who is indirectly affected by their partner's cultural experience, or members of a minority group who take pride in the fact that a museum exhibition allows their collective voice to be heard – even if they do not see the exhibition.

In using the term 'impacts' we do not intend to imply that cultural experiences are passively received by those in attendance. In fact, audiences are co-creators of impact. Moreover, the literature suggests that an individual's response to an arts or cultural programme or activity is idiosyncratic and unpredictable (Selwood

2010, 20; Belfiore and Bennett 2007, 262)—a sort of spontaneous combustion of multiple factors, any one of which can re-shape the impact:

- The nature and quality of the artistic or cultural content on offer (ie, what is being produced or presented) exerts a large influence over impact, as well as the quality of its delivery;
- Impact can be influenced by the individual's personal background (cultural frame of reference) and experience with the form, the artist, the work, or the topic or subject matter;
- Situational factors such as venue and acoustics can greatly influence impact;
- The community contexts in which cultural programmes are embedded can also influence the impacts received (eg, a musical performance in a hospital waiting room).

The 'impact' of a cultural programme is not time-bound by the start and end of the programme itself, but plays out over a period of time commencing before the start of the programme (when preparation might occur) and extending days, weeks or even months afterwards during which time the experience resonates through guided or unguided conversation, further exploration and personal reflection (Reason 2013, 101-2).

3 MEASURING INDIVIDUAL IMPACT

As was shown in the overview of conceptual frameworks and their corresponding sets of terminology, the variety of theoretical approaches and languages used to discuss 'cultural value' and 'impact' makes it difficult to generalise or compare the work of researchers across studies. When examining the empirical studies that have been conducted, one finds that some studies explore responses to aesthetic stimuli, others seek evidence of cultural value, and still others examine how audiences 'make sense' out of artistic experiences. On what basis can one compare such diverse research agendas?

One thing that all of this research has in common is that it explores how people experience art and culture. As was shown in the review of frameworks, the cultural experience—the encounter between people and cultural works or their engagement in cultural activities—is central to the creation of value and impacts. Recent attempts to measure intrinsic impacts and cultural value have therefore focused on audiences' and participants' experiences. While there is a risk of oversimplifying, one can make out remarkable overlaps between what certain groups of researchers are doing if one ignores the labels they apply to their work (eg, 'evaluation', 'marketing research' or 'communications studies'; 'measuring impacts', 'values' or 'engagement').

Rather than discussing the empirical studies on the basis of their academic disciplines or the specific terminology they use, it seems most fruitful to compare them on the basis of common methodologies. A wide range of research methods have been deployed in order to illuminate what happens when people engage in cultural experiences. They range from tracking eye movements, skin conductance and piloerection (hairs standing on end), audience surveys and focus groups, to collecting creative responses (drawings or movements), interviews and blog posts[1]. Which methodologies are employed in a given study is often related to the time lag between the artistic experience and the measurement of the response, impact or effect.

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1   *A detailed explanation of these various methodologies is beyond the scope of the present work. Radbourne et al (2013) provide a useful overview and introduction to several of these methods. See in particular chapter 11, also chapters 8 and 9.*

This section covers four research approaches:

1. physiological and psychometric research
2. post-event surveying
3. qualitative post-event research
4. retrospective identification of impactful events – and concludes with a synthesis of the various research methods.

Physiological and psychometric responses measured during the experience

There is a growing body of research that investigates the biological functions that underlie the aesthetic experience. Within this field (sometimes referred to as 'bio-aesthetics') a significant amount of research examines neurological responses to aesthetic stimuli. Due to the technological requirements involved, it is currently not feasible to measure the brain activity of large numbers of people at once, although a number of studies have sought to capture other forms of biometric data as a means of gauging audience responses to art, some of which may be useful in informing the discussion of value and impact.

LATULIPE, CARROLL AND LOTTRIDGE

For instance, Celine Latulipe, Erin A. Carroll and Danielle Lottridge (2011) measure galvanic skin responses (conductance) during performing arts experiences and correlate them with the level of engagement that test subjects report during the performance. While such measurement techniques may not be of immediate practical value as means of gauging audience responses on a routine basis at theatres and concert halls, the study raises important questions that may inform refinements in the theory of impact and value creation. During pilot tests of the rating systems, for instance, the researchers found that

C Latulipe, E A Carroll and D Lottridge, 2011, 'Love, hate, arousal and engagement: exploring audience responses to performing arts', in *Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, 1845-1854.

> … simply labeling the slider with No Engagement and High Engagement was confusing. Participants could not detach valence from the word, and tended to only rate themselves as being engaged when they liked what they saw. Others just didn't really seem to know what we meant by engagement, and still others didn't seem to know how engaged they were. (1850)

While one might argue that the requirement of reporting their level of engagement rules out the possibility of full captivation in the sense of Csikszentmihalyi's 'flow' (described in Walmsley 2013, 75-76; WolfBrown 2012, 5; NEF 2008, 12) the problem encountered by Latulipe et al raises questions about what we mean by 'engagement' or 'captivation' and what respondents really report, when researchers ask them about such experiences[2]. A recent literature review commissioned by the US National Endowment for the Arts (WolfBrown 2012) discusses several related issues such as the timing and reliability of self-reported data in the context of affect measurement.

PAUL SILVIA

One line of inquiry that is opened up by close analysis of the immediate responses that occur during the aesthetic experience is the possibility of observing 'unusual aesthetic responses' such as aesthetics chills (Silvia 2011). Silvia criticises the near exclusive focus on positive reactions and points out that responses to art are not always just a matter or liking or disliking. There are a range of possible emotional responses, including knowledge emotions (interest, confusion and surprise), hostile emotions (anger, disgust and contempt) and self-conscious emotions (pride, shame, guilt, regret and embarrassment) (Silvia 2009). This underscoring of the ways in which knowledge, moral values and identity play into complex emotional responses may be helpful in advancing the discussion of impact and value indicators that frequently distinguish between intellectual, emotional, spiritual and aesthetic components. In such compartmentalised indicator systems, where are confusion, anger and embarrassment to be reported?

Paul J. Silvia, 2009, 'Looking past pleasure: Anger, confusion, disgust, surprise, and other unusual aesthetic emotions', in *Psychology of Aesthetics*, Creativity and the Arts 3:1, 48-51.

Other studies that use biometric data to capture pre-cognitive physiological responses include Tschacher et al (2012), which tracked the movements, heart rates, skin conductance, emotional responses and aesthetic judgments of art museum visitors, and Stevens et al (2007), which measured eye movements during a dance performance. These studies raise the larger theoretical question of whether the responses measured represent the purest, unmediated form of

2   For example, Vincs (2013) describes research in which respondents were asked to continuously report their level of engagement on a scale from zero to ten on hand-held devices during a dance performance.

cultural experience or whether the experience only becomes a *cultural* experience once cognition, meaning and emotion set in.

While biometric measures of impact are not a focus of this review, they represent an important frontier in measurement. Moreover, any conceptual framework for impact that ignores the immediate physiological effects of cultural experiences – regardless of the difficulties in measurement – would be incomplete.

Post-event surveying

The literature that is more centrally engaged with concepts of individual impact generally draws its data from subjective, retrospective reporting from participants, attendees and audience members. Within this literature methodological differences remain in the manner in which the data is collected, when it is collected and whether the participants are questioned about specific events or about cultural experiences in general.

Over the past 15 years, researchers have increasingly turned to post-event surveys to ask respondents to report on various aspects of their cultural experiences. Some of these surveys are strictly quantitative, while others incorporate both quantitative measures and open-ended questions in order to gain a more complex understanding of the internal responses that artistic experiences provoke in viewers. While the approach is similar to consumer satisfaction surveys that are used in market research, these studies try to gain a broad understanding of the multiple facets of the experience rather than generating simplistic measures of loyalty or satisfaction.

Several of these studies offer conceptual frameworks for individual impacts, subdividing the various impacts into categories or 'constructs', often based on the authors' own literature reviews, while others have developed indicators of impact in pursuit of a particular research hypothesis, or consulted with artists and administrators in developing an original framework for impact or quality. Table 1, below, roughly illustrates how the constructs of individual impacts align across several of the key quantitative studies reviewed for this paper, and begins to suggest some of the definitional disparities across studies.

TABLE 1 Comparison of components of cultural value/intrinsic impact[†]

THROSBY, 2001; BAKHSI & THROSBY, 2010	BROWN & NOVAK-LEONARD, 2007 AND 2013; BROWN & RATZKIN, 2012	NEF, 2008	BOERNER & JOBST, 2013	BUNTING AND KNELL, 2014
	Captivation	Engagement and concentration	"During the performance"; Animation for information seeking	Captivation
	Emotional resonance (2007, 2012); Feeling (2013)	Personal resonance and emotional connection	Emotional involvement; Empathy; Associations with own life	Relevance, Meaning
Spiritual	Spiritual value (2007)	Energy and tension		
Education	Intellectual stimulation (2007, 2012); Learning and thinking (2013)	Learning and challenge	Thought-provoking impulses; Stimulation to communication	Challenge
Aesthetic	Aesthetic growth (2007); Aesthetic enrichment (2012); Aesthetic development and creative stimulation (2013)		Breaching of norms and values; various indicators of product quality*	Enthusiasm; Distinctiveness; various indicators of product quality*
Social	Social bonding (2007); Social bridging & bonding (2012, 2013)	Shared experience and atmosphere		Local impact
Historical (2001)				
Symbolic				
Authenticity (2001)				

In these studies, respondents were asked a combination of affective impact questions (i.e., how the artistic work affected you) as well as questions asking respondents to adjudicate various aspects of the quality of the programme (eg, rigour, originality, concept). Here, indicators of product quality are aligned with indicators of an aesthetic nature in other studies, although they are evaluative in nature, rather than affective.

†Similar comparison charts that include other sets of indicators are presented in Armbrecht (2012, 147) and Radbourne (2013, 7)

MEASURING INDIVIDUAL IMPACT: PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOMETRIC RESPONSES MEASURED DURING THE EXPERIENCE
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BROWN, NOVAK-LEONARD AND RATZKIN

Alan Brown and his colleagues have conducted several studies using this type of audience survey and their methods and protocols continue to evolve. This empirical research has focused on 'intrinsic impacts' as defined in the discussion of Brown's theoretical framework above (page 47). Other researchers have since adopted Brown's 'impact indicators' for their own purposes, such as investigating responses to the visual arts (Rosenberger et al 2012) and measuring attitude changes that result from performances of musical theatre (Heide et al 2012).

The first large-scale empirical study (Brown and Novak-Leonard 2007) measured impact using six constructs:

- **Captivation**
- **Intellectual stimulation**
- **Emotional resonance**
- **Spiritual value**
- **Aesthetic growth**
- **Social bonding**

Brown and Ratzkin dropped the spiritual value indicator in their 2012 study (Brown and Ratzkin 2012, 81), and in 2013 Brown and Novak-Leonard further reduced the number of indicators to the following four:

- **Art as a Means of Feeling**
- **Art as a Means of Social Bonding & Bridging**
- **Art as a Means of Aesthetic Development & Creative Stimulation**
- **Art as a Means of Learning & Thinking** (Brown and Novak-Leonard 2013, 5-6)

A significant finding across Brown's studies has been the central role that captivation plays in experiences of performing arts audiences (Brown and Novak-Leonard 2007, 11). Captivation stands out among the indicators, in that it is most strongly correlated with the other reported impacts, so that the researchers "come to regard Captivation as a gateway to experiencing other impacts" (Brown and Novak-Leonard 2013, 5).

A S Brown and J L Novak-Leonard, 2007, *Assessing the Intrinsic Impacts of a Live Performance*, commissioned by 14 major university presenters.

A S Brown and R Ratzkin, 2012, 'Understanding the Intrinsic Impact of Live Theatre: Patterns of Audience Feedback across 18 Theatres and 58 Productions', in *Counting New Beans: Intrinsic Impact and the Value of Art*, edited by C Lord, San Francisco: Theatre Bay Area, 67-164.

A S Brown and J L Novak-Leonard, 2013, 'Measuring the intrinsic impacts of arts attendance', in *Cultural Trends* 22:3-4, 223-233.

In Brown and Novak-Leonard (2007), the authors hypothesise that the impacts of performing arts experiences depend not only on the presentation of the work on stage, but also on the audience members' cognitive and emotional state when entering the performance (22). Using three constructs to measure the audience's 'readiness-to-receive' (context, relevance and anticipation) the researchers demonstrate that the audience's readiness is in fact associated with higher impacts; however, readiness alone cannot predict the impacts that are experienced (71-72, 78).

Brown and Novak-Leonard also explore the relationship between the impact indicators they devised and audiences' overall satisfaction with the performance. They find a 'generally high level of correlation between indicators of satisfaction and impact' (2007, 68). Arguing a) that some performances might challenge audiences and thus leave them unsatisfied, and b) that satisfaction is strongly correlated with, but ultimately an incomplete measure of impact (69-70), the researchers conclude that 'satisfaction questions need not be included in an impact survey' (68).

The authors raise concerns about the 'deep and inevitable desire by arts organizations to benchmark their impact results against results for similar programmes, and against cohort averages' (Brown and Novak-Leonard 2013, 7). They maintain that the impact results measured by their constructs are 'fundamentally non-comparable across sites' and state that

Impact is inherently contextual on several levels. Different artistic programmes will create different impacts, and not all programmes should be expected to have all impacts. (2013, 7)

Further, the audience itself is a variable in the equation (2013, 8). Different venues cater to different publics and the audiences that are attracted to certain types of performances may vary. Variations in impact scores may therefore reflect the composition of the audience rather than characteristics of the performance.

NEW ECONOMICS FOUNDATION

In 2008, the Independent Theatre Council, the Society of London Theatre and the Theatrical Management Association released a guidebook for theatres that they had commissioned from the New Economics Foundation (NEF). While the publication is intended as a practical manual to conducting post-show surveys for purposes of internal evaluation at theatres and is thus not a research report as such, it is noteworthy that the dimensions of the audience experience that they propose to measure largely correspond with Brown and Novak-Leonard's intrinsic impact indicators (Table 1), with some variation in language and emphasis.

New Economics Foundation, 2008, *Capturing the audience experience: A handbook for the theatre*, commissioned by Independent Theatre Council, The Society of London Theatre and Theatrical Management Association.

As with Brown and Novak-Leonard's work, the authors of the NEF study sought a more comprehensive understanding of the audience experience than could be captured on the basis of a singular satisfaction measure. They write,

> The Audience Experience Framework is not intended to define what 'good' or 'high-quality' theatre looks like. Whether or not a piece of theatre is successful depends on how well it achieves its aims. However, the Framework *is* intended to encourage new ways of thinking about just what these aims are, and about how to demonstrate that a performance, a series of shows or even a whole season's work was 'successful' in its own terms. (15-16, emphasis is in the original)

Given the objective of developing a set of survey tools that would be of practical use to theatre professionals, NEF derived indicators from an online survey of 2,500 regular theatre-goers and a series of interviews with theatre professionals, rather than from an abstract theory of impact or value (12). The authors tested and refined their survey protocols in four pilot tests, and some of the findings of these pilots are presented for purposes of illustration.

Interestingly, the authors of the NEF handbook share Brown and Novak-Leonard's opinion that engagement and concentration ('captivation' in Brown and

FIGURE 5 NEF's Audience Experience Framework
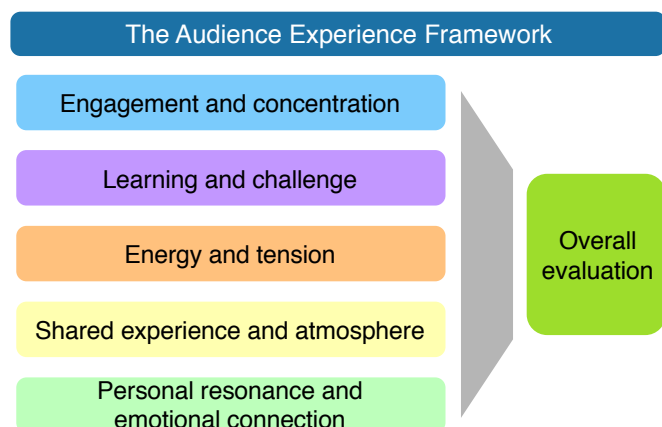
(NEF 2008, 14)

Novak-Leonard's terms) stands out among the audience experience dimensions. Their explanation, however, is somewhat different:

> **Of these five dimensions, it seems safe to assume that all (or at least the great majority of) theatre performances are intended to be engaging; surely no writer or director sets out to bore the audience or encourage their attention to wander. (15)**

They go on to state that regarding the remaining four dimensions, 'it is not obvious that all productions will share the same intent' and point out that a community-based theatre might emphasise the sense of shared experience while an avant-garde theatre company might intentionally challenge its audiences and provoke a sense of alienation (15). The authors thus seem to share Brown and Novak-Leonard's concerns about cross-site comparisons. They therefore primarily promote their survey as a tool for internal evaluation and documenting success in achieving specific aims.

