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Abstract

In 1992 the cultural theorist Tony Bennett suggested that there may be scope for developing a body of academic research, separate from cultural studies, which was interested in questions concerning policy as it related to culture. The discipline of cultural policy studies that emerged became focused on questions of how and why organisations intervened in culture. But the why questions, that form a vital element at the foundation of contemporary cultural policy studies, lacks an empirical core. When asking why organisations intervene in culture it draws on arguments from intellectual history and the philosophical rationales for aesthetic education. In this paper I argue that by adopting a critical approach to the analysis of discourse, concerned with cultural policy, researchers would be able to establish a firm empirical basis for their field and develop more robust tools for the critique of policy as it emerges.

Keywords: elections, manifestos, governmental politics, cultural policy studies, methodology

1. Introduction

The field of cultural policy studies was first suggested by the social scientist Tony Bennett in a conference paper entitled 'Putting policy into cultural studies' (Bennett 1992). In that paper he argues that cultural studies, an academic arena that emerged from the work of such writers as Raymond Williams and Richard Hoggart, who combined literary criticism with an interest in sociology and politics (For example Williams 1961; 1963 and Hoggart 1969, needed to address the practical issues of policy, engaging in a real debate as to how the arts and culture should be managed. In emphasising the *Realpolitik* of the connection between government and culture the central emphasis of the emerging discipline drew on two fundamental questions pertaining to that relationship: how and why do governments intervene in culture?

In this article I suggest that not only has the *why* question come to dominate the centre of cultural policy studies, but also that question has been framed within an approach that has meant that policy has been removed from the central position Bennett suggested it should take. It has depoliticised it and made it blind to the impact policy discourse is having on conceptualising

culture. In doing so it has robbed the discipline of a clear empirical foundation. How policy discourse conceptualises culture has real consequences for how the relationship between culture and government is being constructed. By neglecting it, cultural policy studies is both left without an empirical core and a means of developing tools for the critique of policy as it emerges. By treating elections as points of discursive contestation a critical approach to the discourse surrounding the construction of culture can be made. Such an approach to the discursive construction of culture can yield empirical data of real use to cultural policy analysts.

I shall begin with a brief history of the growth of cultural policy studies in the UK, with some indication of the field's current focus. This will be followed with a case study that adopts a critical approach to the discourse constructing culture in the Labour and Conservative manifestos for the 1992 and 1997 general elections. In doing so I intend to show that placing a critical approach to discourse at the centre of cultural policy studies can provide the field with the empirical foundation it currently lacks. Though my focus is on cultural policy studies in the UK my reading of the literature¹, and experience of attending international conferences², suggests that the arguments I am making are relevant to the discipline as a whole and not just the British arena with which I am most familiar.

2. The Emergence of Cultural Policy Studies in Britain

The birth of cultural policy studies as an academic discipline in Britain can be set by the establishment of the centre for cultural policy studies research at the University of Warwick in the early 1990s. The centre was established within the Department of Theatre and Performance Studies by the early career academic Oliver Bennett, at the University's request. Whilst researching at the Boekman Institute in Amsterdam Bennett had produced a short article for the institute's journal, *Boekmancahier*. The subject of his paper had been cultural policy in Britain during Margaret Thatcher's tenure as Prime Minister (Bennett 1991). Drawing heavily on Minihan's historical study of how governments had intervened in culture and the arts since the 19th century (Minihan 1977), he both extended her work and developed it in a new direction. This short piece, a little over eight pages, not only extended Minihan's contribution by covering the period from 1979 to 1990, but added a critique of how Thatcherism had undermined those traditional justifications for governmental intervention that had developed since the early Victorian period.

