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**Meanings and Measures of
Urban Cultural Policy:
Local Government, Art and Community
Wellbeing in Australia and New Zealand**

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Abstract

Local government in Australia and New Zealand has long contributed to the cultural life of communities, particularly by providing services and infrastructure for creative activities. Through a historical literature review and four contemporary case studies, this research explores some of the many goals, values, techniques and traditions that are embedded in local government arts programmes and cultural policies. Drawing on the theories of governmentality and wellbeing as capabilities, this thesis argues that urban cultural policy in Australia and New Zealand is fundamentally driven by local government's rationale of providing the conditions in which community members can live free and flourishing lives.

Faced with increasing demands for accountability and evidence-based policy and planning, local government officers are endeavouring to articulate and assess arts programming and cultural policy in relation to broad aspirations. Their efforts are complicated by the multiple definitions of culture, competing rationales for supporting the arts and the difficulty of quantifying unpredictable and intangible results, not to mention the myriad other activities and agencies that shape cultural community outcomes. Cultural policy evaluation is important for learning and legitimation, but it presents significant challenges for local government.

This thesis examines how municipalities in Australia and New Zealand develop and implement cultural plans and services in this complex environment. Exploring the problems of meaning and measurement that arise from certain discourses and practices, it demonstrates the value of an interpretive approach to cultural policy analysis. The case study research shows that local government officers require an array of skills and different types of knowledge to design, deliver and evaluate urban cultural policy. Their discourses and practices are shaped by overlapping traditions of local governance and multiple forms of cultural value. Community wellbeing indicators are put forth as a relevant tool for local government calculations, but evaluating the results of arts and cultural policy requires more than the careful construction of meaningful measures. Effective evaluation of urban cultural policy would recognise the significance of numerous policy frames and multiple forms of context-dependent knowledge.

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Chapter One: Introduction

A nation can be very rich in every material sense, but if it fails to provide for and nurture creative expression, it is impoverished in immeasurable ways.

(Helen Clark, cited in Artwork² 2004, 2)

All publicly funded art has a responsibility to give a clear account of its value to the society that funds it. All allocations of public funding, especially at a time of fiscal constraint, involve deciding between competing priorities. The argument is not simply whether arts are virtuous but whether they are more virtuous than other claims on the public purse.

(Knell and Taylor 2011, 8)

Whether considered impossible or imperative, calculating the value of artistic and creative expression is an inescapable issue in cultural policy. The first quote above, from New Zealand's Helen Clark, then Prime Minister and self-appointed Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage, reflects the sentiment that art has intrinsic value, both for individuals and for society as a whole. Implicit in such a statement is an understanding of the importance of symbolic resources and representations in helping us to understand ourselves and others, and in imbuing our lives with meaning and pleasure. From this perspective, cultural value is either immeasurable or is debased by efforts to calculate its worth. On the other hand, as British policy advisors John Knell and Matthew Taylor argue, contemporary government has no role in the cultural sphere if it cannot rationalise its interventions in economic terms. Even the language that Clark uses to discuss cultural value ó of material wealth versus poverty, and the ubiquitous issue of measurement ó reflects this dominant market rationality in governmental discourse.

These paradoxical statements raise some questions about the value of arts and culture for human wellbeing, the role of government in relation to these domains, and the centrality of economic measurement in these debates. These statements also reflect tensions about the choice and implications of particular tools for evaluating cultural value and facilitating governmental interventions in this field. At the core of these debates ó and this thesis ó are issues of power and knowledge. Who decides what the government does in relation to arts

and culture? How are those decisions made? And what are the implications of those processes and practices?

Debates over cultural value and its measurement occupy a prominent place in contemporary cultural policy scholarship and public discourse, particularly in the United Kingdom and Australia (Belfiore 2012a; 2012c; Geursen and Rentschler 2003; Glow and Johanson 2006; Holden 2004; Rylance 2012; Westwood 2012). Cultural value is also a salient issue in New Zealand, where the Ministry for Culture and Heritage has recently released a guide to economic valuations of culture (Allan, Grimes, and Kerr 2013). British analysts such as Knell and Taylor (2011) were writing in the context of governmental austerity measures that spurred further reflection on the value of the arts to society, and the government's role in, and relationship with, the cultural sector. Although the global financial crisis is at least partly to blame for this 'age of austerity', similar debates have been taking place since the 1980s in countries that have experienced successive waves of public sector reforms. These neoliberal reforms have provoked changes to governmental structures, discourses and practices, introducing economic reasoning into such sectors as local arts policy and cultural development, which traditionally operated outside of the market.

At the level of local government in Australia and New Zealand, policy workers grapple with the issue of cultural value as they seek to justify and evaluate their arts programmes and cultural policies. Local governments in Australia and New Zealand have long contributed to the cultural life of their communities, and, as in cities around the world, their plans and programmes invoke international discourses on cultural democracy, the creative city and quality of life. Yet the means and ends of urban cultural policy are neither clear nor certain. Facing increased demands for accountability and legitimation, local government officers are endeavouring to articulate and evaluate arts and cultural policy outcomes in relation to broad concepts such as community wellbeing and cultural vitality.

The development of cultural and community indicators offers promise for measuring and communicating policy outcomes in ways that correspond with the discourses and frameworks of local government. The construction and use of these indicators is fraught with epistemological, methodological and practical tensions, however. In particular, the application of quantitative measures in a field shaped by competing discourses, fluid identities, intangible outcomes and relational knowledge can be problematic.

This thesis examines issues of meaning and measurement that arise out of certain discourses and practices in local government's approaches to arts and culture. I focus on city councils in Australia and New Zealand, where decades of public sector reforms have led to a growing interest in outcome indicators within strategic planning and performance measurement frameworks. Urban municipalities offer a fruitful yet under-examined site for analysing contemporary cultural policy issues and related indicator frameworks. The limited literature in this field makes it difficult to generalise about the forms and techniques of urban cultural policy, but the insights in this thesis serve to enhance understanding of this significant domain of government.

I argue that urban cultural policy in New Zealand and Australia is underpinned by the normative discourse of community wellbeing and shaped by a range of other goals, traditions, values, techniques and forms of expertise. Local government's focus on service delivery means that urban cultural policy typically takes the form of arts programming ó through funding or producing creative events and activities ó and providing cultural infrastructure, such as art galleries, libraries, community centres and museums. Measures of community wellbeing may help to articulate and evaluate specific aspects of urban cultural policy, but they do not fully represent the multiple forms of knowledge and value that circulate in this field. My analysis of calculative practices in urban cultural policy is particularly significant given contemporary interest in wellbeing measurement, evidence-based policy, creative cities and the shift to community and network modes of government.

Paying attention to these recent trends as well as historical traditions in theory and in practice, in Chapters Two and Three I present a literature review that outlines major cultural policy paradigms and local government developments. These chapters provide a conceptual framework and socio-historic context for my empirical research. I explain this interpretive-comparative approach to cultural policy in Chapter Four, before applying the methods of frame-critical and genealogical analysis to four case studies of urban cultural policy in the following chapters. In Chapter Five I focus on traditions of public sector governance, Chapter Six on cultural policy frames and Chapter Seven on evaluation practices. I conclude the thesis in Chapter Eight by directly addressing the research questions that I introduce below. In this introductory chapter, I define key terms and briefly outline my research design. I then establish the conceptual foundations of this study by presenting an overview of the theories of

governmentality and wellbeing as capabilities. Finally, I introduce the context of urban cultural policy in Australia and New Zealand and my four specific case studies, before closing the chapter with a full outline of the thesis.

Research questions, definitions and design

Building on the growing interest in urban cultural policy, community wellbeing and outcome evaluation, as illustrated throughout this thesis, I draw on a range of theories and methods that offer insight into the aforementioned measurement paradox. I consider the justifications for, and implications of, applying outcome indicators to urban cultural policy, through a series of key research questions:

- (1) What are the discourses and practices of urban cultural policy in Australian and New Zealand local government?
- (2) For what reasons and purposes do local government cultural policy workers use or seek outcome indicators?
- (3) What are the implications of using community wellbeing indicators in urban cultural policy calculations?

The first question leads me to establish the characteristics of urban cultural policy in Australia and New Zealand through a literature review and empirical research. I illustrate significant discourses and practices of urban cultural policy by developing and analysing four case studies of local government art programmes. Building on this emergent understanding of particular approaches to arts and culture in the city, the subsequent questions focus on the particular ‘technologies’ of community wellbeing indicators and outcome evaluation, while also considering the ‘rationalities’ of rule in this context.

My approach is thus informed by the theory of governmentality, which distinguishes between two interrelated facets of government: ‘technologies’ which are methods of acting on a problem, and ‘rationalities’ or ‘programmes’ which are ways ‘of representing and knowing a phenomenon’ in such a way that it is amenable to calculation and programming (Miller and Rose 2008, 15616). According to governmentality scholars, the main focus of the modern, liberal state is the government of freedom, and its principal goals are ensuring the population’s welfare and security (Dean 1999; Miller and Rose 2008). Governmentality refers to ‘the deliberations, strategies, tactics and devices employed by authorities for making

up and acting upon a population and its constituents to ensure good and avert evil (Miller and Rose 2008, 84).

I define policy as the political arrangement of organizations, discourses and technologies of rule by both politicians and bureaucrats (Colebatch 2005, 21). From this perspective, policy is more than a document, and it is not a linear, isolated, top-down process. Policy is made on the front-line and in the back-room, by government agents at all levels, whose decisions are shaped by a range of personal, political, professional and institutional factors. This interpretive approach to policy analysis entails seeing policy-making as a struggle between competing discourses, which are articulated by policy-makers and embodied in practices.

I define discourse in Foucauldian terms as a broad interpretive schema, a conceptual grammar, which shapes but does not determine understanding and action (Bacchi 1999). Following critical policy analysts, I recognise the relationship between discourse and (social) practice (Fairclough 2003, 35636; Fischer 2003, 74, 83685; see also Bacchi 1999, 40646). Practice, in this context, refers to social and material action that is improvised, usually with reference to norms, and which represents grounded knowledge (Freeman, Griggs, and Boaz 2011). Analysing the meaning of policy discourses within specific social and historical contexts, this study illustrates how the language and tools of policy are embedded within institutional environments and practitioners operate within socio-political traditions. From a governmentality perspective, discourses are not simply a means of legitimating government but are an inherent component of its operation (Dean 1999, 26). Discourse is therefore a fundamental element of both the substance and style of cultural policy, and can influence not only arts practice but also social perceptions and economic activity (see, for example, McGuigan 2004; Stevenson 2010a).

While not fully anthropological in methodology, this research has an ethnographic sensibility typical of interpretive policy analysis (Pader 2006; Bevir and Rhodes 2003; Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012). I use the first person throughout the thesis in order to explicitly acknowledge my role as researcher and author. I analyse the practices and discourses of urban cultural policy from the perspectives of local government officers in four case studies. Introduced later in this chapter, each case study centres on an arts-related programme run by an urban municipality in Australia or New Zealand as part of a broader initiative to achieve positive community outcomes. These case study programmes represent

explicit enactments of urban cultural policy, illustrating the possible forms it can take. I generated data by collecting artefacts such as policy documents and by conducting semi-structured interviews with local government officers, along with members of the wider policy community. I then thematically analysed this data and developed categories of discursive constructs and practical techniques to structure my interpretive articulation of discourses and practices.

Recognising that all knowledge is socially constructed and contextual, and given the large gaps I identify in existing scholarship, my responses to the research questions are necessarily partial and contingent. This research nonetheless offers insights into the burgeoning field of urban cultural policy, particularly regarding crucial issues of measurement and evaluation in local government. I do not aim to generate a predictive theory, but my description and analysis of these case studies demonstrates some forms and techniques of urban cultural policy. This is an 'abductive' approach in that I move back and forth between the objects of inquiry and possible explanations informed by relevant literature (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 27).

In addition to the growing literature on urban cultural policy, I have drawn on scholarly analyses of public management and administration, local governance and cultural policy in other jurisdictions to enhance my interpretation of the goals, values and expertise that inform certain discourses and practices. By applying tailor-made categories of cultural value and identifying their underlying rationalities and associated technologies, my analysis puts the spotlight on the forms of knowledge and types of calculative practice that prevail within urban cultural policy in Australia and New Zealand. In doing so, I articulate a 'critical explanation' (Glynnos and Howarth 2007) of specific cases of urban cultural policy.

My aim is to contribute to ongoing research and social dialogue (Flyvbjerg 2001) about the roles and values of local government, arts programmes and urban cultural policy, and the possibilities and implications of greater outcome evaluation, especially involving community wellbeing indicators. This thesis demonstrates the value of taking an interpretive approach to cultural policy analysis, studying particular forms of governmental discourse and practice in order to gain clarity about present conditions. I highlight what is at stake in urban cultural policy and measurement frameworks, ultimately encouraging critical reflection on our

perspectives, relationships and actions within these significant regimes of power and knowledge (Dean 1999).

While the theory of governmentality provides a fruitful conceptual framework for this topic, and interpretive policy analysis has provided an appropriate methodology through which to address my research questions, the capabilities approach to wellbeing articulates some key assumptions about government and human life that underpin this study. According to philosopher and economist Amartya Sen (1993), the freedom to live a flourishing life is the fundamental goal of human development. Expanding on this theory of wellbeing as capabilities, philosopher Martha Nussbaum (2013, 16) argues for its broader relevance, since all countries can be considered developing nations, in that they contain problems of human development and struggles for a fully adequate quality of life and for minimal justice. I extend this theoretical approach further, applying it to the specific field of urban cultural policy within municipal government in Australia and New Zealand.

Both governmentality and wellbeing as capabilities scholars are concerned with issues of power, economic knowledge and measurement. Drawing these theories together, I argue that contemporary liberal democratic government is fundamentally concerned with promoting the capabilities of citizens to live free and flourishing lives, and that at the level of local government this rationale is encapsulated in the discourse of community wellbeing. Cultural policy, as the political approach to organising rights to cultural expression and opportunities for creative activity, can play a key role in citizens' capabilities to achieve a meaningful and pleasurable life. In the following sections, I elaborate on these two theories of government and wellbeing, paying attention to their origins and normative implications, before introducing the field of urban cultural policy and my four case studies.

Governmentality

In growing numbers since the 1990s, various scholars have drawn on the work of French philosopher Michel Foucault to explain contemporary governance and forms of power in society. The study of governmentality draws attention to the powerful processes through which particular techniques and forms of knowledge govern us. Foucault's theory of governmentality has been influential in highlighting subtle configurations of power and contributing to an expanded understanding of the practices of governing at a distance.

(Miller and Rose 2008). That is, it helps understand how governmental norms and techniques become embedded in individuals' lives, allowing 'private' spaces to be 'ruled' at a distance without losing their sense of freedom (Miller and Rose 2008, 42).

By problematising the objects they study, and investigating how they came to be, scholars have used Foucauldian theory to 'seek a better understanding of the contingent yet sedimented strategies of neoliberal governing that compose everyday life' (Bratich, Packer, and McCarthy 2003, 19). A governmentality perspective highlights the 'inventedness' of government policies as 'social artefacts' with a specific historical trajectory (Mckee 2009, 468) and focuses on modes of calculation and related techniques that enable entities to be governed (Dean 1999, 11). In addition to these calculative rationalities and technologies, of particular significance to urban cultural policy is the role of culture and community in the formation of identities and in the relationship between government agencies and citizens in contemporary neoliberal societies (Rose 2000).

The founding text on governmentality is Foucault's 1978 lecture, *La 'gouvernementalité'*, from his series on political economy at the Collège de France. The three key aspects of governing society, Foucault (1994, 445-49) argues, are sovereignty, discipline and governmentality. Tracing the emergence of the art of government in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the demographic and industrial growth of the eighteenth century, Foucault explains that the concept of government, as distinct from sovereignty, emerged in response to perceived problems related to the population. Aided by statistics, the population became the ultimate objective and instrument of the state. Aiming to improve citizens' lives by increasing their health, wealth and longevity, the state broke from its traditional preoccupation with 'the self-preservation of the sovereign' and the management of a territory (Foucault 1994; Mckee 2009, 466). Governmentality thus entails a shift from government based on traditional virtues such as wisdom, justice and divine law, to an 'art of governing' based on an economic rationality specific to the state and the 'technologies' of power and knowledge (Foucault 1994).

Power is commonly portrayed as a negative or repressive force, yet Foucault elucidates, not unlike Lukes (1974), that power is not only necessary but it can also be productive, creative and positive:

If power were never anything but repressive, if it never did anything but say no, do you really think one would be brought to obey it? What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us a force that says no; it also traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network that runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression. (Foucault, cited in Mckee 2009, 470)

From this Foucauldian perspective, power involves the management of possibilities (Mckee 2009, 471), more than recourse to violence or coercion. Foucault sees power as an everyday, socialised and embodied phenomenon, rather than something wielded solely by dominant or coercive actors. Political power does not consist only of discipline and sovereignty, but the state acts as a coordinator of disparate technologies of governing that originate in various sources (Bratich, Packer, and McCarthy 2003, 465). In this way, government involves the conduct of conduct and the state is but one of many forms of authority (Miller and Rose 2008). Foucault uses the term power/knowledge to signify that power is constituted through accepted forms of knowledge, scientific understanding and truth (Rabinow 1991).

Governmentality scholars draw attention to the ways in which power is embedded within political, economic, cultural and social technologies that shape human conduct. Particular calculative practices, such as managerial accounting, influence people's actions, especially by rendering possible the responsible and calculating individual and allowing her to act freely, yet in accordance with specified economic norms (Miller 2001, 379-680). Building on Foucault's analysis of the centrality of statistics in enabling government to categorise and manage populations, scholars such as Peter Miller (2001), Theodore Porter (1996) and Nikolas Rose (1999) have provided convincing accounts of the power of numbers as a technology that creates strong links between knowing, managing and calculating, and that facilitates democratic government at a distance.

In policy, numbers provide a common and consistent language for communicating decisions, coordinating actions, and settling disputes – functioning as an alternative to trust or personal knowledge, especially in diverse and dispersed communities (Espeland 1997, 1107-17; see also Rose 1999; Stone 2002, 163-64). Quantitative measurement thus plays a key role in the conduct of conduct. Although their use is mediated by informal knowledge, power relations and self-interest, numbers can confer legitimacy, construct relations among people and entities that have never before existed, suppress distinctiveness, absorb uncertainty, and

expunge ambiguity (Espeland 1997, 1117-21; see Porter 1996). As some scholars point out, governmental calculations can be qualitative as well as quantitative (Callon and Law 2005; Dean 1999; Ghertner 2010). The construction and use of quantitative indicators alongside other more qualitative judgements is a central issue in my case study analysis, as Chapters Five and Seven illustrate.

A key concern of Foucauldian theory is how citizens are created and governed in (post) modern society. This is a pertinent question for cultural policy scholars. Governmentality provides a conceptual framework for examining the connections between authority, politics and identity, particularly by illuminating how the governable subject is discursively constituted and produced through particular strategies, programmes and techniques (Mckee 2009, 468; Dean 1999). Foucault's account of subjectification describes our relations to ourselves (Bennett 2003, 53), and points to the ways in which we discipline ourselves, not through wilful coercion, but by following norms that are sometimes embedded beyond our perception. This expanded definition of government incorporates culture, which Foucauldian scholars have defined as a distinctive set of knowledges, expertise, techniques, and apparatuses (Bennett 2003, 60). Culture is both an object and an instrument of government – a set of reflections, techniques, and practices that seek to regulate conduct (Bratich, Packer, and McCarthy 2003, 8). A governmentality perspective thus accords greater attention to culture and sees it differently – as a form of productive power – than would a conventional theory of state.

Some researchers have drawn on governmentality theory to examine how cultural policy and creative industries function as mechanisms of rule that offer citizens and workers freedom but set parameters through a discursively reproduced regime of truth (Banks 2007, 426-47; Luke 2010). Foucauldian theorists such as Rose (2000, 1399-1401) note that the self-conduct of the individual is increasingly governed by mechanisms of culture and consumption, through aesthetic elements and political strategies – acting on sentiments, values, identities, allegiance, trust, and mutual dependence. While this recognition of the power of culture may appear radical in some respects, it does not represent a complete disjuncture from traditional approaches to cultural policy, which are predicated on the transformative power of the arts, as I explain in Chapter Three.

In cultural studies, some scholars have used Foucauldian theory to explore “everyday” cultural phenomena in their mundanity and historical particularity (Khan 2004, 47). Taking a different perspective, Bennett (1992) cites Foucault to argue for the possibility of combining a critical and pragmatic approach to cultural policy studies: “to work with government implies neither subjection nor global acceptance. One can simultaneously work and be resistive.” Connecting “culture” with “governmentality,” Bennett (1992) responds effectively to the (largely Australian) debate about whether cultural studies scholars should produce “critical” or “useful” knowledge about policy (Lewis and Miller 2003; McGuigan 1996; O’Regan 1992).

Several scholars in the Foucauldian tradition have identified a new discourse, or rationality, of “community” as a new “third space” of governing, between the state and the market (Rose 1999, 167). Government, according to Dean (2007, 13), involves “forming bonds and creating solidarity among individuals and citizens, and establishing harmony between classes and groups.” Political strategies can be used to intensify these bonds of reciprocity, allegiance, affinity and identification, to allow states to “govern through community” (Rose 2000, 1399; Miller and Rose 2008, 90692). Colin Hay (2002, 182) argues that community, like culture, can be both an object and instrument of government: “Community becomes a terrain for building trust, not only among citizens but also by state government in citizens’ ability to manage themselves.” A range of techniques, especially “procedures of calculation, such as market research, opinion polls, and surveys of attitudes and values” make community calculable and therefore governable (Hay 2002, 189; Rose 1999). Rose (2000, 1409) concludes:

Although it purports to govern while respecting the autonomy of individuals and associational life, this strategy to sustain civility through community actually seeks to inscribe the norms of self-control more deeply into the soul of each citizen than is thought possible through either disciplinary technologies such as mass schooling or through social technologies such as those of welfare states.

This interpretation of the pervasiveness of governmentality may be considered threatening and overbearing. Yet, following Foucault, power is an inevitable element of human relationships and can be a productive as well as repressive force. Furthermore, it is possible to resist governmental rationalities and to engage in “counter-conduct” (Foucault 1994). Indeed, governmentality scholars aim to enhance “capacity for the reflective practice of

liberty, and acts of self-determination this makes possible, without prescribing how that liberty should be exercised (Dean 1999, 376-38). The role of governmentality analysis, according to Miller and Rose (2008, 112), is neither to extol nor to blame, but to distinguish problems of government and help to create spaces in which citizens can think and act on governing practices. Studies following a 'realist governmentality' approach, which combines Foucauldian theory with an empirical focus on practice, have illustrated how 'subjects are reflexive and can accommodate, adapt, contest or resist top-down endeavours to govern them if they so wish' (McKee 2009, 479). An important method for highlighting the contingency of current social and political arrangements, and implying the possibility of alternatives to them, is genealogical analysis. I explain the role of genealogy in this research design in Chapter Four. Applying the insights of governmentality scholars in a grounded, interpretive approach, this research traces the origins and highlights the power of specific assemblages of urban cultural policy.

Wellbeing and capabilities

As Foucauldian scholars have noted, the primary function of liberal-democratic government is to promote the health, safety and prosperity of the population. This goal can be summed up in one word: wellbeing. Among the various theories and interpretations of this term, it usefully denotes a shared understanding of the rationale of democratic government. This research is based on the assumption that wellbeing is not the only goal of government, nor is its definition universally agreed upon, but it is an important and fundamental ideal for discussing and assessing the quality of governmental practices. This includes policies and programmes related to creative spaces and activities in urban areas. Developed as a philosophical foundation for quality of life measurement, the theory of 'wellbeing as capabilities' offers a pertinent approach to cultural policy evaluation and community indicator frameworks.

There is an immense body of literature dealing with philosophical understandings of wellbeing, which cannot be fully explored here. Rather, I provide a brief overview of some key approaches, particularly as they relate to issues of policy and measurement. An important distinction between hedonic or utilitarian and *eudaimonic* theories is commonly made in reviews of literature on wellbeing to identify different understandings of human nature and 'the good life' that underlie the work of philosophers, economists and psychologists (for

example, Ryan and Deci 2001; Huppert and Baylis 2004; Wiseman and Brasher 2008). As an alternative to the hedonistic theory of wellbeing as ‘the greatest balance of pleasure over pain’ (Crisp 2005), utilitarian philosophers have developed several variants of the desire (fulfilment) theory. The most important, according to philosopher Daniel Haybron (2008, 34), is the informed desire version of the comprehensive theory, according to which, ‘the desires that count’ are the ones that we would choose if we made a ‘rational’ decision based on access to full information (see also Crisp 2005).

The desire-fulfilment theory of wellbeing corresponds with social scientists’ interest in measurement and the dominant economic rationality of government. By seeing wellbeing as the satisfaction of preferences, which can be ranked, economists have been able to develop ‘methods for assessing the value of preference-satisfaction (using, for example, money as a standard)’ (Crisp 2005). John Wiseman and Kathleen Brasher (2008, 355) hence link the utilitarian conception of wellbeing with ‘the dominant political paradigm of our time: neo-classical economics with its associated view that the only reliable way to assess pleasure is through the ways individuals exchange money for goods and services in the marketplace.’ Critics of this neoclassical economic approach challenge the notions that people can always define and prioritise preferences prior to experience, that preferences are revealed by actions, that satisfactions can be aggregated, and that universal and contextual needs can be easily distinguished (Clark and Gough 2005; Fleuret and Atkinson 2007; Nussbaum 2005). Thus, although utilitarian theories of wellbeing appear useful for measurement purposes, there are many problems associated with these economic frameworks.

Another approach to wellbeing adopts Aristotle’s concept of *eudaimonia*, translated into English as happiness, wellbeing or flourishing. Haybron (2008, 9) recounts:

[Aristotle] discussed the psychological aspects of human flourishing at length, developing an influential view about the role of the emotions in a virtuous life, but also saying much about the character of pleasure and arguing that the life of virtue is the most pleasant.

Eudaimonic theories following in this tradition understand wellbeing as the fulfilment, or flourishing, of human potential. In contrast to hedonistic and utilitarian theories, ‘*Eudaimonic* theories maintain that not all desires – not all outcomes that a person might value – would yield well-being when achieved’ (Ryan and Deci 2001, 145).

This *eudaimonic* tradition informs Sen's theory of functionings and capabilities, which has been taken up by political theorists and been hugely influential in development studies. Sen (1993, 47) follows Aristotle's argument that wealth is an instrumental, not intrinsic, good; therefore gross domestic product (GDP) is not the best measure of societal progress or quality of life. Rather, evaluations of institutions and policies should be based on assessments of a person's 'actual ability to achieve various valuable functionings as a part of living' (Nussbaum 1993, 30). These functionings range from basic needs such as 'being adequately nourished' to the more complex needs of self-respect and social integration (Nussbaum 1993, 31-37). The capabilities approach, as Lorraine Leonard and Ali Memon (2008, 16) point out, offers a 'useful way to conceptualise well-being' as the positive freedom to live a flourishing life.

Nussbaum (2005; 2013, 33-34) has drawn on this theory to develop a list of ten universal capabilities that are required for a human to have a fulfilling life. Sen, however, is concerned that a finite list of capabilities 'might be 'tremendously over-specified', depriving people of the space to define their own ends' (Clark and Gough 2005, 51). The possibility of a universal definition of wellbeing continues to be debated, as Christine Cheyne et al. (2008, 43) explain, 'because people of different cultures, social backgrounds, and world views perceive well-being differently'. Nussbaum (2005, 29) recognises that needs are socially constructed and expressed differently across cultures but, she argues, without formulating some clear, definite and widely supported principles for government to follow, our world will continue to be unjust. Implementing the capabilities approach would require not only Socratic dialogue and learning from experimental research, but also 'experience of human life, wide reading about a range of human predicaments, and an unusual degree of insight into both suffering and joy' (Nussbaum 2013, 183). Art and literature offer a means for people to gain such insights. They also represent opportunities to 'use the senses, to imagine, think and reason' (Nussbaum 2013, 33) one of Nussbaum's (2013, 33) ten 'Central Capabilities'. From this perspective, symbolic artefacts and creative activities play an important role in a flourishing life and thriving society.

According to Saul Tobias (2005, 81), Foucault implicitly recognises some minimum standards of wellbeing and a 'basic human obligation to support those in need'. Identifying this area of convergence between Foucault, Sen and Nussbaum, Tobias (2005, 71-72) proposes uniting these critical and normative approaches around Sen's (1985) concepts of

agent freedom and well-being freedom. The crucial distinction between the two is similar to that between utilitarian and eudaimonic conceptions of wellbeing; an appreciation of the latter suggests there are conditions in which it is ethical to make decisions about how another person can best achieve the good life. Utilitarian approaches suggest that a person cannot achieve wellbeing without agent freedom that is, the liberal right to exercise individual choice and action. However, removing constraints to agent freedom can be meaningless if people do not have the material and psychological capabilities for self-determination ó in Foucault's terms ó or flourishing, in the Aristotelian sense (Nussbaum 2013; Tobias 2005).

This discussion highlights the implications of holding a particular conception of wellbeing. Each theory of wellbeing provides a framework for understanding such fundamental questions as the nature of the individual, the family, and society, the role of the state, and the nature and causes of social problems (Cheyne 2008, 10). Although policy-makers might not explicitly or even consciously link their decisions to particular theories, their choices and actions reflect the tenets of one tradition rather than another (Cheyne 2008, 10). Whether a theory is based on an individualist or contextualist understanding of wellbeing, for instance, has significant policy implications (Haybron 2008, 23). As Duncan Conradson (2010) points out, the discussions of subjective wellbeing that have informed policy initiatives have been predominantly driven by economists and psychologists, who typically take the individual as their unit of analysis. Because their research designs focus on the person or an aggregate of individual responses, the evidence they provide is oriented toward interventions at the level of the individual rather than society or community-wide responses. Conversely, some positive psychologists and political scientists discuss the social context of wellbeing (Conradson 2010; see also Ryan and Deci 2001; Manderson 2005b), and in the policy sphere, wellbeing is sometimes linked to discourses of sustainable development, human rights or capabilities, and social capital. It can also be connected to the widely observed shift to governance, an associated turn towards community and a search for alternative means of measuring progress.

At the international level, research in the *eudaimonic* tradition has been conducted with the implicit expectation that it inform policy-making. Both Sen and Nussbaum's approaches are designed to guide development policy and quality of life measurement, and their emphasis on positive rather than negative liberties has significant political implications. Rather than emphasising freedom from state interference, their approach puts the onus on governments

to translate potential capabilities into actual functionings (Leonard and Memon 2008; Nussbaum 2005, 43; UCLG 2004). Richard Ryan and Edward Deci (2001, 147) agree that a theory that specifies basic needs or functionings -delineates prescriptively the nutrients that the social environment must supply for people to thrive and grow psychologically. Leonore Manderson (2005a, 14) thus argues:

The task of defining, deconstructing and attaining wellbeing is not í -academic in the sense of being abstract or theoretical, without practical purpose or implication. Rather, it serves a political and pragmatic purpose: the debate speaks to the heart of government.

Eudaimonic theories that describe the minimum conditions required to facilitate wellbeing implicitly put forth guidelines for governments that seek to promote the wellbeing of their citizens.

Operationalising and measuring wellbeing in policy

Various understandings of wellbeing are embedded in institutional frameworks and policy practices, including at the level of local government and in the field of urban cultural policy in New Zealand and Australia. Local authorities in both countries have developed strategies and programmes that incorporate the concepts of community, social and cultural wellbeing, corresponding with their aim to improve quality of life. Recognising the social constitution of wellbeing, these concepts shift the focus from individuals' psychological states to -the conditions of wellbeing' (Mulligan et al. 2006, 246-25), aligning with the capabilities approach. The process of developing, implementing, and evaluating policies based on a collective concept of wellbeing offers a productive means of governing at a distance, by empowering communities and policy networks to improve results (Badham 2009; Johnston and Memon 2008; Salvaris 2007; Wiseman and Brasher 2008). In this context, community wellbeing indicators have been seen as tools for translating broad collective goals and values into clear and tangible outcomes that can be used to express and measure the progress of trends and issues over time (Wiseman et al. 2006, 21; Johnston and Memon 2008, 869).

Scholars in various fields argue that making wellbeing outcomes explicit within current models of government would encourage policy-makers and analysts to take into account the impacts of their actions on citizens' quality of life, and that this would lead to improved outcomes for individuals and communities (Diener et al. 2009; Fleuret and Atkinson 2007; Nussbaum 2005). Supporters of the political use of wellbeing measures argue that politicians

already make judgements about, and articulate their goals in relation to, perceptions of happiness and human flourishing (Gunnell 2010; Manderson 2005a; Nussbaum 2005). Improving human wellbeing has been described as the fundamental goal of social policy in particular (Cheyne, O'Brien, and Belgrave 2008; Manderson 2005b). More broadly, according to Nussbaum (2005, 30), wellbeing is the underlying principle we can agree on as an objective of human existence.

The idea of measuring wellbeing has gained currency in political discourse in recent years among both conservative and progressive politicians and policy communities. A year after French President Nicolas Sarkozy declared that his country would develop a series of wellbeing indicators to measure economic and social progress (*Nouvel Observateur* 2009), British Prime Minister David Cameron launched a wellbeing inquiry in his country (Stratton 2010). The Office for National Statistics (2012) has since developed headline indicators to measure and report annually on wellbeing levels in the United Kingdom. The concept of wellbeing had already been explicitly incorporated into local government legislation in the United Kingdom in 2000 and New Zealand in 2002. Meanwhile, levels of life satisfaction in different provinces can be compared in the Canadian Index of Wellbeing; the Australian Unity Wellbeing Index has been monitoring the subjective wellbeing of Australians since 2001; and Bhutan famously introduced a Gross National Happiness Index as an alternative to GDP in 1972.

These initiatives respond to international concerns that emerged in the 1950s over the use of GDP as a measure of societal progress, which equates economic growth with human wellbeing, and may encourage materialism and consumption even though they do not necessarily enhance wellbeing (Diener et al. 2009; Duxbury 2005, 258; Erikson 1993; Wiseman et al. 2006, 22623; Wiseman and Brasher 2008). The movement for alternative measures of progress has inspired the development of community indicator projects around the world. The final Victorian Community Indicators Project report explains the rationale for these projects: because the choice of goals and measures reflects particular philosophical and political values and assumptions, ideally, the process of choosing our measures of progress should be a collaborative process, drawing on the ideas, concerns and creativity of the whole community (Wiseman et al. 2006, 28).

