FOR ART'S SAKE?
SOCIETY AND THE ARTS IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Edited by Jamie Cowling

ippr

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Preface

This publication is the first in which the Institute for Public Policy Research (ippr) has considered the role of the arts and culture in society. It may appear a surprising departure from our usual research projects. Yet as the book makes clear, reflection upon the role of the arts and culture in the good society has a long pedigree in progressive thought. The civic republican tradition, from Aristotle to Jefferson, is particularly rich in its attention to cultural symbols of civic pride and the importance of aesthetic endeavour to human fulfilment. The British Labour movement can hold up numerous thinkers, from William Morris to Tony Crosland, for whom the arts and culture constitute central components of the good life, whilst many of the twentieth century's finest Modernist achievements were born of a progressive commitment to social change.

The current government has done much to take on the cultural mantle of the great reforming government of 1945. It has attempted to balance excellence with access, and quality with participation. However, much still remains to be done. Participation in the arts and culture remains skewed towards those who are best placed to benefit rather than those who might benefit most. For too long the arts and culture have relied on advocacy rather than evidence.

The contributors to this publication take on the evidence challenge. Their conclusions will no doubt spark debate and discussion. However, the great strength of this book is that the contributors are not only cultural professionals but also thinkers and policymakers from across a range of disciplines. For too long the arts and culture have operated in a policy vacuum. This is no longer the case. The conclusions of this research are relevant to broader policy discussion: in education, mental health and criminal justice.

It is clear to me that the arts and culture go to the heart of what it means to be a fulfilled, active citizen. They have the capacity to touch and inspire us as individuals, and to challenge as well as cement our social norms. Today, the social disengagement of ironic, self-absorbed postmodernism has given way to a renewed sense of the powerful role the arts and culture can play in progressive change. They have a unique role to play in helping us meet wider social objectives, based not on an instrumentalist subordination of culture to wider goals but a recognition

that it is the intrinsic nature of cultural and arts activity that provides its wider power.

I welcome the debate that this publication will spark and extend an open invitation for those who wish to deliberate its conclusions to work with the ippr on our future research in this area.

Nick Pearce
Director
Institute for Public Policy Research

Acknowledgements

About the authors

Alan Clarke was appointed as director of the new Prisoners' Learning and Skills Unit in May 2001 and remained in post when it became the Offenders Learning and Skills Unit in May 2003. Prior to his present post, Alan led divisions within DfES covering a range of subjects: higher education, including the establishment of the new universities and the Higher Education Funding Council; local management of schools, school governance and the setting up of grant-maintained schools; the introduction of student loans; and the development of post-16 education and training, including policy on quality improvement and the establishment of the Adult Learning Inspectorate.

Jamie Cowling is research fellow at the Institute for Public Policy Research Digital Society, Media and Arts Project. Prior to joining the ippr Jamie completed an MSc in Media and Communications at the London School of Economics, and worked in advertising for KLP Euro RSCG. His research interests include media and communications policy and arts and cultural policy. Previous publications include: *New News? Impartial Broadcasting in the Digital Age* with Damian Tambini (ippr 2002); *They Have Been Watching: broadcasters provision of children's and young people's TV 1952-2002* with Kirsty Lee (ippr 2002); *A Progressive Licence Fee* with Kim Allen and Emily Keaney (ippr 2003) and *From Public Service Broadcasting to Public Service Communications* with Damian Tambini (ippr 2004).

Dr John Geddes is director for the Centre for Evidence Based Mental Health, Department of Psychiatry at Oxford University. John qualified in medicine at Leeds University in 1985 and subsequently trained in psychiatry in Sheffield and Edinburgh. He moved to Oxford in 1995 and is now honorary consultant psychiatrist in the University Department of Psychiatry, Director of the Centre for Evidence Based Mental Health, and editor of the journal *Evidence Based Mental Health*.

He is involved in primary and secondary research and in teaching evidence-based practice in psychiatry and mental health locally, nationally and internationally.

Peter Hewitt was appointed chief executive of the Arts Council in March 1998. Since then, he has led a major overhaul of the organisation, including a merger with the ten previously independent regional arts boards.

Peter's career in the arts began in 1976 at Inter-Action in Kentish Town, London. He was Arts Officer at North Tyneside Metropolitan Borough Council for six years before joining Northern Arts in 1982. He was made chief executive of Northern Arts in 1992 and held this post for five years. He then had a year in the Health Service as corporate affairs director of Tees Health Authority.

Dr Gerald Lidstone currently teaches courses in Performance Art, Arts And Audiences and Theatre Production at Goldsmiths' College, University of London. In the last few years he has also taught aspects of Theatre and Culture, and contemporary British Afro-Caribbean and Asian theatre.

He originally trained as a theatre designer and has designed and toured productions extensively in eastern Europe and the US. He has also taught Arts Administration and training courses in many parts of the world for the British Council. He was also director of a four-year British Know-How Fund (Foreign Office) project establishing Arts Management training in Slovakia. An outcome of this was the publication of the first book on arts management in Slovak. He has also published many papers on areas of arts management and policy.

He is currently involved in developing education in Arts Management for the Government of Vietnam on behalf of Visiting Arts and the Ford Foundation, and was co-author of a recently published needs evaluation of Arts Management in Vietnam. He has been responsible for the annual report of the West End box office data research project for the last three years, for the Society of London Theatre (SOLT). He is also a council member of the British Centre of the International Theatre Institute, a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, a trustee of the Royal Victoria Hall Foundation and a member of the Board of Governors of Sadlers Wells. In 2002 he was awarded an honorary doctorate by Vysoka Skola Muzickych Umeni v Bratislave in Slovakia.

Dr Andrew Miles is research consultant for the Unit for Arts and Offenders and a fellow of the Centre for Census and Survey Research at

Manchester University. Dr Andrew Miles is an historian and social scientist, with particular interests in social inequality, educational systems and the dynamics of the life course, and in social and cultural research methods. He was formerly a senior lecturer at the University of Birmingham. He chairs the Research into Arts and Criminal Justice Think Tank (REACTT), which comprises senior representatives from the Department of Media, Culture and Sport, Arts Council England, the Home Office, the Offenders' Learning and Skills Unit, the Youth Justice Board, the Centre for Applied Theatre Research, University of Manchester and King Alfred's College, Winchester.

HMI **Peter Muschamp** is Ofsted's specialist advisor for art and design. Peter joined Her Majesty's Inspectorate in 1985. His work has included inspecting art, design and drama in primary, secondary, further education and teacher training. He has also inspected and consulted on arts provision in Europe and America including the Royal Shakespeare Company and the Prince of Wales Shakespeare school. Prior to joining Ofsted Peter taught art and design in schools and has lectured in drama at universities in the UK, the United States and Canada. Peter is a trained sculptor and his work was exhibited in the 'Young Contemporaries' exhibition at Tate Britain in 1967.

Mike White is director of projects at the Centre for Arts and Humanities in Health and Medicine (CAHHM). He deals mainly with the arts and health side of CAHHM's work, and has particular interests in community-based arts in health and public art for healthcare buildings. He is also project manager for Common Knowledge, Tyne and Wear's arts in health development programme.

Peter Wrench has been director of Resettlement in the Prison Service since February 2003. He has previously held a wide range of posts in the Home Office and was most recently deputy director general of Immigration and Nationality. His directorate in the Prison Service supports a wide range of work in prisons to reduce the likelihood of reoffending after release. This includes work on employability (through Prison Industries and the Custody to Work programme), accommodation, offending behaviour and drugs programmes, the co-ordination of work with the voluntary sector, and work to maintain and strengthen family ties.

1. Introduction and summary

Jamie Cowling

Investment in the arts is not only an end in itself, it is also a means of achieving our promises, our policies and our values.
Rt Hon Tessa Jowell MP, Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport (Jowell 2002)

The UK is widely acknowledged as a world leader in the creative, performing and visual arts. The Tate Modern is one of the most visited arts spaces in the world, a success replicated by the new BALTIC Centre for Contemporary Art in Gateshead. Our theatre, opera and dance are widely commended in terms of both aesthetic excellence and social and economic impact.

Since 1997 the Government and arts bodies have made considerable effort to widen access and experience of the arts in the UK beyond those who traditionally have benefited from public largesse. The 1999 Policy Action Team 10 (PAT 10) significantly raised the profile of the potential contribution the arts and sports can make to tackling social exclusion (DCMS 1999). The arts councils and other arts organisations in the UK have taken significant steps to deepen engagement with the arts, such as the 'Arts for Everyone' scheme, which aims to ensure that everyone can engage with the arts. The 2001 Green Paper, *Culture and Creativity: The Next Ten Years*, reaffirmed the Government's commitment to widening access to and increasing participation in the arts (DCMS 2001a). It also outlined policy proposals to achieve these aims, including the Creative Partnerships scheme.

As result of these policies there has been a step-change in the scale and diversity of new projects and programmes aimed at non-traditional audiences (Lidstone this volume). Many of these projects have had an explicit social agenda, from Cambridge Arts Theatre's 'Reflections' programme in partnership with the National Deaf Children's Society (see www.cambridgeartstheatre.com) to the Serpentine Gallery's work with Hallfield Junior School on the Hallfield Estate in the Westminster Education Action Zone (see www.standards.dfes.gov.uk). However, little

is known about the impact of the arts on wider social goals. Yet these wider goals – engaging socially excluded groups and engaging wider audiences for the arts – are shaping local and national cultural practice and investment by both private and public sector funders.

The arts policy framework

The Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) has overall responsibility for arts in the UK. In addition to core activities the Department agrees a public service delivery agreement (PSA) with HM Treasury. The PSA sets out DCMS key targets.

> PSA targets for DCMS agreed with HM Treasury for 2003-2006 are:
>
> ●   to enhance the take-up of sporting opportunities by 5-16 year olds by increasing the percentage of schoolchildren who spend a minimum of two hours on PE and sport within and beyond the curriculum from 25 per cent to 75 per cent;
>
> ●   to increase significantly the take-up of cultural and sporting opportunities by new users aged 20 and above from priority groups;
>
> ●   to improve the productivity of the tourism, creative and leisure industries;
>
> ●   to improve significantly the value for money of the Department's sponsored bodies.
>
> (DCMS 2002)

DCMS sets high-level goals for the arts and devolves responsibility for delivery to the Arts Councils of England, Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales. The Scottish Parliament and Welsh Assembly set their own national cultural frameworks.

> The Arts Council has an over-arching aim to promote access, education and excellence. Beneath this aim, the Arts Council has five strategic priorities. These are:

● New work, experimentation and risk, and the centrality of the individual artist, creator or maker.

● New art forms and collaborative ways of working, often in or with new technology.

● Diversity and public inclusion with special reference to race, disability and economic class.

● Children, young people and lifelong learning.

● Touring, and distribution through broadcasting, recording and electronic publishing.

(DCMS 2001b)

The national museums and galleries have separate agreements with the Department, which reflect the Government's high-level goals for the arts and culture set out above. Local authorities also agree targets for the delivery of arts and culture with central government.

Private and public funding of the arts

Figure 1.1 Expansion in the DCMS budget as a percentage of total GDP from 1996-97 to 2002-03
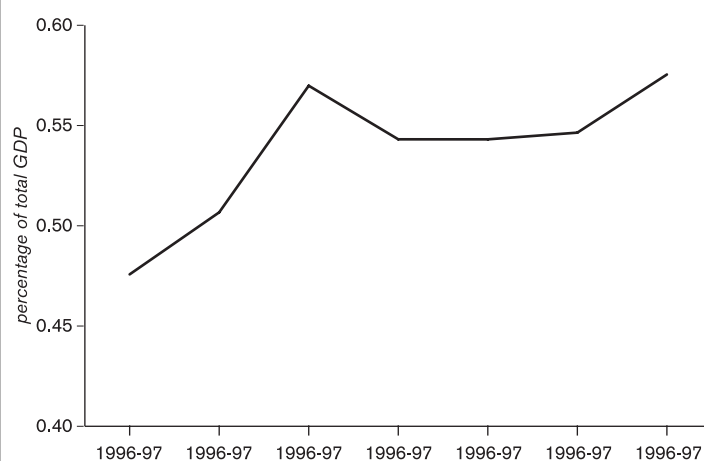
Source: HM Treasury 2003

Table 1.1 Culture, Media and Sport: Total managed expenditure by function, 1997-98 to 2002-03[1]

	97-98	98-99	99-00	00-01	01-02	02-03
Museums and galleries	470	458	520	531	631	705
Other arts and heritage	722	745	777	803	904	989
Libraries	859	867	915	906	1000	1015
Films	23	22	25	24	24	27
Tourism	153	150	176	204	291	288
Sport and recreation	896	911	629	969	1084	1214
Broadcasting	203	259	278	224	191	203
Administration	47	50	49	53	54	44
Lottery	803	1488	1618	1514	1313	1593
Total	**4176**	**4950**	**4987**	**5228**	**5492**	**6078**

Source: HM Treasury 2003

Arts funding as a whole comes from five major sources:

- The Department for Culture, Media and Sport gave a grant-in-aid to Arts Council England of £336.8 million in 2003/2004 (DCMS 2001b).

- The arts councils receive of 'Good Causes' funding from the National Lottery. The national arts councils have to date received £1.6 billion. In 2001 the Lottery grant to Arts Council England was £208 million. Lottery funding is split between capital grants, film funding, stabilisation (placing organisations on a sound financial footing), the 'Arts for Everyone' scheme and support for students.[2]

- Local Authority spending on the arts was estimated to total £217 million for 2001/02.

- Grants-in-aid to national museums and galleries are made direct from DCMS. In 2002/2003 this totalled £705 million.

- Finally, in 2001/02, corporate sponsorship for the arts reached £114 million. These investors have a range of motivations. They are increasingly driven by instrumental arguments for cultural support and are becoming more likely to seek evaluative evidence for the effect of their funding choices.

(Arts & Business 2003)

The arts also receive additional 'indirect' funding from the public sector. For example, the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) funds art, drama and craft and design lessons within the national curriculum and supports the Creative Partnerships project. Additional forms of financial support for the arts come from trusts and foundations – such as the Paul Hamlyn Foundation and the Jerwood Foundation – and donations from individuals.

Tough choices: the challenge for the future

This book comes at a crucial juncture for the arts in the UK. The expansion in the sector since 1997 is coming under threat from an increasingly challenging financial climate. Both public and private supporters are facing tough choices.

For example, the National Gallery was recently given £11.5 million from the Heritage Lottery Fund to help keep fight to keep Raphael's 'Madonna of the Pinks' in the UK. The total cost will be around £21 million. The money will go to the Duke of Northumberland, one of the richest men in the country. The Duke will not be taxed on the sale of the painting if it remains in the UK. Art and the arts have a value. Hard choices have to be made.

The £11.5 million grant is equal to:

- 695 newly-qualified staff nurses for one year (Grade D outside London);

- 635 newly-qualified teachers for one year (M1 pay scale outside London);

- 687 newly-qualified prison officers for one year (outside London);

- keeping 319 prisoners in gaol for one year.

Business sponsorship represents a significant source of funding for the arts in the UK, but in a difficult economic climate businesses may focus their philanthropic activities on the corporate social responsibility agenda. In this case it will be important to demonstrate to business leaders and shareholders that support for investment in the arts is part of the this broad agenda rather than the traditional rationale of providing corporate benefits such as seats at the opera.

The 2004 Spending Review will be crucial to establishing the future public money available to the sector, as it will set parameters for public funding for the arts until almost the end of the decade. According to Peter Robinson:

> Given that spending on items such as debt interest will remain roughly constant as a proportion of GDP, it is a matter of simple arithmetic that the resources available for all the public services other than health will fall modestly from 31.1 per cent of GDP to 30.6 per cent of GDP. If this sounds modest, it needs to be seen in the context of the trends from 1999-2000 to 2005-2006, when spending on all the public services other than health rose from 27.4 per cent of GDP to 31.1 per cent. (Robinson 2004)

Broader social and economic arguments for the arts are essential in today's political, business and economic environment. Both public and private funders are increasingly likely to demand practical outcomes and robust evaluation. An improvement in the framework for measurement of value for money will therefore be of great direct value to the DCMS and to other government departments with an interest in the arts. The argument will also be of immediate relevance to private sector funders. This publication argues that investment in the arts should be seen as part of private sector investors' corporate social responsibility programme. For this to be true corporate investors will need to be able to demonstrate the effectiveness of their investment to justify their ongoing support. However, currently the Government is unable to measure effectively the value of public investment in the arts on these wider social goals.

Summary

This book brings together policymakers, academics and professionals from a variety of backgrounds to consider the arts' contribution to wider social goals. It considers the potential contribution to improving education, mental health and offender rehabilitation outcomes. These three areas are key to achieving the Government's overall goals of a safe, just and tolerant society and providing the opportunity for

everyone to realise their true potential and can also serve as an indicator and analytical framework to understanding the far wider value of the arts to our society. The contributors begin to develop a shared language between the arts and other policy areas and develop shared methodological frameworks able to assess the arts' contribution to education, mental health and offender rehabilitation outcomes.

Peter Hewitt, chief executive of the Arts Council, takes the perspective of an arts professional. He argues that there is a clear and pressing need to be able to develop a robust framework to assess the arts' economic and social contribution but is concerned that bean-counting measurement may miss the magic. He points to what he calls the 'transformative power' of the arts. It is the arts' questioning, creativity and diversity of thought that makes them unique and it is these unique aspects that enable the arts to deliver wider social and economic impacts. His thoughtful chapter argues that any measurement system needs to be able to take account of the full value of the arts and only then will it be able to account for any wider social and economic impacts.

The arts and education

The DfES' strategic aim is to build an inclusive society and strong economy through 'creating opportunities for everyone to develop their learning; releasing potential in people to make the most of themselves; achieving excellence in standards of education and levels of skills' (DfES/HM Treasury 2002). The potential contribution of the arts to education has long been a subject for debate and research. As Gerald Lidstone points out in his chapter most arts organisations now have some form of education programme. However, 'education' has become a catch-all term, both in terms of subjects covered and in the aims of the education programmes provided. He demonstrates that there has been a step-change in the size and diversity of arts education programmes offered since 1997, such as Creative Partnerships, and suggests that they have the potential to deliver real value to students. However, in a damning critique of policy to date he argues that, 'while all [arts organisations] endorsed the value of both creative and arts-based education, most did not get to grips with

mechanisms for proving the value of work in this area'. He goes on to argue that in the past evaluation has focused inwards at the process of the project rather than demonstrating real value to the participants and other partners. He makes the case for an agreed process for the evaluation of art education which speaks not only to the arts but also to DfES, Ofsted and ultimately parents and pupils. The chapter argues for an independent evaluation agency able to provide objective evidence rather than advocacy for the arts.

Peter Muschamp approaches the subject from an Ofsted perspective. He argues that the arts are important because:

> they are intrinsic components of human culture, heritage and creativity and are ways of knowing, representing, presenting, interpreting and symbolising human experience...contact with the arts requires the abilities to question, explore and collaborate; and to extend and develop one's ideas, and the ideas of others.

Ofsted has found that high achieving schools' commitment to the arts helps to develop the schools' ethos and pupils' imaginations. The chapter presents Ofsted's evidence that the arts can be particularly effective at engaging hard-to-reach children and enabling pupils to discuss and explore complex social issues such as bullying. Muschamp argues that trips to museums and galleries can contribute not only to pupils' achievement but also to their wider motivation, social well-being and intellectual achievement. However, he goes on to argue that there are problems, and external partnerships, whether visits or artists in schools, need to be approached with the same level of preparation, planning and an expectation of learning as any lesson. Arts institutions, professionals, teachers and schools need to work better in partnership than they often do today. He concludes that best practice, where known, is not being disseminated effectively. A key challenge for the future will be to assess arts organisations' and individual artists' education programmes accurately, to ensure that all pupils gain maximum benefit.

The arts and mental health

Improving mental health outcomes and encouraging greater understanding of mental health problems is a key priority area for the Government. According to the Office for National Statistics at any one time one in six adults suffers from a mental health problem of varying severity (cf SEU 2003). Poor mental health is a significant barrier to work.

> Whilst people with mental impairments accounted for less than ten per cent of the overall disabled population, they represented the largest group of Incapacity Benefit claimants in May 2002, when they accounted for over one third of all claims… There have been increases in claimants with mental impairments across all age groups and both genders, from 28 per cent of all claimants in 1998 to 35 per cent in May 2002. (Stanley and Regan 2003)

A key aim for policy is to promote positive mental health and reduce the stigma and discrimination currently associated with mental health problems. Mike White's and John Geddes' chapters examine the potential contribution of the arts. Both contributors agree that the arts can contribute to improving mental health outcomes at differing levels. At the macro level the chapters argue that the arts can have a preventative function. Emerging evidence from social capital theory suggests that areas with high levels of social capital have fewer incidents of mental health problems. Both authors suggest that the health profession needs to develop better links with, what Mike White calls, 'the cultural base to health service delivery'. At this level arts in mental health projects could have a critical role in overcoming negative public attitudes towards those with mental health problems.

Both John Geddes and Mike White also argue that arts interventions have the potential to be beneficial when targeted specifically at those with identified mental health problems. John Geddes argues they may have a crucial role to play as a complement to medical remedies and as a treatment for mild mental health disorders. Both authors agree that the sector has reached the stage where anecdotal evidence needs to be developed to form a robust evidence base if this work is to be taken

further. Where they disagree is in the appropriate form of research methodology. Mike White advocates the adaptation and use of the clinical outcomes for routine evaluation (CORE) system whilst John Geddes argues that if the Department of Health is to take the sector seriously then a sensitively designed randomised controlled trial (RCT) will be essential.

The arts and offender rehabilitation

A key strategic priority in the Government's fight against crime is to reduce re-offending by ex-prisoners.

> People who have been in prison account for one in five of all crimes. Nearly three in five prisoners are reconvicted within two years of leaving prison. Offending by ex-prisoners costs society at least £11 billion a year. This all tells us we are failing to capitalise on the opportunity prison provides to stop people offending for good. (Blair 2002 cf SEU 2002)

There is a wealth of anecdotal evidence suggesting the arts have a significant role to play in contributing to the resettlement of offenders. Many arts organisations consciously address the factors influencing re-offending through participation in the arts for both intrinsic and extrinsic purposes. Peter Wrench and Alan Clarke consider the potential of the arts in improving offender rehabilitation outcomes. They make a strong case that the arts have an intrinsic value for prisons and offenders as part of the 'decency agenda'. They argue that the arts are able to humanise prisons and form a purposeful activity for prisoners. They go on to consider how arts interventions might address the known factors that contribute to recidivism. Echoing Peter Muschamp's evidence they suggest that the arts might form a route into education and skills development, and thereby employment, for those who are often suspicious of formal learning environments. They suggest that arts organisations could play a key role in both HM Prison Service and the Offender Learning and Skills Unit's drive to engage the voluntary sector with prisons. However, they are concerned that without a robust evidence base and a shared language there is a danger that this work will only ever be able to preach to the converted.

Andrew Miles takes on the evidence challenge. He argues that, 'the challenge is to demonstrate and explain how the arts can make a difference.' His chapter highlights work from around the world that suggests that arts' interventions can improve offender rehabilitation outcomes. He takes on the suggestion that only qualitative evidence can assess the arts' contribution. He argues that fear of quantative studies in the sector is often misplaced and argues that where appropriate quantative methodologies must be employed. The chapter presents a framework for evaluation which he hopes will tackle the issue that in the past, 'advocacy for the arts in criminal justice has foundered on a lack of robust evidence of impacts upon which to build persuasive models of change and agreed evaluation frameworks.'

Whilst the contributors to this publication come from a variety of backgrounds and take different approaches to the assessment of the impact of the arts on wider public policy goals there are some key areas of agreement. All the contributors agree that the arts can make a unique contribution to wider social goals. They argue recognising the arts' potential contribution to wider social goals does not deny the intrinsic value of the arts but is a recognition that their contribution is founded in the self same intrinsic value.

The contributors agree that advocates for the arts have relied on anecdotal evidence for too long. This can no longer be the basis for effective policymaking. Any wider recognition and understanding of the value of the arts must be based on robust evidence. Assessing the value of the arts cannot be achieved in the same manner as hip operations or manufacturing output. There is little doubt that the evaluation methodologies presented in this publication will be subject to scrutiny, debate and scepticism. However, the shared language will enable improved dialogue between arts' practitioners, public and private sector investors and customers and citizens and represents the beginning of the evidence base demanded by the private and public sectors.

Arts and culture are creative, unique, expressions of who we are as individuals and society. The benefits derived from engagement with the arts need to be available to all and widely recognised if they are to secure broad acceptance.

A note on terminology

In the context of this publication the arts are understood to be those that are the responsibility of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport. The publication does not make the administrative distinction (and historical anomaly) that divides 'the arts' from the national galleries and museums such as the National Portrait Gallery. A serious problem with the current evidence base for the arts is the often confusing and overlapping definition of the arts employed in research and public discussion.

Endnotes

1   All figures are millions of pounds; cash data 1999-2000, resource data 2001 onwards; 2002-2003 data is an estimate. For further information see www.hm-treasury.gov.uk

2   No more recent detailed data on Lottery funding for the arts available at the time of writing.

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2. The value of evidence…and the evidence of value

Peter Hewitt

Current evidence to support public funding of culture is founded mostly on social and economic analysis. I believe it is time for that evidence to be complemented by an investigation into the value of culture itself in terms of its inherent power to move people, change people and give people new meaning in their lives.

There is a growing body of both quantitative and qualitative evidence of the social and economic value of culture, some of which is more robust than others. We will continue to need to collect more and stronger evidence of this type. This is vital to our continued case for public subsidy.

There is a growing hunger for a revaluation of culture and its impact. I hear government in general, ministers and civil servants, cultural commentators, the media, policy think tanks and the cultural community itself, acknowledging the superficiality of crude numerical measures and targets and saying we need something more. People define that 'something more' in their own terms but all are reaching for a fresh evaluation of the inherent value of culture, what I would describe as its 'transformative power'.

I do not propose this fresh evaluation as an alternative or substitute for the existing and growing social and economic evidence base. On the contrary, it is complementary, and is likely to enrich our understanding of the former. I believe that you cannot have these utilitarian benefits without inherent value and personal impact.