Not long after his appointment Bennett co-ordinated, in 1994, an international symposium of cultural policy and management in the UK. He opened the proceedings with a re-worked version of his earlier *Boekmancahier* piece. This new work contained a fuller critique of the decline in earlier justifications for governmental support of the arts and culture, which, he had argued, were characteristic of Thatcher's approach to cultural policy in the 1980s. The symposium led to the creation in 1995 of the first journal dedicated to the academic investigation of cultural policy. Bennett's keynote symposium presentation was published in its second edition under the title: 'Cultural Policy in the United Kingdom: Collapsing Rationales and

the End of a Tradition' (Bennett 1995). Initially called the *European Journal of Cultural Policy* the journal quickly, and rightly, grew in reputation and prestige so that a change in prefix to the *International Journal* became an essential development. By 2000 the journal itself was to grow beyond the confines of the printed page and the bi-annual International Conference of Cultural Policy Research (ICCPR) was established. At the 2010 ICCPR conference, held over three days in the Finnish city of Jyvaskyla, over 120 papers were presented by researchers from all over the world³. Oliver Bennett and the University of Warwick's centre for cultural policy research should be justifiably proud of developing what was a nascent discipline, imagined not much more than twenty years ago, into a lively community of academics and professionals. Currently within cultural policy studies there is considerable activity around the *how* questions of *specific* institutional, national and international cultural policies. Whilst these are of considerable interest and carry significant value for those engaged in managing the art they are not considered of central importance to the discipline which is still trying to address the fundamental question Oliver Bennett raised in the work that helped establish the field in 1991. In essence this question can be summarised as: 'If the traditional justifications for why government intervenes in culture and the arts were undermined in the 1980s what could take their place?' This has led Bennett to reconsider the contributions made by such figures as Matthew Arnold and the romantic poets; as well as early/mid-twentieth century English speaking intellectual elites and the Roman Catholic Church (Bennett 2005; 2006; 2010) Others have attributed rationalities for cultural policy in the Counter Reformation (Mulcahy 2010) and the work of philosophers from Plato onwards (Belfiore 2006; Mulhern 2006)⁴. Whilst the intellectual history route to developing possible rationales for intervention in culture and the arts is interesting in developing sets of arguments for the *why* of cultural policy, their grounding in philosophical aesthetics and education theory means they have minimal empirical content. By placing an understanding of culture and its potential importance at the centre of cultural policy studies the essential political nature of policy is lost, and the empirical foundation of how policy discourse constructs the relationship between government and culture is neglected.

In the remainder of this article I argue that if we take a critical approach to analysis of discourse, treating elections as points of discursive contestation and *culture* as a term contested in political discourse (Connolly 1993), we can establish a firm empirical foundation for cultural policy studies. Such a foundation can be used to better enable us to challenge relationships of power as they are expressed through policy as it emerges.

3. Case Study

3.1 Introduction

In this case study I shall look at those sections of the Labour manifesto for the 1997 election and Conservative's 1992 manifesto where cultural policy is concentrated. The method through which these sections have been identified

will be detailed in the methodology outlined below. I have chosen to concentrate on election manifestos because they:

1. ...form a focal point for communication during the period of a general election. (Kavanagh 1996)
2. ...represent the only medium term plan for the whole of society regularly produced by any organisation. (Budge 1994)
3. ...position a political party with a particular discursive space. (Smith and Smith 2000)
4. ...offer a strong indicator of the policy themes to be pursued by a political party if elected into office. (see for example Budge et al 2010; Klemmensen et al 2007 and Klingemann et al 1994)

Only the 1992 Conservative and the 1997 Labour manifestos have been selected for analysis in this article because it is in these documents that the respective parties state the positions they were later, through winning those elections and following point 4 above, to develop into cultural policy whilst in government. Through a scrutiny of the language used in those sections of the manifesto where indicators of cultural policy cluster a construction of culture, government and the relationship between them can be identified.

The analysis undertaken for this article is at a relatively superficial level. This is partly because of restrictions on article length but also because my purpose here is only to suggest the value of adopting a critical approach to discourse within cultural policy studies rather than a detailed analytical discussion of a specific example. Elsewhere I have covered an analysis of all three main parties in the UK for each election since 1945, and the scrutiny of the selected texts from those documents is also far more detailed than is presented here⁵.

My reasons for suggesting that culture is a politically contested term comes from the observation that governmental cultural policy, as expressed in election manifestos, occurs within the language and structures of politics. As such Connolly (1993) has argued political language is essentially contested because it, ‘...is not a neutral medium that conveys ideas independently formed; it is an institutionalised structure of meanings that channel political thought and action in certain directions’. It is not only contested it also forms, crucially, a discourse.