More research is required, however, to understand the development and use of community wellbeing indicators (Choudhary 2009; Cuthill 2002). The need for case study research is highlighted by geographers Sebastian Fleuret and Sarah Atkinson (2007, 144-145), who argue that wellbeing must be explored 'within the specific political and cultural contexts of different countries'. As Wiseman and Brasher (2008, 357) put it: 'Any definition of wellbeing needs to be contextualised within communities of population and interest, as well as of place'. Paying attention to the community of practitioners who design and implement urban cultural policy, with case studies in four distinct urban municipalities, in this thesis I accordingly explore context-specific meanings of community wellbeing.

As a multifaceted concept, wellbeing can be defined in suitably abstract terms that allow for common understanding while also enabling more specific definitions to emerge, as appropriate to the particular context in which they are used (Clark and Gough 2005; Fleuret and Atkinson 2007; Nussbaum 2005; Wiseman and Brasher 2008, 357). A suitable theory of wellbeing for the political context needs to be multidimensional and take into account the ways in which social structures and systems shape individual wellbeing (Manderson 2005a, 13). In the 1970s, Shlomit Levy and Louis Guttman (1975, 146) called for a multidimensional definition of wellbeing, having observed: 'Lack of a basic definition impedes both empirical research and theory development in any area, and this appears to have been true regarding "wellbeing"'. A generation later, definitional problems persist (Fleuret and Atkinson 2007, 107), although the legitimacy of multiple meanings of wellbeing is now recognised in some domains. British think tank, the New Economics Foundation (NEF), for instance, encourages communities to develop 'a shared local understanding of wellbeing' so that an effective policy framework based on the concept can be formulated and implemented (Aked, Michaelson, and Steuer 2010, 28). NEF has put forward a generic, multidimensional model of wellbeing as flourishing, which incorporates people's satisfaction with their lives, personal development and social wellbeing (Shah and Marks 2004, 4). It thus incorporates ideas from both desire fulfilment and capabilities theories, and demonstrates how they can be used by governing agents.

The strongest argument against using wellbeing in policy is the difficulty in identifying a shared understanding of the term and finding plausible ways of measuring its achievement. Nonetheless, it is possible to define the concept in suitably abstract terms that allow for common understanding, while also enabling more specific definitions to emerge, as

appropriate to the particular context in which they are used. Making wellbeing outcomes explicit within current models of government might encourage policy-makers and analysts to take into account the impacts of their actions on quality of life, and this could lead to improved wellbeing for individuals and communities.

The *eudaimonic* understanding of wellbeing as the capabilities for human flourishing underpins this thesis. This concept of wellbeing as freedom for self-determination connects the normative theory of the capabilities approach with the critical theory of Foucault. That this freedom can be achieved through critical analysis and reflection is a key driver of this study ó by learning about the processes of social control that shape and constrain thoughts and actions, research such as this may enable others to question, enact or resist particular rationalities and technologies of government (Tobias 2005, 67; see also Dean 1999). In the ensuing chapters, I analyse the origins and contingency of certain arrangements of urban cultural policy in Australia and New Zealand, drawing attention to problems of meaning and measurement emerging from policy workers' attempts to achieve and rationalise arts and cultural programmes in relation to community wellbeing.

Introducing urban cultural policy

Creative spaces and activities are increasingly recognised as important aspects of local government, but this sector remains obscured by conceptual confusion, competing rationales, and a lack of substantial critical analysis. Urban cultural policy is created by a variety of actors within governmental institutions and networks, who use art and other symbolic forms of cultural expression to pursue a broad range of goals. This field is characterised by uncertain and intangible outcomes, diverse institutional structures, dynamic relationships, ambiguous data and multiple forms of subjectivity. Even the definition of culture is contested in this context. This makes it an interesting site to explore some of the tensions and complexities that arise for contemporary governing bodies and the scholars who study them.

There are a multitude of challenges for any agency developing, implementing and evaluating cultural policy. Trying merely to agree on a definition of culture can cause significant debate, as it is variously equated with art, ethnicity and lifestyle. The widely accepted definition adopted by many social scientists, governing bodies and international agencies is encapsulated in UNESCO's (2001) Declaration on Cultural Diversity, which describes

culture as 'the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, í [which] encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs'ø In Chapter Two, I outline various discipline-specific definitions of culture, including cultural policy studiesø understanding of culture as a localised system of symbolic meanings. Regardless of which definition of culture is adopted, its measurement poses challenges.

There are many inherent difficulties within existing cultural indicator frameworks, and research in this field is only beginning to address the complexity of these epistemological and methodological issues (Badham 2009; 2012; Duxbury 2005; Johanson, Glow, and Kershaw forthcoming; Madden 2005a; Mercer 2002). Scholars and policy-makersø attempts to quantify cultural value encounter various tensions, including: the use of quantitative measures for qualitative outcomes; the difference between individual and systems-level measures; and debates as to whether objective or subjective indicators are preferable. Another significant issue concerns the constraints on local government. As I later argue, despite expanding services and mandates, the limited role and resources of local authorities restricts their capacity to construct complex data sets, engage in meaningful evaluation and make substantive policy change.

The clash between values and practices of the arts world and the norms of bureaucratic policy-making further complicates this field. As Martin Mulligan and Pia Smith (2009, 10) observe, there exists 'a large gap between the ways in which artists normally work and the ways in which [local authorities] must work to ensure their accountability.'ø On one hand, recent emphasis on cultural and community values, accompanied by a social constructivist notion of identity formation through collective activities, and a more deliberative and inclusive approach to government, suggests a disconnect from the traditionally dominant 'technocratic'ø methods of policy-making and analysis (Fischer 1998). On the other hand, the desire and requirement for indicators reflects the demand for evidence-based policy-making and a general preference for a 'positivist model of knowledge definition, production and use'ø (Hoernig and Seasons 2005, 6; see also Innes 1990). These different rationalities cause tension in attempts to produce and quantify particular cultural outcomes, which are inherently unpredictable, dynamic, subjective and contingent. I explore these tensions in this thesis, developing a theoretically-informed and empirically-illustrated argument to contribute to

knowledge of urban cultural policy and emerging understandings of local arts evaluation and community wellbeing indicators.

The municipal level of cultural policy is increasingly being recognised as important by scholars, politicians and practitioners alike, as I outline in Chapters Two and Three. The recent urbanisation of cultural policy is of particular interest to scholars who position this politicised global phenomenon in the context of a post-industrial knowledge economy (Stevenson and Matthews 2012a; Grodach and Silver 2013b). Another strand of scholarship focuses on the participatory strategies and community-based arts programmes that local governments have developed in their pursuit of the ideal of cultural democracy (see Chapter Two). Yet arts and cultural strategies and programmes remain a relatively low priority for local governments in Australia and New Zealand, where roads, rates and rubbish continue to frame popular perceptions of the municipality's role (Donn 2008; Stevenson 2000). Even while the Local Government Act 2002 charged New Zealand municipalities with enhancing community wellbeing in four dimensions – economic, social, environmental and cultural – and required councils to consult, plan and report on their outcomes in these domains, local policy workers struggled to understand and fulfil these requirements. Strengthening the research and evidence base in local cultural policy, and working towards a conceptual and policy handshake (Mercer 2002, 19; Badham 2012), might assist local governments in Australia and New Zealand to articulate and assess their arts and cultural policies.

Although the structure and practice of local governance varies both between and within states, municipal authorities in Australia and New Zealand face similar expectations and common challenges in defining and evaluating their contribution to the cultural life of the community. Like their counterparts in many other countries, local governments are now expected to monitor and report on measurable targets and outcomes, in accordance with New Public Management, integrated planning frameworks and evidence-based policy-making. Yet showing the impact of policy on broad and intangible goals, such as the nebulous concept of cultural well-being (Lawn 2005, 19), is challenging to say the least. The field of urban cultural policy in Australia and New Zealand provides a rich terrain for studying these issues as it is one where policy workers and analysts appear to have significant interest and difficulty in creating and implementing relevant indicator frameworks (Badham 2009; CDN 2010; MCH 2008; Salvaris 2007). As in other fields, community outcomes are often expressed in abstract terms, achievable only over the long term, and shaped by external

influences outside the control of the authorities concerned (Kouwenhoven, Mason, and Leonard 2009, 20). Municipalities in Australia and New Zealand are nonetheless obliged by local government legislation to monitor and report on progress towards strategic or community outcomes, which usually include social or cultural goals to which arts programmes are expected to contribute (see Chapter Three).

There are various shared traditions that unite Australia and New Zealand and influence their government and policies. As post-colonial nations of the South Pacific, settled by Britain following Captain James Cook's eighteenth century voyage, and each now governed as a parliamentary democracy and formally a constitutional monarchy there are many similarities in their political and socio-cultural structures. The population of both countries is dominated by English-speaking citizens of European descent, while also being home to an indigenous population and a range of other ethnic groups.¹ Despite the continued economic importance of agriculture in both, and the centrality of the bush and rural landscapes to popular conceptions of national identity (Watson 1994; Jacka 1998), nearly nine out of ten New Zealanders and Australians live in urban areas (CIA 2013). This research focuses on the form of government dedicated to managing and developing these urban areas and their populations: city councils.

Of course, significant differences also exist between these countries. Notably, in terms of geography, population and economy, the continent of Australia is much larger than the islands of New Zealand, boasting five times the number of inhabitants, 29 times the land mass, and approximately 68 per cent more GDP per capita than its smaller neighbour (CIA 2013). New Zealand has a unitary government and a unicameral parliament, elected under a proportional system; Australia has a federal government with a bicameral legislature, and various electoral methods in place at each level of government throughout its states and territories. Local government, with its common norms and structures, is arguably the most comparable aspect of the political system in these neighbouring countries (see Chapter Three).

Like the native flora and fauna, the social and cultural history of each of these lands differs significantly too. Although Australia has been inhabited for approximately 40,000 years

¹ According to the latest World Factbook figures, the white population in Australia is significantly higher (92%) than the proportion of the population of European descent in New Zealand (57%) (CIA 2013).

longer than New Zealand, indigenous groups make up a much smaller proportion of the Australian population than do the Māori in New Zealand.² As Christopher Madden (2010, 265) observes: “Social, political and cultural differences between the countries inevitably feed through to differences in cultural policies.” Significantly, debates around multiculturalism reverberate in Australia, especially since the “White Australia” immigration policy was jettisoned in 1973, whereas the New Zealand government since the 1980s has favoured an official policy of biculturalism alongside its multicultural immigration policy. Differences such as these are reflected in the national framework of cultural indicators developed by each country (CDN 2010; Ferres, Adair, and Jones 2010; Madden 2010). These policy frames and measurement systems receive attention in the following chapter, where I develop a typology of cultural value that I later apply to local cultural policy discourse.

Despite significant diversity in the size, resources and institutional history of local governments, most city councils in Australia and New Zealand have a dedicated arts and culture department located within their community development or human services division. There is little existing research in this area, but some figures are available for the State of Victoria in Australia, where each city council employs between one and twenty dedicated cultural development positions.³ In addition to providing libraries and community halls, cultural policy in Australian and New Zealand local government incorporates public art, festivals, museums, heritage and grants to artists and community groups, as well as some indigenous and multicultural policies. A broader definition of culture would extend this list to such functions as urban planning, community development, recreation and leisure facilities or departments in which arts and cultural development units are sometimes located. Commonly, however, “cultural policy” in this sector focuses almost exclusively on the arts and related creative activities (Dunphy, Tavelli, and Metzke 2013). In Chapters Two and Three, I explore these meanings of local cultural policy in a historical perspective, both with reference to international scholarship and a particular focus on urban municipalities in Australia and New Zealand.

² Māori make up over 7% of New Zealand’s population, while less than 1% of the Australian population are Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders (CIA 2013).

³ A total of 342 cultural development workers are employed in the State’s 79 local governments, half of which have an arts and/or culture manager. These figures do not include casual positions in venues such as performing arts centres and art galleries, or library staff, of which most councils have a significant number. (Dunphy, Tavelli, and Metzke 2013).

Introducing the case studies

This research centres on four case studies of urban cultural policy, each of which involves a programme run by the arts and culture department of an urban municipality in Australia or New Zealand. While the selected municipalities share some common traditions, statutory duties, and a similar socio-cultural and political context, each case study is unique and could not be readily substituted for another. I developed these case studies in consultation with council officers, deliberately choosing arts-related projects that had recently been designed and delivered by the local government with the aim of improving quality of life outcomes, which the officers were considering how to evaluate. In Chapter Four, I elaborate on the process of accessing these sites and generating data from them.

This section introduces each case study programme and city council, noting pertinent details to provide a context for the analysis presented later in this thesis. I have taken several steps to protect the identity of research participants: pseudonyms denote the four case study sites; some policy documents and department titles have been renamed; and individual local government workers are all presented as women and only identified by a generic job title. The significance of state legislation makes it important to identify the broad geographical location of each case, nonetheless. The cities of -Oswaldø and -Cordeliaø are located in Victoria, Australia; -Kent Bayø is in Queensland, Australia; and -Edmundtonø is in New Zealand. All financial sums in this thesis are presented in the local currency, either Australian or New Zealand dollars. Appendices 1 to 3 contain a list of the individual roles participating in this research, other primary source material and organisational charts locating research participants within the structure of each council.

The Oswald City Council case study involves two separate arts programmes connected to its policy of -late night cultural activationø late night programme funding and a site-specific artistic intervention. Safety issues and the development of a -24 hour cityø had been a priority for this council since the mid-1990s. In recent years, through the development of a -24/7 City Policyø and various initiatives of councillors and staff, cultural activities have been explored as a new vehicle to shape both perceptions of, and behaviour in, the city at night. In 2010, at the mayorø's request, arts officers allocated almost \$120,000 to several major festivals to trial late night programming. Following the perceived success of these grants, Oswald City

Council offered further funding to arts and cultural organisations over the following two years for late night programming through an increasingly transparent application process.

Meanwhile, the council's cultural development manager coordinated a live arts project at a major public transport depot in 2010-11. Entitled 'At Night', this project responded to safety issues and functioned not only to animate a problematic site, but also as a means of research and consultation. A safety officer played a key role in the design and evaluation of both late night projects studied at Oswald, and the council also contracted an external consultant to evaluate the late night programming 'pilot'. The Oswald case study illustrates an increasingly common approach taken by local government to the night-time economy, using arts and culture to transform urban spaces into places of entertainment, despite the complexities and contradictions within such approaches to urban revitalisation (Johnston 2011; Rowe and Bavinton 2011; Stevenson and Matthews 2012b). As well as demonstrating bureaucratic structures and market rationality, the Oswald case features officers engaging in creative approaches to designing and monitoring cultural programmes.

The second case study is a street mural project at Edmundton City Council. Research participants included the advisors and current and former managers in the arts and culture department, a team of around six full-time equivalent staff within the human services directorate of one of New Zealand's 12 city councils. A youth worker from a community organisation, who was a key partner in the Edmundton street mural, also participated in this research. The particular project studied was part of a broader street art programme, led by the Council's arts advisors in 2011-12, in partnership with local youth and community groups, and with approximately \$50,000 of funding from the Ministry of Justice tied to a graffiti prevention strategy. In this series of projects, the council employed urban artists as mentors to guide young people to design and paint murals on graffiti-prone walls and bus shelters across the city.

Like the Oswald case, a key aim of the street mural programme was enhancing city safety, and the project involved the council's safety department. The Edmundton project also aimed to 'raise the standard of street art', increase participation in arts activities, especially for young people from diverse ethnic communities, and 'create professional development opportunities for artists' (EER, see Appendix 1). The painting of a street mural by artists working with marginalised community members is a typical example of a cultural

development programme (Hawkins 1993, 25; Marschall 2000; QEII Arts Council 1982), and the cooperative approach of council officers, working across departments as well as with external organisations and community members aligns with a networked governance approach, as I discuss in Chapter Five. What was unique in Edmundton, compared with the other case studies, was the significance of discourses drawing on New Zealand's local government legislation, notably the concept of cultural wellbeing.

The significance of this legislative context for my research design and findings merits brief discussion here. At the time of my fieldwork, the Local Government Act 2002 was the main framework for monitoring and evaluation at the City of Edmundton, but the 2012 Amendment Bill was concurrently being debated in parliament. Despite concerns from opposition parties, local governments, and cultural and social service providers around the country, the Local Government Act 2002 Amendment Act 2012 replaced local authorities' broad mandate, of 'promoting the social, economic, environmental, and cultural well-being of their communities, taking a sustainable development approach' with a new purpose statement 'that local government provides 'good-quality local infrastructure, local public services, and performance of regulatory functions'. Further references to 'social, economic, environmental, and cultural well-being' throughout the Local Government Act were either deleted or replaced with the phrase 'social, economic, environmental, and cultural interests'. The debate surrounding this legislation highlighted the political significance of the terms 'community wellbeing' and 'cultural wellbeing', encouraging participants to reflect on their salience and the possible implications of this discursive change for their work.

At Kent Bay City Council, I focused on the development of a library and cultural centre, which incorporated new youth-oriented cultural facilities and commissioned public art. This major infrastructure project had evolved over several years and, at the time of research in late 2011, officers had confirmed the design of the facilities and were awaiting council approval for a land swap before construction commenced in 2012. Prior proposals to redevelop or relocate the branch library had been deferred in the mid-2000s as the council reviewed its social infrastructure priorities. Following high levels of population growth, by 2009 council officers had created a social infrastructure plan that used statistics to illustrate a lack of educational and recreational facilities in the suburb. Officers argued that the existing library was one of the most 'stressed facilities' in Kent Bay and that the population was 'approaching the district threshold for a youth facility' (KBCM, Appendix 1). The council

consequently resolved to integrate the library and a proposed community youth cultural centre as a co-located facility with a capital works budget of approximately \$22 million.

As part of the council's new approach to multi-functional civic centres, the Kent Bay library and cultural centre development aimed to cater for the city's growing population by providing a diverse range of social and cultural opportunities, while also offering operational advantages to the council by simultaneously accommodating multiple services. A partnership between several departments in the community services division, led by the cultural services manager as 'asset custodian', the project group engaged an architecture firm in early 2010 to design the integrated facility and reviewed tenders for its construction in mid-to-late 2011. The project's public art reference group then reviewed selected artists' responses to a specific design brief for the building, coordinated by the only full-time officer in the cultural development team.

The Kent Bay library and cultural centre development reflects local government's traditional emphasis on infrastructure services. The calculative processes involved in the council's selection of a public art proposal for this development nonetheless correspond with similar practices in other urban municipalities. At the time of this research, one of the officers involved in this infrastructure project was also developing a community wellbeing strategy, which I occasionally refer to in my analysis of the Kent Bay case study, although the strategy was not directly connected to the library and cultural centre development.

Finally, the Cordelia City Council case study centres on the evaluation of a public art exhibition that took place on a major transport corridor in that city in 2011. An annual event, the public art exhibition was designed to respond to the urban landscape. Pieces and performances selected for the show were exhibited over several weeks in train stations and along the main train line and cycleway that traverses the municipality. A collaboration between Cordelia City Council, three transport agencies and a local tertiary institution, the aims of the public art exhibition included: enhancing residents' public transport experience; improving perceptions of safety and a sense of place around train stations; encouraging social connections by creating talking points; and generating community engagement through organised tours.

Cordelia's arts and culture manager coordinated an evaluation of the 2011 exhibition to gather information about the population groups it reached and to assess the extent to which the council's aims were achieved, mainly through surveys of tour participants and public transport users. I studied the evaluation of this programme as part of the development of an evaluation framework for the arts and culture unit, which I undertook as a collaborative research project in 2012, in close consultation with the unit manager. As I explain in Chapter Four, I took a slightly more in-depth and participatory approach to the Cordelia City Council case study, but the selection of the project and data analysis were comparable with the other cases. At the time of research, Results Based Accountability was being introduced to Cordelia City Council, providing an insightful example of an outcome measurement framework, as I analyse in Chapter Seven.

I thus established four case studies of urban cultural policy: late night cultural activation at the City of Oswald (Victoria, Australia), the street mural project at the City of Edmundton (New Zealand), the library and cultural centre development at the City of Kent Bay (Queensland, Australia), and the public art exhibition evaluation at the City of Cordelia (Victoria, Australia). I spent several days, or more, on site at each council and interviewed a total of 26 local government officers. These officers represent various roles in their respective councils, but the majority were arts administrators and several were managers of the arts and culture department (see Appendices 2 and 3). Each officer belongs to a place-based urban cultural policy community. Their interview responses informed my selection and analysis of other policy texts, notably the council and cultural plans (see Appendix 1). Excerpts from these texts and interview transcripts are given as examples throughout the thesis, illustrating my arguments and demonstrating the applicability of this interpretive approach to urban cultural policy.

Outline of the thesis

This introduction is the first of eight chapters. The following two chapters set the research context by identifying and discussing key concepts from relevant literature. In Chapter Two I focus on cultural policy and cognate disciplines, identifying heuristic frames for my analysis of urban cultural policy, while Chapter Three turns to the context of local government in Australia and New Zealand. Taking a genealogical approach, I describe the founding paradigm of pragmatism and 'services to property', which were gradually accompanied by an

expansion of human services, strategic planning and accountability requirements. I describe these developments as a partial shift from 'roads, rates and rubbish' to 'community, culture and calculative practices'. In both Chapters Two and Three I highlight the paucity of scholarship on urban cultural policy, especially in New Zealand and Australia, as well as the lack of attention to practice and practitioners in both local government and cultural policy studies.

Once the socio-historical context and its academic foundations have been set up, I discuss my research design. In Chapter Four I outline my interpretive-comparative approach to urban cultural policy discourse and practice. After discussing the ontological and epistemological foundations of interpretive policy analysis, within 'the argumentative turn' and 'the practice turn', I explain how I developed the four case studies and accessed these research settings. Combining the insights of interpretive policy analysis and governmentality studies, I argue for an ethnographic approach to studying cultural policy. My discussion of fieldwork and deskwork highlights the challenges and advantages of this interpretive research design, particularly as illustrated by the revised approach to my final case study.

The case studies take centre stage for the remainder of the thesis. In Chapters Five to Seven, I directly address my first research question, offering concrete illustrations of cultural policy discourses and practices at the local government level in Australia and New Zealand.

Building on the theoretical and historical backdrop provided in the first part of the thesis, I lay the groundwork for responding to my second and third research questions about the growing interest in, suitability and risks of community wellbeing indicators for urban cultural policy calculations. Before focusing on evaluative practices, I outline the broader context of urban cultural policy in these case studies. Taking a genealogical approach, in Chapter Five I draw on public management and administration literature in combination with my case study material to describe and analyse the 'medley of urban cultural governance'. I categorise the discourse and practice of local cultural policy workers according to three 'traditions' of government – bureaucracy, market and network – arguing that all three play an important role in contemporary urban cultural policy.

In Chapter Six, I focus more on governmental rationalities than technologies, undertaking a 'frame-critical' analysis and paying particular attention to the values and goals embedded in each case study. Representing the aspirations of those engaged in designing, funding and

delivering these programmes, the six 'issue frames' I identify are: quality art, community strengthening, safety, the creative city, creative place-making and cultural wellbeing. Each frame aligns with a particular conceptualisation of cultural value and connects with the ubiquitous 'meta-frame' of community wellbeing. Drawing on my thematic analysis of primary source material, I describe the relevance and dominant meanings of these frames for the case study workers. Although their meanings vary slightly from one context to the next, I suggest that the polysemy and multidimensionality of several integrative frames makes them suitable discursive constructs for urban cultural policy. As each frame represents a regime of cultural value, this approach may provide a framework for meaningful evaluation. Certain policy frames are more relevant for particular programmes and policy workers than others, and since this analysis has excluded the perspectives of artists, community members and other stakeholders, I suggest that these frames do not represent the only goals of urban cultural policy.

Chapter Seven hones in on issues of measurement and evaluation. Adopting a broad definition of evaluation to include formal monitoring and reporting processes as well as informal feedback mechanisms and reflective practice, I discuss the main functions of evaluation for local cultural policy workers in the case study contexts. I argue that the principle uses of evaluation here are for legitimation and learning, which can also be described as the 'outside story' and the 'inside story'. I critically analyse uses of and attitudes to performance indicators in relation to these purposes. This analysis furnishes lessons for the potential application of community wellbeing indicators, which may be suitable for institutional functions such as rituals of accountability and informing decision-making. These indicators are unlikely to be as useful as local and relational knowledge for improving practice, however.

After highlighting common challenges in urban cultural policy evaluation, I discuss the introduction of results accountability in the Cordelia case study to consider the implications of adopting a practice-based outcome evaluation framework. While Results Based Accountability demonstrates potential for incorporating community wellbeing indicators into urban cultural policy, it does not overcome all the issues associated with evaluating arts programmes and cultural policy in local government. My analysis of the Cordelia case offers insights for those interested in developing and applying community wellbeing indicators for local cultural policy. In short, I argue that the creation of indicators will not alone lead to

effective evaluation; broader cultural change would be required within local government for outcome evaluation to meet its democratic potential.

I conclude this interpretive-comparative analysis in Chapter Eight by building on the key points from the preceding chapters to address the research questions. Drawing on the theory of governmentality and my analysis of the traditions of urban cultural governance, I argue that government cannot exist without measurement, so urban cultural policy necessarily involves calculations. Drawing on my case study analysis, I explain that calculations for the purposes of evaluation may involve enumeration, but informal judgements based on tacit knowledge and professional expertise are also taking place. Making explicit these calculations of the quality and worth of particular policies and programmes might increase their democratic legitimacy and accountability, but it would not necessarily improve their outcomes. As a tool for representing population-level results, community wellbeing indicators could be better integrated into urban cultural policy practice than was the case in the councils studied. Building on my interpretive analysis that demonstrated the significance of other forms of knowledge and multiple frames, I argue that wellbeing indicators should be treated as a socially-constructed representation of value, and not as the sole measure by which to assess the quality or worth of a particular policy intervention.

As the following chapters establish, urban cultural policy is an under-researched field, especially in Australia and New Zealand, yet it has significant implications for citizens in an advanced liberal democracy and for scholars interested in government, culture, policy and public administration. As well as building knowledge of urban cultural policy, this research contributes to scholarly discussions of policy analysis methodology. Examples from the case study material that support my argument also demonstrate the benefits of this research design, which recognises the contingency, complexity and conflict in this political field. Ultimately, this thesis contains no simple answers, but it draws attention to significant issues of power and knowledge in particular contexts. If my critical explanation of urban cultural policy is effective, it will encourage readers to think critically about the diffuse forms of power that govern their capabilities for cultural wellbeing. It will also stimulate reflection on the role played by local government, as well as consideration of the different ways of knowing about the means and ends of governmental policies and programmes, and the difficulty of determining whether they are indeed contributing to desirable outcomes.

Chapter Two: Cultural Policy and Cultural Value

Urban cultural policy is beginning to be recognised as an important field of government, in theory and in practice. Scholarship on this sector tends to be limited to the context of economic or cultural development strategies, however, and is especially sparse in New Zealand and Australia.⁴ Before exploring my empirical research, I present a literature review in the following two chapters, outlining key concepts and theories from research on cultural policy, local government and cognate disciplines that provide ways to understand urban cultural policy. This chapter opens by addressing the perennial question of cultural policy analysis: what is culture? By considering this question in the context of contemporary debates on cultural value, I illuminate the ontological and epistemological presuppositions underlying various approaches to cultural policy and arts programmes.

In the second part of this chapter, I discuss the dominant traditions and discourses identified by leading scholars, firstly in other Western countries, then Australia and New Zealand, and finally as they pertain to the local government sector. Forgoing the state-centric models of cultural patronage in cultural policy scholarship, I do not discuss ideal types or make transnational comparisons of the role of government in public culture (see Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey 1989; Mulcahy 2006a; Craik 2007). Instead, this review of significant cultural policy traditions offers some heuristic categories for my frame-critical analysis of urban cultural policy in Chapter Six. At the same time, it highlights the lack of explicit methodological discussion and empirical research in much of the literature, which provides a rationale for this study.

Finally, the third part of Chapter Two considers various approaches to measuring cultural value. Taking a critical, historical perspective, I propose a new typology of cultural indicator frameworks and point to areas where further research is needed. In sum, this chapter introduces the principal academic context in which I situate this research, identifying suitable conceptual frames for my analysis of urban cultural policy case studies, and pointing to ways in which this thesis may enhance knowledge about cultural policy.

⁴ For exceptions, see: Aitken-Rose (2006); Johanson, Glow, and Kershaw (forthcoming); Rentschler (1997); and Stevenson (2000). There is also some scholarship on the specialised practice of cultural planning, which is not the focus of this thesis, but is discussed on pages 81-84.

Ways of knowing 'culture' in cultural policy

In everyday language, culture is often understood as signifying either the arts or the traditions and lifestyles associated with particular ethnic groups (Austin, Kerr, and Ihakara 2003; Beatty and Gibson 2009). I experienced these characterisations throughout this study when hearing the different assumptions people made when I described my research field as 'cultural policy'. These everyday meanings of culture are linked to particular understandings of cultural value, which shape scholars' and practitioners' approaches to (urban) cultural policy.

Cultural policy and planning scholars often cite Raymond Williams' (1983, 87) statement that culture is one of the 'most complicated words in the English language' (e.g. Evans 2001, 9; Gray 1996, 214; Montgomery 2007, 13; Mulcahy 2006a, 319; 2006b, 265; Young 2013, 2). Culture is certainly defined in numerous ways in policy and academic literature, making it a slippery term. British cultural policy scholar Clive Gray (2010, 217-21) usefully explores the particular ontological, epistemological and methodological approaches of the different disciplines interested in cultural policy, demonstrating the many definitions of this 'essentially contested concept' and outlining their implications; 'as the definition of what the object of study is has a clear effect on how it is to be studied.' Although he might not acknowledge it explicitly, Gray builds on Williams' (1983, 87) observation of culture's 'promiscuity' 'in several distinct intellectual disciplines and in several distinct and incompatible systems of thought'. Other scholars who offer definitions of culture in this context also note its polysemic use in different disciplines (Bennett 2005; Grossberg 2010).

Within cultural studies there are two common understandings of culture. The first is based on Williams' (1983, 90) formulation of culture as 'a particular way of life', which, Gray (2010, 219) notes, is often mistakenly referred to as an anthropological view. The second definition sees culture as 'the production and circulation of symbolic meanings', which apparently 'is a fair example of current anthropological views of what "culture" is ... even if it has not been directly derived from anthropology itself' (Gray 2010, 220). Common amongst cultural policy scholars, this second definition of culture as symbolic communication 'or' 'a bounded and localised system of meanings' (Appadurai, cited in Frow 1995, 144) 'encompasses' 'a wide range of signifying practices' (Gray 2010, 221; see also, McGuigan 1996; Mercer 2002). I adopt this understanding of culture as a system of shared symbolic meanings. When I

refer to 'cultural policy,' however, I recognise the common understanding of this term as signifying governmental approaches to the arts and heritage.

Connected to these multiple meanings of culture are various 'regimes of value' that shape cultural policy (Frow 1995). Rather than a hierarchical, unified system of cultural value, John Frow (1995, 162, 131) argues that there are multiple domains of value in the field of culture, where 'different social groups employ criteria of value which may well be incompatible and irreconcilable.' Debates over cultural value occupy a prominent place in contemporary cultural policy scholarship and public discourse, particularly in the United Kingdom and Australia (Belfiore 2012a; 2012c; Geursen and Rentschler 2003; Glow and Johanson 2006; Holden 2004; SWG 2010, 31). As Jim McGuigan (2004, 114) notes, 'Any discussion of public cultural policy – whether in the narrowest sense of arts patronage or in the broadest sense of reforming the social – must, at some point, address questions of value.'

According to Gus Geursen and Ruth Rentschler (2003, 196), there are two main conceptualisations of cultural value:

The aesthetic view, which focuses on quality of life and understanding of the social and psychological values of cultural capital; and

the neoclassical economic view, which focuses on measuring economic output and monetary value of culture to the economy, such as in tourism and related areas.

This broad dichotomy is mirrored in the binary oppositions of art/industry or culture/commerce and the oft-repeated distinction between intrinsic and instrumental value in the cultural policy studies literature (Caust 2003; Glow and Johanson 2006; Gray 2007; Holden 2009; Radbourne, Glow, and Johanson 2010). Several leading cultural policy thinkers have argued that instrumental and intrinsic benefits should not be artificially separated in this way, and that the arts and cultural sector needs to overcome this problematic dualism (Belfiore and Bennett 2007a; Gibson 2008; Holden 2004; Knell and Taylor 2011; McCarthy et al. 2004). Analysing this 'double discourse of value' Frow (1995, 134) in particular critiques the perceived dichotomy 'between the autonomy of the aesthetic and the instrumentality of the commodity,' which ignores the 'commodity status of artworks' and the 'aesthetic dimension of commodities.' Yet many conversations and academic texts on cultural policy continue to be underpinned by a distinction between intrinsic and instrumental value.

In this thesis, I demonstrate that a more refined categorisation of cultural value can be made based on certain ontological and epistemological positions related to the concept of culture itself. This chapter outlines four types of cultural value that I identify from cultural policy studies literature. My analysis of urban cultural policy frames in Chapter Six expands this typology. Each category and frame represents a 'regime of value,' which provides an agenda and criteria that make some judgements 'inappropriate or unthinkable' (Frow 1995, 151). Some of these categories overlap slightly, and the typology may benefit from further refinement, but it effectively serves to distinguish the principal mentalities of cultural policy in both the academic literature and my empirical case studies. This analysis is informed by, but not identical to, the broad categories that other scholars have used to map international approaches to cultural indicators (Badham 2012; Simons and Dang 2006). Unlike the other typologies, my cultural value categorisation aligns with a governmentality approach. I classify these discourses according to their understanding and appreciation of culture, as well as the particular forms of knowledge or expertise on which they draw and which correspond with specific techniques of government.

Aesthetic value – culture as art

The first value type to be discussed here is the aesthetic value of culture, which corresponds with the conceptualisation of *culture as art*. In this common understanding of the term, culture 'describes the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity,' such as 'music, literature, painting and sculpture, theatre and film' (Williams 1983, 90). As a result of the obfuscation of art and culture in governmental discourse (Dunphy, Tavelli, and Metzke 2013; Hawkes 2001, 7; Mulcahy 2006b, 265), the aesthetic value of culture is often paramount in cultural policy.