Evaluating the arts

The urge to understand the power of the arts is not new. There has been debate and discourse about what makes art special since the time of the ancient Greeks, if not before. Academics and writers have attempted to describe the transcendental or visionary power of the arts. Many philosophers and poets have written great works of aesthetics

and criticism that address this question. But in general the debate has been conducted by an intellectual cognoscenti. Perhaps it is now time to bring it down to earth and have a debate relevant to current day-to-day experience and reality.

What form might that investigation take? Agreeing this is in fact the most challenging stage in the entire exercise. It is why others have tried and given up. Some argue we are reaching for the unreachable. Some say that even to try to distil the essence of the arts is to sound its death-knell. I agree a substantial part of that essence is beyond capture. However, I also believe that it is possible to have a better understanding of the circumstances, factors and characteristics that go towards delivering special impact in arts and culture. I also believe it is our clear responsibility, as recipients and distributors of public expenditure, to seek to understand better that essential value.

There are many different routes into this.

We argue that arts and culture can have a profound emotional and psychological impact on an individual or on groups of individuals. We also know the strength of that impact varies. We need to understand the form of this impact, what emotional and psychological elements are fired by different cultural experiences. To do this, we will no doubt need the help of specialists working in disciplines such as psychology and, perhaps, neurology, where research is already taking place. They can help us to track and analyse the effect of the artistic encounter on feeling and thought.

Having gained a better understanding of the nature of such emotional and psychological impacts, we then need to investigate which factors are more or less likely to bring these about. Included in this territory are comparisons between the active (participant) or passive (spectator) experience, short-term as opposed to sustained experience, questions about contextualisation (drawing out meaning) or letting the art speak entirely for itself. Equally relevant will be issues such as surprise, risk, newness, enjoyment, escapism and the extent to which the experience or encounter engenders a greater sense of wellbeing, connectedness, confidence and aspiration, or simply gives a greater sense of personal meaning.

This is very difficult territory. The arts are miraculously varied. Our individual responses are, just that, individual. It is tempting to argue that it is therefore impossible to find common circumstances, factors

and characteristics. I reject that argument, or rather, I reject the refusal at least to conduct an investigation into this territory.

This is critical for two reasons. If we understand the value of culture better, we will be able to make a much stronger case to government and others for their continued and increased support, as these new arguments complement and support evidence of social and economic value. We will also be able to relate the value of culture to our priorities and choices. We can put our money and energy into the places and people with the greatest potential. This could be enormously helpful in forging new directions in arts and culture, and provide an invaluable justification for the choices we make.

However, before addressing inherent value further, I want to carry out a quick review of where we are in terms of social and economic evidence, which remains critically important.

The social and economic impact

The Policy Action Team 10 (PAT 10) report in 1999 argued that participation in the arts and sport can help address neighbourhood renewal by improving communities' performance on the four key indicators of health, crime, employment and education (DCMS 1999). Five years on, we have made some progress in gathering some robust evidence about the contribution of the arts to education and employment, but rather less in the areas of health and crime.

In terms of education, a study by the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) (Harland *et al* 2000) found that pupils studying art, music, drama and dance benefited from an enhanced knowledge of social and cultural issues, heightened personal and social development and strengthened creativity, communication and expressive skills. An earlier NFER study showed that taking part in an arts activity increased self-esteem and confidence (Harland and Kinder 1995).

There has been much discussion about the 'Mozart' effect; the argument that studying music has an effect on wider educational attainment. There is evidence from the United States of a strong correlation between arts involvement and academic achievement (Catterall *et al* 1999; Brice-Heath 1998). The evidence from the UK, however, is more mixed. The 2000 NFER study concluded that there was no relationship between studying the arts in secondary school and

GCSE performance. In her review of the NFER study, Winner suggests that 'perhaps in the United States academically strong children are encouraged to study the arts, while in the United Kingdom, academically strong students are not encouraged to study the arts' (Winner 2002:76).

Clearly much more research is needed in this territory. Creative Partnerships, an Arts Council initiative investigating creative learning though arts and culture, has commissioned a wide range of research activity which will begin to report in 2004, and which will provide an important new contribution to this debate. Early anecdotal evidence from the programme suggests that there is a link between creative activity and examination success rates.

In terms of employment, the creative industries in the UK, which include but are not confined to the arts and cultural sector, employ 1.3 million people, generate revenue of around £112.5 billion, are responsible for an estimated £10.3 billion worth of exports and account for over five per cent of GDP (DCMS 2001). They have grown by 34 per cent in a decade (Robinson 1999). Cultural occupations are likely to be among the fastest growing in the next ten years, predicted to grow by 2.0-2.9 per cent a year (Institute for Employment Research 2001).

The NACCCE report *All Our Futures* (Robinson 1999) argued that there is a growing demand in businesses worldwide for forms of education and training that develop human resources, particularly communication, innovation and creativity. This is true not just for the creative industries and occupations, but for all types of business and all types of work. Future employment and the attraction of global investment will depend on a labour force having the creativity demanded by employers. Recent analyses of skill needs indicated that the most sought after skills by employers are communication skills and team working (Frogner 2002). Problem solving, team working, communication skills and IT skills are key areas of skills shortages (Institute for Employment Research 2001). The evidence on educational outcomes discussed earlier indicates that the arts have a major contribution to make in developing these skills. This is another key theme in our Creative Partnerships programme.

In terms of health, we are beginning to build the evidence base but we should recognise that there is still a long way to go. A study at the Chelsea and Westminster hospital in London showed that the presence

of visual and performing arts made a significant contribution to the diminution of patient and staff stress levels, and that the integration of arts into healthcare could bring about physiological changes of clinical value, such as lowering blood pressure levels of high-risk antenatal patients and reducing levels of depression among patients receiving chemotherapy (Hamer 2002; Staricoff *et al* 2001; Woodham 2002).

A study from Sweden tells us that, even when key variables such as age, sex, education level, income, long-term disease, smoking and physical exercise were taken into account, attendance at cultural events, reading, making music or singing appeared to reduce the risks of mortality (Bygren *et al* 1996). In general, however, there is an urgent need for further and more robust research into the value of the arts in the health field.

The situation is similar with regard to crime. We have a great deal of anecdotal evidence and some genuinely inspiring testimonies about the impact the arts can have in custodial settings, but much less in the way of robust evidence. Again, from the United States, a study of parole outcomes compared two samples of people leaving secure establishments in California. The first sample was made up of people who had participated in an arts programme at least once a week for a minimum of six months. The second sample contained all people leaving secure establishments in California. The comparison found that those people who had participated in the arts programme were less likely to re-offend than those who had not. Two years after release, 69 per cent of those who had taken part in the arts programme had not returned to custody, compared with 42 per cent of all those released (Cleveland 2001).

In the UK, the arts have been used to target young people at risk of crime. During an eight-week programme in Summer 2002, the Youth Justice Board's Splash Extra programme was thought to contribute to a 5.2 per cent decrease in crime, compared with areas without such a scheme. Artists delivering the Arts Council England programme took part in 73 per cent of the Splash Extra schemes (Arts Council England 2003).

There are many examples of culturally led regeneration in cities throughout the UK. One of the most striking examples is Gateshead Quays, a £250 million, 15-year investment programme. Major developments include the BALTIC, a centre for contemporary arts, which opened in 2002; Sage Gateshead, a £70 million Norman Foster

building which will include a 1,700 seat hall; and Baltic Square, an open air performance space. Cultural investment has leveraged other investment on a major scale, including a £100 million commercial and residential development on Baltic Quay.

Our cities are also being transformed through the generation of 'creative quarters', where artists and creative industries have been encouraged to settle. This creates a virtuous economic circle, with a concentration of small creative businesses, new leisure amenities and associated companies. Nottingham's Lace Market is a good example of a former industrial area that has found new life through the managed development of a creative quarter. Today, it is a prospering and fashionable district, with over 450 companies in fashion, design, arts and media, architecture and visual communications as well as shops, cafés, restaurants and clubs. There are similar creative quarters in many other town and cities in the UK.

So, although we need more, and better, evidence, we do have a growing evidence base for how the arts can contribute to the delivery of social and economic goals.

The transformative power

Such evidence, however, is dependent on the inherent, transformative power of arts and culture. Without inherent value and impact, it is impossible to deliver social and economic goals. The latter is dependent on the former, another reason for understanding inherent value better.

This can be helped by understanding how artists work and think. Barrett likens the thought processes of artists to those of children:

> There is a particular way artists think that is of value to early years work. Artists are steeled to approaching the blank canvas, to not knowing quite where to start but allowing things to happen, to taking personal risks, allowing for mistakes and recognising and creating opportunities. Most other professions are outcome-led as against process and play. Observing and listening is in the nature of being an artist, and observing and listening are fundamental to constructing positive relationships with children. (Barrett 2001)

John Hawkes speaks similarly:

> the arts are the creative imagination at work (and play). Its
> techniques involve improvisation, intuition, spontaneity,
> lateral thought, imagination, cooperation, serendipity, trust,
> inclusion, openness, risk taking, provocation, surprise,
> concentration, unorthodoxy, deconstruction, innovation,
> fortitude and an ability and willingness to delve beneath the
> surface, beyond the present, above the practical and around
> the fixed. (Hawkes 2001)

Another route is through individual testimonies.

John McGrath, the visionary leader of the ground-breaking Contact
Theatre in Manchester, tells of many young people's lives which have
been fundamentally changed as a result of their involvement in theatre
activity at Contact. Interestingly, one such young woman, who had
been a theatre participant for some time, was truly astonished to learn
that Contact was actually a theatre, so far was it from her preconception
of what 'theatre' meant.

There are many testimonies to the liberating power of arts and
culture: literally so in the case of the prisoners Jimmy Boyle and Erwin
James. The latter is quoted as saying: 'I discovered that education and
writing in particular, freed my mind to the extent that being bound
became my means of liberation – liberation from a past that was more
constricting than any prison sentence could ever be' (James 2003).

The Mercury Prize-winning Dizzee Rascal is another case of
someone who has found liberation through the arts. The rapper from
Hackney has talked publicly about the incredible impact of music on his
life, turning him from a disinterested student with a history of exclusion,
to a dedicated and focussed musician. As he puts it himself:

> When I was growing up I saw things first-hand. Shootings,
> robbings, the lot. I did a lot of rubbish. The usual dumb stuff
> you do on council estates that stops you going nowhere [sic].
> But I woke up one day and I realised I can't do that all my life.
> I wasn't moving anywhere fast but music got me out of there.
> (Rascal 2003)

To deny the deeper, more qualitative elements of experiencing the arts is to deny what gives them their power. To deny the relevance of that power to social change is to do both a disservice. We need a new language of value that brings these things together.

This language must better reflect the place the arts have in people's lives. They are no longer a marginal pursuit undertaken by the few, they are part of the everyday lives of most people in this country, whether as an audience member or participant. People undertake these activities because they enjoy them, because they have a meaning for them, because they are essential to both mental and physical wellbeing.

If we can express this value in the round – its spiritual, social, aesthetic, intellectual and economic value – then we can begin to grow. We can begin to articulate arts policy that values the sector for *all* of its qualities.

The celebration for the Queen's Jubilee in 2002 provides a good illustration of the wider cultural value of the arts. Many expected the celebration to be heritage focused and backward-looking. Instead, we saw an inclusive public festival featuring performers from a range of traditions, cultures and lifestyles, reflecting modern British society and its diversity. This created a sense of pride and a bonding, collective cultural experience. The essence of such an event cannot be quantified in any meaningful way. But we instinctively sense that the experience was uplifting and revelatory, and conveyed a new sense of confidence and aspiration.

While not 'measurable' there was true 'value' in the Jubilee, just as there is a different revelatory value in experiencing the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra, the Royal Opera, Pina Bausch Theatre, the National Theatre or indeed lying on the floor at Tate Modern turbine hall entranced by Olafur Eliasson's *The Weather Project*, or on a grassy bank in Gateshead marvelling at the magnificent Angel of the North.

By their nature, arts activities are about creating something new. The process is inherently one of exploring, questioning and bringing diverse influences to bear. By definition, creative work takes unpredictable paths; this is its great strength, and one reason why its impact is potentially transformative.

So the issue for researchers is to try and understand better how transformative value can be captured. This raises some challenging questions:

- First, how can we begin to describe transformative experience? Is it, for example, an experience which makes people think differently about themselves? Do they look at the world in a different way? Do they suddenly 'get' something, which makes them realise that art speaks to them in ways that other forms of communication do not?

- Second, can we find out what conditions need to be in place for transformative experience to happen? How do we define quality in this respect? What about the respective relevance of individual and collective, momentary and sustained, observational or participatory experience?

- What research techniques would be most applicable to an investigation of this nature?

My view is that we should start with the individual. We should talk to a number of people about how a life-changing cultural experience impacted upon them personally. How they felt before and after, the nature of the experience itself, the difference it made to them as individuals. We should include experiences in traditional settings (the opera house, the gallery, the theatre) as well as experiences outside those settings. In some cases we would need to talk to people who may not even have registered their experience as cultural or artistic, for example the young person who finds new meaning in areas of radical youth culture such as hip-hop or rap, but who may not regard this as 'arts'.

We would then broaden the focus to case studies, both collective and individual. This would require a number of methodologies such as narrative analysis and in-depth qualitative interviews. Their purpose would be to extract common circumstances, factors and characteristics that might be more generally accepted as some of the more pervasive elements common to true impact. From that, it may be possible to write a new typology for value.

In conclusion, Arts Council England is acutely aware of the need to provide hard evidence of impact in return for public investment. We will not shy away from social and economic measurement and accountability. In fact, we will invest more in ensuring that we have available to us measurement of an even more robust nature than has been the case to date. But we recognise that to grasp the full power of

the arts, we need to look for means of evaluation that go beyond the mechanical, the numerical and the 'bean-counting'.

The challenge to the Government is to state its belief in the many qualities of the arts, and to want to invest in them. To appreciate the social, the economic but also the inherent value, and the transcendental (as much as the fun) in arts and culture. Surely this is the measure of a mature and confident society: that it believes in the place of art in people's lives for its true and complex value.

We need an agreed framework by which the instrumental social policy benefits of public arts funding – across government – can be measured with a consistent set of research tools. But we must also develop new methodologies by which we can evaluate the more diffuse and complex power the arts have on the individual, the collective and, indeed, on civil society as a whole.

Clarity on *both* levels will enable a clearer case for public funding of the arts and better-informed choices about what, and how, to fund.

Arts Council England intends to lead a major investigation, designed to understand the value and impact of the arts better. We invite researchers and policy-makers to engage with us in this important – and fascinating – journey: to strengthen the value of our evidence base in social and economic terms, while better demonstrating the evidence of the value of the arts in inherent terms.

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3. Arts education: an Ofsted perspective
Peter Muschamp HMI

By the end of summer 2004 the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) will have inspected all maintained schools in England at least twice, as well as its inspections of local education authorities (LEAs), initial teacher training, further education, youth organisations and prisons, and funded nursery education.

Although much of Ofsted's regular cycle for the inspection of schools under statute (Section 10 Inspections) is done by contracted registered inspectors, the organisation also has more than 250 Her Majesty's Inspectors (HMI). HMI are responsible for quality assuring the school inspection system as well as inspecting specific aspects of educational provision, such as teacher training and LEA music services. HMI have also been involved in evaluating government inclusion initiatives, for instance, Excellence in Cities, Education Action Zones, Early Excellence Centres and the Connexions Service. Also germane to social inclusion and the arts are HMI's recent surveys on the arts in disadvantaged areas, creativity across the curriculum, boys' writing, and the curriculum in successful primary schools. This chapter also refers to two Ofsted publications: *The Arts Inspected* (Ofsted 1998a) and *Artists in Schools* (Ofsted 1999).

This chapter begins by putting the arts and inclusion into an educational framework. Drawing primarily on inspection evidence, it then describes the characteristics of good arts provision, how the arts engage children – whatever their background or ability – and what part cultural resources, such as museums and galleries, play in art education.

The educational framework

The National Curriculum for England sets out three principles for inclusion: setting suitable learning challenges; responding to pupils' diverse needs; and overcoming potential barriers to learning and assessment for individuals and groups of pupils. All teachers are required to have due regard to these principles in both their planning and their teaching.

For instance, in their planning, teachers should ensure that resources, tasks and activities take account of gender and ethnicity and that classroom assistants have a planned role in the support of pupils who have English as an additional language. In their teaching, teachers need to avoid cultural stereotyping, give value to the experiences children bring from their lives outside of school and ensure that the work reinforces positive messages about cultural and ethnic groups.

Teachers cannot, of course, do this in a vacuum. It is largely through teaching specific subjects that the principles of inclusion are addressed; subjects examined in this chapter are art and design, drama, music and dance. The National Curriculum requires that all maintained schools teach dance (as part of PE) in Key Stages 1 and 2; art and music in Key Stages 1 to 3; and drama, as part of English, in Key Stages 1 to 4. Indeed, many schools exceed these statutory requirements: through offering, for instance, examination courses in drama and programmes of extra-curricular activities. In fact, arts activities form a majority of extra-curricular activities in schools across the country.

Even in arts-rich schools, however, the range of provision in itself does not provide a rationale for the arts, nor does it necessarily signify high quality. To be a successful arts provider, a school needs to know why the arts are important, and express this understanding in a clear rationale to which senior managers, teachers, pupils, parents and governors can subscribe.

Justifying the arts

In *The Arts Inspected*, HMI put forward the proposition that the arts are important because they are intrinsic components of human culture, heritage and creativity and are ways of knowing, representing, presenting, interpreting and symbolising human experience. They also argue that contact with the arts requires the abilities to question, explore and collaborate; and to extend and develop one's ideas, and the ideas of others. Furthermore, creating art requires a sense of structure, discipline, rigour, and a positive response to challenge.

This last point is a reminder, should one be needed, that the arts are not, in any sense, undemanding. The simultaneous application by a primary-aged pupil of technical, musical, aural and observational skills in the playing of, say, a clarinet, either solo or in an ensemble,

provides just one example of the specific challenges just one art form can present.

Is it sufficient to justify the arts as subjects in their own right, or should there be the further claim that they have wider value? In *The Arts Inspected* HMI also write about schools that justify the place of the arts in the curriculum on the grounds that involvement can lead to higher attainment in other subjects. While research evidence for this is inconclusive, HMI in a more recent document *The Curriculum in Successful Primary Schools*, writing about the factors associated with high achieving schools, noted that:

> The richness of the curriculum in these schools and, in particular, their achievements in the arts, contributed strongly to the development of pupils' imagination and the creative use of media and materials. The growth of pupils' self-confidence which these achievements inspired helped them to tackle more challenging work and develop a positive attitude towards school. (Ofsted 2002)

In another recent survey report – on boys' writing – HMI observe that a particular kind of culture encourages boys to write well. This is described as a 'non macho' culture in which, for instance, drama clubs, orchestras, debating societies and visits to the theatre flourish: an environment in which 'intellectual, cultural and aesthetic accomplishment by boys is expected and accepted' (Ofsted 2003a).

A further report on the arts in disadvantaged areas makes similar points. It says that teachers spoke 'positively about the effect of work in the arts on their pupils. In primary schools, teachers were convinced that their pupils grew in confidence, became better motivated and more persistent when tackling other subject areas. [In secondary arts departments] there was a tangible pride in finished work' (Ofsted 2003b).

Inspection findings would suggest, therefore, that the arts can help to instil positive attitudes towards school, inspire self-confidence and contribute to a particular kind of enabling ethos as well as being of value in themselves.

To be of real value to all children, whatever their circumstances, the arts need to be taught well. In the survey report *Improving City Schools:*

How the Arts Can Help inspectors observed that the arts captured pupils' interest because the teaching was good – not necessarily excellent but at least good – and consistently good. Furthermore, an integral part of that good teaching was its inclusiveness: its attention to the diverse needs of all the pupils taught (Ofsted 2003b). Ofsted's inspection data suggest that good teaching in the arts is not unusual. In secondary schools at Key Stage 4, for instance, there is more very good teaching in art and design and music than in any other subject. Inspection data also show that many children with English as an additional language and children with special educational needs learn particularly well in art and design in comparison with other subjects. While no national data are available on drama and dance as separate subjects there is, nonetheless, strong evidence to suggest that both subjects can boost the self-confidence of disaffected pupils.

What is good arts teaching?

While the Ofsted Framework provides clear generic criteria for judging teaching and learning, these need to be considered in subject-specific terms. What, for example, does good subject knowledge, planning, teaching methods, assessment or resources look like in art, music, dance or drama?

In *The Arts Inspected* HMI engage with these questions, observing, first of all, that good teaching and learning in the arts reflects the changing nature of arts subjects (Ofsted 1998a). It is a matter of fact, for instance, that the new technologies have extended the creative processes in music and the visual arts; so, a teacher who did not recognise this would have only a partial or even a misleading view of these particular art forms. A curriculum in art, dance, drama or music which is exactly the same as that offered ten years ago, or possibly only one year ago, does not reflect the dynamic nature of its subject. It is partly for this reason that effective arts providers often draw on the expertise and perspectives of artists, arranging residencies or taking pupils to live artistic events that reflect the changing nature of the subject being studied. In one Excellence in Cities initiative, for instance, children in one London borough worked enthusiastically on a digital photography project with a professional photographer, and later had their work shown in a London gallery. Teachers themselves also have a

responsibility to keep abreast of developments in their subject, and many do via, for instance, community arts work or initiatives such as the Artist Teacher Scheme run by the National Association for Education in Art and Design.

HMI also write that effective teachers expect sustained enquiry and concentration. Although this is also true of other subjects, in the arts the stakes can be higher, because they are usually designed for and dependent on an audience. In a public arena lapses in concentration, especially in the performing arts, can be critical to the success of a piece because:

> there is no equivalent to correction fluid in many forms of artistic performance, or when working with some artistic media. An error rate of one per cent in the performance of a well-known poem or passage or the notes of a familiar melody is often readily detectable. (Ofsted 1998a)

It is this high stakes concentration that persuaded one headteacher who had been appointed to lead a school out of special measures to focus on the development of group music-making, especially African drumming, as a way of improving the poor concentration levels of pupils.

Finally, HMI refer to good art teaching, which leads to the development of knowledge and understanding, and imparts the basic skills, the nuts and bolts, of the subject. This requires art teachers to be makers of art themselves or, at least, to know what they do not know and to draw on expert knowledge, either from inside or outside the school. In *Improving City Schools*, HMI state that the successful arts teachers they observed included a high proportion of practising artists and performers who regularly modelled skills and techniques for their pupils. As one headteacher commented: 'the pupils respect the staff as good artists in their own right. They love to see them demonstrate techniques' (Ofsted 2003b).

The same report includes the observations that good arts teachers, both primary and secondary:

● had very high expectations of the pupils;

● planned carefully for all the pupils in the class;

● took account of the pupils' artistic interests outside school and made the curriculum broad and relevant;

- challenged pupils creatively;

- celebrated pupils' work in school and with their parents;

- made links with professional artists and arts organisations outside school;

- ensured that pupils were quickly involved in lessons in the practical nature of the subject;

- formed positive relationships with pupils in lessons and in extra-curricular activities.

(Ofsted 2003b)

In all the schools visited these teachers provided a wide range of extra-curricular arts activities that were well attended by pupils of different abilities, gender and ethnicity. They also provided an arts curriculum designed to take account of the diversity of neighbourhood cultures. One headteacher said: 'I think we are successful because we are in tune with the local culture. We try to support, develop and extend it in the school', a statement which would be echoed in many other ethnically diverse schools around the country (Ofsted 2003b).

These good arts teachers were able to galvanise the interest of pupils and, in many cases, secure high standards of attainment, as evidenced, for example, in A*-C GCSE results or good scores in Key Stage assessments. Moreover, this was happening in schools which fell within the lowest attaining primary and secondary schools in the country, many in areas of high social disadvantage.

It should be stressed that there was nothing in those teachers' practice or behaviour which made them markedly different to other good arts teachers or, indeed, good teachers of any subjects. Good teachers share many of the same basic skills and qualities, whatever school or part of the country they work in.

What do pupils get from the arts?

How do children respond to good arts teaching, particularly those who, for whatever reason, feel marginalised or excluded? One school inspection report made the following observation:

A Year 11 student, who has very challenging domestic circumstances, including acting as carer for a disabled mother, has made very good progress on her GNVQ course. Her portfolio demonstrates a range of interests, including analytical drawings and photographs of everyday objects, especially chairs, from her home environment; drawings based on photographs she had taken of a local beach, 15-minute paintings of decaying fruit, and an ambitious sequence of lino prints based on a rigorous study of Thai designs. Such is her enthusiasm for the subject, she intends to apply for the art foundation course at her local college.

This pupil's desire to succeed can be attributed partly to the teaching she had experienced, which was rated highly by inspectors, but perhaps there is also something integral to the subject which had made her stay focused. Pupils themselves can be very illuminating on this point. In the *Improving City Schools* survey inspectors asked children why they liked particular arts subjects. Their responses included the following:

Art allows quiet concentration – you don't have to dash as much.

Other subjects are more bitty. It is really frustrating when you miss a bit and you get behind. It's not like that in art. You can pick up your work where you left off.

When I get art homework, I do it the same day. Somehow I am unaware of the time passing.

In drama I get to mix with more people and work with people I would never talk to the rest of the week.

When I perform a play I get a buzz of excitement like a glowing feeling inside.

When you move and express yourself, you forget yourself – you just dance. The music takes over.

(Ofsted 2003b)

Such responses suggest, at the very least, that for these children the arts provide some kind of haven or release from other pressures, an experience which anyone who has worked in the arts professionally or as a Sunday-afternoon amateur would also probably recognise. However, they also refer to how the arts have helped them to negotiate or come to terms with some of these pressures:

> Drama has given me a different perspective on life: for example, what divorce feels like, and its consequences. It helped me to understand what my friend was going through when her parents split up.

or

> I feel more proud of myself now after playing in the band. I know I'm fine the way I am. I'm not as worried about my image now as I used to be.
>
> (Ofsted 2003b)

The capacity of drama, in particular, to help pupils understand roles and relationships is also referred to in a recent Ofsted publication on bullying, where it was observed that both drama and personal, social and health education offered pupils the chance to explore complex issues arising out of particular relationships. One school in Norwich, for instance, had made particularly effective use of drama in Year 9 to support work on bullying, developing a production that was taken to other schools and used by the LEA in the training offered to teachers in an annual anti-bullying conference (Ofsted 2003c).

