
A NEW APPROACH

Insight research series
Report Four

BEHIND THE SCENES: DRIVERS OF ARTS AND CULTURAL POLICY SETTINGS IN AUSTRALIA AND BEYOND

Acknowledgements

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1. *The big picture: Public expenditure on artistic, cultural and creative activity in Australia*
2. *Transformative: Impacts of culture and creativity*
3. *'A view from middle Australia: Perceptions of arts, culture and creativity'* (May 2020)

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About A New Approach

A New Approach (ANA) is an independent think tank championing effective investment and return in Australian arts and culture. We aim to foster a more robust discussion about cultural policies, underpinned by good data, informed by shared understandings, and through a non-partisan and independent approach. ANA was established in 2018 with a \$1.65 million commitment by The Myer Foundation, the Tim Fairfax Family Foundation and the Keir Foundation. The Australian Academy of the Humanities is the lead delivery partner for this initiative.

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Feature image: Arts worker Kara Bosun films artist Fiona Elisala Mosby, both of Moa Arts, for an artist profile video in preparation for the Cairns Indigenous Art Fair. The photograph was taken in June 2020. Moa Arts is an Indigenous owned and operated Art Centre on Mua Island, in the western cluster of the Torres Strait. For more about Moa Arts, go to <https://moaart.com.au/>. This image is cleared for public use.

Image source: Alex Smee of Multi Story Media. Alex is currently working with Moa Arts, sharing digital storytelling skills with Kara and other staff members and facilitating production of digital content. For more on Multi Story Media, go to: <https://multistorymedia.com.au/>.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Executive Summary

There has never been a more critical time to examine Australia's cultural policy settings.

As a nation we are facing unprecedented challenges, as we wrestle with the consequences of back-to-back bushfire and pandemic crises as well as Australia's first recession in 29 years. Arts and culture have a significant role to play in helping Australia address these challenges, including setting the tone for how we view ourselves as a nation now and into the future.

There are some important opportunities and decisions ahead of us. That is why understanding the drivers that inform public policies and policy settings is critical for the future of Australian culture.

The purpose of this report is to bring these policy drivers centre stage; to make them clearer and more accessible so that a wider range of people can take part in informed discussion about Australia's cultural policy settings. If we want our public and private investments in arts and culture to be effective and relevant, then the motivations we have for that investment matter.

In this report, we unpack four policy drivers that we have found to be the most significant influences on arts, cultural and creative policies, globally, for the last 70 years. They are:

Four cultural policy drivers

Collective identity

The purpose of arts and culture is to help groups of otherwise disparate individuals to unite around a collective identity that builds on the things they have (or can be argued to have) in common.

Social improvement

The purpose of arts and culture is to provide spillover benefits in areas of societal concern (like education, health and disaster recovery) to the widest range of people possible.

Reputation-building

The purpose of arts and culture is to help build the reputation of a country, region, organisation or individual, often by associating these entities or individuals with standards of excellence as defined by relevant stakeholders.

Economic contribution

The purpose of arts and culture is to contribute to the nation's economic prosperity, either directly through income and/or employment generation, or indirectly by influencing innovation.

Figure 1: The four most prominent cultural policy drivers found in the international literature between 1950 and 2020.

In exploring Australia's existing cultural policy settings, we found that these four very different, sometimes conflicting policy drivers have accumulated in both positive and negative ways. This has resulted in arts and culture in Australia being expected to deliver everything from aesthetic excellence to social cohesion, better health, education and international diplomacy and economic growth—all policy areas that attract debate and dissent on their own terms. This makes arts and culture a highly complex policy space.

It also makes it a policy space with great opportunity for development.

Behind the scenes: drivers of arts and cultural policy in Australia and beyond is part of the work by A New Approach to champion effective investment and return in arts and culture by governments, individuals, philanthropists and businesses. It is part of a series of reports focused on:

- * investment
- * Impacts and benefits
- * attitudes and perceptions
- * policy settings
- * the creative economy

This is ANA's fourth Insight report and it is structured as follows:

Part 1 unpacks and explores the four most prominent policy drivers evident in the international literature on cultural policy from the last 70 years to understand where each has come from, how policy makers have used them, and some of the outcomes that commonly occur when they are applied.

Part 2 provides a selective timeline of Australian cultural policy history, in order to illustrate where and how the policy drivers have accumulated within Australia's cultural policy settings between 1950 and 2010, and with what consequences.

Part 3 explores the current state of cultural policy settings in Australia and asks: are our existing settings match-fit for the emerging, often unprecedented challenges of 21st century Australia?

Part 4 demonstrates the implications of Australia's cultural policy settings, and shows how strategic deployment of the policy drivers can create significant opportunities to benefit the nation.

We hope this helps create a framework for more productive discussions about policy and investment between all levels of government, businesses, individual creators, philanthropists and in the media.

Our cultural future depends on it.

Summary of findings

Finding 1	Four key policy drivers underpin recent cultural policy around the world. These are collective identity, reputation-building, social improvement and economic contribution.	Finding 4	Considering the drivers that underpin cultural policy can be useful in planning the implementation of policy. Otherwise, there is a risk that the policy intentions may not match the reality.
Finding 2	The four policy drivers can be deliberately combined in cultural policies to catalyse a range of specific effects emerging out of arts and cultural activities.	Finding 5	Neither of the two major Australian political parties has significantly prioritised public expenditure on arts and culture more than the other. However, different governments have been influenced more by some drivers than others. At times, this has led some stakeholders to feel that arts and culture are being prioritised or deprioritised, depending on whether those stakeholders value the same cultural policy drivers as the government of the day.
Finding 3	When policy makers are not aware of the drivers they are using to create cultural policy, and inadvertently use various drivers in combination, they risk these drivers having contradictory goals. This makes it difficult or impossible for the policy to be successfully implemented.	Finding 6	The most effective cultural policies underpinned by economic contribution drivers take a creative industries approach and demonstrate how arts, culture and creative activities interact with each other to increase creativity and innovation across the economy.

Finding 7	The last decade has seen a greater concentration of different policy drivers in a range of policy settings across all three levels of government, and this has made arts and culture an increasingly complex area of public policy.
Finding 8	COVID-19 has accelerated innovation in the production, distribution and consumption of arts and culture via digital means. These trends need to be specifically addressed when updating our cultural policy settings for the 21st century.

Summary of opportunities

Opportunity 1

Determine the appropriate combination of drivers to underpin cultural policy settings for any given jurisdiction, and ensure that investment is effective and relevant in achieving that jurisdiction's priorities.

Opportunity 2

Establish an inquiry investigating whether cultural policy settings and associated investments are effective and relevant for 21st century Australia. This should include a strategy and mechanism for better coordination between the three levels of government, and identify the policy areas that would create value through strategic investment.

Opportunity 3

Review pathways and mechanisms that connect and embed arts and cultural activities in education, mental health and social inclusion strategies, including those related to recovery from natural disasters and significant social and economic disruptions.

Opportunity 4

Create a National Arts and Culture Plan, in the same vein as the existing 'Sport 2030' National Sport Plan, that identifies the enduring and non-partisan principles and responsibilities that could inform more coherent arts and cultural policy settings and investment at all three levels of government.

Opportunity 5

Increase the positive attitudes of internal stakeholders by demonstrating both the access to arts and culture provided by cultural policy and policy actions, and the value these actions have or will have to those stakeholders and their communities.

Opportunity 6

Continually review investment in, and diversity of, arts and cultural activities to increase opportunities that will bring individuals together and build community. For example, festivals, community arts and cultural development initiatives, and local and regional events and experiences.

Opportunity 7

Prioritise incentives, requirements and schemes that support collective identity-building through the production and distribution of diverse Australian content that will help to build a unified national identity and represent Australia to the world.

Opportunity 8

Consider the value of a whole-of-government creative industries approach to cultural policy that will strategically connect arts and culture to innovation outcomes in the broader creative economy.



INTRODUCTION

Introduction

As a nation we are facing unprecedented challenges, as we wrestle with the consequences of back-to-back bushfire and pandemic crises as well as Australia's first recession in 29 years. Arts and culture have a significant role to play in helping Australia address these challenges, including setting the tone for how we view ourselves as a nation now and into the future.

The evidence for the role that arts and culture can play in helping to address society's biggest problems is clear, and growing. Our review of the international and Australian research on arts and culture in our second Insight Report showed that a rich cultural life can deliver transformative economic and social benefits to the Australian community.¹ Our recent research with middle Australians—defined as middle-aged, middle-income swinging voters from suburban and regional Australia—revealed that this cohort is very aware of these benefits.² They see arts and cultural participation as essential to the Australian way of life. For them, it is essential to imagination, inspiration and belonging. They believe arts and culture have a profound impact on Australians' mental health; help children develop skills for future employment; help build a more cohesive society; and help Australia develop a positive international reputation. It is clear that arts and culture inspire and enable meaningful change across our diverse communities and within individual lives, including in the areas of some of Australia's biggest public policy challenges.

There are some important opportunities and decisions ahead of us. That is why understanding the *drivers* that inform public policies and policy settings will be critical for the future of Australian culture.

The purpose of this report is to bring these policy drivers centre stage; to make them clearer and more accessible so that a wider range of people can take part in informed discussion about Australia's cultural policy settings. If we want our public and private investments in arts and culture to be effective and relevant, then the motivations we have for that investment *matter*.

Policy drivers are the various rationales and motivations that decision-makers use (either deliberately or subconsciously) when shaping policy settings.

Most cultural strategies, plans or policies are underpinned by multiple policy drivers. They shape how we discuss and make decisions about arts and cultural policy, including investment. However, these drivers may not be obvious until you know what to look for. Like a backstage crew, drivers do their important work of shaping policy positions behind the scenes. By taking a systematic approach to understanding the range of motivations most commonly seen in cultural policies, both in Australia and around the world, it becomes easier to understand our own personal reasons for valuing arts and culture, as well as recognising the varied motivations and priorities of other people.

This report demonstrates that there have been four core drivers shaping cultural policy in Australia over the last 70 years. These four drivers are:

- * to build a unified identity among a group of individuals
- * to build reputation with internal or external stakeholders
- * to improve social outcomes for a society
- * to contribute to the economy.

In our previous Insight Reports, we highlighted that the vast majority of Australians engage in artistic, creative and cultural activities in our everyday lives. For some it might mean listening to music during a workout, laughing out loud at a film, learning a new drawing technique or watching their child dancing in an end-of-year concert. For others it means reading a book, learning a new language, talking about last night's comedy show with friends or performing in the town's annual festival. Perhaps it's a trip to the city to see a big show, working in a museum, practising a new song or watching a new Australian drama on television. Maybe it's playing a game on a smartphone, listening to the radio while driving, or visiting a gallery. It might involve being enrolled in a course, learning from a mentor, or teaching a new generation about the cultural artefacts that we enjoy the most. For some people, the focus of their career is the production of arts, cultural and creative products and services—although the profound changes brought about by digital connectedness have blurred the lines between producers and consumers in this space in recent decades. Our reports also highlight the many benefits that participating in arts and cultural activities provides to individuals, communities and the nation. See *What we Mean by Culture* on page 91 for more.

The report shows how decision makers have emphasised different drivers, or combinations of drivers, at different times, while shaping cultural policy settings. Today, the (sometimes unintentional) accumulation of these four drivers in cultural policies has resulted in arts and culture being expected to deliver everything from aesthetic excellence to social cohesion, better health, education, international diplomacy and economic growth. These are all policy areas that attract debate and dissent on their own terms. This makes arts and culture a highly complex policy space, and therefore also one with great opportunity for development.

This report provides an overview of the four policy drivers, synthesised from the literature on cultural policy from around the world, and explores how these policy drivers have been expressed in Australian cultural policy settings. It centres the spotlight on both areas of contradiction and the complementary elements within different approaches that can be better capitalised on in the future. It is structured as follows:

Part 1 unpacks and explores the four most prominent policy drivers evident in the international literature on cultural policy from the last 70 years, to understand where each has come from, how policy makers have used them, and some of the outcomes that commonly occur when they are applied.

Part 2 provides a selective timeline of Australian cultural policy history, in order to illustrate where and how the policy drivers have accumulated within Australia's cultural policy settings between 1950 and 2010, and with what consequences.

Part 3 explores the current state of cultural policy settings in Australia and asks: are our existing settings match-fit for the emerging, often unprecedented challenges of 21st century Australia?

Part 4 demonstrates the implications of Australia's cultural policy settings, and shows how strategic deployment of the policy drivers can create significant opportunities to benefit the nation.

We hope this helps create a framework for more productive discussions about policy and investment between all levels of government, businesses, individual creators, philanthropists and in the media.

Our cultural future depends on it.

How to use this report

This report assumes that the more we understand each other, the easier it is to communicate across groups of people with differing motivations, backgrounds, and agendas. We recommend using this report to gain new insights into your own beliefs and those of other stakeholders about priorities in cultural policy, which can then be used to have more informed, and therefore more productive, conversations.

For background information to understand the Australian context, including the role of governments in arts and cultural policy, see *Understanding this research* on page 67.

For cultural and creative organisations and individuals

Use this report to better understand the policy drivers that may shape your own views on cultural policy, as well as those of your various stakeholders. This may assist you in preparing advocacy documents and grant applications, as well as participating in discussions about cultural policies with your peers and with your political representatives.

For elected members and policy advisors

Use this report to understand what previous governments have considered to be the reasons for investing in arts and culture, the various outcomes this has produced, and to help explore new policy opportunities with your stakeholders.

For philanthropists and sponsors of arts and culture

Use this report to understand the policy drivers that may shape your own attitudes to cultural policy and investment, as well as those of other stakeholders. It may assist in strategic discussions about what investments are most effective and relevant for you and your organisation.

For the interested public

Use this report as an accessible summary of the arts and cultural policy drivers, both in Australia and around the world, that have been most prominent since the mid 20th century. It will also introduce some of the things we need to consider to ensure investment in our cultural life remains effective and relevant.



PART 1: FOUR CULTURAL POLICY DRIVERS

Drivers of cultural policy

Policy drivers are the motivations and rationales that shape a policy's development. These ideas and beliefs can be either implicit or explicit. These drivers work in the background to shape the direction of policy documents, speeches, government and non-governmental guidelines and procedures, budgets and sometimes even laws.³

The four most prominent cultural policy drivers that have emerged since the middle of the 20th century are summarised in this section, drawing from international literature.

Four cultural policy drivers

Collective identity

The purpose of arts and culture is to help groups of otherwise disparate individuals to unite around a collective identity that builds on the things they have (or can be argued to have) in common.

Social improvement

The purpose of arts and culture is to provide spillover benefits in areas of societal concern (like education, health and disaster recovery) to the widest range of people possible.

Reputation-building

The purpose of arts and culture is to help build the reputation of a country, region, organisation or individual, often by associating these entities or individuals with standards of excellence as defined by relevant stakeholders.

Economic contribution

The purpose of arts and culture is to contribute to the nation's economic prosperity, either directly through income and/or employment generation, or indirectly by influencing innovation.

Figure 1: The four most prominent cultural policy drivers found in the international literature between 1950 and 2020.

Policy driver 1: Collective identity

This policy driver frames **arts and culture as a tool to help groups of otherwise disparate individuals to unite around a collective identity, building on the things they have (or can be argued to have) in common, even when there are many other areas in which they differ.** Cultural policy that is underpinned by this driver is about developing and maintaining strong and cohesive cultural narratives, either for a nation as a whole or for specific societal sub-groups.⁴

At the level of the nation state, the goal of ‘developing a national culture through the deployment of policy’ is called ‘nationing’—a term coined by Australian cultural scholars David Rowe, Graeme Turner and Emma Waterton.