Traditionally considered a universal and hierarchical discourse on taste, aesthetics focuses on the unique qualities of art and creative expression. As Frow (1995, 13) argues, even those who oppose its high/low hierarchy tend 'to accept the social reality of its [class-based] structure.' This perspective underpins what Eleonora Belfiore and Oliver Bennett call the 'autonomy tradition,' which privileges the 'intrinsic value' of art. That is, whilst the arts may have other powers, such as the different forms of cultural value discussed below, 'the value and importance of the work of art resides firmly in the aesthetic sphere' (Belfiore and Bennett 2007a, 145). Consequently, decisions about the merit of a particular artwork or activity

should be made according to aesthetic criteria, rather than any social or economic benefits it might have.

This understanding of aesthetic value is partly informed by Immanuel Kant's concept of aesthetic pleasure as 'disinterestedness' which implies that focusing on instrumental benefit goes against the very enjoyment of art (Belfiore and Bennett 2007b, 229). From a constructivist perspective, this conceptualisation of cultural value is problematic as it assumes that culture is disconnected from other realms of life, has an 'intrinsic' essence that can be objectively determined and is not dependent on inter-subjective, context-specific knowledge. Frow (1995, 145) explains why intrinsic value is an impossible concept from this viewpoint: 'Meaning, value, and function are always the effect of specific (and changing, changeable) social relations and mechanisms of signification.'

Aesthetic value used to dominate within the 'high culture system' but this began to erode in the 1960s, as other cultural policy frames based on a broader understanding of culture emerged (O'Regan 2001). Critical cultural policy scholars such as Justin Lewis and Toby Miller (2003, 3; see also Knell and Taylor 2011) assert that the culture as art mentality lingers nonetheless:

Nowadays, advocates for 'the arts' are unlikely to embrace such smugness overtly, and yet the use of more democratic language in arts advocacy cannot disguise the underlying assumptions that characterize many practices and outcomes of contemporary arts funding. It is on the whole, a culture chosen and defined by cultural elites, for an audience with the requisite cultural capital.

Empirical evidence to support this statement can be found in the relative proportion of arts funding that governments in countries like Australia and New Zealand continue to dedicate to producing professional, European-influenced 'high culture' such as classical music and ballet (Eltham and Westbury 2010; Hazledine 2011). The aesthetic view of cultural value is often connected to the developmental valuation of culture as cultivation.

Developmental value – culture as cultivation

This second category draws on another of the three main contemporary uses of the term 'culture' according to Williams (1983, 90): culture as 'a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development'. This definition is predominantly based on a philosophical perspective of art as a cultural system and intrinsic aspect of human existence,

central to human flourishing, and a means of personal, spiritual or intellectual development. This category thus combines the idea of culture as art with *culture as cultivation, civilisation, or human flourishing*. It incorporates elements of the positive tradition of philosophical thought on the impacts of the arts, much of which rests on an appreciation of the aesthetic or symbolic qualities of cultural artefacts and practices (Belfiore and Bennett 2007a). The idea that art, particularly forms of high culture such as poetry and theatre, can act as a civilising force or transcendent power can be traced back to Aristotle's notion of dramatic catharsis, French Enlightenment philosophy and German Romantic theories of culture (Belfiore and Bennett 2007a, 143-145; Bennett 2005, 65).

There are parallels between this conceptualisation of the developmental value of culture as cultivation and theories of wellbeing as human flourishing. Both are based on assumptions about what makes human life meaningful and both can be traced back to Aristotelian thought. As discussed in the introductory chapter, *eudaimonic* theories in the Aristotelian tradition, as well as many voices and traditions outside the Western philosophical canon, such as Buddhism, see wellbeing as the fulfilment, or flourishing, of human potential (Wiseman and Brasher 2008, 355). This understanding of wellbeing is inherently ethical. It is based on philosophical literature and empirical research, rather than the perception of happiness as a fleeting feeling (Haybron 2008, 7; see also Crisp 2005). Reviewing literature that connects aesthetic experiences and wellbeing in this way, Kevin McCarthy et al. (2004, 39) discuss the role of emotion or cognition in aesthetic judgment, the ways aesthetic experiences can shape an individual's moral understanding, and, likewise, how such experiences can help develop the sympathetic imagination so important in a democratic, pluralistic society. The frame of cultural wellbeing, as I discuss in Chapter Six, incorporates the developmental and aesthetic conceptualisations of cultural value and the *eudaimonic* tradition of philosophical thought about human wellbeing.

The notion of culture as cultivation has had material effects. As Tony Bennett (2005, 66) points out, it informed the nineteenth-century development of a new group of cultural institutions – museums, public libraries, art galleries and concert halls, which aimed to combat the shortcomings of civilization by diffusing the higher standards of culture throughout society. Traditionally, within the cultural policy domain, culture has referred to the creative arts and what a cultivated person possessed – the capacity to discriminate so as to appreciate the best that has been thought and written (O'Regan 2001, 2; see also Bennett

2005, 64). In Australia and New Zealand, this form of cultural value indeed corresponds with the organisational patronage of early national cultural policy, an era characterised by Eurocentric cultural homogeneity (Hawkins 1993, 106-14; see also Albiston 2000, 436-44; Craik 2007, 768).

While there is clearly some overlap, I distinguish between the categories of aesthetic and developmental value by making distinctions between intrinsic value and intrinsic benefits. The interchangeable application of these terms in arts and cultural policy research is sometimes acknowledged (e.g. Brown 2006). Often the difference is not explicit, although a distinction between these ideas is useful. Aesthetic value corresponds with intrinsic value, as opposed to instrumental value. It is the idea of 'art for art's sake'. That is, the benefits of art should not need to be demonstrated, as the existence of art has innate value in itself. In advanced liberal democracies, this notion is generally considered insufficient to justify government intervention in the cultural sphere (Bakhshi, Freeman, and Hitchen 2009; Hazledine 2000; Hull 2011; Knell and Taylor 2011).

The idea of intrinsic benefits, as opposed to extrinsic or instrumental benefits, is more closely connected with the category of developmental value. The idea is that the benefits of arts or cultural participation are internal to the individual, rather than acting on an external sphere such as the economy, society or the environment. This ethical conceptualisation of cultural value is adopted by the Australia Council, which draws on John Holden (2004) to argue: 'Intrinsic benefits' of the arts include the spiritual, cognitive, emotional and social benefits of an arts experience for an individual (Bailey 2009, 6). In a literature review for the Australia Council on measuring artistic vibrancy and intrinsic benefits, Jackie Bailey (2009, 19-23) draws on the work of American consultants (Brown and Novak 2007; McCarthy et al. 2004) to suggest that the benefits of an arts experience for an individual can include 'intellectual stimulation', 'emotional resonance', 'social bonding', 'captivation, spiritual awakening and aesthetic growth'. Within this governmental rationality, developmental value 'does not refer to 'art for art's sake', (Bailey 2009, 19), which cannot be measured. Rather, concepts like 'artistic vibrancy' and 'social bonding', developed by cultural economists, social scientists and arts consultants, are defined in ways that provide justification for cultural policy and allow for indicators to be created to measure the performance of government agencies, policies and programmes.

Social value – culture as way of life

An appreciation of the social value of culture is typically based on Williams (1983, 90) other key definition of culture as ‘a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, a group, or humanity in general.’ According to Bennett (2005, 67):

The key text here is the passage where Tylor [1874] says that culture ‘is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society’

This broad conceptualisation of *culture as way of life*, which underpins approaches such as cultural development and cultural democracy (O’Regan 2001; Mulcahy 2006a), is commonly – albeit misleadingly – described as an anthropological definition of culture.

Scholars often contrast this social definition with the aesthetic and seemingly elitist notions of culture as art and culture as cultivation (Bratich, Packer, and McCarthy 2003, 566; Lewis and Miller 2003, 3; Nurse 2006). Bennett (2005, 66–67) explains how the ‘singular normative view of culture’ has been contested by various social movements that challenge ‘the classed, gendered, racial and Eurocentric biases that undermined the universalism of culture’s claim to be the best that has been known and said.’ He also notes the concerns of social and cultural theorists about the connection between colonialism and related administrative practices and the approach to culture as way of life, which ‘has often led to a tendency to taxonomize cultures by providing a means of dividing societies into separate groups identified in terms of their distinctive beliefs and behaviours’ (Bennett 2005, 68). Bennett thus draws our attention to the governmental implications of this particular understanding of culture.

The social value category encapsulates the legal and political value of two common variants of understanding culture as way of life: *culture as human right* and *culture as identity*. These ways of knowing culture inform the right enshrined in Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948): ‘Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.’ They also inform theories such as cultural citizenship (Mercer 2002; Stevenson 2007) and UNESCO’s (2001) definition of culture – as the set of material and spiritual activities associated with a particular social or cultural group – which is now widely accepted and applied within governmental policies and academic literature on community wellbeing, arts and cultural policy, and cultural indicators (see, e.g., Badham 2009; Choudhary 2009; Jeannotte 2005; SNZ 2006; UCLG 2004).

Understanding culture as a way of life underpins the popular concept of cultural vitality, which signifies the 'healthy' cultural life of a society, manifested in daily exchanges and public events, and involving 'wellbeing, creativity, diversity and innovation' (Hawkes 2001, 22625). According to this perspective, culture is a complex, intertwined system that is similar to a natural ecosystem (Mercer 2002). From a culture as identity perspective, culture is sometimes conflated with ethnicity and connected to issues such as the politics of recognition, respect for difference, acceptance of cultural diversity, reconciliation and indigenous rights. In New Zealand, this socio-legal conceptualisation of culture underpins the incorporation of cultural wellbeing in the Local Government Act 2002. Although this term does not refer exclusively to indigenous culture, its use was driven by a desire to recognise Māori cultural values in planning legislation (Dalziel, Matunga, and Saunders 2006).

The social value of the symbolic dimension of culture as a system of shared meanings and values is paramount in cultural policy studies, which, as discussed above, often treats culture as symbolic communication. This aspect of social value blends an understanding of culture as way of life and as art in its emphasis on the expressive and creative dimensions of communication. This incorporates heritage and the historical value of culture as a set of symbolic artefacts or practices imbued over time with shared meaning. An appreciation of social-symbolic value often underpins the so-called anthropological understanding of culture, as in Jon Hawkes' (2001, 4) description of culture as the 'processes and mediums through which we develop, receive and transmit our values and aspirations.'

Despite being rather ephemeral, the understanding of *culture as symbolic communication* has been incorporated into international policy discourse about the role of local government. According to a study commissioned by UNESCO for the UCLG (2009), 'New shared imaginaries are originated in cities, and an important goal of contemporary municipalities is to give visibility to and to legitimise the processes of construction and reconstruction of citizens' imaginaries, or narratives.' The international manifesto for local cultural policy, Agenda 21, accordingly states: 'Access to the cultural and symbolic universe at all stages of life, from childhood to old age, is a fundamental element in the shaping of sensitivity, expressiveness and coexistence and the construction of citizenship' (UCLG 2004, 13).

An appreciation of the social-symbolic value of culture can be tied to a social-psychological approach, which operationalises culture as a mental product, or a social-constructivist approach, which emphasises culture as a way of life in a social context, seeing it as 'ways of creating conceptual order and intelligibility through labels, categories, and other principles of vision and division' (Hoppe 2007, 289-90). Social-symbolic value thus corresponds with a constructivist ontology and treats culture in a similar way to discourse, as a key dimension of governmentality. There are nonetheless various understandings of the social value of culture. All share an appreciation of culture as part of everyday life and constitutive of personal and collective identities. This makes for a rather broad and hazy concept, and at times the notion of the symbolic universe and social construction of identity sits uncomfortably with the more materialist and rationalistic logic of government.

Economic value – culture as commodity

Economic value is the only category here that does not align with one of Williams' (1983) main definitions, despite its prominence in the cultural policy studies literature. Williams wrote *Keywords* in the 1970s, before the rise of 'economic rationalism' within public policy (Burchell 1994; McGuigan 2004, 162). Since the 1980s, the economic approach to *culture as commodity* or *as industry* – a system of production, distribution and consumption – has often underpinned governmental frames in advanced liberal democracies. The economic value perspective is in some respects similar to the broad conceptualisation of culture as way of life, but a key difference is that the culture as commodity logic sees wealth creation rather than social value as the end goal of cultural activity.

This mentality underpins a wide range of theories and policies related to the creative industries, knowledge economy, cultural tourism and creative cities. The predominance of the culture as commodity rationality has been noted by various scholars around the world, including in the context of local cultural policy. In the United States, Maria Rosario Jackson et al. (2006, 12) observe:

'Creative economy', 'creative class', 'creative cities', 'cool cities' – all these terms are increasingly heard when urban planners, community development practitioners, private developers, and even some policymakers and politicians discuss catalysts and engines for the revival of urban neighborhoods and cities.

There are numerous studies on the economic impacts of the arts, although these have often been conducted for advocacy purposes and many social scientists are sceptical about their

methods and results (Belfiore 2004; Markusen and Gadwa 2010a). The economic value perspective reflects the post-industrial and neoliberal logic of a globalizing knowledge-driven economy (Fairclough 2003, 4; see also Volkerling 1996).

As Stuart Cunningham (2009, 376) articulates, drawing on Nicholas Garnham (2005), the basic definition of the creative industries idea is about linking culture to discourses of information, knowledge and innovation. This definition and debates about the creative industries are connected to questions of measurement and evidence-based policy, especially in the United Kingdom (Oakley 2008, 21). Viewing culture as an economic resource means that what it produces can be easily commoditised and measured. Indigenous arts, crafts and knowledge, for instance, can enter the global marketplace as social and economic assets (Beatty and Gibson 2009). This might generate positive benefits for communities (Mercer 2005a, 15), but there are risks too, as the commodification of indigenous culture may obscure its internal diversity and complexity (Pettersen 2008, 61).

The popular discourses of the creative city and creative economy have economic growth at their core and are thus based on different values to other approaches to the arts. Some cultural policy and creative practice researchers have nonetheless suggested that these frames represent an opportunity to integrate a broader understanding of arts and culture across the policy agenda and to increase knowledge through the development of relevant data and indicators in this area (e.g. Jackson, Herranz, and Kabwasa Green 2006). The economic perspective has freed analysts from essentialist conceptions of culture as a class-based or national phenomenon, as commonly embodied in the aesthetic and developmental understandings of cultural value, and enabled a democratic shift away from notions about certain forms of culture being superior to others. As Will Straw and Sharon Jeannotte (2005, 275) point out, however, narrowly focusing on ideas like the creative city risks excluding many people for reasons of education, location, linguistic ability, or income (see also Stevenson 2007). Audrey Yue and colleagues (2011, 135) reiterate these concerns:

The recent move to the rhetoric of building creative capacity has resulted in a move away from the language of cultural development, and towards rationales of economic growth and renewal.... In Australia, this has led to concerns that the economic benefits of culture are being prioritized over its social outcomes.

The dominance of economic discourses in Australia, New Zealand and Britain has led scholars to bemoan the lack of space and language for discussions of other forms of cultural value (Belfiore 2012a; Glow and Johanson 2006; Holden 2004; Lawn 2006; Skilling 2005; Wevers and Williams 2002). There are thus implications of adopting a frame based on economic value that challenges understandings of culture as cultivation, right or identity. As Nick Stevenson (2007, 268) summarises, although the commodification of culture may be accompanied by the flourishing of a variety of life styles and the aestheticisation of everyday life, it also reinforces patterns of social and cultural exclusion. This discussion has begun to highlight some implications of these various conceptualisations of culture.

Cultural policy rationalities

A common analytic approach to cultural policy is to distinguish between different discourses or rationalities, paying attention to their spatial and temporal location. While this often takes the form of a historical analysis or chronological exposition, several of these discourses may exist in the same context at the same time. Drawing together the analysis of several authors, I group Western (predominantly English- and French-speaking liberal democracies) cultural policy discourse in four major governmental periods (Bonet and Negrier 2002; Mulcahy 2006a; O'Regan 2001; Poirier 2005). These scholars may not explicitly embrace the concept of governmentality, yet their work corresponds with a genealogical analysis based on a Foucauldian understanding that governmental discourse is inherently teleological. In the words of governmentality scholar Mitchell Dean (1999, 17), "All practices of government ... presuppose some goal or end to be achieved."

In this section, I present this chronology of dominant cultural policy rationalities within Western nation-states, before outlining more specific studies of cultural policy, in Australia and New Zealand, and at the level of local government. Although these categorical periods ignore internal diversity and particular exceptions, they represent significant shared socio-historical influences and draw attention to some of the distinctive features of particular traditions that continue to shape contemporary cultural policy debates. Aspects of these traditions are incorporated into the urban cultural policy frames in Chapter Six.

The first major era of Western cultural policy, according to interested scholars, began in the late eighteenth or nineteenth century and ended around the time of the Second World War,

depending on the country. In this period, cultural policy is seen to be characterised by a nationalist and elitist 'heritage' logic that draws on the conceptualisation of culture as art, particularly the enlightenment tradition of culture as glorification (Mulcahy 2006b, 268-69). Governments were concerned with protecting monuments and other forms of national heritage, enabling access to public education and training professional artists (Bonet and Negrier 2002, 12).

In the second period, the dominant artistic, or 'high culture' logic is commonly labelled the democratisation of culture. This approach built on the first, aiming to increase accessibility to the arts alongside 'national cultural treasures' through top-down, centralised policies, aspiring for 'the esthetic enlightenment, enhanced dignity, and educational development of the general citizenry' (Mulcahy 2006b, 269). Following the Second World War, governments in English-speaking countries established various national councils and commissions to administer financial support for, and public access to, the arts, particularly 'the established 'high' or pre-industrial performance arts' (Stevenson 2000, 17-18). These arm's length funding agencies, such as the Australia Council for the Arts and the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council (which later became Creative New Zealand), were designed to operate on the basis of 'peer review... and a belief in the objective standards of artistic excellence' (Stevenson 2000, 50). Building on ideas of culture as art and culture as cultivation, the policy-makers responsible for the democratisation of culture assumed that all citizens had the same cultural needs, so have been criticised for their singular and elitist view of culture (Mulcahy 2006b, 269).

The third period of cultural democracy involved a shift to the values of cultural participation and social justice from the 1960s and 1970s onwards. While they shared an opposition to mass culture, the policies of the third period challenged those of the second. Through decentralisation, policy-makers aimed to increase participation in a broad range of cultural activities, including traditional or folk culture (Bonet and Negrier 2002, 12). This pluralistic approach recognised 'cultural differences among regions, between the capital and the provinces, between urban and rural areas, [and] among social groups' (Mulcahy 2006b, 269-70). This discursive period also corresponds with, and was influenced by, the community arts movement. Research on community arts shows that the emergence of cultural democracy as a policy discourse entailed a shift from a focus 'on cultural disadvantage to cultural difference' and cultural rights to self-determination (Hawkins 1991, 52; see also Badham 2010a, 86). As discussed below and in Chapter Three, the cultural democracy paradigm and the community

arts movement play a particularly significant role in the expansion of local cultural policy, especially in Australia, where these traditions live on in the fields of community cultural development and cultural planning.

The three rationalities discussed thus far all involve some acceptance of the 'intrinsic value' of art-making and consumption, or participation. The 1980s, according to cultural policy scholars, brought the fourth period of economic and cultural development, characterised by the emergence of the category and discourse of the creative industries. Kevin Mulcahy (2006b, 271) labels this paradigm cultural utilitarianism, and describes it as a shift from the intuitive or political understanding of the intrinsic value of arts and culture to an articulation of its instrumental value, usually in terms of ancillary economic benefits. McGuigan (2004) describes the shift between the final two periods as a transition from state to market discourses of cultural policy.

The transition to cultural utilitarianism occurred in the context of changes in the public policy environment in advanced liberal democracies, which has shaped the discourse available to and preferred by policy-makers. These shifts have resulted in increasingly prescriptive policies that focus more on externalities than on the internal functioning of the arts and cultural sector (Gray 2007). Gray (2007) identifies two main changes to cultural policy: internal 'commodification' and external 'attachment'. Policy commodification refers to the increasing emphasis in cultural policies on individual, consumer benefits, which reflects a broader ideological reorientation in public policy away from the intrinsic notion of use value to the extrinsic idea of exchange value. Policy attachment results from the structural weaknesses of cultural policy, which have encouraged politicians to justify their support for the sector by linking it to more widely accepted policies such as urban development and social cohesion (Gray 2007). As a result of strategies of 'defensive instrumentalism' to justify arts funding under recent governments, Belfiore (2012a) argues, the British arts sector has subsequently lost its ability to articulate non-economic forms of cultural value. Unlike many English-language cultural policy scholars who focus almost exclusively on the nation-state or European-level regimes of governance, Gray (2002) has demonstrated that this analysis of cultural utilitarianism strategies can also be applied to local cultural policy.

From a governmentality perspective, these rationalities all represent ways of knowing culture and justifying political action in this realm. In the words of Miller and Rose (2008, 15616),

each rationality is a style of thought that renders reality thinkable in such a way that [makes it] amenable to calculation and programming. While this represents a useful approach to understanding cultural policy, these typologies do not account for the diversity and overlap within competing discourses or periods, and there is often great distance between scholars and their objects of analysis. Most of the scholarship cited thus far has presented broad theoretical descriptions or models without any evidence of rigorous empirical investigation or close textual analysis. It is often unclear exactly how scholars have identified particular discourses or created typologies, as these publications rarely contain discussions of methodology. One possible explanation for this gap in the literature is offered by cultural economist David Throsby (2001a, 144), who argues:

A serious hindrance to the international endeavour to advance the status and understanding of cultural policy is the lack of data and documentation about the cultural characteristics of various countries, making it difficult to carry out soundly-based empirical research in this field.

Throsby (2001a, 144) suggests that the development of cultural statistics may help to improve international analyses of cultural policy, but, I argue, they can offer no panacea. The possibilities and pitfalls of cultural measurement are discussed in the final section of this chapter, and more concretely in Chapter Seven. When scholars do take an empirically grounded or more methodical approach, they tend to identify specific local discourses or frames. The paradigms discussed here are nonetheless ever present in cultural policy studies. Examples of scholars effectively drawing on rigorous theoretical and empirical research to analyse cultural policy discourse in a more nuanced manner can sometimes be found in the fields of Australian and New Zealand cultural policy, to which this discussion now turns.

Cultural policy rationalities in New Zealand and Australia

Without an established research centre for cultural policy, the most in-depth studies of governmental arts policies and programmes in New Zealand emerge from graduate theses. Catherine Albiston (2000, 40644), for instance, undertakes an historical frame-critical analysis to identify three distinct periods of state funding within New Zealand's arts and cultural policy, starting with the ad hoc and assimilationist approach during the first one hundred years of British-style government. An emphasis on access and the participation of diverse cultures caused a major shift to the second approach to arts funding in the 1970s, before the economic benefits of a sustainable arts industry became the focus in the 1990s

(Albiston 2000). These three periods of state funding largely correspond with the rationalities described above, skipping the glorification era but featuring shifts from the democratisation of culture to cultural democracy and finally to cultural utilitarianism.

Similar trends are identified by Elizabeth O'Halloran (2003) and Peter Skilling (2005), who both make connections between these later periods and political programmes, notably distinguishing types of market discourse based on neoliberalism and Third Way politics.

Michael Brown (1995) Foucauldian analysis of annual reports from the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council also identifies several discourses that roughly correspond with the major cultural policy rationalities: classical arts and enlightenment, New Zealand nationalism, cultural diversity, community and regional arts, recreation and social agency, and economic investment. Some aspects of the national context, such as (post) colonialism, biculturalism and multiculturalism (see, e.g., Moss 2005; Pettersen 2008), the centralised state, and the remarkable career of filmmaker Peter Jackson (see, e.g., Connor 2004; Lawn 2004; Smith 2010), also distinctly shape New Zealand cultural policy discourses. On the whole, nonetheless, the literature suggests a close alignment between national traditions of state support for the arts in New Zealand and the dominant trends observed in other liberal democracies.

The rationalities presented in the more established scholarship on Australian national cultural policy differ only slightly. Scholars commonly identify three distinct phases of arts and cultural policy in Australia, which resemble those in European states as well as Canada and New Zealand (Throsby 2001a, 145). As in New Zealand, the first major period of Australian cultural policy, prior to the 1960s, is characterised by a lack of coherent government intervention (Rowse 1985; Throsby 2001b). The second period of 'statutory patronage' from the late 1960s (Rowse 1985) featured 'a great expansion' of arts and cultural policies and organisations (Throsby 2001b, 4). According to Throsby (2001b), the third period does not begin until the 1990s, when reliable sources of arts funding data were developed and interest grew in the use of statistics to monitor cultural trends and policy shifts.

Jennifer Craik (2007, 768) puts forward a more 'nuanced chronology of Australian cultural policy' than typically presented in the literature, identifying eight periods, beginning with the 'pre-1900 settler culture emphasising nostalgia and a new beginning' (Craik 2007, 768) does not reject the paradigmatic shifts described above, but undertakes a more detailed historical

analysis of policy developments to distinguish key changes during the twentieth century, notably a turn from 'state cultural entrepreneurship' to 'organisational patronage (through specialist bodies funded by government)'. She divides the cultural democracy period into 'policies of growth and facilitation' from 1967, followed by 'access and equity and community cultural development' from 1975 until 1990. Finally, she describes the nineties as a time of 'diversity, excellence, cultural policy and cultural industries' (Craig 2007, 8). There is some overlap and repetition within these periods, and Craig acknowledges that this taxonomy is not so clear-cut in practice:

In some cases, it is quite clear that governments pursued contradictory and competing agendas, not only from phase to phase but within phases. Moreover, similar policies have been adopted irrespective of which party was in power or what broad economic and ideological framework they operated within. (Craig 2007, 8)

Other scholars also describe Australia's national cultural policy system as 'mixed', in terms of discourses (Stevenson 2010a) and funding mechanisms (Madden 2011a). Craig (2007, 2) suggests that Australia is not alone in this regard, and that there is 'an emerging convergence on mixed policy approaches' in late capitalist countries. These observations of the mixture of rationalities and technologies in Australian cultural policy encourage us to see it as an assemblage 'a synthesis of interacting components with material and expressive capacities, located in a particular space' (DeLanda 2006; Prince 2010a). Taking a similar perspective, in Chapter Five I explore the medley of discourses and practices in urban cultural governance.

Michael Volkerling's (1996) discussion of cultural policy development also highlights similarities between New Zealand, Australia, the United Kingdom and Canada, due to their colonial, constitutional and ethnic commonalities. What is interesting about Volkerling's analysis is its attention to the relationship between structure, discourse and practice. As well as naming a dominant discursive frame and strategy in each period 'idealistic' cultural paternalism (1945-65), materialistic cultural welfarism (1965-1985), market hedonism (1985-1990), and nationalist social cohesion (1990-1995) 'he identifies the key values of these periods and also distinguishes them by their scope' (Volkerling 1996, 194-202).

Of particular relevance to this study is Volkerling's observation that the materialism and professionalism of the late 1960s to early 80s focused at the local level and caused structural changes. This challenged the 'colonial disposition', producer focus and national scope of the

preceding era, and contrasted with the ensuing entrepreneurial emphasis on markets and consumers in an international or global context (Volkerling 1996, 194-202). Volkerling (1996, 201-603) also highlights the connections between the managerial approach to public management with the institutionalisation of planning and measurement frameworks and the emphasis on active consumers in post-industrial cultural policy. The mix of notions of public sector control and retreat in these later periods is characteristic of the tension between freedom and control in contemporary modes of governance. Volkerling's analysis suggests that the cultural democracy period represented a local cultural policy moment (see Throsby 2008), and is thus the most significant cultural policy rationality for local government. Although each discourse and practice is associated with a particular period, these ideas and values continue to underpin and complicate urban cultural policy.

Despite slight differences in terminology and temporality, the discursive categories outlined above share similar themes and trajectories. Merging the culture as glorification period with cultural democratisation, I have identified three main phases of national cultural policy in Australia and New Zealand. The centralised and top-down approach of the foundation period, in the early to mid-1900s, saw the state promoting high culture and assimilationist policies. The continued significance of the concepts of access and excellence in national cultural policy in these countries reflects the influence of this traditional approach to culture as art and cultivation. Until the establishment of a national arts council, these were largely ad hoc and implicit policies. The creation of arm's length arts funding bodies led to a redistribution of cultural authority (Volkerling 1996, 189). The 1960s-70s ushered in a shift of emphasis to the social value of culture as way of life in the second period: cultural democracy. Finally, the third period of cultural utilitarianism has been shaped by the economic rationalism that swept through the public sector from the 1980s. This has resulted in policy commodification and attachment (Gray 2007), epitomised at the local level by the discourse of the creative city and urban regeneration programmes, as I examine below and in the following chapters.

Rationalities of local cultural policy

Local governments' approach to cultural policy is increasingly recognised as important by scholars, politicians and practitioners alike (see, e.g., Craik 1997; Evans 2001; Ferres, Adair, and Jones 2010, 267; Grodach and Silver 2013b; Johanson, Glow, and Kershaw forthcoming;

Stevenson and Matthews 2010; UCLG 2004).⁵ This interest is fuelled by the global spread of the creative city discourse and research that suggests the most well-developed and practical policy initiatives with participatory strategies are at the local level (Murray 2005, 48; see also Leonard and Memon 2008). In her study of the political construction of community-based arts in Australia, Gay Hawkins (1993, xxiv) writes that, although the pleasures of the local have been dismissed as purely parochial, local cultural policy is an interesting site:

Community-based cultural practice has been trivialised and devalued by both policy makers and cultural critics ... [but] it is often here that the conditions necessary for democratic cultural production, for formal innovation and for expressions of ethnic, class or gender difference can most easily be established.

This section outlines the contributions of relevant international scholarship on the emergence of city-based cultural policy, before considering local cultural policy research in Australia and New Zealand.

From the 1960s until recently, the general trend in Europe has been the gradual extension of municipal responsibilities for arts and culture. European literature focusing on the emergence of municipal cultural policy connects it with concerns about quality of life, notably a desire to develop a more cosmopolitan definition of urban civil life (Stevenson 2007, 267), and decentralisation (Mennell 1976, 9610, 56). As in Australia and New Zealand, the emergence of municipal cultural policy in Europe is closely connected to the broader paradigm shift from cultural democratisation to cultural democracy, followed by increasingly utilitarian approaches to local arts policy (Gray 2002; Mennell 1976, 13; Poirrier 1996, 87688). A key difference, however, is that in Europe, particularly in France, this shift is tied to the process of decentralisation (Poirrier 1996, 87688; McGuigan 1996, 188), whereas political power in Australia and New Zealand has largely remained in the hands of state governments.

Apart from the explicit concern with quality of life, the principal local cultural policy discourses identified by European scholars do not differ greatly from those identified at the national level in Western countries. Gray (2002, 83), for instance, identifies five principle justifications for local authorities' arts expenditure in the United Kingdom: the promotion of artistic excellence and innovation; access and the enhancement of quality of life; social

⁵ As Stevenson (2010b, 82) points out, Geoff Mulgan and Ken Worpole (1986) were early proponents of the important role played by local government in arts and cultural provision and policies.

cohesion; the attraction of tourists and industry to an area; and supporting the local cultural heritage of an area. Similarly, Philippe Poirrier (1996, 90) identifies four discourses that have shaped and legitimised municipal cultural policy in France: support for artistic creation; cultural democratisation-cum-democracy; a city's cultural prestige; and economic impacts. The latter two represent policy attachment, to use Gray's term.

There are thus some similarities between cultural policy discourses at the nation-state and the local government level in Europe, at least in certain aspects of municipal cultural policy make it distinct from national cultural policy. The rise of creative cities, urban regeneration and place-making policy paradigms reflects the different traditions and global discourses at the local government level (Evans 2009; Grodach and Silver 2013b; Landry 2010; 2012; Prince 2010b). The idea of 'the creative city' has gained prominence, particularly in North America, through the work of Richard Florida (2005), whose 'quality of place' research links human capital and demographic diversity to the growth of the local creative economy (Jeannotte 2005, 131). Florida's approach follows the consultancy Comedia's (Landry and Greene 1996) examination of the role of cultural activity in urban regeneration in European cities in the mid-90s (see also Cunningham 2012; Landry 2000; Landry 2012).

The creative city theory posits that, in a post-industrial knowledge economy, cities are competing with each other for a mobile workforce, which they can attract through creating a vibrant and welcoming environment. Although art plays an important role in the creative city, this strategy is essentially about retaining and attracting certain types of professionals – 'the creative class' – who will contribute to the city's economic growth (Florida 2005). The concepts of the creative class and the creative city have hugely influenced urban cultural policy, including in Brisbane, Australia and Wellington, New Zealand (Cunningham 2012, 119; Prince 2013; Volkerling 2006). Focusing on New Zealand's capital city, Jennifer Lawn (2004, 126) evokes a Florida-style creative city when she writes, 'Brand Wellington's central proposition projects an urbane lifestyle: middle-class, cultured, aspiring to the intellectual, left-leaning, and centered around the café, the art gallery, the studio, and the urban village.' The 'creative city script' (Grodach and Silver 2013b, 9610) is not, however, exclusively limited to major urban municipalities (Cunningham 2012; Donn 2008).

Scholarly interest in the discourses and developments of urban cultural policy is growing, as demonstrated in recent edited collections: *Culture and the City* (Stevenson and Matthews

2012a), *Cities, Cultural Policy and Governance* (Anheier and Isar 2012), and *The Politics of Urban Cultural Policy* (Grodach and Silver 2013a). The creative city and urban economic development are dominant tropes in this literature. The policies of cultural regeneration are not new, however, and form the subject of some earlier volumes (e.g., Bianchini and Parkinson 1993), numerous journal articles since the 1990s (e.g., Griffiths 1995; Evans 2005; Markusen and Gadwa 2010a), as well as much grey literature and online debate. Studies of municipal cultural policy in Europe reveal that the creative city has a longer history than the recent infamy of consultants such as Florida might suggest.