Finally, there is the sheer enjoyment which the arts can bring: the 'buzz', as many pupils in *Improving City Schools* described it.

> When I perform a play I get a buzz of excitement, like a glowing feeling.

> The buzz is really important. It puts you in a good mood for the rest of the day.
>
> (Ofsted 2003b)

Contextual problems

Improving City Schools makes three important contextual points in relation to schools in more socially disadvantaged areas. The first is that schools facing the challenging social conditions described in the report frequently have difficulty recruiting good specialist arts teachers. Headteachers in secondary schools are often faced with a very limited field of applicants. A number of primary headteachers felt that their priority was to appoint a good primary class teacher and saw skills in the arts as an added bonus that might well need cultivating and extending when the teacher was in post (Ofsted 2003b).

The second issue relates to continuity and progression in the arts between the phases of education. On the whole, this was found to be weak: a judgement which is supported by a wide range of other inspection evidence. There were few links established between primary and secondary schools, or between secondary schools and further education colleges. Although this is not unique to the areas targeted by the survey, the implications of discontinuities in the quality of arts experience on already socially disadvantaged pupils may be more serious, especially where a particular subject has given a child the motivation to attend school, as in this not untypical case:

> I feel more comfortable in art and design. I only attend on those days. I feel more at ease and can let myself go. I put more effort into it. (Ofsted 2003b)

The third issue relates to workplace experience of the arts. This was found to be patchy. Some schools had developed good links with local firms and, for example, regularly placed pupils in recording studios, local theatres or with peripatetic instrumental teachers. These provided rich experiences for the pupils concerned and gave them a real insight into the commercial realities of work in the arts. At least one pupil in each secondary school visited had been so motivated that they aimed to study the arts in higher education and to take up a career in the arts. However, despite their benefits – which for many pupils can offer a whole new career option – finding productive placements is not easy. This has also been made clear in other inspection surveys, such as one currently being conducted on the introduction of the new GCSEs in

vocational subjects, including art and design. While the difficulties experienced in art and design are partly because teachers, largely fine-art trained, do not have the knowledge and experience of industry to make the links some parts of the creative industries are unwilling to offer placements and develop working relationships with schools.

Using museums and galleries

Museums and galleries are also important resources in the development of successful arts provision. *Improving City Schools* reported these were generally used a great deal, although, as one pupil indicated, not always productively: 'when we went to the museum, we were given too much freedom. We couldn't look at everything!' (Ofsted 2003b). Nevertheless, as a great deal of inspection evidence indicates, for most pupils the opportunity to encounter real art objects and other artefacts is often stimulating and memorable, contributing directly to a qualitative change in their artwork as well as adding to their spiritual, moral, social and cultural development. How this happens, or the depth to which it happens, may depend on the nature of the visit and of the art encountered. It may have nothing to do with the gallery or museum directly but the result of the journey undertaken. One teacher told an inspector that, when she asked her Year 6 class what the highpoint of the visit to the National Gallery had been, she was a little surprised to hear that for many pupils it was watching the mechanical diggers operating in Trafalgar Square. Nevertheless, most successful visits have clarity of purpose, complement or extend school-based work and are planned thoroughly, sometimes in collaboration with museum and gallery staff. Although the possibility of such collaboration is not always explored sufficiently, good models of partnership have been identified through inspection in different parts of the country, some initiated by advanced skills teachers with an arts brief.

Although it is heartening to read of increased use of museums and galleries, inspection reports also state that too many schools underuse these resources and that pupils in Key Stage 3 undertake far fewer visits than older pupils. More generally, encouraging pupils to visits such sites independently in their own time is also a challenge for schools and their communities. Evidence from one primary school in a socially

disadvantaged area of South Gloucestershire, for instance indicated that barely a third of pupils had visited museums and galleries, either alone or with family members, despite the proximity of the school to a major cultural centre. Such data, if collected more widely, could prove useful in assessing how and to what extent we use these major regional and national resources and, in the light of this information, how much more they could be used by schools and communities.

How young people are introduced to cultural institutions and are then encouraged to retain their involvement, as audiences or participants, is an issue which other European countries are addressing. In Holland, for instance, as part of a national scheme, students are obliged to visit six or ten (depending on the educational level) cultural activities. These have to be of a generally recognised quality, while, at the same time, reflecting students' interests. Following such visits, students are required to write evaluation reports and undertake associated practical work. Whether such a mandatory arrangement, if adopted in England, would encourage or discourage young people can only be guessed at.

While inspection has yet to ascertain the impact of Creative Partnerships, there is sufficient inspection evidence to suggest that partnerships between schools and cultural organisations – whether galleries, museums, theatres or opera companies – can be highly beneficial to all pupils' learning, as long as all stakeholders are involved in the planning, monitoring and evaluation of any ensuing programmes. LEAs in different parts of the country have shown how such partnerships with schools can work, as, for many years, have the education departments of national arts organisations such as the Royal Shakespeare Company.

One key finding from another recent Ofsted report on creativity *Expecting the Unexpected* was that, where creativity was promoted most effectively, there were often extensive links with outside agencies, including (in the arts) galleries, theatres and arts centres. These schools were outward-looking, wanting to engage actively with arts organisations. This involvement could be largely pupil-focused or involve both pupils and teachers, as in the Manchester Arts Festival or, in some cases, teachers alone, as in the Prince of Wales' Shakespeare summer school (Ofsted 2003d).

Artists in schools

While teachers and pupils can go outside the school to gain stimulation and, in the case of many arts teachers, reconnect with their own practice and regain their enthusiasm for the subject, many schools invite artists to work with them *in situ*. This phenomenon was examined by researchers commissioned by Ofsted in the publication *Artists in Schools* (Ofsted 1999), based on a review of current practice. The role of the artist was examined from a number of perspectives: as maker or presenter of art, as teacher, teaching resource, motivator, role model, outsider and broker. In each role, the report highlights good practice and includes substantial case studies, including one involving a female artist with Sikh and Punjabi affiliations.

> In this [multi-arts] project aimed at Key Stage 1 pupils in an inner city primary school with a large percentage of Asian children who engage with two cultures and languages in their daily lives, the head expressed concern about the low esteem of many of her children. Many of the parents are not literate, certainly in English, and English is an additional language for a majority of her pupils. The initiative would involve the artist painting a large floor cloth exploring the theme of travel between two continents, both today and in Tudor and Moghul times. (Ofsted 1999)

A home-school liaison officer, reviewing the impact of the initiative, said:

> The project gave the children and the school a sense of pride and achievement. I can show you one child who was considered to be dreamy and unfocused but was transformed during the project, becoming a different person. Another child was very clumsy but through the painting and the dance came to have what we would call a sense of grace. (Ofsted 1999)

Although this collaboration between an artist and a school was remarkably successful, the report, in its conclusions, also highlights potential pitfalls – problems that could arise in any partnership involving artists, arts organisations and schools. These include the

possible tensions when artists appear to be intolerant and uninformed about teachers' priorities, or where teachers, who themselves may be highly competent artists, feel uneasy or even threatened by the introduction of another artist into the school. They can also occur when teachers and artists have a different understanding of the intentions of a project: a situation which may arise when the person who arranges the artist's visit does not consult those who will carry it through at classroom level. There are also the occasions where pupils themselves feel uninformed or marginal to the project, even though they should be its primary focus. An observation in a recent inspection report that a visiting artist was 'providing little more than playground curiosities for the schools which bought in his sculptural expertise, with little active involvement of the pupils', typifies what can and does happen.

Artists in Schools also makes a case in its conclusion for Ofsted to be involved in the critical appraisal of artists in schools' projects, suggesting that such involvement could enhance the status of the work significantly, help to raise expectations and professional standards and, through the identification of good work, provide important information for those bodies with a specific responsibility for funding artists in education. While there may be a case for involving Ofsted in such evaluations, it may be more cost effective to utilise the expertise of its inspectors to help others to do the fieldwork, and to use the organisation's database to ascertain what use schools are making of artists, as well as other cultural resources such as museums and galleries.

Inspecting the arts

Ofsted's handbook for inspecting secondary schools includes a quote from Sheila Browne, a former senior chief inspector.

> The basic principle of inspection has always been close observation exercised with an open mind by persons with appropriate experience and a framework of relevant principles. (Ofsted 2003e)

This statement still holds true. But what do inspectors observe and do they draw on any additional evidence? The most recent inspection framework states six types of evidence-gathering as essential to inspections.

- analysis and interpretation of data;

- observation of educational, interpersonal and management processes;

- discussion with pupils, most importantly to assess what they are achieving;

- examination of pupils' work;

- discussion with staff, governors, parents and others;

- inspection trails (in which aspects of leadership and management are tested out by the inspection team).

In gathering this evidence, inspectors are addressing basic questions, relating to the effectiveness of the school, the standards achieved by pupils, the quality of education proved, and leadership and management.

For the inspector of the arts, however, are there particular requirements and challenges, especially in the observation of arts events? If Sheila Browne's dictum holds true – of using only evaluators with appropriate experience, working within a framework of relevant principles – then probably not. Arts evaluators need to know the field they are evaluating – including speaking the same technical and critical language of those being evaluated - and be proficient in the actual process of inspection or evaluation. Crucially, inspectors also need to know that their very presence can to some extent affect the process they are inspecting. Pupils can become so absorbed in art making processes, whether in the visual, performing or media arts, that observation can at times seem like intrusion.

One HMI tells the story of inspecting a vocational art course in a London college. Being mindful of inclusion issues he asks the tutor if there are any students who are refugees or asylum seekers. The tutor points out one student – a Bosnian, working painstakingly on a painted self-portrait – and suggests he would be worth talking to as he is new to the country and college. The inspector walks over and after silently admiring his painting for a while asks the young man why he has chosen to do an art course. His straightforward reply is, 'because you don't have to talk'.

Conclusion

This chapter has tried to suggest that there is much that is encouraging in art education. There is a great deal of good arts teaching, some of it in schools in disadvantaged areas, which takes full account of the principles of inclusion and from which pupils benefit greatly. There is good practice developing in the use of museums and galleries and visiting artists. There are many children whose lives have been enriched, even significantly changed by engaging in the arts, through formal arts courses or through extra-curricular activities. While they may not become or even want to become professional artists, the experience of being involved in the arts has added something to their lives.

There are, however, issues which, while not new, merit further and sustained attention. How can we encourage more good arts teachers to work in challenging, inner-city schools where inclusion issues are at their sharpest? How can we encourage all such schools and colleges to work more closely together so that there is curricular progression? How can the arts and the creative industries be brought closer to schools and vice versa? How can we assess accurately how and to what purpose schools use museums and galleries locally, regionally and nationally, and thus encourage even greater usage? How can good practice in the use of artists in schools be developed further and disseminated more widely? To a large part, these are matters relating to the better use of cultural resources to the benefit of all children.

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4. Education and the arts: evaluating arts education programmes

Gerald Lidstone

The last five years have seen a seismic shift in thinking in both arts and education policy and practice. Much of this is a result of cross-departmental leadership through the publication of commissioned reports such as the *Policy Into Action Team 10 Report* (PAT 10) and *All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture and Education* (DCMS 1999; Robinson 1999). This in turn has led to the creation of specific programmes such as Creative Partnerships, Single Regeneration Budget projects such as the Art of Regeneration in Deptford and cross-cutting initiatives such as Splash Extra.

The opening session of a joint conference of arts management trainers and educators from Europe and the US in Turin in 2003 focused on the key areas that arts management training needed to address in the next five years. The UK delegate identified one, if not the greatest challenge, as being able to manage expectation. There has recently been a substantial increase in funding through the traditional routes; at the same time arts-based work – used to drive many projects, particularly those with a social agenda – has been funded for the first time through new mechanisms.

The majority of projects in arts and education receive support from national, regional or local government agencies, even if at times this is via a number of intermediaries. The funders, administrators, teachers and artists therefore expect the projects to be able to demonstrate 'value'. In 2003 there were at least seven seminars, events or conference days in the UK that dealt in part with aspects of the subject, and there have no doubt been many others. While all endorsed the value of both creative and arts-based education, most did not get to grips with mechanisms for proving the value of work in this area.

Defining what the value delivered is, particularly in the short term, can be difficult. The full value of the immediate benefits for individuals, such as improved self-esteem, confidence, perseverance, commitment, teamwork and respect for others may not be apparent until many years

after the particular project or scheme has finished. This could be demonstrated by the decisions an individual may make in relation to their career or employment or a variety of social ways under the broad heading of citizenship (Knight and Talboys 2003). In the same way economic impact and value in a community or wider context may only be apparent after many years. In some cases the real impact will be delivered by an infrastructure created by the project long after the project itself has finished. There is a danger that in undertaking short-term economic evaluation as a means of advocacy for arts projects could miss the point in terms of real evaluation and divert attention from the social impact of long-term investment in cultural projects (Belifore 2003).

Before going forward to consider issues relating to value and evaluation in relation to teaching and learning strategies and arts-based projects, it is necessary to look at a few key areas that contribute to the current debate.

There is the issue of multiple and overlapping evaluation criteria. If you ask any manager of an arts education project to achieve the required funding they often have to apply to many different sources. On one level this is good, as the partnerships developed often reflect the needs of different stakeholders relevant to the project. However, the administrative time taken to find and manage the funding can often unbalance the project. Most funders also require specific, and in a few cases, unrealistic, multiple or counterproductive reporting and evaluation procedures. The aim for the future according to Gerry Robinson should be 'to create a new relationship with the arts community, one based on trust and respect between funder and recipient, and one stripped of pointless answerability' (Robinson 2000).

The points in the last sentence are directly related. The project funder and recipient would be more likely to develop a relationship based on trust and respect if it could be demonstrated that the 'answerability' had real benefits for the arts organisation in relation to its mission and the community it works with rather than simply to justify further funding.

Many working in both arts and education have a sense of déjà vu, as a number of the current initiatives combining arts and education with social objectives seem similar to those undertaken in the 1970s and early 1980s. Superficially they may appear so, however there is a crucial

difference. Instead of being on the periphery of both arts and education policy they are now central to both, and for the first time there is a real government commitment to fund this type of work on a scale never before available.

This has created a sense of optimism, tempered with the knowledge that the level of funding will not continue indefinitely unless there is proof of the value of the work. Proof that goes beyond the sound bite and enables these types of projects to be permanently embedded in the future policy and practice of arts and education.

We are at a point where it is essential to develop appropriate ways in which to account for and analyse the full value of this type of work, and in so doing provide a body of knowledge that will assist with future planning, bringing together the skills in evaluating from both arts and education sectors (Reeves 2003). To do justice to the range of new project types and innovative relationships developed, a 'one size fits all' evaluative approach will not work. A process-based methodology tailored to take into account the complexity of projects and the diversity of ways they may impact on individuals and communities is desirable. At the same time it must be simple enough to undertake otherwise it is likely to be seen as an imposition rather than a useful tool to improve projects.

The growth of the sector

According to *Arts Organisations and their Education Programmes*, a national survey of education work undertaken by arts organisations, 78 per cent of funded arts organisations reported that they had an education programme. Just over half (54 per cent) confirmed they had a written education policy, and 63 per cent were run by dedicated officers (in many cases on a part-time basis). The most common focus for education programmes was young people aged twelve and over. The least targeted groups were children under five and adults over 50 (Hogarth *et al* 1997).

In terms of evaluating and monitoring education work in arts organisations, in 1997 92 per cent undertook some form of evaluation. Although there were variations between art forms, of the six methods of evaluation identified, the most frequently used was internal debriefing or feedback from artists (99 per cent), debriefing sessions with co-ordinators of participant groups (94 per cent), debriefing sessions with

participants (88 per cent). The method least used was evaluation by external agents (Hogarth *et al* 1997).

The section on evaluation and monitoring did consider, under 'other methods', video and photographic evidence, evaluation forms and written assessments from participants, comment books for audiences and visitors and audiotapes; many of the techniques subsequently recommended by the Arts Council England's (ACE) guide to evaluation in *Partnerships for Learning* (Woolf 1999). However, the guide concentrates on the methods of recording a project for evaluation rather than the evaluation itself. In the past there was little independent evaluation and where it did take place it was often accounting for a project rather than analysing it.

Although not primarily concerned with the educational value of arts-based activities, it did specifically address the power of arts projects to encourage participation and create a sense of engagement with 'those who may feel most excluded, such as disaffected young people and people from ethnic minorities' (DCMS 1999). Most arts organisations acknowledge now that they have a social as well as an artistic role.[1]

Many initiatives are a direct result of implementing the thinking behind PAT 10. They have a much wider agenda than previous arts education projects and often engage with a greater range of stakeholders. These and other initiatives are the latest manifestation of education and arts projects that have been quietly delivering value, in educational and social objectives for many years. Quietly, because the value they deliver is often not commonly known except in their own narrow field and to their participants. Unfortunately, there is no easily available reliable documentation for a vast number of projects that have created value in their communities over the last twenty years.

Recently, the Department for Education and Skills (DfES), the Department for the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR), the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM), the Home Office, regional and metropolitan councils and regional development agencies (RDAs) have developed a range of policies and grants for arts projects that address social issues. Concurrently, there has also been a substantial increase in investment in schemes relating to community education and citizenship from the charitable and corporate sectors, often as part of the corporate social responsibility agenda.[2] Both sectors are very keen to support rigorous evaluation as they are answerable to

either their boards and stakeholders or shareholders. They are also part of a culture that is familiar with evaluation. This has increased substantially both the number and diversity of projects undertaken, many of which are on a scale that has not been attempted before.

There is a concern that in some geographical areas this increase in initiatives has led to a layering of projects and schemes, many with similar objectives and in some cases within the same partners but funded through agencies at different levels. The increase in initiatives is to be welcomed but maybe it is time to take a more holistic view of these layers and create a more structured approach within a specific area or for a particular targeted group.

This layering has also created a need for new evaluative methodologies that will recognise the complexity of inte-rrelated outputs requested by different agencies with different priorities. It has also created a need to clarify whether it is more effective to evaluate each project or initiative independently from their own perspective or evaluate their combined effect on a community.

Creative partnerships

A major example is Creative Partnerships, initiated in 2000 and funded to 2006. It is set to be (in its own words) 'the most important cultural and creative programme in a generation' (Creative Partnerships 2000). It will give thousands of schoolchildren in deprived areas throughout England the opportunity to develop creativity in learning and participate in cultural activities.

The Creative Partnerships' vision makes it clear that the programme should not be seen as another audience development initiative for arts projects (therefore not just measurable by increased attendance) but 'at its core it is about engendering greater creativity in the process of learning'. The partnerships intend to give 'proper recognition to the needs and demands of parents and carers and of more informal school and children's support arrangements in communities', in this case extending the nature of inclusion beyond the primary participants. The intention is that by concentrating on building the strategic partnerships it will 'have a major catalytic effect, vastly disproportionate to the resources invested.' (Creative Partnerships 2000)

The 'effect' will have to be measured, not only to provide a strong argument to continue the investment beyond 2006, but also to look at the precise way in which particular partnerships realise the potential of the partners and therefore can provide models for future projects. Just undertaking an evaluation, however well conducted, is not enough: it has to be easily available in the public domain to enable others to build on the experience.

In terms of quantitative evaluation it is relatively easy to count the project participants and segment them by need, background and any other criteria once a project has started. It is much more difficult to measure the educational or social impact on the individual or community. To undertake any measurement effectively it will be necessary to have a clear starting point. This requires considerable preparation, cost and organisation before a project starts.

The type of projects developed within Creative Partnerships are both innovative and diverse, and on a scale and of a range that would seem to provide the ideal opportunity to go beyond the more traditional forms of arts project evaluation. The evaluation methods need to be as creative as the projects. For example, can the value of engagement and participation in an out-of-school project be measured (in addition to the internal evaluation of the project) through the change an individual exhibits in being able to learn within the more formal education context? If so, it would imply that it should be possible to measure the impact of arts-based projects through existing systems within schools, but with a rethinking of the current learning outcomes and criteria to maybe reflect an understanding of the value of the range of different forms of intelligence.[3] These in turn would have to be established jointly by the arts and the educational organisations, along with an agreed evaluation methodology.

The key part of an assessment scheme is the development of learning outcomes:[4] essentially what the student can do after the course or intervention that they could not do before. These learning outcomes should be specific, measurable and, in a way, form a contract between the student and teacher. The process-based assessment schemes used in higher education and developed through national agencies such as Performing Arts Learning and Teaching Innovation Network, or PALATINE, provide a relevant example.

The art of regeneration

An example of recent innovative work and how an integrated partnership approach with shared goals should work is the Art of Regeneration scheme. The scheme is a partnership between six organisations (the Royal National Theatre Education and Training, the Deptford Albany, Borough of Lewisham, Borough of Greenwich, Lewisham Partnership Challenge, Goldsmiths College). It is one of the most comprehensive arts-based Single Regeneration Budget programmes undertaken in the UK, with a grant of over £6 million. The purpose of the Art of Regeneration is covered in six specific but interlocking areas, all of which deal with different aspects of educational inclusion. According to the aims set out in the original proposal, the Art of Regeneration will:

- *Target* – young people aged 7- 26 from areas of high deprivation in north Lewisham and west Greenwich, particularly those who are underachieving, disaffected, at risk and with special needs.

- *Use creative activity as a catalyst* – both within and outside mainstream education – for developing young people's key skills (literacy, communication, problem solving, teamwork), motivation, aesthetic appreciation and sense of community.

- *Provide opportunities for achievement* – and recognition of their achievements – in the public domain and among their peers, enhancing personal and community self-esteem.

- *Enhance the skills of adults who work with young people* – through training, collaboration and networking; building an infrastructure of creative professionals whose expertise will cascade through the education system and benefit subsequent cohorts.

- *Encourage parents and others who guide young people* – to recognise the educational and social value of creative activity, and to support young people's involvement, by providing opportunities for families to participate in arts activities and events.

- *Revitalise the centre of the catchment area* – by transforming a neglected and under-utilised community facility into a focal point for community learning, for creative and social activity.

A key innovation of the project is that its impact will be evaluated throughout with the intent of developing 'a strategic model of effective practice capable of replication in other contexts' (The Art of Regeneration 2000). The way in which the evaluation brings together the arts and education partners along with the external evaluators will therefore be of interest. Unlike many other projects, as part of its formulation, The Art of Regeneration has undertaken to establish a baseline from which to start measuring development for all participants, both individuals and organisations.

The assessment of both in-school and out-of-school work will be conducted by independent evaluators, the intention being that the outcomes will be fully integrated into each school's existing planning and evaluation cycles (the project will also work with specialists in curriculum evaluation). Crucially, these include targets for increasing literacy and numeracy. It will be important to ensure that these two areas of evaluation come together and inform the progress of the project, and that the experience of doing the evaluation is then made available to future projects.

As stated above, one difficulty may be that the real impact for projects such as this can only be measured many years after individuals have left the project, which highlights the importance of longitudinal studies.

The Acta Community Theatre

The Acta Community Theatre model is a good example of what was essentially a community theatre in education project that grew in scale but also took on new agendas. It accounted, evaluated and published a clear record of the process of a major project, *Making a Difference*, but also found a way to evaluate the impact on their community of the participation in the arts from the 1980s to 2001. This included evaluating individuals' measurement of the impact of this arts-based project on their lives subsequent to participation (Beddow and Schwartz 2001). The report tackles the difficult area of qualitative or soft evaluation using a perceptive survey. One key observation was that 'There is some evidence to suggest that the further away from involvement, the greater is the perception [of the effect] of that involvement on the participants' lives' (Beddow and Schwartz 2001).

The report speculates in the conclusion that an ongoing evaluation of the impact of a project or projects on individuals at seven-year intervals would be desirable and may be essential to gain a true understanding of the value created. Unfortunately most project funders do not want to wait seven, let alone 14 years to see the true impact.

The need for new methods of evaluation

The need to develop new methods of evaluation is being driven by the complexity and ambition of new arts and education-based projects and programmes. The key question is whether the impact on participants of arts-based creative projects is measurable in terms other than narrow output targets such as attendance, or internally to the project in terms of traditional learning outcomes. There is little doubt that the effects of projects and schemes will be felt across many aspects of participants' lives and achievement, both in and out of school and subsequently in key decisions they make, particularly in relation to their careers.

The case for the role of creative and culture-based education (and partnerships between arts providers and schools) in addressing a range of issues within the National Curriculum has been made with considerable force by *All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture and Education* (Robinson 1999).

There are two areas that are worth considering in this context. The section on creative education makes clear that creativity is not unique to the arts but also emphasises the importance of the arts and their essential place in developing the teaching of creativity and creative approaches to teaching.

A central point of the report is based upon the recognition that there are a number of forms of intelligence and that this has important implications for 'education in general and creative education in particular'. It uses Howard Gardner's seven forms of intelligence: linguistic, mathematical, spatial, kinaesthetic, musical, interpersonal and intrapersonal. The report makes clear that the formal examination system still evaluates ability on the basis of an academic 'facility for prepositional knowledge and linear forms of reasoning' (Robinson 1999).

If we recognise the other forms of intelligence as valuable then we have to be able develop new methods of judging attainment. The indication to date is that arts-based programmes not only develop

children's capacity in these other areas, but also transform their ability to learn.

If this persuades us then it has considerable implications for the evaluation of both arts and education programmes. We need to be able to see which types of projects or schemes deliver effectively so that future investment can be directed to those that 'work' and so we can see which can act as a models and be made available to all schools and communities.

As David Miliband MP has emphasised, a decisive challenge is how to ensure that all children have access to the means to reach the highest standards they can. This is part of a progressive agenda, for everyone to succeed according to their own strengths and abilities (Miliband 2002). Through evaluation we can be in a position to recommend the type of projects that work but also how they can be replicated and made available to the majority. We need to be able to identify which projects can create a sustainable infrastructure between arts providers and education.

The form of assessment used is also important. *All our Futures* also argues for a greater emphasis on formative assessment, not instead of summative assessment, to reward the central processes of creative and cultural education, such as experimentation, original thinking and innovation (often the key components of arts-based projects).

There is a need to be able to demonstrate that success in one area for a student not only can but does encourage success in others. It is even more important to put pressure on those developing examination processes to create more advanced systems that are able to recognise and test different abilities and different types of intelligence.