Nationing aims to:

- * help citizens recognise their nation’s legitimacy
- * help citizens see themselves reflected back through that collective national culture.⁵

Not all unifying occurs at the national level, however. In Australia today, for example, this policy driver is often used to develop a collective identity within states or local regions, and is even sometimes seen in organisational policies that aim to develop a collective organisational identity through engagement with arts and cultural activities or artefacts.

This section provides an overview of three cultural policy approaches in which the building of a collective identity is a key policy driver.

The collective identity driver
The purpose of arts and culture is to help groups of otherwise disparate individuals to unite around a collective identity that builds on the things they have (or can be argued to have) in common.

The engineer approach: arts and culture provide the vision for a single societal identity

An engineer approach to cultural policy sees arts and culture act as a unification tool, helping to unite an entire society behind a singular vision of national identity, typically determined by the government, according to Australian scholar Jennifer Craik, and earlier, American scholars Hillman Chartrand and McCaughey.⁶

The engineer approach is expressed across a spectrum, ranging from highly directive interventions, through to models in which alignment with government objectives for national unity and a collective identity is considered desirable, but not essential.

The more directive of these models of cultural policy are often associated with totalitarian regimes such as the former Soviet Union, and are frequently linked to ideas of propaganda art.⁷ In this more extreme version of the Engineer approach, a government controls all decisions about the content and distribution of arts and culture, and can therefore choose what stories should be told, what messages creators should convey with their artistic creations, and which of their citizens should hear what, and when.

Hillman Chartrand and McCaughey have asserted that democratic government policies also use elements of this model, pointing to arts and culture funding programs that include selection criteria requiring grant applicants to demonstrate how their project is in the national interest.

Unity in diversity: encouraging multiculturalism as the common bond

A more expansive and multicultural version of the collective identity driver is seen in cultural policies that call for 'unity in diversity'. This approach is seen in operation in Papua New Guinea, for example, where the cultural diversity of the 800 or so different language groups is 'celebrated as a remarkable facet of the nation' within cultural and other governmental policies.⁸ The European Union (EU) has also adopted a unity in diversity-type cultural policy. The EU's stated goal since 2000 has been the protection and fostering of the 'common cultural heritage...of the European peoples (strictly in the plural), whose *variety*...is the richness of Europe'.⁹

The EU recognises and encourages localised interpretations of its centralised cultural policy, while also building up a sense of a 'European cultural identity' made stronger and more powerful by many different types of ideas, and collaboration between diverse parties.¹⁰

Unity in diversity policies not only address the things people have in common, but also explore ways arts and culture can help people better understand and appreciate how they differ.

Cultural maintenance: arts and culture for transmitting identity over generations

Cultural maintenance has been defined by Barman, Hebert and McCaskill as 'the ability of any societal group to safeguard its survival,' through 'transmission of culture and worldview to succeeding generations'.¹¹ It is strongly related to the terms cultural transmission and cultural learning, which imply that culture can be transferred without it having to be static or remain unchanged through that process.¹² Cultural policies that are underpinned by collective identity drivers sometimes connect this with the concept of cultural maintenance or transmission.

At different times and in different contexts, the term 'cultural maintenance' has been applied to the maintenance of:

- * cultural infrastructure
- * national cultural heritage
- * migrant cultures (in an attempt to avoid homogenisation and maintain the benefits of multiculturalism and diversity)
- * indigenous cultures.

Cultural maintenance approaches call on individuals to identify with, and help maintain, the culture they are a part of. There is often a sense of urgency to these approaches, underpinned by the goal of ensuring that culture doesn't fade away, or change to the point of being unrecognisable.

In conclusion

Although the engineer approach, the unity in diversity approach and the cultural maintenance approach to cultural policy are typically used by very different kinds of governments with varying political ideologies, the driver behind these three approaches is the same—to use arts and cultural activities and artefacts to unite a diverse group of individuals and produce a strong collective identity.

Imagined communities as a means of building national identity

Benedict Anderson suggested in 1983 that national cultural identity was created as people imagined themselves to be part of a larger collective via the act of reading the daily newspaper. This notion has since been explored in terms of listening to the radio, watching local content on television, and perhaps more controversially, consuming culture via the Internet.¹³ See page 55 for a discussion of collective identity drivers in the digital age.

Policy driver 2: Reputation-building

The reputation-building driver

The purpose of arts and culture is to help build the reputation of a country, region, organisation or individual, often by associating these entities or individuals with standards of excellence as defined by relevant stakeholders.

This policy driver is based on an underlying belief that **a core purpose of arts and culture is to help build the reputation of a country, region, organisation or individual by linking them to certain standards of excellence. These standards of excellence are defined by the relevant internal or external stakeholders that the reputation-builder is hoping to influence.**

Central to this driver is the idea that an artist or arts organisation with an excellent reputation will generate a 'halo effect'. Therefore, providing financial support can enhance a supporter's own reputation through association with that excellence.

Often in the literature on cultural policy, 'excellence' refers to a particular version of aesthetic excellence usually associated with the high arts, and this is indeed often the kind of excellence that reputation-building drivers are based on. However, it is important to note that in questions of reputation, audience matters. Popular and participatory arts can also be considered excellent and, in some cases, it may be participants in these activities that supporters most wish to impress.

Reputation-building drivers shape two distinct types of action:

- 1) Internal reputation-building—using arts and culture to build an individual's, organisation's, or region's reputation with internal stakeholders (such as constituents, residents, members or employees).
- 2) External reputation-building—using arts and culture to build the reputation of an organisation or region with external stakeholders. This type of reputation-building is most often seen in cultural diplomacy and in the promotion of a country's arts and cultural offerings abroad, but also in the promotion of a state or region's arts and cultural offerings to domestic tourists or other forms of domestic outsiders.

In this overview, we outline work by both international and Australian scholars that demonstrates different elements of the reputation-building policy driver.

In the early 90s, the South Korean government began committing minimum 1% of the national budget to supporting the cultural industries, with the intention of building international reputation. Today, South Korean pop culture ‘impacts more lives [globally], per capita, than any other nation’, which has increased their cultural exports, inbound tourism and the international student market.¹⁴

The patronage model: excellence rubs off on those who fund it

Spanish cultural economist Lluís Bonet and French political scientist Emmanuel Négrier argue that a drive for cultural and artistic excellence in the form of the high arts is one of four major cultural policy trends seen throughout recent history [see Appendix on page 86 for a visual breakdown of Bonet and Négrier’s four models of cultural participation].¹⁵

From the 1950s onwards, they claim, many cultural policies worldwide were aimed at producing excellence. Arts experts, selected by arts councils, typically defined what constituted excellence, which was usually ‘high art’, such as opera and ballet.

These people who chose what should and should not be funded, were generally chosen for their expertise *and* for their independence from government influence. This was (and still is) called ‘arm’s-length funding’, and was designed to ensure that the arts remained uncaptured by political party interests. However, historically these experts also generally shared the values of the political hierarchy. In this way, governments could feel relatively confident that the cultural landscape they were supporting would reflect their priorities.

Under cultural policy settings aimed purely at ‘high art’ excellence, the audience was select and elite. Anyone who attended arts and cultural events was assumed to share the values and tastes of both the arts experts and the government backers. If they did not—as was the case with most of the general public—they were not considered an important audience of the arts. Bonet and Négrier point out that this was

relatively unimportant at the time from a political perspective, because arts and culture were generally not seen as an area that would sway the general public at elections.

Cultural democratisation: broadening audience bases creates new opportunities

During the 1960s, according to Bonet and Négrier, ‘elitist’ cultural policy models aimed at producing excellence were ‘democratised’.¹⁶ Engagement with the arts was still considered a special and rarefied experience, but policies shifted in an attempt to make the arts more readily available to the general public.

This was in part due to the shifting cultural landscapes in many countries; television, particularly, had brought high and popular culture into the voting public’s living rooms, and governments wanted to capitalise on the opportunities this created.¹⁷

For policies focused on cultural democratisation, excellence was still the ultimate aim, but making that excellence more accessible to the general public meant supporters could reap expanded advantages to their reputations. For example, instead of focusing on building reputation with those who already shared the same values, governments could attempt to link the excellence produced in the arts with their own reputations in the minds of the broader voting public.

'Arm's-length' funding

The idea that governments should not act as the sole 'arbiter of taste' in society, and that the arts and culture should remain uncaptured by political interference.

Australian governments use a variety of arms-length mechanisms—for example, peer panels or entities such as statutory authorities—to draw on independent expertise in making decisions and administering government funding of arts and culture. Some non-government arts organisations also use these models.

The elite nurturer model: signalling economic health through a thriving cultural scene

According to Australian cultural scholar Jennifer Craik, in contemporary social democracies, cultural policies that focus on excellence also anticipate market failure in the arts (see Appendix on page 87 for an overview of Jennifer Craik's Models of Cultural Policy).¹⁸ Government and private subsidies are considered necessary for maintaining artistic excellence.

Under what Craik and others have called 'the elite nurturer model', governments provide generous subsidies to a small number of elite cultural organisations. When these organisations excel, governments benefit from the reflected glory, even when decisions about expenditure are made at 'arm's length'.

Governments can then use the fact of these subsidies as evidence of their generosity *and* of the health of the government's budget—if arts and culture are seen as 'nice-to-have', and they are being generously funded, this sends a message to the voting public that the economy must be thriving.

In conclusion

These three expressions of the reputation-building driver—patronage, cultural democratisation and elite nurturer—prioritise different types of relationships but are connected by their emphasis on excellence and its capacity to refract a positive light over those who support it.

Policy driver 3: Social improvement

The third policy driver takes a position that **the purpose of arts and culture is to help societies meet and improve particular social outcomes**. These policies often encourage wide access to and participation in arts and culture on the basis that this **can result in positive spillover effects** in areas such as education, mental and physical health, disaster recovery, community- and amenity-building and the promotion of greater acceptance of different types of people within society.

Policies focused on social improvement emphasise the importance of people—all people, not just those with an interest in the high arts—having opportunities to *make and consume* creative content that is relevant and meaningful *to them*, in order to reap the social improvement benefits.

In the next section, we outline three cultural policy approaches demonstrated in the literature that have social improvement as their underpinning driver.

The social improvement driver
The purpose of arts and culture is to provide spillover benefits in areas of societal concern [like education, health and disaster recovery] to the widest range of people possible.

Culture as a human right

According to the UNESCO Statement on ‘Cultural Rights as Human Rights’, participation in arts and cultural activities is the key to human communication, social cohesion, education, community self-recognition, and peace on a global scale.¹⁹

‘At a time when artists, cultural minorities, cultural heritage and cultural expressions are increasingly under attack, defending the cultural rights of individuals and communities has never been more important’.²⁰

Cultural democracy (vs cultural democratisation): not just better access

Participation in arts and culture makes sense as a human right when it is seen as a crucial means of preserving humanity.

Bonet and Négrier describe policies that focus on cultural participation, diversity and access as human rights, as ‘cultural democracy’ policies.²¹ While cultural *democratisation* aimed to bring high art to the masses, cultural *democracy* policies sought to make *all* kinds of arts and culture accessible to *everyone*, so that all members of a community or nation could take advantage of the opportunities they presented, including and beyond immediate aesthetic pleasure. Cultural democracy policies encourage communities to make and participate in the kind of arts and cultural activities that are most meaningful *to them*.

Therefore, as these policies became more common around the world from the 1970s onwards, arts and cultural activities became more tailored to specific communities or subcultures. This allowed greater opportunities for arts and culture to help people witness and process their own experiences, and increase their understanding of others and the broader context of the world in which they lived.²²

The architect approach: directed funding for the greater good

Craik categorises policies that are underpinned by a social improvement driver as ‘architect’ policy approaches, used by governments to align arts and cultural activities with social welfare objectives.

In this approach governments are more directive about what outcomes arts and culture should be able to achieve, compared with the arm’s-length approach often taken under policies focused on producing aesthetic excellence. Compared with the engineer approach, however, architect policies are less extreme in their interventions.

Focusing on the societal benefits of arts and culture can provide a strong rationale for government intervention and support for arts and cultural activities. However, Craik warns that policies underpinned by this driver are often accompanied by a desire by governments to quantifiably *measure* those benefits.²³

Given that the benefits of arts and culture are often intangible, and intangible benefits are notoriously difficult to quantify, cultural policies that take an architect approach are also easy to dismiss when it appears they are not achieving their goals.

Culture 3.0: technology lets more people benefit from participation

The line between passive consumer and active creator has increasingly blurred, producing a range of positive consequences. Cultural policies that recognise this, and *encourage* participation in this hybrid form of cultural production/consumption, have been categorised as taking a ‘culture 3.0’ approach by Italian cultural scholar Pier Luigi Sacco [see Appendix on page 88 for Sacco’s breakdown of culture 1.0, 2.0 and 3.0].²⁴

Culture 3.0 policies recognise an era in which audiences are more like ‘communities of practice...made possible by online platforms’²⁵. Production technologies are cheap and widely available, inviting consumers to become creators too. By encouraging ‘prosumers’ (producer/consumers) to take advantage of the many spillover effects of cultural participation in the ways they deem best for their unique circumstances, culture 3.0 approaches allow for increasingly bespoke social outcomes for individuals and communities. This approach posits that the more this is encouraged via public policy, the more widespread the benefits will be.

In conclusion

While their tactics and platforms may differ, these three cultural policy approaches—cultural democracy (vs cultural democratisation), the architect approach and culture 3.0—are underpinned by the same driver: tackling social improvement as their primary purpose for encouraging and promoting arts and culture in society.

Policy driver 4: Economic contribution

The economic contribution driver

The purpose of arts and culture is to contribute to the nation's economic prosperity, either directly through income and/or employment generation, or indirectly by influencing innovation.

Under this fourth policy driver, **arts and culture are expected to contribute to the economy and the nation's material prosperity, either directly through the generation of income or employment, or indirectly by influencing innovation.**

From the 1950s to the 1990s, arts and culture were seen in most countries, to varying degrees, as valuable societal resources that required subsidisation and patronage in order to survive and continue offering their various benefits. In the 1980s and 1990s, however, arts and culture—along with other public goods such as education and healthcare—were incorporated more than ever into market economies. As a part of 'the market', these public goods were expected to demonstrate not only how they improved the quality of society, but also how they contributed to (or at least didn't detract unnecessarily from) the economy in monetary terms.

As a strategic response to these trends, there was a move to group arts and culture with a wider range of sectors that also drew on creativity. The goal here was to demonstrate how arts and culture shared affinities with a range of commercial industries and were, therefore, contributing to the economy.²⁶

Thus, in the late 1990s (initially in the United Kingdom as part of the 'Cool Britannia' initiative) a new term was introduced into discussions about policy for arts and culture: 'the creative industries'.²⁷ The creative industries was an umbrella term that was defined as those 'which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through generation and exploitation of intellectual property'.

They included, for example:

- * performing arts
- * fine arts
- * broadcasting
- * film
- * publishing
- * commercial music
- * industries like design, architecture and advertising that require a significant input of human creativity.²⁸

Today, there are two main reasons given for making a policy shift towards a broader creative industries focus, rather than maintaining a narrower arts and culture focus:

- * first, to demonstrate the size, scope and influence of this broader notion of creativity on the economy and society
- * second, to show that arts, culture and creative industries are integral, as advanced economies moved their industry profiles from primary and secondary industry to services and higher technology industries.²⁹

With these goals in mind, the economic contributions of creativity can then be assessed for their effectiveness (where economic effectiveness equals value) and, to some degree, quantified.

The research shows...

In our 2019 report 'Transformative: Impacts of culture and creativity', we reviewed Australian and international research that demonstrates a) that artists possess the specific skills and attitudes that help foster innovation, and b) that research and development organisations that include creative specialists outperform those who rely entirely on science and technology specialists.