The emergence of city-based cultural policy in Europe, as noted above, was closely tied to concerns with quality of life. By the early 1990s, the attachment of arts policy to economic strategies could be found in the majority of French municipalities, as politicians surrendered to the market logic of the competition amongst cities (Poirrier 1996, 89). Urbanisation and the perceived need for cities to compete in an increasingly globalised economy have accelerated these developments (Cunningham 2012), although not necessarily in an even or linear manner. Poirrier (1996, 90) argues that the economic frame softened in France as a result of cities' financial difficulties and the economic crisis of the 1990s, when the rhetoric of cultural democratisation was reintroduced in the hope of legitimising seemingly frivolous cultural expenditure. More recently, local government support for arts organisations in England and Wales decreased by 40 per cent between 2011 and 2012, as a result of the global financial crisis and austerity measures in the United Kingdom (Merrifield 2012). These observations reflect national variances as well as interactions between the broader political economy and the specific discourses utilised to justify local arts and cultural policy (see also Grodach and Silver 2013b).

Little literature is available on urban cultural policy in Australia and New Zealand to determine the relevance or applicability of the broad policy paradigms discussed in this chapter, although a few key texts offer insight into this field. This section and the following chapter draw in particular on analysis by Australian cultural policy scholars Ruth Rentschler and Deborah Stevenson. Paying attention to the specificity and internal diversity of local government, Stevenson (2000) makes some pertinent observations about this under-researched field. She describes the influence of Australian local government on the formation of communities and local cultural identity, through the provision of community venues and

regulation of policy areas such as health and safety and road closures, which facilitate and constrain cultural activity (Stevenson 2000, 96699).

Describing the expanding responsibilities of local authorities in Australia – which I discuss further in Chapter Three – Rentschler (1997) outlines local cultural policy developments within the context of five periods of local government evolution. Although they do not neatly align with the periods of cultural policy described above, the discursive trends are familiar: from the first period of foundation in a monocultural community in the mid-nineteenth century, to the final ‘reform renewal period’, characterised by economic rationalism, globalisation and local governments’ increased focus on festivals and events (Rentschler 1997, 131). Referring to Volkerling (1996, 194695), Rentschler (1997, 131) identification of ‘cultural paternalism’ in the third period – ‘bureaucratisation’ – corresponds with critiques of cultural democratisation. In contrast, the ideals of participation, activism and the multicultural community in the fourth period resulted in increased community service provision, reflecting the significance of the cultural democracy paradigm. Rentschler (1997, 131) summarises her analysis in this way:

Local government has always been involved in the community, but the extent of its involvement in culture and the nature of participation has changed over the decades, with changing policy thrusts, changing governments, and changing community profiles and expectations.

Recognising this dynamic context and range of external influences on local government helps to explain the shifting discourses and adaptive approaches of council officers.

Scholarly recognition of the significant paradigms in local cultural policy, firstly of cultural democracy, then utilitarian discourses such as the creative city paradigm, is supported by my genealogical analysis of local government developments in New Zealand and Australia. The discussion in the final section of the following chapter reflects the dominant framing of recent urban cultural policy, in both theory and practice, in the context of economic strategies responding to problems associated with the shift to a post-industrial society. While it is important to recognise these significant links between urban cultural policy and economic development, I overcome this limited perspective by considering urban cultural policy in relation to socio-cultural, politico-ethical and environmental rationalities, as well as economic discourses and a medley of governmental traditions and practices. My frame-critical analysis of urban cultural policy case studies (Chapter Six) explores these discourses in the context of

local government practices, as well as considering particular conceptualisations of cultural value, which, I argue, underpin the policy frames.

Ways of measuring cultural value

Much of the debate on cultural value relates to its measurement, which is a fundamental dimension of governmentality. Following the development of social statistics and economic measures of progress, numerous frameworks of cultural indicators have emerged. Various, touted as tools for identifying problems, capturing values, monitoring progress and evaluating outcomes, these indicators have a range of potential policy applications. Their development and application is fraught with ontological and epistemological tensions, however. In the final part of this chapter, I explore these issues, firstly by introducing this burgeoning field of practice and theory, giving a brief historical account of its emergence, then outlining some of the different types of measures that are labelled cultural indicators. In the final section, I apply the categories of cultural value developed above to existing frameworks of cultural measurement in order to highlight underlying forms of knowledge.

An indicator can be defined as 'a set of rules for gathering and organizing data so they can be assigned meaning' (Innes 1990, 5). Indicators are not direct measures like centimetres or decibels; they are proxy or surrogate measures for a broader underlying construct (Hoernig and Seasons 2005, 23; Diener et al. 2009, 28). From a constructivist perspective, both data and indicators are symbols of shared knowledge, not 'raw facts' (Innes 1990). Although indicators tend to have a quantitative focus and are a phenomenon of what Andy Scerri and Paul James (2010, 41642) refer to as 'the globalisation' of comparative measurement, indicators can be seen as valuable tools for measuring progress in relation to qualitative outcomes such as cultural wellbeing.

The genealogy of indicators can be traced back to the emergence of social statistics in eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe (Cobb and Rixford 2005). Defining statistics as a science of the state, Foucault (1994) describes how they allowed phenomena related to the population to be quantified, and thus enabled the government to monitor and manage the population, aiming to increase its health, wealth, and longevity. A historical perspective highlights the non-neutral nature of social indicators, which were used in theories of eugenics and to justify racial superiority in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Cobb and

Rixford 2005, 54657; Dean 1999, 138643). Considering the history of different approaches to societal indicators can also help us to understand why policy practitioners struggle to develop and implement particular indicator frameworks.

Social indicators have flourished then faded in popularity at various times over the past two centuries, whereas economic indicators have risen steadily to prominence. Economic indicators started out as measures of business cycles in the United States in the 1920s, then came of age with the widespread adoption of GDP as the headline indicator of societal progress after World War Two (Cobb and Rixford 2005). GDP was soon criticised vigorously, and alternative measures of progress have since been sought as part of the community indicators movement and the recent international interest in wellbeing measurement.

Studies of social indicators suggest that they failed because they were of limited use to policy makers (Cobb and Rixford 2005). This was partly because their proponents focused energy on the measurement task, often to the exclusion of the political and institutional one (Innes 1990, 6; see also Innes and Booher 2000). Demonstrating the value of an interpretive approach, Judith Innes (1990, 6) notes that, in the few instances where social indicators were persuasive, it seemed to have more to do with the public debate over methods, where people came to share an understanding and attribute a common meaning to the indicators. Such analyses of social indicators offer lessons for those developing and promoting cultural indicators, especially in light of emerging concerns with the use of indicators in cultural planning and policy frameworks (Goldbard 2008; Badham 2012; Markusen 2012).

Cultural indicators are a more recent member of the indicator family, initially emerging as measures of media content in the 1970s (Gerbner and Gross 1973; Badham 2012, 106), before being adopted as a tool for expressing the role of culture in human development by international agencies from the 1980s on.⁶ Since culture has many meanings, it should come as no surprise that cultural indicators come in many different forms. Cultural indicator research, as Percy Tannenbaum (1984, 97) puts it, is a field in which a variety of quite

⁶ There were attempts to measure culture and cultural change in early mass media research, starting in the 1930s, but the term 'cultural indicator' did not appear until 1969 when George Gerbner used it to describe his measures of television content (Rosengren 1984, 11615).

disparate activities huddle under a single banner but hardly under a single conceptual umbrella.

Noting the problem of tautological definitions of cultural indicators, Tannenbaum (1984, 98) identifies three general classes of indicators discussed at the international symposium on cultural indicators in Vienna in 1982: measures of cultural production and consumption; measures from surveys and value assessments; and media content analysis. In the same volume, Karl Rosengren (1984, 25) makes a clear distinction between social, economic and cultural indicators, defining the latter as indicators for studying and comparing cultures, with each other or internally over time: 'Cultural indicators are taken to tap the structure of ideas, beliefs, and values serving to maintain and reproduce society as a whole and its various substructures and subsystems, but also serving change and innovation in society.' While economic and social indicators measure more tangible phenomena, cultural indicators represent the social-symbolic value of culture. They are by definition systematic, collective and abstract. This is not the most common definition of cultural indicator, however. In practice, a range of numerical phenomena are called 'cultural indicators' by governments that measure economic, social and cultural aspects of the arts and cultural sector, defined according to institutional practice and policy.

Government agencies around the world have paid considerable attention to cultural indicators in recent years. At the helm of these efforts is UNESCO (2013), with its measures of cultural rights and cultural indicators for development. UNESCO's Framework for Cultural Statistics was first proposed in the late 1970s (Gouiedo 1993) and eventually established in 2007 (Pessoa, Deloumeaux, and Ellis 2009; see also McKinley 1997; Pattanaik 1997). At the national level, Australian authorities have followed Statistics New Zealand (2006) in releasing a framework of cultural indicators (Ferres, Adair, and Jones 2010; SWG 2010).

Some local governments and associated scholars in Australia and New Zealand have also attempted to measure the concepts of cultural vitality, artistic vibrancy and cultural wellbeing (Bailey 2009; Badham 2009; Choudhary 2009; Dalziel et al. 2009; Johanson, Glow, and Kershaw forthcoming; Wiseman et al. 2006). The Melbourne-based Cultural Development Network (CDN 2010, 10) reports that it receives many requests from local government staff seeking resources and advice on cultural indicators, although it is yet to find any well-considered framework of indicators for local government in Australia. This is despite

various efforts to encourage local government to develop arts and cultural indicators in Australia, including: a local government pilot on cultural development benchmarking in the late 1990s; a workshop aiming to develop cultural indicators with cultural development workers in Melbourne in 2007; and a recent indicator research project involving cultural studies researchers, a Victorian municipality and several other institutional partners. The participants in these projects identified several barriers to achieving and measuring cultural policy outcomes, including a lack of shared definitions, clear policy outcomes and available data, as well as the low priority accorded to arts and culture within government policy (UTS 2000; Salvaris 2007; Yue, Khan, and Brook 2011). International scholarship identifies similar issues impeding the effective development and application of cultural indicators: the various interpretations of 'culture', vague policy objectives, inexplicit norms and values and a lack of relevant or quality research and data (Badham 2009; Duxbury 2005; Ferres, Adair, and Jones 2010; Markusen and Gadwa 2010a; Mercer 2002; Namenwirth 1984).

Unlike the cultural policy literature discussed earlier, much of which is highly theoretical and contains little empirical investigation or methodological discussion, most cultural indicator research is light on theory and presented as a toolkit within grey literature (Badham 2009). Research is needed to develop the conceptual and empirical knowledge base so that cultural policy indicators are informed by evidence from qualitative research (Mercer 2002, 33; see also Lingayah, MacGillivray, and Raynard 1996; Belfiore and Bennett 2010). A 'one-size-fits-all' approach is inappropriate due to the specificity of local understandings and practices of culture (Badham 2009; Johanson, Glow, and Kershaw forthcoming; Yue, Khan, and Brook 2011).

The problem of commensuration is central to debates about cultural indicators, particularly when tools developed by cultural economists, such as contingent valuation and willingness to pay, are used to establish cultural value (see, e.g., Bakhshi, Freeman, and Hitchen 2009; O'Brien 2010). The use of a monetary yardstick as a proxy for value allows for commensurability, which may be desired by policy-makers, but is criticised by many in the academic and arts communities (Dunphy and Blomkamp 2012, 7; Johanson, Glow, and Kershaw forthcoming). Following Frow (1995) and Belfiore (2012b), I contend that measurement is possible within 'regimes of value' in the domain of culture, but these regimes are not commensurate.

The many theoretical and methodological issues faced by those developing and using cultural indicators has made for slow progress in this field, yet some innovative frameworks have emerged in recent years, especially at the local level. Rather than following UNESCO's lead, according to cultural indicator researcher Nancy Duxbury (2005, 258, 269), many recent efforts to measure culture have taken place within community indicator projects and quality of life frameworks, inspired by the movement for alternative measures of progress, and connected to theories of sustainable development and wellbeing. There are various international examples of community indicator frameworks, some of which have a section dedicated to arts and culture, such as the National Neighbourhood Indicators Partnership in Seattle, Boston and Philadelphia (Jackson, Herranz, and Kabwasa Green 2006), and Community Indicators Victoria (CIV) in Australia (Wiseman et al. 2006). Active community participation in the development and use of outcome measures is considered a fundamental principle of community indicator projects and distinguishes them from other approaches to cultural and social indicators (Johnston and Memon 2008, 82). Even in community indicator projects held up as leading international examples, however, the cultural dimension is commonly overlooked (Duxbury 2008; CDN 2010, 2). Trying to measure culture is something of a recent challenge, and the difficulty of defining and measuring artistic and cultural activities partly explains the absence of the cultural dimension in some indicator sets (Simons and Dang 2006, 1; CDN 2010, 263).

Many scholars have called for critical analysis of cultural indicator frameworks, pointing to theoretical, ethical, practical and political issues in their development and application (Andrew and Gattinger 2005; Badham 2009; Duxbury 2008; Markusen 2012). Cultural citizenship has been put forward by several scholars as a useful conceptual framework for indicators of cultural and community wellbeing (Choudhary 2009; Duxbury 2008; Mercer 2002; Yue, Khan, and Brook 2011). Particularly prominent in Canadian cultural policy scholarship, cultural citizenship is a rights-based framework that sees culture as an essential ingredient in creating citizens through identity formation and developing feelings of belonging and affiliation (Andrew and Gattinger 2005; Duxbury 2008, 49; Mercer 2002, 14). Based on the idea that cultural resources are needed for citizens to participate politically, economically and socially in life (Murray 2005, 41), it is connected to the concepts of cultural capital and social capital (Straw and Jeannotte 2005, 277; Yue, Khan, and Brook 2011). Proponents of cultural citizenship have been criticised, nonetheless, for their emphasis on rights and concomitant neglect of responsibilities (Couldry 2006, 322).

Research on cultural indicators in Victoria, Australia, has also shown that it can be problematic when scholars insert such a discourse into a pre-existing policy framework. In their proposal of a cultural indicator framework for the City of Whittlesea, Yue et al. (2010; 2011) focus on the frames of cultural citizenship and social capital and, as a result, they do not explore indicators related to place and environment despite this being an important goal in the City's cultural plan. Furthermore, it is not clear how local government officers will apply the indicators proposed in their framework, which are presented as advantageously accounting for thick narratives of multicultural participation that can continue to enhance well-being, place making, and belonging and having direct policy relevance for the council (Yue, Khan, and Brook 2011, 146). This example highlights the need for a more grounded approach to cultural indicator research, which would not impose specific theoretical frameworks until a fuller understanding of the community of practice has been gained.

Underlying the perceived problems with cultural indicators is a clash in values and epistemology. On one hand, cultural indicator research is often based on a social constructivist notion of identity formation through collective activities, and sometimes underpinned by a deliberative and inclusive approach to policy-making. The development of cultural measures through creative approaches (e.g. Badham 2012) and within community indicator frameworks (e.g. Jackson, Herranz, and Kabwasa Green 2006) suggests a disjuncture from the traditionally dominant technocratic methods of studying and making policy (Fischer 2003, 16). On the other hand, the very use of indicators reflects the demand for evidence-based policy-making and the desire to measure outcomes using quantitative methods. Their incorporation into strategic plans also fits with a deterministic, positivist approach to policy (Levy, Alvesson, and Willmott 2003). This research investigates whether it is possible to reconcile these contrasting approaches through the use of a particular type of cultural indicator in a specific context, namely community wellbeing indicators in the context of urban cultural policy calculations.

Values and frames in cultural indicators

An important question when analysing indicators, as Heidi Hoernig and Mark Seasons (2005, 24) point out, is what knowledge defines, develops, monitors, analyzes and reports on indicators? There is very little scholarship on uses of cultural indicators, perhaps because, like other indicator projects, much effort has been wasted on preparing national, state and

local indicator reports that remain on the shelf gathering dust (Innes and Booher 2000, 174). It is nonetheless possible to analyse the frames and values of existing frameworks (see Badham 2012; Madden 2005b; Simons and Dang 2006; UNESCO 2010), in order to identify the knowledge and perspectives embedded within them.

As part of this literature review, I undertook a thematic analysis of 20 local, national and international frameworks of cultural indicators developed in the last 20 years. In this section, I apply the four categories of cultural value identified above – aesthetic, developmental, social and economic – to illustrate the specific theories and political implications underlying these different approaches to cultural measurement. In doing so, I create a new typology of cultural indicators based on their conceptualisation of culture, with the following six categories: economic, human rights, ecological, symbolic, artistic and social policy attachment. This analysis highlights the connections between particular understandings of cultural value, academic disciplines and technologies of measurement and rule.

The economic frame of culture as commodity shapes a wide range of indicator frameworks that draw on theories and policies related to cultural or creative industries, the knowledge or information economy, creative cities or regions and cultural tourism. In my analysis of existing frameworks and relevant literature, the cultural economy is the most prominent frame in contemporary cultural indicator sets, most of which contain a measure of employment in the creative or cultural industries. Even the 2009 UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics is primarily focused on economic classifications and industry data (Usero and Angel del Brío 2011). Some economic indicators of culture draw on theories and methods from cultural economics, such as non-use value and contingent value, and are popular in advanced liberal democracies where policy-makers are expected to follow the tenets of neoclassical economics (see Bakhshi, Freeman, and Hitchen 2009; Hull 2011; O'Brien 2010; SWG 2010).

The social value of culture as a way of life, as expressed in the definition of culture in the UNESCO Declaration on Cultural Diversity, underpins two types of cultural indicators found in many frameworks, not only UNESCO's (2013) Culture for Development Indicators. This second group of measurement frameworks can be summarised as cultural indicators of human rights. The second most common indicator I identified is the number of people who engage in particular artistic or cultural activities. This is often a straightforward statistical aggregation

of thumbs on seats but is usually designed to reflect a complex theory about the benefits of access to and participation in cultural activities (see, e.g., part 3 of SWG 2010). Particularly reflective of understandings of culture as right and culture as identity, these indicators are connected to international models of cultural rights and freedoms, such as the right to participate in the cultural life of the community, the right to express one's culture and respect for cultural difference.

Another common cultural rights indicator, connected to the same social value frame, is a proxy measure of cultural diversity or multiculturalism. This category includes objective assessments, such as the number of community grants awarded to ethnic minorities, as well as some subjective measures, for example: "Percentage of people who believe their community is an accepting place for people from diverse cultures and backgrounds" (Wiseman et al. 2006, 18). Indicators within this social value frame can be linked theoretically to conceptions of cultural citizenship (Mercer 2002; Yue, Khan, and Brook 2011). Some are also connected to the developmental value of culture as human flourishing, or wellbeing as capabilities (Sen 1993; Nussbaum 2005; Mercer 2005b). That is, some indicators of artistic and cultural expression and participation are based on a recognition that these are important dimensions of what it means to be a human and to live a good life.

Overlapping somewhat with the cultural indicators of human rights is the third group, which can be described as environmental, ecological or holistic. Typical examples are indicators based on an explicit theory of cultural ecology or cultural vitality (see, e.g., Jackson, Herranz, and Kabwasa Green 2006). Taking a broad social definition of culture, they depict it as an interconnected system and dynamic process. This understanding commonly underlies indicators of cultural sustainability, cultural networks and culture within sustainable development frameworks, such as the "four pillar" model (Hawkes 2001). The latter can, however, be criticised for making culture a "silo" (Nurse 2006). This third approach to cultural measurement broadens the definition of cultural workers, which has implications for the professional arts and culture sector, whose members may feel threatened by this less exclusive definition (Jackson 2012). This is similar to many indigenous understandings, which see culture holistically, as a way of life intrinsically connected to other dimensions, such as family, health, spirituality and environment (Durie 2006; McEwen and Flowers 2004; MCH 2008). Some existing cultural measurement frameworks include indicators of

sustainability, cultural vitality or indigenous language and culture in this fourth category (SNZ 2006; UNESCO 2010).

Another social approach to cultural value focuses on its symbolic dimension. This fourth group of indicators includes media content analysis and surveys of values that aim to reflect popular and national culture, including cultural change, through indicators that represent taste and consumption of cultural artefacts (Tannenbaum 1984; Inglehart 1984; Bennett, Emmison, and Frow 1999). The early cultural indicators of mass communications research reflect a concern with the developmental and social value of culture. In particular, they draw on sociological understandings of culture as a symbolic means of communication and expression, as well as cultivation theory (Gerbner 1998). This original strand is often overlooked in contemporary scholarship on cultural measurement but it offers a model for the interpretive analysis of symbols and texts as a potential method for developing cultural indicators. More recent examples of symbolic cultural indicators include analysis of social media content and networks, and even some market research that produces indications of symbolic socio-cultural value.

Combining the aesthetic and developmental value of culture, the fifth group of indicators to be discussed here is the artistic set. Reflecting the understanding of culture as art or cultivation, these measures make little distinction between the terms art and culture, and are therefore described in the literature either as arts indicators or cultural indicators. There are very few examples of measures of artistic qualities and audience reception in the cultural indicator frameworks I analysed, although measures of the intrinsic impacts of arts participation and artistic vibrancy have been proposed for assessing the performance and outcomes of arts programmes and institutions (Bailey 2009; Brown and Novak 2007; McCarthy et al. 2004). Even if not explicitly acknowledged, these indicators are often based on the idea that culture is a civilising force or transcendent power, as espoused in traditional approaches to high art. Because the personal and spiritual effects of creative participation are so difficult to measure quantitatively, even when this is a policy goal, such indicator frameworks tend to rely on the proxy measure of the frequency of engagement in arts and culture (Simons and Dang 2006, 4). This measure was, however, described above as a cultural indicator of social value or human rights. The overlap indicates the difficulty in devising discrete categories for cultural indicator frameworks, which Derek Simons and

Steven Dang (2006, 3) describe as “a little like herding cats; individual cases keep wandering outside of any attempt to create neat boundaries.”

The final frame for cultural indicators incorporates a range of social policy objectives or outcomes to which cultural interventions are attached. These include indicators of: social capital, social inclusion or community cohesion; community resilience; health and wellbeing; safety; and other measures associated with quality of life (Cuypers et al. 2011; Matarasso 1999; Michalos and Kahlke 2008; Simons and Dang 2006). These measures of “social policy attachment” may not fit a strict definition of cultural indicators (Rosengren 1984), yet they are sometimes used to measure the results of a cultural policy or arts programme. Furthermore, as I elaborate in Chapter Six, some of these objectives are also significant frames in urban cultural policy.

This overview of the main types of cultural indicators that have been developed does not tell us whether the most common measures reflect the priorities of cultural policy, or rather, what is easiest to measure. Nor does it tell us how, if at all, these indicators are used in policy-making and analysis, or what the implications of their application are. Such insights cannot be reached without knowledge of the context in which such measures are created and implemented. This gap in the literature inspired my research design, which I present in detail in Chapter Four.

The discussion above has served to remind us that numbers are never neutral and there is no “one-size-fits-all” cultural indicator framework. Rather, there exists a plurality of approaches to measuring culture and understanding cultural change. Certain indicator types are consequently more relevant and more appropriate in some contexts than others. This typology highlights the specific assumptions of cultural value that lie behind measurement frameworks. When a government official puts forth a cultural indicator framework reliant on industry statistics, for instance, she expresses an understanding that the value of culture is located in “or at least legitimised by” its contribution to economic development or wealth creation, and that this value can be measured using economic tools. In contrast, a different value judgement underlies an attempt to measure the vitality or sustainability of an indigenous language or the changing rate of acceptance of cultural diversity in a given community.

Conclusion: knowing and measuring culture in cultural policy analysis

This chapter has provided an overview of various scholarly approaches and lacunae in cultural policy and related indicator frameworks. The discourses, frames and values that I have discussed are useful heuristic categories, but they do not necessarily reflect the practice of policy workers or the material effects of policies. Although cultural indicator frameworks may be inspired by the demand for quantification in policy environments, they often lack theoretical rigour and practical application. There is a particular dearth of scholarship on the significance of relevant policy discourses and measurement frameworks for local cultural policy practitioners ó a gap addressed in this thesis. By analysing detailed case studies of municipal arts programmes, this research contributes to scholarly understandings of context-dependent rationalities and technologies in urban cultural policy. Paying particular attention to conceptualisations of culture, I have put forth four categories of cultural value ó aesthetic, developmental, social and economic ó and identified six main types of existing cultural indicators ó economic, human rights, ecological, symbolic, artistic and social policy attachment. These exact typologies of cultural value and cultural indicators might not be universally applicable, but in this chapter I have demonstrated a pertinent analytic approach to herding these slippery constructs.

Due to the limited literature on urban cultural policy, I have reviewed discourses and regimes of value typically identified at the national level of government, in addition to some local cultural policy scholarship, particularly in relation to the significant discourses of cultural democracy and the creative economy. Turning to the local government sector in Australia and New Zealand, the following chapter draws closer to the context of the case studies and investigates the local relevance of these discourses. In later chapters, I return to the values and frames identified here, applying these heuristic categories to a grounded, critical analysis of urban cultural policy.

Chapter Three: The Local Governance of Culture in Australia and New Zealand

‘Roads, rates and rubbish’ is a common characterisation of local government in everyday discourse in New Zealand and Australia.⁷ This popular perception of local government’s limited role is challenged by several factors: the growing number of activities overseen by councils; academic analyses of these expanding services and of government’s ‘turn to community’; and political interest in the principle of subsidiarity and the practice of strategic planning. Paying attention to these shifts in theory and practice, this chapter presents a genealogical analysis of municipal government in Australia and New Zealand, arguing that its focus has expanded from ‘the three Rs’ to incorporate what I call ‘the three Cs’: community, culture and calculative practices.

Interested scholars have described local government as the ‘Cinderella of Australian administration’ because it has not gained its place in the country’s political system like it has in Britain (Finn 1990, 49; Aulich 2005, 195). The same could be said for local government in New Zealand, which is characterised by a lack of constitutional status, limited portfolio areas and weak power, especially when compared with local authorities in other liberal democracies.⁸ The literature review undertaken for this chapter suggests that municipal government in Australia and New Zealand could also be described as Cinderella for its ‘coming of age’. Virtually granted a power of general competence by higher-level governments, local councils now venture to places they had not dared go before. Dressed up in a long-term plan, tailored by community consultation, and donning a dazzling necklace of performance measures, local government is simultaneously vying to win approval from the higher powers of State and national governments and the prince of public opinion. Rather than attending a ball, this Cinderella is more interested in convening a community festival. She sometimes judges her success by the proportion of community members who, when surveyed later, agree with statements like: ‘It is a good thing for a society to be made up of

⁷ With reference to Australia, see Dollery, Wallis and Allan (2006, 556). Some New Zealand scholars understand the ‘3 Rs’ to signify ‘roads, rats and rubbish’ (Bush 1995, 146; Cheyne 2008, 6), while another version is ‘roads, rubbish and regulations’ (Scott et al. 2004, 14-15).

⁸ Cheyne (2006, 285) observes that local government in New Zealand is not only ‘often overlooked and poorly understood’ but ‘frequently the butt of jokes and sceptical media comment’ (see also, Bush 1995; and on Australian local government, Stevenson 2000, 97).

people from different cultures.⁹ Cinderella's changing status is not universally accepted, however; she may yet have to relinquish her role as social planner and events manager, and retreat to her former life amongst the rats and rubbish.

Although these may appear light-hearted characterisations, there is a strong case for seeing local government, particularly in the domain of local cultural policy, as the political system's neglected stepchild, under-examined by scholars and under-appreciated by politicians, journalists and members of the public. As I argue in Chapter Two, even recent literature on urban cultural policy has largely been framed by the limited discourse of the creative city. Australian and New Zealand local government has nonetheless been undergoing a dramatic makeover in recent years. One may still find her emptying a rubbish bin, but this damsel is also engaging in social, cultural and leadership activities her ancestors would never have dreamed of seeing her accomplish.

This chapter outlines several key developments in urban cultural policy in Australia and New Zealand, from the establishment of local government in the nineteenth century colonies to the embrace of the creative city at the turn of the twenty-first century. By tracing literature on historical developments and contemporary trends in local government, with a particular focus on arts and cultural activities in cities, I identify four broad 'traditions' within a genealogy of urban cultural governance: early infrastructure; human services and cultural development; cultural and strategic planning; and creative cities and place-making. When local government was first founded in Australia and New Zealand, its representatives were not explicitly concerned with cultural activities, yet they built libraries and town halls. Over the course of the twentieth century, the role of councils expanded to incorporate an increasing range of human services, including arts and cultural programmes. From the 1980s on, cultural planning and then creative place-making became a significant activity of many city councils.

Drawing on the scholarship on local government in Australia and New Zealand that pertains to urban cultural policy, this chapter deals with metropolitan governance at a fairly abstract level. Although I discuss actual events, practices and legal frameworks, I do not delve fully into the diversity within local government. I begin here by considering the legal status of local government in the federated states of Australia and the centralised nation-state of

⁹ This is a measure of cultural vibrancy from Community Indicators Victoria, an indicator framework discussed at various points in this thesis.

Aotearoa New Zealand, before outlining the circumstances that led to the creation of local authorities and the gradual growth of their capacity and authority. As the local government sector has developed in these countries, higher-level governments from both sides of the political spectrum have required councils to plan ahead and report back regularly, often with the goal of improving accountability. Local government has been subject to the waves of public reform seen in other industrialised countries, not only in terms of New Public Management, but also significant restructuring and numerous amalgamations.

Also corresponding with international trends, councils in New Zealand and Australia have increasingly turned to the realms of culture and community in an effort to improve quality of life, facilitate social inclusion, empower citizens through creative activity and promote economic development. These trends and traditions are explored in this chapter, providing both a global and a national context in which to examine the urban cultural policy case studies at the heart of this thesis. This genealogical literature review points to the contingency of contemporary structures and practices of urban cultural policy. By understanding where some of these features have come from, I encourage readers to consider how current characteristics could be different and therefore to imagine alternative configurations of power and knowledge.

The weak political status of local government

As the Cinderella metaphor implies, the status of local government is similar to that of an insecure child, seeking approval from her family and equality with her peers. This refers in particular to the weak constitutional status of local government in Australia and New Zealand. While Australia has a written constitution ó unlike New Zealand or the United Kingdom ó it does not mention local government. Nor is local government referred to in any of New Zealand's quasi-constitutional statutes. New Zealand's unwritten constitution gives Parliament "unbridled power" and local government consequently depends on its will to exist (Bush 2005, 178; see also Reid 2011).

The lack of constitutional status for local government has long been debated in Australia. A federal referendum in 1988 with a vote for constitutional recognition of local government did not gain adequate support, partly because of "States who did not want to lose any of their constitutional powers to a stronger and more independent local government," according to

Robert Lowell (2005, 2). Another referendum on this issue was scheduled to be held in late 2013 in Australia, but did not go ahead due to the timing of the general election.¹⁰ All Australian State constitutions now recognise the role of local authorities, but these mostly non-entrenched provisions offer limited protection for local government and are further weakened by the potential to be changed in the same way as any ordinary parliamentary statute (EPCRLG 2011, 102). Since 1975, the Victorian Constitution has offered the strongest recognition of local government in any Australian State, safeguarding the democratic election of local councils, as a distinct and essential tier of government, and requiring a majority of electors to vote in a referendum to change any constitutional provisions related to local government (DPCD 2010; EPCRLG 2011, 102; see also Ben-David 2011, 64665; Lowell 2005, 3).

In addition to their weak constitutional status, local governments in New Zealand and Australia continue to be characterised by their relatively narrow range of powers and functions prescribed through state legislation. While these powers have expanded from the traditional *ultra vires* principle, as this chapter illustrates, local government remains a creature of the state (Aulich 2005; see also Reid 2011). Australian State and Territory authorities and New Zealand's central government regulate local decision-making and can impose specific requirements when providing funding to local authorities (Aulich 2005; Cheyne 2008). The Minister for Local Government in each jurisdiction holds the power to dismiss a council and appoint an administrator if she or he considers a municipality is not well managed.¹¹ Another similarity between the two countries is that voter turnout is low compared with other government elections, even in the States where voting is compulsory.¹² This can be seen to indicate that, 'Local body politics have rarely inspired the citizenry'

¹⁰ A referendum on financial recognition of local government was recommended by the Expert Panel on Constitutional Recognition of Local Government (2011), which was set up by the Federal Government. The issue of financial recognition is also central to debates about local government's constitutional status (or lack thereof) in New Zealand (Thomas and Memon 2007, 181682).

¹¹ Prominent examples of local authorities being disbanded include by the New South Wales Liberal Government in 1967, 'largely because [the councils were] controlled by the Australian Labor Party,' according to Brasch (2007, 29), and during the Victorian Liberal Government's amalgamation of municipalities in 1995-96. More recently, the Liberal Government of Western Australia suspended the entire City of Canning Council, and the New Zealand National Government dismissed all the Canterbury Regional Council (Environment Canterbury) councillors and appointed commissioners to replace them from 2010 to 2016.

¹² Voting in local elections is not compulsory in New Zealand, Tasmania, South Australia or Western Australia. It is compulsory for all residents in New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, the Northern Territory, and for the Australian Capital Territory Legislative Assembly, which combines local and territory levels of government (ECA 2011).

(Boston et al. 1996, 185686; see also Aulich 2005, 194695; DIA 2011a). These features lend support to the claim that local government continues to have a Cinderella status in New Zealand and Australia.

Local authorities in these two countries have nonetheless maintained a certain degree of autonomy. They manage to engage in a range of activities without reference to state governments, due to their access to local revenue in the form of rates and fees (Stevenson 2000, 98; Cheyne 2008). The status of local government in New Zealand and Australia, as a creature of statute, albeit with a significant degree of autonomy from central government at least in terms of day-to-day activities, is typical of the Anglo group, one of three broad models in a commonly used typology of local government systems found in western industrialised countries (Cheyne 2008, 33634). In contrast to the other two models – Southern European and Middle European – a key feature of the Anglo variant is that municipalities are restricted to those functions that central government explicitly grants to local government (the *ultra vires* principle) (Denters and Rose 2005, 10). There are, of course, variations within each model, notably that New Zealand local government activities and funding are controlled by a unitary government, while the Australian federal system has three tiers of government. Local government in New Zealand and Australia has much in common, nonetheless. In addition to its weak status in the political system in both countries, it shares a practical foundation and has evolved in parallel ways.

The pragmatic birth of local government

Local government was brought into being in the nineteenth century in Australia and New Zealand primarily for functional rather than democratic purposes.¹³ The first European-style local authorities in these countries were trusts which collected fees to finance roads that the British government did not wish to fund centrally. The first municipal authority established in either country was the Corporation of Adelaide (later Adelaide City Council) in Australia in 1840. Roads, along with rubbish and other services to property, have remained a central tenet of local government's role, which continues to shape political attitudes and public expectations today (Ben-David 2011, 62; Dollery, Wallis, and Allan 2006, 556).