To achieve any of the above it will be necessary to involve parents, governors and arts and cultural organisations not traditionally associated with formal education. If this is done effectively it will reflect the cultural and social diversity of a community as well as 'enable young people to recognise, explore and understand their own cultural assumptions and values' (Robinson 1999).

Creating partnerships takes time and resources over and above those dedicated to any specific project. When undertaken effectively, they become evident as part of the 'ethos' of a school or a community and are therefore measurable by Ofsted, and not seen just as a by-product of the process of undertaking the project but an integral part of it.

Those engaged with creating arts and education schemes agree that they can be of immense value. There has also been a trend for some projects to develop 'reports' that are essentially tools for advocacy based on accounts of activity rather than rigorous analysis of the effects of that activity. They tend to list the project's features rather than account for the benefits. This is dangerous in the long-term as it undermines the potential for real advocacy based on solid evidence.

Exactly what is evaluated will be conditioned by a range of factors, determined in some cases by the type of project but more often than not by the criteria laid down by the funding agency or agencies. Some will concentrate on the 'quality' of arts input to the project, some will engage with the benefits to the participants, others with the mechanisms of delivery.

Some will endeavour to measure the impact on individuals, others the impact on a community. Some will be essentially quantitative, others will take a more qualitative approach. Some will rely on peer evaluation internal to the project whilst others will commission external evaluators. In the future the evaluation should be tailored to evaluate those areas of potential change indicated in the aims of the project.

It is not suggested that this should always be in number, chart or percentage form, however it should be in a form that can be easily read by those wishing to compare the effectiveness of parts of the process with other similar projects, and to inform decision taking when setting up new projects. While a rigid standardisation of evaluation format would not be useful, as the types of project are so diverse, what would be useful would be agreed methodology that could provide a comparative body of knowledge.

Whilst to date evaluation has tended to look inward to the way in which the project was delivered, new methodologies of evaluation must not only 'evaluate the project', reporting to arts bodies and funders, but also to wider stakeholders such as teachers, parents, Ofsted and the Department for Education and Skills.

This more cross-sector approach has been a concern of the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA). After the review of the National Curriculum in 2000 the QCA adopted the four key characteristics of creative processes (thinking or behaving imaginatively, purposeful imaginative activity, generating something original, outcomes that are of value in relation to objectives) as the basis for

further investigation through practical research projects on creativity and arts within the curriculum (Robinson 1999).

One of these projects is arts-based and is 'investigating ways to maximise the contribution of the arts to pupils' education and to school improvement' (Knight and Talboys 2003).[5] To date the project has found that the arts (arts and design, music, dance, drama, literature and media arts) 'are able to dramatically improve pupils' educational experiences and can enrich the overall school experience and encourage the development of positive links with social communities.' The arts are highly valued within the schools investigated,[6] they recognise the benefits of the arts to pupils, including improved self-esteem, confidence, perseverance, commitment, team-work and respect for others. It was also noted that some schools were 'concerned about a possible negative impact on standards if extra time and resources are given to the arts'. However QCA has stated that this is 'not reflected in practice and that many head teachers believe that standards go up when there is more arts in the curriculum' (Knight and Talboys 2003).

To return to the acquisition of data to evaluate arts-based projects. Given that the processes undertaken are usually quite complex and are dependent on a range of relationships, any evaluation would have to take account of that complexity but at the same time not allow the process to become such a burden to the partners that it takes energy, goodwill and time away from the project's core purpose.

The Treasury's *The Green Book – Appraisal and Evaluation in Central Government* defines evaluation:

> Evaluation examines the outturn of a policy or project against what is expected, and is designed to ensure that the lessons learned are fed back into the decision making process. This ensures government action is continually refined to reflect what best achieves objectives and promotes public interest.
>
> Evaluation comprises a robust analysis, conducted in the same manner as an economic appraisal, and to which almost identical procedures apply. It focuses on conducting a cost benefit analysis, in the knowledge of what actually occurred rather than what is forecast to happen. (HM Treasury 2002)

The recommendations follow the standard procedure for evaluating objectives achieved and wider outcomes, along with comparative assessment with a control group. Analytical techniques recommended include multi-criteria analysis and analysis of performance indicators.

The appraisal and evaluation process recommended is comprehensive, however it implies that both policy and projects have clear definable outcomes before starting that can then be measured. In relation to arts-based education work the potential outturns are only just being realised through projects that are taking on ambitious objectives; this is not an argument not to get to grips with evaluation but at this stage to be flexible in considering where value may be created.

The suggestion to conduct a robust analysis is fine, but that it should be 'conducted in the same manner as an economic appraisal' is, maybe in this case, to miss the point.

While not denying the need for rigour, a more useful approach is suggested in the Strategy Unit report: *Creating Public Value: An analytical framework for public service reform* (Kelly and Muers 2002). This document suggests a pragmatic approach to evaluation and is critical of the narrow perspective of 'new public management' techniques that dominated the 1980s and 1990s while acknowledging the gains in relation to the 'clarification of objectives and responsibilities, the use of executive agencies and performance management mechanisms. It identifies a weakness in evaluation that 'emphasised narrow concepts of cost efficiency over other considerations', pointing out that 'those things that were easy to measure tended to become objectives and those that couldn't were downplayed or ignored'. There is also an acknowledgement that 'determining value through the objective measures of outcomes is difficult' and sometimes even if there is a demonstrable cause and effect it is not always clear which were the 'policy levers' that created it (Kelly and Muers 2002).

In relation to arts-based education programmes, the wealth of anecdotal evidence[7] in terms of customer satisfaction and the creation of value is already overwhelming. It now needs putting into a framework that will communicate effectively with the range of stakeholders and at a certain level be comparable with other projects with similar objectives.

The way in which the evaluation is undertaken and the way in which the results of that evaluation are handled is critical. Arts and education

organisations, which are usually the main partners, initiators and providers of such programmes, are naturally wary of one more layer of target setting and reporting particularly if these become an end in themselves rather than being an aid to either improving projects or gaining the recognition they deserve.

Creating Public Value recognises that to achieve this there will be a need to develop new reporting mechanisms that engage with 'the more intangible components' of projects and their delivery and that in the creation of public value a 'more rounded accountability, which faces outward towards users and citizens, as much as upwards towards departments and inspectorates, is likely to work better' (Kelly and Muers 2002).

A number of accounts of developing cross-sector partnerships seeking public money have highlighted the negative experiences of submitting over-detailed proposals, which, as the project develops, become unrealistic, and put the project initiators in the position of providing data and extensive progress reports on complex activity that no longer seems relevant. The project proposals need to detail the starting point for participants so that development can be measured. However there also needs to be flexibility in planning so that ongoing evaluation can affect how the project develops.

It is crucial to establish a baseline for evaluation with all partners before starting, as without it development cannot be measured. Ongoing evaluation should be used as a tool to shape the progress of the project rather than just be applied at the end. The process should not be onerous. If it is, then maybe the wrong things are being measured, proposals are overly detailed, or those undertaking the evaluation do not have the experience to do it effectively. The key point is that evaluation should enhance and advance a project rather than inhibit it.

Gerri Moriarty, who has worked as a community artist for twenty years, warns of the dangers of possible inappropriate use of 'evidence', but also cites positive examples where:

> Collecting evidence did not seem a dispiriting exercise in justifying one's existence, or a distraction from core activities, but a pro-active task, supporting development, owned and controlled by the organisation generating the information…

> the reasons for collecting the evidence made sense to all those
> involved in the process…was in a language which could easily
> be understood by all those involved. (Moriarty 1997)

The key point here is to decide exactly what it is that should be
measured: is it the emphasis on measuring outputs for funders,
determining the success of the project in relation to inclusion, the 'social
energy'[8] created, or an increase in literacy? Should it be related to
specific projects or to the whole organisation/school/community?

The process should not shy away from measuring the areas of
impact that are important but difficult to measure. An example is where
it is necessary to evaluate the parallel progress made by individuals who
are not part of a project and not in receipt of its benefits. In this case it
may be difficult to persuade a school to participate when its students are
the control, rather than part of the project.

There was also a strong argument for arts organisations and their
funders to change their culture from focusing on doing things – output
– and instead focus on what happens because of their work: the
outcome. Maitland argues that this will also require a shift in attitude
from funders of arts projects:

> They will need to work with arts organisations to establish a
> common set of performance indicators that arts organisations
> believe will enable them to evaluate their work in a productive
> way…a way that means we learn from achievement and
> address failure. (Maitland 2000)

Where we are now

A report for Re:source (now the Museums, Libraries and Arvices
Council) suggested a reworking of the learning outcomes developed by
the QAA might be appropriate to measuring the outcomes of learning in
museums outreach education programmes:

- knowledge and understanding

- skills

- values, attitudes, feelings

● creativity, inspiration, enjoyment

● behaviour.

These are then broken down within this five-category framework into specific outcomes. The report also concluded that

> The ways in which learning outcomes are conceptualised and developed in formal settings do not fit cultural organisations, especially when the experience of all users needs to encompassed…and that any scheme must be able to encompass both formal and informal learning.' (Hooper-Greenhill 2002)

To some extent the report reinforces the point that it is possible to set up frameworks for evaluation for arts- and cultural-based learning that have integrity from the point of view of an arts organisation, but that it is not easy and that considerable thought needs to go into establishing both the process and the criteria.

ACE has undertaken a review on measuring the social and economic impact of the arts. In the conclusion it identifies that there has been little longitudinal research on the social impact of 'cultural interventions' and therefore little evidence, particularly of how projects create impact in the long term and how we may need to 'recognise the different rates of maturation of impacts, within different projects'. The review also points out two further areas for concern: 'there has been no research to date comparing the outcomes of community-arts projects against other arts interventions, or which has attempted, through the use of control groups, to explore social outcomes where there are no arts interventions' (Reeves 2003).

This would point to the need for a shared language between arts and education bodies and agreed agendas to establish effective programmes and projects and to agree on the mechanisms and criteria for gathering and evaluating evidence of change brought about by a project. While each initiative needs to be considered as individual and establish a mechanism of relevant evaluation from the start, it would speed up the process and make it less onerous if there was an easily available body of knowledge that could inform project partners on effective evaluation.

At present the diversity of projects covering arts and education are not yet mapped and the subsequent range of methodologies used and experiences of project evaluation are not generally available to inform current and future projects. We have to turn the wealth of anecdotal evidence of the benefits that arts based education provides directly through the curriculum or through external projects and partnerships into hard evidence that can be shared and used to inform future projects and policy.

Now is the time to bring together the systems of arts and education to agree on a shared agenda for evaluation for the great range of new initiatives that cross both disciplines.

The way forward

The two most pressing concerns to develop that shared agenda will be to establish an agreed process for the evaluation of arts based education projects and programmes and to appoint or establish an agency that will be responsible for sustaining and maintaining standards and developing the sector.

An agreed process of evaluation

The process of evaluation should for ease of working divide into two areas: the first concerned with the development of the individual participant and the second with impact on a community (this could be a school, a community based on stakeholders relating to the school, a social or ethnic group, a locally defined geographical area, or village/town. Some programmes may even have national impact).

The key point here is that although evaluation of the delivery of a project is important its effectiveness should be measured from the point of view of what participants have learnt not by what they have done (or had done to them).

There is no need to reinvent the wheel here. The Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education has already identified areas (primarily for all subjects in higher education) that can be adapted to fit any project. It states that learning outcomes should be apparent in the following:

● knowledge and understanding: cognitive skills;

● subject-specific skills (including practical/professional skills);

●   key (transferable) skills;

●   progression to employment and further study: Personal development.[9]

(QAA 2000)

Every project or programme should consider for each of these areas how it is going to both establish a baseline for evaluation, and then measure individual development. Not all projects will have an equal balance of these outcomes but there would normally be development in all.

Both the evaluation methodology and desired learning outcomes should be built into the project from the start. The specific criteria and hoped-for levels of development in each area need to be agreed at the start and included in the project proposal. As stated before a 'one size fits all' evaluative approach will not work.

While still concerned with the development of the individual it must be remembered that those who design, deliver, participate and evaluate arts and education projects are also learning and that their experience is valuable and there needs to be a mechanism to capitalise on this.

When evaluating the social impact of a project on a community it is equally important to build evaluation into the initial proposal so that a baseline for measuring can be established, and to be clear on what can be measured as a consequence of the project and what can not be attributed to it. When examining social impact it will be less a case of setting benchmarks for achievement than being comprehensive in understanding how the mechanisms of impact may work and finding appropriate modes of measurement.

For both of these areas of evaluation it would also be appropriate to borrow the SMART guidelines used in many other contexts when setting targets so that what is proposed is Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic and within a specified Timeframe. As indicated above there are no criteria or targets that can be applied across the board but in the formulation of any criteria these guidelines must be addressed. This means that the structure and process of project evaluation must be built in as the project is conceived and not added later. In order to undertake this efficiently the agency responsible for evaluation (see below) should be involved from the start.

Establish an agency

For effective evaluation it is essential to use an independent agency to ensure a level of objectivity, even though data collection maybe in part be the responsibility of those undertaking a project. To date, even independent agencies evaluations' of projects have been of very different levels of objectivity and hence value, and have concentrated on the delivery rather than the impact of the project. Even where the impact has been analysed and the data gathered (in whatever form) the method of analysis and presentation have meant that it has often been difficult to make any comparative judgements with other projects with similar aims.

The techniques for evaluating projects and their social, economic and cultural impact have been well rehearsed by a few organisations over the last six years, but have not been widely adopted as common practice.

It is neither desirable nor practical to have a single agency that actually undertakes all evaluation in this area. To ensure consistency and the generation of comparative data to support the sector, there is a role for an agency that engages with the range of organisations that have led the way in developing the thinking on arts, education, partnerships and voluntary sector organisations as well as that of different government departments and agencies and then find ways in which to make that experience available to inform planning, delivery and evaluation of future projects.

There is a role for an agency that:

- Understands the very real fears arts organisations and other partners will have of inappropriate evaluation but will have the capacity to 'establish a relationship of trust with their clients which means that evaluation is seen as a means of encouraging constant improvement rather than as something that will be used as evidence against them in the next funding round' (Maitland 2000).

- Understands the mechanisms of measuring the outcomes from arts-based teaching and projects rather than just the outputs and is therefore able to measure their impact on individuals, schools and communities and has the ability to train teachers, artists and project co-ordinators in appropriate evaluative techniques.[10]

- Deals in a more strategic way with the overlap of projects in the same geographical area while making sure that projects and programmes are delivered to a range of different groups. The overlap may be in areas of greatest need but also areas in which the greatest clarity of purpose is required.

- Establishes agreed procedures and suggested criteria for evaluation for a range of types of projects.

- Develops a mechanism for sharing knowledge on how to undertake evaluation. This needs to be undertaken at a national level, to engage with those running projects so that knowledge flows both ways and good practice can inform policy.

It should not be assumed that just publishing case studies or evaluations of projects would suffice. The process needs to be much more proactive and people based. For example, those who have initiated, and have the experience of running successful projects and programmes, would be invaluable as mentors to those just starting out. This could include assisting with planning and building in appropriate evaluation procedures as well as providing advice and support; providing a human, responsive dimension to a process that can often seem daunting.

There is a wealth of projects and schemes all over the UK, some of which have been referred to in this chapter, that are delivering considerable value to individuals and communities and are changing lives in a profound way. Many delivering these projects are unaware of others' achievements, and therefore cannot benefit from their experience. The advances in the sector over the last few years need to be articulated beyond the 'soundbite' or the odd article, by a body of evidence that will do justice to the very real achievements of arts-based education projects and partnerships.

In the current situation I think Gerri Moriarty is clearly right in stating that:

> Arts evaluation has to include and bear witness to the immeasurable, the unquantifieable, as well as recording more prosaic facts and figures. That maybe difficult to articulate clearly within bureaucratic systems. But as the writer Alice Walker says ' we create in order to make things very different;

otherwise I don't really see the point.' Our evaluations should
be no less purposeful. (Moriarty 1997)

Endnotes

1   The level of this social role is an area of debate for many arts
     companies, and one that is often explicitly addressed within the
     mission of funding agencies.

2   For example The Prince's Trust in partnership with a number of large
     companies has developed a project of school based clubs which aims
     to re-engage the interest of 14 to 16 year olds who have been
     truanting from school. This is one of many that has a high arts based
     content (although not exclusively so). See NEF (2000) for an
     example.

3   Howard Gardner identifies seven forms of intelligence: linguistic,
     mathematical, spatial, kinaesthetic, musical, interpersonal and
     intrapersonal, (quoted in Robinson 1999)

4   All higher education programmes now have course profiles, which
     specifically spell out the learning outcomes and in most cases the
     transferable skills. The term 'outcomes' here maybe appropriate as it
     refers to specific courses or programmes, however for schools as
     students may engage with projects and partnerships that evolve over
     many years the term 'outputs' maybe preferable.

5   The project analysed policy and curriculum requirements in other
     countries, and searched the relevant research and literature,
     developed aims for arts education, explored and developed different
     ways of collecting evidence, identifying specific contributions of the
     arts – explored the relationship between cultural development and the
     arts – collecting information from schools and carrying out focused
     investigations in primary and secondary schools. See Knight &
     Talboys (2003).

6   The discussion within the breakout sessions at the Arts 4 Schools
     conference on Monday 20 January 2003, with many teachers
     present, would suggest that, if only in anecdotal form, this 'value'
     maybe less than that implied here.

7   Although this is at present based on a small number reports in the
     public domain. A greater number remain with the organisations
     engaged with the work.

8   This term is the same as 'community spirit' or 'social capital' and for
     purposes of evaluation is broken down into three strands. 'About

me' (personal attitudes), 'about us' (community relationships), 'us and them' (the way a community relates to external agencies).

9   The 'employment' aspect will not be relevant with younger age groups, however the more general area of personal development will be. The earlier concern with finding appropriate forms of assessment for different types of intelligence should be kept in mind here.

10   Creative Partnerships is already addressing this in part with the development of a programme for experienced teachers to act as mentors for others creating new arts-based partnerships.

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5. Art and mental health: building the evidence base

John Geddes

The Oxford English Dictionary defines the most common current use of the term art as:

> The application of skill to the arts of imitation and design, painting, engraving, sculpture, architecture; the cultivation of these in its principles, practice, and results; the skilful production of the beautiful in visible forms.
> (OED 2004)

It has been suggested that, among other intrinsic benefits, artistic activities fulfil a social function by helping to develop social networks thereby reducing social exclusion. If this is so, it is possible that some of these potential benefits could reverse some of the social origins of common mental disorders. It is therefore intuitively appealing that engaging in artistic activity may prevent mental ill health and, indeed, may promote recovery and prevent relapse in people who have already developed mental disorders.

Before considering any potential benefits of artistic activity on mental health, it is essential to define what is meant by 'mental health' and 'mental disorder'. The term mental health includes a broad range of problems, ranging from mild degrees of low mood, anxiety and stress through to more severe mental disorders such as unipolar depressive disorder, bipolar disorder and schizophrenia.

Art interventions may be used in several ways that are relevant to health, and mental health in particular. They may be used in the society or community, in which case the main aim would be to improve social networks and inclusions. The potential beneficial effects of including art in healthcare environments or buildings is increasingly being considered (CABE 2003). Increasing attention is being paid to the physical environment in which healthcare is delivered as it becomes generally acknowledged that more pleasant environments can promote

recovery through a number of mechanisms, including staff morale and behaviour. Art and the humanities can also impact on the behaviour of clinicians: professional training is a further potential area where the arts can impact on mental health. Finally, specific art 'interventions' can be used to treat people with diagnosed mental disorders.

Identifying that there are several ways in which art (in the most general sense) can have an impact on mental health is useful in practice because it highlights the different requirements for the definition of art, the nature of the intervention and the requirement for evidence of benefit. In this chapter, I will look briefly at each of these levels, although I will focus mainly on art interventions for specific disorders.

Society and community level art interventions

The main aim of increasing art at the community or society level would be health promotion. In a widely cited editorial in the *British Medical Journal* (BMJ), Richard Smith argued that increasing central arts funding from taxation by slightly reducing the amount spent on the health budget would improve the nation's health. It should be noted, however, that this editorial appeared in the Christmas edition of the BMJ (noted for its slightly humorous tone) and contained no real evidence to support the proposal other than quoting the opinions of a few eminent artists (Smith 2002). The editorial provoked a great deal of discussion on the BMJ website; many respondents were in favour of Smith's proposal although many problems were identified. In response, Hamilton and Petticrew suggested there is a need for further research in this area (Hamilton and Petticrew 2003). Until there is good evidence that central investment in the arts leads to tangible health benefits it would seem unwise to fund it through disinvestments in the health services.

How would the effect of increased funding on art, even of specific projects, be evaluated to assess the effect on health outcomes? Perhaps the most appropriate models of research would be those used in health promotion. Here, randomising individual people to interventions is rarely feasible or appropriate, although cluster randomised trials may be possible. Qualitative approaches and observational studies may also be useful. It is perhaps unlikely, however, that there will ever be really reliable evidence of the beneficial health effects of increasing government

funding on the arts, and the debate is likely to remain at the level of opinion and political consensus, rather than being firmly evidence-based.

Interventions aimed at the healthcare environment

The aim of an art intervention in a healthcare environment would be to complement routine clinical care in order to promote recovery. The hope would be that art would have a positive interaction with therapies, perhaps through making conventional healthcare more acceptable and possibly also by developing a sense of community through bringing together patients, staff and managers. It could be argued that research evidence is unnecessary for improving environments, because it is self-evident that pleasant environments are beneficial to patients and staff. However, because of the enormous pressure on healthcare budgets, it is unlikely that provision of art in healthcare environments would be viewed as a high priority for funding compared with the need to meet specific targets for health care provision, for example waiting lists or outcomes.

Some organisations are already sufficiently convinced, both by the anecdotal evidence and a priori beliefs, of the beneficial aspects of improving the healthcare environment and they are willing to invest heavily in developments in this area. The Kings Fund, for example, has been running the Enhancing the Healing Environment Programme[1] for several years. This programme, funded by a grant of £1.5 million, was initially designed for the 32 acute trusts in London. It was well received by staff and patients and was extended in May 2002 to include the eleven mental health trusts in London, and to five primary care trusts (PCTs) from July 2003. The first group of projects have now been completed. It is estimated that over 200 clinical, estates and other NHS staff will have worked in partnership with service users in the programme to plan local projects, which range from internal refurbishment to the creation of peaceful and quiet places, including gardens, for patients and staff.

> The projects are being universally welcomed by patients and staff, even by those who were initially sceptical, and clearly demonstrate the capacity and capability of frontline clinical

staff to be stunningly creative in improving the environment in which they deliver care. (Kings Fund 2003)

Although such programmes generate a great deal of enthusiasm, how can we evaluate them more thoroughly and objectively to ensure that the benefits are worth the costs? Randomised controlled trials are unlikely to be conducted and so the evaluative methodology is more likely to consist of observational evidence. The Kings Fund has commissioned the Medical Architecture Research Unit (MARU), South Bank University to evaluate the programme. Details of this evaluation are not yet available, but MARU states:

> The aim of this project is to develop a toolkit for professionals co-ordinating environmental improvements in acute hospital environments with particular focus on the relationship between art and architecture. It will involve the classification of spaces in acute hospitals that broadly distinguishes between public, social and personal spaces. It will seek to develop an evaluative framework for the selection of artwork that sets out the relevant psychological and physical considerations for each spatial type. (MARU 2001)

This indicates that the aim of the project is to enhance the healing environment and complement existing services rather than provide an alternative approach to the treatment of illness. Regardless of the results of the formal evaluation, the Kings Fund clearly considers the programme to have been a success and is willing to invest considerable sums. Overall the project certainly provides a useful model of how external funding organisations can help create partnerships between health service planners, clinical staff and patients to improve the hospital environment without taking funding away from core clinical services.

Professional training

Concern is sometimes expressed that an excessive reliance on the biomedical approach towards health problems, in particular mental health problems, may exclude some of the wider, more humanistic approaches to healthcare. For example, doctors may become technicians

and lose the pastoral and empathetic roles that are valued by patients. The inclusion of a more humanistic approach to the training of health care staff could produce clinicians with a broader general approach, with resulting benefits to patients.

The aim of these interventions would be to improve the clinician's ability to understand the patient and possibly to work with the patient's creativity and or spirituality. The focus, however, seems to be on the development of an appreciation of the arts via a wider liberal education rather than actually engaging in artistic activity.

Specific interventions with individuals with mental disorders.

The World Health Organisation (WHO) has established that mental disorders are one of the most important causes of disability worldwide (Murray and Lopez 1997). Unipolar depression, in particular, was estimated to be one of the leading causes of disability worldwide and may become the leading cause of disability in developing countries by 2020. There are already several effective treatments for depressive disorder (Geddes and Warner 2000) but many are limited by either acceptability or availability. For example, antidepressant drugs have adverse effects and the benefits may only outweigh the disadvantages – such as cost and/or side effects – when the depressive disorder has reached a certain level of severity. Cognitive behaviour is difficult and requires skilled and expensive therapists and so its availability is unlikely to meet demand even in the richest health economies.

The high prevalence of depression and other mental disorders also creates concern that everyday unhappiness is being medicalised. It is widely recognised that mild degrees of mental disorder are extremely common in primary care and that conventional treatments for mental disorder are either inappropriate because of an adverse risk benefit ratio in the case of medication, or simply impracticable in the case of psychological treatments such as cognitive behaviour therapy for which availability is extremely scarce even for people with more severe disorders.

The aim of treatment of more severe and specific mental disorders is to reduce symptoms, promote recovery, improve quality of life, reduce the risk of relapse and promote restitution of functioning. The use of artistic activity in promoting social inclusion and psychological

wellbeing, to alleviate mild degrees of mental health problems and reduce the possible future development of more severe problems would not normally be seen as a health intervention per se. Indeed many such interventions may be rather informal and provided by voluntary organisations at a local community level outside the health service. On the other hand, art interventions that are aimed at improving specific mental disorders in health care settings would currently be seen as being health technologies. As such they would require an evidence-base of their benefits and potential risks, and health service funding of such interventions would be governed by the current processes of health technology appraisal via the National Institute of Clinical Excellence's (NICE) Health Technology Assessment programme.