Demonstrating the points of commonality between arts, cultural, and wider creative industries has allowed better demonstration of these activities' individual and collective economic value. This can be tremendously effective in contemporary political and policy calculation, where economic assessment is brought to bear on the rapidly increasing range of calls on the public purse. The creative industries approach gives arts and culture an opportunity to be embedded in mainstream, evidence-based, policy development.

However, for the creative industries approach to be truly effective, it requires a significant reframing, not only of what arts and culture are *for* (as with the previous three drivers) but of what they fundamentally *are*. Nestled within the broader creative industries framework, the subsidised arts interact with commercial creative industries in complex ways that encourage innovation and economic growth—a claim backed by credible evidence (see *The research shows*, left of page). Given that the arts usually cannot demonstrate a sizeable contribution to the economy, they instead become an integral part of an ecosystem that helps them to demonstrate their indirect economic contributions.³⁰

In this section, we outline work by both international and Australian scholars who unpack key elements of the economic contribution policy driver, particularly as it has been applied in contexts that have taken a creative industries approach.

The welfare model: half-measures that assume market failure

As previously mentioned, economic contribution drivers are most evident in highly market-driven environments, where they are used to try to demonstrate that arts and culture have the kind of value these societies seek to measure. However, this is only really effective when used consistently, such as by taking a creative industries approach to arts, cultural and creative activity across a whole economy. In some contexts, this approach has been only partially applied, and this typically leads to policy advisors and makers continuing to assume that the creative industries 'have a net negative impact on the economy, such that they consume more resources than they produce',³¹ according to Australian cultural scholars Jason Potts and Stuart Cunningham.

This has been the case in the United States, for example, according to a 2013 report funded by America's National Endowment for the Arts.³² In the United States, as in many other countries, the national statistics do not count the creative industries as a single sector, which means that special datasets must be created (at significant expense) in order to measure their output and growth at a national level. Without regular, reliable statistics, economists often simply assume that the creative industries will be either economically stagnant or low-growth.³³ However, the success of the creative industries in other countries has led many state governments in the United States to adopt this approach and nurture these industries. And in reality, America's creative industries are growing well above the average rate of the country's economy.³⁴

A model of the creative industries like that seen in the United States, that assumes market failure and the need for subsidies, has been labelled the ‘welfare’ model by Potts and Cunningham.³⁵ A lack of consistent policy attention to the creative industries can lead to a reliance on the welfare model, which does not take full advantage of the benefits the creative industries can bring to the broader economy.

Culture 2.0: just like any other industry

Cultural policies that are underpinned by a driver of economic contribution are often founded on notions of entrepreneurialism and competition, according to Italian cultural scholar Pier Luigi Sacco [see Appendix on page 88].³⁶

One example of this approach can be seen in the ‘Cool Japan’ initiative of the 90s and 2000s, in which the creative industries were regarded as one element of the government’s ‘New Growth Strategy’.³⁷ Culture 2.0-style policies are typically focused on growing the most financially viable industries within the creative industries cluster—in Japan at this time, these were video games, animation and fashion. When the more traditional arts and cultural industries—those with more qualitative than financial value to society—did not turn a profit under this initiative, the government did not see a reason to intervene.

Potts and Cunningham have called this the ‘competition model’, in which the creative industries are seen by governments as no different to any other industry, and therefore should not demand any special treatment to account for market failure in some industries within the sector, as this is a problem for the market to solve, not the government.³⁸

Ultimately, however, Cool Japan was severely undermined by these problems, with the revenue of many creative industries declining, leading to even less government interest in the Cool Japan initiative by the close of the first decade of the 2000s.³⁹

Growth and innovation: taking full advantage

A third approach using the economic contribution driver is to see the creative industries as a ‘driver’ of growth, or even part of the innovation system that fuels change and adaptation in the economy. Policies that take this approach, according to Potts and Cunningham, assume that the creative industries ‘introduce novel ideas into the economy that then percolate to other sectors’, and even ‘originate and coordinate change in the knowledge base of the economy’.⁴⁰

An example of a cultural policy that takes this approach to the creative industries comes from China.⁴¹ Since the turn of the century, China has been enacting strategies to become an ‘innovative nation’ in every element of its economy. The key component of these strategies has been the nurturing of the creative industries. By creating cultural policies centred on incubator hubs or ‘creative clusters’, and more recently, encouraging organic creative communities, China hopes to capitalise on its culture, build its creative capacity, and transition into an international powerhouse of the fourth industrial revolution.

This systematic approach has the greatest chance of achieving the goal originally set out for the creative industries—to protect arts and culture by demonstrating their value as integral in an ecosystem of innovation and productivity, and therefore demonstrating their indirect but critical contribution to a nation’s economy.

In conclusion

While all three of the approaches described in this section—the welfare model of creative industries, culture 2.0 and the growth and innovation approaches—are evident in many locations around the world, we should not view them as equal. They are more like different stages along a pathway, if the destination is for arts and culture to be highly valued by contemporary governments.

When arts and cultural policies are underpinned by economic contribution drivers *without* systematically applying a creative industries approach, they miss out on a crucial step; the step where arts and culture are valued for their *indirect* contributions, through catalysing creativity and innovation within other industries. Without this step, arts and culture are destined to ‘fail’ under this driver, given that income generation is seldom their sole purpose in, or contribution to, society.



PART 2:
**AN AUSTRALIAN TIMELINE OF
POLICY DRIVERS 1950-2010**

Part 2: An Australian Timeline of Policy Drivers

This chapter gives an overview of how the four policy drivers—collective identity, reputation-building, social improvement and economic contribution—have been expressed since the mid-twentieth century in Australia. For somewhere between 65,000 and 120,000 years, Australia has been a land where arts and culture are inextricably intertwined with understandings of the land, people, history and law—making artistic and cultural tools essential for everyday life. In the words of Rembarrnga Elder and artist Miliwanga Wurrben:

*'Paintings, they tell stories, and history, our laws. Our songs, dances, are our homeland where we originally come from; this is like a history book that we are able to share with the world'.*⁴²

In contrast, in the years between establishing the British colony (commencing in 1788) and the end of World War II (1945) it was often difficult for the newly arrived society from Britain and other parts of the world to foster a cohesive arts and cultural scene. This was largely due to the geographic disparity between the various colonial hubs of residential and governmental activity.⁴³ While the late 1800s saw a win over Britain in the cricket—establishing Australia as 'the mother country's sporting equal'—artistic and cultural pursuits waxed and waned between nationalistic extremes and nostalgia for European models of the arts.⁴⁴

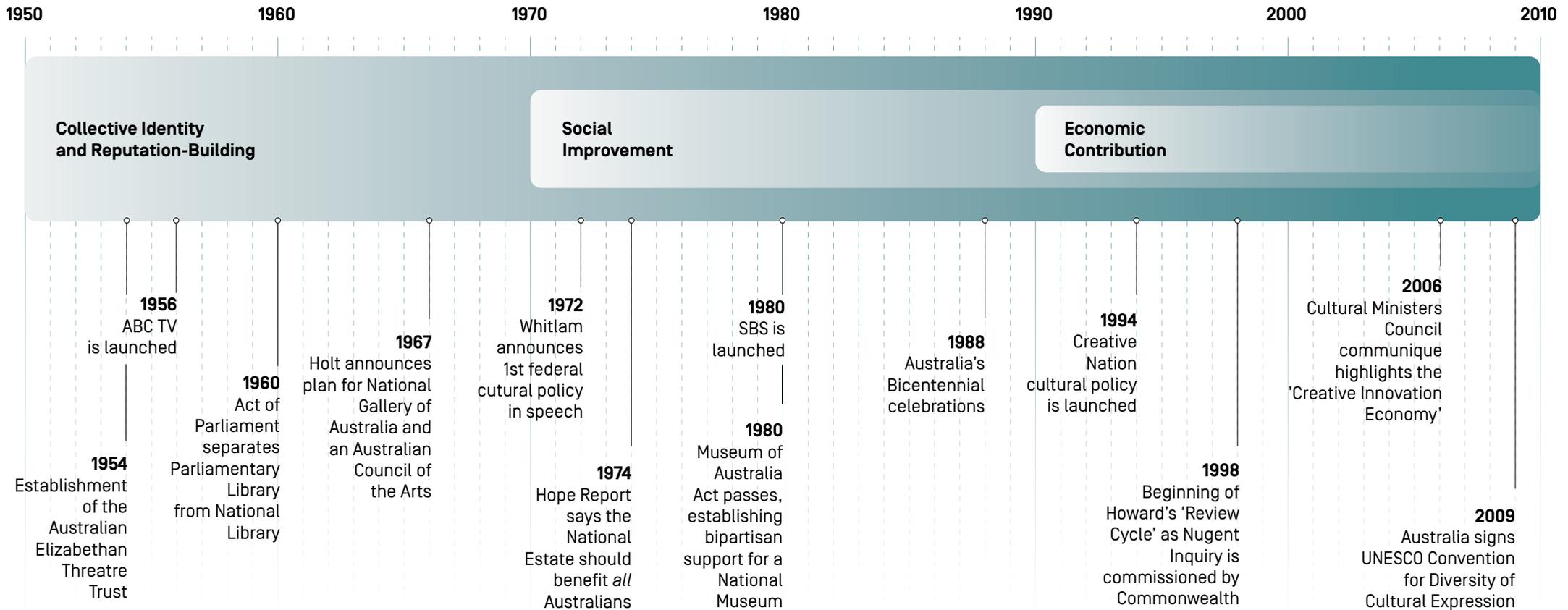
In these early years of colonial Australia, and as calls to federate the states intensified, arts and culture were increasingly viewed by parties on both sides of politics as a tool for 'the development of a cultivated people and a national culture'.⁴⁵ Arts and culture came to be seen as a way of nurturing a collective identity within and for the nation.⁴⁶

Post-World War II saw significant changes to the Australian identity and way of life, with an even greater shift of primary cultural influence away from Britain and towards the United States. The 1950s was a particularly active period for Australian arts and culture; a time when Australia began rebuilding and redefining itself as a modern, multicultural, and economically successful nation, and was finding many new ways to express those emerging identities.⁴⁷

It is here that we begin our review of Australian arts and cultural policy drivers in earnest. In this section, we provide a brief timeline of cultural policy settings in Australia from 1950 to 2010—a potted history of six critical decades. Throughout each decade, Australia witnessed some combination of the four drivers in varying proportions, with different drivers prioritised at different times.

A selection of events and policy drivers in Australia [1950-2010]

Figure 2: A selection of events and policy drivers in Australia (1950 to 2010). The nested horizontal bars represent when each of the policy drivers first became prominent within Australian cultural policy settings, although they may have been evident more peripherally prior to those points.



The 1950s

The drivers behind arts and cultural policy during the 1950s were highly focused on developing a collective identity, with governments and the public still feeling a tension between nostalgia for British culture and the desire to distinguish Australia beyond its British heritage.⁴⁸ However, other influences were also prevailing, in the form of American popular culture brought over by United States soldiers during World War II.⁴⁹ These new influences converged with a surge in opportunities to more easily share cultural experiences with others, as the invention of the transistor radio made it possible to consume cultural content in every room of the house, as well as the car and outdoors.⁵⁰ Radio stations also began playing pre-recorded music for the first time in the 1950s, which allowed them to find new audiences amongst teens keen to listen to rock'n'roll.⁵¹ These changes sparked fears that Australia, and particularly Australia's youth, would lose their Australian identity and become increasingly 'Americanised'. These fears have continued to the present day.

The 1950s also saw Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies announce a plan to introduce television into Australian homes, and to establish both a Royal Commission on Television, and the legislative potential for commercial television stations.⁵² This proved highly effective in consolidating his and his party's reputation.⁵³ With radio and television broadcasts becoming increasingly accessible to Australians even in remote areas during this period, and particularly with the introduction of Australian content quotas, arts and culture quickly became 'significant social technologies' for developing a national culture.⁵⁴

This new emphasis on popular culture and accessibility created a valuable tool for governments at both federal and state levels to build a collective identity among their citizens, and achieve social improvement outcomes such as citizen education. These drivers could be seen both in the types of screen content the government of the day sponsored, and also in their stated discontent with television shows 'designed only to entertain' or films that failed to meet 'educational obligations':⁵⁵

[The Royal Commissioner on Television (1954)] argued that television stations had to accept their educational responsibilities; to provide programmes serving beneficial cultural purposes, including the assimilation of immigrants to 'our national way of life'; the broadening of Australians' knowledge of foreign countries, high culture and politics; and the provision of entertainment for country people, thus lessening their inclinations to move to the cities.⁵⁶

The 1960s

Working class Australians living in the suburbs may not have had much access to high arts and culture, but they created their own arts and cultural activities, producing a form of cultural democracy even before this idea began appearing in Australian government policy. See page 23 for more on cultural democracy.

The 1960s saw several significant changes in the way governments managed their relationship with arts and cultural activity, with particular emphasis on reputation-building.⁵⁷ During this period, highly influential cultural lobbyists became a feature of Australian cultural policy at state and federal levels of government, arguably providing politicians and policy makers with an understanding of which aspects of culture to support if they did wish to enhance their party's reputation.⁵⁸

The notion of 'arm's length' funding for arts and culture was also consolidated during this time with the establishment of several new statutory authorities, including the National Gallery of Australia in 1967⁵⁹ and the Federal division of the Australia Council for the Arts as a statutory body in 1968.⁶⁰ This again provided opportunities for governments to use the fact of these subsidised institutions as evidence of their generosity, cultured outlook, and the health of governmental budgets.⁶¹ It has also been described as 'the first real indication of federal government intent to create a favourable climate for the arts in Australia and to promote Australia's image abroad through the arts'.⁶²

The need to build a collective national identity was also still a high priority for the federal government through this period. During some of the highest-tension years of the Cold War, and as the Vietnam War sat firmly in Australia's consciousness, governments saw cultural homogeneity as 'an essential prerequisite for victory'.⁶³ This homogeneity was encouraged by greater suburbanisation of the cities. Some commentators of the time called this a blow to Australia's cultural life, labelling suburbia 'a wasteland, bereft of culture'. Others, however, have argued that the working classes created their

own arts and cultural activities in their new locations, in an early nod to the type of cultural democracy that would later be enshrined in cultural policies worldwide.⁶⁴

Cultural policy settings during this time were significantly adjusted to the advantage of arts and cultural activity, with investment increasing across all levels of government.⁶⁵ Despite the increased interest in popular forms of culture from the majority, this expenditure was mostly allocated to the high arts in city areas, and attempts were made to 'reverse the exodus of [Australian] creative talent to overseas cultural Meccas'⁶⁶—both moves indicating that reputation-building policy drivers underpinned these decisions.

The 1970s

The 1970s were a time when cultural policy became more concrete in Australia than ever before. In a speech in 1972, Prime Minister Gough Whitlam outlined the first explicit national cultural policy, which was designed to:

- * help establish and express an Australian identity through the arts (*a collective identity driver*)
- * promote a standard of excellence in the arts (*a reputation-building driver*)
- * widen access to, and the understanding and application of, the arts in the community generally (*a social improvement driver*)
- * promote international awareness of Australian culture (*a reputation-building driver*).⁶⁷

Among many other actions, these explicit goals led to the introduction of Australia's first community arts programs, introduced into the recently-established federal division of the Australia Council.⁶⁸ These artistic and cultural activities aimed to get more people involved in state-supported arts and cultural activities—especially those who had not had many opportunities previously—rather than focusing on aesthetic excellence. However, this meant their legitimacy as art was often questioned.