3.2 Methodology

The sections of the manifesto whose language is to be subjected to scrutiny were located through a mapping of three lexical markers that would suggest the possible presence of cultural policy. Though these markers do not guarantee that the sections of the document in which they appear do contain material appropriate for investigation, there are reasonable grounds for thinking that the section where the markers cluster the highest within the manifesto are more likely than any other to be those that consider the relationship between government and culture. This differs from the approach taken by, for example, the Comparative Manifestos Project (CMP). The CMP is based at the University of Essex, with satellite academics working across many OECD countries Klingemann et al (1994) has undertaken a contents analysis of election documents produced by over 50 democracies, for elections from

1945. As its focus the CMP is interested in the relative weight given to a policy area within an election document when compared with all the other policy areas. As such the CMP analysis requires a prior definition of culture that can be used comparatively across political parties and national borders. The approach adopted here is neither interested in the relative weight of policy nor does it require an explicit definition of culture as a policy area. Instead my emphasis is on the construction of culture, government and the relationship between them as it occurs in situ, and trying to determine the meanings attributed to them in the document in which they occur, rather than prior to reading.

As a first step in the selection process, a content map of the instance of lexical markers was made for each manifesto, produced by the Labour and Conservative party, between 1983 and 2005. The lexical markers chosen were *art*, *culture*, and *heritage*. Table 1 (below) shows how markers were searched for, as well as the basis upon which instances were excluded from the initial mapping exercise.

Term	Sought	Basis for exclusion
<i>Art</i>	As a term in its own right and as a prefix to such terms as <i>artist</i> or <i>artistic</i> . Sought irrespective of capitalisation.	Any instance where <i>art</i> is used in a context that is not generally recognised as pertaining to the arts such as <i>the art of government</i>
<i>Culture</i>	Sought without an 'e' so as include words such as <i>cultural</i> and <i>cultures</i> . Sought irrespective of capitalisation.	Where <i>culture</i> occurs in either a medical or anthropological sense, such as: <i>we will establish guidelines for the growth of stem cell cultures</i> or <i>we will end the previous government's encouragement of a benefits culture</i> .
<i>Heritage</i>	Sought only as a term on its own, and irrespective of capitalisation.	Where the term <i>heritage</i> is used to suggest a history of past practice such as <i>this party is proud of its heritage of famine relief to developing nations in times of crisis</i> .

Table 1: Lexical markers and the basis for exclusions

The reasons I have selected these three terms as lexical markers for cultural policy are:

1. I worked as a local government arts officer between 1998 and 2008. In that work experience I encountered these three terms as the main indicators of cultural policy at a regional and national level.
2. These are the three areas that form the focus for the *how* questions of cultural policy as found in the cultural policy studies literature

3. At a national level government has expressed cultural policy through departments of state during the period under consideration. 1992 to 1997 the Department of National Heritage; 1997 to the present the Department for Culture, Media and Sport. Within the statutory instruments government used to establish these departments these three terms cover governmental cultural policy.

The mapping exercise shows the changing level of occurrence of the lexemes between the two parties and adds a further rationale for choosing the period 1992 to 1997. Following this, the sections of the two manifestos where there is the greatest clustering of the lexemes will be drawn out and the language used in each of them will be scrutinised.

3.3 Content Mapping

Though the period under investigation covers two elections, 1992 and 1997, the period from 1983 to 2005 has been mapped to place these two elections in a wider context. This 22 year period covers three Conservative and three Labour election victories. 1983 and 1987 represent the last two premierships of Margaret Thatcher; 1992 saw John Major as Prime Minister, whilst 1997, 2001 and 2005 were the three successive electoral successes for Tony Blair's new Labour.

Figure 1, below, shows the total number of occurrences of the lexemes for each of the two parties by election year. The line indicates the trend in these figures through a continuous moving average (CMA) based on the arithmetic mean.⁶