¹³ Although Australia and New Zealand were both British colonies at the time, they were not immediately affected by the democratic reform of local government in the United Kingdom in the 1830s (Bush 1995, 1).

When the colony of New South Wales was established in Australia in 1788, it included the islands of New Zealand, although the British government did not establish local government at the time. The Colonial Secretary aimed to liberate governors from trivial matters and make municipalities more efficient and attractive to investors, but there was some resistance to local administration, particularly from governors in New Zealand who considered them unnecessary, given the small number of settlers, and feared that councils would not be financially viable (Bush 1995, 163; Scott et al. 2004, 263). In 1842, the Westminster Parliament nonetheless passed the Act for the Government of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, which provided for the creation of district councils in these Australian colonies. The responsibilities of local government at that time included public infrastructure, such as roads, and contributions towards the cost of policing and justice (Ben-David 2011, 60).

Following New Zealand's separation from the Australian colonies after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, the Municipal Corporations Ordinance 1842 allowed for councils to be elected and to levy rates based on property ownership in settlements with at least 2,000 people. At the time, only one such district existed: Wellington, where New Zealand's first local body was elected in October 1842. There were many 'false starts' to municipal government, particularly due to the six provincial councils that existed from 1852 to 1875 (Bush 1995, 668). The Municipal Corporations Act 1876 gave a growing number of New Zealand municipalities the authority to undertake a range of functions and services, including gasworks, libraries, museums, recreation reserves and charitable institutions. By the end of the nineteenth century, there were approximately 550 local authorities in New Zealand, including single-purpose elected boards, and their numbers continued to grow into the twentieth century (Scott et al. 2004, 7). In comparison, following federation in 1901, there were 1067 local governments in Australia by 1910 (ACELG 2012).

Local government involvement in the cultural life of Australian and New Zealand communities initially took the form of implicit rather than explicit cultural policy. Ahearne (2009, 141) defines 'implicit' cultural policies as 'policies that are not labelled manifestly as 'cultural', but that work to prescribe or shape cultural attitudes and habits over given territories'. Early local government plans and programmes to build town halls and libraries (Rentschler 1997, 131) were not conscious applications of any explicitly articulated cultural

policy, but they effectively promoted particular cultural forms, aspirations and practices – typically those of European –high–culture.

New Zealand followed a similar pattern to Australia. Local government historian Graham Bush (1971, 178–81) suggests that Auckland City, which built a library and art gallery in the 1880s, –came of age– by opening a town hall with a concert chamber in 1911. Founding councillors built these cultural facilities in response to the demands of a –vocal minority– who wanted to enhance –the cordiality of life– as seen in –lusty– European cities (Bush 1971, 142–43). Although local government in New Zealand provided hardly any community facilities –in the way of playgrounds, libraries, or public music– at the beginning of the twentieth century, the major cities had established municipal libraries, and they expanded these services to include brass bands and zoological gardens, –in a wave of –civic-mindedness– in the 1920s– (Bush 1971, 196–28).

Early local cultural policy in New Zealand and Australia can thus be described in terms of –cultural paternalism– which privileged the aesthetic and developmental values of –high–culture– (Volkerling 1996, 194–95; Rentschler 1997, 127). This reflects the countries– colonial heritage and the broad models seen in many European nations and other former dominions: –culture as glorification– in the nineteenth to early twentieth century, then the –democratisation of culture– in the mid-twentieth century (Mulcahy 2006a, 268–69; see also Volkerling 1996).

The broadening scope of local social and cultural services

In the second half of the twentieth century, Australian and New Zealand local government expanded its role as a provider of human services, following the development of the welfare state and in response to the twin forces of growing community expectations and various amendments to local government legislation. The increasing engagement by local councils in a range of decentralised social and cultural services reflects the international trend described by sociologists as the –turn to community– (Rose 2000; Mulligan and Smith 2009). In Australia, it also reflects the legacy of the 1972–75 Whitlam Labor government, which –provided a much wider funding base for local government and allowed councils to diversify their range of activities to include quality of life issues and general considerations of community well-being– (Marshall 1997, 4; see also Hawkins 1993, 29–33). In one of the few

books on this subject, Lowell (2005, x) explains that in Australia the term 'human services' emerged in the 1970s and now commonly refers to four broad service areas of local government: 'health, housing, culture and recreation, and social welfare.'

The proportion of local government spending on human services across Australia rose from 17 to 34 per cent between 1977 and 1998 (Lowell 2005, 136). During roughly the same period, the relative proportion of expenditure on 'recreation and culture' and 'housing and community amenities' increased to about 20 per cent of local government spending in Australia (Dollery and Byrnes 2009, 96). Local government now contributes approximately 20 per cent of the estimated total government expenditure on cultural activities (ABS 2012; Mills 2006, 64). As Deborah Stevenson (2000, 100) notes, however, it is problematic to rely on such figures of government expenditure on the arts, because those that exist typically count different things due to issues defining parameters.¹⁴

There does not appear to be a comparable historical record of local government expenditure in New Zealand. Although Statistics New Zealand (2006) compiles cultural indicators and some data on local government expenditure through the Local Authority census, the Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2013) states, 'it is not possible to sufficiently disaggregate the data to isolate cultural spending by local authorities.' Nonetheless, by the early nineties, local government was seen as New Zealand's 'largest provider of libraries, art galleries and cultural venues' (Bush 1995, 153), spending over \$200 million on arts and culture per year (CAWP 1994, 30). Recent statistics show that 16 per cent of local government spending went to human services in the 2010-11 financial year, including five per cent on 'culture' (DIA 2011b). As in Australia, large discrepancies exist between the amounts spent by individual councils on arts and culture, including amongst urban municipalities (Beatson 1994, 111).

There is considerable diversity of local government structure and operations both within and between states. Although this research focuses principally on city councils, it is worth noting that rural councils have had greater difficulty in raising funds, even for basic services such as roads. And with their small and dispersed populations, especially in Australia, they have not usually been expected to build and provide social and cultural facilities for regional use

¹⁴ For instance, John Smithies (personal communication, 17 January 2013) deduces that, if broadcasting were excluded from this category, the local government spend would represent approximately 28 per cent of total government expenditure on culture.

(Stevenson 2000, 103; Brasch 2007, 8). In smaller local governments, responsibility for arts and culture, where it exists, often sits alongside a diverse range of other portfolios within the same role (Dunphy 2006; Dunphy, Tavelli, and Metzke 2013). A study of local government spending on arts and cultural development in New Zealand in the early 1990s notes that in small rural towns, "where there is no community arts development plan or policy there is very little public arts activity in the district" (ROL 1998, 45).

Municipal human services in Australia and New Zealand are still much less significant than in countries like the United Kingdom and United States, where local government has long held responsibility for policy areas as diverse as public education, health and hospitals, justice, police and social welfare. These major public services have primarily remained the domain of higher level governments in New Zealand and Australia (Bush 2005; Aulich 2005). Local authorities account for just under five per cent of total government expenditure in Australia, while those in New Zealand are responsible for 12 per cent of government spending, compared with an average of 23 per cent in the OECD member states (OECD 2011). Lowell (2005, 1) and Stevenson (2000, 109) both suggest that physical and environmental services, such as urban planning and civil engineering, "have long been privileged over human services within Australian local government. Municipalities' bias towards services to property has been reinforced in some cities by electoral rules that favour property owners (Lowell 2005, 10; see also ECA 2011).

During the period of "bureaucratisation" and "cultural paternalism" in the mid-twentieth century, the legislative mandate and structure of local government remained relatively stable. From the 1950s, Australian local authorities nonetheless began moving beyond their traditional "services to property" and started delivering "services to people" (Dollery, Wallis, and Allan 2006; see also Ben-David 2011, 63). As Brian Dollery et al. (2006, 555-56) explain, the role of Australian local government changed "by default rather than design" involving incremental shifts, "largely in an ad hoc response to community demands, the devolution of activities from both Commonwealth and State governments, technological progress, and a myriad other factors." Councils have consequently come to have a more personal and direct relationship with local residents, which introduces "a new level of complexity and ambiguity to the institution of local government" and to its relations with State and national governments (Ben-David 2011, 63). The expansion of local government has been facilitated by the adoption of governmental tools and calculative practices "or in

Foucauldian terms, technologies developed in the fields of planning, environmental management and population health. The particular technologies of cultural planning and outcome measurement are explored further in later sections of this chapter and thesis.

New Zealand councils also accumulated some extra functions and shifted into new areas of service delivery during this period. Bush might not use the same terms as Dollery et al., but he too describes a shift from 'services to property' to 'services to people'

The real revolution was for local government to go beyond its obligations to the bricks and mortar of libraries and swimming baths and to begin helping citizens live a more rewarding existence and ministering to those unable to cope. (Bush 1995, 61)

According to Bush (1995, 41642, 61), New Zealand municipalities began engaging in 'social welfare' activities in the 1970s, starting with the first Citizens Advice Bureaux and sports and recreation grants. They subsequently established community development departments, especially following the Local Government Act 1974.¹⁵ New Zealand's Town and Country Planning Act 1977 recognised the significance of local cultural and social services, clearly stating local government's planning responsibilities as: 'to most effectively promote and safeguard the health, safety, convenience and the economic, cultural, social and general welfare of the people and the amenities of the area.'¹⁶ The lack of clear direction regarding 'services to people' in the Local Government Act 1974 nonetheless resulted in varying levels of council involvement in community development and social services, 'with initiatives being at the discretion of the individual councils concerned' (Aimers 2005, 3). By the end of the twentieth century, the range of local government functions in New Zealand, both statutory and non-statutory, included: civil defence, environmental health, crime prevention, economic development, housing, community centres, public transport, cultural and sports facilities, tourism promotion and water management. Some of these functions were also policy portfolios of central government (Bush 1995; Scott et al. 2004, 11612).

It is not clear when local government first created roles specialising in arts and culture. But if Fremantle Council in Western Australia appointed its first director of cultural activities in 1970 (Moorhouse 2003), and Manukau City Council in New Zealand employed a community

¹⁵ Well before the Act, however, Manukau City Council appointed a social services officer in 1966 and Auckland City Council created New Zealand's first community development unit in 1970 (Chile 2006, 414615).

¹⁶ This statute is a significant precursor to the Local Government Act 2002 (Local Futures 2006, 157; Dalziel, Matunga, and Saunders 2006).

arts advisor in 1978 (Beatson 1994, 111), then some other municipalities probably employed arts or cultural officers by the 1970s too. The shift to 'services to people' did not immediately result in a widespread embrace of cultural activity or a shift away from 'services to property', however. Councils continued to build and support physical infrastructure as they had done since early in their history. By 1992, four out of five local governments in New Zealand provided cultural facilities and venues (LGBG 1993). Most of the \$221 million spent by local government on arts-related activities in New Zealand in 1992-93 was dedicated to facilities, including 67 per cent of this sum allocated to libraries (ROL 1998, 44). As Elizabeth Aitken-Rose (2006, 137) assesses, local authorities in New Zealand have long supported: 'Culture' as embodied in libraries, theatres, museums, art galleries, halls, town clocks, war memorials and pipe bands 'as a concession to community conviviality and a reflection of civic pride'. Similarly, local authorities in Australia, more than other levels of government, have traditionally provided cultural infrastructure, such as the 'libraries, museums, civic halls and art galleries' 'where day-to-day cultural activity is central to community life and local cultural identity takes place' (Stevenson 2000, 96).

This reflects the dominant approach to the glorification and democratisation of 'high' culture and a particular way of life. In New Zealand, until the Local Government Act 2002 introduced cultural wellbeing as a key aspect of sustainable development, these concerns were 'subordinate to the practical civilisation of streets and sewers' (Aitken-Rose 2006, 137). Although councils may have expanded their 'services to people', they have continued to privilege infrastructure services.

Community arts and cultural development become governmental programmes

The expansion of council human services occurred at a time when the community arts and community development movements were flourishing. Their indirect impact can be seen on local government, particularly through influential federal arts policy initiatives in Australia. The terms and associated practices of community arts and community cultural development continue to represent a central yet problematic discourse of local cultural policy. Drawing on Hawkins (1993), Marnie Badham (2010a, 85-86) points out: 'Despite a more than thirty-year history of community arts in Australia, practitioners engaging in transformative practice, and government support for projects, there is no definitive understanding or comprehensive theory.' Some key characteristics of the community arts movement and cultural development practice have nonetheless shaped urban cultural policy in Australia and New Zealand.

Community arts developed in response to the social, cultural and political shifts of the 1960s and 70s, deliberately challenging the seemingly undemocratic aspects of cultural policy (Badham 2010a; Evans 2003; Hawkins 1993; Matarasso 2013). The radical roots of community arts lie in the cultural programmes instigated and supported by trade unions and socialist organisations, particularly workers' theatre and social realist art (Badham 2010a; Kirby 1991). The term 'community arts' was inherited from Britain and institutionalised by the Australia Council for the Arts when it established the Community Arts and Development Committee in 1973 (Hawkins 1991; Evans 2003).¹⁷ In 1975, Australian local governments received approximately \$54,000 from the Community Arts Committee, which represented less than six per cent of its overall budget (Hawkins 1993, 42). Soon recognising local government as an important partner, the Australia Council provided seed funding to employ community arts officers from the late 1970s, 'to engage communities in cultural development and facilitate the development of local cultural infrastructure (Evans 2003, 19; Hawkins 1993, 84; Stevenson 2000).

This initiative had a lasting legacy, even though the community arts projects supported by local governments were limited by the typical location of these roles in community services departments, which framed the arts from a welfare perspective (Hawkins 1993, 84). By the 1990s, cultural consultant Richard Brecknock (2000) asserts, 'the main players' in Australian local cultural policy were 'the Community Cultural Development Officers or Community Arts Officers', adopting a very hands on approach to community cultural development. Recent research in Victoria reveals that most councils have retained these cultural development roles, long after the Australia Council stopped funding them (Dunphy, Tavelli, and Metzke 2013).

Community arts has traditionally been based on two different meanings of community: 'a geographical conception of 'community' as a non-metropolitan area' (Brown 1995, 42643); and a community of interest, as a counterpoint to 'traditionally elitist' approaches to the arts, allowing for the targeting of previously marginalised constituencies (Hawkins 1991, 49). The Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa Act 1994 (section 2) continues to define the term broadly in this way:

¹⁷ The term 'community arts' typically signals a more radical agenda in Britain than in Australia and New Zealand (CAWP 1994, 24; Volkerling 1996, 209; Matarasso 2013).

Community arts means projects undertaken within a local community

- (a) That may represent either a specific geographical area or defined communities of interest; and
- (b) That allow for access and participation by the wider community, and includes recreational arts.

Community arts councils were established as voluntary structures throughout New Zealand before their recognition in the Queen Elizabeth II (QEII) Arts Council 1974 Act and prior to local government funding and employment schemes that led to a proliferation of community artist led initiatives in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Cullen 1994, 8; CAWP 1994, 32).

In Australia, the field was redefined in 1987 when the Australia Council changed the name of the Community Arts Board to the Community Cultural Development Committee (Hawkes 2003; Khan 2011, 6). *Community arts* tends to refer to local projects in which professional artists work with community members – a classic example being community murals (QEII Arts Council 1982; Hawkins 1993, 25; Marschall 2000); while *community cultural development* (CCD) can be considered a broader cultural strategy and practice that aims to build community capacity and address social inequity (Badham 2010a; Goldbard 2006; Hawkins 1993; Sonn, Kasat, and Drew 2002). These distinctions are not universally understood and the terms are sometimes used interchangeably. The outcomes of both community arts and CCD have been described in terms of strengthening community wellbeing (Sonn, Kasat, and Drew 2002; Mills and Brown 2004; Cole 2011). CCD is not a label widely used or understood outside of Australia (except see Adams and Goldbard 2001). Some publications nonetheless suggest that community arts organisations in New Zealand began moving into the realm of CCD in the early 1980s (Artwork² 2004; Brown 1995, 52; QEII Arts Council 1982), and that the key rationale for the Community Arts Network, established in 1986, was to enact and advocate for cultural democracy (Beatson 1994, 14).

Although community arts was not an official responsibility of New Zealand municipalities until the 1990s, trends in local cultural policy were largely similar to those in Australia. One key difference was New Zealand's emerging biculturalism, or what might be described in Australian terms as 'reconciliation policies'. The QEII Arts Council 1974 Act had established three Regional Arts Councils and 100 Community Arts Councils, but, according to Albiston (2000, 44645), a lack of coordination between the Arts Council and local authorities meant that community arts development was not particularly effective (see also ROL 1998). M ori

rights and interests were meanwhile gaining prominence, with increasing recognition of indigenous culture and historical grievances, seen in the passing of the Maori Affairs Act of 1974 and the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975. The following decade saw growing acceptance of biculturalism, as well as a wider shift occurring in cultural values, away from assimilation and towards a broader conception of the arts (Albiston 2000). The principles of the Treaty were explicitly incorporated into various statutes in the 1980s (Hayward 2006) and became a constitutional standard, whereby new laws, including those related to local government, are expected to comply with the principles of the Treaty (LAC 2012). The Treaty also represents a major plank in community arts philosophy in New Zealand (Beatson 1994, 14).

Biculturalism continues to shape cultural policy in New Zealand. As Madden (2011b) observes, New Zealand's cultural statistics framework has a section dedicated to distinctly M ori culture (SNZ 2006),¹⁸ and more than 17 per cent of cultural expenditure by central government was allocated to M ori culture in 2009. The Arts Council of New Zealand Tei Aotearoa Act 1994, which replaced the 1974 Act, reflects this commitment to biculturalism in both name and substance, acknowledging M ori as *tangata whenua* (indigenous people of the land). The Act simultaneously recognises multiculturalism within New Zealand and requires Creative New Zealand (the corporate name for the Arts Council) to support art from all cultures, especially that of Pacific Island peoples.

Following a harrowing history of colonisation and decades of the 'White Australia' immigration policy, indigenous and multicultural arts began to be recognised and supported by the Australian government in the 1970s (Seares 2011). The discourses of community arts and cultural democracy also contributed to the development of frameworks for regional, multicultural and youth arts (O'Regan 2001). Multicultural arts or 'ethnic arts' as they were formerly known were generally considered part of the Australia Council's community arts mandate in its early years (Hawkins 1993, 87-88). As Khan (2010, 188) argues, 'community' became a convenient category with which to group constituencies, such as ethnic minorities, that were otherwise marginalised by the arts establishment. These 'anti-

¹⁸ When the Cultural Ministers Council commissioned the development of a cultural indicator framework for Australia, 'Cultural Indicators for New Zealand' was treated as an exemplar. But the bicultural framework was considered irrelevant for Australia, where Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders do not represent a significant proportion of the population or hold the same status as M ori in New Zealand (CDN 2010; Ferres, Adair, and Jones 2010).

establishment's traditions of community arts and their alignment with ideals of cultural democracy and cultural diversity continue to frame local cultural policy discourse today.

Adopting a governmentality perspective similar to Khan's, Michael Brown (1995, 45) argues that the policy construction of 'community arts' as occurring outside the main centres allowed New Zealand's arts council to easily measure and compare regional arts provision levels: 'Once access to the arts can be measured like this, it becomes possible to identify disadvantaged groups and communities, and suggest reasons for this.' This governmental technique of using categories and calculations to guide decisions continues in Creative New Zealand's allocation of funding through the Creative Communities Scheme, which is based on local government boundaries and population levels (CNZ1, Appendix 2; MCH 2013). Arts Queensland's Regional Arts Development Fund (RADF) operates on a similar basis, offering funding to all councils in the state (except Brisbane City), determined by a ratio based on the population of local government areas. As later chapters of this thesis demonstrate, local government officers grapple with similar practices of categorisation and calculation.

Despite concerns in the early 1990s that the New Zealand National Government had a narrow and 'elitist' approach to the arts, and would likely abolish community arts funding, the 1994 Arts Council Act designated city and district councils as community arts providers within the Creative Communities Scheme (Albiston 2000, 7, 53-55; O'Halloran 2003, 48-52). Since then, New Zealand's local authorities have played a more important role in arts funding (Albiston 2000, 55; Aitken-Rose 2006, 143; ROL 1998). Territorial authorities today distribute funds from Creative New Zealand to three types of community arts projects, including CCD, but mostly maintenance and transmission of cultural traditions, particularly Māori and Pasifika heritage artforms, and leisure and recreational arts activities (CNZ1, Appendix 2; MCH 2013). In the 2009-10 financial year, the Creative Communities Scheme supported 2,418 community arts projects around New Zealand with \$2.9 million of grants.

In this section, I have depicted a change in local government's emphasis, from providing cultural infrastructure to supporting a greater plurality of cultural expression and participation through community arts and cultural development, often as a result of national-level policy, funding and legislation. This shift reflects broad trends commonly identified in the cultural policy studies literature, notably the transition from the traditional democratisation of 'high' culture to a cultural democracy approach, which aims to respect the diverse rights and needs

of plural cultures and empower them to fully participate in democratic society. National-level cultural policy discourse and arts council restructuring in Australia and New Zealand thus established a turning point for what had previously been ad hoc local cultural policy and service provision. In the 1980s in Australia and the 1990s in New Zealand, local government involvement in the arts consequently expanded from its traditional focus on facility provision to facilitating community arts and cultural development.

Integrated cultural planning: a more strategic approach to arts and culture

Despite their long involvement in the cultural life of local communities, it appears that no local government in Australia or New Zealand had an official cultural plan prior to the 1980s. The developments described above initially occurred without strategic planning or policy guidelines, which meant that much local government funding and in-kind support was given according to personal favour or historical precedent, according to Stevenson (2000, 100605). The City of Fremantle, for instance, had a director of cultural activities in 1970 and appointed its first community arts officer in 1987 by which time the city already had an arts centre, creative training institutes, and many artist-run initiatives but it did not produce its first cultural plan until 1999 (Moorhouse 2003). Arts strategies and cultural plans were first developed by New Zealand councils in the 1980s, and these early documents tended to focus on access to and maintenance of facilities (Artists Round Table 2000; ROL 1998). As Aitken-Rose (2006, 143) observes, early local cultural policy documents were not linked to broader strategic and annual financial plans, and made no provision for monitoring and review.

Meanwhile, in Australia, local government was being encouraged to formalise the principles of community cultural development through the practice of cultural planning. Spurred by cultural policy developments in the United Kingdom and United States,¹⁹ and building on the tenets of its community arts programme, the Australia Council took a leading role in local cultural policy in the 1980s to 90s. Its staff recognised that community arts generally fell within the purview of community services within councils, and that these departments were

¹⁹ After being adopted in the US from the 1970s by Robert McNulty in his work for Partners for Livable Places, cultural planning was first applied in the UK in the 1980s, notably by the Greater London Council and by Franco Bianchini and other consultants (Bianchini 2013, 377-380; Montgomery 2007, 145; Stevenson 2014, 2-3, 75).

typically marginalised and regarded within councils as unimportant or difficult to categorise, as opposed to the council's real concerns – those associated with roads, rates and rubbish (Stevenson 2000, 109). The Community Cultural Development Unit of the Australia Council challenged this marginal and ad hoc approach to cultural provision by promoting cultural planning, which can be described as the strategic and integrated arrangement of cultural resources in urban and community development. Reflecting ideas from the CCD and creative industries paradigms, cultural planning emerged from theoretical developments in cultural studies and political movements for participatory democracy (Young 2013, 10). It involves engaging communities to map community resources, services and activity, in order to strategically devise a cultural plan for a specific area, and aims to connect with broader local government concerns such as urban development, economic planning and tourism (Evans 2003, 19; Stevenson 2000, 96).

The Australia Council's push for local government to develop cultural plans reflected its staff's enthusiasm for a more innovative approach to this field as well as an attempt to devolve responsibility for community arts and cultural development (Stevenson 2000, 109; Stevenson 2010a). According to Stevenson (2000, 104), a 1991 report from the Australia Council and the Federal Office of Local Government, entitled 'Local Government's Role in Arts and Cultural Development'

signalled a shift in focus, nationally, in the way local arts provision was being positioned in official rhetoric, whereby the arts focus (community arts, in particular) was being either replaced with or augmented by a concern with culture and cultural development.

This was the beginning of 'the cultural planning push' in Australia (Stevenson 2000, 104, 108). Australia Council-sponsored publications such as *Better Places - Richer Communities* (Guppy 1997) positioned cultural development within the framework of Integrated Local Area Planning, which was being developed by the Australian Local Government Association (ALGA) (UTS 2000; Mills 2006).

Several State local government associations joined ALGA and the Australia Council in adopting the principles of cultural planning, although these organisations' commitment to local cultural development has often been weak (Mills 2006, 83; Seares 2011, 13; Stevenson 2000, 99). Certain State governments also endorsed cultural planning, and some provided support to councils through their arts and culture departments (Seares 2011, 13). In

Queensland, the Local Government Act introduced a requirement for councils to develop cultural plans in the 1990s (Mercer 2006, 465), and Arts Queensland (2008) requires councils to have a formal 'Arts and Cultural Policy' in order to be eligible for the RADF programme. Cultural planning thus became a legitimate and in some States, requisite tool of local governance.

The promise of cultural planning proved challenging to achieve in practice. Deborah Mills (2003, 7; 2006, 79) suggests that, despite some notable exceptions exhibiting a 'whole-of-council approach' local governments mostly failed to elevate the status of culture, instead attaching the value of the arts to social objectives. In the early twenty-first century, the many cultural plans written in Australia continue to privilege 'art' over 'culture' failing to recognise 'the importance to community life and cultural expression of other council facilities, such as shopping centres, swimming pools and tourism resorts' (Stevenson 2000, 113; see also, Hawkins 1993; Dunphy, Tavelli, and Metzke 2013). This can be partially explained by the strong influence of the arts-centred discourse of the Australia Council, as well as local government's organisational culture and structure, which made it difficult to integrate cultural planning into councils' corporate and strategic processes (Stevenson 2000, 113-14). Those employed to develop cultural plans held marginal positions as consultants, who worked outside councils' strategic decision-making processes, and community arts officers who, 'although situated within the council bureaucracy, are lowly placed institutionally and thus command limited organisational or strategic influence' (Stevenson 2000, 112; Brecknock 1997, 90-91). Another explanation for the marginality of cultural planning is its activist agenda, drawing on its roots in community arts:

To many within local government, cultural planning is a radical, even revolutionary, approach to city governance and the management of urban space. It seems to threaten established practices and is underpinned by theoretical propositions and assumptions that are either difficult to grasp or at odds with those which have so far prevailed in local government. (Stevenson 2000, 114)

Many municipalities have nonetheless developed cultural plans that play a pivotal role in their support for arts and culture. As Margaret Seares (2011, 13) notes, 'many local councils have, in fact, well developed cultural plans, and some have culture divisions or staff who are charged with implementing those plans.' In Victoria, 56 of the State's 79 local governments either have a cultural plan or are in the process of developing one (Dunphy, Tavelli, and

Metzke 2013, 768). All of Victoria's urban municipalities also have specialised cultural development staff, typically located within a standalone Arts and Culture Department (Dunphy, Tavelli, and Metzke 2013, 7). Comparison with other Australian States is not possible because equivalent research has not been conducted outside of Victoria.

After the Australia Council dissolved its CCD Board in 2005 and replaced it with the Community Partnerships Program, it allocated federal funding of \$10 million per year to support various collaborations between professional artists and communities in targeted areas and populations, including for CCD programmes. Small grants are usually distributed through partnerships with state or regional arts agencies and community art networks (Australia Council 2011). They are only very occasionally awarded to a local authority, despite Mulligan and Smith's (2010, 11) recommendation that the Australia Council forge strategic partnerships with local government through this programme. Although the Australia Council has withdrawn from directly funding local government (Mills 2006, 64), municipalities still play an important role in community arts and CCD (Seares 2011, 55).

Local government in New Zealand is not required to engage in cultural planning, yet many councils have developed arts and cultural plans, strategies or policies. Some local cultural plans were developed prior to the 1994 Arts Council and 2002 Local Government Acts, but there is not enough research in this field to determine if, how or why they came to be commonplace in New Zealand. In 1991, newly-appointed Regional Arts Council liaison officers launched a major campaign to encourage local authorities to adopt cultural policies and to play an active role in fostering the arts in their region (Beatson 1994, 111). But many councils – including large urban municipalities – still had no plan for arts development in the late nineties (ROL 1998, 45). One possible explanation for local authorities' eventual adoption of arts and cultural strategies is the influence of the cultural planning push across the Tasman Sea.²⁰

The emergence of cultural plans in New Zealand reflects the broader public sector and local government reforms of the 1980s and 90s (LGNZ1, Appendix 2). Building on the introduction of accountability requirements to the public sector throughout the 1960s to 80s

²⁰ A New Zealand interest in Australian local cultural policy is indicated, for instance, in a report by Catherine Tizard (1981), then Mayor of Auckland City, on a visit to four Australian cities to investigate local government community arts, library and recreation schemes.

(Bush 1995, 81), local governments first had to produce annual plans and reports, then requirements expanded in the mid-90s to include new financial planning instruments, and in the late 90s strategic plans were introduced. Recent local policy changes have occurred in the context of two waves of public sector reform, each of which is discussed in turn in the following sections, and elaborated on in Chapter Five.

The broad drive for efficiency, strategy and accountability

In addition to the disbanding of councils mentioned earlier in this chapter, higher level governments have exerted their authority and enacted their ideology over local authorities through legislative changes. This can be crudely summed up as a battle between the polar approaches of 'Mother Efficiency' and 'Father Democracy' (see Aulich 2005). In the words of Dollery and Grant (2011, 2): 'Local governments have continued to experience far-reaching, externally imposed reform processes, framed primarily by the problem of financial sustainability.' The theories and enactments of 'Father Democracy' will be discussed further in the following section. Here, I focus on the structural reforms that 'Mother Efficiency' has designed to hold councils accountable for their actions and spending.

A dominant local government trend in both New Zealand and Australia is amalgamation, which has resulted in the number of municipalities decreasing considerably over recent decades (Dollery and Byrnes 2009, 97; Reid 2009, 199). It has also led to 'larger organisations offering increasingly sophisticated services by staff with specialised skills' (Dunphy, Tavelli, and Metzke 2013, 1). In the late 1980s there were approximately 840 Australian and almost 800 New Zealand local authorities. By 2013, this had reduced to 565 local councils in Australia and 78 in New Zealand. Amalgamations in Queensland in 2008 and the creation of a 'super city' in Auckland in 2010 were the latest in a long line of restructures that aimed to increase operational efficiency and capacity through the achievement of what is contentiously seen as 'an optimal size for a local government entity' (Dollery and Robotti 2009, 3). Pointing to various alternative models for local government and the weak empirical evidence of the economic benefits of mergers, Dollery and Byrnes (2009, 113) thus argue that the myth 'that "bigger is better" in local government' persists (see also Aulich et al 2011). Council-initiated restructures have also been common, particularly in response to financial pressures in recent years.

The lack of research on local arts and cultural policy and services makes it difficult to determine the effects of these reforms, although one consequence of early financial restructuring was the increased commercialism and democratisation of cultural organisations (Rentschler 1997, 135). My research experience as discussed in Chapter Four suggests that human services, particularly arts and cultural departments, are often among the hardest hit by restructures. Writing about the tension between the effects of New Public Management (NPM) reforms on local government and the ideal approach to cultural planning, Brecknock (2000, 1) argues:

Business units brought to local government a new sense of entrepreneurial spirit, however it also brought with it a competitive environment that created barriers to collaboration and partnerships. Cultural development, to be successful, needs to be a whole of council concern.

Similar to State legislation in Australia (Aulich 2005), New Zealand's 1989 and 2002 Local Government Acts incorporated the principles of NPM, notably the drive for operational efficiency, managerial separation of commercial, regulatory and service-delivery functions, transparent trade-offs among objectives, and clear and strong mechanisms for assuring accountability (Bush 2005, 174). The requirement in New Zealand's Local Government Amendment Act (No 3) 1996 for local authorities to identify their activities and expenditure in terms of strategic directions, contributed to a debate about their roles and responsibilities, including in relation to arts and culture (ROL 1998, 44).

A significant result of these statutes is the proliferation of reporting requirements. In Victoria, for instance, an array of local government reports are required by various Acts: four-year council plans; annual budgets within which key strategic activities must be identified; annual reports, which must include a performance statement that explicitly acquits actual results against performance targets (Ben-David 2011, 65); and a municipal public health plan, which identifies evidence-based goals and strategies for enhancing health and wellbeing in the community (Victorian Department of Health 2009). Elaborate reporting requirements have led to the development of more stringent funding criteria for arts and culture, whereas previous local authority guidelines had been fairly vague, especially in those States where local governments were not obliged to develop a cultural plan. As in Australia, local governments in New Zealand are now expected to assess the costs and benefits of arts and

culture in comparison with other council activities, such as maintaining footpaths and sewerage systems (Albiston 2000, 75).

The transformation of municipal management following the extensive reforms of the past two decades, especially since the introduction of compulsory competitive tendering in Victoria, has also seen services increasingly provided by external contractors rather than council employees (Boston et al. 1996; Brasch 2007; McKeown and Lindorff 2011; Van Gramberg and Teicher 2000). This has occurred in the realm of policy design as well as delivery, and has resulted in consultants and their calculative practices having a significant influence on urban cultural policy (Prince 2013; Stevenson 2000, 112; Tyzack 1997; Volkerling 2006).

The changes in local government discourses and practices since the 1980s have led to an emphasis on 'performance and customer satisfaction', 'benchmarking' and 'best practice' throughout council departments (Boston et al. 1996, 194; see also Aulich 2005; Van Gramberg and Teicher 2000). Arts and culture units are not immune. Writing about local government's use of arts indicators in Victoria, Katya Johanson and colleagues (forthcoming, 9) argue:

Local governments, like most public services, are required to operate within a neo-liberal paradigm which privileges managerialist processes such as quantifiable public outcomes. As a result, their arts and cultural policies and plans are frequently devised around regimes of monitoring and evaluation in order to substantiate claims of impact and participatory engagement in arts and cultural activities.