For context: the National Estate

The 1970s was a period of Australian history that can usefully illustrate the tensions between cultural policy settings aimed at social improvement, compared with those aimed at building either reputation or collective identity. A good example can be found in the execution of the Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate in 1973.⁶⁹ The National Estate had initially been defined as sites, objects and places (natural and cultural) of broad national significance. However, interpretations of this definition were left to the judgement of an elite few, who primarily identified 'of national significance' to mean of significance to themselves and people like them—typically wealthy Anglo-Australian men—rather than encompassing artefacts and locations that may be significant to the wider range of ethnicities, religions, genders and classes, not to mention places of residence, that characterised 1970s Australia. Thus, the drivers behind policy during this period did not always manifest in the ways intended—a frustration that plagues policy makers to this day.

Policy enthusiasm for arts and culture also produced increased attention and investment towards Australian television content, particularly following the introduction of quotas for Australian content in the 1960s—by the end of the 1970s, eight of the ten most popular shows were locally made.⁷⁰ Australian cinema also flourished with the establishment in 1970 of the Australian Film Development Corporation (AFDC) under the Gorton government. The AFDC was developed with an economic contribution driver at its core—perhaps one of the first instances of this driver in Australian cultural policy history, given that the arts and culture were not seen as financially viable prior to this.⁷¹ The AFDC was superseded by the Australian Film Commission in 1975, a move that was underpinned again by a combination of reputation-building and collective identity drivers.

On the election of the Fraser government in December 1975, Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser committed to continuing previous federal governments' support—financial and philosophical—for the arts, while also looking to reduce unnecessary expenditure and increase the diversity of funding sources, not, in his words, to 'find substitutes for Government assistance, but to expand on that necessary base'.⁷² This led to changes in the way the Australia Council functioned. Interestingly, an inquiry into Assistance to the Performing Arts was conducted in 1976. It advocated for improving and encouraging education and innovation in, and expanding access to, the performing arts in Australia—recommendations thoroughly underpinned by social improvement drivers. This inquiry also, however, recommended that after an eight-year phasing-in period, financial support for the performing arts

should *only* be provided for activities that met these three objectives. The Fraser government rejected this recommendation, announcing that:

The promotion of excellence in the arts is of primary importance and continuation of assistance to the presently subsidised companies is seen as being consistent with this objective...The cost of assistance needs to be weighed against the benefit that the assistance provides to the community and against the competing claims of other artistic activities. In this regard the Government notes the Commission's criteria of improving education, encouraging innovation and expanding dissemination of the performing arts and accepts that these criteria should be an important consideration in assessing priorities for the allocation of available funds.⁷³

The 1980s

The 1980s saw multicultural policies come to the fore of cultural policy suites. These policies, which sat across a range of government portfolios, were primarily underpinned by both collective identity and social improvement drivers.

The 1988 Bicentenary, which celebrated the two-hundredth anniversary of the arrival of the First Fleet, was a critical and controversial moment in Australia's history that highlighted how arts and culture could be used to build a collective (in this case, national) identity around issues that mattered to the government, and by extension, much of the populace. The Bicentennial celebrations have been described as 'a grand "Celebration of a Nation", with a strong emphasis on inclusiveness and multiculturalism, recognizing Australia's undeniable diversity due to decades of mass immigration.'⁷⁴

However, the quest to develop a national cultural identity in Australia has always been confounded by our settler-colonial history, and this became particularly clear during these celebrations. Although cultural diversity was intensely celebrated throughout these events, the impact of colonialism on Australia's First Peoples was barely acknowledged. Arts and culture played an important role in bringing these issues into the public arena through major works such as *The Aboriginal Memorial*, which powerfully expresses the loss and negative impacts brought about through colonisation.⁷⁵

One area in which cultural policy has successfully united diverse groups of the population around a collective identity was in the introduction and subsequent success of the SBS (Special Broadcasting Service). Unique on a global level, the SBS grew from being 'two ethnic radio stations' that broadcast for four hours a day in 15 different languages, to a widely

respected and awarded television and radio broadcasting network that broadcasts 24 hours a day in 68 different languages.⁷⁶

In addition to the collective identity drivers underpinning multicultural policy, the 1980s also saw a move towards social improvement drivers, and specifically, a cultural democracy approach. The Labor Hawke government shifted the federal emphasis in cultural policy away from reputation-building through association with the high arts by reducing the authority of the Australia Council and the expenditure on the Major Performing Arts companies. This moved cultural policy more towards social improvement drivers by redistributing expenditure to smaller cultural organisations and devolving authority over the arts to the state level.⁷⁷ At the same time, there was a minor increase in economic contribution drivers, with the 1986 McLeay report (poetically titled, 'Patronage, Power and the Muse: Inquiry into Commonwealth Assistance to the Arts') looking specifically into the *economic* benefits of public arts assistance, but finding the question too complex to answer satisfactorily.⁷⁸ The McLeay report did, however, reinforce the idea that the Australia Council should focus on the subsidised arts and devolve some of its support to the states and territories, including areas such as community arts, touring and artists in residence schemes. These recommendations were subsequently embraced by the Australia Council.⁷⁹

These shifting drivers had a range of both positive and negative consequences. On one hand, the greater emphasis on social improvement and economic contribution drivers was unpopular with various members of the arts and culture community. Some saw them as 'marginalising and humiliating', as revealing a 'very deep fear of artists' and as a sign of disdain for the notion of art for art's sake.⁸⁰ One consequence of this was that some Australian creators again took their work overseas, and the nation experienced another 'exodus' of creative talent.⁸¹ On the other hand, it opened up a greater variety of arts and cultural expressions by and for a wider range of Australians. However, although many changes were made to the administration and structure of the Australia Council as a result of these proposals, the benefits to the Australian public are still debated to this day.

For context: Are arts and culture a partisan area of politics?

A paper by researchers from the University of Melbourne found that 'the particular character of the government itself is just as important as its party political persuasion'.⁸² This principle was perhaps seen most clearly in the stark contrast between the approach to cultural policy by Labor's Hawke government (1983–1991) and Keating government (1991–1996). However, it also showed similarities between the various Labor and Coalition governments over the 40-year period studied.

Using econometric modelling, the paper explored the relationships between all Australian federal government arts expenditure from 1967 to 2009, the impact of government reviews of the arts and cultural sector on expenditure, and the political persuasion of the government. The study used three datasets drawn from the national budget for arts-related expenditure: the Recreation and Culture budget category; the Arts and Cultural Heritage budget category (a subset of Recreation and Culture); and the Commonwealth Allocation to the Australia Council budget category (a subset of Arts and Cultural Heritage). The researchers factored in a wide range of possible influences on the results, including expenditure by previous governments and economic conditions occurring during these various governments' tenures.

The study found support for the popular perception that the Whitlam government was a champion for the arts. However, it also found that every succeeding government, of both political persuasions, had reduced Recreation and Cultural expenditures. That is, they had reduced overall expenditure on the broadest definition of arts and culture at the federal level. At the subset of Arts and Cultural Heritage expenditures, only the Hawke government recorded negative impacts, while both the Hawke and Keating governments reduced the Commonwealth's allocation to the Australia Council, accounting for other factors like the impacts of national income, relative price, a time trend and past expenditures.

Although there has been a general decline in federal government expenditure on arts and culture, the study also found that government reviews, conducted by both parties, typically resulted in increases in government spending in one or more of the subsets of the national budget for arts and culture.

The 1990s

With the 1990s came a flurry of cultural policy activity from both sides of government. The Coalition (in opposition at the time) released its cultural policy statement, 'The Cultural Frontier, Coalition Priorities for the Arts', on 6 October 1994. The Labor government released its cultural policy, 'Creative Nation: Commonwealth Cultural Policy', two weeks later on 18 October.⁸³

For the first time, both sides of government began reflecting all four of the policy drivers discussed in this report in explicit cultural policy documents. Commentators have noted the surprising similarities between the two documents: both focused heavily on high arts, and their role in cultural diplomacy (reputation-building). Both linked the arts with communication, to encourage wider distribution (social improvement). Both wished to achieve recognition of Australia's Indigenous cultures as a core element of Australia's identity (collective identity). Neither focused heavily on community or participatory arts and culture, but both emphasised the need for better regional access to arts and culture (social improvement), though neither had a plan for achieving this. And both laid out plans for assisting artists and arts organisations to better monetise their work and push into overseas markets (economic contribution).⁸⁴

Given that Creative Nation was then implemented, this section will now focus on that document and its implications. We will use the document's Introduction to demonstrate how these four drivers can overlap and intersect in a single policy.⁸⁵

An obvious goal of Creative Nation was nationing—that is, building a collective national identity. The Introduction opened with the line:

To speak of Australian culture is to recognise our common heritage. It is to say that we share ideas, values, sentiments and traditions, and that we see in all the various manifestations of these what it means to be Australian.

The notion of the 'various manifestations' of the collective Australian identity was reflected throughout the document, with a strong emphasis on multiculturalism and diversity, and an explicit focus on Indigenous culture:

As never before we now recognise the magnificent heritage of the oldest civilisation on earth—the civilisation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. In literature, art, music, theatre and dance, the indigenous culture of Australia informs and enriches the contemporary one. The culture and identity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians has become an essential element of Australian identity, a vital expression of who we all are.

While an explicit focus here was on building a collective identity ('who we *all* are'), there were clear implications for social improvement, also. In fact, the policy claimed that its *ultimate* aim was 'to increase the comfort and enjoyment of Australian life ... and add to our security and well-being'. This was further evident in discussions of new technologies, connecting these to arts and culture for 'a democratic and creative cultural purpose'.

It was clear from lines such as the goal to ‘increase the comfort and enjoyment of Australian life’, that this policy aimed to be a people-pleaser; and in claiming to pursue ‘similar ends to any social policy’, that it was hoping to be positioned in constituents’ minds as being for the good of the nation and the individuals within it. Thus, there were subtle implications for reputation-building with internal stakeholders.

What was perhaps more explicit, and certainly more unusual for its time, was that a reputation-building driver appeared to underpin descriptions of artists and creators in this document. As previously mentioned, the 1980s saw a mass exodus of Australia’s creative talent abroad. One explicit hope of the Creative Nation policy was that ‘in the twenty-first century, talented Australians will never feel obliged to leave their country behind’, given that ‘when talented Australians drew the conclusion that their own country was a cultural desert, and packed their bags for Europe, the loss to our national life was incalculable.’ From lines like this, it would seem that the government of the day was aware that their reputation with Australia’s talent required some serious attention. External reputation-building drivers were also evident in discussions of the use of arts and culture in international relations and as ‘a valuable export’ that ‘attracts [international] tourists and students’.

For context: ‘Australia Television’ comes to Asia

Beyond Creative Nation, it is worth noting that the 1990s saw an increasing shift towards building Australia’s reputation with our Asian neighbours across a wide range of sectors, not least those used in cultural diplomacy and exchange, such as arts and culture. The launch of Australia Television, for example—a commercial operating arm of the ABC—throughout many Asian countries in 1993 was promoted as ‘a key element in the Government’s strategy of forging closer relationships between Australia and countries in our region’, in an attempt to improve perceptions of Australia as an open, religiously tolerant and multicultural member of the Asian region. This strategy was clearly underpinned by a reputation-building driver.

See Cunningham, Miller and Rowe [pp. 146–149], for more on Australia Television

Finally, the Introduction section of Creative Nation concluded with the claim that ‘this cultural policy is also an economic policy’:

Culture creates wealth. Broadly defined, our cultural industries generate 13 billion dollars a year. Around 336,000 Australians are employed in culture-related industries...it makes an essential contribution to innovation, marketing and design...It is a valuable export in itself and an essential accompaniment to the export of other commodities. It attracts tourists and students. It is essential to our economic success.

A policy that covers all four drivers like this could be seen to recognise and emphasise the importance of the arts within Australian society. But it can also be viewed as overly prescriptive and controlling—more of an engineer approach to cultural policy. For example, Australian economist Michael Harris argued that Creative Nation provided:

...a beautiful rhetorical backdrop for turning arts policy into a component of a grander social blueprint. The unspoken and unexamined assumption of Creative Nation is that, if culture makes us a better nation, then it must be a legitimate role of the state to foster and nurture the appropriate sorts of culture.⁸⁶

Another key document produced during the 90s was a review of the Major Performing Arts (MPA) companies, usually referred to as the Nugent Inquiry.⁸⁷ This was the first of a series of reviews commissioned by the Howard government that came to be known as the ‘Review Cycle’.⁸⁸ Unlike the McLeay report, the Nugent Inquiry was directly concerned with the financial viability of the sector, specifically the MPAs. The Nugent Inquiry played a critical role in encouraging increased government expenditure on arts and culture, not only on areas funded by the Australia Council, but also in the broader categories of arts and cultural heritage, and culture and recreation.⁸⁹ The MPA Framework that emerged from this inquiry has endured for more than 20 years as of time of writing and was recently updated [2019] to reflect more contemporary policy settings.⁹⁰

The 2000s

The emphasis on arts and culture providing social improvement and benefits increased in Australia during the 2000s. For example, a report released by the Cultural Ministers Council's Statistics Working Group in 2005 spoke of the 'increasing focus on how participating in arts and cultural activity intersects with other areas of public concern, such as education, crime prevention, community identity and development'.⁹¹ The move towards social improvement drivers has been particularly notable in the increasing use of arts and cultural activities in disaster response. The recovery from the Black Saturday bushfires in 2009, for example, saw one of the first coordinated efforts on behalf of an Australian government to use arts and cultural activities to help rebuild community resilience, as well as lost infrastructure.⁹²

The 2000s also saw an increasing uptake of digital engagement with arts and culture, which enabled greater access and new forms of participation. These activities were in part enabled by personal computers becoming more common and digitisation becoming faster and cheaper, enabling an explosion of remote access. Suddenly people right across the country could find historical footage of the boat they immigrated on, look at the military records of their grandparents, or zoom in to see the detail of a brushstroke: all from their computer, in the comfort of their own home or local library.

For context: Arts and culture for increasing harmony and reducing terrorism

The 2001 terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre in New York had a significant impact on Australian cultural policy, particularly in terms of multiculturalism, sparking the release of 'Multicultural Australia: United in Diversity' in 2003 by the Howard Government. 'Integration' and the goals of social cohesion, harmony and security became increasingly prominent in policy discussions around this time, as governments focused on community activities—arts and culture-related and otherwise—designed to enhance feelings of belonging and weaken the influence of extremism and violent ideologies.⁹³ Themes of cultural diversity continued throughout the decade and, in 2009, Australia became a signatory to the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, committing the nation to 'the right and obligation to develop policies and adopt measures to protect and promote the diversity of cultural expressions'.⁹⁴

While digitisation had been mostly positive for arts and cultural activities underpinned by social improvement drivers, those focused on excellence—and therefore, usually, reputation-building—have had mixed success. The Australia Council for the Arts, noting the major impacts of digital change on Australia's Major Performing Arts (MPA) industry, released a report in 2008 titled 'Don't Panic'. This report pointed out shrinking incomes in industries such as music recording and publishing as a result of changing circumstances, as well as the new challenges these circumstances would bring in terms of global competition for audiences, and alternative models that MPAs might use to distribute their products for a profit. At that point in 2008, the report noted, almost none of the MPA organisations were making effective use of digital tools like blogs, online video distribution, downloads or streaming, simulcasts, or viral marketing.

Finally, as much of the Western world has moved towards more market-driven frameworks, the 2000s saw some major shifts towards economic contribution drivers across Australia's full policy suite. This stands to reason at a federal level, given that the Howard government's approach to the funding of arts and culture has been described as follows:

If arts organisations wanted more money from [the Howard] government, they should forego warm, fuzzy talk and instead build a business case based on thorough research.⁹⁵

However, although the Howard government's arts and cultural policy settings were focused on economic contribution drivers, this approach also led to a number of additional reviews and inquiries that increased government investment in the sector.