Three of the five dimensions identified in the NEF handbook ('engagement and concentration', 'personal resonance and emotional connection', 'shared experience and atmosphere') correspond rather clearly to indicators used by Brown and Novak-Leonard (Table 1) and it is possible that aspects of Brown and Novak-Leonard's 'spiritual value' and 'aesthetic growth' would be captured under 'personal resonance and emotional connection' and 'learning and challenge', respectively.

The biggest difference between the two sets of indicators lies in NEF's addition of an 'energy and tension' dimension. This category 'refers to physiological reactions to the performance' (13). According to the NEF authors, responses such as raised heart rate, increased muscle tension and perspiration 'are usually associated with emotional states' and are 'a good indicator that people are emotionally engaged with the work' (13). Whereas Latulipe et al (2011) would support the claim that physiological responses are good indicators of arousal and engagement, it is curious that the NEF survey asks audience members to subjectively assess their physiological reactions, which are to be used as an indicator of their subjective response. This brings the feedback cycle full circle. If the ultimate goal is to gauge the audience's level of engagement with post-show surveys, it would seem that the questions in the 'engagement and concentration' section would be sufficient and likely more effective than asking about physiological responses as an indicator of engagement.

BAKHSHI, MATEOS-GARCIA AND THROSBY

Hasan Bakhshi and David Throsby released two reports in 2010 that both compare audience reactions to direct (in-person) encounters with art and mediated representations of the same work. *Beyond Live* (Bakhshi, Mateos-Garcia and Throsby 2010) reports findings comparing the experiences of audience members at live performances at the National Theatre with those viewing live digital broadcasts of the performances in cinemas. *Culture of Innovation* (Bakhshi and Throsby 2010) combines the findings of the earlier report with data on visitor experiences at an exhibit at the Tate Gallery in Liverpool and an online presentation of the same exhibit. In both studies, audience responses were captured through online surveys administered shortly after the exposure to the artwork (Bakhshi and Throsby 2010, 29, 43).

H Bakhshi, J Mateos-Garcia and D Throsby, 2010, *Beyond Live: Digital Innovation in the Performing Arts*, NESTA.

H Bakhshi and D Throsby, 2010, *Culture of Innovation: An Economic Analysis of Innovation in Arts and Cultural Organisations*, NESTA.

The authors of these studies set out to capture the value that is created by the arts and cultural organisations. Following the definitions articulated by Throsby in 2001 (see chapter 2), they distinguish between economic and cultural value. The two forms of value are measured independently to gain a 'more sophisticated assessments of the value created by individual arts and cultural organisations' and to 'explore the relationship between the two' forms of value (Bakhshi and Throsby 2010, 15, 58). In keeping with the theme of the present literature review, the discussion of Bakhshi and Throsby's work focuses on their exploration of cultural value.

The authors explore cultural value via survey questions about its disaggregated components (Bakhshi and Throsby 2010, 19), and with a few unacknowledged amendments (ie, the addition of education and the elimination of historical and authenticity value) the dimensions of cultural value used here correspond to those outlined by Throsby (2001, 28-29). In 2001, Throsby included 'historical value' (the ability to reflect the past, inform the present and provide a sense of continuity) and 'authenticity value' (the value of the fact that the work is real, original and unique; ie, the reason why forgeries and copies are less valuable). These two categories were eliminated in 2010 and in their stead 'educational value' was added. The modifications that were made to the list of components brings them into even closer correspondence with other authors' impact indicators (see Table 1). 'Symbolic value', which is unique to Throsby's frameworks (both 2001 and 2010) refers the work's ability to communicate meanings (2001, 29).

Like Brown and Novak-Leonard and NEF, Bakhshi and Throsby note that the reported audience experiences must be interpreted in conjunction with the overall goals of the cultural offerings. Thus, for instance, the researchers explain the low levels of feeling 'transported' reported by both online and in-gallery visitors to the Tate with reference to the fact that 'by intention this show was more academic than "spiritual" in its impact' (Bakhshi and Throsby 2010, 50). Moreover, they note that '45 per cent of online respondents said that the two modes of seeing the exhibition were too different to make a comparison', which again emphasises the difficulty of comparisons (50). This latter finding highlights one of the difficulties of measuring cultural value that Throsby identified in 2001, when he noted that it may not be possible to express some aspects of aesthetic judgment in terms of preference, but merely as difference (Throsby 2001, 32).

Regarding audiences' 'absorption' Bakhshi et al's findings seem to contradict those of Brown and Novak-Leonard. In their analysis of the relationship between cultural and economic value reported by audience members, Bakhshi et al observe that

> the elements of cultural value most clearly associated with consumers' economic valuation of their experiences … are the aesthetic/symbolic value indicated by their emotional response, and the social value of the group experience. Interestingly, the aesthetic value indicated by the respondents' absorption in the show exerts only a weak influence on willingness to pay. (Bakhshi et al 2010, 38)

While the authors are speaking of the economic value that audiences attribute to their experiences (which is distinct from their cultural value in Throsby's framework), their finding that absorption is of little consequence stands in stark opposition to Brown et al's results for 'captivation', which they refer to as the 'lynchpin of impact' (Brown and Novak-Leonard 2007, 11). While it may not be possible to explain the contradictory findings regarding the role of captivation, a closer examination of the issue brings a further-reaching problem in the interpretation of audience's self-reported experiences to the fore.

A DEEPER LOOK AT SPECIFIC INDICATORS, AND HOW THEY ALIGN ACROSS FOUR QUANTITATIVE STUDIES

Table 1, above, suggests a remarkable amount of overlap between the categories or constructs of impact that researchers seek to measure. An examination of the individual survey questions that are used to assess these dimensions, however, reveals considerable discrepancies between the researchers' constructs, but also some striking similarities in individual indicators.

The appendix tables on page 151 attempt to sort out specific questions drawn from the four closely reviewed survey protocols, in order to examine the similarities and differences more closely. These include NEF (2008), Bakhshi et al (2010), Brown et al (2007, 2012, 2013), and Boerner and Jobst (2013). In these tables, the actual wordings of the survey questions are used as the basis for comparison, regardless of how the authors categorise or associate these indicators with larger constructs (indicated in parentheses). In order to keep these tables to a manageable size, we have left out some indicators from the lengthier protocols and selected those that most closely align with indicators from other studies.

The tables are organised as follows:

Table A-1: A grouping of indicators around engagement, energy and tension, concentration, captivation and absorption level

Strong consistency across studies was found as to indicators of absorption, captivation and the audience member's general sense of feeling involved and engaged. Subtle but important differences in specific language are observed, which could lead to different results, such as:

I was totally absorbed (Bakhshi et al 2010)

During the performance I was constantly very anxious to see what would happen next (Boerner and Jobst 2013)

Captivation is also identified as a theme emerging from several of the qualitative studies reviewed in the next section of the report, including Foreman-Wernet and Dervin (2013) and Walmsley (2013). Brown and Novak-Leonard (2013), citing psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, argue that captivation (ie, achieving a psychological state of 'flow') is an impact of cultural experiences, not just a precondition for impacts to occur.

Table A-2: A grouping of indicators around personal resonance, emotional connection, empathy and inspiration

This grouping of indicators aims to describe the emotional and spiritual affects of cultural programmes on participants. Researchers seem to agree that being emotionally moved is a core element of individual impact, alternatively framed as being 'moved' or 'touched' or characterised as the strength of the audience member's 'emotional response'. Authors also agree that an audience member's feeling of empathy for a character, artist or performer is a core indicator of impact, as in 'I could relate to, or feel a bond with the performers' (Bakhshi et al 2010).

The extent to which the individual participant finds personal meaning or relevance in the artistic work is identified as an indicator of impact in NEF (2008) and Boerner and Jobst (2013).

There is less agreement about impacts of a spiritual nature. NEF (2008) avoids any indicators in this vein, while the other authors explore different aspects of 'uplift', 'inspiration', 'transcendence', and being 'transported', such as:

I was transported to another world and lost track of time (Bakhshi et al 2010) (closely related to captivation)

How much did the performance leave you feeling uplifted or inspired…? (Brown and Novak, 2007)

Brown et al initially identified 'spiritual value' as a separate construct of individual impact, but later pooled it with 'emotional resonance' citing high correlations and lack of statistical evidence that indicators of spiritual uplift reveal something significantly different from indicators of emotional resonance.

In their qualitative research, Foreman-Wernet and Dervin (2013) identify 'Truth/Beauty' as a core element of impact, which they had previously described as 'Spirituality/Transcendence' (2011). This raises interesting questions about the utility of an abstract construct such as 'spiritual impact' which, in some studies, cannot be justified in multivariate statistical analyses, yet remains something very real and even essential in respondents' descriptions of their own cultural experiences.

Table A-3: A grouping of indicators around learning and thinking, provocation, challenge and intellectual stimulation

There is strong agreement across the studies that indicators of 'learning and challenge' (NEF 2008), 'education' (Bakhshi and Throsby 2010) and 'intellectual stimulation' (Brown and Ratzkin 2012) are core elements of impact, but the specific questions designed to measure these impacts vary a great deal. A common approach is to ask respondents if they were 'challenged' or 'provoked' or if their 'eyes were opened to a new idea' or a 'point of view' that they hadn't previously considered. These questions seem to operate on a continuum from simple cognitive stimulation (eg, 'it made me think') to a more advanced stage of critical reflection (eg, questioning one's beliefs or assumptions). Another approach to investigating learning and thinking impacts is to ask respondents if the experience raised questions in their mind that they would like to explore further, as in:

I would be interested in getting into a conversation with persons involved in the production (Boerner and Jobst 2013)

Did the [artistic work] raise questions in your mind that you would like to ask the performers or creators of the work? (Brown et al)

This cluster of impacts is very much supported in the qualitative research literature we reviewed, including references to themes of 'knowledge transfer or learning' (Radbourne et al 2009), 'cognitive/intellectual growth' (Foreman-Wernet and Dervin 2013), and 'cognitive benefits' (Everett and Barrett 2011). In the arts education literature, several frameworks for quality include a focus on 'discovery skills' and 'developing curiosity' (Lord et al 2012, 21).

Table A-4: A grouping of indicators around aesthetic growth, discovery, aesthetic validation and creative stimulation

There is little consensus across the four studies as to the place of aesthetic impacts in a quantitative measurement system. Most of the specific indicators pertaining to this construct appear in the work of Brown et al, although several are found in the work of Boerner and Jobst. Both of these researchers provide an indicator of aesthetic challenge, such as:

I think some elements in this production crossed the boundaries of good taste (Boerner and Jobst 2013)

To what extent did anything about the performance offend you or make you uncomfortable? (Brown and Ratzkin 2012)

The same two studies also provide an indicator of aesthetic inquisitiveness – as indicated by 'thinking about the structure or characteristics of the [artistic work] or the life of the [artist] (Brown and Novak-Leonard 2013) or being 'stimulated to take a closer look to the play during the next couple of days…' (Boerner and Jobst 2013). One could easily argue that both of the aforementioned indicators align more closely with the 'learning and thinking' construct. Other elements of aesthetic impact include exposure to new artistic work or new interpretations of existing work, validation of previously acquired aesthetic tastes, and increased capacity to articulate one's own preferences and tastes (Brown et al).

The capacity for cultural experiences to activate one's creativity is recognised in two of the studies:

I feel my creativity has been stimulated by the experience (Bakhshi et al 2010)

How much did the performance stir your imagination? (Brown and Ratzkin, 2012)

While Bakhshi et al categorise this indicator as an element of their 'education' construct, Brown et al categorise it as an element of their 'aesthetic enrichment' construct. The arts education literature, meanwhile, contributes a good deal to the drawing out of aesthetic outcomes for youth, including:

1. art form knowledge (understanding of the elements of the art form)
2. art form appreciation (of the style and repertoire)
3. art form skills and techniques (for using and manipulating tools and materials)
4. interpretative skills (for reading and decoding processes and products)
5. the ability to make aesthetic judgments (Lord et al 2012, 20, citing Harland, et al, 2005)

In their qualitative investigation of arts impacts, White and Hede (2008) identify 'innovation' as a core dimension of impact, and 'imagination' and 'new art forms' as sub-dimensions. The theoretical dimensions of aesthetic experiences have been debated for centuries. Belfiore and Bennett (2007) provide a deep analysis of this literature, as well as recent attempts to investigate aesthetic impact on an empirical basis, concluding 'there is much that is left unexplained and uninterrogated by these studies' (237). Overall, the literature suggests that measurement of the aesthetic dimensions of cultural experiences is complex and problematic, and very much still in a developmental stage.

Table A-5: A grouping of indicators around social connectedness, sense of belonging, shared experience, social bridging and social bonding

The four studies agree that social dimensions of cultural experiences are central to impact. For example, all four studies provide indicators of the audience member's 'sense of belonging' or 'feeling part of a community', such as:

Seeing the play in the company of an audience increased my enjoyment (Bakhshi et al 2010)

Today I had the impression of being part of a community (Boerner and Jobst 2013)

One of the most striking similarities across the four studies is the closeness in wording of an indicator of the respondent's desire to talk about the work after-wards:

I will be talking about the experience for some time to come (NEF 2008)

After leaving the theatre I wanted to talk to people about what I'd seen (Bakhshi et al 2010)

Afterwards, did you discuss the performance with others who attended? (Brown and Novak, 2007)

I am looking forward to talking to others about this performance (Boerner and Jobst 2013)

NEF and Bakhshi et al count this as a sign of sociability while Brown and Novak consider it a sign of intellectual stimulation, and Boerner and Jobst consider it as 'stimulation to communication'. Regardless, the act of verbalising one's feelings about a cultural experience – and listening to others' opinions – is clearly indicated as a sign of impact. Other social indicators defined by Brown et al relate to social bridging (ie, gaining a new understanding or appreciation for people who are different from you), social bonding (ie, strengthening one's bond with one's own identity or community), and pride of place (ie, experiences that engender a feeling of pride in one's own community).

SUMMARY

The fact that different researchers ask almost identical questions on their surveys and interpret them variously as indicators of aesthetic value, intellectual stimulation or social bonding reveals the need for a more substantial (and generally accepted) theoretical basis for the disaggregation of cultural value and impact into subcomponents. The lack of more general agreement on this point poses a severe problem for the advancement of our understanding of the impacts and values that are created by cultural experiences. In light of the incongruities between the measurement constructs, it can hardly be expected that researchers will be able to corroborate or refute each other's findings and thereby develop a stable and cohesive body of knowledge in the short-term.

Over the past decade, quantitative research on individual impacts has been concerned with proving that it is possible to measure audiences' experience of cultural events. Having demonstrated that audiences report significant differences in their responses to various cultural experiences, the next steps must be to refine the methods used to measure those responses, and to explore the uses and limitations of this information.

Developing a robust set of indicators cannot merely be a matter of researchers negotiating a consensus agreement. The measurement constructs must be grounded in a coherent theory that is substantiated with empirical results. Moreover, the indicators used to measure impact must make plain sense to audiences and visitors, and must be germane to the experience they've had. This represents a core challenge for researchers – reconciling the effects that audiences talk about in open-ended explorations of cultural experiences with theoretically sound and statistically valid models for impact. On the quantitative side, researchers must be more rigorous in testing sets of indicators—their own as well as those of other researchers—in a variety of settings. The most valid and reliable constructs for specific purposes must be identified by testing them in direct comparison with other indicators.

Qualitative research

A wide range of research literature employs qualitative methods to assess how individuals are affected by cultural experiences. This includes studies examining individual participants' experiences at specific cultural programmes (eg, qualitative assessments of a particular museum visit or theatrical performance), qualitative studies tracking the longitudinal impacts of individuals' experiences with a specific institution or cultural programme, and more broadly focused ethnographic studies exploring the arts, cultural, and creative lives of individuals, families and communities, and the kinds of programs and activities they find meaningful. Across this broad swath of literature, our primary focus lies in studies of the impact of specific cultural experiences or 'events'.

POST-EVENT QUALITATIVE ASSESSMENTS

Rather than defining measurement constructs in advance, several researchers have turned to qualitative measures in order to let the respondents describe their cultural experiences in their own terms.

RADBOURNE ET AL

In recent years, Jennifer Radbourne and her colleagues have been developing an Arts Audience Experience Index (AAEI) based on qualitative audience reports. While Radbourne et al have started using more structured means of data collection, including written (2013, 9) and face-to-face surveying (2013, 11; 2010b, 319), they initially emphasised the value of soliciting 'deep feedback.'

Radbourne et al distinguish between 'surface feedback' and 'deep feedback.' The former refers to metrics such as box office figures, demographic information and satisfaction surveys, which 'provide[…] information about the audience' (2010a, 374). The latter 'provides information about [audience members'] expectations and experience of the performance' (2010a, 374). Deep feedback methods 'progressively build on information given, usually through lengthy discussions

J Radbourne, H Glow and K Johanson, 2013, 'Knowing and Measuring the Audience Experience', in *The Audience Experience: A critical analysis of audiences in the performing arts* edited by J Radbourne, H Glow and K Johanson, Bristol, UK and Chicago, USA: Intellect, 1-13.