A project commissioned in the late 1990s by the Australia Council and ALGA aimed to demonstrate the value of benchmarking for local cultural policy-making. In particular, it aimed to show how data about tangible cultural policy outcomes could help 'to clarify objectives and highlight the potential benefits of integrating cultural development with the more established functions of Local Government' (UTS 2000, 4). The National Demonstration Benchmarking for Community Cultural Development project proved highly challenging for local authorities' arts and cultural teams, with two of the four participating councils abandoning the pilot project, largely due to the considerable demands of data collection and indicator trialling (UTS 2000, 2667). This project also highlighted tensions between the different types of knowledge and practice associated with cultural development

on one hand and NPM on the other. As a cultural planner from Warringah Council in New South Wales who participated in the project said:

The challenge for community cultural development, in this context, is how to reconcile a way of thinking about and working with communities that has tended to focus on the intangible with a reform process that is demanding a means of monitoring activity and evaluating performance. (Barone, cited in UTS 2000, 30; see also Barone 1997)

Rentschler (1997) likewise discusses the tension between managerialism (efficiency) and local autonomy (democracy), or quality of life, with reference to the dual expectations that local governments maintain excellence by benchmarking standards while also promoting inclusive community participation. As I illustrate in Chapters Five and Seven, participants in this research made similar comments about the challenge of evaluating arts and cultural activity and objects in this neoliberal environment.

Growing up governmentally: councils are given more freedom and responsibility

The emphasis on accountability for local government has not disappeared but, over the past two decades, 'Father Democracy' has given most councils permission to determine their areas of activity, as long as they continue consulting communities and reporting back to the state. In this way, the sector has changed considerably. It has shifted away from limited, bureaucratic responsibilities and towards both wider powers and stricter requirements to engage with communities, develop strategic plans and report on outcome achievement. The principle of *ultra vires*, typical in the 'Anglo' model, where local authorities had been restricted to performing only those functions for which central government explicitly granted them statutory provision, has been replaced, in principle, with a power of general competence (Aulich 2005; Bush 2005; Sullivan et al. 2006). Local authorities have thus gained both more freedom and more responsibility, in keeping with patterns of governmentality throughout advanced liberal democracies (Miller and Rose 2008).

Following in Mother Efficiency's footsteps, Father Democracy has influenced councils' behaviour by setting boundaries and guidelines through legislation. The local government reforms in Australian States between 1989 and 2009 included provisions to develop strategic management planning and reporting regimes. These were designed to make local authorities more accountable and more responsive to community wishes, and sometimes broadened the scope of local government activity (Aulich 2009). The Victorian Local Government Act

1989, for instance, gives each council the power to do all things necessary or convenient to be done in connection with the achievement of its objectives and the performance of its functions (section 3F), and requires councils to produce a four yearly council plan which must include strategic objectives and strategic indicators (section 125). A drive towards strategic capacity was also a fundamental aspect of the 2007-08 Queensland amalgamations (Aulich et al. 2011, 21). Dollery et al. (2006, 556) make a connection between these legislative developments and the increased range of human services provided by councils: The powers of general competence embodied in these statutes have facilitated a substantial change in service provision away from traditional services to property towards human services.

The 2007-09 Queensland reforms mirrored New Zealand's Local Government Act 2002 (LGA02), which was introduced by the fifth Labour-led government in the hope of strengthening representative democracy and promoting economic development through new forms of civic engagement and a whole-of-government approach (Lawn 2005; Leonard and Memon 2008). Substantially revised in 2010 and 2012, the LGA02 originally granted local authorities positive powers with provisions aiming to strengthen local democracy and accountability. Some of the most significant aspects of the Act included: its mandate to promote community wellbeing within a sustainable development paradigm; the requirement to identify community outcomes through consultation; the integrated approach to strategic planning; and mandatory reporting of progress towards long-term goals (Thomas and Memon 2007, 172; Brosnan and Cheyne 2010, 26). Some of the statutory changes may have been more rhetorical than substantive (Aulich 2009), however, and several provisions have since been revoked (see below).

The broad new mandate (temporarily) given to councils throughout New Zealand and in some Australian States to promote wellbeing in four specific dimensions – social, economic, environmental and cultural – was considered particularly radical. The four well-beings denoted in the LGA02, along with the balance between economic, social, environmental and cultural considerations in the legislation governing the City of Melbourne and local government in South Australia (see below), represent an integrated four pillar approach (Hawkes 2001; UCLG 2004), which adds culture to the old triangle of sustainable development – society, economy and environment (Pascual i Ruiz and Dragojević 2007). The four pillar model has even been adopted by some Australian councils in States that do not

require such a framework. For at least a decade, the corporate plan of the City of Port Phillip in Victoria has been based on four pillars: Economic Viability, Environmental Responsibility, Cultural Vitality and Social Equity, against which all significant council decisions must be reported (Mills 2003; City of Port Phillip 2012). Having welcomed the inclusion of culture in New Zealand's legislative framework for local government, many members of the cultural and social policy communities objected to its removal (Davison 2012). Some had particularly appreciated its potential to support a more integrated and progressive approach to Māori and other marginalised communities (Austin, Kerr, and Ihakara 2003; Choudhary 2009; Dalziel, Matunga, and Saunders 2006; Eames 2006).

The specificity of each state's Local Government Act has implications for local authorities' involvement in the arts (Stevenson 2000, 99).²¹ In terms similar to those in the original LGA02, South Australia's Local Government Act 1999 (section 8) states that one of the roles and functions of a council is: 'to facilitate sustainable development and the protection of the environment and to ensure a proper balance within its community between economic, social, environmental and cultural considerations.' The Local Government Association of South Australia has used this clause to encourage councils to develop cultural plans (CCN 2003, 6). State governments usually influence local cultural policy more through their arts councils, however, which interact directly with local government (Stevenson 2000, 99; Dunphy 2006). An example is Arts Queensland's (2008) requirement for councils to have a cultural plan in order to be eligible for devolved funding through the RADF.

Long-term, place-based and cultural approaches to planning arrived in New Zealand in the late twentieth century. Integrated planning was a feature of the Town and Country Planning Act 1977, which recognised the 'protection and enhancement of the physical, cultural and social environment' as a matter of 'national importance' (Scott et al. 2004, 16). The LGA02

²¹ Most of the Australian States also have separate legislation for their capital cities, as does New Zealand for its largest city. This sometimes results in inconsistencies and additional requirements for those municipalities, especially relating to 'cultural considerations'. Despite the changes to the LGA02, for instance, part 6 of the Local Government (Auckland Council) Act 2009 requires Auckland Council to develop a spatial plan 'to contribute to Auckland's social, economic, environmental, and cultural well-being'. The City of Melbourne Act 2001 (section 7) also sets forth the following objective for the council: 'to ensure a proper balance within its community between economic, social, environmental and cultural considerations within the context of the City of Melbourne's unique capital city responsibilities'. Culture is not, however, mentioned in Victoria's Local Government Act 1989, which instead states the following objectives for each council: 'to promote the social, economic and environmental viability and sustainability of the municipal district' (section 3c).

expressed a much clearer obligation to engage with communities in decision-making procedures and to work in a collaborative way with other government agencies. Peter McKinlay (2004, 2) observes that the enactment of the LGA02 "sounded alarm bells, especially for the business community, which envisaged a world in which local councils, virtually unconstrained by legislative restriction, could spend ratepayers' dollars on a wide range of social service, welfare and community initiatives of little practical value."

Despite little evidence that local government debt was burgeoning as a result of its broad mandate in New Zealand (Bush 2001; LGNZ 2012; OAG 2012), such concerns drove the Local Government Act 2002 Amendment Bill 2012, which removed the community wellbeing mandate, seen to be "impossibly broad and meaningless" (John Banks, cited in Levy 2012). In its place, with an aim to reduce property rate increases and council debt, the new purpose of local government in New Zealand is the provision of "good-quality local infrastructure, local public services, and performance of regulatory functions" (LGEC 2012). Having already dismantled the community planning requirements in 2010, the National Government deleted further references to "social, economic, environmental, and cultural well-being" throughout the LGA02, replacing a few with the term "interests" in the 2012 Amendment Act. Mother Efficiency had regained custody of local government in New Zealand. Community planning requirements were also cut from Queensland's Local Government Act, in accordance with the newly elected Queensland Government's (2012) aim to "empower" councils by removing "unnecessary bureaucratic requirements".

In practice, the constitutional role and resources of local government in both countries has remained limited (Fenna 2004; Thomas and Memon 2007; Aulich 2009). The most significant influences of recent Local Government Acts have been the strategic planning and reporting frameworks they imposed. Councils throughout New Zealand and Australia now develop long-term strategic plans (Local Futures 2006, 47). In contrast to the public sector's former emphasis on inputs and outputs, the new, sometimes legislated, focus on outcomes emphasises "accountability for results" (Boston et al. 1996, 26628). This encourages a local authority to consider "the broader changes in attitudes, behaviour or perceived well-being" that may result from any particular intervention (Johnston and Memon 2008, 16).

Scholars have interpreted these legislative changes as part of a turn towards new models of local democracy, or "community governance". These changes are connected with broader

philosophical debates about the relationships between participatory models, progress, the good life and sustainable development (Aulich 2005; Bevir 2009), which are seen as most achievable at the level of local government (Johnston and Memon 2008, 7; Leonard and Memon 2008, 2, 8; Pillora and McKinlay 2011; UCLG 2004). The aim by Father Democracy to engage the voices of all sectors of society in local government planning and policy-making represents an attempt to redress the shortcomings of traditional channels of representative democracy (Rose 2000, 1405; Leonard and Memon 2008, 112). This community planning approach reflects a synergy between new governance and Third Way politics (see Giddens 1998), with culture becoming the site where responsible citizens are formed. Nikolas Rose (2000, 1397-8) describes the Third Way as an implicit contract between politicians and voters: 'Although the former must provide the conditions of the good life, the latter must deserve to inhabit it by building strong communities and exercising active responsible citizenship.'

Researchers have now provided ample evidence of councils in New Zealand consulting members of their communities and developing strategies around the concept of wellbeing, largely as a result of the LGA02, although some had already been engaging in similar practices. Both the University of Waikato's Planning under Cooperative Measures (Johnston and Memon 2008; Kouwenhoven, Mason, and Leonard 2009; Leonard and Memon 2008) and Victoria University of Wellington's Local Futures Research Project (2006; Reid, Scott, and McNeill 2006; Scott et al. 2004; Scott, Reid, and McNeill 2011) pay particular attention to the strategic planning requirements of the 2002 Act, its provisions related to community outcomes and examples of collaborative and deliberative responses to statutory requirements. Analysis of the first generation of long-term council community plans, and the related process of identifying community outcomes, pointed to patchy results due to varied levels of resources, commitment and expertise among councils, and limited coordination and capacity-building by central government (Johnston and Memon 2008; Leonard and Memon 2008; Reid, Scott, and McNeill 2006).

A later study shows that the practice of community planning eventually became institutionalised, in one city council at least, although outcome-oriented performance measurement remained challenging for council services with outputs and outcomes that were difficult to define and observe (Tan et al. 2011). Councils have struggled in particular with the elusive concept of cultural well-being, partly due to their limited and varied

understandings of ‘culture’ (Reid, Scott, and McNeill 2006, 19; Choudhary 2009; MCH 2005). My analysis of the New Zealand case study later in this thesis illustrates the possibility that some councils have since developed operational meanings and effective applications for the cultural wellbeing frame, although attempts to measure community outcomes continue to cause difficulties.

Previous research has tended to focus on planning, and reveals little about how, if at all, legislative structures and discursive frameworks influence particular policies and programmes. As the *Local Futures* (2006, 215) first book concludes, to understand the full effect of the LGA02 would require investigating ‘whether ‘footprints’ of the strategic planning community outcomes process are discernible in councils’ decision-making and priority setting.’ Although this study does not comprehensively investigate the influence of any particular statute, I pay close attention to the ways in which Local Government Acts have opened up and closed off certain discourses and practices for urban cultural policy workers. My analysis indicates the challenge that recent planning and measurement frameworks represent for local government. The requirements discussed above, for municipal authorities in both countries to monitor and report on measurable outcomes, have culminated in an increased demand for extensive data sets to enable the construction of policy indicators, which are seen as necessary tools to help evaluate, measure and legitimise the impact of practices and policies (Johnston and Memon 2008; Johanson, Glow, and Kershaw forthcoming; Poirier 2005). I explore the challenge of measurement and evaluation in the context of urban cultural policy practice in Chapter Seven.

Towards ‘the creative city’?

Urban cultural policy has gained a place at the table of government in recent years, attracting attention as a means to activate, revitalise or regenerate spaces, and bring pleasure and meaning to people’s lives. Driven by the meta trends of globalisation and urbanisation, local authorities have increasingly turned to arts and culture in their quest to improve quality of life and compete as ‘creative cities’, especially through urban regeneration. Creative place-making has recently emerged as a major new cultural policy construct. After identifying at least seven definitions of this ‘fuzzy concept’, which draw on various traditions of urban revitalisation and community arts, Anne Gadwa Nicodemus (2013, 166) concludes that all

interpretations of creative place-making emphasise 'arts-centred initiatives with place-based physical, economic, and/or social outcomes.

Previously conceptualised mainly in terms of physical and economic development, urban planning and regeneration are increasingly understood as embracing the social, economic, ecological, political and cultural dimensions of cities. A practical example is the 'Places for People' urban design framework adopted both in Melbourne City and at the national level in Australia (Gehl 2010; DIT 2011). This more holistic approach to municipal planning and urban development not only reflects the pressures of globalisation, but is influenced by transnational flows of people and ideas, especially cultural consultants (Prince 2012) and the powerful 'creative city script' (Grodach and Silver 2013b, 9610; see, Florida 2005; Landry 2000; 2012). This trend is reinforced by privately and publicly funded place-making initiatives and global rankings such as *The Economist's* (2012) 'most liveable city'

Local government and other agencies involved in urban regeneration have increasingly become interested in the contribution that cultural facilities and creative activity can make to areas experiencing economic and social decline, the accompanying decay of the built environment and associated effects of disadvantage (Evans 2005; Johnson and O'Connor 2006; Markusen and Gadwa 2010a). In particular, policy-makers have embraced the symbolic value of the arts for their potential to shape identity and enable cultural expression, influencing change in ways that other regeneration activities cannot. As Rentschler (1997, 129) puts it:

In an era of changing local politics ó in council representation, in community demographics, in economic conditions, and in cultural perceptions ó there is an argument that we need community and cultural participation to position communities in the post-industrial society.

Local government's interest in the use of art to tackle 'social exclusion' while simultaneously aspiring to economic competitiveness makes cultural regeneration and creative place-making very much Third Way projects (Evans 2005, 966; see also Markusen and Gadwa 2010b, 18; Stevenson and Matthews 2012b). Researchers in Victoria have suggested that cultural development, since the 1990s at least, has had to align with economic development in order to be considered a legitimate priority of local government (Rentschler 1997; Johnson 2009). The economic orientation of urban cultural policy is also reflected in councils'

commissioning of studies on the economic impacts of the arts, which started under neoliberal governments in the 1980s and continues today.²² Focusing on 'creative industries' and 'the creative city', many scholars have also depicted municipal approaches to arts and culture as economic development programmes, reinforcing this economic framing of urban (and suburban) cultural policy (see, e.g. Anheier and Isar 2012; Felton et al. 2010; Markusen and Gadwa 2010a).

Local government support for arts and culture has become commonplace within human services provision, but infrastructure remains an important focus. The main forms of contemporary local cultural policy are listed as follows in a textbook on Australian local government:

Services relating to arts and culture include funding and maintaining public sculptures, purchasing artwork for public buildings, promoting local artists and writers through the funding of festivals and other events, and maintaining buildings and areas of cultural importance. (Brasch 2007, 11)

Madden (2011b) 'Introduction to New Zealand Cultural Policy' similarly states: 'New Zealand's regional governments and local authorities support a range of cultural activities, but are especially active in supporting public libraries, museums, art galleries and cultural venues.'

Some cultural policy analysts criticise the allocation of local government expenditure in this area. Their arguments reflect the broad understanding of cultural value amongst cultural studies academics, which challenges traditional approaches to culture as art. Stevenson (2000, 100) argues that 'a large proportion of council expenditure often goes on maintaining cultural centres and buildings and not on supporting the activities that take place within them.' Aitken-Rose (2006, 143) also laments that, until recently, cultural engagement by New Zealand councils was largely limited to infrastructure investment, 'particularly libraries, halls and museums, rather than activities, reflecting a tacit inter-governmental division of responsibilities.' At the heart of these critiques is an expanded understanding of culture, not as 'high art' or intellectual cultivation, but as an important part of everyday life and as a

²² In New Zealand, for instance, councils in Dunedin and Nelson published cultural economics studies in the 1990s (Artists' Round Table 2000). More recently, Wellington City Council provided funding for Arts Wellington (Angus & Associates 2010) survey on 'the economic impact of arts and cultural organisations in the Wellington Region' and commissioned Martin Jenkins' 'Economy of the Arts in Wellington' report (Coulon, McGough, and Harding 2011).

human right. This perspective is evident in Ben Eltham and Marcus Westbury's (2010) discussion of contemporary cultural policy in Australia:

In fact, cultural policy cuts across many government portfolios and encompasses a vast swathe of everyday life. It's as much about the rock band at your local pub as it is about the Sydney Opera House. Local government issues like noise laws and urban planning are key cultural policy questions.

Not only does local government provide facilities for cultural activities, but it has an important influence on the administrative context within which this activity occurs, by setting regulations and guidelines for private and public facilities (Stevenson 2000, 99). Sometimes the cost and expertise required to meet these legal obligations can be significant barriers to expansion and/or artistic development (Stevenson 2000, 100). These influences on the cultural life of a community are not explicit in councils' planning documents, but they can be described as implicit cultural policy (Ahearne 2009). Although these strategies and barriers are an important dimension of urban cultural policy, in this thesis I focus mostly on explicit cultural policy, which can be as poorly understood as implicit cultural policy in the context of local government theory, planning and practice in Australia and New Zealand.

Throughout this and the previous chapter, I have identified gaps in the literature and diversity within this domain, making it difficult to conclusively generalise about the state of urban cultural policy and the role of local government in the arts in New Zealand and Australia. Nonetheless, my genealogical analysis has highlighted dominant discourses and developments. I have thus depicted some broad patterns in the history, structure and practices of local and urban cultural policy in these countries, beginning with its pragmatic foundations in the nineteenth century colonies and concluding with the strategic approach to cultural development within the context of economic globalisation and a broader understanding of culture in the twenty-first century.

Governing through Cinderella: from roads and rubbish to culture and community

This discussion has illustrated the important role that local government in New Zealand and Australia plays in the cultural life of communities, even if its interventions are not always explicitly identified as cultural policy. The clearest examples of local cultural policy

interventions can be categorised in four broad traditions: the foundation period of local government and establishment of civic facilities; the expansion of human services and emergence of community arts as a local government programme; the emphasis on cultural and strategic planning as municipalities gained more freedom and responsibilities; and finally, the rise of cultural regeneration and place-making programmes in globally competitive cities. The four case studies discussed in this thesis belong in the contemporary phase of creative place-making, although the influence of prior traditions continues to shape the discourse and practice of local policy workers.

Municipal authorities are the governing bodies most associated with community-based arts and urban cultural activity, even though they sometimes function primarily as a conduit for state policies and funding. Political and academic awareness of their role has increased dramatically since the 1980s in Australia and 1990s in New Zealand, when community arts first came under the purview of local government and cultural planning emerged as a legitimate activity of these institutions. Although the arts councils of New Zealand and Australia have encouraged local government to articulate and implement cultural policy, many municipalities have lacked the interest or resources to develop their own approach. Meanwhile, in response to local government reforms and changing community profiles and expectations, enterprising municipalities began to recognise the advantage of discursively linking cultural development to improved quality of life and economic growth (Rentschler 1997).

The turn to culture within urban planning and local government followed the turn to community in arts practice and cultural policy analysis. These developments reflect the reframing of cultural policy described in Chapter Two. As support for 'high culture' lost currency, justifications came to be couched in terms more accountable and responsive to the wider community, which often meant recasting cultural policy as community development programmes or creative economy strategies (Craik, Davis, and Sutherland 2000, 195). Urban cultural policy is not always justified in economic terms, however, and as I later argue, the multidimensional discourse of community wellbeing provides a usefully broad frame to articulate and evaluate council approaches to arts and culture.

The major trends in local governance reinforce tensions between efficiency and democracy, which at times represent a double-edged sword for local policy practitioners (Dollery 2010).

Not only are municipal authorities required to comply with a complex array of regulations and perform as efficient and accountable entities, but they are also expected to be attentive and responsive to community demands, listening to a wide range of concerns and adapting their interventions appropriately. The local government legislation of many Australian States, like the original Local Government Act 2002 in New Zealand, simultaneously demands that council officers consider citizens' current and future collective needs, as members of a community, while also requiring officers to fulfil provisions based on public choice theory, which primarily sees citizens as self-interested economic actors. The theory of governmentality informs my understanding that these seemingly opposite approaches not only co-exist but interact as forces of productive power that govern 'at a distance'. The empirical case studies explored later in this thesis demonstrate the advantage of studying these practices and knowledges through a grounded approach, by illustrating the interplay of these tensions in power, expertise and the tools of urban cultural policy.

The truism that local government is about the 'three Rs'—roads, rates and rubbish—remains commonplace. Local policy workers as well as academic onlookers are nonetheless paying increased attention to the role of local government in the 'three Cs'—culture, community and calculative practices. This shift from local government as service provider to local government as a core institution in our advanced liberal democracy can be summed up in Foucauldian terms as the increasing management of the population through governmental programmes targeting individual behaviour and societal culture, or 'the conduct of conduct' (Dean 1999, 2). I have extended the idea of 'governing through community' (Rose 2000; Hay 2002) to also discuss 'governing through culture'. By drawing on a range of scholarship and grey literature, with a focus on urban municipalities in New Zealand and Australia, I have depicted it here as 'governing through Cinderella'. This broad-brush genealogy of urban cultural policy contextualises my study, although it does not yet achieve the rich detail of a grounded approach to studying policy 'as a window to governmentality' (Shore and Wright 2011). I outline this approach in Chapter Four, then, over the course of several chapters focusing on everyday practices of urban cultural policy in four specific sites, I critically investigate some of the trends described above.

Chapter Four: An Interpretive Approach to Urban Cultural Policy Case Studies

Three schools of thought significantly inform this thesis: wellbeing as capabilities, governmentality studies and interpretive policy analysis. Providing a philosophical framework for measuring quality of life, the capabilities approach sees wellbeing as the fundamental goal of government and human development. Although taking a critical rather than normative stance, governmentality scholars also see wellbeing as the rationale of government, and measurement practices as a key technology of rule. Scholars of both governmentality studies and interpretive policy analysis are concerned with discourse, power and knowledge, although they do not all define and approach these concepts in the same way.

Adding to the definitional and theoretical work of Chapter One, particularly the discussion of governmentality and wellbeing, in this chapter I outline the ontological and epistemological foundations of my research design. I present the following building blocks of this *bricolage* (Lévi-Strauss, cited in Denzin and Lincoln 2003, 5): hermeneutic interpretation, social constructivism, abductive inquiry, genealogy, practice, case studies and comparison. Beginning with a discussion of interpretive policy analysis within the context of ‘the argumentative turn’, I establish the relevance of studying urban cultural policy ‘as discourse’, then suggest how this approach is enhanced by ‘the practice turn’. These shifts in policy studies guide my choice of strategies and methods. The second part of the chapter turns to issues related to gaining access, generating data and selected methods of qualitative data analysis. Before concluding, I discuss writing as a sense-making method then reflect on my positionality and the experience of carrying out this research project.

This research design adheres to an interactive, human-centred and contingent approach to accessing communities of policy practice and generating various forms of data, as advocated by interpretive policy analysts. To access local knowledge and build a grounded understanding of urban cultural policy practice, I adopted typical interpretive methods: ‘Interviews, observation and document analysis’ (Yanow 2000, 31). Interpretive policy analysis involves two main research phases: accessing policy communities (fieldwork) and analysing data (deskwork). In the first phase ‘data generation’ the researcher typically ‘becomes a part of the phenomenon studied’, while in the second phase ‘data analysis’ the

researcher distances herself from the practices studied, but not from referring to concrete examples of them (Flyvbjerg 2001, 132635). While the acts of access and analysis tend to overlap in practice, it can be useful to make a hermeneutic distinction between them, particularly to make otherwise tacit knowledge of research methods as explicit as possible (Yanow 2000; Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012). These two stages are accordingly treated separately in this chapter, although I began analysis from the moment I considered ways of generating data.

Policy as discourse: theoretical foundations of interpretive policy analysis

Interpretive policy analysis (IPA) is an umbrella term for a family of approaches in policy studies that are based on hermeneutic inquiry. Along with other argumentative methods such as the various forms of deliberative policy analysis and policy discourse analysis, all forms of IPA focus on ideas and meanings in policy, emphasising language or discourse as a means of communication in policy debates and as a constitutive element of the substance of policy. These approaches consequently favour word-based methods of data generation and analysis, some of which I discuss later in this chapter. Given the centrality of discourse in each of these schools, the theories of policy analysis called interpretive, deliberative and argumentative can be subsumed under the label policy as discourse (Bacchi 1999, 39640).

Policy as discourse theories are united by their rejection of scientific positivism and instrumental rationality as epistemological foundations for the study of political phenomena. As Peter DeLeon (1994, 80) explains:

Positivism ó with its fundamental reliance on objective analysis, scientific canons, and rational action ó accentuates what has been the main pattern of Western thought since at least the Age of the Enlightenment. However, its basic assumption of individual and institutional rationality has ó in the face of a world that is, on many occasions, deliberately and determinedly irrational ó inevitably sown the seeds for its own shortcomings.

The argumentative turn occurred in policy studies in the late twentieth century, as scholars grew frustrated with the dominance of rationalistic methods of policy analysis, especially in the United States (Lindblom 1959; Schön 1983; DeLeon 1994; Yanow 1996). Positing that methods borrowed from physical or natural science often fail to explain action in the political realm (Hajer and Wagenaar 2003), proponents of policy as discourse instead predicate their

approach upon post-positivism or post-structuralism, which sees scholars moving away from narrowly empiricist, rationalistic and technocratic methods of policy analysis (Fischer 2003, 16). Scholars following the argumentative turn attempt to improve our understanding of the complexity, ambiguity and contingency of the social and political world, not by searching for an overarching truth, but rather by making observations of a fundamentally pluralistic world that contains overlapping and sometimes conflicting narratives (Wagenaar 2007, 437; see also Yanow 1996; Bevir and Rhodes 2003).

Ethnographic and anthropological approaches are particularly appropriate for building an understanding of these meanings, stories and practices in the situated context of specific policy communities (Shore and Wright 2011; Yanow 2011). A first stage in IPA is identifying these policy-relevant groups. Described by interpretive scholars as communities of meaning or practice these groups of people think, act and speak in similar ways because of their shared identity or location (Yanow 2000, 10, 30). IPA typically involves some form of ethnographic inquiry in order to access local knowledge within these communities and to make sense of social phenomena, in terms of the social actors' own motives, goals, and explanations (Fischer 1995, 242; see also Yanow 2000; Bevir and Rhodes 2003, 5). The ethnographic sensibility in this research is discussed below in relation to fieldwork methods.

With their shared focus on meanings, approaches to policy as discourse especially those labelled interpretive are directly influenced by hermeneutics. Goktug Morcol (2004, 218) provides a succinct definition of hermeneutics as the study of meanings in social interactions which sees social phenomena as texts to be interpreted. This is clearly central to interpretive approaches which share the assumption that unpacking meanings, beliefs and values provides the key to understanding political communication and interaction. Dvora Yanow (1996, 15), for instance, treats policy statements, actions and artefacts as texts containing expressive and symbolic meaning created in a particular context, which includes the social construction of legislation and implementation, where enactments of the policy constitute and lead to further interpretations. I adopt this interpretive approach to unpack and understand the multiple meanings of urban cultural policy in specific contexts, looking for meaning not only in written policy texts but in the enactments and interpretations of particular programmes of local government. In this way, I respond to Belfiore's (2010) call for researchers to demonstrate the relevance of studying cultural policy as argumentation.

Argumentative and interpretive approaches to policy are based on social constructivism. According to constructivism, the world is accessible to us only through our interpretations. What we see is shaped by interpretive schema and what we know is shaped by social processes. A constructivist ontology implies that social objects and institutions, such as government, are aggregate concepts without intrinsic properties and objective boundaries but which can be understood as practices – patterns of action based on webs of subjective meanings (Bevir 2011, 188689). Based on this understanding that all knowledge is socially constructed and contextual, policy as discourse analysts reject the idea that there are any given truths based on pure reason or experience, or that any universal law can fully explain social and political behaviour. Scholars can develop theories to explain the world we live in, but these theories are constructed and contingent, open to interpretation and debate.

Discourse is an important concept in constructivism, for it produces, constrains and reproduces social meanings. For interpretive and Foucauldian scholars, discourse refers to bodies of knowledge as conceptual and interpretive schema (Bacchi 1999, 40). Discourse is more than words: it is limiting; it generates power; and it is a historical entity. The policy-making process and politics, more generally, is seen as a struggle between competing discourses, particularly over the criteria for classification, the boundaries of categories, and the definition of ideals that guide the way people behave (Stone 2002, 11). Ultimately, as Mark Bevir (2009, 21) puts it, patterns of rule arise because of the contingent triumph of a web of meanings. Dominant discourses naturalise certain beliefs and provide a framework of common-sense knowledge that allows social actors to communicate with one another (Fischer 2003, 78679). In policy analysis, Carol Bacchi (1999, 41) explains, an interest in discourse becomes an interest in the ways in which arguments are structured, and objects and subjects are constituted in language. Indeed, this study pays attention to the discourses of urban cultural policy, particularly noting the influence of ideas such as the four pillar framework of community wellbeing (Hawkes 2001), alongside the traditions of cultural policy, local government and public management that also shape the identity, language and behaviour of local cultural policy workers.

Policy as discourse scholars share a common interest in problem representation or construction. From this perspective, policy issues are founded upon conflicting interpretations of abstract goals and values (Stone 2002, 12; Yanow 2000), and government proposals contain in-built problem representations, since whatever is proposed creates in its

formulation the shape of the problem addressed (Bacchi 1999, 66). Policies constitute interpretations of issues; they are not simply solutions to given problems. Competing representations or interpretations of problems are a crucial site of analysis for those wishing to clarify, and possibly help resolve, policy debates. One means of doing so is through frame-critical analysis, which I introduce in the second part of this chapter.

Due to the indeterminacy of meaning and unpredictability of human behaviour, interpretive researchers are expected to be open-minded and flexible throughout the course of their study, allowing their conceptual framework and methodology to emerge and develop with their analysis (Hendriks 2007; Yanow 2000). Following Yanow (1996, 18), IPA should be seen as a process of inquiry that seeks to ask questions, rather than as a collection of tools and techniques designed to provide the right answers. By choosing methods based on their appropriateness to the particularities of the object of inquiry, researchers engage in what can be called an abductive, retroductive or puzzle-driven model of research, in which the problematization of social phenomena constitutes an important starting point (Glynos et al. 2009, 35). An open and flexible approach can be considered typical of qualitative research more generally. Borrowing the term from Claude Lévi-Strauss, Norman Denzin and Yvonne Lincoln (2003, 566) describe qualitative research as a bricolage – that is, a pieced-together set of representations that are fitted to the specifics of a complex situation, not a pre-determined or fixed set of methods.

My research questions and framework evolved over the course of this study. The initial puzzle driving this research was the potential of the policy discourse of cultural wellbeing for articulating socio-cultural goals and developing relevant outcome indicators in a predominantly economic rationalist environment. My interest in this discourse led me to literature on alternative measures of progress and community wellbeing indicators. Consequently, the initial proposal for this study focused on the use of wellbeing indicators in local cultural policy. My subsequent experience illustrates the following insight from Schwartz-Shea and Yanow (2012, 28): –A research design that seeks to test pre-developed concepts rooted in the theoretical literature may falter on the shoals of lived experience. Faced with the absence of outcome indicator frameworks in urban cultural policy practice, and the paucity of evaluation more generally, my research question and strategies transformed.

This research aims, firstly, to richly describe and critically analyse discourses and practices of urban cultural policy in Australia and New Zealand. My first question implicitly asks: on what basis do local cultural policy workers act? Secondly, I investigate the reasons for the disjuncture between theory and practice, examining historical traditions and contemporary techniques to understand why local government officers and others seek but rarely use community wellbeing indicators in this context. Finally, I consider the implications of integrating such outcome measures into urban cultural policy. This thesis presents a series of answers to these interconnected questions, articulated most explicitly in the concluding chapter. In the following section, I elaborate on the research aims, positioning them within the context of debates amongst IPA scholars.

Differing approaches and aims in ‘policy as discourse’ analysis

Approaches to ‘policy as discourse’ as discussed above, acknowledge the complexity, uncertainty, ambiguity and contingency in politics and the policy process (Hajer and Laws 2008). Rather than considering these factors problematic, even though they may cause misunderstandings and conflict, especially when competing interpretations are involved, IPA scholars see them as a ‘normal’ part of the social world. Whether and how such debates and conflicts need to be resolved is a point of difference among ‘policy as discourse’ scholars, who see varying roles for themselves. Considering it difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between facts and values, ‘policy as discourse’ analysis does not attempt to be ‘value-free’. Interpretive policy analysts typically see their task as revealing the ‘hidden ambiguity and uncertainty’ within common ‘policy practices and discourse, with the purpose of creating reflexive space’ (Hajer and Wagenaar 2003, 29). Many ‘policy as discourse’ scholars hence call for more democratic and less technocratic forms of policy-making and analysis to encourage public deliberation (Glynos et al. 2009, 21; DeLeon 1994; Fischer, 2003; Morcol 2004). Some differ in the extent to which they explicitly prioritise the democratic norm of participation.

There is a connection between the emphasis on language and arguments in ‘policy as discourse’ especially in deliberative approaches, and an interest in participatory democratic theory. Arguing that participating in democratic processes improves an individual’s capacity to be empathetic, knowledgeable and self-reflective, Frank Fischer (1995, 210) asserts, ‘Language has transformative power.’ According to deliberative policy analysts, their facilitation of ‘democratic deliberation and collective learning’ responds well to today’s

complex and contested policy issues by encouraging 'collective, pragmatic, participatory, local problem solving' (Hajer and Wagenaar 2003, 7). Taking an interpretive approach does not necessarily entail designing a research project that allows for citizen or practitioner participation in the analytic process, but it typically implies a normative preference for policy processes that enable citizen engagement and value 'local knowledge' (Yanow 1996, 26). Local knowledge can be defined as 'the very mundane, expert understanding of and practical reasoning about local conditions derived from lived experience' (Yanow 2000, 5).