The Orchestras Review report of 2005, for example, has been credited as the core reason the federal government committed to work with the states to financially secure Australia's orchestral sector.⁹⁶ And the Contemporary Visual Arts and Craft Inquiry of 2002 is still influencing policies today, including the Australia Council's Visual Arts and Craft Strategy 2015–2020, which provides a framework for investment by the federal government with matching contributions from state and territory governments.⁹⁷

The focus on economic contribution drivers at the federal level prompted even greater shifts towards a more comprehensive creative industries approach in some states and local regions; a trend that endures to the present day.



PART 3:
AUSTRALIAN CULTURAL POLICY
IN THE PRESENT AND FUTURE

Part 3: Australian cultural policy in the present and future

What changes can we see in Australia's recent public policy settings for arts and culture, and how do they reflect the different policy drivers? In Part 3, we provide important contextual information about changes in cultural expenditure by governments; explore examples of policy drivers as expressed at each level of government over the last decade; and then provide a snapshot of attitudes from middle Australians towards cultural expenditure that reflect some of these policy drivers at the various levels. Of course, arts and cultural policy doesn't occur in a vacuum, and so we finish with a quick look at two areas of significant non-cultural public policy that are and will continue to have a significant impact on Australian arts and culture: the Internet and COVID-19.

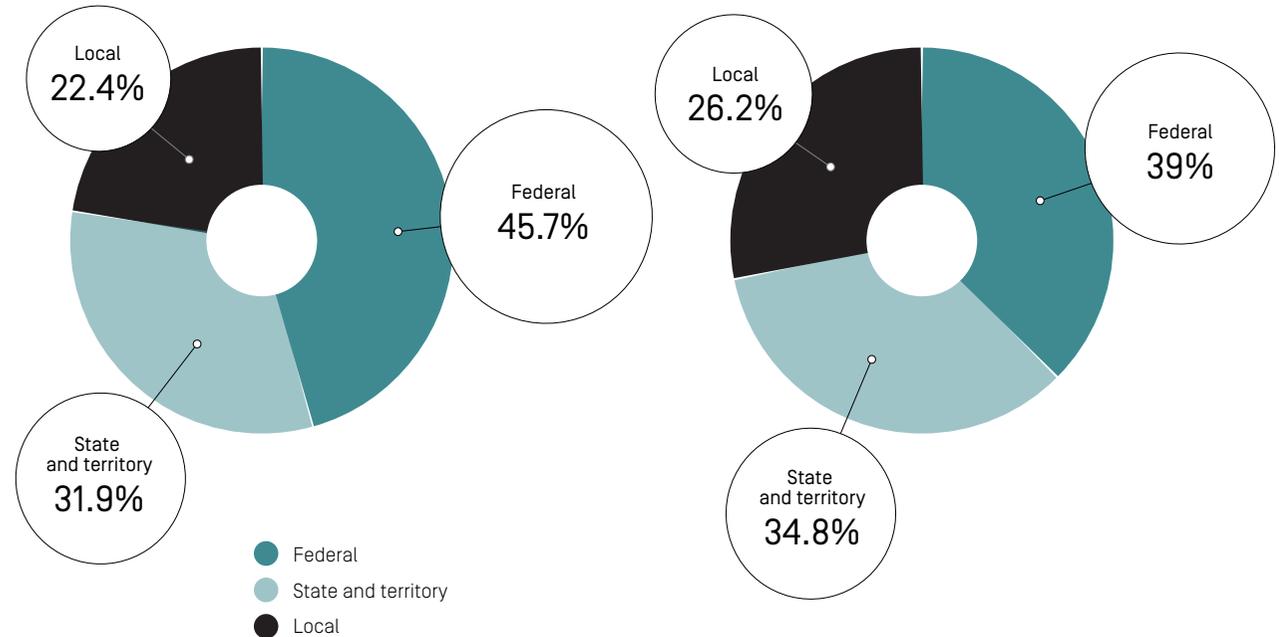
Cultural expenditure: The groundwork for cultural policy settings

As a first step in understanding Australia's current cultural policy settings, let's use cultural expenditure as a proxy for policy. This is often done with Coalition governments who more commonly express policy positions through expenditure priorities rather than through explicit policy documents.

In ANA's first report, *The Big Picture: Public expenditure on artistic, cultural and creative activity in Australia*, we undertook analyses of the Cultural Funding by Government dataset—co-produced by the Australian Bureau of Statistics and the Meeting of Cultural Ministers' Statistics Working Group—to understand the trends in public expenditure between 2007-08 and 2017-18.⁹⁸

As seen in Figure 3, we found that responsibility for cultural expenditure in 2018 was split more evenly between the levels of government than it was a decade earlier.

Figure 3: Proportion of cultural funding by different levels of government [2007-08 to 2017-18]. Reproduced from A New Approach [2019]. *The Big Picture: Public Expenditure on Artistic, Cultural and Creative Activity in Australia.* p. 18.



Left: Proportion of cultural funding by different levels of government, 2007-08

Right: Proportion of cultural funding by different levels of government, 2017-18

We also found that cultural expenditure by governments is not matching population growth (see Figure 4). Per capita public expenditure on culture has dropped by 4.9% over the decade 2007–08 to 2017–18. However different levels of government are taking different actions. Local governments have increased per capita expenditure by 11.0% in this period while state and territory governments have increased per capita expenditure by 3.9%. In 2017–18 the federal government was committing 18.9% less expenditure per capita to culture than it did a decade ago. Total expenditure on arts and culture by all levels of government as a percentage of GDP remains below the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) average.

This last decade has seen a continuation of the trend in Australia of decreasing (adjusted) public expenditure on arts and culture since the 1960s.⁹⁹

These expenditure figures lay the groundwork for understanding cultural policy priorities at the various levels of government in Australia over the last decade, but on their own, do not provide a solid understanding of the drivers that have underpinned these decisions. For this, let's turn to other sources of evidence and explore each of the levels of governments' cultural policy settings.

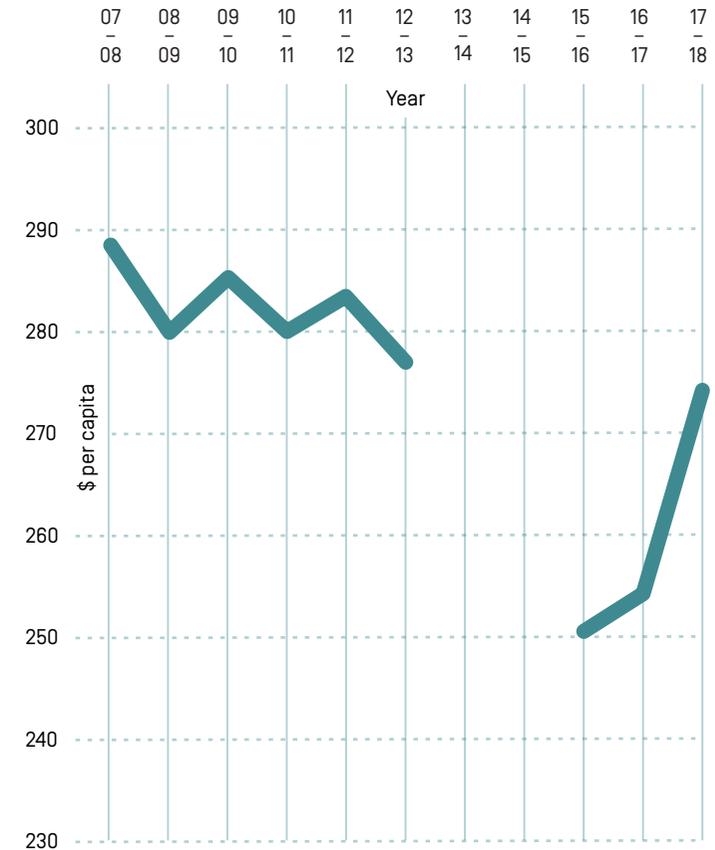


Figure 4: Cultural funding per capita (adjusted to June 2018 WPI) for all levels of government combined. Reproduced from A New Approach (2019). *The Big Picture: Public Expenditure on Artistic, Cultural and Creative Activity in Australia.* p. 14. Note: Data for 2013-14 and 2014-15 is unavailable as the ABS did not produce the data series during these years.

Cultural policy settings across different levels of government

Federal government policy: Collective identity and social improvement

In 2013, the federal Labor government introduced the Creative Australia cultural policy, which was strongly influenced by all four of the policy drivers. This was launched just prior to the 2013 election and was largely unimplemented.

The Coalition governments of ensuing years have primarily focused on collective identity and social improvement drivers in cultural policies, with some emphasis on reputation building. The social improvement driver has been evident in programs focused on improving community access and increasing community participation in arts and culture, Indigenous cultural maintenance programs, collaboration between the (now) Office for the Arts and the National Disability Insurance Scheme, and emphasis on the role of arts and culture in regional development. The collective identity driver can be seen in programs that explicitly foster pride in and belonging to the Australian culture, such as:

- * Visions of Australia, which facilitates regional touring of Australian arts and cultural material
- * the National Cultural Heritage Account, which helps Australian cultural organisations to purchase significant objects of national importance in order to preserve them and keep them within Australia
- * the National Collecting Institutions Touring and Outreach Program, which enables national and international tours of Australia's national collections.¹⁰⁰

While these have been the primary drivers, others have also come into focus at various times. For example, different elements of a reputation-building driver are expressed through the guidelines for the controversial¹⁰¹ Catalyst program (originally National Program for Excellence in the Arts), which ran from 2015–17.¹⁰²

The federal government continues to work closely with the Office for the Arts as well as its various portfolio agencies—including the Australia Council for the Arts and Screen Australia—to deliver arm's length funding for arts and culture. However, per capita public expenditure on arts and culture at the federal level has dropped by 18.9% over the decade 2007–08 to 2017–18. There are many opportunities available for the federal government to show leadership in the area of public culture in the coming decade.

State and territory: reputation-building and economic contribution

While the federal government has been focusing more on collective identity-building and social improvement drivers in its cultural policy settings in recent years, state and territory governments have focused more on reputation-building and economic contribution drivers. This is not to say that collective identity and social improvement drivers were not present—in most policy settings this decade, all four drivers are apparent to varying degrees. But reputation-building and economic contribution drivers have been most prominent.

Reputation-building

At the state and territory level, reputation-building drivers can often be seen in terms of expenditure on cultural infrastructure, and the explanations given for doing so. In our first Insight Report, *'The Big Picture: public expenditure on artistic, cultural and creative activity in Australia'*, we found that capital expenditure—defined as expenditure of government funds on the creation of fixed assets like buildings and renovations—increased in Australia between 2007–08 and 2017–18, with the most significant increase at the state and territory level (though capital expenditure still remains a *minor* part of the expenditure captured in the 'Cultural funding by government' data series).¹⁰³

Examples of this trend can be seen in various recent state and territory election campaigns, which have included commitments focused on cultural infrastructure. This helps build reputation not only with internal stakeholders (in this case, constituents) but also with external stakeholders such as tourists and consumers of Australian cultural exports. Examples include:

- * The Melbourne Arts Precinct and Wodonga Cultural Precincts, promised by the successful Victorian Labor government (2018 election). To illustrate the reputation-building driver, the opening for the Melbourne Arts Precinct website says: 'We're transforming the Melbourne Arts Precinct into one of the great creative and cultural destinations in the world'.¹⁰⁴

- * The Sydney Modern Project, promised by the successful New South Wales Liberal government (2019 election). Reputation-building drivers are clear, for example, in a speech by that state's Minister for the Arts, Don Harwin, who said, 'we are building Australia's greatest art gallery. The Sydney Modern Project will double the exhibition space at the Art Gallery of New South Wales, making a great gallery even greater'.¹⁰⁵
- * An Indigenous art and culture centre and art trail, promised by the successful Northern Territory Labor government (2016 election). Reputation-building drivers are found on the relevant page of the Northern Territory government's Creative Economy website. It begins with a description of the government's investments in the project, emphasising how it will 'create more local jobs', a move that would build the government's reputation with local constituents, and 'position the Northern Territory as a world-class tourist and cultural destination', therefore building the Northern Territory's reputation with external stakeholders at a national and international level.¹⁰⁶

Economic contribution

State and territory governments have, as a collective, been the most consistent level of government to explore the economic impacts of the arts, culture and creativity. In fact, every Australian state and territory has produced at least one document in the last ten years identifying the economic importance of these activities to their region. Examples include (but are not limited to):

- * Australian Capital Territory: '2015 ACT Arts Policy' (2015); 'Economic Overview of the Arts in the ACT' (2015)
- * New South Wales: 'Create in NSW: NSW Arts and Cultural Policy Framework' (2015); 'Arts 2025' (due out in 2020)
- * Northern Territory: 'Economic Development Framework | Creative Industries' (2017); 'Creative Industries Strategy NT 2020-2024' (2020)
- * Queensland: '10 Year Roadmap for the arts, cultural and creative sector' (2018)
- * South Australia: 'Creative Industries Cluster' as part of the 'Growth State' strategy (2019); Arts and Culture Plan South Australia 2019-2024 (2019)
- * Tasmania: 'Cultural and creative industries sector summary 2014' (2014); 'Cultural and Creative Industries Strategy 2016-2018' (2016)
- * Victoria: 'Creative State 2016-2020' (2016); 'Creative State 2020+' (due out in 2020)
- * Western Australia: 'Strategic Directions 2016-2031' (2016); 'WA Creative Industries: An Economic Snapshot' (2019).

Economic contribution drivers have been evident at this level of government even where that state or territory does not take a comprehensive creative industries approach.

As previously discussed, the application of the creative industries at the state (or local), but not the federal level, can lead to inconsistencies, reducing the potential of the creative industries to visibly contribute to the nation's financial prosperity. Creative industries scholar, Stuart Cunningham, provides several reasons why creative industries policy, and cultural policy, have been so intermittent in Australia compared with similarly developed countries.¹⁰⁷ The first is that Australia continues to rely on commodities for export wealth generation, unlike countries such as the United Kingdom that rely on high-value services to generate export earnings. The second is a lack of organised advocacy for the creative industries at large.

While Australia has not used the creative industries concept to the same extent as many other countries, there has been an increased focus on data-rich analysis exploring their contribution to the economy by all levels of government and other researchers.¹⁰⁸ However, this remains an area of policy opportunity.

For context: ‘Create in NSW’—not a creative industries policy

The ‘Create in NSW’ arts and cultural policy framework, released in 2015, provides a useful illustration of the difference between a comprehensive creative industries policy approach versus a traditional arts and cultural policy underpinned by economic contribution drivers.

The Create in NSW document, which is described as focusing on ‘increased access for audiences, organisational strength and artistic and business excellence across NSW’,¹⁰⁹ is peppered with references to the economic contributions arts and culture make to the New South Wales and Australian economy. These span from references to the \$8.3 billion dollars spent in 2013 by cultural and heritage visitors to New South Wales, and the \$4.8 billion in annual business income generated by the arts sector for the state,¹¹⁰ to promises of how arts and culture will be ‘an important element of rebuilding the State’s economy’, and how ‘planning arts and cultural infrastructure...will be aligned to, and integrated within, broader strategic planning for liveable communities, employment opportunities and urban development’.¹¹¹

However, while this policy is heavily permeated by a driver of economic contribution, it does not take a creative industries approach. As discussed in Part 1, the creative industries include industries like design, architecture and advertising, ‘which [like arts and cultural activities] have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential [sometimes more so than arts and cultural activities] for wealth and job creation through generation and exploitation of intellectual property’.¹¹² Such industries are not

mentioned in Create in NSW. It is by grouping these industries together with the arts, broadcasting and heritage activities that the combination of direct and indirect contribution of arts and culture to the economy can most effectively be demonstrated. Without this integrated approach, any cultural policy underpinned primarily by an economic contribution driver leaves arts and culture very vulnerable.