J Radbourne, H Glow and K Johanson, 2010b, 'Measuring the intrinsic benefits of arts attendance', in *Cultural Trends* 19:4, 307-324.

J Radbourne, K Johanson and H Glow, 2010a. 'Empowering Audiences to Measure Quality', in *Participations* 7:2, 360-379.

J Radbourne, K Johanson, H Glow and T White, 2009, 'The Audience Experience: Measuring Quality in the Performing Arts', in *International Journal of Arts Management* 11:3, 16-29.

with audience members, and they allow for audiences to direct the feedback to what aspects of their experience they consider worthy of discussion' (2010a, 370). Such detailed qualitative feedback can be collected by several means. Radbourne and her colleagues mention blogs, focus groups, online games for children, annual dinner meetings with select audience members, formal committees of audience members and theatre clubs or music societies as possible options (2010b, 316-17).

Based on five focus group discussions held with audience members of three performing arts companies in Melbourne, the researchers identify a set of four indicators that together make up the Arts Audience Experience Index (2009, 22). The indicators are

- **Knowledge transfer or learning (contextual programming, enhancements, etc.)**
- **Risk management**
- **Authenticity (believability, meaning and representation, sincerity)**
- **Collective engagement (ensuring expectations of social contact and inclusion)**

By rating each of these indicators on a five-point scale and summing the scores, Radbourne et al calculate the AAEI as a single number on a scale from four to twenty. The index 'is conceived as a qualitative tool to access audience feedback on quality' (2010b, 313). Thus, Radbourne et al interpret the score of 16.4 received by a performing arts centre in their case study as evidence that the venue is 'achieving a moderately high quality audience experience, but not at the highest quality' (2010b, 321).

It is not clear how the index scores can be derived from the qualitative 'deep feedback' methods that Radbourne and her colleagues promote. In the one case study in which they calculate an AAEI score they administered a formal survey that asked audience members to score two questions for each of the four indicators on a scale from one to five. While this methods of data collection would seem at odds with the researchers' earlier call for feedback that is 'qualitative and thorough, and that encourages sustained reflection' (2010a, 374), they seem to embrace this 'transition in research techniques' and expand their definition of 'deep feedback' to include quantitative survey results (2010b, 322).

FOREMAN-WERNET AND DERVIN

Lois Foreman-Wernet and Brenda Dervin have long been using qualitative methods to study how people experience various form culture events (2013, 71). Using the Sense-Making Methodology that Dervin has developed over 40 years of research in the field of Communication Studies, the authors seek to 'break through surface-level responses' and 'delve more deeply into the interpretive process' of arts audiences (2013, 79). In this, their project resembles the work of Radbourne et al.

L Foreman-Wernet and B Dervin, 2013, 'In the Context of Their Lives: How Audience Members Make Sense of Performing Arts Experiences', in *The Audience Experience: A critical analysis of audiences in the performing arts*, edited by J Radbourne, H Glow and K Johanson, Bristol, UK and Chicago, USA: Intellect, 67-82.

According to Foreman-Wernet and Dervin, the responses that audience members usually give are limited to 'pictures of stereotypic and habitual behaviour' that fail to reveal 'the narratives, hopes and dreams, challenges and struggles that make up the core of human experiencing and are so central to human appreciation of art' (2013, 71). Dervin's Sense-Making Methodology (SMM) assumes that it is inherent in the human condition that we are forced to move through a world that is chaotic and open to multiple, changing and conflicting interpretations. Within this world 'humans are always mandated to "make sense"—that is take the next step cognitively, emotionally, physically, spiritually—in the absence of complete instruction' (2013, 70). 'Sense-making' in Dervin's usage is thus not limited to cognitive interpretation; it includes a the full range of responses that make up human experience, which connects Foreman-Wernet and Dervin's work with the notions of intrinsic impact and cultural value.

Whether it is used in the context of arts experiences or in other communicative encounters, SMM always draws upon the same set of open-ended questions to coax out candid responses from research participants in self-interviews, such as:

- **What conclusions, thoughts, insights did you come to?**
- **What confusions, questions did you experience?**
- **What emotions, feelings did you have?**
- **How did this relate to your past experience? (2013, 71)**

In order to evaluate the qualitative responses that are elicited through this method, the researchers have identified 'a number of themes of patterned responses to individual encounters with the arts,' based on their analysis of interviews collected over the course of 20 years of research (2013, 71). In the 2013 study, these themes—elsewhere referred to as 'categor[ies] of impact' (2011, 29)—

are applied in the evaluation of ten student responses to an online presentation of a piano concerto. The eight categories are:

- **Truth/Beauty (previously called "Spirituality/Transcendence," 2011, 29)**
- **Captivation**
- **Self-expression**
- **Self-awareness**
- **Cognitive/intellectual growth**
- **Community/connection**
- **Well-being**
- **Social judgment (2013, 72-75)**

The researchers note 'that the beneficial outcomes of arts experiences that have been identified by our informants are also precisely the ones that are discussed in the aesthetics literature and are well understood by lovers of the arts' (2013, 71-72); however, they do not speculate on the directionality of the causality. Do these themes inherently structure the way that humans react to artistic experiences, so that Foreman-Wernet and Dervin's findings empirically corroborate the theories of aestheticians? Or have cultural norms and aesthetic theories shaped the way we think about the arts, so that informants merely reiterate familiar tropes? The authors do not comment on these questions.

One benefit of the open-ended interview questions used in SMM is that it allows respondents to express negative aspects of their experiences. Most formal surveys are biased in that they ask respondents whether they perceived a positive impact or no impact at all. Surveys generally do not ask audience members to rate the degree to which they felt offended, whether the experience incited rage in them, or whether they feel more inclined to engage in illegal activities in the future. In Foreman-Wernet and Dervin's interviews, however, 'informants also identified arts experiences that had negative or mixed outcomes' (2013, 72).

Another advantage of Dervin's SMM is that it has been used to interview people about all sorts of different experiences. Foreman-Wernet and Dervin note that this methodology has been utilised to gather information on 'users of information systems, audiences of all forms of media, citizen understandings of public policy and patients interacting with health-care systems' (2013, 70). Rather than simply asserting that cultural experiences create a unique set of values and impacts, this allows for comparison with other types of experiences.

RETROSPECTIVE IDENTIFICATION OF IMPACTFUL EVENTS

While all of the empirical studies discussed so far have sought to shed light on the audience's experience of specific cultural events, some qualitative studies have inquired about the role that the arts and culture play in people's lives more generally, allowing the respondents to determine which cultural goods and events they want to discuss. For instance, while Foreman-Wernet and Dervin's 2013 study uses SMM interviews to ask informants about their experience watching an online video of a piano concerto, the same researchers have also used this methodology to assess the contributions of cultural experiences within the larger flow of life.

FOREMAN-WERNET AND DERVIN

In Foreman-Wernet and Dervin (2011), the researchers present four case studies in which they ask college students to 'select cultural products or experiences from the past or present that had significant meaning in their lives' and then guide the students through extensive self-interviews using SMM. While this would not be an efficient way for arts organisations to measure the impact of their work—there is no guarantee that respondents would discuss any of the organisation's work during the interview—this approach can shed light on the types of cultural experiences that leave lasting impressions on people and what makes them so significant for the people who experience them.

L Foreman-Wernet and B Dervin, 2011, 'Cultural experience in context: Sense-making the arts', in *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 41:1. 1-37.

The experiences on which the informants in this study chose to report extend far beyond what would generally be considered 'the arts'. They discussed the impacts that horror movies, action figures, TV sitcoms, stand up comedians and feminine hygiene commercials had on their lives along with the impacts of ballet, novels and musicals.

Foreman-Wernet and Dervin use the eight categories of impact listed above to evaluate the participants' responses and find that there is generally a common thread flowing the discussions of each of the subject's experiences. For each respondent there is a personal identity struggle to which they keep returning in their descriptions of the most significant cultural experiences of their lives (2011, 35).

WHITE AND HEDE

Tabitha White and Anne-Marie Hede's approach resembles that of Foreman-Wernet and Dervin in many ways, with the difference that they use alternative means of collecting data from their informants. Drawing on the 'narrative inquiry' approach to qualitative research, White and Hede asked eight individuals to reflect on 'how they define art, how they experience art, and what impacts resulted for them' and record their thoughts in daily diary entries over the course of two weeks (26). The respondents were also asked to submit twelve photographs to help convey their experiences. Two to four weeks later, the researchers conducted in-depth interviews with each participant to gather additional information about the diaries and photographs and then combine the information gathered by those various means into composite, 'researcher-refined' narrative texts (26).

In the subsequent analysis, the researchers identified the following preliminary impacts, which are in turn associated with several subdimensions (27, 29-30):

- **Innovation (exploring ideas, learning new things, new art forms)**
- **Vision (enriching, meaning making, imagination)**
- **Connection (artist and viewer, social bonds)**
- **Perception (self, empathy, world)**
- **Sensation (beauty, emotion, visual spectacle)**
- **Well-being (respite, catharsis, restoration)**
- **Transmission (communicating concepts, documenting life, ideology)**

The authors visualise the preliminary impacts in a circumplex diagram that positions them around the outside of a core labelled 'impact of art' (figure 3 on p. 27 of the original, also reprinted in Walmsley 2013)[3] . Moving outwards in the diagram, the authors list the subdimensions of the preliminary impacts, followed by three 'enablers' that are located in the outermost ring. The enablers—opportunity, resonance and experience—are 'factors that facilitate the occurrence of impact' (27). Conceptually, patrons presumably gain access to the arts through the enablers, then experience the subdimensions and the preliminary impacts of the work, which ultimately combine to form the unified impact at the centre of the diagram.

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3   *We were unable to secure permission to reprint the diagram here.*

Like Foreman-Wernet and Dervin (2011), White and Hede find that their informants cite a wide range of experiences with popular culture along with their impressions of the fine arts (28). Moreover, participants describe interacting with art in a wide variety of spaces (eg, in the street, at home, in commercial venues, in church) and in several different modes. The modes of participation mentioned by the informants correspond with those identified by Brown (2004).

White and Hede conclude that the impact of art is a complex phenomenon that depends on 'each individual's experience and perspective' (32). Their research approach shares many of the same strengths and weaknesses of SMM.

BEN WALMSLEY

Ben Walmsley considers White and Hede's interpretation to be a great step forward. In particular, he commends that they identify 'enablers' and depict the impacts as part of an integrated whole rather than separating social and personal benefits into discrete clusters (77). This stands in contrast to two-dimensional 'benefits models' which he critiques for reducing 'the complex realm of value to tangible benefits and outputs, [thereby failing] to fully represent theatre experiences as situational and relational' (78). Echoing the calls of other proponents of qualitative research, he advocates for an approach that assesses 'impact on its own terms and in the audience's own vernacular' (78).

Ben Walmsley, 2013, '"A big part of my life": a qualitative study of the impact of theatre', in *Arts Marketing: An International Journal* 3:1, 73-87.

Walmsley's 2013 paper focuses on theatre and explores the impact that it has on audiences, 'both immediately and over time' (74). He is principally concerned with the audience's perspective and capturing 'the personal and intrinsic aspects of impact as articulated by theatre-goers themselves' (74). To do this, he conducts a series of 34 semi-structured interviews with patrons of two theatre companies, one in Melbourne, Australia and the other in Leeds, UK. In addition, he interviews a total of eight staff members at the two theatre companies. Rather than soliciting responses to a particular production, Walmsley follows White and Hede

(2008) and Foreman-Wernet and Dervin (2011) in allowing interviewees to reflect on their experience of theatre in general, asking questions such as:

- **What was your first memorable experience of theatre and how did it affect you?**
- **What kind of plays tend to affect you most?**
- **How different would your life be without theatre? (79-80)**

In order to structure the analysis of the many variations of impact described by respondents, Walmsley follows the same procedure used in the other qualitative studies that are discussed here and identifies 'key themes'. He finds that 'impact emerges as a personal construct articulated by audiences in terms of

- **Emotion**
- **Captivation**
- **Engagement**
- **Enrichment**
- **Escapism**
- **Wellbeing**
- **World view**
- **Addiction (73, bulleting added)** [4]

In comparing Walmsley's findings with those of other qualitative studies, the theme of addiction is a noteworthy addition. Asked how different life would be without theatre, one informant reported that he/she would likely have withdrawal symptoms, which, according to Walmsley, 'reflected the recurrent description of theatre as "an emotional hit"' (84).

In line with Brown and Novak-Leonard (and in contrast to Bakhshi et al's findings for NT Live performances), Walmsley finds that 'audience members with the deepest expectations reaped the highest value from their experience, so that impact became an almost self-fulfilling prophecy' (81). Intriguingly, while researchers such as Brown consider 'transformation' to be central to the idea of

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4   This list is derived from findings articulated in the abstract to Walmsley's article. The 'key themes' discussed in the article itself are: flow, distraction, catharsis and transformation, well-being and long-term impact, relationship building, world view and life without theatre (81). The key themes identified in the body of the article are in part determined by the questions that Walmsley asks (eg, regarding transformation and 'life without theatre') rather than by the interviewees' responses. The list that is included in the abstract appears to be most representative of his findings.

audience impact (2006, 18-19), Walmsley finds little evidence of transformational experiences in his informants' reports although he explicitly asks whether they had ever felt transformed by a theatre performance (82, 85).

Walmsley's main objective for this project is to find a way to 'articulate impact in a more holistic way' and he feels that his interviews achieve this by 'expressing impact through personal stories and reflections which make no distinction between value and benefits' (85). Beyond that, however, Walmsley calls attention to qualitative research's potential to shed light on both the 'immediate and cumulative impact of theatre' (85). While this capacity is inherent in all of the studies that allow respondents to retrospectively identify impactful events, Walmsley explicitly addresses how the impact of a single event can continue to build over a lifetime (what Brown calls the 'Impact Echo', Brown and Ratzkin 2011, 7). Walmsley finds that 'over half of the respondents admitted to keeping programmes, tickets or even theatre diaries as mementos of their theatre experiences' to extend the value of the experience (83). One interviewee noted that 'plays stay in your memory bank for years' and another states that 'the impact of theatre on her life was cumulative, rather than immediately life-changing' (83). The dimension of time is thus highlighted as an aspect of individual impact.

ASSESSING LONGITUDINAL IMPACTS

Walmsley is not alone in his interest in the temporal dimensions of impact and value. In the context of children's theatre, for instance, Matthew Reason discusses how the arts can give rise to on-going, life-long experiences (2013). He argues that post-show drawing activities accompanied by discussions of the work not only allow researchers to assess the quality of the experience that a production provides for young audience members, but actively enhance the experience by extending the children's engagement (104). Reason notes that the audience's response 'is not only a momentary engagement but also an ongoing experience that takes place after, as well as during, the event' (101).

EVERETT AND BARRETT

Michelle Everett and Margaret Barrett explicitly take on the question of how value and impacts accumulate over a lifetime in their investigation of 'the relationship that an individual maintains with a single museum through different life stages' (432). To do this, they select three females ranging in age from five to eighty, who serve as the subjects of their case studies. While this is a cross-sectional sample of age cohorts, rather than a longitudinal study that repeatedly queries the same individuals at various stages in their lives, the informants are able to present perspectives from a wide range of life stages from early childhood through to retirement (433). Furthermore, the respondents were invited to reflect on their entire history of engagement with the museum in a manner similar to the studies that retrospectively identify impactful events, discussed in the previous section.

Data was collected in three phases. An initial interview asked participants about their 'history of engagement with museums and the [Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery] in particular' (433). A second interview focused on their current engagement with the museum and asked the participants to take the researchers on a 'guided tour' through the exhibitions. The final interview allowed respondents to reflect and expand upon issues they raised in their previous conversations with the researchers. In a manner similar to White and Hede (2008), the researchers then merged the transcriptions of these various conversations into a single composite narrative. In doing so, they draw on Clandinin and Connelly's narrative inquiry methodology, noting that 'the aim of narrative research is not to generalise to a wider population, but to understand individual human experience' (433).

After a preliminary discussion of the respondents' narratives, segmented by their respective stages of life (childhood, adulthood, golden years), the researchers structure their analysis around the following benefits:

- **Intrinsic benefits**
- **Cognitive benefits**
- **Social benefits**
- **Benefits from emotional and aesthetic engagement**
- **Additional benefits from sustained engagement with place**

Everett and Barrett's study is particularly successful at capturing the respondents' experience of their relationship with the museum (as opposed their experience

of a particular service or product) and the role the institution plays within the patrons' social lives. Thus for five-year-old Zoë the museum is a place where she spends quality time with her father (435); for 46-year-old Diana the museum holds memories of earlier visits with her husband (before they were married) and later with their children (436); and although 80-year-old Virginia only started visiting the museum after retiring, it has become a central part of her life due to her role in the leadership committee of the Friends of the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery (438).