One reason for the emergence of organisations such as NICE is that patients and purchasers of mental health services are increasingly demanding evidence of efficacy to ensure equitable access to the most effective treatments. Over the last decade, there have been significant advances in the understanding of the research methods that produce the most reliable estimates of the effects, both positive and negative, of treatments. This has led to the construction of a 'hierarchy of evidence' in which the most reliable – and most persuasive – study designs are placed at the top and designs of lesser validity are placed further down. It is generally accepted that the randomised controlled trial (RCT) is the study design most likely to produce an unbiased estimate of the effect of a treatment and replication of a finding in several RCTs would obviously constitute very strong evidence. Syntheses of all the trials that have been done, in which all the results are similar, is therefore considered to be the most convincing form of evidence. Syntheses of such trials that are methodologically sound are called systematic reviews.

All interventions potentially have negative effects as well as benefits, even if only because they cost something to administer. Interventions based on artistic activity aimed at the relief of symptoms in patients with clinical disorders should therefore be properly evaluated in RCTs before being made generally available within a health service. This conclusion is sometimes resisted because it seems to take the spontaneity out of the activity. If this is true, it is perhaps the cost of working up a standardised form of an activity that staff can be trained in and which can be made widely and equitably available. Conceptually,

there is nothing unusual about this, such a process is also necessary in other complex interventions such as psychotherapies and different models of delivery of health services.

Art-based interventions may be given as add-ons or alternatives to conventional therapies. It is certainly conceivable that art interventions may be both more effective and more acceptable than conventional treatments for individuals who suffer from milder degrees of mental disorder such as mild depressive disorders. Indeed, there have already been schemes in which doctors have prescribed artistic activities for people with mild mental disorders presenting in primary care and other settings. Furthermore, art therapy has been used in the treatment of mental disorders for decades. It is debatable whether art therapy is really art as defined above, as it probably includes both artistic activity and psychodynamic theory. There is some evidence that these interventions may be effective. In a recent systematic review of complementary therapies in depression, one RCT was identified that involved 30 patients aged 61-86 years suffering from depressive disorder (Ernst *et al* 1998). The patients were randomly allocated to either a home-based music therapy programme, a self-administered music therapy programme or a non-intervention waiting list control group. After eight weeks the geriatric depression scale scores of the two music groups were significantly better than those of the control groups. There is also a systematic review in the Cochrane Library[2] of the effectiveness of art therapy for schizophrenia or schizophrenia-like illnesses (Ruddy and Milnes 2004). This review identified two randomised trials (total number of participants 137) in which art therapy plus standard care was compared with standard care alone. It was not possible to draw definitive conclusions about the effectiveness of art therapy.

Although the results of these reviews indicate rather limited randomised evidence supporting art or art therapy, their importance is that they clearly demonstrate that randomised trials are feasible.

Methodological issues in estimating the benefits and costs of art interventions

How might a randomised controlled trial look?

A therapeutic intervention based around art is likely to be more complex and harder to define than, for example, a pharmaceutical treatment. The specific problems faced in the evaluation of complex interventions

have been addressed by the Medical Research Council and a framework has been proposed for dealing with them (Campbell *et al* 2000).

In Figure 5.1 the evaluation of a complex intervention is broken down into stages:

Figure 5.1 Suggested sequential phases of developing randomised controlled trials of complex interventions

continuum of increasing evidence

Preclinical
theory

explore relevant theory to ensure best choice of intervention and hypothesis and to predict major confounders and strategic decision issues

Phase 1
modelling

identify components of the intervention and the underlying mechanisms by which they influence outcomes to provide evidence that you can predict how they relate to and interact with each other

Phase 2
exploratory trial

describe the constant and variable components of a replicable intervention and a feasible protocol for comparing the intervention with an appropriate alternative

Phase 3
definitive randomised controlled trial

compare a fully defined intervention with an appropriate alternative using a protocol that is theoretically defensible, reproducible and adequately controlled in a study with appropriate statistical power

Phase 4
long term implementation

determine whether others can reliably replicate your intervention and results in uncontrolled settings over the long term

Source: Campbell *et al* 2000

● *Preclinical or theoretical:* In this stage, the evidence that suggests the intervention might have a beneficial effect is identified. In the example of art, this would include the reports from successful art projects and the positive testimony from individuals. It might also include relevant psychological theories that explain how art might lead to better mental health.

● *Phase 1:* The components of the intervention are identified. These can be identified by qualitative methods including focus groups, preliminary surveys or case studies. For example, investigation of art projects that seem to have worked might have common components that need to be included in the art intervention that needs to be tested.

● *Phase 2:* The findings of phase 1 are used to develop an optimised and testable intervention and the appropriate trial design is selected. This will include testing the feasibility of the

intervention in the real clinical world, defining the control intervention, estimating the size of the therapeutic effect to calculate the sample size of the main trial, and selecting the outcomes for the main trial. For convincing evidence to be produced for patients, clinicians and those responsible for purchasing health care, a range of outcomes may be required.

- Phase 3: The main trial is designed. Is it likely to be feasible to randomise individual patients, or will it be more efficient to randomise by clusters?

- Phase 4: Promotion of effective implementation. This is particularly important when an innovative new therapy that is not widely available is shown to be effective. Even if shown to be cost-effective, there will be substantial implications.

This suggested framework is not necessarily intended to be a linear process: in many situations a finding in a subsequent phase will require more work in an earlier phase (see Figure 5.2). For example, if an intervention developed after consultation with several demonstration art in health projects proves to be unacceptable or unfeasible in other settings, then it may need to be modified. However, the advantage of using such a model is that the eventual evidence will be more robust, easier to interpret and, ultimately, more persuasive.

Figure 5.2. Iterative view of development of randomised controlled trials of complex interventions

Explanatory phase
(3)

Exploratory phase
(2)

Integration
of quantitative
and qualitative
methods

Pragmatic phase
(3/4)

Observational phase
(4/1)

Source: Campbell *et al* 2000
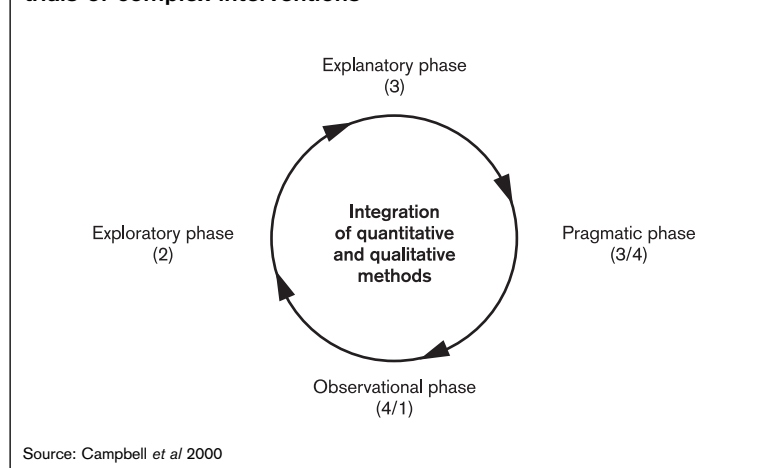
Conclusion

The term art refers to a huge range of human activities that are usually considered to enhance the experience of living, providing many benefits both to the individual and society. It is certainly appropriate, therefore, to consider how artistic activity may prevent mental health problems, enhance recovery or even be an effective treatment for some mental disorders. Worthwhile benefits cannot be taken for granted and evaluative research is required. The nature of the artistic activity and the method of evaluation will depend on the specific aim and setting. For artistic activities designed to be effective treatments for specific mental disorders, reliable evidence of benefits and costs of defined interventions is required to help patients and clinicians choose between available treatments. The most convincing evidence is provided by randomised controlled trials: consideration should therefore be given to conducting appropriate trials using the existing framework for the evaluation of complex interventions.

Endnotes

1   See www.kingsfund.org.uk/Grants/Enhancing_The_Healing_Environment.html

2   The Cochrane Library consists of a regularly updated collection of evidence-based medicine databases, including The Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews, which provide high quality information to people providing and receiving care and those responsible for research, teaching, funding and administration at all levels. See: www.cochrane.org

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6. Arts in mental health for social inclusion: towards a framework for programme evaluation

Mike White

Twenty years ago the cultural critic Raymond Williams predicted in his book Towards 2000 that by the millennium the radical means of cultural production in British society would be forced to the margins, but they would re-group and become mainstream (Williams 1983). This rather cryptic prophecy becomes clearer in the context of social exclusion. The margins are not geographical but social. Instances of exclusion can be found in most communities. If arts interventions are to be pervasive and of quality they will also on occasion be radical and challenging: to participants, to artists, and to the sectors that support and fund them. It is inherent to the effectiveness of arts in mental health intervention that it is permitted, within safe and supportive parameters, to engage with the 'madness' of art and its making. Art by its very nature pushes against barriers, boundaries and pre-conceptions and its creative energy in promoting social inclusion may necessarily be volatile. This is why qualitative evidence from participants repeatedly affirms the felt experience of art as a counter to the circumstances and symptoms of mental ill health. The most successful projects are those that lay down a social pathway to channel awakened enthusiasms.

So far the evidence base for arts in mental health founded on methodical project scrutiny is slim and there are few overviews of the field's contribution to the social exclusion debate. However, there is contingent evidence that participation in leisure and social connections produce social inclusion[1] and mental/physical health benefit. The communique issued from the second Windsor conference on arts and humanities in medicine in 1999 stated that:

> Whilst social and other health scientists have demonstrated various positive correlations in this area, the underlying causal mechanisms remain to be explored. The link between art and health is now recognised to be a social process requiring new and fundamental research (Phillip 2002).

Crucial to exploring that link is a better understanding of the holistic factors that contribute to wellbeing. The World Health Organisation's Quality Of Life group (WHOQOL) has 15 research centres across the world independently contributing items to the development of a questionnaire derived from focus group discussions with local respondents (Power *et al* 1999). Questionnaire trials in each country lead to a 100-item scale reflecting four domains and 24 facets of quality of life. This is shown in Table 6.1 below. However, the sequential order of the domains has been reversed to better reflect the process that an arts in mental health project goes through in assisting the creation of suitable environmental and social conditions for arts activity that may promote improvement in psychological and physical health. As Cliff observed the social and environmental domains identified in this table go beyond an individualistic understanding of health and begin to help define what may be thought of as a healthy community (Cliff 2003).

Table 6.1 WHOQOL-100 facets and domains

	Facets incorporated within domains
Environment	Financial resources
	Freedom, physical safety and security
	Health and social care: accessibility and quality
	Home environment
	Opportunities for acquiring new information and skills
	Participation in and opportunities for recreation/leisure activities
	Physical environment [pollution, traffic, noise, climate]
	Transport
Social relationships	Personal relationships
	Social support
	Sexual activity
Psychological	Bodily image and appearance
	Negative feelings
	Positive feelings
	Self-esteem
	Spirituality, religion, personal beliefs
	Thinking: learning, memory, concentration
Physical health	Activities of daily living
	Dependence on medicinal substances and medical aids
	Energy and fatigue
	Mobility
	Pain and discomfort
	Sleep and rest
	Work capacity

Source: Power *et al* (1999) [adapted by the author]

Cliff argues that arts in health, in developing action-based research programmes, should link more with the public health agenda that embraces a wider definition of health and is more open to social science research methodologies. On the founding of the NHS in 1948, Aneurin Bevan observed that:

> The maintenance of public health requires a collective commitment. Preventative medicine, which is merely another way of saying collective action, builds up a system of social habits that constitute an essential part of what we mean by civilisation.' (*op cit* DoH 2000)

These comments were re-affirmed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his speech on the future of the NHS in March 2002 (Brown 2002). Recognition of a cultural base to health service delivery and creative engagement with the public are characteristic of arts in health interventions, and it is this notion of 'collective action' that distinguishes arts in health from art therapy and connects it with social inclusion. The Faculty of Public Health Medicine made arts in health a connecting theme of its 2003 annual scientific meeting (see www.fphm.org.uk). The importance of an alliance with public health in helping break down prejudices surrounding mental health and achieving greater social engagement with health issues is also stressed in the Centre for Arts and Humanities in Health and Medicine's (CAHHM) 2002 survey of arts in health in the Northern region (White 2002).

A survey in Matarasso's 1997 study of the social impact of the arts revealed that about half (48 per cent) of respondents reported feeling better or healthier since becoming involved in the arts (Matarasso 1997). This was loosely attributed to feelings of improved wellbeing rather than a specific health benefit. These were also participants in short-term projects. Arts Council England's response to the Social Exclusion Unit's Policy into Action Team (PAT) 10 report has emphasised the need for longer-term evaluation studies to be undertaken (Tambling 2000; DCMS 1999).

Towards an evaluation framework: a tripartite approach based analysis

The Health Development Agency's report[2] into arts in health noted there are no established principles and protocols for evaluating outcomes, assessing the processes by which outcomes are achieved, or for disseminating recommendations for good practice (HDA 2000). However, it notes three emergent approaches to arts in health evaluation:

● *Health-based approaches* testing what the arts contribute to self-esteem and its effect on qualitative self-assessments of wellbeing (see Argyle 1998).

● *Socio-cultural approaches* derived from recent assessments of the social impact of the arts (see Matarasso and Chell 1998).

● *Community-based approaches* adapted from social capital theory on health improvement (see Campbell *et al* 1999).

Smith has shown that these approaches co-exist within the arts in health field and determine a diversity of practice, highlighting a need for arts and health projects to have more consistency in determining their position in the field and state more coherent aims and intended outcomes from interventions (Smith 2001). He has configured the field in a diamond-like matrix, as shown in Figure 6.1 below:

Figure 6.1 The Field of Arts in Health: the 'diamond'

Art

Social capital
(Unity health)
Projects that start from the point of using creativity to enhance social relationships. These reflect a growing school of thought that good relationships are a major determinant of health.

Creativity
and wellbeing
Projects that emphasise creativity as a route to wellbeing. These aim to work with individuals to better understand their health, using creative approaches as a means of expression.

Social ←—————————————————→ Individual

Engaging groups
Projects that engage groups to bring communities and health providers closer together. They use creative methods to explore, disseminate and communicate messages about health.

Supporting care
Projects that support the process of care by working on the softer aspects of ill health that health services, under the strain of heavy demand, cannot reach.

Health Services

Source: Smith (2001)

Whilst these field categories could prove useful in assisting the development of appropriate evaluation methodologies, the diagram does not express the dialogue that is required between arts, health services and other sectors such as education and voluntary action. Political pragmatism requires a concise and unifying theory of arts in health that is linked to an evidence base. There is a pressing need to draw together the best examples of practice and evaluation, with an agreement on objectives and measures in order that outcomes can be placed in a common statistical framework. Evaluations of individual projects and interventions need to be part of a national programme of comparative case studies.

Projects should also be informed by research into the approaches outlined above. These are now considered in a little more detail in respect of the emerging evidence base that informs them. As suggested, in practice there may also be some crossover in approaches within individual projects.

Health-based approaches

An arts in health survey carried out by the Health Education Authority[3] in 1998 produced 90 responses from arts organisations, an overwhelming number of which identified mental health improvement (HEA/SHM 1999). There was observational evidence of participants achieving stress reduction (53 per cent of projects), therapeutic benefit (57 per cent), improved sociability (59 per cent), and skills development (70 per cent). However, there was no comparative data on service reductions elsewhere or on quantified savings. The questionnaire returns form the core of an on-line database currently being developed by the National Network for Arts in Health (see www.nnah.org.uk). This includes financial information on projects, but more detailed, cost-comparative analysis of this data has yet to be undertaken. As of March 2004, 49 per cent of projects have a budget under £20,000.

Appleby *et al* (1997)demonstrated that the benefits of a non-pharmacological support-based approach can be as effective as prescribed anti-depressants. They recommended that a better use of resources may be to re-allocate some of the funds currently used to provide medication to finance the provision of more support groups. A support-based approach can be equally important post-discharge. One

study of discharged psychiatric patients showed that people engaged in structured creative activity, in this case an arts project in which ex-patients worked alongside artists, had fewer re-admissions to psychiatric hospital than those who did not (Colgan *et al* 1991).

A study commissioned by the independent charity, the Mental Health Foundation (see www.mentalhealth.org.uk) showed that people who experienced moderate to severe/enduring mental health problems identified the ability to make their own choices and take control as a major factor in the maintenance of mental health (Faulkner and Layzell 1997; 2000). Where healthcare delivery is able to take account of this, it should dovetail with ippr's recent research finding that suggests an important factor shaping people's perception of their quality of care is the degree to which services are shaped to meet their individual needs (Edwards and Clark 2001).

Mentality's report (see www.mentality.org.uk) on the mental health benefits of arts and creativity for African and Caribbean young men sets out issues relevant to wider practice, though the consultation exercise undertaken has too small a sample size to be significant (Friedli 2002). Citing some intermediate indicators of benefit, both therapeutic and social, it notes that at the heart of this is the contribution arts and creativity can make to rethinking and expanding definitions of treatment, to identifying what an individual needs to regain or hold on to for a life that has meaning for them, as well as enabling them to integrate into society. It makes a case for the primacy of user-led activity rather than therapist intervention. The need for better artist support, proper payment rates and arrangements, and training are also highlighted. A commonly perceived benefit by participants is that arts activity is non-medicalised and non-judgemental. The report identifies a chronic resource problem for arts interventions because the bulk of spending goes on services for those who are seriously ill, and also notes that interventions that focus on problem solving, social skills and negotiating skills appear to be more effective than topic-based approaches, which tend to change knowledge and attitudes rather than behaviour.

There are growing connections between arts in mental health and PCTs[4] through arts on prescription schemes. Stockport Arts and Health pioneered these in the early 1990s arranging client referrals from GPs or other health workers to local arts organisations. The basis for this was

that the main location for the presentation of common mental health problems is the GP clinic (Goldberg and Huxley 1992). Huxley's evaluation of the Stockport scheme using the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ-28 version) noted a reduction in overall score from a mean of fourteen items at Time 1, to nine items at Time 2 and a reduction in the number of participants with a recognisable mental health problem at Time 2. However, the sample is small (33 people) and was only monitored over fifteen weeks (Huxley 1997). Workers on the scheme have continued to use GHQ-28 to assess participants' progress, and have also used it alongside the Edinburgh Post-natal Depression Scale on a referral scheme for mothers (Tyldesley and Rigby 2002).

Two Newcastle GPs recently initiated a 'prescription' scheme to provide tuition in South Asian music and singing for patients with mild anxiety. They used standard questionnaire SF-36 to measure patients progress, but noted most patients considered the questionnaire to be intrusive, stress-inducing and at odds with the relaxation aim of the activity (Anand & Anand 2001).

A more sophisticated evaluation model, which has the potential to adapt to arts in mental health projects, could be the CORE system (Clinical Outcomes for Routine Evaluation, see www.coreims.co.uk). CORE has been designed in the UK for use in psychotherapy and counselling to measure outcome and provide for service audit, evaluation and performance management. It aims to provide a solution for answering the increasing demand in health sectors to provide evidence of service quality and effectiveness. It has the benefit of being free and easy to use, and provides ongoing research and support services, including a benchmark club. CORE currently lacks information specific to the arts, but it is designed as a 'hub' onto which other sectors can develop standardised 'spokes' to collect sector or population-specific information that complements the generic clinical and governance-oriented hub. The structure is such that an arts spoke could attract cross-sector dialogue and assessment of its effectiveness.

Socio-cultural approaches

Pawson and Tilley describe 'realistic strategies' for complex community initiatives, requiring an understanding of context, mechanisms and

intended outcomes. They place emphasis on harnessing insider knowledge of stakeholders as well as other sources of information and evidence. The user's voice in arts in mental health work is central to its evaluation and it will require sophisticated assessment of qualitative evidence rather than short-cut analysis of cost efficiency alone (Pawson and Tilley 1997). Brice-Heath advocates analysis of development of participants' language skills as both the measure and means of participatory evaluation (Brice-Heath 1999).

Social support networks can go hand in hand with a semi-formal mentoring approach to stimulate creative activity and may provide an instrument for promoting positive mental health. This is demonstrated in an action-based research project by Upstream Healthy Living Centre in Devon, working with older people with mild depression as a result of social isolation. As Upstream's research term asserts, the theoretical basis for increased self-esteem resulting from creative individual activity originates in theories of humanistic psychology, especially Maslow's, which hold that the goal of psychologically healthy individuals is to achieve 'self-actualisation' or a state of personal mastery and self-development (Upstream 2002; Maslow 1968). Evidence for such a theoretical basis is provided by studies of mentoring to facilitate creativity. Mentors who facilitate creative activity and creative achievement can promote psychological wellbeing and self-esteem in the recipient (Schwartz and Williams 1995). In a grounded theory study, Bennetts concluded that:

> In the age of lifelong learning, one challenge for those who are committed to promoting mental health from an holistic viewpoint, will be to encourage a culture of personal alliances and creativity, both within and external to established learning environments. (Bennetts 2000)

Mentality's *Making It Happen* report on the role of health promotion in Standard One of the National Service Framework includes thorough reference material and sets out issues relevant to arts and mental health development (Mentality 2002). The report sees mental health promotion as central to wider health strategy and suggests that arts projects could readily engage with the concept of 'public mental health'. It places emphasis on user views and participation,

and the 'pathology' of the social environment. The processes are akin to those deployed in non-therapy based arts in mental health interventions.

A rapidly increasing number of community arts projects are moving into the arts and mental health field, complementing arts programmes in psychiatric hospitals and day care units. The boundaries between approaches are eroding with practitioners moving more or less easily between clinical and community environments. However, formal connections for strategic development and training have yet to be forged.

MAPS, another Stockport-based arts in health initiative that runs an arts programme with North West MIND for both client referrals and self-referrals, found, in a recent review of its membership, that out of 25 members who had left the programme in 2002, five went on to employment, five to further education and two to other volunteering schemes. Out of the 98 people on its arts programme, 23 work as volunteers on the project helping to support and mentor newcomers, seventeen also attend college and seven aspire to find employment in the arts (MAPS 2003). A recent NIACE study has identified significant learning benefits of arts in mental health projects in its case examples, showing how these have an effect on patients' self-care and preventative healthcare strategies (James 2000).

Within the public health arena Ashton and Seymour stress the importance of open learning programmes for effective mental healthcare strategies:

> The reason for open learning is to encourage people to join a journey of self-discovery. To do this people must be motivated. All the processes outlined are ways of gaining motivation – motivation to change, without having a detailed long-term professional style relationship, without unacceptable cost and loss of control, and with choice and freedom. Fun and enjoyment are also highly motivating and part of this approach. Learning and the motivation to learn are greatly enhanced by making the process one which is attractive and enjoyable. There are two main ways to gain change. One is to change the world and people adapt to fit the new circumstances, and the other is for people to want to

> – to be motivated to – change and to have the tools and
> facilities to do it. Both are major aspects of the practice of
> health promotion. The first relates to political, policy and
> environmental change, the second to the populist approach.
> (Ashton and Seymour 1998)

Cultural participation also enables both individual and collective
understanding to accept change and evolve. Illich noted that health
designates a process of adaptation. It designates the ability to adapt to
changing environments, to growing up and ageing, to healing when
damaged. Health also embraces the future and therefore includes
anguish and the inner resources to deal with it (Illich 1976). It is this
concept of health as adaptation that informs the view of Richard
Smith whose *British Medical Journal* editorial in December 2002
advocated a half per cent of health budget to be diverted to spending
on arts because 'if health is about adaptation, understanding and
acceptance, then the arts may be more potent than anything that
medicine has to offer' (Smith 2002). (That half per cent shift would
result in a 70 per cent increase in Arts Councils' grant funding.) The
article also states:

> More and more of life's processes and difficulties – birth,
> death, sexuality, ageing, unhappiness, tiredness, loneliness,
> perceived imperfections in our bodies – are being medicalised.
> Medicine cannot solve these problems. It can sometimes help
> but often at a substantial cost…Worst of all, people are
> diverted from what may be much better ways to adjust to
> these problems. (Smith 2002)

Also of relevance to socio-cultural approaches is the artists' and art
therapists' growing interest in the writings of US art commentators Ellen
Dissanayake and Suzi Gablik. Dissanayake sees the function of art as
'making special' and Gablik argues the need for artists to be more
socially and ecologically engaged (Dissanayake 1998; Gablik 1991).
These writers suggest there is an anthropological as well as
psychological base to the therapeutic qualities of art-making.

Community-based approaches

Some work is starting to emerge on the importance of social relationships to health. Richard Wilkinson has emphasised the health benefits arising from a more cohesive society (Wilkinson 1996). He argues the quality of a society's social life is one of the most powerful determinants of health and that this is related to the degree of income inequality. The sociologist Ray Pahl agrees, saying that the quality of our social relationship in micro-social worlds is coming to be seen as having a vital role in maintaining and achieving better health (Pahl 1999). He also points out that income inequality is not the whole story, and that it is feelings of self-esteem and of being valued, coupled with close personal relations and wider social networks, which have bearing on health. Pahl, however, challenges Wilkinson's idea of social support existing within each sociological strata, whether in the work place or in the family, and how these systems of social support are important in health maintenance and morbidity prospects. What Pahl seems particularly concerned with is that so far Wilkinson and others have not adequately defined and described these systems of social support (Pahl 2003).

Robert Putnam puts these trends down to the erosion of social capital. In *Bowling Alone* he reported that Americans tend to bowl alone rather than in leagues (Putnam 2000). This is a metaphor for disappearing togetherness, as measured by a decline in communal behaviour, what Putnam terms social capital. He has quantified this term and his measurements show that communities with high social capital tend to have better health, schools and less crime. Work from Campbell *et al* has used this thinking to analyse whether areas in Britain with greater social capital (as defined by Putnam) have higher levels of health. They found that predominately they do (Campbell *et al* 1999).

Cave and Coutts produced a wide-ranging issue-based evidence review of cultural determinants of health in London (Cave and Coutts 2002). They note that where social support improves over time the mental health of the community also improves (Stanfield 1999). However, arts projects have tended to demonstrate more of a bonding than a bridging form of social capital. That is, they create supportive links between people in the target group but may be less successful in linking the group into the wider community (Argyle 1996). Overcoming

barriers to integration should therefore be a key aim of arts and mental health projects.