Local governments: social improvement (but really, it depends)

As reported in ANA's second Insight Report, '*Transformative: Impacts of culture and creativity*', local governments are increasingly strong supporters of arts and culture.¹¹³ Local governments increased their per capita expenditure on arts and culture by 11% between 2007–08 and 2017–18. These figures are supported by the statement on arts and culture provided on the Australian Local Government Association website:

*Local governments in Australia recognise the fundamental importance of community arts, cultural development and heritage in local communities. Councils also recognise the important role of community cultural development in helping to achieve other social, economic, environmental and overall governance objectives, including increased civic participation in decision making within their municipality.*¹¹⁴

Not only do local governments recognise the fundamental value of arts and culture at a local level, they specifically appreciate the role these play in creating liveable communities with positive reputations. Local governments recognise that a vibrant arts and cultural environment attracts prospective residents—linked more to a reputation-building driver—and helps retain existing populations over time—linked more to a social improvement driver, specifically around ideas of community- and amenity-building.¹¹⁵

Research also supports the idea that local governments focus on social improvement drivers. Scholars at Deakin University have demonstrated how local government policy documents from this decade often include words such as diversity, participation, community, wellbeing and vibrancy.¹¹⁶ They also often have objectives based on developing creativity or culture, ensuring culture reflects the region's characteristics, and providing opportunities for residents to participate in the region's cultural and creative life. Researchers from the Cultural Development Network are currently working through the challenges of collecting national-level data about local government contributions to the cultural life of Australians. Identified challenges include: a lack of data being collected within councils across arts, heritage and libraries; a lack of existing centralised data record systems within councils; and lack of resources, both human and non-human, to address these challenges.¹¹⁷

For context: Noosa Shire Council interprets national trends at the local level

In 2017, Noosa Shire Council (NSC) in Queensland commissioned a report exploring current trends in the Australian arts and cultural sector, and the implications of those trends for the local region.¹¹⁸ Taking the trends discussed, the report put forward eight areas for future consideration in the Noosa Shire Council area. For example:

- * **State and federal government policies and programs:**
How could/should NSC align with the policies in place at other levels of government for the benefit of both Noosa and Australia? *[a collective identity driver]*
- * **Measuring cultural value:**
What role should NSC play in building the cultural life of the community, and where does this fit into NSC's broader plan to 'brand' the region? *[a reputation-building driver]*
- * **Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) arts and culture:**
How does NSC acknowledge and engage with ATSI people in the development and delivery of ATSI and arts-related policy? *[a social improvement driver focused on participation]*
- * **New models—new money—new economy:**
How could NSC contribute to building a future economic framework that incorporates the importance of social, cultural and environmental capital to a community or a nation? *[although this relates to money and the economy, it is actually a social improvement driver; the goal here is not for the arts to make money, but for the arts to get more money so that they can do more good for society, and that this can be adequately captured in economic measures]*
- * **Arts, health and wellbeing:**
How can NSC use arts and culture to improve health, wellbeing and social outcomes? *[a clear social improvement driver]*

* **Digital disruption:**

How can NSC take advantage of the Internet and other digital disruptions to attract more cultural and creative entrepreneurs to live in Noosa, in turn making it more attractive to non-creatives as a place to live? *[a social improvement driver focused on amenity-building]*

* **Cultural tourism:**

How could the NSC region become an area that excels in art, food and environmental experiences that would attract Australian and international tourists. *[an economic contribution driver]*

* **Cultural infrastructure:**

How could NSC take advantage of funding for new infrastructure, existing buildings and spaces, and the beauty of Noosa's natural environment across three areas of consideration:

- The role of cultural infrastructure in bringing the community together 'around a common interest'? *[a collective identity driver]*
- The role of cultural infrastructure in presenting local, national and international stories *[a collective identity driver]* that reflect on society and the human condition and developing understanding about the experiences of others? *[a social improvement driver].*
- The role of cultural infrastructure in contributing to local employment and cultural tourism? *[an economic contribution driver]*

This example offers interesting insights into the ways local governments are interacting with the other tiers of government that influence them, while also drawing on all four of the policy drivers in their own policy-making process.

*Comments in brackets highlight which policy driver each question draws on

Policy drivers and the people

Governments and other policy makers draw consciously and subconsciously on the four policy drivers as they undertake decision-making around cultural policy. But are their constituents aware of these drivers? And which drivers have the most resonance with the Australian public?

In February 2020, ANA conducted focus group research that went on to inform our third Insight Report, *A view from middle Australia: Perceptions of arts, culture and creativity*.¹¹⁹

In this section, we draw from that research to see how the policy drivers we have outlined were reflected in these focus group discussions.

The focus groups sought opinions about arts and culture held by ‘middle Australians’, defined as middle-aged, middle-income swing voters living in suburban and regional Australia. We found that arts and culture are highly valued by this cohort of Australians—indeed, they see them as essential to the Australian way of life, and would be devastated to lose the benefits they bring to their lives, the lives of their children, and to society more broadly.

Social improvement drivers

We asked these groups of middle Australians to imagine how they would feel if they heard that major cuts were to be made to arts and culture in the next federal budget. Most participants were thoughtful about this. They discussed the various priorities that governments have to balance, and showed significant insight into the challenges governments face. However, many pointed out that if the focus of the investment was put on arts and cultural activity underpinned by social improvement drivers, they wanted it to be prioritised:

I agree it's very important [for the government to fund] health and things, but I think arts and culture have some benefits we don't see. For example, mental health issues is very important, so in places where arts and culture is very strong, people get more involved, which helps reduce mental health issues. I think we need to figure out what sort of benefit we can get from arts and culture so we can make it a priority [for the government] as well.
[Male, Melbourne]

Maybe they just need to adjust where they spend the money, do you know what I mean? I think—I know it sounds terrible, but—they pour a lot of money into things like ballet. I know it's important, but it's only for a small group of the community. They need to diversify. It's about community, maybe they shouldn't call it arts, maybe they should just call it community?
[Female, Brisbane]

Collective identity drivers

The importance to building Australian identity was a constant theme throughout all eight focus groups, indicating that participants could see the need for arts and cultural activity in uniting the nation in its diversity:

[Arts and culture] gives us something to celebrate that we think is uniquely ours. We may have borrowed bits and pieces, but it's something we can stand behind and say, 'Look what we have done, collectively.'
[Male, Sydney]

Without Australian arts, we would lose our sense of identity. You would lose your heritage as well, lose the connection to your country.
[Female, Brisbane]

Economic contribution drivers

Many participants could see the spillover effects that arts and culture had on some other areas of the economy. Some felt that there would be negative consequences for other industries, if investment in arts and culture was reduced:

[Arts and culture] is probably already poorly funded, so if they cut it back further, it's probably a concern. We already have huge issues in the tourism industry with the Coronavirus—doing something like that, that would again negatively affect the tourism industry as well.
[Male, Brisbane]

Yeah, it creates employment, it's good for small business—like if you are going to QPAC [the Queensland Performing Arts Complex] you are probably going to dinner beforehand.
[Female, Brisbane]

Reputation-building drivers

We also asked them what they thought the role of government should be in investing in arts and culture in Australia. Many of their answers indicated that there are reputation-building gains to be made in establishing cultural policy settings that would appeal to this cohort:

I think it'd be great if government funded arts and culture more. We could be more involved in things if they didn't cost so much.
[Female, Melbourne]

I wouldn't be surprised if the government made more cuts [in the next budget] to be honest. After the bushfires and Coronavirus, something would have to get cut. But if they take it, they won't ever put it back. It'll be gone for good. But we've just spent the last hour talking about how important it is! And now we're willing to cut it? I'm not.
[Male, Townsville]

What ANA's research showed was that the old trope around voters not valuing the arts at election or budget time is not as simple as it is made out to be. Middle Australians, like many voters, want their governments to invest in the things that will make their lives better. Importantly, they can see how arts and culture help achieve that, especially when arts and cultural activities are designed to evoke inspiration and creativity, or build community and promote social inclusion. Governments that can highlight how their cultural policies are aligned with these priorities—which reflect a combination of reputation-building, collective identity, social improvement and economic contribution drivers—have a real opportunity to connect with the values of middle Australians.

For context: Indigenous art centres and fairs

Indigenous art centres are a key example in which all four policy drivers are evident. These art centres are 'legally-constituted, non-profit cooperatives, owned and run by the artists and their communities'.¹²⁰ They are often a major source of self-generated income within a remote community, and play a critical role in maintaining a community's financial, as well as social and cultural wellbeing.¹²¹

Art centres help to build collective identity for the community and give the artists agency, as well as contributing to cultural maintenance activities. They play various roles:

- * They often include studios in which First Nations artists can pursue their creative practices in artistic communities.
- * They have gallery spaces and sell directly to Centre visitors.
- * They frequently play an educational role, teaching non-Indigenous visitors about the culture and customs of the group and Country they are visiting, helping to bridge social barriers.
- * They assist with marketing and shipping the art all over the world, enhancing Australia's reputation, and Indigenous Australians' reputations as artists abroad.

Much of the revenue from sales made at Indigenous art centres comes back to the artists, generating income for the community that helps to fund important social, educational and health initiatives.

Indigenous art centres also receive some government funding. A speech given at the Creative Regions Summit in Canberra in November 2019 by current Minister for Communications, Cyber Safety and the Arts, the Hon. Paul Fletcher MP, neatly sums up how all four of the policy drivers can sit comfortably side by side:

In Pukatja [a community located in the APY lands of South Australia] I also saw first-hand how the work of an Indigenous art centre is not limited to creative endeavours—many of them are, in fact, central to the health and wellbeing of those living in remote communities [social improvement driver]...

...the value of art centres and art fairs goes way beyond the money they generate. Through art, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are able to generate income, gain employment, develop professional skills and participate in the nation's economy [economic contribution driver]. And they are able to do that by sharing their unique and distinctive perspectives [reputation-building driver] while maintaining a continued connection to Country and one of the world's oldest and richest living cultures [collective identity driver focused on cultural maintenance and transmission]. That is something that benefits all Australians [social improvement driver aimed at the broader Australian context].¹²²

Arts and cultural policy: unique challenges of 2020

Here, we consider two other issues of significant public policy that are and will continue to have a significant impact on arts and culture: the Internet and the COVID-19 pandemic. How we adjust our cultural policy settings in the face of the changes these areas bring to bear on public life will be reflected in the quality of Australia's cultural terrain into the future.

Governing cyberspace: the policy drivers of the Internet

It is important to note the role of the Internet in influencing cultural policy this decade in Australia, particularly in terms of collective identity and social improvement drivers. The Internet gives individuals access to a much wider range of information and cultural resources than they had in the past. Global research using data from the World Values Survey has demonstrated how the Internet can both strengthen and weaken national identity building efforts. On one hand, the Internet allows individuals to access a wide range of alternative, global sources with which to construct their identities, while on the other, it can help individuals to feel part of collective, democratic decision-making:

Internet participation allows people to directly engage in public policies and co-produce public services, making them feel they are owners of their country. Through the Internet, power distribution significantly improves the sense of stake holding, leading to an increase in national solidarity.¹²³

Digital participation in arts and culture, in particular, has proven to be increasingly important to Australians in recent years. According to a 2017 Australia Council research project, 69% of Australians aged 45 and over, and 97% of Australians between 15 and 24, engage with arts and cultural content, activities and communities online.¹²⁴ Australians describe the sense of connection that can develop from sharing and connecting with others in online arts and culture communities. However, much of the content that Australians engage with online is not local content, and does not contain Australian voices or stories, raising questions about the dangers of

importing culture from abroad that have always been so prominent in discussions of Australian arts and culture.

The important role of the Internet and digital arts and culture are evident in many of the current federal government's programs. Examples include digitising many documents within the National Archives of Australia, amending the Copyright Act to allow the National Library of Australia to begin collecting ebooks, and funding projects to make Indigenous language learning available via smartphone apps.¹²⁵ However, as previously mentioned, many arts and cultural organisations and individuals have not fully embraced digital means of distribution and participation, and this (among many other things) has caused serious challenges to the arts and cultural sector during the pandemic lockdown, at a critical moment when Australians have been reaching for digital arts and culture more than ever before. There are opportunities here, however. As cultural and games industry leader Kim Allom described it in May 2020:

We're hearing a lot right now about how watching live performances online "just isn't the same". But we don't want it to be "the same", we want it to be "just as good". We're still identifying all the opportunities out there, opportunities for creators to collaborate with other kinds of innovators like engineers so that we can find new ways for audiences to interact and participate digitally. Artists should really be thinking right now about what they want to be able to do with audiences in the digital space, because software engineers are amazing. When artists and engineers work together, they can make almost anything happen.¹²⁶

With the role of the Internet becoming increasingly prominent in arts and cultural activity, it will be critical that this is reflected in cultural policy settings going forward in the 21st century.

COVID-19: amplifying and accelerating

As we are writing this, Australia is just beginning to ease lockdown restrictions, amidst the worst pandemic the world has seen in a century. A disease that forced Australians apart, also made clear the value they place on opportunities to be together. And in a world that could not sanction physical closeness, Australians relied on arts and cultural activities to both connect with others, and try to make sense of this experience.

Yet, while Australians were reaching for arts and culture more urgently than ever before, the pandemic lockdowns have brought to light a range of issues with our existing cultural policy settings, indicating a real need to update these for a COVID and post-COVID Australia.

Many cultural organisations, creators and producers have accelerated the process of connecting with audiences through different digital platforms. From music festivals curating live-streamed performances,¹²⁷ to national institutions providing free virtual tours and workshop programs,¹²⁸ to local libraries offering takeaway and delivery of freshly sanitised books,¹²⁹ there is a significant transformation happening both in Australia and overseas.

However, this process has been undertaken 'on the fly', with many creators attempting digital and other forms of innovation while also managing massive losses to their livelihoods.¹³⁰ What's more, while digital platforms are wonderful for audience accessibility, online audiences are accustomed to receiving digital arts and cultural content for free. Thus, arts and cultural organisations are now

experiencing similar problems to those of the newspaper industry over recent decades: they have often undervalued their offerings, by necessity, but with no clear solution in sight.¹³¹

This is not a minor concern. During April 2020, when the strictest government restrictions to date were announced, the Australian Bureau of Statistics found that Arts and Recreation services were by far the most severely affected industry division, with 94% of businesses affected by the restrictions, compared to the industry average of 53%. Then in June 2020, the ABS found that Arts and Recreation Services had experienced the largest loss of employment (down 35% between February and May 2020). In the same period, more than half of Australia's arts, recreation and information media businesses reported that their revenue had dropped by 50% or more, compared to June 2019.¹³²

As is the case for many other industries, the COVID-19 pandemic has amplified existing issues within the cultural and creative sector, as well as presenting new challenges. It has also accelerated changes that were already underway, and created new opportunities. How we, as a nation, respond to and seize these opportunities will be shaped in part by the cultural policy settings we establish in the wake of the worst of the lockdowns. An awareness of the policy drivers explored in this document can help policy makers with that decision-making process.



SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Summary of findings

Finding 1	Four key policy drivers underpin recent cultural policy around the world. These are collective identity, reputation-building, social improvement and economic contribution.	Finding 4	Considering the drivers that underpin cultural policy can be useful in planning the implementation of policy. Otherwise, there is a risk that the policy intentions may not match the reality.
Finding 2	The four policy drivers can be deliberately combined in cultural policies to catalyse a range of specific effects emerging out of arts and cultural activities.	Finding 5	Neither of the two major Australian political parties has significantly prioritised public expenditure on arts and culture more than the other. However, different governments have been influenced more by some drivers than others. At times, this has led some stakeholders to feel that arts and culture are being prioritised or deprioritised, depending on whether those stakeholders value the same cultural policy drivers as the government of the day.
Finding 3	When policy makers are not aware of the drivers they are using to create cultural policy, and inadvertently use various drivers in combination, they risk these drivers having contradictory goals. This makes it difficult or impossible for the policy to be successfully implemented.	Finding 6	The most effective cultural policies underpinned by economic contribution drivers take a creative industries approach and demonstrate how arts, culture and creative activities interact with each other to increase creativity and innovation across the economy.

Finding 7	The last decade has seen a greater concentration of different policy drivers in a range of policy settings across all three levels of government, and this has made arts and culture an increasingly complex area of public policy.
Finding 8	COVID-19 has accelerated innovation in the production, distribution and consumption of arts and culture via digital means. These trends need to be specifically addressed when updating our cultural policy settings for the 21st century.



PART 4: IMPLICATIONS

Implications

Implication 1: There are opportunities to update our cultural policy settings for Australia in 2020 and beyond, and governments have a key leadership role

The events of 2020—the bushfire crisis, the COVID-19 lockdown, and the current economic recession—have brought into sharp focus that many of Australia's current cultural policy settings are designed for an earlier era. For example, with clear evidence now demonstrating the benefits that arts and culture can have in disaster relief, there is an opportunity to embed these proven strategies into any recovery or relief plan going forward. Digital arts and culture is changing rapidly and will require careful attention in coming years to ensure our policy settings anticipate these changes. Creative capability is demonstrably the driving force behind innovation-driven, economically-diversified economies. Preparing Australia for the future of work in the Fourth Industrial Revolution requires workers to develop skills in creativity.¹³³

Contrary to beliefs in some circles, this report has shown (as have many others)¹³⁴ that expenditure on arts and culture in Australia has not been the priority for only one political party. Both major political parties in Australia have prioritised (and deprioritised) the arts at various times, and the drivers underpinning these changed priorities have often varied with changes to party leadership, rather than swings from one party to the other. That said, as this report has demonstrated, the political Left has more commonly made explicit statements of broad-reaching policy positions, while the political Right has usually expressed priorities through specific programs, reviews and investment actions.

These challenges and opportunities do not fall only within the remit of ministers or departments focused on arts and culture, nor with a single level of government. To take better advantage of these opportunities, federal, state, territory and local governments could:

Opportunity 1: Determine the appropriate combination of drivers to underpin cultural policy settings in their jurisdiction, and ensure their investment is effective and relevant in achieving these priorities.

Opportunity 2: Establish an inquiry investigating whether their cultural policy settings and the associated investments are effective and relevant for 21st century Australia. This should include a strategy and mechanism for better coordination between the three levels of government, and identify the policy areas that would create value through strategic investment.

Opportunity 3: Review pathways and mechanisms that connect and embed arts and cultural activities in education, mental health and social inclusion strategies, including those related to recovery from natural disasters and significant social and economic disruptions.

Implication 2: Unconscious use of multiple policy drivers can lead to negative outcomes

It is usual for cultural policy to be underpinned by multiple policy drivers, and this can indeed be deliberately engineered to achieve specific desired outcomes. However, when policy makers and their stakeholders are unaware of the drivers they are using to debate and produce cultural policy, this can lead to a range of negative consequences.

The first of these consequences is the level of complexity that multiple drivers can bring to a policy area. Policies such as those around defence, for example, are strong in Australia because it is easy to demonstrate whether or not they are working. Defence policy has a clear primary purpose—‘the direct defence of Australia’¹³⁵—and there is a strong mandate from the Australian public to see this purpose achieved. In turn, Australians can intuitively gauge whether or not this purpose has been achieved, based on their lived experiences and information presented in the media.

When a policy is underpinned by multiple drivers (meaning that that policy must achieve multiple and sometimes conflicting purposes) but these drivers are not explicit, it is difficult to effectively implement or measure the policy’s effectiveness. This is often the case with cultural policy. These challenges make it difficult for those responsible for cultural policy to make the ‘right’ decisions about the arts and cultural needs of the nation. These challenges have often led to a lack of leadership in this area over the last 70 years.

The COVID-19 crisis of 2020 has seen the development of a national cabinet which brings together the leaders of national, state and territory governments to work together across party lines on complex problems. There is an existing model for this kind of cooperation in the arts and cultural portfolios: the Meeting of Cultural Ministers draws together the three levels of government and could provide a forum for more coordinated leadership across different levels of government.

To address and mitigate the complexity of this policy area, policy makers could:

Opportunity 4: Create a National Arts and Culture Plan, in the same vein as the existing ‘Sport 2030’ National Sport Plan, that identifies the enduring and non-partisan principles and responsibilities that could inform more coherent arts and cultural policy settings and investment at all three levels of government.

Implication 3: Combining policy drivers can have varying positive impacts

We have stressed throughout this report that very few cultural policy settings are underpinned by a single driver, and in fact, in the 21st century, *most* cultural policies reflect all four of the policy drivers described in this report. When it is done deliberately and strategically, combining multiple policy drivers can have a range of positive outcomes. Figure 5 demonstrates some of these.

	collective identity	reputation building	social improvement	economic contribution
collective identity	A means of bringing communities or society together around common interests or ideas	A way to increase relevant stakeholders' positive feelings towards the individuals or institutions who facilitated the cohesion in the community/society	A way to bring communities together around a common need to improve certain societal outcomes	A way to bring communities together around a common desire to revitalise the region through new types of employment opportunity, and/or by attracting cultural tourism
reputation building		A useful optics tool for backers of these activities	A tool to help backers demonstrate to relevant stakeholders that they care about them and their wellbeing	A way for backers to show that they have creative strategies for improving the economic prosperity of a region and/or the job prospects for constituents
social improvement			A method for affecting a range of social outcomes	A means of improving various social outcomes in a community by contributing to the health of the economy
economic contribution				A means of contributing to the economy, either by revenue-raising or by influencing the creativity of other activities

Figure 5: Examples of effects created by strategically combining multiple cultural policy drivers.

Given the many positive effects that can be brought about by consciously using and combining policy drivers within cultural policy settings, policy advisors and makers in a variety of contexts could consider a range of opportunities, noting that any of these can also have specific reputation-building outcomes:

Opportunity 5: Increase the positive attitudes of internal stakeholders by demonstrating both the access to arts and culture provided by cultural policy and policy actions, and the value these actions have or will have to those stakeholders and their communities.

Opportunity 6: Continually review investment in, and diversity of, arts and cultural activities to increase opportunities that will bring individuals together and build community. For example, festivals, community arts and cultural development initiatives, and local and regional events and experiences.

Opportunity 7: Prioritise incentives, requirements and schemes that support collective identity-building through the production and distribution of diverse Australian content that will help to build a unified national identity and represent Australia to the world.

Opportunity 8: Consider the value of a whole-of-government creative industries approach to cultural policy that will strategically connect arts and culture to innovation outcomes in the broader creative economy.



SUMMARY OF OPPORTUNITIES

Summary of opportunities

Opportunity 1

Determine the appropriate combination of drivers to underpin cultural policy settings for any given jurisdiction, and ensure that investment is effective and relevant in achieving that jurisdiction's priorities.

Opportunity 2

Establish an inquiry investigating whether cultural policy settings and associated investments are effective and relevant for 21st century Australia. This should include a strategy and mechanism for better coordination between the three levels of government, and identify the policy areas that would create value through strategic investment.

Opportunity 3

Review pathways and mechanisms that connect and embed arts and cultural activities in education, mental health and social inclusion strategies, including those related to recovery from natural disasters and significant social and economic disruptions.

Opportunity 4

Create a National Arts and Culture Plan, in the same vein as the existing 'Sport 2030' National Sport Plan, that identifies the enduring and non-partisan principles and responsibilities that could inform more coherent arts and cultural policy settings and investment at all three levels of government.

Opportunity 5

Increase the positive attitudes of internal stakeholders by demonstrating both the access to arts and culture provided by cultural policy and policy actions, and the value these actions have or will have to those stakeholders and their communities.

Opportunity 6

Continually review investment in, and diversity of, arts and cultural activities to increase opportunities that will bring individuals together and build community. For example, festivals, community arts and cultural development initiatives, and local and regional events and experiences.

Opportunity 7

Prioritise incentives, requirements and schemes that support collective identity-building through the production and distribution of diverse Australian content that will help to build a unified national identity and represent Australia to the world.

Opportunity 8

Consider the value of a whole-of-government creative industries approach to cultural policy that will strategically connect arts and culture to innovation outcomes in the broader creative economy.



UNDERSTANDING THIS RESEARCH

Research design and methodology

The four policy drivers identified in this report emerged while undertaking a thematic analysis of a sample of documents related to cultural policy, produced between 1950 and 2020. These texts included: policy documents; transcripts of speeches made by policy makers; newspaper reports in which policy makers were quoted and op-eds they wrote themselves; reports about Australian and international cultural policy; and relevant academic literature. A qualitative coding process eventually condensed the ideas from these texts into themes, which then became the drivers presented. The Australian timeline of cultural policy drivers was then developed from these same texts to illustrate their relevance in the Australian context.

Background for understanding the Australian context

Australia is generally seen, and sees itself, as a highly developed, socio-economically successful, liberal democracy. It is home to some of the oldest continuous living cultures in the world, and is one of the most multicultural societies to have existed. There are some features of our history, governance and cultural participation that are important to understand when discussing cultural policy.

First Nations

Australia's many Indigenous nations have lived on this land for somewhere between 65,000 and 120,000 years.¹³⁶ Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander culture is strongly connected to the notion of country—to the ancestral land and all elements of it, including the flora and fauna—and this relationship is recorded and expressed through art, stories, songs and dance.¹³⁷ While engaging with arts and culture is important for all Australians, it is critical for First Australians. As Wongaibon epidemiologist Ray Lovett's research has pointed out, the identities, health and wellbeing of Indigenous Australians are inextricably intertwined with their specific culture and language.¹³⁸

How government is organised

Australia became a federation in 1901, just over 100 years from its initial colonisation by the British, and now includes six states and two mainland territories. There are three levels of government in Australia: federal, state and territory, and local. Each level provides services to, and collects taxes from, residents in different forms. More than half of state and territory funds come out of the federal budget, while local councils receive allocations from both federal and state governments to administer local matters.¹³⁹

What is the current role of government in arts and culture?

Government support for Australian arts and cultural activities is provided through direct programs of incentives, funding and legislation, as well as through various statutory authorities that operate at arms-length from government. As this report discusses, there are a number of perspectives on why governments have a role in arts and culture.

Although arts and culture are not clearly identified in Australia's constitution, responsibility for these policy areas is currently distributed between the federal, state and territory governments. The federal government holds responsibility for communications, and therefore broadcasting (including a range of regulatory responsibilities), but shares powers over many other cultural activities with the states.¹⁴⁰ Local governments also play an increasingly significant role in providing arts and cultural services as well as making regulatory decisions that can impact arts and cultural activities.¹⁴¹

In our first Insight Report, *'The Big Picture: public expenditure on artistic, cultural and creative activity in Australia'*, we showed that government spending on cultural and creative activities—\$6.86 billion in 2017–18—was split more evenly between the three levels of government than it had been a decade earlier, with federal government directly contributing 39%, states and territories contributing 34.8%, and local governments contributing 26.2%.¹⁴²

While the support of governments is critical in maintaining and developing Australia's rich cultural life, this is only part of the picture. The cultural life of Australia is made up of the contributions of many different events, organisations, businesses, activities and individuals right across the country.

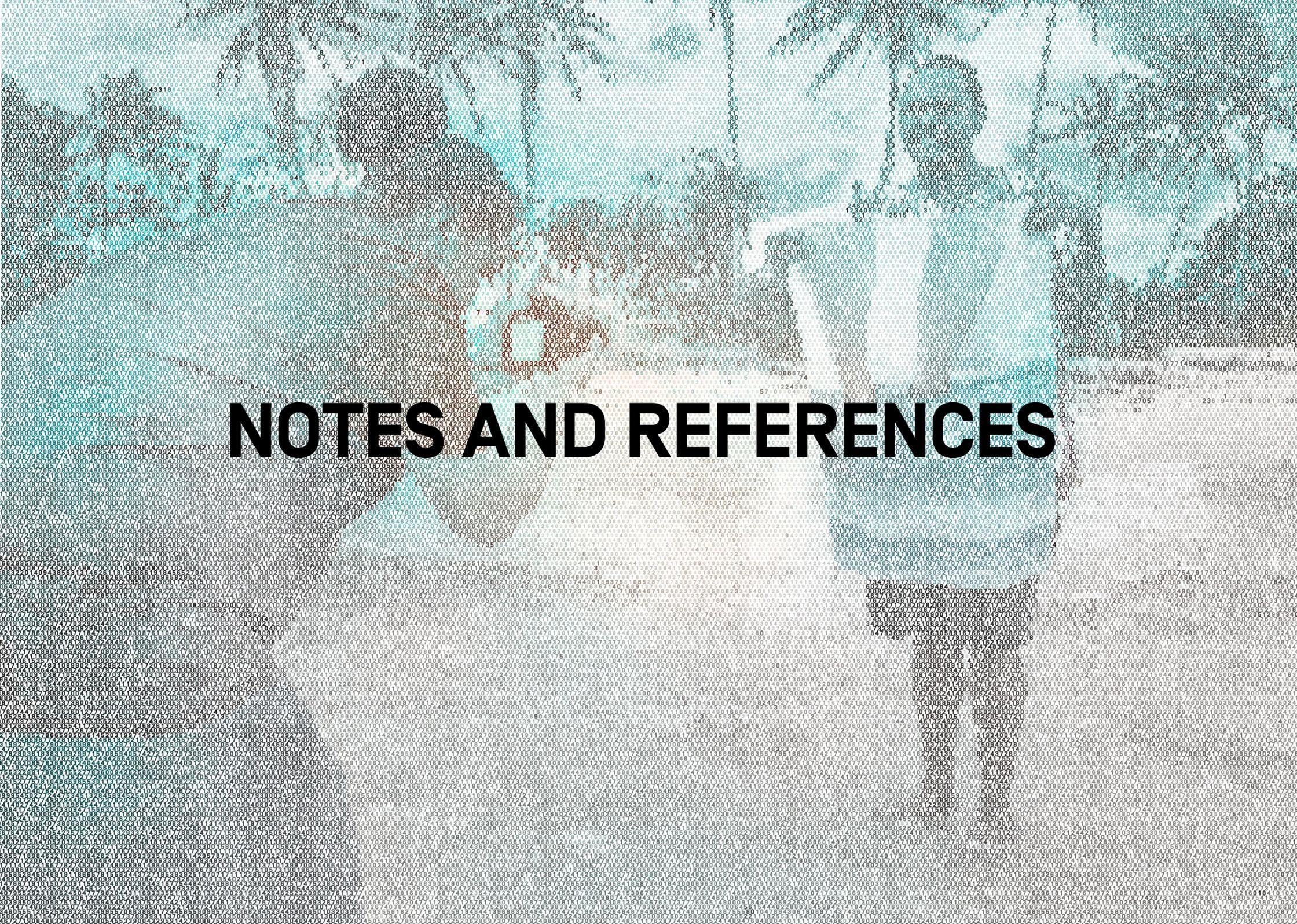
Individual investment and participation

In our second Insight Report, '*Transformative: impacts of culture and creativity*', we highlighted that individual Australians also invest significant time and money in cultural and creative activities. During 2015–16, Australian households spent an estimated \$25.64 billion—3.5% of total household expenditure—on cultural goods and services.