The sentimental narratives create a moving account of the significance that the museum holds for these individuals; however, the downside of the emphasis on the respondents' relationship with the museum (its 'institutional value' in Holden's terms) is that it is not necessarily connected to the cultural work of the museum. Even the intrinsic and aesthetic benefits discussed in the study are interpreted as resulting from the visitors' emotional connection to the institution and their memories of prior experiences there. Given the objectives of this study, this focus may be justified, but it might be said to overlook longitudinal benefits that are more specifically tied to the museum's cultural mission (eg, learning to appreciate art and history by being exposed to increasingly challenging material).

SUMMARY

The qualitative studies reviewed here identify several themes in the responses of their informants that align closely with the groupings of indicators deployed in quantitative surveys. While authors' discussions of these common themes often vary in ways that should not be glossed over, they may loosely be grouped as follows:

Themes related to engagement, energy and tension, concentration, captivation and absorption level (see Appendix Table A-1)

In the studies by Foreman-Wernet and Dervin and Walmsley respondents discussed their experiences in terms that closely resemble Csikszentmihalyi's description of the state of 'flow'. Both use the term 'captivation'.

Themes related personal resonance, emotional connection, empathy and inspiration (see Appendix Table A-2)

While the labels that researchers apply to these responses vary considerably, in each case the sense of emotional engagement and emotional connection with the work is central to the informants' experiences. White and Hede use the term

'sensation', while Walmsley uses 'engagement'. Everett and Barrett refer directly to the 'benefits from emotional and aesthetic engagement'. Foreman-Wernet and Dervin identify a spiritual or transcendent aspect of cultural experiences in 'truth/ beauty'.

Themes related to learning and thinking, provocation, challenge and intellectual stimulation (see Appendix Table A-3)

Only three of the five studies reviewed here explicitly identify learning and cognitive growth as major themes in their respondents' descriptions of their experiences; however, in these three cases, the responses that are grouped into the cognitive /learning themes are very consistent. Radbourne et al refer to 'knowledge transfer or learning' while Foreman-Wernet and Dervin refer to 'cognitive/intellectual growth' and Everett and Barrett use the term 'cognitive benefits'.

Themes related to aesthetic growth, discovery, aesthetic validation and creative stimulation (see Appendix Table A-4)

Interestingly, none of the qualitative studies reviewed here single out the development of aesthetic sensibilities as a theme in their informants' responses. This may result from aesthetic responses being subsumed under other themes within the respondents' reflections (eg, aesthetic growth might be reported as a form of learning). Indeed, Hede and White include the experience of new art forms as a subcomponent of innovation, along with exploring ideas and learning new things.

Themes related to social connectedness, sense of belonging, shared experience, social bridging and social bonding (see Appendix Table A-5)

With the exception of Walmsley, all of the qualitative research studies found the social aspects of cultural participation to be a consistent theme. The importance of the sense of belonging and social connectedness that derives from cultural experiences (arguably even when the experience takes place in solitude) appears to be the aspect on which there is most clear consensus both within and between the quantitative and qualitative studies. For example, Radbourne et al refer to 'collective engagement' while Foreman-Wernet and Dervin frame social benefits as 'community/connection'. Everett and Barrett refer directly to 'social benefits' and go further in identifying 'benefits from sustained engagement with place'.

Besides the themes that align with quantitative indicators of individual impact, two additional themes repeatedly appear in the qualitative studies:

Themes related to self-awareness and gaining an expanded worldview

While these themes may be related to learning and cognitive development, the emphasis is on gaining a sense of oneself in relation to the world and the availability of alternative perspectives. Foreman-Wernet and Dervin use the term 'self-awareness and social judgment' while White and Hede summarise this theme as 'perception', related to Walmsley's 'worldview'.

Themes related to well-being, fulfilment, respite, catharsis, restoration and escapism

Here the qualitative studies address a component of cultural experiences that is curiously absent in quantitative measures of individual impact: the sense of fun, joy, pleasure, relaxation, and regeneration. Three of the authors use the term 'well-being' to summarise this theme. White and Hede associate well-being with 'respite, catharsis and restoration', while Walmsley additionally cites 'escapism'. Everett and Barrett's use of the term 'intrinsic benefits' maps to this theme. While the quantitative studies discussed above do not include measures that address these aspects, they frequently appear in marketing literature reviewed in the next section.

One additional theme that strikes us as a significant addition to the literature is 'self-expression'. Only Foreman-Wernet and Dervin observe self-expression in their respondents' reflections, but this may result from the fact that the other studies focus on reception rather than the creative production or participation in cultural activities. Further, a creative voice is unlikely to emerge through a single cultural experience; rather, it develops over years of exposure and engagement in arts and culture. Inspiration and facilitation of creative self-expression must certainly be considered among the impacts that can occur through arts and culture.

Overall, there appears to be less consistency among the themes identified in the qualitative literature than there is between indicators that have been used in survey-based studies. Undoubtedly, this results in part from the fact that open ended interviews and other qualitative methods allow respondents to express themselves in their own terms, so that the themes that are identified in the participants' narratives depend on the particular vernacular of the informants. Further, while the quantitative studies discussed above all use post-performance surveys to study audiences at performing arts events, the qualitative studies address a much greater range of cultural activities, assessed at various points of temporal remove, and using different data collection methods. It should therefore come as no surprise that there is a greater diversity in the findings.

Discussion of research methodologies

Having reviewed a cross-section of the relevant literature, it is possible to draw some conclusions about the potentials and drawbacks of these various research methodologies. It seems fair to say that biometric research is unlikely to provide a practical means of assessing the overall impact or value of cultural experiences, at least not in the near future. While research on the biological functions that underlie the aesthetic experience provides the only truly objective measures of audience responses, it is questionable whether such objective responses – however desirable from a research standpoint – are relevant to the discussion of cultural goods and services. It may be that subjectivity is a defining characteristic of cultural experiences and should therefore be central to the investigation of audience responses.

Nonetheless, the physiological response is clearly a part of the aesthetic experience and may be in itself a desirable outcome. Knowledge of the physiological responses and their relationship to the subjective experience will therefore be of considerable benefit in advancing our conceptual understanding of impact and cultural value.

Post-event surveying has proven to be an effective means of assessing the short-term effects that specific cultural events have on participants. Since surveying requires researchers to determine the response measures in advance, it is important that the indicators are reflective of the full range of responses that constitute the cultural experience and that the questions on the survey protocols are correctly assigned to indicator constructs. The lack of consistency between several researchers' work in this regard (noted above) is therefore of some concern.

As with any research approach, there are certain limitations to post-event surveys. Most notably: 1) surveys can only capture aspects of the experience of which respondents are conscious (Belfiore and Bennett 2007, 239; Brown and Novak-Leonard 2013, 4); 2) there is limited comparability across events and locations; and 3) surveys immediately following events fail to capture effects that unfold over time. Researchers agree that post-event impact data is highly contextual and must always be considered in light of the nature and intentions of the artistic programme (Bakhshi and Throsby 2010, 50; NEF 2008, 15; Brown and Novak-Leonard 2013, 7). Moreover, survey data may be affected by situational factors that vary from venue to venue and city to city, as well as over time (Belfiore and Bennett 2007, 244; Brown and Novak-Leonard 2013, 8).

The primary focus of the literature on post-event survey research has been developing tools to assist arts and cultural organisations in gathering high quality audience feedback for internal accountability purposes. In fact, an organisation's capacity to gather and reflect on critical feedback from its audiences may be an organisational indicator of its creative capacity (explored in the next section). The larger question of the role of post-event survey data in assessing public sector policy is only emerging in the most recent literature (Bunting and Knell 2014). Some researchers, however, have expressed concerns about aggregating survey data across organisations and artforms, due to the highly personal and situational nature of impact, and because of differences across the forms themselves (Belfiore and Bennett 2007). Additional research and debate is required to better understand the extent to which it is appropriate and useful to aggregate self-reported participant impact data across organisations and artforms.

Qualitative methods have the advantage that they allow respondents to focus their reflections on the areas that are most significant to them. Rather than defining constructs in advance, researchers can allow their informants to express themselves in their own terms and subsequently derive the most relevant categories of responses inductively. However, as with formal surveying, qualitative methods of inquiry can only capture aspects of an experience of which respondents are aware and that they are able to articulate (Foreman-Wernet 2013, 70), and it is difficult to rule out the possibility that informants merely recite common tropes about the arts and culture (Armbrecht 2012, 134).

Whereas survey methods can be expected to yield consistent results over time and thus generate a stable basis of knowledge, the results of qualitative studies are not replicable, independently verifiable or refutable. As in any field of research, there is qualitative work that has been conducted conscientiously, thoughtfully and meticulously; however, there are also studies that are less rigorous. Since the conclusions drawn by one qualitative study are not disproven by contradictory findings in another, there is no inherent mechanism that weeds out research that is of substandard quality. One must therefore assess the integrity of each study by paying close attention to the research design and methodology, which can be challenging for readers who are not experienced researchers.

The increased attention that has been paid to the durational value and longitudinal impacts of cultural experiences is a welcome addition to the research literature. While the retrospective identification of impactful cultural events may not be a reasonable way to assess the impact of specific works or organisations, it can inform our understanding of the role that cultural participation plays within the larger scope of people's lives. Miles and Sullivan (2012) even go a step further and

analyse existing interviews from sources such as the 1958 Birth Cohort Study (also known as the National Child Development Study). By examining interviews about people's general leisure activities conducted with a truly random sample of the British population, Miles and Sullivan glean important insights into the role that arts and culture play in the lives of the population at large, whereas all other studies discussed here only capture the responses of people who engage with formally recognised cultural events and arts institutions.

In order to assess the cumulative value and longitudinal impacts of specific events, one would have to collect data from participants several months or even years after their initial experience. To the best of our knowledge, little research of this sort has been conducted to date, though it is feasible in principle, though costly.

TABLE 2 Stages of Individual Impact

CONCURRENT IMPACTS *Those that occur during the experience*	EXPERIENCED IMPACTS *Observed post-event hours or days later*	EXTENDED AND CUMULATIVE IMPACTS *Lifelong engagement/memory — weeks or years later*
Unconscious psycho-physical responses and states, such as: • Physiological response (heart rate, skin conductance) • Pre-cognitive response (arousal) • Captivation (flow, awe, absorption, concentration) • Energy and tension	Short-term experienced impacts, such as: • Emotional affect and meaning • Spiritual uplift • Learning and critical reflection • Social connectedness • Aesthetic enrichment and creative activation These impacts can occur before, during and after experiences, but are typically measured afterwards.	Delayed impacts of individual events, and impacts that accrue through repeated engagement in cultural activities over time, such as: • Memory of event • Sense of social belonging • Increased cultural capacity • Increased capacity for empathy • Expanded worldview • Health benefits • Subjective well-being

Based on our review of the literature, we have come to think of the impacts of cultural experiences on individuals as occurring in three stages (Table 2) in temporal proximity to the experience or stimulus. The stages do not necessarily reflect clearly distinguished segments of individual's experience. There is little point, for instance, in trying to pin down whether the post-event engagement phase continues for half an hour or two weeks after the initial event, since this is likely to vary from event to event and from individual to individual. Rather, we

have found it useful to think about different impacts occurring in distinct stages as a means of making sense of what impacts are captured through the various research methodologies.

During the event, individuals may respond in many ways of which they are not consciously aware at the time it is happening. Individuals may hold their breath, their heart rate may increase, they may lose track of time, or experience chills. Some of the physiological responses can be measured at the very moment at which they occur. Psychological engagement is more difficult to measure in the moment, as any conscious reflection on the individual's state may interfere with their experience (ie, interrupt their sense of flow or absorption). For the purposes of this discussion, we refer to these responses as '**concurrent impacts**'.

The concurrent impacts are unlikely to last for the full duration of the event. Any given theatre performance will have lulls (not to mention scene changes and intermissions) and there will be moments of distraction in any museum visit. Intellectual and emotional processes certainly also take place during the event of which individual participants are consciously aware. Thus, '**experienced impacts**' (as we call them) already start accruing during the event, but can also manifest shortly afterwards. These are the impacts that are captured in post-event surveys and focus groups. Far from distracting from the experience, the measurement process can actually generate additional impacts in these cases by inviting attendees to reflect on what they have just experienced (Reason 2013, 104; Bunting and Knell 2014, 67). Indeed, cultural organisations have developed an extensive body of practice to magnify experienced impacts through educational and enrichment activities before and after the main programme.

The term '**extended impacts**' encompasses all impacts that result from a specific cultural experience over the remainder of the participant's lifetime. Some experiences may be quickly forgotten, in which case there is little or no extended impact, except, perhaps, subconsciously. Others, however, stay in our memories for the rest of our lives, and those memories may be activated by other experiences later on in life (Reason 2013, 102; Walmsley 2013, 83). That is, later events may lead us to revisit past experiences and perhaps appreciate some aspect of them anew. Past experience also provide contextual knowledge that may help us gain additional pleasure from future events. McCarthy and Jinnett (2001) argue that every cultural experience helps to reframe future experiences, thereby suggesting that cultural experiences, by nature, have extended impacts. Klamer refers to this this as the accumulation of cultural capital (2003).

Individual impacts are not fixed or permanent in our conceptualisation. Often, they deteriorate over time, but in some cases they might increase with further experience and reflection. Thus, for example, a captivating concert might lead to strong 'experienced impacts' initially, but nonetheless soon fade from memory. Contrariwise, readers might find that they keep coming back to a poem that initially seemed unimpressive and only retrospectively realise what an impact it has had on their lives.

We assume that the more typical case is a strong initial impact, followed by a gradual decline, with the possibility of occasional spikes of extended impact if the work enhances subsequent cultural experiences. Figure 6 illustrates one example of how the individual impacts of a single event might develop over time. The rate at which impact deteriorates is likely to be unique to each cultural event and each individual who experiences it, giving rise to a variety of 'impact patterns' of the sort shown in Figure 6.

FIGURE 6 **Impact pattern of a cultural event**
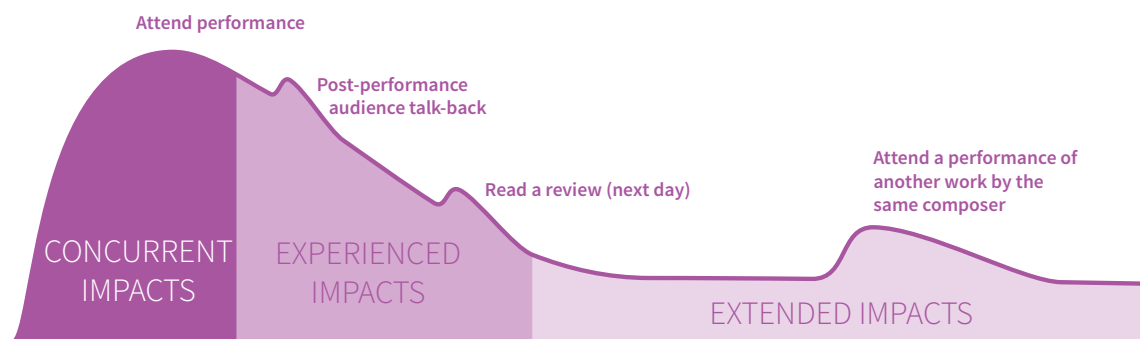
Studies that ask respondents about the most important cultural experiences in their lives capture the extended impacts of events. These are not necessarily the ones that had the greatest impact initially; however, for some reason, these events continue to play an important role in the respondents' lives, long after the event, perhaps linked to contextual factors such as national identity or even brain chemistry.

Over time, the long tails of extended impact of multiple experiences add up, giving rise to the notion of '**cumulative impacts**' (Walmsley 2013, 83, 85). This is the sum of all of the residual impacts that an individual has experienced, as shown in Figure 7. It is the cumulative impact of a lifetime of cultural activities that may yield long-term outcomes such as a stronger sense of social belonging, an expanded worldview or a greater sense of well-being.

FIGURE 7 Cumulative impact or multiple experiences over time

CUMULATIVE IMPACT

It stands to reason that if all of the individuals in a population experience the long-term benefits of regular cultural experiences, this will result in benefits at the societal level as well; however, this is not to say that value of arts and culture to society is simply the sum of the impacts received by individuals. The sum of individuals' cumulative impacts can only give an incomplete picture of the total value created (O'Brien 2010, 27; Fourcade 2011, 55), since it ignores values that are inherently social such as the value of active and engaged citizens. Similarly, the economic spillover benefits that are derived by restaurants in close proximity to a newly opened concert hall would not be captured by summing the impacts experienced by those who attend performances.

The three stages of impact and the notion of cumulative impact do not amount to a coherent model of lifelong cultural engagement; however, we have found them helpful in making sense of the literature we have reviewed and in framing additional questions.