Sayce and Morris argue that engagement with wider social spheres improves physical and mental health and promotes recovery. This requires the mainstream networks and opportunities – for employment, housing, leisure, friendship – to become the central concern of mental health service providers rather than a secondary gain from efficiently implemented care programmes (Sayce and Morris 1999).

In 2000, the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) commissioned a study from the Centre for Leisure and Sport Research at Leeds Metropolitan University into the role of arts and sports in addressing social inclusion. It selected 14 projects from across the country: three from sport, three from heritage, two from outdoor pursuits, and six from arts and media. Two of the latter are arts in health projects, Common Knowledge in Tyne and Wear Health Action Zone and Walsall MBC's arts in health programme, both of which include arts in mental health projects in their portfolios. A report was published in spring 2002 entitled *Count Me in – The Dimensions of Social Inclusion through Culture and Sport* (Long *et al* 2002). The report found that:

- there is little effective evaluation against social inclusion outcomes;

- projects are more concerned to demonstrate they are delivering services than to engage in the complexities of evaluation;

- far too small sums have been invested in the evaluation process (unlike Sure Start or Home Office measures to combat crime);

- there is a lack of clarity of outcomes and what they constitute;

- participatory projects provide the basis of a cohesiveness that is of collective social benefit, but they have little success in opening up wider decision-making processes;

- outcomes require longitudinal research to assess them;

- project workers and participants must be integrally involved in any future research.

As regards the impact of community-based cultural projects on health, the report concludes:

There is evidence of cultural projects promoting health networks and increasing referrals to health services. Such health data needs to be collected systematically…The impact of these projects may be on a fairly small scale but they have been working with 'hard to reach' groups who had previously been left largely untouched by the health services. Their engagement offers the prospect not just of better health for them but also of lessening future costs of treatment. (Long *et al* 2002)

Some current issues in arts in mental health

Social and cultural trends informing community-based arts in mental health practice include the drive to care in the community solutions, the increasing popularity of counselling across society and the growing awareness that mental health is an issue that can affect anyone. Many current developments in arts in mental health work see a common point of origin in the first *i am* (Inspired Arts Movement) national forum in 1996. The forum's report acknowledged the diversity of organisations working in the field:

Some are arts organisations that work with many different communities, some work only with disabled or disenfranchised groups, within which Users and Survivors are sometimes classified, some work only with people in the mental health system. Other organisations are health-related – using the arts alongside many other practices to develop and improve the quality of life for their clients, or specialising in the arts as a means of delivering specific health objectives. (i am 1996)

Many of these organisations argue that there need to be phased arrangements for mental health service clients who have developed arts skills to move into further education, training and employment. The arrangements need to be sensitive to issues of benefit entitlement, disclosure of information and the ability of the client to make supported entry into wider opportunities in education and community.

Community-based arts in mental health projects are attempting to provide services that are outside statutory mental health provision and so avoid the potential stigma for participants of being 'clients' in receipt of treatment and therapy. The intention is to re-integrate into the local community those who have experienced mental health problems. Most projects are run by independent organisations that work in partnership with statutory organisations. Although some projects are keen to become part of the 'mainstream', many believe they function better if they are not drawn into statutory responsibilities and professionalised or bureaucratised service provision, which could stifle creativity and inappropriately shape the projects. Whilst the Department of Health focuses on mental illness, as evidenced in the Mental Health Service Framework, the arts and others in the voluntary sector prefer to emphasise mental health and wellbeing. There is a fundamental difference in approach here that needs to be negotiated with care. Whilst arts in mental health projects addressing social inclusion may focus on issues around integration, it is important that a broad definition of mental health within the community does not dilute the individual patient's problems in living with mental illness.

There are widespread concerns among arts in mental health practitioners that the activity may be viewed by health services as therapy or hobbies rather than serious pathways to recovery, employment and re-integration. If there is lack of involvement of the medical services, as some practitioners claim, it may be because those services and medical solutions are not appropriate to the particular needs being addressed, and that this work is addressing aspects of health that are not covered by medical practice. Self-realisation through ownership of creative process and quality issues in the art are paramount, with the aim to embed arts activity as a liberation tool rather than just a positive distraction. So evidence collection should include assessing the quality of artwork and being sensitive to people's development potential, highlighting practical achievements in education and employment rather than just considering therapeutic benefits. But to date there has simply not been the funding to support proper research and evaluation.

Arts activities in mental health do readily connect with principles and objectives of NHS services, and individual projects have experientially proved their worth with funders, clinicians and other health professionals. Furthermore, they can more clearly demonstrate at

present the social benefit of participation in the arts by socially excluded groups. The attribution of such benefit needs to be analysed more closely. The thinking that informs this work is becoming 'mainstream', though the very diversity of funding partnerships supporting it may mitigate against it being taken on as a mainstream financial commitment by any one sector.

Evaluation and collection of evidence: next steps

As indicated in this chapter, no systematic review of the social and clinical costs and benefits of participation in arts in mental health programmes appears to have been undertaken. There is very little quantitative evidence, even with small samples, and little cost comparison analysis with other interventions. There has been no formal longitudinal study although some projects have attempted to track clients' progress during term of treatment, post-discharge, and (in some cases) re-admission. The CORE evaluation model (see above), however, might prove an effective means of assessing reductions in medication and treatment/therapy requirements, against which cost savings indicators might be attempted.

The majority of practitioners in community-based art for health recognise that it is important to evaluate their activity. Many are attempting to do so, but they are struggling to find appropriate methods, and the evaluation they carry out is frequently inadequate. A serious and widespread shortcoming is a failure to state and agree clear aims for a project. There is uncertainty about what evaluation methods to use and which will be acceptable to other stakeholders. There is also concern that a requirement for quantitative evaluation will affect and damage the delivery of the work. In particular there is concern about the requirements of medical practice. Whatever method of evaluation is adopted, practitioners can only collect appropriate data and evidence if they are clear about their aims, and about what effect is intended.

Evidence can be supplied simply to show that art and health projects are addressing mental health and social participation, and this work can be described. But it is more difficult to provide evidence that these projects have an effect on mental health, social exclusion and civic participation. There is not a lot of reliable evidence on the effects of art and health projects; because it is not always clear what effects are intended.

There appear to be some misunderstandings around the aims, intentions and evidence for art and health activity. There seems to be a mismatch between the aims of the practitioners and the expectations of those requesting the evidence. The practitioners are addressing a wide range of particular circumstances in many ways and with a wide range of assumptions. Those requesting evidence seem to be expecting effects on individual health and behaviour, but they are not stating that explicitly (Angus 2002).

In order to make progress in the search for evidence, it is essential that all parties clarify their intentions, assumptions and requirements. The practitioners need to state clearly what they are aiming to achieve. The funders and others requesting evidence need to state clearly the effects for which they require evidence, and what would be acceptable as evidence. Better evaluation tools need to be devised and tested that are sensitive to the processes of the work but also robust enough to delineate outcomes. There are indications that much more evidence is available but it needs to be dug out. It may be that NHS trusts and other agencies, accustomed to management and evaluation protocols, assume that collected evidence can be readily presented. An immediate call for randomised control trials (RCTs) seems premature relative to the capacity and experience of the sector and the wide range of variables that would need to be accommodated for sensitive, robust evaluation.

Smith argues the need to distinguish between research and evaluation, and then to undertake the former as a means to provide a framework for collection of evidence. He cautions on RCTs:

> It has been suggested that the impact claimed from arts/health projects should be exposed to randomised control trials. In time, this may be the case. Research into at least two dimensions – those that claim therapeutic impact and supportive effects on health provision – may generate hypotheses that RCTs could test. However, there are two main problems in suggesting that arts/health should be tested in this way. First, RCTs are essentially evaluative, and hypotheses are still to be developed. Secondly, it is questionable how sensitive and respectful RCTs are to concepts that are marginal to science: subjective, emotional and social elements of health. (Smith 2003)

Given some arts in health practitioners are reticent to attempt RCTs without further research, what might prove influential in the short term on health services and government decision-makers would be the identification of cost savings indicators attributable to arts in mental health interventions. In this respect, arts in mental health activity could also make a small but important contribution to providing practical examples of the 'fully engaged scenario' described in the Wanless report to the Treasury Securing Our Future Health (Wanless 2001). HM Treasury has responded to Wanless by commisioning further research into this scenario that suggests that in the long term (circa 2020) health spending will have levelled out as a consequence of more direct engagement by the population with self-care approaches, coupled with improvements in IT and medical technology. The Royal College of General Practitioners' summary report on Wanless states that:

Patients do not:

- visit GPs when they have sustained access to more informal support networks (GP visits reduced by up to 46 per cent);

- use mainstream services if they have been trained to take care of some of their long-standing problems (hospitalisations reduced by up to 50 per cent);

- take drugs if they have knowledge or the confidence in managing their conditions in other ways (Outpatients visits reduced by 17 per cent). (RCGP 2002)

The RCGP summary also notes:

Initial Department of Health estimates suggest that investing around £200 per person with a long-term condition results in savings and quantifiable benefits of double that amount, as a result of fewer GP visits, decreases in hospital admissions and visits, and a reduction in the number of prescriptions and the drugs bill. Taking possible costs of special measures to manage risks into account, the net benefits are estimated at £150 per person. (RCGP 2002)

Whilst there are clearly implications here for proper clinical governance of mental health patients whose condition is acute, there is much

potential for arts in mental health work to assist long-term patients or people post-discharge and thereby assess comparable reductions in care spend.

In terms of developing its case for government funding, arts in mental health work is still in the early stage of the appraisal and evaluation cycle as set out in the Green Book, between the rationale and the setting of objectives (HM Treasury 2002). This may be true of the arts in health field as a whole. But as the Strategy Unit's *Creating Public Value* report has noted, the weakness to date in the 'new public management' model has been that: 'Those things that were easy to measure tended to become objectives and those that couldn't were downplayed or ignored' (Kelly and Muers 2002:9). Gerald Lidstone also cited this in Chapter 4, noting that: 'a robust analysis is fine, but that it should be conducted in the same manner as an economic appraisal is maybe to miss the point' (Lidstone, this volume). Lidstone also drew attention to a report by Re:source63 which has re-worked the learning outcomes developed by the Quality Assurance Agency and applied them to assessing the impact of learning in museums. The five key headings (knowledge, skills, values, creativity and behaviour) could be further adapted to provide a suitable framework for assessing learning within arts in mental health projects (Hooper-Greenhill 2002). It could also ensure that developments in both practice and evaluation by arts in education and arts in mental health projects are in dialogue within Arts Council England's social inclusion portfolio.

The rationale and practice of some cross-sector development in arts in mental health needs to focus on clusters of demonstration projects. Research might take the form of comparative case studies, pooling data to construct larger and more robust samples for quantitative survey, and assessing the suitability of certain projects to attempt randomised control trials. CAHHM's literature review of arts and adult mental health for the Social Exclusion Unit identified several projects built up through local cross-sector partnerships that could usefully collaborate in such a programme (White and Angus 2003). If, as a collective body, arts in health could agree on the common aims and issues, agree a way of evaluating, and then share and collate the results, the field would achieve a critical mass of information.

To achieve critical mass, there needs to be joint funding applications for research-guided practice by like-minded organisations. This research,

and the projects concerned, must be longer-term in order for them to be able to achieve effects and evaluate them effectively. It is important to look not only at gaps in evidence but also gaps in practice. The arts in mental health field could benefit from more shared practice, training and equitable support for arts projects in psychiatric institutions and in community-based ventures for those with enduring mental health problems or mild anxiety/depression.

To combat the stress and emotional challenges that often accompany this kind of work, artists could benefit from the professional supervision that is a norm of art therapy practice (Watt 2001). If this were also offered to other professionals in the arts in health field – and not just artists – it would serve the additional purpose of strengthening the fundamental relationships that underpin the work.

What happens outside formal evaluation of practice is still vitally important and projects should devise their own checklists for ongoing assessments. *Sharing Practice* is not only a good practical manual for self-evaluation by projects but also a welcome sign that the arts funding system is moving towards assisting more sophisticated evaluation (Moriarty 2003). Many arts in mental health organisations are already thinking strategically as they develop their partnerships at local or sub-regional level, and they are shaping up the research questions that increasingly inform their work. Just as schools under Ofsted can be assessed for their 'ethos', arts in mental health projects could be similarly reviewed. An in-depth study of five community-based arts in mental health projects assesses the qualities and conditions that make for a strong ethos for projects. In this study and others much qualitative evidence of benefit has been gathered, to a point where anecdotal evidence from participants is becoming moving and valid testimony. What constitutes valid and effective quantitative evidence still needs to be determined (Everitt and Hamilton 2003).

There is presently a window of opportunity to develop arts activities within a social model of health. The move to multi-agency working is new to the NHS and arts can have both an integral and a catalytic role. What used to be understood as the preventative approach to healthcare is increasingly about building capacity for change; externally in developing social capital and internally in improved training and holistic approaches. These need to be better defined and contextualised.

The sheer size and complexity of the tasks at hand with regard to the contribution of the arts to tackling social exclusion will mean that gaps both in practice and in the evidence base are inevitable. As Watt argued in the *British Medical Journal* in July 2001, social inclusion is much more than simply targeting services to certain groups but is rather a problem for society as a whole:

> Policies to address the problems of target groups are welcome, if they work, but essentially provide micro solutions for a macro problem. Targeting misses large numbers just above the arbitrary threshold. Sinking the iceberg, rather than attacking its tip, is a better basis for public policy. (Watt 2001)

Conclusion

This chapter has identified some emergent approaches to the evaluation of arts in mental health and the research around social inclusion issues that may inform them. Projects in the field need to articulate their aims and objectives more clearly, with both process and outcomes evaluation that is informed by a better consensus between project partners on what would constitute useful evidence. There is a great deal of qualitative evidence of benefit from participants' testimony and observation, but almost no quantitative study has been done on the possible health benefits and cost savings that could be derived. Individually arts in mental health projects are not yet adequately resourced to carry out robust and thorough evaluation.

Before sensitively devised randomised control trials can be attempted, it is necessary to have better intermediate indicators of social and health benefits through comparative case studies and tracking, using something like the CORE model referred to in this chapter. Clusters of like-minded arts in mental health projects in both institutional and community settings could be networked together in research-guided practice using a common evaluation framework that could constitute a statistical sample. In this context it may be possible to test the effectiveness of arts in health interventions in making attributable improvements in, for instance, the mental and physical health facets described in the WHOQOL-100, or achieving concrete examples of the

cost benefits that can come from the 'fully engaged scenario' delineated in the Wanless report.

A closer alliance of this work with public health could be mutually advantageous, with arts projects offering interesting test-bed sites for new evaluation methodologies, and ensuring that assessment of the social inclusion aspects of the work remains within a socio-cultural rather than clinical domain.

There are many arts projects throughout the country attempting to establish a continuum of support for people with mental health problems to improve both their wellbeing and creative skills. Much of the practice and learning going on in this field can usefully contribute to wider health promotion strategies and the development of participatory arts with the general public. They need not be seen simply as specialist services for an excluded minority, but rather as core applications of the arts to encourage a healthy culture in a healthier nation.

Some parts of this chapter have been drawn and adapted from a literature review of arts and adult mental health by Mike White and John Angus, commissioned by the Social Exclusion Unit in Spring 2003. The full text of that review is available on CAHHM's website at www.dur.ac.uk/cahhm.info.

Endnotes

1   The UK Government has defined social inclusion as the opposite of social exclusion: 'Social inclusion is achieved when individuals or areas do not suffer from the negative effects of unemployment, poor skills, low income, poor housing, crime, bad health, family problems, limited access to services and rurality, eg remoteness, sparsity, isolation and high costs.' See: www.socialexclusionunit.gov.uk

2   The Health Development Agency is the UK national authority on what works to improve people's health and to reduce health inequalities. It is part of the NHS. See: www.hda-online.org.uk

3   The Health Education Authority was replaced by the Health Development Agency in 2001.

4   A PCT is an NHS trust that provides all local GP, community and primary care serves and commissions hospital services from other NHS trusts. They are managed by a Board elected from local GPs, community nurses, lay members, the Health Authority and Social Services. www.healthplan.org.uk

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7. Reducing re-offending and the potential contribution of the arts
Peter Wrench and Alan Clarke

This chapter explores the potential role that arts interventions in prisons could play in reducing re-offending. It argues that the arts have an intrinsic value in the prisons as part of the 'decency agenda' (see below) and goes on to suggest areas where the arts could contribute to reducing re-offending. The chapter also sets out the key questions that need to be addressed to develop the evidence base required for further work in this area.

There is now broad recognition within the Prison Service that its core business of protecting the public involves reducing re-offending as well as maintaining secure custody. There is also recognition that partnerships are crucial, both to improve continuity between prison and community and because the Prison Service does not have all the necessary skills and expertise. Security is just as important as it ever was but the prison wall needs to become more permeable. We must make the most of opportunities for contacts outside the prison and at the same time provide a controlled environment for engagement and service delivery inside.

We would emphasise a central strand of work for the Prison Service when considering the role of the arts in resettlement. That is the 'decency agenda'. The decency agenda is a broad combination of factors – physical conditions, treatment of individuals, staff and inmate relationships – and covers issues from confronting racism and bullying to making sure people can have regular showers. Decency to inmates and staff is a linking and underpinning strand in all we do.

There are also the ongoing difficult circumstances in which we seek positive change: a growing offender population, an often ageing and inadequate estate and relentless pressure on our resources.

Resettlement

The Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) report, *Reducing Re-Offending by Ex-Prisoners* provides an excellent summary of what needs to be done to

tackle the problem of re-offending. The SEU-indetified key factors that
need to be addressed to reduce re-offending as education; employment;
drugs and alcohol misuse; mental and physical health; attitudes and
self-control; institutionalisation and life skills; housing; finance and debt,
and families.

According to the SEU:

> The evidence shows that these factors can have a huge impact
> on the likelihood of a prisoner re-offending. For example,
> being in employment reduces the risk of re-offending by
> between a third and a half; having stable accommodation
> reduces the risk by a fifth.

> The challenge of turning a convicted offender away from
> crime is often considerable. Many prisoners have poor skills
> and little experience of employment, few positive social
> networks, severe housing problems, and all of this is often
> severely complicated by drug, alcohol and mental health
> problems. (SEU 2002)

The Prison Service is currently working with other departments to
produce a national strategy for driving all this forward and has a
number of successful policy initiatives. Working with the Department
for Work and Pensions (DWP) and the Department for Education and
Skills (DfES) the £14.5 million Custody to Work programme is
expanding prisoners' opportunities to access training and acquire the
necessary skills and qualifications to find employment on release (see
www.hmprisonservice.gov.uk/news). The Prison Service's capacity for
drugs treatment is increasing (see www.hmprisonservice.gov.uk/
corporate) and there has been considerable success in our programmes
to address offending behaviour. In 2002/2003 HM Prison Service
education targets were significantly exceeded. Prisoners achieved
89,201 key work skills awards compared with the target of 45,000;
7,303 offending behaviour programmes were completed; and 32,993
prisoners were given education, employment or training on release.

But the Prison Service is weaker and less consistent in other areas,
for example there is a clear and pressing need to do more on securing
quality housing. The Service also needs far more consistency of

provision and quality between establishments. This is not to stifle local initiative but we need to ensure more predictability for our partners, and greater reliability of basic provision.

Research that produces high quality evidence is very important. Good intentions and hope cannot be enough to justify significant investment. Throughout the Prison Service the focus is on what adds value, what fits in with the core objectives and what helps meet the targets. 'What works' is a crucial guiding concept. We need constantly to be looking at what reliably and demonstrably delivers reduction in reoffending.

The arts

Against that backdrop what do we think the arts can contribute and, crucially, can we prove it?

Having posed the hard question, we should step back to observe that this is not the only reason for thinking arts-based activities in prison can be a good thing. The arts can make a contribution to the decency agenda, they have a humanising impact on prison culture and they can make a broader contribution to 'purposeful activity' for offenders.

So even failing to establish a causal connection to reducing re-offending does not in itself mean that the arts are of no value.

Practitioners have different views about whether establishing practical usefulness is really material to the question – the old 'art for art's sake' chestnut. We have seen that artistic techniques may be an integral part of a wide range of programmes geared towards specific criminogenic factors. These include, for example, role play, drama, storytelling and other techniques in programmes looking at drug misuse, family relationships. There is no clearcut divide between arts activities and targeted interventions. A key area for policy development will therefore be examining the role that the arts can play in offender education in prisons.

The arts and offender education

Up to the mid 1990s there was a sense that little coherent thought was given to the purpose of prison education. If participation in education meant that prisoners were out of the cells in an orderly way, then fine, but there was insufficient strategic and local thinking about what they should be doing.

The mid to late-1990s saw a very clear shift towards the resettlement agenda, and a very firm emphasis on saying that the principal purpose of prison education in support of that was to improve prisoners' basic skills, given the deficits which we know exist. This caused some, including in the arts world, to accuse policy-makers of not caring about anything else.

Since 2002, there has been a further shift towards wanting to look more carefully at the circumstances of different prisoners and the learning needs of individual prisoners. We want to look at a broader range of provision to tackle the employability and rehabilitation agenda; to encourage greater provision of learning opportunities across prison regimes; to encourage new approaches to delivery given the near universal failure of prisoners' prior educational experience; to raise the quality of provision; and to develop new approaches to partnership.

We are moving towards a position where, within this overall framework, prisons themselves, notably through the new head of learning and skills, will be responsible for identifying, developing and improving the kind of provision that will most effectively meet the basic skills and other learning needs of their population. The majority of this provision will be delivered by external contractors under new contracts to be in place from September 2004 following a large procurement exercise currently in progress. There will be a clear expectation that prisoners and their contractors will work with the voluntary sector to support effective delivery. Within a broad curriculum there will need to be some emphasis on 'the arts', however defined.

There will need to be a clear focus on how prisons can learn from or indeed influence provision available elsewhere. One major part of the Government's overarching vision is that the content and quality of provision in prisons and the qualifications to which it leads should, wherever possible, be comparable to what is available in the community. Also, from April 2005, DfES and within it the Offenders, Learning and Skills Unit, assumes responsibility for policy on learning for offenders under supervision in the community, working with the Prison Service, Probation Service and Learning and Skills Council at national and local levels.

There is a case for saying prison might actually be in the vanguard of constructive use of provision in the arts. Not withstanding the perceptions referred to earlier there is a lot taking place, as exemplified

by the very substantial Unit for the Arts and Offenders directory (McLewin and Gladstone 2003). Against all this background there are key four questions that need to be considered when assessing the potential contribution of the arts.

Firstly, what more do we need to do to convince policy-makers that what we hold to be true about the value of the arts to offenders' rehabilitation can be demonstrated? We need to be able to convince the sceptics that the arts are not just about offenders enjoying themselves at the taxpayers' expense.

Secondly, what kind of body of evidence do policy-makers, prisons and providers need about the different benefits of the arts? There are five areas where arts education could be shown to make a difference:

●   The capacity of creative endeavour to enable longer term prisoners in particular simply to think of something else.

●   The arts can provide support for personal development and expression.

●   The arts can offer a pathway to other learning.

●   The arts could be a vehicle through which, whatever the other benefits, prisoners can achieve national basic skills and other qualifications.

●   Finally, the arts can be a direct gateway to employment, for example in the creative industries.

Thirdly, do we know what makes for successful provision in terms of both management and organisation (given the environmental constraints), and of effective teaching and learning leading to positive outcomes? If we need to know more, how should we go about that? There is a clear need to be able to demonstrate to policymakers a coherent framework for delivery in the future if arts intervention is to gain widespread acceptance.

Fourthly, on a slightly different tack, the Offender Learning and Skills Unit (OLSU) has identified the arts as one of the priority areas to look at in developing a new strategy for engagement with the voluntary sector (see www.dfes.gov.uk/offenderlearning). In shaping OLSU strategy what is the best balance between 1,000 arts project flowers blooming locally, resulting in much that is superb, but some which is not, and

wanting to see some kind of national expectations framework within which we expect partners to operate?

Conclusion

In this chapter we have surveyed the key factors that need to be addressed in order to break the cycle of re-offending by ex-prisoners. The arts could have a key role to play here. Crucially, the arts have an intrinsic value for prisoners and those working with offenders in prisons. We believe that the arts form part of the decency agenda through having a humaninsing impact on prison culture, and the arts are a purposeful, and therefore beneficial activity for offenders. However, we have also asked if the arts can have wider benefits. In summary, we think the arts can, for some people, at some times.

● They contribute to attitudinal change, promoting confidence and self-esteem and self- awareness and awareness of the impact of individuals' actions on others.

● They lure into education people who have had bad experiences in the past and may find formal training very unattractive. We realise some arts practitioners may object to this 'sweetening of the pill' role – but we think it can be a real one.

● The arts can also offer a direct link to employability. Not necessarily as painters, novelists or soapstars, but it is clear that there are a range of jobs in the expanding leisure and tourism sectors where interests and skills developed in arts activities are relevant to employers.

As we have suggested there is always a danger that the converted are talking to the converted, certainly at a general level. This raises the crucial issue of language. This means understanding the language of 'the other side'. We have been struck by how very differently people think about the arts once we get below the surface of agreeing they are a 'good thing'. We are all very committed to 'the arts' in prisons but we often have very different definitions and perceptions of the benefits.

This chapter has set out some of the crucial questions that need to be answered to convince the sceptics that arts intervention works and we have offered a view from those who work with offenders on the

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potential benefits of arts interventions. If arts interventions in prisons and their potential contribution to reducing resettlement is to be fully recognised there is a pressing need collectively to sharpen and deepen our analysis and make a more rigorous assessment of impact. Only then can we invest even more effort in this area.

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8. What works in offender rehabilitation: revealing the contribution of the arts
Andrew Miles

There is a wealth of anecdotal evidence suggesting the arts have a significant role to play in contributing to the successful resettlement of offenders. A link between participation in the arts and favourable criminal justice outcomes has also been indicated by a number of research projects in a variety of international contexts. Many arts organisations consciously address the factors influencing offending behaviour through participation in the arts for both intrinsic and extrinsic purposes. Arts interventions are associated with a number of benefits, ranging from raising self-esteem to developing transferable skills, which have been shown to help break the cycle of re-offending.