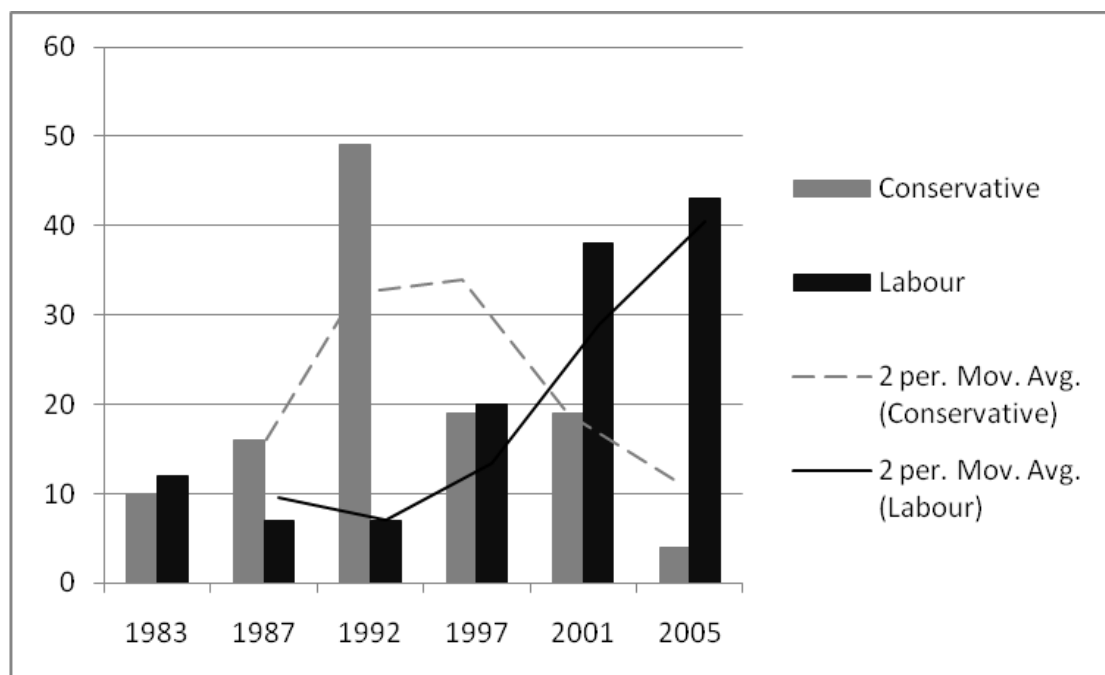


Figure 1: Occurrence of lexemes for general elections between 1983 and 2005

Figure 1 shows a rapid increase in occurrence of the lexemes in the Conservative manifesto up to 1992 and a subsequent decline. Alternatively Labour's occurrences are seen to have a slight dip in 1987 and 1992 from the level of lexical instance in 1983. However from 1992 there has been significant growth in the occurrence of the lexemes, with substantially more instances in the 2001 and 2005 elections than the Conservative party for the same period. As well as marking a transition from one party forming a government over another the chart also suggests a possible change in the level of engagement each party has towards cultural policy.

Tables 2 and 3 below show where the lexemes cluster in the Conservative 1992 and the Labour 1997 manifestos respectively. The tables list all those sections where the lexemes occur on more than one occasion.

Heading in manifesto	<i>Art</i>	<i>Culture</i>	<i>Heritage</i>	Total
Whitehall & Westminster	1	0	1	2
Towards the millennium	2	0	2	4
The millennium fund	1	0	1	2
The arts	14	2	2	18
Our influence for good	0	2	0	2
London	0	2	0	2
Scotland	0	2	1	3
Our Heritage	0	0	11	11

Table 2: Instance of lexical marker by manifesto heading (Conservative Party 1992)

Heading in manifesto	<i>Art</i>	<i>Culture</i>	<i>Heritage</i>	Total
We will help you get more out of life	3	2	1	6
Arts and culture	7	3	0	10

Table 3: Instances of lexical marker by manifesto heading (Labour Party 1997)

The section drawn out for deeper scrutiny from the Conservative manifesto is that titled 'The arts,' whilst the equivalent for Labour has the title 'Arts and culture'. Whilst these might seem self-evident and the recourse to the clustering tables unnecessary, it is important to note that headings which include the lexemes have not always been where the lexical markers have clustered. For example lexical markers have occurred in every Conservative

manifesto since 1945, barring 1951, yet the first instance of a lexeme appearing in a heading is 1970. Similarly one of the highest levels of instance for the Labour party prior to the period mapped was also 1970, yet the clustering in that year occurs under the heading: ‘Opportunities for leisure’. Another interesting observation from tables 2 and 3 is the difference in the range of headings under which the lexemes appear in the Conservative document compared to that of Labour. One reason for this may be the Conservative Party’s announcement, within the 1992 manifesto, of the introduction of a National Lottery. The lottery was presented as opening up new funding opportunities across a broad spectrum of activity. In the document these are referred to as ‘good causes’. Participation in the arts, culture and heritage are presented as aspects of many of these causes Major suggests could be supported through lottery funding. By the 1997 election the lottery was well established, discussion focusing on how it should be managed rather than on what the generated revenue should be spent. As such there was less need to spell out the range of activities covered by the ‘support of good causes’ and a greater emphasis was placed on the operator tasked with managing the lottery process.