There is much to be learned about the relationships between the different forms of impact that we have distinguished. While the work of many researchers from different disciplinary backgrounds is slowly filling in the steps between the initial physiological response to a cultural event, the experienced impact, and the long-term social benefits, there are many unanswered questions about the relationships between these steps (Belfiore and Bennett 2010, 125; Selwood 2010, 20; Knell and Taylor 2011, 13). For instance:

- **What is an effective 'dose' of culture? Can a two-minute video clip provide as much impact as a four-hour opera or is the duration an important factor?**
- **If impacts deteriorate in the absence of additional cultural experiences, how often must one experience impacts to build up cumulative impacts?**
- **How do the impacts of various art forms differ from one another?**
- **How do the experiences of various cultural events interact with each other? Is the relationship always symbiotic or can they also detract from each other?**

These questions suggest rich veins of research that remain to be explored.

4 VALUING ARTS AND CULTURE FROM THE MARKETING PERSPECTIVE

Most of the literature that has been discussed so far may be considered a cohesive body of literature in the sense that the works reference each other or reference common antecedents. The marketing field has produced another body of research on valuing arts and cultural experiences, although this research is largely ignored in the literature previously reviewed. These two bodies of literature seem to exist largely independently of each other, with very little dialogue between the two[1]. While we are unable to provide a comprehensive summary of the marketing literature here, this section highlights some areas in which the two bodies of literature intersect as well as some fundamental differences that distinguish the marketing perspective from the other studies reviewed here. The marketing perspective is particularly relevant to the present inquiry given our focus on the individual's experience of culture (whether as spectator or participant), which aligns with the emphasis on individual consumers in the general marketing model.

There are several possible explanations of why the marketing literature has largely been excluded from wider discussions of the impacts and value in the arts and cultural sector. Perhaps most obviously, researchers in the marketing field generally focus on the production of economic value, specifically, the components of economic value that are expressed in the marketplace through price and demand. While marketing researchers examine consumer value, motivations and customer satisfaction, which are related to constructs of impact and value discussed elsewhere in the literature, they do so with the objective of explaining consumer behaviour (eg, repeat purchases), rather than to contribute to a broader understanding of the value and impacts of cultural experiences (Bouder-Pailler

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1   *There are, of course, a few exceptions. For example, Radbourne et al and Walmsley tie marketing research into discussions of policy and evaluation.*

1999, 4; Holbrook 1999, 3; Raajpoot et al 2010, 54). As we have seen, researchers in many non-marketing fields consider the narrow focus on the market value of arts and cultural programmes to be untenable.

Another important feature of the marketing perspective is that it is generally assumed that there is no fundamental distinction between consumers' experiences of cultural goods and other consumption experiences. Thus, for instance, a hammer might primarily be valued for its ability to drive in nails, but that does not rule out the possibility that consumers see aesthetic or cultural values in this product. The appearance of bright pink hammers in shops in recent years shows that even the most utilitarian objects can carry symbolic value and cultural meanings (in this case reversing the gender coding of a traditional symbol of labour). Thus in the marketing perspective, the consumption of arts and culture exists in the same plane as consumption of all other goods and services. They differ by matters of degree, but not categorically. The marketing literature is therefore able to discuss goods that primarily have aesthetic value (eg, art) along with products that blend aesthetic values with utilitarian functions (eg, fashion, architecture) and a wide range of consumer goods for which aesthetic value is a lesser concern (eg, car tires, tissues) (Holbrook 1999, 20).

In a useful theoretical contribution, Simona Botti argues that artistic value exists merely as '*potential* that artists design into their products and that is drawn out by means of the relationship established between the products themselves and their consumers' (2000, 21, emphasis added). While such artistic potential may also reside in other consumer products, Botti maintains that what distinguishes art from other products is that this potential is formally acknowledged, first by cultural experts and later by the general public (21).

While there is a wide-spread consensus among marketing researchers that the consumption of cultural products is not fundamentally different from that of other consumer goods (Bourgeon-Renault 2000, 10; Botti 2000, 17), there is much less agreement in the aesthetic literature about the relations between artistic experiences and the experience of everyday life (Belfiore and Bennett 2007, 228-33). Nevertheless, several constructs of consumer motivations and consumer value that have been developed in the marketing literature are closely aligned with those discussed elsewhere in this review, and much can be learned from the empirical research on the consumption of arts and culture that has been produced in the marketing field. Indeed, marketing researchers have endeavoured to define and measure indicators of specific components of cultural experiences for decades—considerably longer than these concerns have featured in cultural funding and policy debates.

In reviewing types of goals, motivations and value associated with performing arts consumption, Danielle Bouder-Pailler cites several frameworks proposed by marketing and leisure studies scholars in the 1970s, 80s, and 90s (1999, 6). While these frameworks include education and intellectual stimulation in much the same way as discussed above, several authors include a 'cultural enrichment' category that does not clearly map onto previously cited frameworks and there is a greater emphasis on entertainment. After reviewing the existing models, Bouder-Pailler (1999, 8-9) includes the following four dimensions in her study:

- **Social hedonism (social belonging, but also distinction from other social groups)**
- **Intellectual enrichment**
- **Arousal of emotions**
- **Entertainment**

Other marketing studies use similar categories. For example, Botti (2000, 17-18) summarises the benefits of art consumption as:

- **Functional (education, cultural enrichment)**
- **Symbolic (social and psychological meaning)**
- **Social (projecting identity and social status)**
- **Emotional (emotionally compelling, stimulating and fun)**

In a study of movie consumption in cinemas, Aurier, Evrard and N'Goala (2004, 9) identify six components of value:

- **Utility value**
- **Knowledge**
- **Experiential stimulation**
- **Social connection**
- **Self-expression**
- **Spiritual value**

MORIS HOLBROOK

One of the most influential frameworks in the marketing literature (particularly in the relation to arts and culture) is Morris Holbrook's consumer value framework. Holbrook defines consumer value as 'an interactive relativistic preference experience' (1999, 5). In using the term 'interactive', Holbrook maintains that 'value depends on the characteristics of some physical or mental object but cannot occur without the involvement of some subject [person] who appreciates these characteristics' (6). By 'relativistic', Holbrook means that consumer value is personal (ie, it varies from person to person), involves comparisons between objects, and is specific to a particular context. In describing consumer value as 'relativistic', Holbrook thus accounts for the three factors that Belfiore and Bennett describe as 'determinants of impact' for arts experiences based on their review of literature on aesthetics: factors that pertain to the individual, factors that pertain to the artwork, environmental factors (2007, 247).

Moris B. Holbrook, ed, 1999, *Consumer Value: A framework for analysis and research*, London and New York: Routledge.

The final term in Holbrook's definition of 'consumer value' is 'experience', by which he means that 'consumer value resides *not* in the product purchased, *not* in the brand chosen, *not* in the object possessed, but *rather* in the *consumption experience(s)* derived therefrom' (8, emphasis in original). Thus, while Holbrook's concept of consumer value is by no means limited to the value that is derived from arts and culture, it supports the notions of impact and value generated by cultural experiences as described by Throsby, Klamer, McCarthy et al, and Brown.

Holbrook distinguishes eight types of value in the consumption experience. These are distinguished by three binary characteristics: extrinsic vs. intrinsic, self-oriented vs. other-oriented, and active vs. reactive, as follows (1999, 12):

Extrinsic

- **Self-oriented, active**
  - **Efficiency** *(a product's ability to help the consumer achieve some task, often assessed as the ratio of outputs to inputs, or in terms of convenience)*
- **Self-oriented, reactive**
  - **Excellence** *(the appreciation of a products quality/its ability to perform a task)*
- **Other-oriented, active**
  - **Status** *(a conscious use of consumption to project a certain image)*
- **Other-oriented, reactive**
  - **Esteem** *(a celebrative contemplation of one's own possessions/life style as markers of one's social position)*

Intrinsic

- **Self-oriented, active**
  - **· Play** *(having fun through active engagement)*
- **Self-oriented, reactive**
  - **· Aesthetics** *(appreciation of a consumption experience as an end in itself)*
- **Other-oriented, active**
  - **· Ethics** *(doing something that is virtuous or moral, for someone else's sake)*
- **Other-oriented, reactive**
  - **· Spirituality** *(adoration of some 'other', possibly a divine power or cosmic force, for its own sake)*

For Holbrook, 'extrinsic value pertains to a means-end relationship wherein consumption is prized for its functional, utilitarian or banausic instrumentality in serving as a means to accomplishing some further purpose,' whereas 'intrinsic value occurs when some consumption experience is appreciated as an end in itself – for its own sake – as self-justifying, ludic, or autotelic' (1999, 10). The distinction between self-oriented and other-oriented value hinges on whether consumers value the experience for the effects it has on them personally or whether it is valued for the response that their consumption provokes in others. Finally, Holbrook considers value 'active' when it 'involves things *done by* a consumer *to* or *with* a product' (11, emphasis in original). Conversely, value is 'reactive' when it 'results from apprehending, appreciating, admiring, or otherwise responding to some object' (11).

In keeping with the general tenet in the marketing literature that cultural experiences are not fundamentally different from other types of consumption, Holbrook cites fashion as an 'example of a product associated with aesthetics along with other aspects of consumer value' (1999, 20). He points out that 'fashion is often prized for its pleasing appearance (beauty), 'as well as for … the ability of clothes to keep us warm (efficiency), the role of self-decoration in conveying the impression of prestige (status), or the rules of decorum that involve covering oneself up for ethical reasons (virtue)' (20).

While Holbrook's framework is able to accommodate many of the individual impacts of arts and cultural programmes that have been identified elsewhere in this literature review, there is no obvious place for value that individual consumers derive from the experience of consuming goods together with others (ie, experiences of social bridging and bonding through collective consumption). Further, Holbrook does not distinguish between intellectual and emotional components of the consumption experience, whereas this is a feature of most other frameworks, in the marketing field and elsewhere. Presumably, some balance

of intellectual and emotional engagement is involved in all types of value that Holbrook describes in his framework.

BOERNER AND JOBST

One empirical study coming out of the marketing literature that is particularly relevant to the present inquiry, examines the individual impacts received by theatre-goers (in a very similar manner as the post-event survey studies discussed above) along with more traditional measures of product and service quality (Boerner and Jobst 2013). Following a preliminary qualitative study, in which Jobst and Boerner conducted extensive semi-structured interviews with 21 theatre-goers to identify determinants of audience members' subjective evaluation of their experiences at a theatre performance (Jobst and Boerner 2012), the authors test these indicators in a survey study of audiences at 44 performances at 12 different theatres in German-speaking countries.

S Boerner and J Jobst, 2013, 'Enjoying theater: The role of visitor's response to the performance', in *Psychology of Aesthetics, Creativity, and the Arts* 7:4, 391-408.

Based on the preliminary study, the researchers identified 30 determinants of visitors' subjective assessment of theatre experiences, which they grouped into eight categories:

- **General evaluation of the theatre**
- **Visitor's mood and expectations**
- **Perceived artistic quality**
- **Visitor's cognitive response**
- **Visitor's emotional response**
- **Visitor's conative response**
- **Other visitor's perceived behaviour**
- **Servicescape (393)**

Boerner and Jobst's 2013 article primarily focuses on the cognitive, emotional and conative responses. The authors use the term 'conative response' to refer to a performance's capacity to incite audience members to take further action, for example by provoking reflection, motivating them to communicate with others, or inspiring them to seek further information about specific themes, topics or people following the production (394).

The analysis of their survey data leads Boerner and Jobst to the conclusion that factors related to the perceived artistic quality of the performance, in particular the quality of the staging, play, acting and sets, the fidelity to the original text ('werktreue') and the topicality of the play, are the most important determinants

of audience members' overall evaluation of their experience at a theatre (399). The spectators' personal response to the experience (ie, the impact that was created) was of secondary importance. Among the indicators of impact, Boerner and Jobst found audience members' emotional responses to have a greater influence on their overall assessment of the experience than their cognitive and conative responses. Although marketing researchers have devoted considerable effort towards the assessment of the 'servicescape' (eg, comfort in the auditorium, friendliness of the staff, etc.) Boerner and Jobst found them to be of little consequence in the overall evaluation (400).

While Boerner and Jobst's study is limited to assessments of theatre in German-speaking countries, so that the results may not be generalisable to other countries and other cultural experiences, it is commendable for combining and directly comparing different types of audience assessments. Notably, Boerner and Jobst move beyond the traditional marketing measures of product quality and customer satisfaction (Abfalter and Mirski 2005; Boerner and Renz 2008) as well as the more recent focus on the servicescape's contribution to cultural experiences (Mencarelli 2008; Ciceo 2012) to include measures of impact—that is, how individual audience members were affected by the experience.

Quality measures and impact assessments are not just different components of the overall experience; they require respondents to engage in different types of evaluation. In one case audiences are asked to compare the quality of products and services to prior expectations or abstract standards of quality; in the other they are asked to engage in introspection and report on their own emotional and psychological states. Boerner and Jobst (2013) is a rare example in which these types of assessments are deployed side by side, so that direct comparisons are possible. We will return to this issue in the last section, where two current assessment projects that combine these different types of indicators are discussed.

RAAJPOOT, KOH AND JACKSON

Raajpoot et al's attempt to 'determine what visitors consider important when evaluating the quality of a museum experience' (2010, 55) is similar to Boerner and Jobst (2013) in that it develops and statistically tests measures of a great many components of the visitors' experience. Based on a literature review and semi-structured interviews with students who had recently visited museums, the researchers identified ten dimensions of the museum experience (57-59). After refining the model through preliminary testing with a sample of marketing students, Raajpoot et al surveyed visitors leaving a natural history museum, using 21 indicators associated with seven dimensions. Further statistical analysis deemed some measures insignificant, reducing the model to 16 items grouped into six factors:

- Self-actualisation
- Ambiance
- Education
- Customer compatibility
- Employee courtesy
- Museum layout (63)

Raajpoot et al point out that of the six statistically significant factors, only one, museum layout, is directly related to physical attributes of the museum's presentation. The other factors are all reflections of the visitor's experience at the museum, rather than of the museum itself. The researchers were surprised by the absence of exhibit quality in the final set of dimensions, since this was consistently mentioned as an important factor in the preliminary interviews, and they propose 'the fact that the impact of exhibit quality was captured via the higher-order value constructs of education, ambiance and self- actualization' as a possible explanation (65).

Unlike Boerner and Jobst, whose measures closely resemble the indicators of individual impact discussed earlier in this review (see tables A-1 through A-5 in the appendix), Raajpot et al's measures of experiential factors were not focused on how visitors were affected. Respondents were asked, for example, whether the museum provided good learning opportunities, not whether they felt intellectually stimulated. Compared to indicators of social connectedness used by NEF, Bakhshi and Throsby, Brown et al, and Boerner and Jobst, the 'customer compatibility' dimension in Raajpoot et al poses an interesting contrast. The survey asked respondents whether they 'could identify with the typical visitors in the museum' and whether 'the typical museum visitors were very much like [themselves]' (63). Rather than a measure of connectedness, the 'customer compatibility' dimension is thus largely a measure of shared social identities. The statistical significance of

this factor leads the researchers to the politically controversial conclusion that 'the presence of visitors similar to oneself in terms of appearance and behaviour can greatly affect the overall experience', which they explain with reference to the 'theory of social distance [which] suggests that people prefer to interact with members of their own social class' (65).

Whereas Boerner and Jobst go on to assess the relative importance of their indicators in determining audience members' overall evaluation of an evening at the theatre, Raajpoot et al conclude with the presentation of their measurement framework, so that nothing can be said about how influential the individual components are.

CALDER, ISSAC AND MALTHOUSE

While there are many more marketing studies that can meaningfully contribute to our understanding of the impacts and value of arts and culture, one recent study should be mentioned here, which calls attention to engagement as an outcome of consumption experiences that is distinct from satisfaction—the traditional measure of outcomes in marketing literature.

B J Calder, M S Isaac and E C Malthouse, 2013, 'Taking the Customer's Point-of-View: Engagement or Satisfaction?', Marketing Science Institute Working Paper 13-102.

Based on two studies, one examining newspaper readership and the other surveying attendees at a jazz festival, Calder et al argue that 'satisfaction and engagement are complementary constructs that provide unique insights into the customer's point-of-view' (21). The authors contend that engagement is 'a state that arises from experiences that are context-dependent' (4), whereas 'satisfaction is a response to an evaluation process' (9). While engagement may factor into the evaluation process that determines satisfaction, other factors such as price (which does not affect engagement) are also taken into account.

Calder et al do not argue that engagement is a better measure of consumers' experience of a product than satisfaction, overall; they merely say that the two reflect different outcomes. Which one is to be preferred depends on the question one is trying to answer. The two studies presented in this paper support the researchers hypotheses that satisfaction is a better indicator when consumers make choices among products, while engagement is the superior predictor of motivations to consume more of a given product or product class, 'such as the frequency of attending arts events … or the level or readership for a newspaper' (20). Given the centrality of engagement in many concepts of value and impact creation in the cultural sector, the distinction that Calder et al draw between satisfaction and engagement is very pertinent.