The argument that the arts can make a significant contribution to turning people away from crime places them squarely in the public policy arena, speaking directly to the governmentís core agenda to tackle social exclusion. But for this role to be properly recognised and actively promoted at policy level, the arts in criminal justice sector needs to address the requirement to provide robust evidence of outcomes. The challenge is to demonstrate and explain how the arts can make a difference. The capacity to specify contexts, indicators and models of change, which are rooted in substantial, longitudinal evidence, is therefore crucial.

This chapter summarises some of the key issues which have held back research and evaluation in the arts in criminal justice sector and outlines some suggestions for what is required to reveal and develop the potential of the arts in this field.

Demonstrating the impact of the arts on offender rehabilitation

Interventions across a range of programmes and contexts indicate that the arts can contribute to offender rehabilitation.

●   *Facilitating key skills in literacy and numeracy*

The arts are seen as a medium for engaging and motivating people with negative experiences of formal education and developing a 'readiness to learn'. A number of projects have reported high success rates in terms of qualifications by embedding basic skills within arts provision (Unit for the Arts and Offenders 2001; 2003a).

●   *Supporting personal, social and life skills development*

Numerous programme evaluations (for example, Dance United 2003) have reported a range of personal and social benefits which are sponsored by participation in arts activities, including improvements in self-esteem, motivation, a sense of responsibility, respect for others and better communication skills. As well as generating a store of human and social capital to be re-invested on release, the development of these skills is often linked to improvements in the quality of prison life and relationships more generally.

●   *Providing routes into education, training and employment*

Only one in ten of the 140,000 citizens leaving prison each year are released directly into employment and unemployed offenders are more likely to be reconvicted (Webster *et al* 2001). A number of arts companies, for example Clean Break and Insight Arts, provide formal progression routes into training, further education and work placement for ex-prisoners. More broadly, the arts can provide integrated programmes that support the development of specific skills, in the realms of IT and desk top publishing (DTP) for example, which enable offenders to access the labour-market on release (Unit for the Arts and Offenders 2003b).

●   *Establishing a context and an adaptable medium for working with offending behaviour*

Studies report that participation in the arts can be a particularly effective way of engaging those resistant to behavioural or therapeutic interventions in the way they can support the exploration of personal experiences and feelings and promote

better thinking skills (for example, Hughes 2003). Arts programmes in custody can prepare prisoners for release by providing a 'real-world' context for social interaction, co-operation and problem-solving.

Yet, as work on both sides of the Atlantic has highlighted, the arts sector has largely failed to make these potential contributions explicit to policy audiences in the criminal justice arena because it lacks an agreed framework for evaluation which is rooted in a plausible model(s) of change, backed up by systematic research and substantial evidence (Unit for Arts and Offenders 2001, Clawson and Coolbaugh 2001). The ultimate test of publicly funded work in the criminal justice arena is that it must be shown to have worked. This is most easily, if not always fully, apprehended in terms of 'hard' and sustained output measures. In contrast, arts programmes are generally disparate, short-term, lacking in conceptual and methodological rigour, over-reliant on anecdotal evidence, and unable to specify adequately, quantify or explain outcomes (Matarasso 1996).

Historically, there has been widespread resistance to incorporating evaluation as a core dimension of arts-based interventions. Practitioners have often treated evaluation as a secondary consideration, as a task to be completed in order to satisfy funders and external agencies (Jermyn 2001). To some degree, this resistance also reflects the idea of 'arts for art's sake' and the reluctance of some to accept that the arts can and should be applied in an instrumental way (Belfiore 2002). But at root, the problem is one of evidence. In particular, there is disagreement about the appropriateness and utility of quantitative approaches in establishing impacts.

A methodological stand-off between quantitative and qualitative approaches is common to a number of fields. One view is that the different approaches reflect entirely different epistemologies. From the perspective of arts practitioners, many interventions involve processes and experiences which are difficult to pin down in terms of exactly what is happening and why. The fact that this has not prevented arts in criminal justice work proliferating and creating a large body of knowledge leads some to conclude that arts practice should not be concerned with justifying itself in terms of an 'alien' agenda; rather, attention should be given to defining and establishing a research paradigm appropriate to its own 'realities'.

The alternative view is that the quantitative/qualitative dichotomy is essentially a false one, both philosophically (Schmuttermaier and Schmitt 2001) and empirically. In practice, researchers rarely use one method to the exclusion of all others. This is as true of Home Office research as it is of arts projects. In an explanatory sense, the apparent contradiction between 'hard' and 'soft' evidence reflects two sides of the same research coin: one of which is concerned with 'extensive' and the other with 'intensive' research (Sayer 1984). From large-scale, measurable data we can establish a framework of patterns, associations and probabilities from representative samples of a population, which can be tested for their statistical significance in order to inform an explanatory (theoretical) model. This is, however, a partial form of proof, which cannot fully address the issue of causality. This can only be approached via in-depth, context-driven qualitative work that allows us to address the crucial dimensions of meaning and motivation.

A framework for research

One key weakness behind the failure to establish agreed research and evaluation frameworks within the arts and criminal justice sector has been the lack of focus and co-ordination at a structural level. In a recent report to the DCMS on arts and social exclusion, the Quality, Efficiency and Standards Team (QUEST) noted that 'rhetoric, practice and evidence gathering are only rarely heading in the same direction' (QUEST 2002: 2). QUEST called for the setting up of a research forum to draw together existing work and establish what further research was needed.

In late 2002, a Research into Arts and Criminal Justice Think Tank (REACTT) was established by the Unit for Arts and Offenders. REACTT's advisory panel comprises senior representatives from the key agencies in the arts and criminal justice field alongside academics and independent arts consultants.

As a precursor to further longitudinal research, the REACTT partners have commissioned a free-standing literature review to support the development of a theory base to the bid (Hughes 2004). It is intended that the main research phase will combine a meta-analysis of provided data from ongoing projects with case studies of existing prison-

based and resettlement programmes and commissioned projects of both custodial and post-custodial work with ex-offenders.

Key issues for research

A few studies have attempted to bring a more systematic and rigorous approach to research in the area of arts and offender rehabilitation. These include Chandler's (1973) comparison of a control group of 'delinquents' with those who participated in a drama project or video skills programme to assess the effect of these interventions on perspective taking; Brewster's (1983) work on rule breaking by inmates who either did or did not take part in the Arts In Corrections (AIC) Programme; and a later recidivism study within the same AIC project which compared the parole outcomes of a group of people who had participated in an arts programme at least once a week for at least six months with all people leaving secure establishments in California over a five-year period (Williford 1994). Each of these studies reports positive outcomes for those engaging with arts interventions. Brewster showed that rule breaking diminished; Chandler that levels of egocentrism diminished among drama participants; and the AIC recidivism study that re-offending rates were lower.

Yet none of these studies shows much understanding of the processes underpinning the positive outcomes and none can specify the links between participation in arts activity and offending behaviour. Chandler finds a significant effect in the case of drama but that the video programme had no discernable impact. Only the AIC recidivism research has a longitudinal dimension to it, but again, while demonstrating an association between participation and the likelihood of offending, it does not confront the issue of causality.

The failure of the arts sector to adequately demonstrate how it can influence re-offending factors raises the following research questions:

- How to distil and to accurately measure and assess impacts using appropriate indicators?

- How to establish the link between behavioural change and offending?

- How to explain the changes which have occurred?

These questions imply an approach to research design which:

● recognises the need to integrate qualitative and quantitative approaches to evidence generation and interpretation using tightly specified analytical frameworks;

● is longitudinal and therefore able to address sustainability by monitoring and following up transition, progression, re-offending and reconviction;

● is able to make clear theoretical propositions about the relationship between different types of arts intervention and change;

● is rooted in critical realist methodology (Bhaskar 1978; 1989).

The basis of the critical realist case is that classic or quasi-experimental approaches in social research, rooted in a successionist approach to causation and the quest for 'internal validity', cannot capture and distil the processes which underpin programme effects. Critical realist approaches, by contrast, begin with a theory about the generative mechanisms that make a programme work and about the contexts that are most conducive to bringing about change. Hypotheses are then subjected to rigorous analysis through a sequence of measures and comparisons (Pawson and Tilly 1994). A good example of an application of this approach in a criminal justice setting is provided by Duguid and Pawson's (1998) evaluation of the university liberal arts programme which was offered to prisoners in several federal correctional institutions in British Columbia between 1973 and 1993. This study was able to distil and examine particular sub-groups of prisoner-students, comparing their rates of reconviction with a predicted reconviction score. Crucial to the research was the availability of complete criminal and parole history files for most of the prisoners.

Putting the above questions and criteria into practice in the context of working towards an agreed framework for research and evaluation for arts interventions in the criminal justice arena suggests the following requirements:

● *Consistency of approach* – design issues must address, and their resolution inform, the standards established in the What Works Accreditation framework and should build on emerging home office guidelines for research (Government Chief Social Policy Researcher's Office 2003; Spencer *et al* 2003).

● *Addressing selection effects* – there is a need to identify and agree approaches to the specific problems of establishing adequate control and comparison groups in criminal justice settings.

● *Data quantity and quality* – distilling and measuring relevant influences on impacts relies heavily on the availability and accessibility of biographical and contextual information across a range of variables. Key sources include ASSET profiles for young offenders (Baker *et al* 2003) and the Offender Assessment System (OASys) for adult offenders (see Lewis *et al* 2003).

● *Outcome measures*

  A touchstone here is reconviction rates, and the key source is the Home Office Offenders Index. This could be augmented using Police National Computer data. The Offenders Index needs to be developed to include details of interventions and to be linked with economic, social and other assessment data. In order to carry out the kind of study undertaken by Duguid and Pawson (1998), reconviction rates will need to be linked and compared with probation service LSI-R and ACE reconviction risk assessments (see Raynor *et al* 2001).

  In terms of assessing attitude change pre and post-intervention, access to instruments such as CRIME-PICS II is required and the arts in criminal justice sector needs to develop its own validated, age/context-sensitive measures, probably based on adapted models for psychometric testing.

  Attitude testing needs to be complemented by an appropriate and standardised framework for interpreting and 'scoring' observed behavioural changes.

  There is a range of intermediate 'hard' outcomes to which the arts can contribute, in particular the acquisition of basic and key skills, some of which have recognised forms of accreditation attached to them but which require standardising to the same nationally-agreed content, outcome and assessment criteria.

● *Tracking and follow up*

If the link between behavioural change and offending is to be accurately established, effective ways of monitoring ex-offenders have to be developed. Systematic, longer-term initiatives need to be created and evaluated, and a strategy for long-term tracking of participants (and non-participants) developed. A recent Californian project to locate high risk youth might provide a model here. The 'Project Towards No Drug Abuse' followed nearly 2,000 Continuation high school students over a five and a half year period using a variety of methods and records: 46 per cent of the initial sample were retained by the end of the project (McCuller *et al* 2002).

Given the continuing availability of a range of data over time, there are several established (quantitative and qualitative) analytical techniques from a range disciplines that could be used to generate a dynamic perspective on the relationship between interventions and outcomes, for example duration data analysis (see Molloy and Woodfield 2002).

Proposed theoretical frameworks

It is not enough simply to show a link between offending behaviour and participation in the arts, we also need to be able to explain it. The lack of a coherent, focused research tradition in this field has left arts practice without the theory base needed to decide what should be measured, how it should be measured and what any findings might mean.

The REACTT research will explore a number of theoretical frameworks which support the argument that the arts provide both specific, qualities, processes and contexts which can inform and, crucially, underpin standard, cognitive restructuring approaches to behavioural change.

In terms of specific application, the challenge the arts in criminal justice sector has set itself is to test its value and effectiveness in two key areas.

Pedagogy

Arguably, the arts are particularly well placed and in some respects uniquely able to provide flexible, adaptable and creative methodologies of actively engaging people in learning.

Delivery methodologies/facilitation/teaching

Drama workshops, for example, provide 'transitional space' in which people can reflect on themselves and 'be' something or somebody else (Hughes 2003). The process of creative engagement with a range of new characters, perspectives, options and emotional repertoires is a mechanism for undermining fixed attitudes and assumptions. This type of intervention is informed by a constellation of theoretical work, including performance theory, role theory and dance theory. The specific programme contexts to which this type of intervention relates include basic and key skills, IT skills, and social and life skills.

Approaches to learning

Perhaps the most promising agenda for a 'universal' arts theory lies in the realm of learning theory. The argument here would be that all art forms have the ability to transform the environment for learning, that they all share the creative mechanism which encourages critical thinking and the channelling of personal expression, and that they have more sustained effects because the context in which they occur and the degree of cognitive/creative engagement they require makes them more memorable (Silvis 2002).

Play theory, and its association with the developmental models proposed by Piaget, Maslow and Erikson, provides a further dimension to a learning theory framework for the arts. In the context of 'learning and discovering' through play, the non-judgemental framework of arts processes offers a unique medium for re-appraising and re-building the gaps in social, emotional and cognitive development associated with key life stages. Relevant programmes contexts in this case include social and life skills, practical IT skills and offending behaviour programmes.

Attitudinal change

Gardner's (1983) work on multiple intelligences suggests that the arts are in a unique position to offer alternatives to the formal literacies of the traditional education system. By offering the alternative lexicons of music, media, poetry or drama, the arts provide more effective ways of acquiring the human and social capital required to build up resilience

and underpin attitudinal change for those people, offenders being a core group among them, who are often excluded from traditional educational settings.

The arts can play a role in people's personal and social lives that is no less significant than their ability to contribute to routes into education, training and employment. The impact of individuals experiencing new and different ways of functioning as creative human beings, developing new personal and social skills from participating in a range of art forms, bears directly on issues of access, the process of empowerment and the development of active citizenship. Acquiring a new sense of 'self' in this sense is the first and most fundamental step towards feeling differently about others and is therefore key to enabling viable strategies for cognitive re-framing.

The other part of the case for the arts under this heading concerns their role in demonstrating effects and revealing change. In the context of programmes such as peer mentoring and peer education, citizenship, volunteering and detention and training orders (DTOs), they can provide a basis for assessing and measuring both (internalised) sustainable qualities and (externalised) actions. Internalised qualities include engagement, motivation and responsibility. Externalised actions are expressed in terms of, for example, retention rates, adjudications and progression routes.

Conclusions

The proposed role for the arts is that they are especially well placed to sustain the changed ways of thinking which underlie behavioural change because the particular learning and experiential contexts they offer provide individuals with the means to experience themselves and others differently.

Participatory arts programmes offer the potential for an integrated approach to offender resettlement by addressing both progression routes into education, training and employment and the complex range of criminogenic factors that affect people's ability to access and travel along these routes. Real responsibility and real engagement with citizenship can only be engendered by real projects. The arts can provide direct, experiential, participatory learning in the core contexts of education training and employment (ETE) and in the key priority areas

of youth offending, the transition between prison and the community, and community sentences.

Research must be the essential foundation for long-term policy development. Advocacy for the arts in criminal justice has floundered on a lack of robust evidence of impacts upon which to build persuasive models of change and agreed evaluation frameworks. The development of an agreed evaluation framework for the arts must be underpinned by effective dissemination and guidance. This need speaks to practitioner training requirements, as well as structural issues of communication between central agencies, and of policy and partnership development at the local level.

Endnotes

1   Altogether it was found that 75 per cent of those participating in the programme over two semesters avoided reincarceration for three years after release compared with an average of 40-50 per cent for North America as a whole. Interestingly, among the 'hard case' group – inmates with the least favourable backgrounds and worst offending records – those who took part in the theatre group as well as the degree programme achieved a 41 per cent improvement on their predicted reconviction rate, which was 10 per cent better than the group as a whole.

2   See www.crimereduction.gov.uk.

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9. Conclusions and recommendations
Jamie Cowling

*To feel the meaning of what one is doing, and to rejoice in that
meaning; to unite in one concurrent fact the unfolding of the
inner life and the ordered development of material conditions –
that is art.*

(Dewey 1906, in Jackson 2002)

The importance and power of the arts for individuals and society as a
whole have a strong heritage in progressive thought. The 1945 Labour
Party Manifesto stated that: 'By the provision of concert halls, modern
libraries, theatres and suitable civic centres, we desire to assure to our
people full access to the great heritage of culture in this nation' (Labour
Party 1945). Labour went on to found the Arts Council under the
direction of John Maynard Keynes to realise that vision. In the 1950s
Tony Crosland looked forward to a time when expanding economic
wealth would enable all to enjoy and gain the benefits from culture and
the arts (Crosland 1956). More recently the current government has
argued that the arts can make a unique contribution to reducing social
exclusion without compromising excellence (Labour Party 2001).
National Lottery funding has enabled cities across the UK to pursue a
culturally led regeneration policy, from The Angel of the North to the
Bellenden Road development in Peckham, south London, further
expanding the opportunity to access the arts.

'Art for Art's Sake, Money for God's Sake' – 10cc[1]

In the past the arts have built the case for public funding on two
arguments. First their intrinsic value, often publicly aired as the arts for
art's sake argument, and second, the economic case for arts.

The arts for art's sake zeppelin casts a long shadow over arts policy
in the UK. All too often public and policy discussion about the wider
benefits of engagement with the arts is overshadowed by catcalls from
those who accuse the Government of sullying the purity of the arts for

its own ends. It is hard to credit that this case still retains its adherents when it is so manifestly wrong.

Recognising that the arts have a wider effect is not the same as arguing that the only reason we should countenance public support for the arts is their utility as a tool to achieve policy goals. The last time the pure instrumentalist argument for the arts was made was by Plato in the *Republic*. Plato argued that in his utopia the arts would be banned as they only serve to distract the populace from good works, apart from the lute players who would be required to play martial tunes to stir the popular passions in time of war (see Waterfield 1998).

In response to Plato, Aristotle argued in the Poetics that through a process of mimesis the arts could achieve catharsis for the individual (see Heath 1996; Auerbach 1957). This is remarkably similar to the conclusions drawn by Matarasso and the authors in this publication 2,000 years later (Matarasso 1997). As John Dewey suggests it is the intrinsic nature of the arts that provide them with their unique place in society, and power not only to reflect but also to shape the wider world. It is this power that the authors in this publication argue gives the arts the potential to play a unique role in achieving some of our shared social goals. We need to move away from the false dichotomy that suggests the arts can be *either* excellent *or* have wider social benefits. Every democracy provides public support for the arts in some form so across the democratic world there appears to be a remarkable consensus that they are of value to society. Public provision of the arts is and was based on the belief that the arts have a social value. The 1945 Labour Party Manifesto placed the arts together with education; the promise to extend access to culture to all sat alongside the commitment to introduce free secondary education (Labour Party 1945).

The arts have made the case for subsidy based on two economic arguments. The first is the argument from Baumol and Bowen's cost disease. Baumol and Bowen established that the lack of productivity gains compared with the wider economy in the performing arts, in particular, would always result in ever rising costs. *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (The Ring Cycle) requires a theatre, a Siegfried and a Brünnhilde and a number of musicians who comprise the orchestra. As wages rise in the wider economy Siegfried, Brünnhilde and the orchestra are also likely to demand higher wages.[2] However, Siegfried's productivity and the length of the performance, will be the same in

2004 as in 1904. Whilst other technical productivity improvements are possible, for example in the use of more efficient bulbs for stage lighting, the efficiency gains possible through technological progress are small in comparison with other sectors of the economy. Baumol and Bowen argued that this creates a productivity lag between the arts and the wider economy, necessitating public subsidy unless provision of the arts is to decrease (Baumol and Bowen 1966; Heilbrun 2003). A similar case may be made for the visual arts: painting a large oil canvas takes as long today as it did a century ago despite efficiency gains elsewhere in the production process.

However, whilst Baumol and Bowen's model could be used to estimate the level of subsidy necessary for some arts activities, the model fails to take account of two significant factors: demand and welfare. Rising productivity elsewhere in the economy may lead to an increase in leisure time and available wealth to spend on leisure activities and thereby stimulate demand for the arts. If the product is right, so the argument goes, then consumers will choose to pay for the arts. We can argue that musicals, for example, are subject to similar productivity restraints to 'the arts' and yet do not receive public subsidy.

Baumol and Bowen's argument also fails to establish why the decline of the arts is a bad thing (Besharov 2003). Consumers may choose to spend their money and time on other activities, for example playing computer games or watching television. Why, for example, is attending a live performance or viewing a painting in a gallery more beneficial than watching arts programmes on television or viewing a painting over the internet? An argument for subsidy would need to establish that the arts have benefits to citizens and society. As William Baumol himself has recently commented, '[t]he fact is that there seems, so far, to be no systematic literature that can be deemed to constitute a welfare economics of the arts and culture more generally' (Besharov 2003).

The second has been the argument for subsidy based on the wider economic value created by arts organisations. Arts organisations have justified themselves in terms of their contribution to the wider economy. The current policy of cultural regeneration is a manifestation of this line of argument. However, arts bodies have been suspicious of this agenda, often rightly so. Many economic impact evaluations overstate the claim for impact and fail to establish value for money (Snowball and Antrobus 2002).

Despite the often poor measurement, there is evidence that arts bodies and organisations can and do have an economic impact. The suspicion remains, however, that this only tells us half the picture. The time has come to start to try and examine the social impact of the arts.

The minority arts can be seen as a valuable form of cultural expression. For individuals to be truly at liberty they need to be able to exercise real choices as citizens. Whilst as consumers they may not choose the arts, as citizens they may choose to support them to maintain the diversity of cultural activity available. If the arts are a form of cultural expression we may wish to protect communities' ability to express themselves beyond forms that would survive in the marketplace unaided. The case for public support for the arts is rooted in our choices and capabilities as citizens and societies.

The authors in this book agree that recognising that the arts have an impact and trying to measure it on both the individual and the wider community is not to devalue the arts but to celebrate them.

The social value of the arts

Table 9.1 Selection of claimed impacts of the arts (Jermyn 2001)

- develops self-confidence and self-esteem
- increases creativity and thinking skills
- improves skills in planning and organising activities
- improves communication of ideas and information
- raises or enhances educational attainment
- increases appreciation of arts
- creates social capital
- strengthens communities
- develops community identity
- decreases social isolation
- improves understanding of different cultures
- enhances social cohesion
- promotes interest in the local environment
- activates social change
- raises public awareness of an issue
- enhances mental and physical health and wellbeing
- contributes to urban regeneration
- reduces offending behaviour
- alleviates the impact of poverty
- increases the employability of individuals.

Source: Landry *et al* (1996); Williams (1996 & 1997); Matarasso (1997); DCMS (1999); Blake Stevenson Ltd (2000); NFER (2001)

Many of the suggested impacts set out in Table 9.1 above will be overlapping. We can also assume that the impacts of arts programmes claimed above will rely on a number of variables. These include the aim of the intervention, the arts form and medium of the intervention (for example drama or painting), and whether participants were spectators or active creators of arts-based work. Furthermore, we can assume that the impact of different interventions is likely to have variable success rates. There is currently a paucity of data that accounts for these variables.

Many arts interventions fail to establish what is unique about the arts that make them preferable to alternative policy levers. The Summer Splash scheme run by DCMS, Arts Council England and the Youth Justice Board which targets young people over the school holidays with the aim of reducing juvenile crime is one example (see Summer Splash National Support Team 2003). Whilst the scheme has been successful in reducing youth crime it has never been fully articulated as to why arts interventions should be used instead of alternative strategies.[3]

Those who believe that arts interventions can have wider social benefits will need to articulate what it is that is unique about the arts that enables them to be not only an effective intervention but also more effective in achieving the aims than an alternative policy. For example, as Peter Wrench and Alan Clarke suggest (this volume) an arts in prisons project may improve offender rehabilitation outcomes. However, policymakers will want to establish that investment in an arts-based project should be favoured over another programme that could address the same issue. It is only by returning to the intrinsic nature of art that we can begin to understand why the arts are potentially uniquely placed to contribute to wider social goals.

Common aspects

The precise justifications for choosing an arts intervention over another will vary according to the specific setting. Some common themes emerge from the contributions to this publication and other research that point to the unique aspects of the arts. The factors identified below exist in a complex interdependency with one another.

● *Multiple intelligences and communication strategies*

Gardner and others have identified multiple forms of human intelligence (Gardner 1983; 1990; Sternberg 1997). As Lidstone argues (Chapter 4, this volume) current learning outcome indicators fail to take account of the different forms of intelligence (Robinson 1999).

The arts are a means of expression. They are used by creators to communicate thoughts, concepts, feelings, facts and emotions, for example. Communication is the encoding, transmission and decoding of symbolic forms (Thompson 1995). As such the arts – from visual art to drama – can be seen as another form of communication outside of traditional literacy and numeracy. We should not be surprised, and indeed we celebrate on occasion, that some individuals' talents lie outside of traditional literacy and numeracy.

This may explain why the contributors to this book and others identify that the arts can be effective at reaching and engaging those left behind by the formal education process and are also able to engage with those who suffer from mental health impairments (Chapter 7, this volume; Chapter 3, this volume; Chapter 5 this volume; Chapter 6 this volume; Tranter and Palin 2004; Robinson 1999).

● *Neutral space*

The arts and arts organisations provide a neutral space. This can provide the space with which to explore multiple identities freed from the constraints of defined outputs and outcomes. The arts provide a space for individuals to use their imagination without restraints (Pinker 2002). 'Art can help people engage emotion systems while disengaging action systems' (Mainemelis 2004). Unlike a school or a hospital, arts organisations provide a neutral space outside of formal state environments.

Once again this may explain why the arts and arts organisations are able to engage with individuals and communities where other traditional policy delivery levers fail. For example, the Cantle report identified an arts programme as one of the few places that

individuals from different communities came together on an equal basis (Cantle 2002).

● *Enjoyment (non-instrumentalist)*

Unlike attending a job centre or a hospital people participate in the arts because they are enjoyable, because they want to rather than have to. There is a clear difference between arts organisations and activities and attendance at school, a job centre or hospital. This presents opportunities for engagement that are not open to other policy areas.

● *Social activity*

The arts are both a personal and a social activity. The arts bring people together either to view works of art or, sometimes, to produce them. 'Art is one of the most participative forms of human behaviour' (Mainemeilis 2004). The arts and artistic expression are often a source of civic identity; from Nelson in Trafalgar Square to the Angel of North in Gateshead. They are are well placed to contribute to social capital. Indeed the European and World Values Surveys identify attendance and participation at arts events as a measure of social capital (see www.worldvaluessurvey.org). The arts may also be able to encourage volunteering by individuals and groups who would not engage in formal participation elsewhere. Research into the motivation of arts volunteers would be of benefit to other policy areas.