In keeping with these norms, my genealogical and frame-critical analysis questions taken-for-granted practices of accountability and ambiguous discourses of cultural policy. I aim for this research to inform critical discussions of urban cultural policy, the role of local government and the potential for outcome measurement. Although stopping short of intervention (Yanow 2000, 20), the pragmatic orientation of this research may facilitate the application of certain findings by policy-relevant communities. Recognising the impossibility of moving outside discourse and power relationships (Bacchi 1999), my goal is not to 'free' the research participants from these ideas, institutions and technologies. Rather, I aim to encourage critical reflection on these discourses and practices, their implications, and alternative ways of knowing and making urban cultural policy.

The extent to which the researcher emphasises history distinguishes two prominent approaches to IPA. Rather than taking an archaeological approach as does Yanow (2000; see Glynn et al. 2009), Bevir and Rhodes (2003, 11) adopt a genealogical methodology, which asks: 'Whose story within which tradition?' Bevir (2010a, 434) defines their principal concept as follows: 'A tradition is the ideational background against which individuals come to adopt an initial web of beliefs'. Interpretive scholars taking a genealogical or 'historicist' perspective emphasise how webs of meaning transform in particular settings over time, demonstrating 'how apparently uniform traditions or practices are in fact social constructs that arise from individuals acting on diverse and changing meanings' (Bevir 2010a, 428-30). In the data analysis section below, I elaborate on this use of tradition as a heuristic device for explaining the layering of institutional structures, discourses and practices. A genealogical depiction of urban cultural policy reflects Foucault's historical understanding of power within policy and institutions: 'Every institutional framework is the product of past political struggles and therefore always a contingent and historical discursive order' (Buchstein and Jörke 2012, 287).

Some IPA has been criticised by other policy as discourse scholars for oversimplification and misrepresentation. According to Hendrik Wagenaar (2007, 434-635), one of the shortcomings of IPA is that it treats meanings as fixed entities that can be discovered and that exist independent of the interpreter, and that this puts interpretive scholars in the hermeneutical-essentialist tradition of finding the true meaning of texts. Interpretive researchers can avoid essentialism and reification, however, by recognising situated human agency and multiple interpretations, emphasising contingency and contextuality, and resisting reducing meanings to allegedly objective facts about systems, institutions or people (Bevir 2009, 21; 2010a; Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012).

Bevir and Rhodes (2003) contextualized self-interpretations have nonetheless been criticised by political discourse theorists for overstating the particularity of historical context (Glynos et al. 2009, 10). Wagenaar (2007, 435) also suggests that IPA oversimplifies its objects of inquiry, leaving little room for ambiguity, indeterminacy, power and conflict. Bevir and Rhodes (2003, 98) acknowledge that their approach risks ignoring significant complexity and diversity, but they disagree that they oversimplify policy. While traditions might seem to gloss over complex beliefs and practices, they nonetheless serve to represent a diverse range of perspectives in a comprehensible way. Traditions provide a way of describing a complex world in at least some of its complexity (Bevir and Rhodes 2003, 201).

In any case, criticisms of simplification misconstrue the purpose of policy as discourse analysis, which generally aims to explicate complex discursive battles and represent multiple interpretations in order to better understand contentious policy debates. Interpretive policy analysts can deflect Wagenaar's criticisms by recognising that people create meanings and practices (Bevir 2010a, 431), that power and position do matter (Schmidt 2010, 8), and that ambiguity and conflict may be justified in some policy debates. I accordingly acknowledge complexity and diversity within urban cultural policy, and show respect for local knowledge and multiple traditions within particular communities of practice, aiming to reframe policy debates in a productive way.

‘The practice turn’: studying the craft of governmentality

An interest in the practice of policy as well as its meanings is characteristic of IPA.

Recognising the value of considering practice alongside rhetoric, of seeing thought and action as intertwined, this thesis follows both ‘the argumentative turn’ and ‘the practice turn’ in policy studies, inspired by Michael Lipsky’s (1980) analysis of street-level bureaucracy, Donald Schön’s (1983) reflective practitioners, and Giandomenico Majone’s (1989) account of policy analysis as a craft based on argumentation. Rather than drawing strict boundaries between practice and meaning, or discourse narrowly defined, I follow post-structural policy analysts in seeing ‘policy practices [as] constituted or brought into being by the discourses articulated by practitioners’ (Griggs and Howarth 2011, 213). Practice in this context can be conceived of as social and material action that is improvised, usually with reference to norms, and which represents a type of grounded knowledge (Freeman, Griggs, and Boaz 2011). A practice-oriented approach recognises interactions between individual agency, institutional structures and discourse (Freeman, Griggs, and Boaz 2011, 129631; Bevir 2011).

Studying policy as practice, or craft, is to recognise its political context and the diffusion of power and knowledge. This ‘undermines managerial or technical understandings of the policy process’ which, having placed too much emphasis on theory and models, have resulted in little knowledge about the daily activities of policy actors (Freeman, Griggs, and Boaz 2011, 132). In contrast to the rational model and associated theories of public policy and administration, studies of policy practice often show it to be messy, complicated and compromised. Because policy is made by a range of actors occupying different epistemic communities, it is rarely embodied in an easy-to-read, orderly structure (Spicker 2006, 236 34; see also Schön 1983).

Scholars taking an interpretive approach to policy practice typically pay attention to the multiple forms of knowledge and techniques used in the field, including ‘tacit knowledge’ (Schön 1983; Yanow 1996; Tenbensen 2006). A practice-oriented approach to policy analysis draws our attention to the experience of many policy workers who use ‘ordinary knowledge’ (Lindblom and Cohen 1979), are engaged in legitimation struggles and socially constructed identities (Turnbull 2007), and typically see their administrative tasks as ‘common sense’ (Spicker 2006, 11612). Applied to my study, this casts local government arts administrators as a community of practitioners, and implies their tacit and practical knowledge is identifiable

through ‘reflection-in-action’ (Schön 1983) and plays a key role in the creation and interpretation of urban cultural policy.

A focus on the practice of policy offers a window through which governmentality can be studied anthropologically (Shore and Wright 2011). In particular, ‘studying *through* the specificities of particular sites and their relationship to events in other sites’ offers a means to consider larger fields and processes of political power and social change (Wright 2011, 27; emphasis in original). For Susan Wright and Sue Reinhold (2011, 101602), there are three key elements of ‘studying through’ a policy: multi-site ethnography, genealogical analysis and reflexivity. The latter requires a broad awareness of the socio-historic context as well as ‘analytical openness’. These three techniques avoid linear and hierarchical conceptions of government. While not being fully anthropological, and without focusing on one clearly defined policy, my research fulfils these criteria.

Another way to conceptualise a critical and pragmatic approach to policy analysis, and to explain the value of the case study, is through what Bent Flyvbjerg (2001) terms ‘phronetic social science’. The ancient Greek concept of *phronesis*, Flyvbjerg argues, is the key to understanding questions of value and power tied to political rationality. One of the three main intellectual virtues identified by Aristotle,²³ *phronesis* can be translated as ‘practical wisdom’, in which action is directed by deliberations about ‘certain values and interests’ in a particular circumstance (Flyvbjerg 2001, 54659). This is neither pure science nor art, but it is the knowledge needed to govern. Lamenting the recent emphasis on instrumental rationality, Flyvbjerg (2001, 53) notes, ‘For Aristotle, the most important task of social and political studies was to develop society’s value-rationality *vis-à-vis* its scientific and technical rationality.’ Phronetic social scientists are grounded by their focus on practices in everyday life and they aim for public engagement to ‘clarify and deliberate about the problems and risks we face and to outline how things may be done differently’ (Flyvbjerg 2001, 134, 140). My research design conforms with this model of a critical, constructivist social science, interested in singularities rather than universals, and aiming to contribute to intelligent social dialogue.

²³ The other two intellectual virtues are *episteme* (scientific knowledge, ‘which is invariable in time and space’) and *techne* (technical knowledge, or craft) (Flyvbjerg 2001, 54655).

Creating and comparing case studies of urban cultural policy

Harnessing the power of example through case study analysis is a key feature of phronetic social science (Flyvbjerg 2001; Flyvbjerg 2006). This thesis uses case studies to capture detailed information about the policy process (Fischer 1995; Yanow 1996; Flyvbjerg 1998). Here, I discuss the issues of comparison and constructing case studies within an interpretive approach, arguing that it is possible and desirable to compare case studies of urban cultural policy, and noting that my choice of case was intertwined with the issue of access, rather than guided by positivist case selection criteria (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 69671). I outline the strategies and techniques I used to develop case studies and gain access to specific local government settings in the following section, which focuses on methods of data generation.

The act of comparison is common in the study of policy and the practice of government. Comparison can even be considered an intrinsic part of social life; it is through interaction and associative learning that we acquire information that helps us to understand others as well as ourselves (Goffman 1969; Freeman 2010). This basic function of comparison drives its use in IPA and phronetic social science, which aims for learning, rather than proving a particular theory or fact (Flyvbjerg 2001, 85). In order to develop expert, context-dependent knowledge, we need to learn from examples and stories, ideally from empirical case studies, not just abstract theories or principles (Flyvbjerg 2001, 71685; see also Kahneman 2011).

Comparative analysis of case studies in politics and policy is generally associated with a positivist epistemology and realist ontology. Comparison is seen as an imperfect substitute for experimental methods, allowing researchers to study, if not measure, the empirical relationships among variables (Lijphart 1971, 683685). Although single case studies are sometimes used in positivist approaches, statistical analyses of large n-type studies are particularly prominent in comparative public policy (Lodge 2007, 276). Lesson-drawing in comparative policy analysis is considered similar to medical diagnosis: first, the cause of the problem is diagnosed; then, solutions are sought based on research into other cases (Rose 2005). Examples of deductive forms of empirical analysis to inform evidence-based policy-making can be found in the work of the OECD and WHO, which tend to use standardised tools in benchmarking and evaluative exercises, treating social and political phenomena in a similar manner to features in the natural or physical world (Bovens, Hart, and Kuipers 2006). As interpretive scholars argue, however, social science should focus on context-

dependent knowledge and inter-subjective reasoning, rather than trying to emulate the causal laws or predictive theories produced in the natural sciences (Fischer 1995; Flyvbjerg 2001; Yanow 1996).

A tension consequently exists between comparison and interpretation in policy analysis (Hendriks 2007). Like other post-positivist scholars, policy as discourse analysts argue against a technical model of policy analysis akin to medical diagnosis. Firstly, there is no objective way to identify the cause of a problem. The very suggestion that there is a problem in a given field, not to mention any attempt to define or construct that problem, is a subjective political judgement that is open to contention (Bacchi 2009). Furthermore, it can be problematic to export a generalisable model from one area directly into another jurisdiction. Public policy is influenced by endogenous and exogenous variables (Gray 2007) and trying to apply models of best practice is likely to lead to unforeseen and unintended outcomes (Lodge 2007). Case studies are not discrete, independent entities, but are interdependent and situated in a particular context.

The comparison of cultural policies and indicators is particularly problematic, as I have already argued. The feasibility and desirability of making cross-cultural comparisons is a hotly debated issue in the literature on the measurement of wellbeing and culture for policy purposes. While there is some research on cultural indicators that features case studies, it is difficult to make generalisations based on these studies as they are not always comparable (Poirier 2005). In her volume on wellbeing measurement, Manderson (2005a, 4) exemplifies this point by referring to the comparative study of experiences of paraplegia in Australia and Cameroon, where cultural, social, physical, economic and political circumstances influence how illness and care are dealt with in each society. Some also argue that it is unethical to compare social phenomena across cultures (Pader 2006). As Badham (2009, 71) suggests, any comparison of cultures involves value judgements, therefore it is not possible to conduct an objective comparison of data based on cultural indicators: 'their internal values and construction are collective subjective conceptions'. Scholars like Badham object to broad-brush comparisons that fail to take context-specific knowledge into account; such criticism does not necessarily apply to the use of comparison within interpretive research.

IPA can involve the comparison of different cases, narratives or frames. Although interpretive-comparative policy analysis does not aim to generate 'one-size-fits-all' models, it

can highlight patterns across borders and provide lessons about policy experiences elsewhere (Lodge 2007, 276). A prominent example is Yanow's (1996) study of the Israel Community Center Corporation, which led to the development of tools for the interpretive analysis of policy symbols and myths. Focusing on contextual similarities in countries with shared traditions, other interpretivists argue that case studies can be used to highlight and illustrate abstract patterns (Bevir 2010b, 869; Bevir and Rhodes 2003). My discussion of local government and cultural policy in Australia and New Zealand in the preceding chapters identifies the shared traditions that facilitate my interpretive-comparative analysis of case studies. As Fischer (1995) explains, the case study can contribute knowledge about the policy process by capturing subtle and detailed information about a particular policy objective and the circumstances of its implementation. Steven Griggs and David Howarth (2011, 221) 'critical explanation' of the implementation and multiple interpretations of 'the Well Being Power' in British local government, for instance, illustrates how an empirical case study can function within an interpretive analysis of local government to develop 'meaningful knowledge of the social world.' Other authors taking an interpretive or anthropological approach to policy often demonstrate or refer to 'exemplary criticism' such as Barbara Cruikshank's study of 'empowerment' in contemporary United States' political programmes (Dean 1999, 38, 70; Shore and Wright 2011, 9).

Using case studies helped me to gain access to communities of urban cultural policy workers and to critically analyse discourses and practices in specific local contexts. Rather than testing a particular theory or identifying variables, it made sense to the community of practitioners for this research to focus on a specific programme. Combining the critical reflexivity and flexible methodologies of interpretive analysis with a comparative perspective has enabled me to question norms and explore alternatives while developing context-dependent knowledge about this field (Glynos and Howarth 2007, 204; Griggs and Howarth 2011, 223). Moving back and forth between the familiar and the unknown has been an important dimension of this approach. As Bacchi (2009, xx) suggests, it can be 'much easier to identify the shape and contours of a specific problem representation within one's own country or region through examining how the issue may be represented differently elsewhere.' Schwartz-Shea and Yanow (2012, 29) similarly discuss the value of being a 'stranger' in an interpretive research setting, which can help to see what insiders take for granted and know tacitly. By breaking unwritten rules, interpretive researchers often generate

surprises and puzzles, which fuel abductive reasoning (Yanow 2000).²⁴ The advantages and challenges of taking this flexible and humanistic approach to case studies are discussed in the following section, which outlines the selection of research settings and methods of fieldwork.

Fieldwork: accessing policy communities with an ethnographic sensibility

My literature review of local government, cultural policy and related indicators has revealed gaps in academic knowledge, particularly concerning the perspectives and actions of those who work in these fields. Inattention to the practice of street-level bureaucrats (Lipsky 1980) is not uncommon in political science, where analysts often privilege interviews with elite actors (Yanow 2007, 410) and written texts, even though restricting data analysis to materials produced and approved by governing elites can be overly limiting (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 121). Following the advice of policy anthropologists (Dubois 2009; Shore and Wright 1997; 2011; van Hulst 2008), I aimed to develop a critical political ethnography of urban cultural policy via specific case studies. The value of observing seemingly mundane bureaucratic work is highlighted by John Forester (2003, 48649), who argues, "What passes for ordinary work in professional-bureaucratic settings is a thickly layered texture of political struggles concerning power and authority, cultural negotiations over identities, and social constructions of the problems at hand." Forester's (1993; 2003) practical-communicative approach to planning practice, which is based on a nuanced understanding of Habermasian theory (see also Schön and Rein 1994, 46650; Fischer 1995, 212), provided a model for my case study fieldwork, alongside the key texts already cited from Yanow and Flyvbjerg.

My approach aspires for an ethnographic sensibility (Pader 2006; Yanow 2011) but does not constitute anthropological research (Shore and Wright 1997). An ethnographic sensibility in policy analysis involves consideration of the lived experience and different perspectives of people affected by or involved in a policy. It requires tacit knowledge of social conventions like respecting others' views, building trust and a profound ability to listen (Pader 2006). As

²⁴ In my final case study, for instance, my stranger status saw me grappling with ways to translate academic knowledge into a five-page council report, and resulted in my surprise at certain instructions from my key informant. While this made the task challenging, these surprises provided an insight into the demands of local cultural policy practice.

I elaborate below, however, my initial efforts to access data in an ethnographic fashion were quite restricted.

The exploratory stage of fieldwork consisted of informal conversations with local cultural policy workers and members of related networks. I soon learned that outcome indicators were not commonly used by local government officers. This challenged the original formulation of my research question, which sought to uncover how indicators of community wellbeing were applied in local cultural policy. I consequently reframed this project to focus on the types of knowledge and skills that are deployed by policy actors in this field, particularly in relation to evaluating the outcomes of arts programmes in urban municipalities. If I could not find instances of indicators in use, I still aimed to develop an understanding about why they were being sought and why they were not commonly employed. I was also interested in understanding whether such measurement tools might improve accountability and evaluation practices in urban cultural policy processes.

As the research progressed, I reflected on critical questions regarding the appeal of numerical indicators and the preference for rationalistic approaches within local government. As noted above, flexibility and responsiveness is characteristic of interpretive policy research, which often challenges the researcher to adapt the focus and methods of a study in response to initial findings, practical limitations, participants' agency, ethical issues and interpersonal connections (Yanow 2000; Hendriks 2007; Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012). After encountering some difficulties in gaining access to the field, I modified my approach to the final case study in order to generate more data about the evaluation practices and capabilities of urban cultural policy workers in a specific setting.

The scope of this fieldwork was limited to urban municipalities in New Zealand and two Australian States where local government legislation required some outcomes-based reporting and where there were councils with the capacity to implement and evaluate cultural policy. New Zealand, Victoria and Queensland all have numerous city councils that contain a specialised arts and culture department. At the time of research, they also either had a regional community indicator framework or one was in development. I opted to focus on three different states in order to highlight contextual differences, such as the local government legislation that influences councils' reporting regimes and evaluative practices.

Self-selection and practical constraints in terms of the accessibility, availability and interest of relevant officers shaped the choice of individual cases.

I began by scoping potential sources of potential evidentiary data (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 117) from metropolitan councils in each state that met the criteria of being located in an urban area with a relatively large population, and having an arts and culture unit as well as a formal arts strategy or cultural plan.²⁵ I initially identified and located documents and individuals that might yield information relevant to my questions about community wellbeing indicators in local cultural policy. I then attempted to establish contact with an officer in the arts and culture department of each council to discuss their potential inclusion in this research project. Receptive participants helped to identify a relevant cultural programme for a case study by suggesting arts-related projects that sought to contribute to community wellbeing.

I subsequently established four case studies of arts and cultural programmes designed to meet broad policy objectives: late night cultural activities at the City of Oswald (Victoria), a library and cultural centre development at the City of Kent Bay (Queensland), a street mural project at the City of Edmondton (New Zealand), and a public art exhibition at the City of Cordelia (Victoria). The Cordelia City Council case study involved a slightly different research approach, as I discuss separately below. I had envisaged identifying all the councils and the majority of individual participants agreed to have their comments attributed to their real name. At the request of some participants, however, the case studies have been de-identified. The council names are pseudonyms, all participants are depicted as women (reflecting the dominant gender in this practice community), and, rather than naming individuals, I attribute comments to the respective participant's job title (see Appendix 2).

After a period of negotiating access and gaining consent from the head of each organisation, I collected documents and carried out semi-structured interviews with administrators, advisors and managers in these councils. The time lapse between requesting then being permitted access was typically several months, leaving me with only a short period for fieldwork in

²⁵ At this stage, I was considering six councils in Victoria, four in New Zealand, and four in Queensland as potential case study sites.

each location.²⁶ The limited time I spent in the field at the case study sites does not reflect a fully ethnographic approach. The Kent Bay City Council case study has the least depth, as practical constraints meant that my two visits to Queensland were relatively brief.²⁷ Had I requested greater access to council officers, my approach may have seemed too intrusive and I might not have gained consent from the councils' senior management to carry out this fieldwork.

Even after receiving consent from the respective heads of organisation to conduct fieldwork, access to some documents and individuals was restricted. I was therefore unable to draw on many pertinent sources of information in writing this thesis, yet these challenges provide insight into the politically sensitive environment of local government. The difficult process of accessing the field and generating data may have limited the scope and depth of my study, but I managed to collect sufficient material to describe and analyse these cases in detail. Moreover, this experience reflects the challenges that bureaucratic protocols, limited resources, organisational restructures and dynamic employment patterns represent for those working in local government.²⁸

I collected a wide range of artefacts related to each case study, before, during and after fieldwork, including: newspaper articles; council plans, policies, strategies and reports; media releases; meeting minutes; institutional web pages; State and central government agency reports; academic articles; DVDs; brochures; and other material that might provide evidence

²⁶ Taking my Oswald case study as an example, I first met with a team leader in the arts department on 1 June 2011 but did not receive the consent form signed by the CEO that allowed me to proceed with the research until three months later on 25 August 2011. I consequently negotiated access to relevant sources of data and scheduled interviews with selected officers, making numerous local trips to Oswald City Council to access files and staff between late August and early October 2011.

²⁷ I first visited Kent Bay City Council on 1 August 2011, during the exploratory phase of fieldwork, and met with three of the four officers whom I would later interview. Although I had phone and email contact with key staff members in the meantime, when I returned to Kent Bay in November 2011, I spent only three days at the council. My fieldwork was also limited in my New Zealand case study. After first making contact with an arts policy advisor at Edmondton City Council in August 2010, I eventually spent six working days at the council in September 2012, then returned for an additional interview and informal follow-up meeting in late November that year.

²⁸ For instance, in the exploratory phase, I approached a city council in Queensland that had a reputation as a leader in cultural planning and arts provision. When I arrived at its office in August 2011, however, the council no longer had an arts or cultural policy team. As a result of financial restructuring, both senior cultural policy officers had taken voluntary redundancies and were not going to be replaced. There remained only one council officer in a specific arts and cultural role, while the community development manager had subsumed all responsibilities for arts and cultural policy and services without gaining additional resources. This example highlights the vulnerability of arts and cultural portfolios in local government.

of relevant discourses or practices. The case study councils all provided some access to internal documents. Although I could not keep, copy or cite these documents, taking notes from artist briefs, monthly reports and copies of email correspondence deepened my understanding of the context and practice of officers' work. It also shaped my interpretation of other relevant texts.

The interview responses guided my selection of three key documents from each municipality for close reading, notably the cultural and council plans, which are identified in the thesis with references (e.g. CACS; see Appendix 1). These texts represent typical artefacts used within the various levels of council planning frameworks. Interviewees' responses thus helped me to understand the social life and political significance of documents that mattered to them (Freeman and Maybin 2011; Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 70). For instance, the long-term community plan was the most important overarching document at Kent Bay City Council, but its equivalent was hardly accorded any attention at Oswald City Council. Such insights gained from my 'ethnographic sensibility' were particularly important for deeming the significance of certain performance indicators. Had I focused on the public documents alone, without conducting any interviews, I would not have known how these documents were used by officers, or which discourses and measures they considered more important than others.

Interviewing local 'street-level' bureaucrats

This research hinges on interviews with purposively selected participants: local government workers who were involved in the case study projects. The following chapters contain copious references to these interviews, demonstrating their importance as a source of local knowledge about urban cultural policy practice. To protect each participant's and council's identity, individuals are not named but referenced with codes, such as EC1, and identified by job titles, some of which have been made more generic (see Appendix 2). In most cases, I interviewed each participant once for approximately 45 minutes in a private meeting room at their workplace.²⁹ All interviews except two (OC4; CC6) were audio recorded. I later transcribed each interview in full. The methods I adopted to analyse this material are outlined below, but firstly I explain my choice of interviews as a means of generating relevant data.

²⁹ I did not complete the full interview with my key informant at Cordelia (CC2) or Edmundton (EC1) in one sitting, so I conducted a second interview at a later date with those two participants.

The interview is a pervasive method in social science (Holstein and Gubrium 2002, 120; Silverman 2003, 342). It is commonly used in IPA as a means of eliciting the ways in which members of policy communities make sense of their world. While anthropologists and sociologists typically privilege ethnographic participant observation as an ideal means of accessing practice, participatory methods are not feasible in every research setting. Interviews allow a researcher and participant to generate meanings based on the specific research questions and interviewees' own experiences and attitudes (Pouliot 2012, 48). I used a purposive selection method to recruit participants, which involved some 'snowball sampling' based on the situational understanding that developed through my exposure to the research setting, and in order to gain 'a variety of perspectives' and reflect 'different lived experiences' (Yanow 2006, 566).

After helping to select a case study project, my key contact at each institution (CC2; EC1; KBC2; OC3) identified several officers at the council to invite to participate in this research. Although my primary focus was on the arts and culture department, the particular programmes I studied were 'joined-up' initiatives involving other council units, so I invited participants from other departments to take part in interviews too. I interviewed almost all the relevant officers in relation to each council's case study project, although this required some flexibility, as several interviews had to be rescheduled at short notice. The twenty-six officers I interviewed occupied different positions at various levels in the local bureaucracy, but the majority were arts administrators (see Appendices 2 and 3). I have deliberately focused on the 'street-level bureaucrats' who engage with artists and community members, and whose decisions, routines and techniques 'effectively *become* the public policies they carry out' (Lipsky 1980, xii; emphasis in original).

In addition to the local government fieldwork, I interviewed several 'expert' members of the wider policy community, as listed in Appendix 2, who commented on broader trends and discourses in the field. Although this material is not cited as much as the council officers' transcripts, these supplementary interviews helped to identify some commonalities and irregularities among the case studies. I invited an advisor from the local government association in each state to participate, as well as representatives from the relevant arts funding body, Community Indicators Victoria and the Cultural Development Network. Some policy workers whom I identified as belonging to this community did not agree with my categorisation. Several employees of the State of Victoria, for instance, declined my request

for an interview on the basis that their work was not concerned with community wellbeing. In this way, my initial articulation of research questions and aims served to draw the boundaries of this study. Significant 'silent voices' (Yanow 2006, 6) in this research are the artists who created material for the case study projects, as well as other participants in and audiences of this work, elected representatives and council directors.³⁰ It was beyond the scope of this study to invite councillors, senior managers, consultants, artists and audiences to participate, although they are part of the policy community, and their perspectives would have provided a valuable contribution to understanding the discursive and material effects of urban cultural policy (Yanow 2000, 10611; Bacchi 2009, 15617).

Closer to 'purposive conversations' than surveys, all the interviews in this study were semi-structured (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 1176120). Prior to each interview, I sent participants an indicative list of questions, pre-approved by the university ethics committees (see Appendices 4 and 5), along with a participant information sheet and a consent form. This provided an overall structure for each interview and ensured all participants answered several key questions, such as 'How would you define community wellbeing?' This created some consistency in the responses, facilitating comparative data analysis. I nonetheless adapted the order and wording of questions to suit the flow of the conversation, as well as to ask specific questions about the case study project. Furthermore, I interacted with participants, asking additional questions to probe or follow up (Kvale 2007), and sometimes paraphrasing what I heard to check understanding and develop rapport with the interviewee (Yanow and Schwartz-Shea 2006, 119).

Alternative approach to the final case study

In response to the difficulties of access, and recognising that my approach lacked reciprocity, I was receptive to a proposal from a potential participant to undertake a collaborative project at Cordelia City Council. After meeting at a research seminar, the Cordelia arts and culture manager and I discussed co-creating an evaluation framework for her department. I consequently redesigned my final Australian case study as an action research project (McIntyre 2008). The first part of this project involved a scoping study of evaluation capacity and requirements within the arts and culture unit. The second stage saw me develop, present and revise an evaluation framework for the unit. My objective was to take a more

³⁰ Another 'silent voice' is that of the cultural services directorate manager at Cordelia, who declined my request for an interview, although she agreed to take part in participant observation (see next section).

participatory and ethnographic approach than in the other case studies, in order to gain greater access to council officers and relevant artefacts, and to produce an output of use to the council. Specifically, I aimed to develop an understanding of the needs and capacity of the arts officers for evaluation, and to use my academic knowledge to create tools that might enable them to use community wellbeing indicators in accordance with their own interests and requirements, while also exploring the limitations of such measurement frameworks.

As well as collecting documents and conducting interviews in accordance with the other case studies, the methods I proposed for the Cordelia project included participant observation and co-producing research material. Participant observation is like ‘hanging out’, explains Ellen Pader (2006, 163), but involves ‘attempts to interpret observations and experiences systematically by looking for sociocultural patterns.’ By occupying a desk in the arts and culture unit for several days in April 2012, and participating in meetings with council officers and the Cordelia Arts Board, I gained a more nuanced understanding of urban cultural policy from the perspectives of practitioners than I would have from interviews and public documents alone. This modified approach to my final case study might be considered typical of contemporary social research, which follows a more dialogic model, and is characterised by:

(a) the increasing willingness of ethnographers to affirm or develop a ‘membership’ role in the communities they study, (b) the recognition of the possibility that it may be neither feasible nor possible to harmonize observer and ‘insider’ perspectives so as to achieve a consensus about ‘ethnographic truth’, and (c) the transformation of the erstwhile ‘subjects’ of research into ethnographers’ collaborative partners. (Denzin and Lincoln 2003, 114615)

This approach raised an array of practical, ethical and critical considerations, including issues of anonymity and authorship, access and confidentiality, and specificity and transferability. Following the tenets of participatory action research, I relinquished some power over the direction of the research with the aim of respecting local knowledge and empowering participants to make change happen (McIntyre 2008). The aim was to build officers’ capacity to use evaluation methods and tools, such as outcome indicators, in ways that would reflect their personal and professional goals and meet the council’s accountability requirements. As well as constructing meaningful measures, I endeavoured to follow a process and create a document that arts officers would consider relevant and useful. This required a significant

amount of flexibility, which was challenging, especially when dealing with the ethics application procedures at two universities and having to travel to conduct fieldwork.³¹

Negotiating access for the final case study involved several stages: a series of meetings at Cordelia City Council; seeking advice on ethical and intellectual property issues; requesting new approval from the ethics committee of each university (see Appendix 4); arranging consent from senior management at council; then inviting officers identified by the unit manager to participate. This lengthy process threatened the viability of the research project, as the arts and culture unit had an end-of-financial-year deadline for producing the evaluation framework.³² These and other practical constraints resulted in less contact and collaboration with the participants than anticipated. In particular, while we had planned to co-author the evaluation framework, the unit manager did not find enough time to participate fully in this activity. We nonetheless met to discuss this project several times and she provided feedback on the draft framework and associated report (CAB; CACU; CC2a; CC2b; CC2c; CEF).

This was a more demanding case study, but it produced some interesting and relevant material, for both the participants and this thesis. My consistent use of the aforementioned methods of generating data made it possible to analyse the Cordelia City Council project alongside the other case studies. The greater wealth and depth of data generated at Cordelia enhanced my understanding of the structures and practices of the council, as well as of individual officers' perspectives. This material proved particularly useful for examining rationalities and technologies of evaluation, as demonstrated in Chapter Seven.

Deskwork: interpretive data analysis

Once fully transcribed, I conducted a thematic analysis of the interviews and three policy documents from each council to which participants commonly referred. I supplemented this analysis with a close reading of particular sections of other relevant texts (see Appendix 1).

³¹ The need for flexibility in the ethics process for this sort of research has been discussed by participatory and interpretive researchers (McIntyre 2008, 66; Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012).

³² Following some informal conversations in person, the unit manager and I agreed by email on an approach to the Cordelia case study on 19 December 2011. I did not receive consent to begin fieldwork until 16 April 2012, which left only 12 working days for the initial stage of fieldwork before I had to return to Auckland. I later returned to Victoria mid-June, in order to meet and present to the Cordelia Arts Board, and consult with the unit manager on the draft scoping study, then completed the final phase of the project in Auckland.

As well as providing insights into the significance of particular documents, the interview question ‘Which key council strategies or policies do you need to consider in your role?’ was useful for identifying relevant and comparable texts for analysis (Dombos 2012, 9; Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 70). My abductive methodology encouraged me to take an open, data-driven approach to coding, for which I used NVivo software (Ryan and Bernard 2003, 275-79; Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 27). This involved identifying prevalent themes in these texts, grouping these excerpts together and developing categories, moving back and forth between close analysis of the coded texts and relevant literature to delineate the discourses of urban cultural policy. Put simply, coding involved interpreting the meaning of chunks of text (Ryan and Bernard 2003, 274).

The next step after coding was to construct issue frames (Dombos 2012, 12). Frames are one of many ‘ordering devices’ used by interpretive scholars to analyse policy language and artefacts (Hajer and Laws 2008). Along with other conceptual tools like traditions (Bevir and Rhodes 2003), metaphors (Schön and Rein 1994, 266-28; Stone 2002) and narratives (van Eeten 2007; Hampton 2009), frames can make analysis more explicit and systematic in policy processes and debates characterised by ambiguity and doubt. These devices can all be used to explain shared meanings that ‘motivate people to action’ (Stone 2002, 11; Schmidt 2010). The following sections explain my use of two ordering devices – frames and traditions – for analysing the data from the case studies. My archaeological use of frames and genealogical tracing of traditions proved useful for mediating between individual agency, relational patterns and structural considerations (Hajer and Laws 2008, 254; Glynn et al. 2009; Yanow 2000, 126-13).

Critical frame analysis

This critical analysis of policy discourse and practice draws on the work of ‘frame reflective’ policy scholars (Schön and Rein 1994; Laws and Rein 2003; Dombos 2012) to identify the different positions held, and discourses evoked, in relation to the means and ends of the case study programmes and the broader context of cultural policy at these councils. A frame is a specific form of discourse that integrates ‘facts, values, theories and interests’ (Rein and Schön 1993, 145), providing an interpretive framework that shapes understandings and actions (Bacchi 1999, 40; Yanow 2000, 116-12). In the context of policy analysis, frames can be understood as the ‘underlying structures of belief, perception, and appreciation’ that shape

policy positions (Schön and Rein 1994, 23), and which become institutionalized in habits of thought and action, in *practices* (Laws and Rein 2003, 179; emphasis in original).