SUMMARY

Despite the traditional focus on market value in marketing research, there is much that the wider literature on impacts and values of arts and culture can gain from the marketing field. Here, we have only been able to address a few of the most important theoretical concepts developed in the marketing literature (Holbrook 1999; Botti 2000) and point out some examples of empirical studies that may usefully inform larger debates (Boerner and Jobst 2013; Raajpoot et al 2010). However, this cursory overview suggests that a focused review of the marketing literature with an eye toward implications and applicability to wider studies of impact and value would be worthwhile. In particular, marketers' techniques and extensive experience developing and rigorously testing sets of indicators may be useful in advancing more general measures of impact and value in relation to cultural programmes. Further, it is clear that the marketing perspective is continually evolving (Bourgeon-Renault 2000, 10-11), and the recent investigation of engagement as a determinant of consumption levels (Calder et al 2013) may indicate a broadening of marketers' traditional focus on satisfaction that could be more appropriate to applications in the arts and cultural sector.

5 CREATIVE CAPACITY OF AN ORGANISATION

The term 'quality' has received scant attention in this literature review so far, in part because it can mean so many things in different contexts. Winn and Cameron (1998, 495) summarise seven common definitions of quality in the organisational literature. For the present discussion it seems appropriate to distinguish between the following four types of quality:

- **Quality of the product/artistic work**
- **Service quality**
- **Quality of the experience**
- **Creative capacity (ie, the qualities of an organisation associated with consistent presentation of high quality programmes)**

The most conventional understanding of quality in the arts is that of the artistic work or product. Product quality has been at the core aesthetic debates for millennia and was the first to be included in economic models of arts consumption (Throsby 1990; Boerner and Jobst 2008). However, cultural products do not necessarily have to be of high artistic quality to produce value and impact for those who engage with them (Knell and Taylor 2011, 14; Brown and Ratzkin 2012, 130). Some researchers have incorporated product quality—most typically in reference to technical ability, as in 'how well an orchestra's members play its instruments' (Bailey and Richardson 2010, 293)—into a larger rubric for 'artistic quality' or 'artistic vibrancy' (Hannah et al 2003; Bailey and Richardson 2010).

More recently, the work of cultural institutions has been assessed from a service quality perspective (Raajpoot et al 2010; Ciceo 2012; Boerner and Jobst 2013). While product quality is often included as one aspect of the overall service quality in these studies (Raajpoot et al 2010, 56), what is distinctive about the service quality perspective is the notion that the manner in which the product is delivered is also significant. We use the term primarily in reference to the 'servic-escape'—that is, all aspects of the guests' interaction with the organisation *except*

the product itself. This includes things like the availability of parking, the friendliness of the staff, the comfort of the seats and the quality of the catering (Boerner and Jobst 2013, 407-08).

'Quality of the experience' is a phrase that some authors use to refer to the concepts of impact and value discussed above (eg, Radbourne et al; Reason 2013, 104). However, many studies of impact and value explore multiple dimensions of the audience's experience, so that the results show experiences as being 'different', rather than qualitatively 'better' or 'worse'.

This section focuses on **creative capacity**. By this, we mean an organisation's ability to conceptualise and present programmes that engage participants in culturally valuable, impactful experiences. While this is similar to Holden and Hewison's notion of institutional value, we use 'creative capacity' in a narrower sense. Holden likens institutional value to Moore's 'public value', suggesting that it refers to the 'total value added'—the total value of outputs minus the inputs—of an organisation (2006, 17-18). In his elaboration on Holden's concept of 'institutional value', Hewison explicitly mentions aspects which we would categorise under service quality—'atmosphere, security, cleanliness and catering'—as well as the financial responsibility (Hewison 2006, 32, 43). By contrast, our discussion of creative capacity focuses exclusively on the creative and curatorial processes of cultural organisations, It is similar in spirit to the Australia Council for the Arts' Artistic Vibrancy framework (Bailey 2009a), discussed below, but somewhat broader. Choosing the word 'creative' over 'artistic' is a reflection of the need for a term that also speaks to the creative processes within non-arts cultural organisations such as historic sites, science museums and botanical gardens. Other authors have used the term 'creative resilience' in reference to the qualities of an organisation that allow it to respond and adapt to changing conditions (Robinson 2010, 14), an association we find helpful.

The literature reviewed in this section assesses cultural work at the organisational level. The underlying assumption is that the sum of an organisation's individual outputs, or even a single year's worth of programming, might not reflect the total impact or cultural value of the organisation. Thus, rather than focusing on the success or failure of individual cultural works, which is always dependent on the particular context in which the work was presented (Belfiore and Bennett 2007, 259-60; Brown and Novak-Leonard 2013, 7), this section examines the characteristics and practices of organisations that consistently engage the public in culturally valuable, impactful experiences. The organisational view of quality may be especially helpful to funding agencies seeking to identify organisations that are likely to generate value and impacts in the future, without relying on retrospective assessments of individual projects (Moore and Moore 2005, 57).

SABINE BOERNER

Sabine Boerner (2004) usefully distinguishes between 'performance quality' and 'profile quality' in her analysis of quality in opera companies. 'Performance quality' describes the interpretation and technical presentation of individual works, whereas 'profile quality' refers to the selection of works that the company performs: the 'company's artistic profile' (426-27). For the present exploration of creative capacity, Boerner's notion of 'profile quality' is of most interest.

Sabine Boerner, 2004, 'Artistic quality in an opera company: toward the development of a concept', in *Nonprofit management and leadership* 14:4, 425-436.

Although Boerner does not specify this, it seems fair to assume that every opera company tries to maximise its performance quality. Everyone onstage, offstage and in the orchestra pit may be expected to perform to the best of their abilities. No one strives for mediocrity in this regard. While ensuring a high level of performance quality is more or less a given, opera companies, according to Boerner, can exercise a good deal of latitude in determining their profile quality—staking out a particular niche by selecting programmes to perform. To a certain extent, the profile quality of an organisation may be understood as a statement of its artistic or cultural ambitions.

Boerner identifies three ways in which opera companies can tailor their profile quality. They can choose between programme diversity and specialisation, between programme conformity and originality, and between traditionalism and modernity (428). Of these, the trade off between conformity and originality is noteworthy, because it sets the company in relationship to other opera houses and assumes that the companies are familiar with each other's profiles. Interestingly, none of the criteria suggested by Boerner explicitly address technical difficulty of the works that are selected, nor the resources that must be marshalled in order to stage them. As Boerner describes it, there is thus no predetermined hierarchy in the definition of the profile quality. Presumably, the profile quality of a company that specialises in traditional performances of baroque chamber operas could be just as high as one that focuses on premiering new works. If some companies are said to have lower quality profiles than others in Boerner's framework, this would seem to imply that the curatorial intent of their programming lacks definition.

STEFAN TOBIAS

While Boerner's 2004 article is entirely theoretical and does not address who would be the appropriate judge of opera companies' profile quality, Stefan Tobias draws on experts' opinions of performing arts companies' overall quality to construct a single score for each company. While this would be an easy task if there were a small number of performing arts organisations, so that one could assume that every evaluator knows every company, Tobias's method is able to aggregate the assessments of a great number of evaluators, each of whom is only familiar with a subset of the organisations being evaluated. Further, the reviewers are able to indicate how familiar they are with each company that they evaluate, so that their assessments can be weighted according to their knowledge of each particular company.

Tobias provided German dance, theatre, and opera experts with a list of all German companies that work in their respective disciplines. For each company that they knew, Tobias asked the reviewers to rate the overall quality of the work that the company produced during a three-year period and indicate how familiar they were with the company. The quality ratings were assigned on a five-point scale. Since the ratings on such a scale are ordinal rather than cardinal (a '2' is not twice as good as a '1', it is merely between '1' and '3') and some judges might me more generous scorers than others, Tobias argues that it would be inappropriate to assess the organisations based on the mean score they received. Instead, he develops a system that ranks the companies that each expert rated and then calculates the mean rank that the judges assigned for each company. Experts were also able to indicate whether they knew the organisations 'just roughly or rather well' (111). The scores from evaluators who knew the companies well were given twice the weight of scores from less-well informed evaluators.

In this manner, Tobias was able to create precise numerical assessments of experts' relative quality assessments of 57 ballet ensembles, 77 opera houses and 99 theatres, although it is unlikely that any one evaluator would be able to speak authoritatively about the work produced by that many companies.

DANIEL URRUTIAGUER

Daniel Urrutiaguer (2002) approaches the assessment of an arts creative capacity from the consumer perspective. In his study of consumer demand for publicly subsidised theatres in France, he argues that 'the image of each theatre influences perceptions of quality' and that 'the theatre is a much more appropriate level than the different shows to explain the variance in demand' (187). Noting that previous studies have found that quality assessments of professional reviewers have low statistical significance in predicting demand for theatre, Urrutiaguer hypothesises that this stems from differences between the theatre-goers' subjective perceptions of quality (189, 194). As a result, some audience members trust the assessments of theatre critics, while others base their expectations on alternative indicators of quality.

Urrutiaguer proposes two alternative measures that might signal quality to ticket buyers:

1. Since 'theatrical institutions' subsidies are … distributed according to a political assessment of their artistic interest and the civic role they play in the city's life' Urrutiaguer examines whether the growth rate of the theatres' subsidies over the previous year affects audience demand (193). While he finds that large increases in subsidies are correlated with audience demand, his conclusion that this 'indicates similar quality judgements by local authorities and audiences' reflects that the direction of the causalities is not clear (199).

2. Based on the assumption that the directors who are appointed to run publicly funded theatres are the ones who are mostly highly regarded (195), Urrutiaguer argues that the proportion of a theatre's productions staged by directors who head up other public theatres may be interpreted as a sign of quality by audiences (193). Whereas Boerner focuses on the repertoire in her examination of opera companies, Urrutiaguer thus considers the reputation of the directors who appear in a theatre's season programme to be the primary indicator of organisational quality for public theatres in France. While this is no doubt a rather crude measure of the quality of an organisation's programming, the number of directors who are recruited from other theatres may also be interpreted as an indication of how well each theatre is connected to other theatre companies, which might in itself be a sign of creative capacity. Indeed, Urrutiaguer draws on methods derived from network analysis to calculate the proportion of productions that were staged by directors who head other theatres within the network of public theatres.

Urrutiaguer finds that there are two groups of theatre-goers: one group that is influenced by newspaper critiques, and the other that makes its judgments based on the quality of the theatre's programming as measured by the reputation of the directors that are hired (195).

While Urrutiaguer's study blurs the boundary between creative capacity and popular demand (essentially claiming that demand is based on perceptions of the anticipated quality of an organisation's programming) it raises a number of questions about organisations' abilities to deliver high-quality cultural experiences:

- **What role does an organisation's reputation play in creating impacts and value? One the one hand, an organisation's reputation is presumably based on a history of past successes; on the other, it may also create anticipation and excitement about an upcoming event which may serve to deepen the audience's engagement with the work (Brown and Novak-Leonard 2013, 7; Walmsley 2013, 81)**
- **What role do networks among cultural organisations and artists play in creating value? Can networks be considered an indicator of creative capacity?**
- **Since Urrutiaguer identified two groups within the theatre audiences he examined that have different tastes and construct their quality judgments differently, must one control for the possibility that cultural events are experienced as high value and high impact by some audience members, while leaving others cold, so that reporting mean scores in quantitative studies obscures the true nature of the experience for different segments of the audience?**

HANNAH, LANGSTED AND LARSEN[1]

Boerner (2004), Tobias (2004) and Urrutiaguer (2002) all seek to measure creative capacity in performing arts companies as a single score, whether that is based on reputation, expert opinion, repertory or choice directors. The Danish researchers Karen Hannah, Jørn Langsted and Charlotte Rørdam Larsen take a different approach. While they aim to develop a framework that can assess the creative capacity of an organisation as whole (rather than as the sum of individual events or outcomes), Hannah et al want to deepen the conversation by discussing different components of quality. Unlike the organisational assessment methods discussed above, their approach is strictly qualitative. As they write,
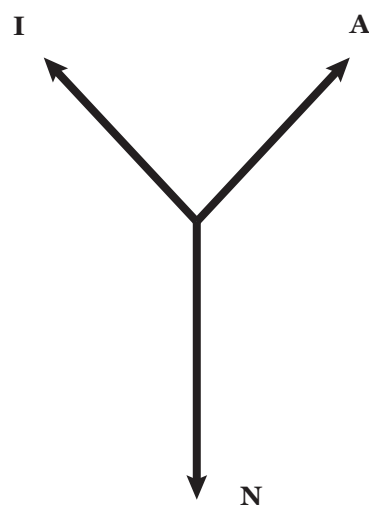
K Hannah, J Langsted and C R Larsen, 2003[?], 'Evaluation of Artistic Quality in the Performing Arts', Aarhus University.

> **The aim in our project is not to create a grading system for the assessment of artistic quality. Neither do we want to transform artistic quality into a quantitative matter. Instead, we wish to construct a better basis on which one can discuss artistic quality.[2]**

Their model, presented in Figure 8 distinguishes between three components of artistic quality: intention, ability and necessity. The authors conceived the framework both as a means of evaluating individual performances and the work of organisations as a whole. In the latter case, the 'artistic quality' they seek to assess may be considered roughly equivalent to our use of 'creative capacity'.

In the IAN model, 'intention' refers to the artist's (or organisation's) vision—the 'will to express and communicate'. While the intention 'comes from within', communication is not a one-way street. According to the authors, 'the magic of the performing arts consists of the artist's ability to listen to

FIGURE 8 The IAN Model

(Hannah et al 2003). Reprinted with permission from the authors.

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1   The discussion of Hannah et al's work is based on an English-language summary. The authors have produced two books in Danish: J Langsted, K Hannah and C R Larsen, 2003, *Ønskekvist-modellen.* Kunstnerisk kvalitet i performativ kunst *(The IAN-Model: Artistic Quality in the Performing Arts), Aarhus: Klim; and J Langsted, K Hannah and C R Larsen, 2008,* Ønskekvisten. En håndbog i evaluering af teater, dans og music *(The IAN-Model: A handbook for evaluating theatre, dance, and music), Aarhus: Klim.*

2   There is no pagination for this online publication.

and sense the audience, thereby being able to shape the strategies of artistic conviction and seduction'.

The 'ability' component of the IAN model reflects the artist's skill in the work's execution. It is thus roughly equivalent to Boerner's 'performance quality'. While the standards against which 'ability' is judged are neither arbitrary nor entirely subjective, Hannah et al point out that they are not entirely fixed either and may change over time.

Finally, 'necessity' refers to 'the relation to the audience, to the surroundings, to the society in which the work of art is performed'. Whereas 'intention' and 'ability' focus largely on the supply side of the encounter, 'necessity' captures the context and the reception of the work.

The three components of the IAN model are depicted as vectors, moving outward from a common point of origin. They point in different directions and cannot simply be summed; the relative lengths of the arrows shed light on the nature of the work. For instance, an amateur theatre group might have high intentions (represented as a long 'I' arrow), but be short on ability, and if the actors are primarily motivated by their own desire to perform, there may also be little necessity for the work (ie, a short N arrow). The arrows for a slightly better amateur ensemble might be longer, but maintain the same proportional relations.

Hannah et al recognise that some organisations and works of art pursue social aims; however, they refuse to integrate such considerations in their quality framework. As they argue,

> … certain performances do not aim for artistic quality but instead strive to fill a social function [or] entertain a certain audience … This is of course perfectly legitimate, but these criteria should not be confused with artistic quality.

Hannah et al developed the IAN model to inform local cultural policy in Aarhus, Denmark, where the municipality wished to review and evaluate its funding for performing arts organisations. It is thus intended to provide a basis for funding decisions, and spur organisations towards internal assessments.

Like Tobias, Hannah et al draw on expert opinions in their assessment of organisational quality and comparisons with other organisations are explicitly desired. The IAN evaluations are to be completed by 'professionals with artistic insight,' of which at least two are to work on any given assessment. These expert judgments are to be complemented by self-assessments and written up in an eight to ten page report.

In entrusting the evaluation to experts, Hannah at al subscribe to Holden's notion that cultural professionals are able to spot 'diamonds in the rough'. They write of the importance of evaluators having 'an eye for potential artistic qualities—qualities which under the right conditions may develop and grow'. In doing so, they add a temporal dimension to the evaluation, which is not just to focus on the 'here and now' but also consider the situation before and after the assessment and the processes of artistic development.

AUSTRALIA COUNCIL FOR THE ARTS

All of the approaches to creative capacity cited above suggest external evaluations of organisations' work. While external assessment may provide useful information to funders, consumers and policy makers, such judgments do little to promote organisational learning that might lead to improved results in the future. The Australia Council for the Arts has taken a more integrative approach, which focuses on self-assessment.