The claimed impact of the arts set out in Table 9.1 relate directly to the intrinsic values listed above. Although the list is not exhaustive, the factors identified above must be developed if recognition of the contribution of the arts to society is based on the unique aspects and possibilities presented by the arts.

PAT 10: where next? Building the research base

Francois Matarasso's seminal study, *Use or Ornament* (Matarasso 1997), developed thinking on the social impact of the arts. As the contributors to this publication have argued the PAT 10 report, through highlighting the potential contribution of the arts to combating social exclusion in

policy circles, represented a step-change in both the arts world and government thinking and therefore the availability of funding. The 2001 Green Paper, *Culture and Creativity: The next ten years*, reaffirmed the Government's commitment to widening access and increasing participation in the arts. The Green Paper outlined policy proposals to achieve these aims including the Creative Partnerships scheme to enable teachers and young people to work with cultural organisations.

Evidence or advocacy

Whilst PAT 10 indicated that the arts could have an impact on reducing social exclusion, the report was a list of case studies rather than a comprehensive analysis of the sector. Since that time there has been little attempt apart from discreet research projects (notably Harland et al 2000) to provide robust evidence of the impact of the sector on wider social goals. According to the Arts Council:

> The relative absence of systematic evaluation of impacts might reflect the nature of arts work and a cultural 'resistance' among arts workers to evaluation … except in the very limited context of funding relationships, the arts world has shown little interest in developing evaluative systems through which to prove its value internally or externally, seemingly preferring to state that seeing is believing. This resistance to evaluation is composed of many elements including lack of motivation or inclination, lack of time, lack of resources or skills, lack of understanding about the value of evaluation, and fears concerning the appropriateness of available methods. (Jermyn 2001)

However, evaluation is taking place. Funders are increasingly demanding evaluation reports from arts projects and projects, with multiple funders will need to complete multiple evaluation forms addressing a multiplicity of funding criteria. As Gerald Lidstone argues, the evaluation is usually process rather than outcome-based and all too often evaluation reports are advocacy documents for the next funding bid rather than a realistic assessment of the project's strengths, weaknesses and impact. Evaluation reports tend to be self-evaluation reports and they often lack methodological rigour. Problems begin from

the start. As the contributors to this publication have identified, arts organisations rarely, if ever, state their aims clearly enough to provide a robust outcome evaluation.

Many arts projects have specific social goals. Partnerships are crucial to the ability of arts projects to maximise their social impact and to provide effective evaluation. For example, a project working with young offenders will need to collaborate with its local police force and crime reduction team to be able to target the intervention where it is most needed and then to be able to evaluate the long-term impact. However, partnerships between arts organisations and other sectors all too often occur on an ad hoc basis and rely on one or two motivated individuals rather than a strategic partnership framework. Currently, partnerships occur by chance rather than design.

The issue of poor evaluation in the sector is by no means limited to individual projects. Most arts organisations' research documents represent funding bids rather than a robust assessment of their success. What we are left with is the 'evidence of advocacy' not success. In the long term, like the little boy who cried wolf, this reliance on advocacy rather than evidence will damage the sector rather than enhance its standing.

The 'evidence of advocacy' problem leads to poor policy. Arts programmes and projects tend to aim to deliver funding as soon as possible before testing where and how the funding would deliver the greatest value. As evaluation and research tends to occur after a major funding commitment to a project has been made this further increases the pressure to justify the public expenditure. The clearest recent example of this is the Creative Partnerships programme. The Government made a commitment to twelve creative partnerships (CPs) by March 2004 as part of the 2002 DCMS Public Service Agreement Target 2. Despite the fact that the interim evaluation of the project is only due to be completed by April 2004, the Government has already committed to increasing the number of CPs to 32 (see www.publications.parliament.uk).

Transparency and accountability

Despite the requirement from funding bodies such as Arts Council England for practitioners to evaluate projects the vast majority of individual and project grant proposals and evaluations are unavailable to either the public or even other artists working in the same field. This

prevents the sharing of knowledge across the sector. For example, an artist hoping to work with people with mental health impairments is unable to access the evaluations of other projects. This prevents projects from building on the intellectual capital generated by previous work. Arts Council England's research department only evaluates the success of major programmes, such as Decibel, rather than providing an objective evaluation of individual programmes and grants.

Recommendations and conclusion

How to assess value-for-money of arts interventions

To enable ACE to achieve its objective of 'more teachers, health professionals, probation officers, youth workers, social workers and carers reporting the value of the arts in their work' it and other arts funding bodies will need to develop an evidence base that clearly demonstrates the value of the arts to other professionals and policymakers (ACE 2002a). The arts must grasp the nettle of effective evaluation now. A failure to develop a robust evidence base will place at risk the gains made since 1997. Unless the arts begin to develop outcome indicators that speak to the concerns of their partners the sector may well be presented with the imposition of inappropriate targets and indicators (Matarasso 2002).

Arts bodies must focus on ensuring that projects deliver value-for-money to the citizen. According to the Cabinet Office this means:

> maximis[ing] value for money through ensuring that services are delivered in the most economical, efficient and economical way, within available resources, and with independent validation of performance achieved wherever practicable (Cabinet Office 1997)

Therefore a value for money assessment and the evaluation should:

- examine the *aims* of the intervention;

- examine the *costs* incurred in carrying out the intervention;

- assess to what extent these aims have been *met*;

- assess if the subsidy delivered is *proportionate* to the costs incurred

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●   assess whether the outcomes could have been achieved *more efficiently* by other means.

This will require arts organisations and funding bodies, such as DCMS, Arts Council England, local councils and regional development agencies (RDAs), to have regard to:

●   *Public perception*

Arts Council England currently aims to increase the number of people in the UK who say the arts play a valuable role in their lives. Particular attention should be given to socially excluded groups; those with a low socio-economic status and minority ethnic communities. This should be measured thorough regular survey data.

●   *Internal efficiency: cost effective delivery of services*

Arts organisations must ensure that they are internally efficient to demonstrate that they deliver value for money. Demonstrating internal efficiency will require regular benchmarking against similar organisations (for example the National Trust) in the UK and Europe. Benchmarking against other organisations does not establish efficiency in itself (both organisations can could be extremely inefficient) but can provide useful progress indicators.

●   *Output measures*

The current output data for attendance, participation and attitudes to the arts is extremely poor. There is a lack of regular data collection, current sources use multiple definitions (for example of what constitutes a 'new' participant) making comparison between surveys impossible and success difficult to assess. The current failure to collect high quality aggregate data is a major failing of the sector. Arts organisations and bodies will need to collect regular data on attendees and participants at arts events to common specified criteria. To obtain high quality aggregate level data DCMS should instruct the Office for National Statistics to collect detailed survey data on attendance, participation and attitudes to the arts. The criteria used should be transparent and comparable. Surveys that could be adapted for use could include:

British Social Attitudes; Survey of People, Families and Communities; Time-Use survey data and European Values Survey. This survey data should be included in the regular summary of social indicators compiled by the Social and General Statistics Division of the House of Commons Library. This would place the health of the UK's cultural life on a par with other social indicators and provide regular access for Members of Parliament.

- *Outcome measures*

  The outcome measures used will need to be appropriate to the intervention. The contributors to this publication set out suggestions for appropriate indicators.

  A major issue has been the application of quantitative measures to arts interventions (Bridgewood 2002). In general, quantitative methodology should be used when assessing the macro level impact of interventions. Qualitative methodology should be employed when examining the micro level impact. Funding bodies should ensure that evaluations conform to the best practice guidelines set out in Strategy Unit (2000), NAO (2001), Spencer *et al* (2003), *The Magenta Book* (Government Chief Social Researcher's Office 2003) and *The Green Book* (HM Treasury 2003) as appropriate.

  Mental health: arts in health interventions specifically targeted at those with mental health impairments should use the CORE evaluation model as set out by Mike White (Chapter 6). The Department of Health (DoH) and DCMS should work together to adapt the CORE model to the sector. As soon as practicable, DoH should conduct Randomised Controlled Trials along the lines set out by John Geddes (Chapter 5). These will have to be sensitively designed to take account of the unique aspects of arts intervention.

  Offender rehabilitation: notwithstanding the arts' contribution to the decency agenda (Wrench and Clarke, Chapter 7) the outcome measures suggested by Andrew Miles (Chapter 8) using reconviction rates linked with LSI-R and ACE reconviction risk assessments, use of CRIME-PICS II database to assess attitudinal change and an assessment of other outcomes including

educational qualifications and routes to employment should be used.

Education: evaluation measures proposed for arts education will be relevant not only to formal schooling but also to life-long learning and other learning environments (for example gaols). Whilst the available evidence suggests that arts interventions do not have a direct impact on GCSE attainment in other subject areas (Harland *et al* 2000) there is evidence that it impacts on individual pupils and schools in terms of self-esteem and school ethos for example (Harland *et al* 2000; Lidstone, Chapter 4; Muschamp, Chapter 3). To measure the personal impact of arts education interventions evaluation should use the measuring learning outcomes system developed by the museums, libraries and archives council (MLA 2002). The tool has the advantage of being easy and quick to use and is widely available.

Ofsted is best placed to measure the impact of the arts on a school's ethos. This data should be systematically collated.

● *National measurement of impact*

As indicated above, DCMS should conduct regular national surveys examining attitudes to the arts and attendance and participation at arts events. The new PSA targets for Arts Council England should include specific targets to attract C2DE groups, in a similar way to many national museums and galleries. DCMS should develop the questions contained in the European Values Survey questionnaire to reflect the possible contribution of the arts to building social capital better. This should include what form of participation, where, information on volunteering and motivations for participation.

The right to enjoy the cultural life of the country is fundamental to citizenship. Therefore, the indices of multiple deprivation should be updated to include attendance and participation in arts and cultural activity.

The Local Government Arts Performance Indicators should be used to benchmark local government performance and inform national policy (Library of Local Performance Indicators 2003).

● *Conduct systematic data collection in partnership with other departments and agencies*

A current major research failing is the lack of systematic data collection on arts interventions and participation. For example neither DCMS nor DfES know which schools engage with which arts organisations (for example trips to galleries) or how often. Building on the value for money measures above, DCMS and other arts funding bodies should work in partnership with other delivery agencies (such as DfES or DoH) to track engagement with arts interventions.

● *Establish a knowledge network*

Whilst organisations such as Engage and the Unit for Arts and Offenders have been contributing to knowledge transfer there is the need for a complementary strategic approach. DCMS, together with relevant NDPBs, should establish a central knowledge network website along the lines of TeacherNet.[4] The knowledge network should provide a central resource for arts professionals and other partners (for example the police or teachers) listing arts activities across the UK and providing information and evaluation of past projects by sector. To facilitate partnership the site should link to other delivery agency websites, such as TeacherNet, and include relevant contact details.

● *Continuing professional development*

Despite the establishment of an MA in Arts Education at Goldsmiths University there are still considerable concerns around the availability of continuing professional development (CPD) opportunities for artists working in the arts in society sector. CPD training would have three major benefits: it would improve the delivery of interventions; it would reinforce the professional standing of artists in the sector; and it would act as a quality mark of reassurance to other agencies, such as schools and hospitals. DCMS and Arts Council England should work with other interested agencies including DfES, DoH and the Home Office to develop CPD qualifications.

●   *Business should see support for the arts as part of the corporate social responsibility agenda*

Currently business support for the arts often takes one of two forms. Either businesses sponsor arts organisations as a means of marketing and brand promotion or businesses bring artists into their company to deliver courses or specified projects for its staff. The evidence presented in this publication suggests that support for the arts can be seen as part of a company's corporate social responsibility agenda. As part of this agenda, support should take the form of both financial and skills support. Businesses should be encouraged to support risky and innovative projects and use their skills to help projects develop robust evaluation evidence.

●   *Ensuring quality, independent research*

There is currently a danger that arts organisations are being asked to present unrealistically detailed evaluation documents. Arts professionals are not often trained researchers and evaluators. Whilst evaluation by project staff can be valuable the complex and robust evaluation demanded in the future will require a step-change in the resources devoted to research.

This may mean doing less but should mean that what is delivered will be done better. Therefore, Arts Council England's and others' research departments should work to the criteria set out above. New programmes should run detailed pilot studies with independent evaluation before being rolled-out in full. Thereafter there should be random detailed evaluations of individual projects conducted by independent evaluators. Value for money evaluation of projects and programmes should be undertaken according to the criteria set out above. Arts Council England's research department should be in regular consultation with other research and evaluation agencies, such as Ofsted.

There is a pressing need for longitudinal research (DCMS 1999; Bridgewood 2002). Arts Council England and DCMS, in conjunction with other funding bodies and departments, should invest in independent detailed longitudinal impact studies immediately.

● *Arts Council England and regional policy*

Arts Council England should be commended for being one of the government agencies most committed to regions. However, there is a danger that the new merged national Arts Council England may lose its regional focus.

In 2000/01 per capita spending on the arts by Arts Council England was already £18,649 higher in London than elsewhere in the country (ACE 2002b). Per capita expenditure figures are no longer given in Arts Council England's annual report, however the absolute grant by office remained higher in London than anywhere else in the UK (ACE 2004). This reflects the higher levels of ongoing commitments for Arts Council England in London.

The available evidence suggests that there is a considerable regional bias in attendance at arts activities and museums and galleries. Tables 9.2 and 9.3 (Source: CGI Data) below set out attendance at the arts and museums and galleries by nation/region for all adults in the UK from 1995 to 2002.

Table 9.2 Percentage of the adult British population that attend the arts by nation or region and year, 1995-2002[5]

	95-96	96-97	97-98	98-99	99-00	00-01	01-02
North	37	35	35	34	31	30	34
Yorkshire and Humberside	38	39	36	32	38	35	36
North West	40	41	39	38	37	38	41
East Midlands	44	41	38	38	40	38	37
West Midlands	41	41	39	37	39	35	38
East Anglia	42	42	39	44	36	37	40
South East	48	48	45	45	46	44	44
Greater London	49	49	47	48	49	48	48
South West	30	44	44	41	41	20	40
Wales	20	24	21	25	23	20	33
Scotland	29	33	27	25	25	28	39
Population (000s)	45,950	46,125	46,250	46,425	46,535	46,685	46,965

The regional variation probably reflects a supply side reality. Put simply, there are more arts events and museums and galleries in London than elsewhere. Another factor is probably socio-economic status (see below). Government should ensure that the arts are available to all the

Table 9.3 Percentage of the adult British population that attend museums and galleries by nation or region and year, 1995-2002[6]

	95-96	96-97	97-98	98-99	99-00	00-01	01-02
North	26	28	26	26	24	28	25
Yorkshire and Humberside	28	27	26	27	27	28	24
North West	27	29	28	26	28	28	27
East Midlands	26	27	26	24	23	28	26
West Midlands	27	24	25	24	23	26	23
East Anglia	30	25	26	28	26	28	24
South East	32	30	29	28	28	29	26
Greater London	38	36	35	34	37	41	40
South West	28	26	29	26	23	25	27
Wales	22	22	23	24	20	24	23
Scotland	31	31	29	28	27	30	26
Population (000s)	45,950	46,125	46,250	46,425	46,535	46,685	46,965

population of the UK as far as is practicable. As a sign of its strong commitment to the whole of the country, Arts Council England should consider moving its head office out of London. The Government and Arts Council England should work to ensure that spending is targeted at those most in need, using the index of multiple deprivation (IMD).[7]

## Society and the arts in the 21st century: taking the long view

The arts are able to contribute to wider social goals. As Peter Hewitt makes clear, this is not an instrumentalist argument but recognition of the crucial role the arts play in our personal and national life. Many artists and arts organisations choose to work in specific social settings providing unique, creative, targeted interventions that have the potential to deliver wider social benefits. This publication has examined the arts' potential contribution to improving education, offender rehabilitation and mental health outcomes. The current challenge is to be able to provide robust evidence of the arts' impact on these wider social goals and our society.

The Government's commitment to widen access to the arts and culture has been broadly successful. The range and diversity of art programmes is broader than at any time in the past. Arts organisations have taken steps to try and attract and engage a range of citizens ensuring that the benefits of the arts are available to all rather than a narrow elite.

We are able to judge fully the success of these initiatives due to the lack of robust outcome data. However, the information available indicates that a significant part of the population is still not benefiting from the arts despite the measures taken by the Government since 1997. Social class remains one of the key indicators as to whether people visit museums and galleries and attend the arts (Jermyn *et al* 2001).

Figures 9.1 and Figure 9.2 below (Source: CGI Data) show attendance at arts events and museums and galleries by occupational category from 1995 to 2002.[8]

Figure 9.1 Adult British population that attend the arts by occupational category and year, 1995-2002
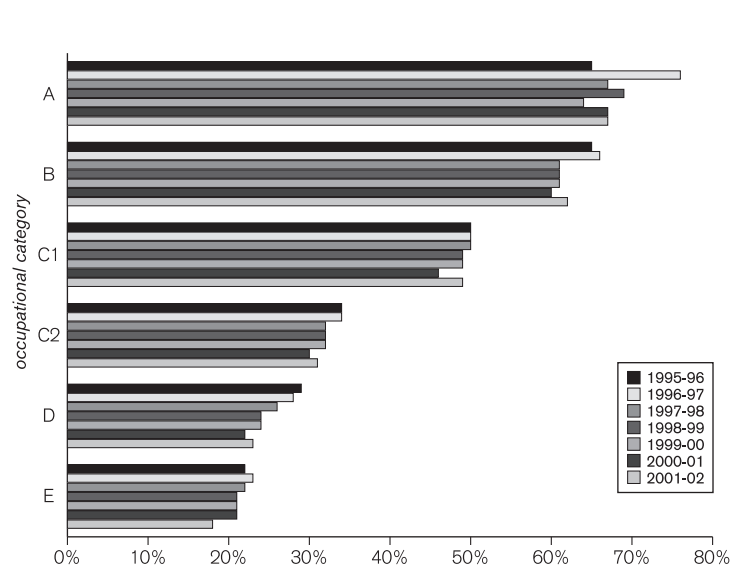
The arts are merit goods, that is to say they have large benefits but people tend not invest in them as much as they should (like schooling); therefore people are likely to under-invest in the arts (Davies 1999) compared with alternative leisure activities. They are also experiential goods; the more you put in the more you get out (see Throsby 2003). The evidence from an Arts Council survey backs up the theoretical conjecture, it shows that the critical limiting factor is lack of either interest or time rather than the cost of attendance (Skelton *et al* 2002). As Tessa Jowell has eloquently stated, the challenge is now to tackle the

Figure 9.2 Adult British population that attend museums and galleries by occupational category and year, 1995-2002
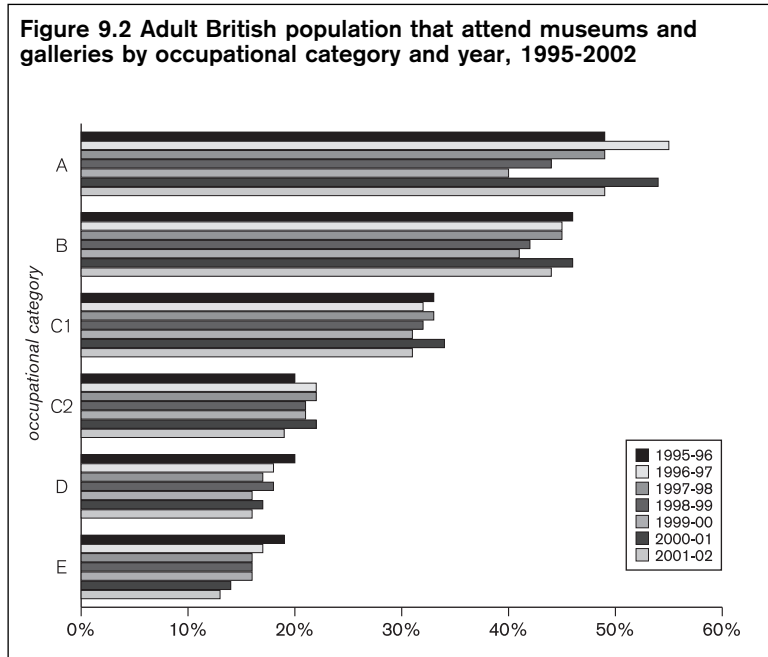
poverty of aspiration (Jowell 2003). Therefore Government will need to try and encourage demand for the arts; the best time to do this is at a young age because engagement with culture early on tends to ensure a long-term relationship with cultural activities (Throsby 2003).

Cultural citizens

All school children should be able to benefit from external engagement with the arts and culture. External trips and visits to arts activities and cultural institutions would have benefits for pupils and education across a range of subjects (Muschamp, this volume) for example, citizenship, history and science. The UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child (United Nations General Assembly 1959) establishes the right of every child to participate in the cultural life of the nation. In the longer term the Government should undertake work to develop this right into a cultural entitlement for every child.

There is no national data on which schools engage with which arts bodies and cultural institutions (see above). A cultural entitlement for

every child would ensure that all children in the UK are able to gain from the arts.

The cultural entitlement should take the form of enabling children to visit and participate in the cultural life of the nation through organised school visits to cultural institutions and other cultural organisations, similar to the Dutch model (see Onderwijs 2003). Many exam boards already accept course work from external trips and DCMS and DfES should be encouraged to develop provision in this area further. This would also help to address the crucial challenge for education in the 21st century identified by the Strategy Unit; the pressing need for a broader-based curriculum that encourages citizenship, creativity and learning outside of the classroom (Strategy Unit 2003a). Teachers and examiners would be further reassured that engagement with the arts sector was worthwhile if the CPD training for artists set out above is implemented.

The cultural entitlement should operate at Key Stage 3 with a focus on Year 7 and perhaps Year 8. The transition from primary to secondary school is often one of the most difficult for young people (Pollitt 2002). The evidence presented in this publication suggests that engagement with culture at Key Stage 3 with a focus on Year 7 and Year 8 pupils would help address the challenge of pupil disaffection, language difficulties and social issues often experienced at this age (DfES 2003a; Pollitt 2002).

As Everitt and Mulgan argue a key challenge will be to ensure that the Government's support for culture is not captured by outdated sectors and elite groups. Our definition of culture needs to be able to embrace new art forms and cultural activities. Our approach to culture must be able to appreciate the increasing range and diversity of cultures in a multicultural society (Everitt 2001; Mulgan 1996). Culture should be understood to be wider than the subsidised arts sector or simply the major national institutions but embrace the full range and diversity of cultural activity.

Children should work with their teachers to agree which cultural institutions, events or activities should be included in the cultural entitlement. Teachers should use their expertise and knowledge to ensure that the entitlement covers a broad range of cultural events, from R&B to opera, which develop children's understanding of both the subjects studied and the cultural life of the nation. Professionals from education and arts backgrounds should work together to establish the minimum number of opportunities to participate that should be offered

to young people. Whilst the exact number of experiences may vary according to the individual school's own requirements a minimum baseline should be established.

An explicit funding link will be required between schools and cultural organisations. Schools should pay cultural providers for visits, perhaps in the form of an annual transfer from DfES to DCMS which would then allocate the extra funding to the relevant provider. For this to occur, there will need to be systematic data collected on which schools engage with the arts and where (see above). This would encourage cultural institutions to ensure that they are responsive to children's needs. Further research will be necessary.

A cultural entitlement will require additional spending on children's cultural lives. There would be costs for schools and for cultural institutions, events and activities. However, the precise cost of a cultural entitlement is difficult to quantify due to the lack of available data. For example, costs would vary according to the form of cultural activity undertaken, the number of pupils taking part, the additional adult supervision required (if any), the length of the cultural experience and travel time. The first step to establishing the cost of enabling every child to participate in the cultural life of the nation will be data collection.

The DfES does not collect data on the average cost of school trips. Currently, parents are responsible for paying some of the cost of any school trips. Pupils whose parents receive some benefits are entitled to a free lunch on school trips. DfES does not currently reimburse schools for pupils whose parents cannot afford to pay the cost of a school excursion (Clarke 2004). There is no data currently available on which schools and how many pupils as a proportion of the total pupil population (as opposed to the number of school visits) currently engage on cultural excursions.

DfES and DCMS will need to work together to establish the cost of a cultural entitlement. They should then conduct a pilot study to establish the best means of delivery and whether a cultural entitlement would offer value for money to the citizen.

The measures outlined above should ensure that no children are left behind because of their geographic location. The potential benefits of a cultural entitlement are substantial. The cultural entitlement will ensure that every child is able to participate and access the benefits of our rich cultural life regardless of their social background. For the arts the cultural entitlement would be an important step towards engaging the

whole of the population and building a sustainable arts and cultural sector for the future.

The Government has done a great deal to ensure that the arts are available to all but more still needs to be done. The challenge is now to ensure that the benefits of the arts are widely recognised. This will mean grasping the nettle and building a robust evidence base. The Government must also go further to build sustainable links between the arts and all of society. A cultural entitlement would go someway to doing just that.

> If we, citizens, do not support our artists, then we sacrifice our imagination on the altar of crude reality and we end up believing in nothing and having worthless dreams.
>
> (Yann Martel *Life of Pi*)

Endnotes

1   10cc is a rock band. See www.lyricsbox.com with thanks to Phil Redmond.

2   This may indicate why the performing arts tend to have strong unions.

3   Summer Splash includes sports programmes as well as arts.

4   TeacherNet features some educational vists opportunities but the list is not exhaustive. See www.teachernet.gov.uk

5   Attending at least two to three times a year. It is important to note that this includes jazz, pop and rock concerts and is not only the subsidised sector.

6   Attended in the last 12 months.

7   This clearly does not mean cutting capital funds from ongoing commitments, nor does it mean allocating all of our arts funding on this basis. Other funding criteria, such as the need to promote national centres of excellence are obviously crucially important. However, using the IMD will enable DCMS and others to target some participatory arts resources, such as those deployed in outreach programmes, more effectively than at present and consequently to ensure that more citizens in culturally deprived areas can engage in a variety of forms of cultural self expression. Use of the IMD as a lens through which to think about non-participation should also sharpen the focus on why non-participation occurs and on the important question of what can be done about it.

8   Figure 9.1 attended at least two to three times a year. It is important
      to note that this includes jazz, pop and rock concerts and is not only
      the subsidised sector. Figure 9.2 attended in the last 12 months.

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