The Australian Bureau of Statistics reports 82.4% of Australian residents attended a live cultural venue and/or event in 2017–18. Also, 31.4% of Australians aged 15 and over are creators; whether they create professionally, for leisure, or both. They play music, dance, sing, write, paint, do photography and share their creations online. This figure rises to 95.6% of Australians aged 5–14. And significant numbers of Australians enter a creative occupation, with the cultural and creative industries employing 5.5% of the national workforce. We are a nation that engages with culture and creativity, even if 22% of Australians feel that arts and culture are 'not for people like me'.¹⁴³

Philanthropic support

It is also worth noting the increasingly important role that philanthropic support plays in Australia's arts and cultural scene. According to a recent Creative Partnerships report, private sector support for arts and cultural organisations has increased over the last decade, totalling \$608 million in 2017.¹⁴⁴ This included philanthropic donations and grants, cash and in-kind business sponsorship, as well as the value of volunteering.



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APPENDIX: A SELECTION OF CULTURAL POLICY MODELS

Bonet and Négrier's four models of participation in cultural policy paradigms

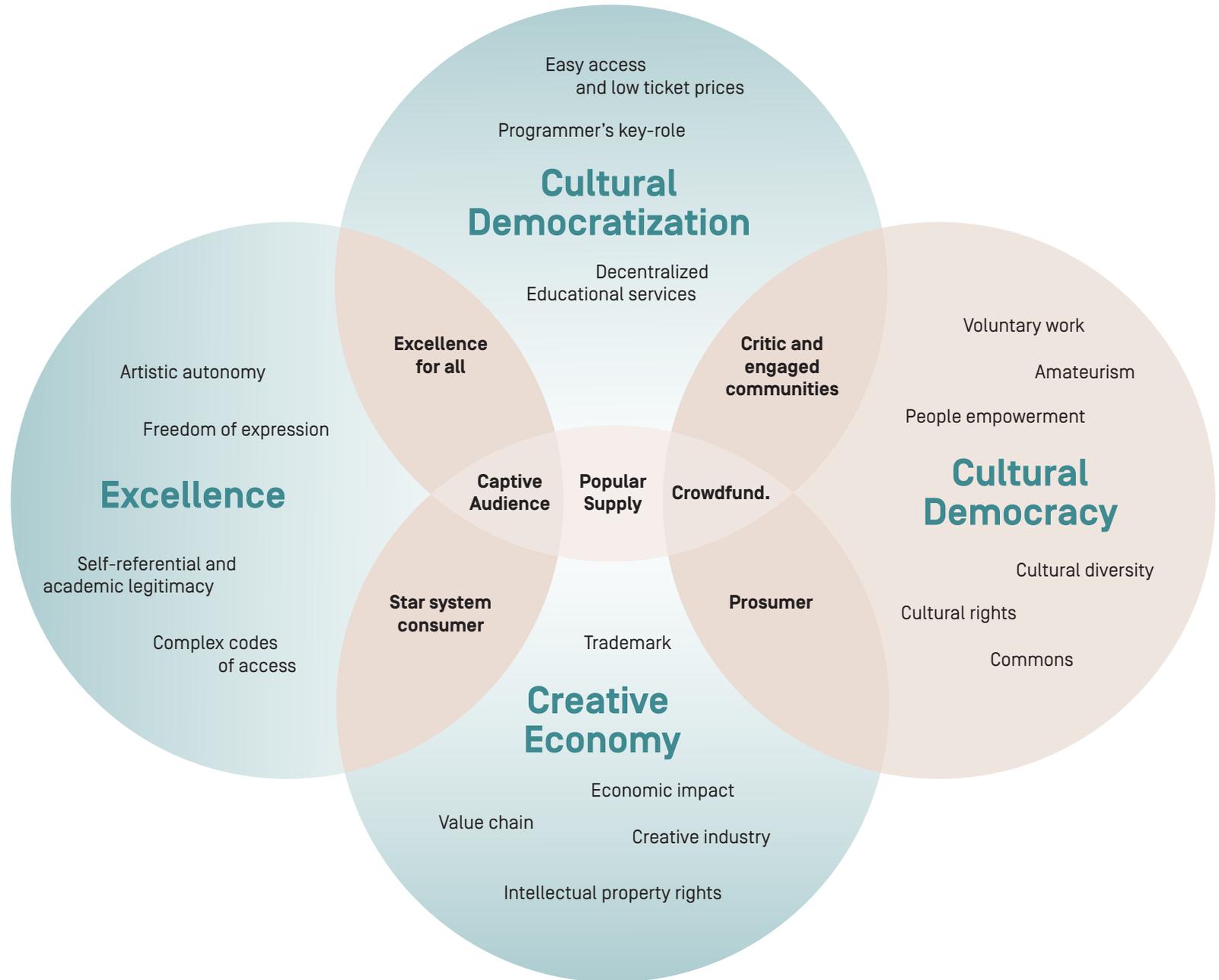


Figure 6: Reproduced from Bonet and Négrier, 2018, p. 68.

Craik's models of cultural policy

Figure 7: Reproduced from Craik, 2007, p. 81.

Role of Model	Where used	Policy Objective	Funding Mechanism	Strengths and Weaknesses
Facilitator	USA	Diversity	Tax expenditures and incentives	S: diversity of funding W: excellence not necessarily supported; valuation of tax costs; benefits for benefactors; calculation of tax cost
Patron	United Kingdom, Australia	Excellence International standards	Arm's length Peer evaluation	S: support for excellence W: favours traditional elite artforms
Architect	France	Social welfare Industry assistance	Department and Ministry of Culture	S: relief from box office dependence; secures training and career structure W: Creative directives lead to stagnation and resistance
Engineer	Former Soviet countries, Cuba, [North] Korea	Political education, National culture	Government ownership of artistic production	S: focus creative energy to attain political goals W: subservience; underground; counter-intuitive outcomes
Elite Nurturer	Major Organisational Fund (Australia)	Selective elite development	Direct government ongoing funding of cultural organisation	S: encourage excellence, financial stability W: insulates organisations from external influences/forces

Sacco's culture 1.0 to 3.0 models

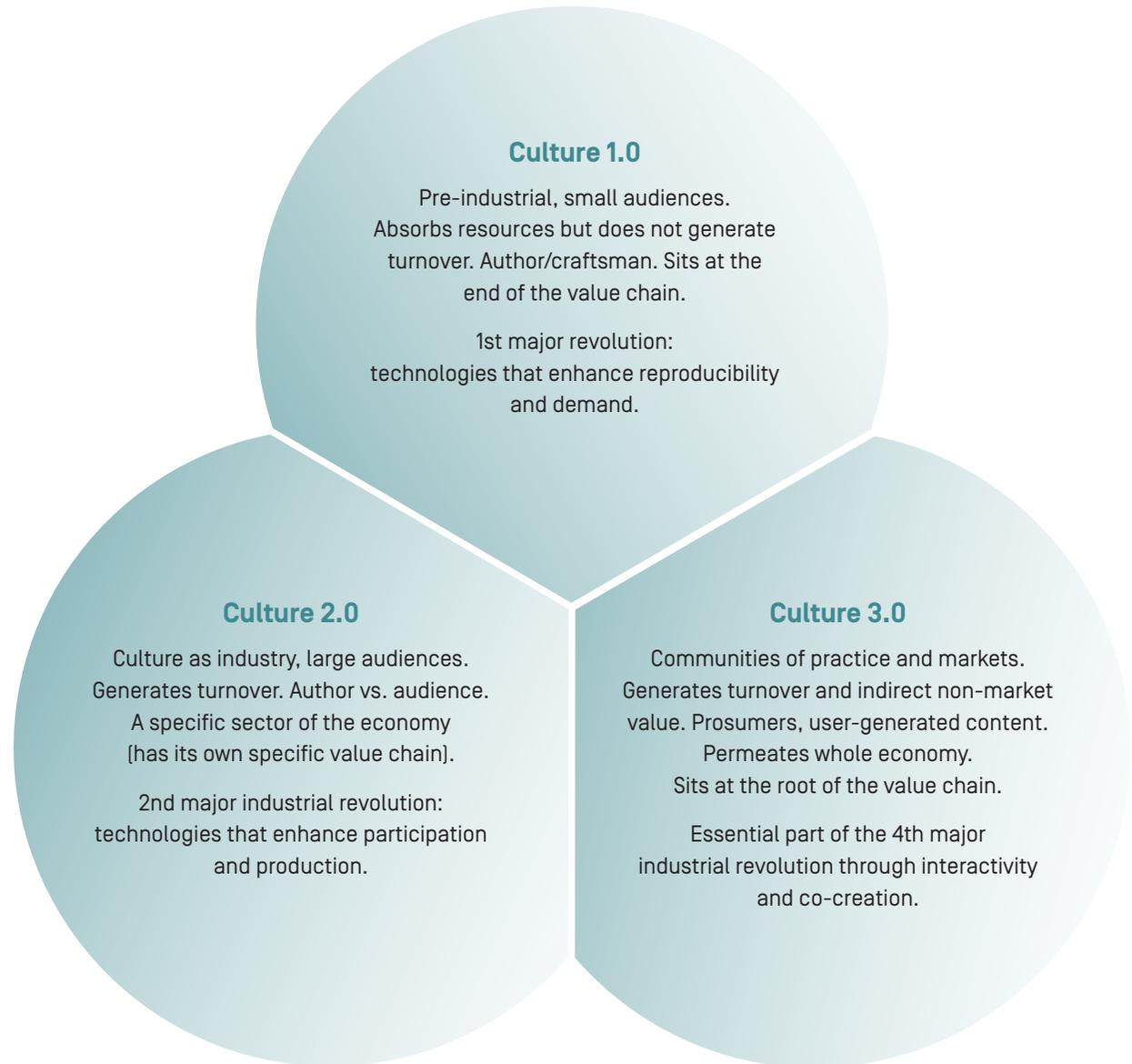


Figure 8: Adapted from Sacco, 2011.



WHAT WE MEAN BY ARTS AND CULTURE

What we mean by arts and culture

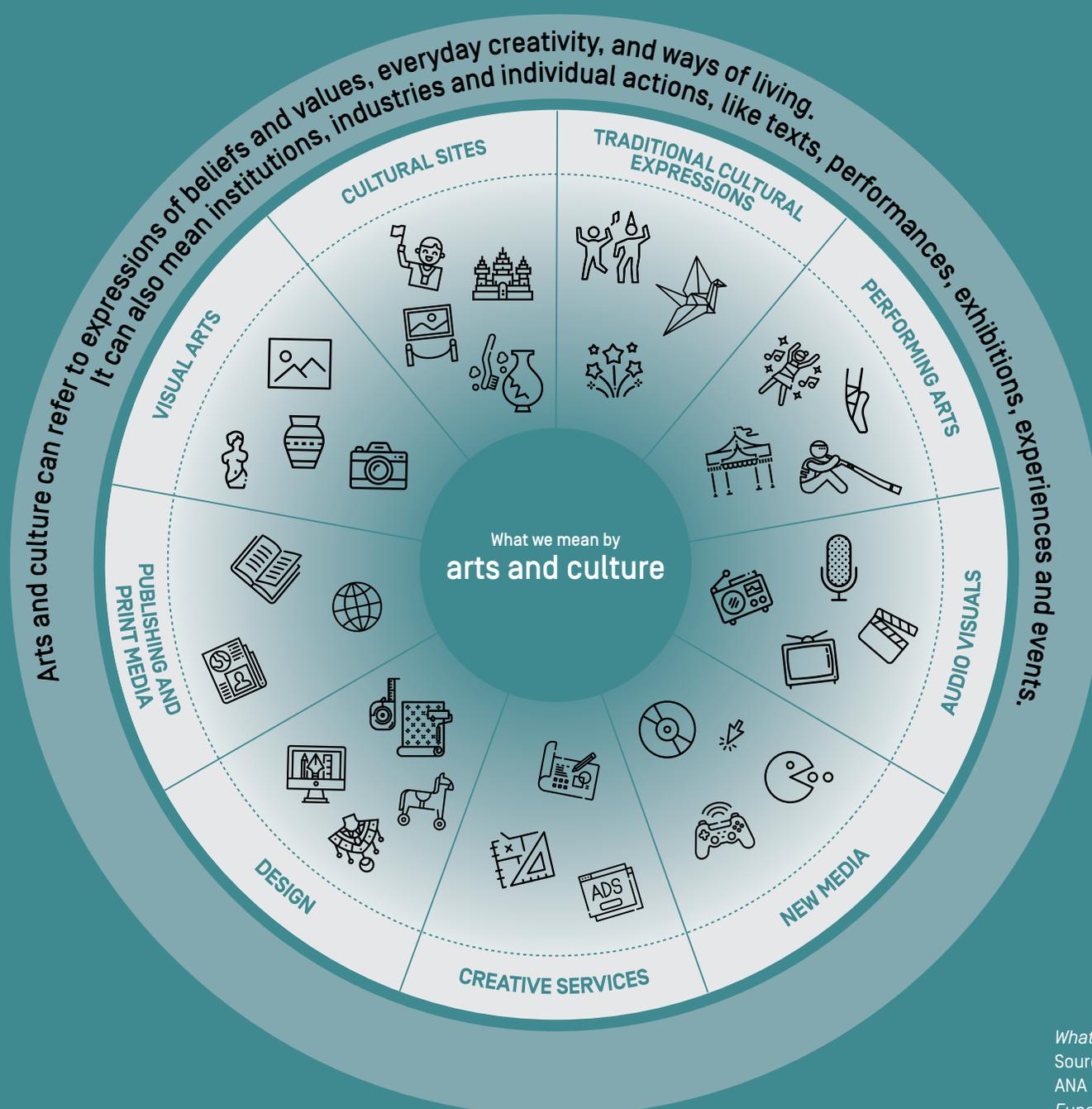
We take a broad view of arts and culture, which draws together two main meanings.

The first meaning refers to the beliefs, values, ways of living and everyday forms of creativity that we either share as Australians or share with other members of our particular social groups or communities.

The second meaning refers to arts and culture as the set of institutions, industries and individual actions that combine to produce and distribute a wide range of texts, performances, exhibitions, experiences and events. Some of these activities are commercial while some are subsidised by governments, some are community-sourced, others are privately funded, others are supported via patronage, and many are a combination of these. The activities include, but are not limited to, galleries, libraries, archives and museums, music, screen, radio, video gaming and digital arts, performance, literature, visual art, community-engaged practice, hybrid and experimental forms, language, festivals, craft, heritage, design, and live art.

In recognising these two notions of arts and culture, our purpose is to acknowledge that the interactions between them are crucial to understanding the issues at stake in assessing the public value of expenditure on arts and culture. How do these relate to and interact with our ways of living and everyday forms of creativity? How far do they promote our common interests and values as Australians? How do they also serve the interests and values of different demographic groups? And do they do so fairly?

We note also that arts and culture sit within the broader category of cultural and creative activity. No global, agreed-upon definition exists for this category of activity and it is a topic of contest and change over time. ANA's reports refer to a variety of sources that use differing definitions and therefore include or exclude different things from their underlying datasets. Using endnotes and clarifications throughout the report, we have endeavoured to make these distinctions as transparent as possible.



What we mean by arts and culture infographic. Source: A New Approach, 2019. Created by ANA using inputs from Australia's *Cultural Funding by Government Data Series 2007-08 to 2017-18* and the 2009 *UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics*.