J Bailey and L Richardson, 2010, 'Meaningful measurement: A literature review and Australian and British case studies of arts organizations conducting "artistic self-assessment"', in *Cultural Trends* 19:4, 291-306.

Jackie Bailey, 2009a, 'Defining artistic vibrancy: A discussion paper for the major performing arts sector', Australia Council for the Arts.

For the past several years, the Australia Council has been investigating the notion of 'artistic vibrancy' and how it can be assessed. The initiative originated with Australia's Major Performing Arts Organisations. Whereas other organisations that are regularly funded by the Australia Council undergo a peer-review process by a government-appointed panel of reviewers, the Major Performing Arts Organisations evaluate their artistic vibrancy internally, through a process of artistic self-assessment (Bailey and Richardson, 292).

For the purposes of these self-assessments, 'artistic vibrancy' has been defined to include:

- **Artistic quality or excellence of craft**
- **Audience engagement and stimulation**
- **Curation and development of the artform**
- **Development of artists**
- **Relevance to the community (Du Preez and Bailey 2010, 4)**

Here, 'artistic quality or excellence of craft' refers to the technical skills of the artists—equivalent to Boerner's 'performance quality' and the 'ability' component of the IAN model.

To assess their artistic vibrancy on the basis of these elements, the organisations are to draw on 'verifiable internal and external sources,' which may be quantitative or qualitative (Table 3). Administrators can consult the opinions of respected peers, track newspaper critiques, or count the number of internationally renowned guest performers who appeared on their stages to evaluate their work (Bailey and Richardson, 292). Notably, Bailey identifies 'expert/peer opinion', 'artists opinion', and 'staff opinion' as ways of monitoring artistic quality/excellence, but not audience opinion.

TABLE 3 Ways to monitor artistic vibrancy

ELEMENT	WAYS TO MONITOR ARTISTIC VIBRANCY						
	Audience opinion	Community opinion	Expert/ peer opinion	Audience numbers	No. and breadth of works including new works and new interpretations	Artists opinion	Staff opinion
Artistic excellence			✓			✓	✓
Audience engagement and stimulation	✓		✓	✓			✓
Innovation in the development and/or preservation of the artform			✓		✓	✓	✓
Artist development						✓	
Community relevance	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓

(Bailey 2009a, 9). Reprinted with permission from the Australia Council for the Arts.

While the evaluation process is to be documented, a significant feature of this self-review process is that the organisations 'are not obliged to report the findings of self-assessment, or actions taken on the basis of self-assessment' (Bailey and Richardson, 292). They merely need to demonstrate that they conducted an artistic self-assessment. The Australia Council considers the adoption of procedures to review artistic achievements internally to be an indicator of artistic vitality in itself (Bailey 2009a, 5), and makes no attempt to parse or sum up the results of the artistic self-assessments in order to construct a national indicator of artistic vibrancy nor evaluate its own performance based on the self-assessments

of the major performing arts organisations. Bailey and Richardson are careful to note, however, that there must be a genuine commitment to self-assessment on the part of the arts organisations in order for this system to work; the process may otherwise become a mere 'box ticking' exercise (304).

A considerable body of literature in the area of non-profit management aims to help cultural managers run the business aspects of their organisations, but fewer resources are available to guide them in the creative processes that yield high-quality cultural experiences. The Australia Council's focus on artistic vibrancy and its emphasis on the role that self-assessment can play in achieving better outcomes are important steps in that direction. Indeed, the Australia Council has identified 'openness to feedback', 'organisational mechanisms to receive feedback and engage in dialogue' and the 'willingness to undertake self-reflection' among the organisational qualities that support artistic vibrancy (Bailey 2009b, 7).

'Community relevance', another element of Bailey's framework, has similarities to Hannah et al's 'necessity'. A basic awareness of the publics that an organisation seeks to serve and the willingness to engage them in conversations about the work go a long way towards ensuring the provision of impactful and valuable cultural experiences (Bunting 2010, 20).

In addition to the willingness to incorporate feedback into a reflective learning process, the Australia Council identifies a strong sense of 'shared artistic purpose in the company' and 'strong artistic leadership and governance' in a list of organisational traits that support artistic vibrancy (Bailey 2009b, 7). This suggests a new approach toward the assessment of creative capacity, which is based on the identification of certain organisational characteristics as indicators of creative capacity, rather than judging the organisation based solely on its products. Since organisational assessments in many funding and policy contexts are interested in predicting the likelihood of future artistic excellence, not just assessing the quality of past work (Moore and Moore 2005, 57), this marks a considerable shift in thinking.

COMPONENTS OF CREATIVE CAPACITY

Numerous researchers have explored artistic excellence and attempted to deconstruct it into elements that can be assessed or quantified. Based on the literature reviewed for this paper, the historical focus on an organisation's reputation, technical skill and artistry is giving way to a more holistic understanding of the organisational conditions in which high quality programmes are likely to be conceived and realised. The Australia Council's artistic vibrancy framework provides a multi-dimensional model for artistic health, but there is still no broader consensus amongst researchers as to what makes an organisation healthy in an artistic, creative or cultural sense. This is unfortunate, given the importance of the creative process to any cultural enterprise. Perhaps more than anything else, the vitality of the sector as a whole depends on the abilities of its creative leaders to continually produce excellent programmes.

Drawing on the previously discussed literature and additional references, including findings from a review of quality in arts education (Lord et al, 2012)[3], we conclude this section with a summary of the elements of 'creative capacity'. These elements are organised into two categories – core elements, and conditional elements, as follows:

Core elements of 'creative capacity' – consistent elements that do not vary from organisation to organisation

- **Clarity of intent and commitment to risk-taking**
- **Community relevance**
- **Excellence in curating and capacity to innovate**
- **Technical proficiency, skill and artistry**
- **Capacity to engage audiences**
- **Critical feedback and commitment to continuous improvement**

Conditional elements of 'creative capacity' – elements that may or may not apply to a given organisation, depending on its mission and programmatic focus

- **Supportive networks**
- **Sufficient risk capital**

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3   While the arts education literature was not a focus of our review, the well developed body of literature in the arts education field could shed a good deal of light on individual impacts for adults, as well as the notion of quality from an organizational perspective. A literature review from 2012 (Lord et al), published by the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) contributes helpful perspective in this regard.

Clarity of intent and commitment to risk-taking

According to Bailey (2009b, 4), 'open and frank dialogue about artistic matters amongst the board and staff' is a component of artistic vibrancy, as well as 'an artistic statement at the outset of a planning cycle, which sets out what the company is going to try and achieve…' To what ends does the organisation offer programmes? What does it hope to accomplish in terms of participant and community outcomes? Clarity and consensus on goals and intentions is a starting point for creative capacity, according to some writers (Lord et al 2012, 17). This might take the form of board-adopted institutional policies on programming goals or approaches, or statements about the organisation's commitment to risk-taking. Ellis (2002) describes the 'traits of a risk-informed organisation' as:

> A clarity about 'what really matters': an ability, in all the genuflections and acrobatics that are part and parcel of effective leadership in a brokered environment, to retain absolute clarity about what capacities and purposes the organization chooses to protect, what can be negotiated, and what is nonnegotiable and *why*.

The extent to which board members, versus staff, are responsible for setting policy with respect to programming is a matter of substantial debate. Bailey (2009a, 5) makes a distinction between 'artistic leadership' and 'artistic governance' but does not elaborate. In many organisations, the board's purview over programming starts and ends with the hiring/firing of an artistic director or lead curator.

Community relevance

Some researchers argue that an organisation's responsiveness to its community is a core element of quality. Hannah et al use the term 'necessity'—one of three pillars of quality—to describe the community context of the work. Achieving community relevance requires an awareness of the community's needs, challenges and aspirations, thus requiring a certain diagnostic capacity (Brown et al, 2014). Bailey (2009a, 6) describes relevance in reference to three communities: artform stakeholders (other organisations of a similar nature); residents of the local, regional or national community served by the organisation; and 'communities of interest'—stakeholders defined by an interest in the organisation's work (e.g., students, teachers). Indeed, 'community engagement', 'social practice', 'civic practice' and 'embeddedness' are familiar topics of discourse at conferences worldwide. While community relevance may be a core value of many artists, administrators and board leaders, its structural manifestation within cultural organisations is inconsistent and sometimes disconnected from core programming.

Ellis (2002) argues that an overwrought focus on community relevance can be counterproductive.

> **'Organizations that are freighted down by wider civic responsibilities and the financial obligations that are required to exercise them risk losing that ability to make choices— especially when financial survival is dependent upon the ability to demonstrate effectiveness as an instrument of someone else's policy.'**

In May 2014, the Australia Council launched the 'Community Relevance Guide', an online resource for arts organisations looking to explore and develop community connections (www.cr.australiacouncil.gov.au).

Excellence in curating and capacity to innovate

At the very heart of every cultural organisation is a process of conceptualising and curating imaginative programmes. This element of creative capacity addresses the health of the *process* of conceiving and developing public programmes, and speaks to both staff capacity and an organisational culture that fosters creativity in programming. What are the inputs to programming decisions? Who can suggest ideas for programmes? What process is used for vetting programme ideas? Are alternative settings and formats considered? Are the right creative minds and artistic voices at the table? Boerner (2004) identifies 'profile quality'—the selection of works that the company performs— as a complement to 'performance quality', implying that the process of curating is central to quality. Tobias's approach to adjudicating quality relies on expert reviewers' consideration of the quality of work (ie, the output of the curatorial process), but we were unable to find quality models that explicitly incorporate indicators of the health of the creative process itself.

An organisation's capacity to innovate is another aspect of creative capacity explored by researchers. In an article on the determinants of artistic innovation, Xavier Castañer and Lorenzo Campos (2002) move beyond the discussion of 'repertoire innovation', arguing that new works of art are not necessarily innovative and presentations of old works may be highly innovative (2002, 32-33). While other studies have examined the role of qualities such as size, age and organisa-

tional structure in determining arts organisations' innovation levels[4], Castañer and Campos emphasise the role of organisations' performance relative to their aspirations and the availability of 'slack' resources. Organisational theory suggests that 'organizations only engage in risk-taking (innovation) when their current performance is below their aspiration', and Castañer and Campos argue that this also applies to arts organisations (2002, 42). In a similar manner the authors apply the concept of organisational 'slack'—the availability of resources that are not currently needed—to the arts. They argue,

> when organizations engage in experimentation they accept the possibility of failure. Hence, only organizations that enjoy a certain amount of slack might engage in artistic innovation. (2002, 45)

Our literature review, unfortunately, did not turn up much else in this area. Further efforts are needed to identify existing research that examines the quality of the creative processes within cultural organisations. If existing research is not sufficiently illuminating, new research should be commissioned, given the centrality of this aspect of creative capacity to the overall health and sustainability of the sector.

Technical proficiency, skill and artistry

Nearly all researchers agree that excellence in craft (ie, skill, technical proficiency, virtuosity, artistry) is a core element of creative capacity (eg, Hannah et al's 'ability' and Boerner's 'performance quality'). This is quality in a conventional sense, often equated with 'artistic excellence'—a commonly used term that is fraught with ambiguity. The widespread acceptance of technical proficiency as an aspect of creative capacity affords the professional artist with a privileged place in the hierarchy of quality. There is strong agreement amongst researchers that expert/peer reviewers are best suited to adjudicate this element of creative capacity, although some studies also rely on audience feedback, as well as staff self-assessments.

Of course, creative capacity does not hinge solely on an organisation's ability to employ virtuosic artists or curators. What does 'excellence in craft' mean in

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4   Castañer and Campos (2002) cite J Heilbrun, 1998, 'A Study of Opera Repertory in the United States, 1982–1983 to 1997–1998', conference paper, Xth International Conference on Cultural Economics, University of Barcelona; P DiMaggio and K Stenberg, 1985, 'Why Do Some Theaters Innovate more than Others? An Empirical Analysis', in Poetics 14, 107–122.

a community setting such as a prison or a school, or in an art studio for at-risk youth? The Australia Council, for example, refers to an organisation's commitment to developing artists at all levels of proficiency as a contributor to artistic vibrancy.

Capacity to engage audiences and participants

This component of creative capacity speaks to the organisation's ability to contextualise and animate the work, and to help audiences and participants make meaning from it. The Australia Council identifies 'audience engagement and stimulation' as an element of artistic vibrancy (Bailey 2009a, 4). While much of this review examines approaches to measuring the extent to which audiences are engaged or stimulated, here, 'audience engagement' is framed in organisational terms. In their model of the audience experience, Radbourne et al identify 'knowledge' as being 'concerned with the audience's need for information to enable a better understanding or perspective of the performance with which they are engaging' (2010a, 361). Some creative works are more engaging than others, so engagement is not solely the product of educational and interpretive efforts that happen around the work, but also a reflection of the work itself (or a curator's re-conception of the work). In fact, engagement has become a significant focus of practice in the arts sector, both as a means of fostering loyalty and repeat attendance, and as a means of magnifying impact (McCarthy et al 2004; Brown and Ratzkin 2011).

Critical feedback and commitment to continuous improvement

Earlier sections of this paper discuss approaches to gaining feedback from audiences and visitors about the impacts of their experiences. Here, critical feedback—in some form or another—is identified as a key element of creative capacity. Most notably, the adoption of formal mechanisms to receive and act upon feedback from peers, audiences, community members and other stakeholders that has been emphasised by the Australia Council. In addition to providing organisations with useful information, various researchers have argued that the process of providing feedback can be a growth experience for audiences, in that they learn to formulate critical reactions to creative work. Bunting and Knell suggest that 'the act of giving feedback may add to the value of a cultural experience because it creates an opportunity for people to reflect on and make sense of a performance or exhibition' (Bunting and Knell 2014, 67; see also Reason 2013, 104). Drawing from the arts education literature, Lord et al identify 'a culture of reflective practice' as a core element of quality, as well as 'training, development and being a learning organisation' (2012, 18).

Supportive Networks (conditional element)

Networks were already mentioned in the discussion of Urrutiaguer (2002). While Urrutiaguer refers to the exchange of directors between theatre companies, Moore and Moore (2005, 54) discuss the importance of 'external capacities'—the capacities added by an organisation's partners, co-producers, contractors, suppliers, clients, and supporters—in their report on public value of state arts agencies. Keeble (2008) emphasises the importance of 'value networks' in the creative industries, as opposed to the more traditional 'value chains' of industrial manufacturing, while Lingo and O'Mahony (2010) describe the process of developing, sustaining and mobilising networks for creative purposes as 'brokerage work' or 'nexus work.' Thus, in the context of creating valuable and impactful audience experiences one can argue that the connections between organisations and their networks of artists and other arts organisations is a key component of creative capacity. This extends to connections with non-arts organisations as well, such as social service agencies and educational institutions. Such "non-arts" connections enable organisations to know their communities better (serving a diagnostic purpose) and to reach more deeply into their communities in order to engage new audiences (Brown et al 2014). Robinson (2010, 29) identifies 'strong networks (both internal and external)' as one of several resources and skills associated with adaptive resilience. In *Achieving great art for everyone: A review of research and literature to inform the Arts Council's 10-year strategic framework*, Bunting remarked

> **While many young organisations are 'instinctively networked', established organisations need to be better connected and there is a call for more relationships between large and small organisations and for better mutual support (2010, 21)**

In thinking about the importance of networks to creative capacity, one must acknowledge that organisations with weak or non-existent networks can also produce brilliant artistic work. The extent of an organisation's networks, therefore, might be considered as a favourable condition for creative capacity, as opposed to a prerequisite.

Sufficient risk capital (conditional element)

Nonprofit Finance Fund in the US has emphasised the availability of financial reserves that are designated as 'risk capital' (ie, reserved to cover the risk of potential failures that are inherent in innovation and experimentation) as a vital aspect of cultural organisations' long-term organisational and creative health (R Thomas and R Christopher 2011). These reserves play a crucial role in allowing organisations to fulfil their creative aspirations (eg produce a play with a large cast, or hire a guest curator) and plan with a longer time horizon. While the internal creative processes that allow organisations to innovate may be difficult to discern, the availability of risk capital is a clearly identifiable characteristic that supports innovation (Bolton and Cooper 2010, 36; Miller 2013). Regardless,

many cultural organisations manage to produce excellent or innovative work on a shoestring budget without the benefit of cash reserves. Therefore, the availability of risk capital is seen as a favourable condition for creative capacity, but not a pre-requisite.

CODA: COMBINING MEASURES OF EXPERIENCE AND QUALITY AT THE POLICY LEVEL

Throughout this literature review, we have presented perspectives on how people are affected by arts and culture and how these effects can be accounted for either at the individual level or within the context of organisations. However, discussions of the value and impacts of cultural participation have also been prominent at the policy level. While the statistics collected by ministries of culture and arts agencies around the world used to focus almost exclusively on outputs, participation rates and economic and social impacts (Selwood 2002); NEF 2008, 8; Turbide and Laurin 2009, 60-61; Radbourne et al 2009, 4-5; White and Hede 2008, 20), government bodies are increasingly developing more sophisticated accountability frameworks that take the audience experience and organisational quality into account.