3.4 Results

Table 4 presents the texts selected from the mapping and cluster exercises outlined above; while table 5 lists elements of the language used to describe the activity of government and culture. In doing this we can begin to develop an idea of how culture, government, and the relationship between them, are being constructed. Presented this way some of the differences in the attributed meaning being given to culture in these two documents become clearer.

3.4.1 The Conservative Party Manifesto

In the Conservative text culture is presented as something organic, it is something that grows and is in need of ‘enrichment’. It must be ‘provided’ for if we are to ensure that it will continue to ‘flourish’. The language used is that of nurturing. As well as the use of ‘growing’ and ‘flourishing’ the frequent use of ‘support,’ and its derivatives, emphasises this point. ‘Support’ occurs four times in the text:

‘We have *supported* this by increasing the public funding of the arts..’.

‘...and *supported* the Scottish and Welsh Arts Councils..’.

‘We will maintain *support* for the arts..’.

‘We will continue our *support* for libraries as educational, cultural and community centres..’ (My emphasis)

In the last two it is also associated with the use of ‘we’ which adds to an overall tone of paternalism. ‘We have..’ occurs four times and ‘we will..’ five; the word ‘we’ accounting for more than 3.6% of the text.

<p>Conservative Manifesto 1992</p>
<p>THE ARTS</p> <p>Britain has a great artistic heritage and a lively contemporary arts scene. The arts have flourished in recent years, with growing attendance at theatre, opera, dance and arts festivals.</p> <p>We have supported this by increasing the public funding of the arts, by 60 per cent in real terms since 1979, and introducing new incentives to personal giving. The arts have also forged new partnerships with local authorities, businesses and private patrons. Business sponsorship in particular has expanded hugely.</p> <p>We have set up new Regional Arts Boards and supported the Scottish and Welsh Arts Councils in order to diversify and enrich cultural life throughout the country.</p> <p>We have financed the European Arts Festival to be held throughout Britain during our Presidency of the Community in the second half of this year, as well as the first National Music Day in June.</p> <p>In this year's Budget, we announced further tax relief on film-making in this country. Our aim is to make the performing arts, museums and our heritage accessible to all. We will encourage the young to become involved and will facilitate access for the disabled.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The National Lottery will provide a new source of finance for the arts. • We will maintain support for the arts and continue to develop schemes for greater sponsorship in co-operation with business and private individuals. • We will re-examine the role of the Arts Council, as many of its functions are now carried out regionally. • We will continue our support of libraries as educational, cultural and community centres, and urge local authorities to keep up standards. We will complete the new British Library building for which we have provided £450 million.
<p>Labour Manifesto 1997</p>
<p>Arts and culture</p> <p>The arts, culture and sport are central to the task of recreating the sense of community, identity and civic pride that should define our country. Yet we consistently undervalue the role of the arts and culture in helping to create a civic society - from amateur theatre to our art galleries.</p> <p>Art, sport and leisure are vital to our quality of life and the renewal of our economy. They are significant earners for Britain. They employ hundreds of thousands of people. They bring millions of tourists to Britain every year, who will also be helped by Labour's plans for new quality assurance in hotel accommodation. We propose to set up a National Endowment for Science and the Arts to sponsor young talent. NESTA will be a national trust - for talent rather than buildings - for the 21st century. NESTA will be partly funded by the lottery; and artists who have gained high rewards from their excellence in the arts and wish to support young talent will be encouraged to donate copyright and royalties to NESTA.</p>