M Chappell and J Knell, 2012, *Public Value Measurement Framework: Valuing and Investing in the Arts—Towards a New Approach*, Government of Western Australia, Department of Culture and the Arts.

C Bunting and J Knell, 2014, *Measuring quality in the cultural sector: The Manchester Metrics pilot: findings and lessons learned*. Arts Council England.

At the time of this writing, two separate but related initiatives—one spearheaded by the Department of Culture and the Arts in Western Australia, the other championed by a group of arts organisations in Manchester, UK—have joined forces to develop, test and implement a new system of evaluating the work of cultural organisations. In this emerging framework, opinions expressed by audience members in post-event surveys are combined with self-assessments by the organisations and reviews by peer evaluators to gain a fuller understanding of the quality of the organisations' programmatic output. While a full discussion of this initiative is not possible since the work is on-going, this coda briefly addresses the project's general approach towards integrating the quality of the experience reported by attendees (ie, the audience's experienced impact) within a larger measurement framework.

In 2010, the Department of Culture and the Arts (DCA) in Western Australia hired the consultants Michael Chappell and John Knell to develop suitable indicators to assess the department's progress towards desired outcomes. The framework that was developed in Western Australia caught the attention of a group of arts organisations in Manchester, who likewise engaged John Knell, and, with assistance from Arts Council England, constructed their own set of indicators independently from the Australian project (Bunting and Knell 2012, 3-4). An important feature of both projects was that a panel of artists and arts administrators was charged with building a rubric for 'quality' drawing on their collective knowledge and experience.

Within a larger 'Government Cultural Funding Value Model' that Chappell and Knell developed for DCA[1], the researchers distinguish between 'quality' and 'reach' as separate outcome areas. The quality dimension is evaluated in three ways: through self-assessment, peer review and feedback from attendees. The 'reach' dimension in this framework captures the breadth of impact as a complement to the 'quality' measures. The number of attendees, the diversity of the audience, connections with communities of interest and communities of practice, the ability to attract additional funding, and the creation of 'platforms from which additional activities emerge' were all identified as measures of 'reach' in the original formulation of the DCA's framework (Chappell and Knell 2012, 13).

The Manchester framework includes 'organisational health' as a third outcome category along with 'quality' and 'reach' (Bunting and Knell 2014, 4-5). 'Organisational health' is conceptualised as a combination of indicators of the organisation's financial stability and its 'cultural leadership', the latter of which seems related to the notion of creative capacity discussed above.

In light of the remarkable consistency between the quality indicators that were developed by arts organisations in Australia and the UK, the two initiatives have reconciled their metrics and developed a common evaluation tool called 'Culture Counts'. The following table shows the quality dimensions of the Public Value Measurement Framework (PVMF) as they were initially conceptualised in Western Australia (left column) as well as the revised Culture Counts metrics that emerged following pilot testing in in the UK and Australia (middle column). The

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1   The model has been expanded since its initial publication in 2012. Few details of the revised model have been published as of yet; however, a diagrammatic overview of the new Value Model can be viewed at http://www.dca.wa.gov.au/Documents/New%20 Research%20Hub/Research%20Documents/Public%20Value/PVMF%20Presentation%20 Research%20Hub%2001%2007%2014.pdf

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dimensions in the shaded boxes have been identified as 'core' dimensions that are to be measured in all applications of the framework, while the unshaded boxes show indicators that are currently only in use in Western Australia. Additional metrics may be added to the Culture Counts system for specific sites or cultural activities.

TABLE 4 Government of Western Australia, Department of Culture and the Arts, 'PVMF Quality Dimension Summary June 2014' (source: private communication with Colin Walker)

PVMF Quality Dimension Summary June 2014

PVMF Dimension Original Definition	Agreed (Core*) Dimensions and Statements	Assessment Area
The extent to which the funded output promotes curiosity in artist and audience.	**Inquisitiveness** - It encouraged me to find out more about the art. (*Original wording: 'It made me want to find out more about the art'*)	SELF, PEER, and PUBLIC
	(***Challenge** - It was thought provoking.*)	SELF, PEER, and PUBLIC
The timeliness of creative idea in relation to contemporary events.	**Relevance* - It had something to say about today's world.**	SELF, PEER, and PUBLIC
The quality of the connection of the funded output with communities of interest.	**Captivation* - It was absorbing and held my attention.**	SELF, PEER, and PUBLIC
	Connection - The work moved and inspired me.	SELF, PEER, and PUBLIC
The extent to which the funded output breaks new ground.	**Originality* - It was ground-breaking.**	SELF and PEER
	Distinctiveness* - It was different from things I've experienced before.	PUBLIC
The funded output is widely regarded as best of its type in the world.	**Excellence (global)* - It was amongst the best of its type in the world.**	SELF and PEER
	Excellence (national)* – It was amongst the best of its type in Australia.	SELF, PEER, and PUBLIC
The extent to which the funded output respects cultural tradition or is unique to WA.	**Authenticity** - It had a connection to the State/Country we live in. (*Original wording: 'It respects cultural tradition.'*)	SELF, PEER, and PUBLIC
The extent to which the artist is fearless and negotiates new artistic approaches.	**Risk* - The artists/curators really challenged themselves with this.**	SELF, PEER, and PUBLIC
The extent to which the funded output has undergone thorough research and development.	**Rigour* - It seemed well thought through and put together.**	SELF, PEER, and PUBLIC
The funded output demonstrates an ability to realise creative ideas to real world outcomes.	**Innovation -** It was introduced to the audience in a new way. (*Original wording: 'it connected creative ideas to the real world.'*)	SELF, PEER, and PUBLIC
The extent to which the funded output explores new possibilities or views.	**Imagination** - It explored a new point of view.	SELF, PEER, and PUBLIC

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The quality metrics used in Western Australia and Manchester assess both the quality of the experience reported by audience members (eg, 'inquisitiveness', 'captivation', 'connection') and the quality of the product (eg, 'excellence' and 'rigour'). The Manchester pilot found that there was 'more variation in the public [audience] scores for the more personal, subjective measures of "relevance", "challenge" and "meaning" than for the more technical dimensions of "presentation" and "rigour"' (Bunting and Knell 2014, 56). Such systematic discrepancies suggest that the audience's rating of experienced impacts on the one hand and product quality on the other may need to be interpreted differently.

Boerner and Jobst (2013) and Brown and Novak-Leonard (2007) report contradictory findings regarding the relative significance of impact and product quality measures, so that the relationship between these two remains an important topic for further research. The public's less favourable scoring on the impact measures (ie, 'quality of experience' measures) that were used in Manchester leads Bunting and Knell to conclude, 'It's one thing to offer a polished, absorbing, highly enjoyable cultural experience; it's another to make a difference to how people think and feel about the world' (56).

The measures of experienced impact that were developed in Western Australia and Manchester focus on the audience's intellectual engagement with the performance. Bunting and Knell note that some respondents in Manchester, in particular the peer evaluators, wished there was a place to report their emotional reactions. Rather than adopting additional quantitative impact questions to capture emotional or social dimensions of the experience that have been included in other frameworks, Bunting and Knell recommend adding some open-ended qualitative questions to gather feedback on the emotional experience (Bunting and Knell 2014, 62).

One of the major challenges of using assessment scores supplied by audience members at the policy level is ensuring comparability across sites and across various forms of cultural experience. As noted above, some researchers have expressed concerns about comparing self-reported audience experiences across different art forms and contexts (Belfiore and Bennett 2007, 258-60; Brown and Novak-Leonard 2013, 7). However, one of the core objectives of both the DCA and Manchester initiatives is enabling 'comparisons between funding programs and activities from different art forms' (Chappell and Knell 2012, 16), and the integration of peer-review and self-assessment in the evaluation frameworks are intended as a buffer against idiosyncrasies of the audiences, the objectives of the organisations, and other contextual factors.

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The 2012 DCA report assures readers that implementation of the framework will not reduce decision making to a technocratic, numbers driven process (Chappell and Knell 2012, 18). While intelligent, culturally aware decision makers will certainly be required to interpret the assessment data and consider it along with other forms of contextual information, the selective use of quantitative data also harbours potential pitfalls. If the metrics are only applied when they are convenient for the decision maker and are otherwise ignored, there is a risk that the data will only be used to rationalise subjective decisions that would have been made anyway (Belfiore 2010). In the past, doubt has been cast on whether the available data has any real influence on cultural decision-making (Selwood 2002, 58).

A brief passage in the DCA report refers to the need to develop 'decision rules' in order to guide decision makers in the application of the metrics (Chappell and Knell 2012, 10). The development and refinement of such rules, which would presumably determine how the self-assessments, peer reviews, and responses from the public are to be weighed against each other, how these are integrated with measures of 'reach' and 'organisational health', and how the particularities of various cultural forms are taken into account may influence the value that is derived from the assessment data at the policy level.

By combining assessments of experienced impacts, product quality, and reach from funded organisations, peers and the public, the projects in Western Australia and Manchester are taking on the considerable challenge of aggregating and comparing scores across organisations, programmes and sites. There is much to be learned in these areas, and it is admirable that both programmes are advancing with the critical self-reflection and openness to public commentary that they call for in cultural organisations.

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OTHER LITERATURE

In the course of our research we identified some literature that we were unable to obtain or review in the time that was allotted for this project. Further, some of the literature we reviewed was only tangentially related to the present inquiry although it may be relevant to researchers who are interested in specific topics related to the impacts and value of cultural experiences. We list this literature here for the benefit of future researchers.

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TABLE A-1 A grouping of indicators around engagement, energy and tension, concentration, captivation and absorption level

NEF 2008*	BAKHSHI ET AL 2010†	BROWN AND NOVAK 2007; BROWN AND RATZKIN 2012; BROWN AND NOVAK-LEONARD 2013	BOERNER & JOBST
I was completely absorbed by what was happening (Engagement & concentration)	I was totally absorbed (Aesthetic)	At any point during the performance did you lose track of time and get fully absorbed? (Captivation, 2013)	
I hardly noticed the time passing (Engagement & concentration)		To what extent did you inhabit the world of the performers, lose track of time and forget about everything else? (Captivation, 2007)	The performance caused me to forget everything around me (Emotional involvement)
I was often on the edge of my seat (Engagement & concentration)		How involved did you feel as an audience member? (Captivation and personal involvement, 2012)	
I was gripped by the sights and sounds of the performance (Energy & tension)		Overall, how exciting or gripping was the performance? (Captivation and personal involvement, 2012)	
I felt tense and excited (Energy & tension)	I felt real excitement because I knew that the performance was live (not categorized)		During the performance I was constantly very anxious to see what would happen next (Emotional involvement)

TABLE A-2 A grouping of indicators around personal resonance, emotional connection, empathy and inspiration

NEF 2008*	BAKHSHI ET AL 2010†	BROWN AND NOVAK 2007; BROWN AND RATZKIN 2012; BROWN AND NOVAK-LEONARD 2013	BOERNER & JOBST 2013
I found aspects of the performance very moving (Personal resonance & emotional connection)	I felt an emotional response to the play (Aesthetic/ symbolic)	How strong was your emotional response to the performance? (Emotional resonance)	Today's performance moved and touched me (Emotional involvement)
I felt I could really identify with the characters/story (Personal resonance & emotional connection)	I could relate to, or feel a bond with the performers (not categorised)	Did you feel a bond or connection with one or more of the [characters/ musicians/ dancers]? (Emotional resonance)	During the performance, I felt with the characters (Empathy)
Some aspects of the performance seemed relevant to my own life (Personal resonance & emotional connection)			This play touched me because I recognized parts of myself (Associations with Own Life)
	I was transported to another world and lost track of time (Spiritual)	To what degree was it a transcendent experience for you, in the sense of passing into a different state of consciousness for a period of time? (Spiritual value, 2007)	
		How much did the performance leave you feeling uplifted or inspired in a spiritual sense? (Spiritual value, 2007)	
		To what extent did the performance spur you to take some action, or make a change? (Emotional resonance, 2012)	This performance set something in motion for me (Stimulation to communication)

TABLE A-3 A grouping of indicators around learning and thinking, provocation, challenge and intellectual stimulation

NEF 2008*	BAKHSHI ET AL 2010†	BROWN AND NOVAK 2007; BROWN AND RATZKIN 2012; BROWN AND NOVAK-LEONARD 2013	BOERNER & JOBST 2013
My eyes were opened to some new ideas (Learning & challenge)		To what degree did you gain new insight and learning? (Intellectual stimulation)	
I felt challenged and provoked (Learning & challenge)		To what extent were you provoked by an idea or message? (Intellectual stimulation)	
It got me thinking about things differently (Learning & challenge)	The play made me think of new ways of seeing things (Symbolic)	How much were your eyes opened to an idea or point of view that you hadn't fully considered? (Intellectual stimulation)	
	The play did not engage me on an intellectual level (not categorised)		Probably, I will think about this performance for awhile (Thought-provoking impulse)
	I didn't understand what the artists were trying to convey (not categorised)	Did the [artistic work] raise questions in your mind that you would like to ask the performers or creators of the work? (Intellectual stimulation)	I would be interested in getting into a conversation with persons involved in the production (Animation for Information Seeking)

TABLE A-4 A grouping of indicators around aesthetic growth, discovery, aesthetic validation and creative stimulation

NEF 2008*	BAKHSHI ET AL 2010†	BROWN AND NOVAK 2007; BROWN AND RATZKIN 2012; BROWN AND NOVAK-LEONARD 2013	BOERNER & JOBST 2013
		Were you exposed to a type or style of [art] that you had not [heard/seen] before? Were you exposed to the work of [an artist] whose work you'd not known before? Were you exposed to at least one unfamiliar [artistic work], even if you were previously familiar with the artist(s) who created it? Were you exposed to a different interpretation of [an artistic work] you had previously [seen/heard]? (Aesthetic enrichment, 2013)	
		To what extent did anything about the performance offend you or make you uncomfortable? (Intellectual stimulation, 2012)	I think some elements in this production crossed the boundaries of good taste (Breaching or Norms and Values)
		During the performance, how much did you think about the structure or characteristics of the [artistic work] or the life of the [artist]? (Intellectual stimulation, 2013)	The performance stimulated me to take a closer look to the play during the next couple of days (e.g., read the play, read newspaper articles) (Animation for Information Seeking)
		How much did the performance remind you how much you love [the featured work on the programme]? (Aesthetic validation, an element of aesthetic enrichment, 2012)	
		As a result of this experience, are you better able to explain to other people what you like or don't like in [music/ dance/ theatre/ film]? (Critical capacity, an element of aesthetic enrichment, 2013)	
		How much did the performance stir your imagination? (Intellectual stimulation, 2012) To what extent do you think your attendance at this performance will cause you to be more creative in your life, work or artistic endeavors? (Aesthetic growth, 2007)	

TABLE A-5 A grouping of indicators around social connectedness, sense of belonging, shared experience, social bridging and social bonding

NEF 2008*	BAKHSHI ET AL 2010†	BROWN AND NOVAK 2007; BROWN AND RATZKIN 2012; BROWN AND NOVAK-LEONARD 2013	BOERNER & JOBST 2013
It felt good to be sharing the experience with other people (Shared experience & atmosphere)	Seeing the play in the company of an audience increased my enjoyment (Social)	How much did you feel a sense of connection to others in the audience? (Social bridging and bonding)	Today I had the impression of being part of a community (Before and after the performance or during the break)
I will be talking about the experience for some time to come (Shared experience & atmosphere)	After leaving the theatre I wanted to talk to people about what I'd seen (Social)	Afterwards, did you discuss the performance with others who attended? (Intellectual stimulation, 2007; Post-Performance Engagement, 2012)	I am looking forward to talking to others about this performance (Stimulation to communication)
		Did the [concert/ performance/ film] explore or celebrate your own cultural background or identity? (Social bonding, 2013)	
		Did the artistic [programme/ work(s)] give you a new understanding for people who are different than you, or for a culture other than your own? (Social bridging, 2013)	
		Did attending this [concert/ performance/ event/ film-screening] give you a sense of pride in the community where you live? (Pride of place, an element of social bridging and bonding, 2013)	

The questions in NEF's question bank were initially framed as differentials, asking respondents to indicate which of two opposing statements is closer to their own experience; however, the authors of the NEF handbook also present versions of their protocols in which respondents are asked to rate the extent to which they agree or disagree with a single statement. For purposes of comparison, the latter version is used.

† Bakhshi et al used these questions in their assessment of the National Theatre. The survey was modified for use at the Tate in Bakhshi and Throsby (2010). Two questions that are specific to the broadcasts of live theatre in cinemas have been omitted here.

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