Table 4: Selected texts from the 1992 Conservative and 1997 Labour manifestos

Conservative Manifesto 1992	Labour Manifesto 1997
Flourished	Recreating a sense of: community identity civic pride
Growing	Defining our country
Support/ Supported	Undervalue
Increasing...public funding	Creating a civic society
Personal giving	Quality of life
Patrons	Renewal of our economy
Business sponsorship	Significant earners
Enrich	Employ hundreds of thousands of people
Financed/ Finance	Bring in millions of tourists
Support	Sponsoring young talent
Standards	Partly funded

Table 5: Contrasting the lexical difference between the two manifestos

By beginning with using ‘we’ in collocation with ‘have’ the text suggests realised achievements. The use of ‘we’ is ambiguous enough to mean both the government, the Conservative party having held political power in parliament for 13 years at the time of this election, whilst also acting as a rhetorical device which hints at possible collusion with the reader. The scope of ‘we’ is open as it not only includes the possible author, or political organisation, but also you and me. Together, the text suggests, it is ‘we’ have helped ‘support’ culture, ‘we’ have seen it ‘grow’ and ‘flourish,’ but ‘we’ are going to do more. ‘We have’ changes in the second half of the text to ‘we will’. ‘We will..’ is much stronger than ‘we have’ and represents a clear declaration of intent:

‘We will encourage..’.

‘We will maintain..’.

‘We will re-examine..’.

‘We will continue..’.

‘We will complete..’.

Culture, it is suggested, is considered as something fragile that has, with our support, done well under a Conservative administration; it is one of the pleasures in which an affluent society can indulge. But if cultural activities are

to continue to ‘flourish’ they need the nutrition of ‘funding’ and ‘finance’. The text suggests this succour is to be drawn from governmental, ‘personal’ and ‘business patrons’.

The construction of culture in this text is one of weakness that requires the care of another, it is something that is in need and cannot support itself. That other is a complex body of state, citizen and business – each is strong but is only capable of being a benefactor of culture when drawn together under the umbrella of the ‘we’.

3.4.2 The Labour Party Manifesto

The language of the Labour document does not present culture as so needy; rather it argues ‘culture’ has been ‘undervalued’. The arts form an important part of the nation’s economic ‘renewal,’ being ‘significant earners,’ employing ‘hundreds of thousands of people’ and attracting ‘millions of tourists’. As with any trade this is only sustainable by investing in ‘young talent,’ but this investment is not presented as the sole responsibility of government. Only partial funding for this is seen as coming from public sources, yet there is no suggestion that private business needs to offer a helping hand. A strong business must invest in its own development so the sponsorship of the emerging talent is seen as also coming from within the sector itself, from an endowment drawing on the resources of those ‘artists who have gained high rewards from their excellence in the arts’.

This narrative of a strong ‘culture’ that is an important player in the economy is mixed with another narrative, that of a healer of a broken society. Not only has ‘culture’ been undervalued economically it has also been neglected for what it can do for our ‘quality of life’. Though not stated explicitly it is implied that our communities are in need, that ‘civic society’ is not what it should be, adversely affected by a lack of ‘civic pride’ and a sense of a loss of ‘identity’ both locally and nationally. But all these things, it suggests, can be rebuilt, recreated, and renewed through the activities of culture and cultural participation.

‘We’ occurs with less frequency than in the previous text, twice in total, and there appearance is balanced. The first instance is negative and suggests a weakness – ‘...we consistently undervalue the role of the arts and culture..’, while the second is stronger and more affirmative ‘We propose to set up a National Endowment for Science and the Arts..’. The ambiguity of ‘we’ is still there but, as the Labour party had been in opposition for 13 years by the time of this election, is much gentler. The first occurrence is almost apologetic, while the affirmation in the second instance is tentative. Where the reader is drawn into collusion with the party is through the use of ‘our,’ which occurs four times.

‘...the sense of community, identity and civic pride that should define *our* country’

‘...helping to create a civic society – from amateur theatre to *our* art galleries’

‘Art, sport and leisure are vital to *our* quality of life..’.

‘...the renewal of *our* economy’ (My emphasis)

'Our' differs significantly from 'we' in that the former also suggests ownership. It is 'our country,' they are 'our galleries,' it is 'our quality of life' and renewal is being sought for 'our economy'. These all occur early on in the text and not only suggest collusion with the activity proposed by the party but hint at the reader being a powerful confederate. Culture is not being constructed here as a frail entity in need of support, but as an essential tool which can be harnessed by the state, the citizen and business in creating a new society; it is not some fragile bloom to be nurtured for its beauty but a dynamic force that can reinvigorate our economy and repair fractured communities.

3.4 Discussion

It has been possible to discern two very different constructions of culture, government and the relationship between them from the two texts identified. Following the 1992 election John Major's government established the UK's first department of state, with a cabinet level minister, to have responsibility for the arts. Called the Department of National Heritage its main role was to oversee resources, whether these take the form of building management or access to collections. The paternalistic approach of nurturing and encouraging found in the text translating into departmental practice. Also following the Conservative party's electoral success in 1992 the national lottery was established. It began distributing funding to what were to be considered 'worthy causes' in 1995. Distribution of funds to culture and the arts were initially focused on the acquisition of artefacts, the conservation of collections, and capital projects, both new building and the development of existing infrastructure.

When Labour won in 1997 the Department of National Heritage underwent a name change and became the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). According to Chris Smith, the department's first Minister of State, the name change was intended to reflect a more dynamic and vibrant image of the department. The new government also established a number of policy action teams to flesh out some of the policy initiatives presented in their manifesto. Social inclusion, community cohesion and encouragement of the cultural and creative industries became the primary concern of the DCMS.

3.6 Conclusion

The constructions of culture and government, and the relationships between them, which can be drawn from adopting a critical approach to the analysis of the discourse in cultural policy studies enables us to both acknowledge the central importance of policy and establish a firm empirical basis for the discipline. An approach that adopts a critical consideration of intellectual history and philosophical aesthetics as the foundations of cultural policy studies would not have been able to observe shifts in the discourse of culture in political texts and is not, therefore, in a position to develop tools for the observation and critique of changes in policy direction.

4. In Conclusion

In this article I have adopted a new approach to the investigation and interrogation of cultural policy at a governmental level. This is one that approaches the *why* questions at the heart of cultural policy studies through taking a critical approach to the place of culture in the political discourse in which it participates. As I argued earlier the traditional approach taken in the field assumes culture and political discourse are separate, such an assumption construes culture and policy to be ontologically different. This ontic difference leads many academics working within the field to develop an epistemological position on the *why* questions pertaining to governmental intervention in culture that requires a prior theoretical understanding of what culture is. Such an approach, I argue, has robbed cultural policy studies of an empirical foundation. By assuming: 1) that culture is a politically contested term and 2) that a critical approach to the political discourse in which culture participates represents a valid methodological approach, I have shown that it is possible to draw empirical conclusions that can help us better critique and understand how culture, government, and the relationship between them, are being constructed. Rather than separating culture and policy this approach sees them as intimately intertwined and asks how *culture* is being institutionally understood by those organisations that are seeking to have their policies legitimised. Through introducing an empirical core to cultural policy studies the *how* and the *why* questions are drawn into an understanding of the ways discourses contest meaning, and a consideration of what this means in regards to the practices, procedures and administrative structures they critique and develop. In applying a critical approach to the analysis of discourse around cultural policy, as it emerges, academics and those active in the ‘cultural’ sector can better understand the impact of policy, as it emerges, and develop new tools for its critique.

Notes

- ¹ The principle journal for the field is the *International Journal of Cultural Policy*.
- ² The International Conference of Cultural Policy Research is a biannual conference which forms the central international platform for sharing research in the field.
- ³ This information was drawn from data gathered from the 6th Annual ICCPR conference program: this represents an expansion on the previous ICCPR conference, held in Istanbul in 2008, which had just over 100 papers. Both conferences had a similarly wide geographical spread of contributors.
- ⁴ I would like to add that much of Belfiore’s work since this has had a much more empirically grounded foundation. Her most recent work, such as Belfiore 2009 and her recent conference papers (Belfiore 2010a and the Cultural Trends conference – Belfiore 2010b) are less focused on intellectual history and much more interested in the use of rhetoric and argumentation theory in understanding cultural policy change.
- ⁵ This forms the basis of my current PhD research.

- ⁶ This is calculated as the mean value for the number of values up to the point where the average is being determined. So the CMA for 1987 will be the sum of the values divided by 2, 1991s divided 3 and so forth.

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