Scholars have conducted frame-critical analysis to identify competing values and narratives in fields as diverse as telecommunications policy (Bridgman and Barry 2002), environmental justice (Laws and Rein 2003), gender equality in the European Union (Dombos 2012), and cultural policy in New Zealand (Albiston 2000; Blomkamp 2012a). While some frame-critical scholars differ in their understanding of the extent to which it is possible to distance oneself from discourses in order to reflect on frames (see, e.g., Schön and Rein 1994; Bacchi 1999; Buchstein and Jörke 2012) and on the potential to resolve conflicts in a higher-order discourse (Laws and Rein 2003, 179) critical frame analysis has an inherently normative dimension. Depending on its presentation and application, my frame-critical analysis has the potential to raise practitioners' awareness of the tacit frames in urban cultural policy, encouraging them to reflect on the values and norms they give priority and to consider alternative ways of thinking and acting in this domain (Schön 1983, 309-611).

Cultural policy frames are expressions of governmental rationality that indicate the political value attached to arts and culture. Each frame represents a 'regime of value' in the sense suggested by Frow (1995), for a specific policy community. Even if it does not explicitly adopt a frame-critical methodology, scholarship on arts and cultural policy typically either focuses on one of these frames – for example, cultural citizenship (e.g. Andrew and Gattinger 2005), creative industries (e.g. Garnham 2005) or the social impacts of the arts (e.g. Belfiore and Bennett 2007a) – or identifies several frames as conceptual categories to explain the various means and ends of a government's approach to the cultural realm (e.g. Craik 2007; McGuigan 2004; Simons and Dang 2006).

I employ a particular type of policy frame as an ordering device: issue frames, which represent the aims of a policy in 'a relatively coherent story' that contains an inherent problematisation and normative response (Spicker 2006, 57; Dombos 2012, 566). This corresponds with governmentality theory, which assumes that government endeavours to achieve particular ends (Dean 1999), and that implicit in each policy is the idea of a problem that needs addressing or remedying (Miller and Rose 2008, 61; Bacchi 2009). Issue frames can be described as 'abstract synthetic constructs in the sense that they are not necessarily linked to any one text in their pure form' (Dombos 2012, 6), but the aims and values within

frames are operationalised when policy workers set goals or measures, which are designed to indicate whether the outputs and outcomes are achieved (Spicker 2006, 49661). Frames are thus a useful ordering device in discussions of policy evaluation. They prove to be a valuable tool for interpreting urban cultural policy discourse and representing this analysis in a comprehensible way.

After coding the selected texts, I developed frames to categorise the overlapping goals and values of each municipality's approach to the case study programme specifically, and cultural policy more generally. Beginning with almost 30 themes, I reduced the number of codes to create a manageable number of fields that distinguished the frames (Dombos 2012, 12613). Following several iterations, I settled on six *issue frames* and one *meta-frame* to articulate the main rationalities of urban cultural policy in these case studies. Presented in detail in Chapter Six, the issue frames are: quality art, community strengthening, safety, the creative city, creative place-making and cultural wellbeing. I describe community wellbeing as a meta-frame of local government – an overarching discourse that stretches across various policy issues and has a normative foundation (Dombos 2012, 6).

Traditions as ordering devices

My archaeological analysis of urban cultural policy discourse identifies the inherent problematisations, goals and values in the case study contexts at a particular point in time. I complement it with a history of the present – Mitchell Dean (1999, 41, 48) describes this Foucauldian style of genealogy as –the patient labour of historico-political analysis and contestation of existing narratives. Drawing on history and ethnography to identify the ways in which British governance is constructed, Bevir and Rhodes (2003) use this method to identify four narratives, each associated with its own tradition in British politics, and shaping but not determining individual actions. Although it draws attention to the structural dimension of policy, this genealogical discourse analysis corresponds with studies of governmentality that illustrate how –subjects are reflexive and can accommodate, adapt, contest or resist top-down endeavours to govern them if they so wish (Mckee 2009, 479).³³ In this respect, it differs from institutionalist approaches, although the continuities in traditions may seem to resemble a certain –path dependency.

³³ Even though Rhodes may not identify as a Foucauldian scholar, Bevir and Rhodes (2012, 204) describe their work as a –genealogy of traditions. As I explain on page 104, Bevir (2010a) and I see this approach as reflecting Foucault's understanding of institutional power and genealogical analysis.

By using 'tradition' as an ordering device, I illustrate the modification and transformation of webs of meaning in this field over time (Bevir 2010a) and draw attention to the institutional environment in which meaning is embedded (Fischer 2003, 85-90). I have outlined the turn to community, culture and calculative practices by tracing pertinent traditions in Australian and New Zealand local government, providing a historical backdrop against which to analyse the case studies. Through my primary and secondary source analysis, I also identify three traditions of public management and governance as playing a significant role in the practice of cultural policy at these councils: bureaucracy, market, and network. As I argue in Chapter Five, these traditions should not be seen as separate eras of local governance; rather, they represent a medley of various forms of knowledge and practical techniques with specific origins and implications. Together, these traditions of local government, cultural policy and public administration shape the practice of urban cultural policy.

Writing as a sense-making method

It might not typically appear in a methodology chapter, but writing is an important stage in the representation of research. It involves a series of decisions that should be acknowledged. Although I did not adopt the specific 'logics' of the Essex School's model of critical explanation (Glynos and Howarth 2007; Griggs and Howarth 2011), their concept of 'articulation' is a useful way to describe the construction of this thesis. Articulation, explain Griggs and Howarth (2011, 223), 'involves linking together different elements in a logic that modifies each, while producing a synthesis [of rich complexity]'. Articulation is thus similar to the practice of *bricolage*. It comes after the uncovering of discursive processes and social practice – the stage of analysis described above, which Bacchi (1999, 46-47) calls 'constitutive abstraction'.

Studying 'policy as discourse' calls for 'naturalistic' forms of analysis and articulation that rely heavily on the researcher's interpretations of data, often presented in the form of Geertzian 'thick descriptions' requiring creativity, insight and judgement (Geertz 1973; Fischer 1995; Yanow 1996). My descriptions are 'thick' in their 'layering of situational detail' such as direct quotations that provide evidence of 'being there' and that contextualise action (Yanow 2006). This articulation of urban cultural policy can also be considered multivocal (Yanow 1996), or 'dialogical' in the sense that it includes, and, if successful, is

itself included in, a polyphony of voices, with no one voice, including that of the researcher, claiming final authority (Flyvbjerg 2001, 139).

The explanatory power of an interpretation, according to Yanow (1996, 49653), depends on its level of detail and coherence. Schwartz-Shea and Yanow (2012, 996100) advance three elements of sense-making that enhance the trustworthiness of a research manuscript – reflexivity, data analysis techniques and member-checking – all of which are incorporated into this research design. The preceding section discussed the specific methods of data analysis that provided a rigorous basis for my interpretation, and the following section elaborates on my positionality, considering how my physical location and personal characteristics may have shaped data generation and analysis.

My use of the first person throughout this chapter has intended to make clear my presence and the subjectivity of interpretation rather than mask or ignore it (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 104). In keeping with the conventions of political science, however, I have not explicitly written reflexively throughout this thesis, although I have drawn attention to myself as researcher and author where it seems important to underline my role. Even when I adopt a modernist mode of discourse in accordance with an academic register, I expect readers to recognise that this represents ‘one voice, presenting one interpretation, one way of understanding the matters discussed’ (Yanow 1996, 27).

Finally, I followed the common practice of sending back interview transcripts to participants, as well as other less formal methods of member-checking which aim ‘to see whether the researcher has ‘got it right’ from the perspective of members ‘native’ to the situation or setting under study’ (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 106). Prior to submitting this thesis and publishing related articles, I sent participants excerpts of their transcribed interview, and a few officers subsequently amended their transcript. In addition, I provided participants with access to early analysis of individual case studies in a journal article and conference paper.³⁴ It was not my intention to ‘verify’ my interpretation, and I recognise the potential for multiple interpretations (Yanow 1996, 51), but participants’ responses increased my confidence about the credibility of my analysis of tacit knowledge and situated meanings.

³⁴ I received feedback from one officer at Kent Bay City Council on the journal article and from two Edmundton officers on the conference presentation, which confirmed my understanding of pertinent features of urban cultural policy discourse and practice.

(Self-)Reflections

Interpretive research is an interactive, political process shaped by the researcher's personal history and identity, as well as those of others in the research context (Denzin and Lincoln 2003, 9). My disciplinary location, academic and professional background and personal motivations all influenced this research. My initial interest in the concept of cultural wellbeing emerged while conducting earlier research on film policy in New Zealand (Blomkamp 2011; 2012a). Frustrated by the narrow economic indicators used to judge the performance of government-supported 'creative industries' and driven by my personal appreciation of the social, political and cultural value of publicly-funded creative texts and activities, I was interested in alternative cultural policy indicators, such as those required by the community outcomes framework of the Local Government Act 2002.

Aware of the 'colonial heritage of fieldwork' (Yanow 2006, 7), I aimed to conduct research within my own culture and avoid instrumental relationships as much as possible. I felt comfortable doing fieldwork as a New Zealander in Australia, which was facilitated by my joint enrolment at the University of Melbourne and a doctoral research grant from the University of Auckland. I had not, however, anticipated the specific culture of the community of local government practitioners, of which I was not a member. My outsider status meant that I did not foresee the difficulties of access or have pre-existing knowledge of local government practice, which were significant factors in needing to redesign the study as it evolved. On the other hand, being a 'stranger' helped me to problematise 'common-sense' practices and meanings that were taken-for-granted in these communities of practice (Yanow 2000, 47).

Personal experience and subjectivity is particularly significant in research with an ethnographic sensibility, as every observation and interaction is conditioned by the specific identity of the researcher and her dialogic interactions with other members of the research setting (Angrosino and Mays de Perez 2003; Pader 2006; van Hulst 2008). When I introduced myself to potential research participants, many responded by expressing an interest in what I could teach or advise them about cultural policy evaluation, based on my academic status. Certain officers, however, were wary and reluctant to participate. Some seemed unwilling to trust 'a stranger' with sensitive information; others appeared worried that I would judge them

negatively if they failed to meet standards of democratic governance or scientific research. I endeavoured to demonstrate my respect for their work and identity through personal interaction, although the short duration of fieldwork limited my ability to build rapport.

Once I had negotiated the terms of access, most officers became more forthcoming and I was delighted by the candour of some interviewees. The collaborative design of the Cordelia case study was made possible by a relationship established outside the formal processes of this study, which is typical of interpretive research (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, 122623). Having previously demonstrated my trustworthiness and capability to the unit manager facilitated my access to this setting. This was aided by the key informant's interest in the process of graduate research and the feasibility of me taking on a consultancy type role. Officers' familiarity with the work of consultants helped to frame my role in a mutually acceptable way.

More broadly, this research has been driven by my desire for social relevance and sense of political responsibility. By engaging in debates of relevance to researchers and practitioners, I have aimed to conduct cultural policy research that is both critical and pragmatic (see O'Regan 1992; Bennett 1992; McGuigan 1996). Whilst recognising that I cannot determine how my research is read and utilised, I intend to make a meaningful contribution to social dialogue as well as academic scholarship. Flyvbjerg's (2001, 156659) expectation that phronetic social scientists situate themselves in the context of public debates requires inserting oneself into the research, embodying it and physically experiencing society's reactions, which can be uncomfortable. I may not have gone as far as Flyvbjerg suggests, but in my final case study, I was certainly a key figure in the research project. I also related my analysis of the New Zealand case study to coterminous debates on the role of local government.³⁵ This conforms with the expected role of an IPA researcher, as a translator and mediator amongst research participants and between participants and the academic community (Yanow 2000, 90691).

³⁵ As the Local Government Act 2002 Amendment Bill 2012 passed through Parliament, I made a public submission to the Select Committee and presented a conference paper on the topic at the annual meeting of the New Zealand Political Studies Association and the New Zealand Geographical Society.

Summary: an interpretive-comparative research design

This chapter has described my research design as an interpretive-comparative approach to urban cultural policy discourse and practice. I have explained my choices of theory and method with reference to the intellectual virtues on which they are based and their appropriateness for answering the revised research questions. This study sits within the overarching framework of 'policy as discourse' and 'phronetic social science' which are characterised by a constructivist ontology and concern with the meanings and practices of policy, as a window to governmentality. Specifically, my interpretive approach to four case studies involves an 'ethnographic sensibility' and word-based modes of generating and analysing data.

My methods have been presented in two key phases: fieldwork and deskwork. After gaining access to four urban municipalities, I conducted then transcribed semi-structured interviews and collected artefacts such as policy and accountability documents. I generated additional data through a revised approach to the Cordelia case study, which involved participant observation and developing an evaluation framework for the arts and culture unit. I thematically coded all interview transcripts and key texts, then developed frames and identified traditions to articulate the discourses and practices of urban cultural policy in these particular contexts. These modes of analysis allow for recognition of individual agency, relational patterns and institutional structures.

My focus on discourses and practices, and concern for local knowledge and reflexivity, enables this thesis to develop a critical explanation that makes key characteristics comprehensible without misrepresenting the contingency and complexity of urban cultural policy. This corresponds with the 'adequate approach' to planning put forth by Forester (1993, 166-17), as empirically founded, critical and interpretive. It also reflects the advice of interpretive policy analysts (Yanow 2000; Glynos and Howarth 2007), who argue that the specific research puzzles or questions that emerge from an initial analysis of a phenomenon should instruct the selection of appropriate methods and theories in order to generate data and reflections that enable the creation of a critical explanation.

Chapter Five: The Medley of Governance Traditions in the Case Study Councils

In the practice of developing and delivering urban cultural policy, council officers enact diverse principles and ideas that reflect or, at times, contest the structure and culture of local government. Drawing on the vast literature on governance theories and public management models, in this chapter I consider how certain principles and schemas identified by scholars correspond with the practices of council officers in each case study.³⁶ The four case studies of arts-related programmes in urban municipalities in Australia and New Zealand are the focus of this chapter and the remainder of the thesis. By linking my thematic analysis of policy documents and semi-structured interviews with concepts from relevant scholarship on public sector governance, this chapter explores discourses and practices of local cultural governance in context. My critical and empirical investigation identifies examples of creativity, innovation and collaboration in the design and delivery of local cultural services, but it also depicts acts of compliance and contestation with entrenched council policy and protocols.

Through my primary and secondary source analysis, I have identified several traditions of public management that play a significant role in the practice of cultural policy at each council. Although the extent and nature of the 'shift to governance' can certainly be debated (Dean 2007; Colebatch 2009), recent developments in local government demonstrate characteristics depicted in the literature as new forms of governance. Taking a genealogical approach, I have employed three dominant 'traditions' of public sector governance to understand contemporary discourse and practice: bureaucracy, market and network. Bureaucracy represents the key characteristics of the Westminster system: an impartial public service as well as the arm's length arts funding model typically found in countries following this tradition. The market tradition incorporates the neoliberal and managerialist principles of accountability, efficiency and competition, introduced in public sector reforms and sometimes labelled New Public Management. Network refers to features of 'new'

³⁶ The early findings of this chapter are discussed in relation to one case study in my article published in the *Asia Pacific Journal of Arts and Cultural Management* (Blomkamp 2012b), which I originally presented as the paper 'Creativity and Compliance: Cultural Governance and Community Outcomes in the City' at the 7th International Conference on Cultural Policy Research (ICCPR) in Barcelona, 12 July 2012. I am grateful to the anonymous reviewers of the journal and the participants in the ICCPR panel who offered supportive and constructive feedback on that paper.

governance, such as a stronger recognition of policy networks, community engagement and whole-of-government approaches.

This chapter describes the combination of different traditions as a medley of urban cultural governance. Like a musical medley, which combines parts of existing pieces, played one after another and sometimes overlapping, this arrangement of three different traditions is performed simultaneously in one context. Policy workers are unlikely to distinguish between these different traditions when performing their roles, but the medley metaphor and the three traditions provide heuristic frames for understanding the competing pressures and complementary practices of urban cultural governance. In particular, they help to identify the types of techniques and forms of knowledge that are considered appropriate in specific local circumstances.

The challenges and contradictions of contemporary urban cultural governance, which is at once bureaucratic, neoliberal and networked, are epitomised in recent efforts to monitor and evaluate the broad and intangible outcomes of Oswald's policy of late night cultural activation, Cordelia's public art exhibition, Edmundton's street art programme, and Kent Bay's new library and cultural centre. These tensions reflect the significant, sometimes contradictory demands on public servants in the twenty-first century, as noted by George Gallop (2007, 2):

On the one hand, we ask them to be fully accountable and yet on the other hand we ask them to be creative and innovative. On the one hand, we ask them to be efficient and on the other hand we insist that they be effective and produce real change in the community. On the one hand, we ask them to be inspirational and purposeful in respect of their agency responsibilities and on the other, we expect them to join up, co-operate and compromise with others. And finally, we ask them to perform to particular targets and at the same time to be agile and flexible in the way they operate.

This chapter illustrates how a selection of urban cultural policy workers are responding to these pressures and negotiating expectations for control, calculation and collaboration in their day-to-day practice. While these findings are limited to specific cultural programmes and a handful of policy actors at four municipalities, this analysis of governance traditions offers insights into the challenges facing many public servants working in an environment of complex governing practices.

Traditions of public sector governance

The shift to governance can be broadly construed as a movement from formal to informal authority. It has involved transferring public service delivery from the hierarchy of bureaucratic government, firstly to markets and quasi-markets and then to networks and partnerships. Within this conceptualisation of governance, I pinpoint three broad traditions: Westminster-style bureaucracy, new public management and new governance. Table 1 presents a basic typology of the three traditions.

Table 1. Traditions of public sector governance

Tradition	Caricature	Features
Westminster bureaucracy	<i>Bureaucracy:</i> control and compliance	Neutral bureaucracy Hierarchical structure Functional divisions
New Public Management	<i>Market:</i> calculation and competition	Market provision of services Management techniques Audit culture
New governance	<i>Network:</i> collaboration and creativity	Joined-up government Long-term integrated planning Outcome focus Networks and partnerships

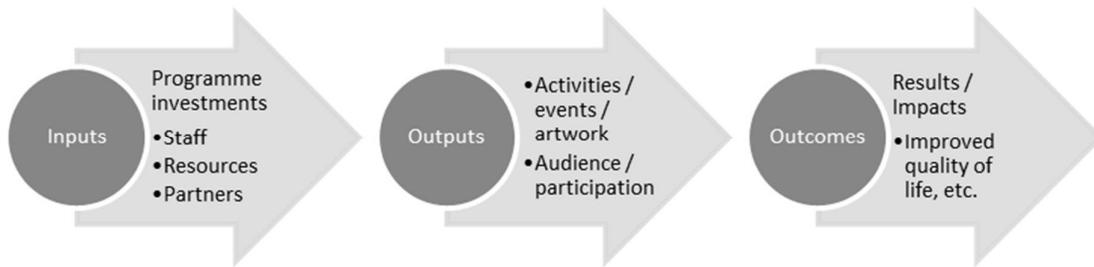
A significant difference between the last two traditions, which I explore later in this chapter and in Chapter Seven, has been the shift in emphasis from outputs to outcomes within models of planning, performance measurement and policy evaluation (see figure 1). Volkerling (1996, 191; see also Wyszomirski 1998) explains these concepts within the context of cultural policy:

In terms of current public sector policy concepts, the cultural and artistic activity facilitated through state intervention can be considered the outputs of cultural policy and the production of social relations and identities (the impacts on the community) can be considered its outcomes.

These traditions could also be described as policy frames. Both traditions and frames are a special kind of story that becomes institutionalized in habits of thought and action, in practices (Laws and Rein 2003, 179; emphasis in original; see also Bevir 2011). Although separating these traditions and presenting them chronologically represents an overly simplified and misleadingly linear view of policy, such an approach is common in the

literature (e.g. Osborne 2006) and is the most effective way to discuss these concepts here. Connections can be made between the perceived practice of each tradition, particular types of knowledge and specific theories and methods developed by political scientists and policy analysts (Bevir 2009; Hess and Adams 2005; Osborne 2006; Tenbensen 2008).

Figure 1. Process evaluation model for urban cultural policy



Bureaucracy: the Westminster tradition

The hierarchical structure of bureaucratic government is epitomised in the Westminster model (Bevir and Rhodes 2003). Under the Westminster system, authority is delegated firstly by voters to elected representatives, then from the representative government to neutral bureaucrats who follow the orders of their superiors. Scholarship on bureaucracy typically refers to Max Weber's (1978) legalistic theory of bureaucracy as an 'ideal type' characterised by a hierarchical division of labour among non-partisan, salaried professionals (Heywood 2007, 383-84; Peters 2010, 82). While he saw bureaucracy as a technically superior form of government, with its efficient and rational exercise of authority, Weber (1978) recognised the danger of an increasingly depersonalised and mechanised system of social organisation.

This top-down model of government corresponds with the positivist academic tradition that takes a systematic, institutionalized approach to policy analysis (DeLeon 1994, 77) and privileges objectively verifiable, expert knowledge (Hess and Adams 2005; Tenbensen 2008). The model of Public Administration, which reigned from the late nineteenth century through to the late twentieth century, epitomises the bureaucratic tradition. It is characterised by the supremacy of the rule of law, as well as:

A focus on administering set rules and guidelines; a central role for the bureaucracy in policy making and implementation; the politics-administration split within public organizations; a commitment to incremental budgeting; and the hegemony of the professional in the service delivery system. (Osborne 2006, 377-678)

This tradition has also informed and been shaped by several variants of institutionalism – rational choice, historical and sociological – which depict governing processes as –instrumental and constitutional– (Colebatch 2009, 58), and which constituted significant approaches to the study of public administration and political science in the twentieth century (Bevir 2009, 17; Schmidt 2010).

Clearly defined roles and processes

The advisory panel structures and the codified funding practices of the case study councils – approaches to arts and cultural policy represent the traditional British model of –arm’s length– arts funding agencies (Mangset 2009). Regarding the selection of public art proposals and the allocation of cultural grants, the council officers interviewed described the application and assessment processes as transparent and rigorous – principles associated with the Westminster bureaucracy tradition and, in particular, the –arm’s length– funding model. Cordelia’s Council Plan (CCP) accordingly emphasised its commitment –to open and transparent decision-making processes,– by ensuring that all council funds are distributed –in a responsible, fair and just manner.–

At the case study councils, staff screened public art proposals for eligibility then passed them on to an expert panel who graded applications according to a set of published criteria. The arts investment coordinator at Oswald explained how the panel of assessors judged arts funding applications according to the evaluation criteria:

So, for example, if you’re taking an area such as cultural merit, and it’s weighted at 50 per cent, then you give it a number out of ten, and then I weight it, and then I whack it in the system and then we have indicative scoring, and that would be along with viability or the meeting of the nine council objectives. (OC3)

The public art component of the library and cultural centre at Kent Bay City Council followed a similar process. As explained by the cultural development coordinator, –The process guidelines actually have assessment sheets, you know, 40 per cent for aesthetics, and 20 per cent for similar experience and so on, so that there’s always a transparent process that can be followed– (KBC1). She added, –It comes down to scoring, you know, it really does, I

mean, in the end, if it's close, you might go, okay, well this one actually has got a better budget (KBC1). Officers then tabulated these results and presented them with recommendations in a report to council. Following the principles of Public Administration, councillors rather than bureaucrats ultimately decided which projects were commissioned or funded. In the words of an Oswald officer, describing the assessment process: 'That's the arm's length transparency in practice' (OC2). The quantification in these evaluative processes also reflects the 'technical expertise' or 'mechanical objectivity' (Porter 1996) favoured in the bureaucratic tradition, where numbers connote objectivity, transparency and impartiality in decision-making, and thus convey democratic authority (Schön 1983, 325; Espeland 1997; Miller 2001).

The split between politics and administration, described above as a key feature of a Westminster bureaucracy, existed to varying degrees at the case study councils. While some state legislation imposes a barrier between elected councillors and employed officers, the statutes governing some cities do not carry this requirement. At Oswald, senior managers met fairly frequently with elected representatives. The arts and culture manager, for instance, 'worked with the councillors a lot' (OC6). Whenever there was a major project or review, she would first speak to councillors individually, then 'present to them in a forum and engage them in dialogue' (OC6). In other jurisdictions, however, as a Kent Bay Manager pointed out, at the time, 'Under the Local Government Act, councillors need to talk to councillors, [and] council officers talk to council officers. I can't take direction from councillors' (KBC2).

Elected representatives did not usually issue specific directives to employees (OC6), but Oswald's arts and culture department was 'frequently asked to consider concepts that are derived from councillors or the mayor, such as late night programme funding, for which arts managers were asked 'to assist with finding appropriate partners for meeting the initial pilot idea' (OC3). A similar instance was mentioned at Cordelia City Council, where one of the councillors decided the council should coordinate street parties and asked the cultural development unit to assess the feasibility of such a programme (CC1). When councillors initiated programmes such as the late night cultural activation pilot and subsequent grant category, officers were obliged to follow their proposal and become responsible for its administration. This process was explained by Oswald's arts and culture manager:

The actual concept came from councillors. So they came up with it and said, 'what do you think we should do?' And I thought it was a great concept. Even if I hadn't thought

it was a great concept I would be obliged to administer it. So we basically provided the framework for them, recommended that the funding go to [existing] partners and developed that process, and then oversaw the delivery, managed the funding, managed the evaluation, and now pretty much we manage the whole thing. (OC6)

Simply glancing at the organisational chart in these councils' corporate plans reveals a stratified structure, which corresponds with the definition of bureaucracy as a hierarchical division of labour along distinct functional lines (see Appendix 3). Moreover, advisors and programme managers often focused on delivery and operational type decisions, whereas senior officers and department managers were more involved with policy development and strategic planning. When discussing work practices, officers often described reporting to their direct supervisor, whose authority was particularly prominent in the context of professional development reviews (CC3; CC6; OC2; OC7), although, as I identify below, these reviews correspond more with the market tradition. The strict lines of authority within these hierarchies were apparent during the lengthy process of obtaining consent to carry out this research. A unit manager, for instance, could not send paperwork directly to the chief executive's office; it had to be passed up from her line manager to the directorate manager, the latter having the authority to refer matters to the CEO.

Compliance with bureaucratic norms

Compliance with organisational policies and processes was also an important consideration for the officers interviewed, some of whom noted how time-consuming this could make any aspect of their work that required council approval. In the street mural project at Edmundton City Council, for instance, negotiating the memorandum of understanding between the council and the youth organisation 'took months' (EYW) and another delay occurred 'from design development to painting because of Council's approval processes' (EER). Similar issues affected the timeline of the Kent Bay library and cultural centre development, especially as it involved a complex land swap requiring additional council approval (KBC2).

Speaking about their work more generally, some officers noted the abundance of council policies and strategies with which they had to comply. Several interviewees and documents described developing guidelines and procedures as a key activity, especially in relation to public art. The cultural development coordinator at Kent Bay explained:

[As part of] the implementation of the public art policy, [we] developed guidelines for that. And that's really processes. So one of the difficulties that people [at council] had was that they're quite used to assessing tenders on building a building and all that sort of thing. Assessing an artwork though was quite difficult, and they were quite scared about it. We were able to show them there are processes that you can do, which sign off on all the sorts of things you need to sign off on, so that was more process-driven than actually arts development. (KBC1)

This emphasis on formalistic processes over subjective judgements of aesthetic worth recalls Weber's (1978, 225) description of bureaucracy as being dominated by 'a spirit of formalistic impersonality' – without hatred or passion, and hence without affection or enthusiasm. It also aligns with Mulligan and Smith's (2010, 89-90) observation that 'local government in Australia tends to put a heavy emphasis on protocols and procedures' due to its constrained state-sanctioned role and 'the historic dominance of engineers and planners in fulfilling that limited charter'. This reinforces the findings of my literature review on dominant traditions of local government.

Similar ideas of hierarchical direction and compliance emerged in other interviews, particularly when some officers complained that their ability to engage community members and promote council activities was constrained by the institutional structure or bureaucratic norms. Oswald's cultural development manager expressed her need to comply with the council's rules regarding external communications: 'It's all about control, brand control, message control.' She added, 'I've got to meet the guidelines within my organisation and the protocols' (OC1). Similarly, at Cordelia City Council, arts officers discussed the challenge of presenting their programmes within the context of the council website, which 'looks like a page out of a corporate reporting document' (CC3). The gallery manager consequently recommended that artists develop their own web page for which council would not be responsible. She explained: 'Local government means rigid controls so the answer is to outsource so that it's not our responsibility' (CC6). Some of the vocabulary used by officers – 'brand control', 'corporate reporting' and 'outsourcing' – indicates connections between bureaucratic protocols and the market tradition, which I discuss further below.

Officers at Oswald also described their organisation as slow to adapt to new technology and having a somewhat 'old fashioned' institutional culture (OC6, OC7). The unit manager at Cordelia told me:

When I started work here, someone said, "Welcome to a glacial pace." Things are slow in local government, but there are reasons for that. It's not that people are lazy. There are processes that have to be followed. (CC2c)

Because of this bureaucratic environment, Cordelia's gallery manager suggested, "Sometimes it's easier not to present anything new or be creative" (CC6). These descriptions correspond with conventional understandings of bureaucracy as a rigid structure that fails to adapt and innovate. They also illustrate tensions between the bureaucratic tradition and contemporary practices of community engagement and social marketing.

This section has demonstrated that elements of the Westminster tradition can be found in all the case studies, particularly in relation to the hierarchical structure, arm's length funding practices and focus on administering set policies and guidelines at each council. From this perspective, the role of council officers is to implement decisions made at a higher level and comply with organisational policies and procedures, regardless of their personal opinion. Power in this model is located in strict lines of hierarchical control. These structures and processes can sometimes frustrate local government workers, particularly when they cause delays or impede public communication, yet the officers interviewed generally accepted them as necessary features of a public sector institution, which must aspire for transparency, consistency and fairness.

Market: the New Public Management tradition

First described as New Public Management (NPM) by Christopher Hood (1991), governmental reforms in many industrialised nations since the 1980s have involved transferring public service delivery from hierarchical government to markets and quasi-markets and introducing principles of managerialism to the public sector.³⁷ As I outlined in Chapter Three, intensive reform of the public sector in New Zealand and Australia has included efforts to restrain expenditure and tighten accountability in local government through changes to legislation, structure and the replacement of administration with management (Aulich 2005; Boston et al. 1996; Local Futures 2006; Van Gramberg and Teicher 2000). Sometimes labelling it "contractualism" or "entrepreneurial government"

³⁷ There is some debate as to the extent of NPM's spread, but it is generally accepted by public administration scholars to be Anglo-American in origin, emerging in the late 1970s, then introduced in various other countries as a result of globalisation (Christensen and Laegreid 2011, 1).

proponents of the market model of governance laud its potential for 'greater flexibility, reduced planning, and less regulation' (Considine and Lewis 2003, 133; see, e.g., Osborne and Gaebler 1992).

These reforms and principles represent forms of neoliberalism, which can be understood as a political philosophy that rejects direct state control in favour of market value.

Governmentality scholars propose that this 'political-economic practice' has become hegemonic in the context of a post-industrial and globalised society (Hay 2002, 165; Harvey 2007, 263). NPM is a neoliberal discourse with normative assumptions about the 'best' way to govern. It is supported by 'institutional economics-inspired theory' (Skelcher 2008, 326-33), particularly that of rational choice, which 'attempts to explain all social phenomena by reference to the micro-level of rational individual activity' (Bevir 2009, 166-17). Local cultural governance in these cities reflects some of the key characteristics of NPM, as observed by Hood (1991) and Osborne (2006), notably the emphasis on management, performance appraisal and efficiency, rather than on policy.³⁸ This section provides some examples of the market-oriented principles and practices in the context of each case study, demonstrating the extent to which the discourse of NPM permeates these institutions.

Corporate structures and the language of business

Two of the doctrinal components of NPM are the shift to disaggregated and corporatised units and an emphasis on output controls (Hood 1991, 465). Local governments in Australia and New Zealand are indeed composed of 'small management teams and function-based departments or business units' that deal with each other, in terms of council budgeting and resource allocation, on a user pays basis (Local Futures 2006, 19). Council units have to bid for limited term contracts and competitive funds for resources, including for in-house research and external consultancy services, for which they would typically have to 'prepare a business case' (CC5). At the councils where I spoke to research officers, even the research departments outsourced evaluation contracts and activities such as interviews or phone surveys (OC6; CC4), following the tenets of the purchaser-provider split and Victoria's compulsory competitive tendering (Van Gramberg and Teicher 2000, 480).

³⁸ Hood (1995) does, however, warn against generalising approaches to NPM, and encourages a more nuanced and pluralistic understanding of public management reform processes.

Several officers consequently described the structure of their organisation as resembling 'silos' within which individuals assumed distinct areas of responsibility (CC1; CC8; KBC2; OC4; OC6; see Appendix 3). While other divisions might be constituted by different tiers of policy and delivery roles, the arts units in the councils studied largely focused on service delivery. Although this may be seen to represent the councils' incomplete transition to managerialism (Van Gramberg and Teicher 2000, 488), their structures and discourses largely corresponded with NPM. The operational model of inputs (funding) and outputs (grants and productions) dominated officers' shared understanding that urban cultural policy was about delivering services. Although some officers were beginning to talk about results-based evaluation and accountability, they were generally struggling to make the shift from counting outputs to identifying outcomes. This is discussed further in the next section, which deals with attributes of 'new' governance; here it is worth noting that NPM discourse appeared firmly entrenched in officers' ways of working.

At least one officer at each council mentioned using external contractors or consultants, particularly for the purpose of programme evaluation, for which arts units typically lacked capacity or sought a seemingly impartial perspective. According to rational choice theory, which underpins NPM, bureaucrats are self-interested actors who will seek to maximise their budget (Dunleavy 1985). For this reason, councillors might be sceptical of any recommendation from staff to continue or expand a project that may require additional resources. Indeed, several officers suggested that a key advantage of appointing consultants was that elected representatives were more likely to follow their recommendations than those of council employees. Discussing her plans for using some 'arm's length' research on public art, the arts investment coordinator stated bluntly that, 'Council likes to hear what the views are from reputable firms rather than staff' (OC3). The cultural development coordinator at Kent Bay similarly suggested that she often uses consultants, because councillors 'don't really believe the council officers, but if you say, well actually somebody else said this, then it seems to carry more weight' (KBC1). These comments reveal some of the tensions between knowledge types and sources, particularly the role of technical expertise within political argumentation and a desire on the part of some councillors for objective knowledge. The perception of arts officers as biased and self-regarding also indicates the practice of appointing external consultants follows the market rather than the bureaucratic tradition of public governance.

When asked about their main area of responsibility, every arts officer interviewed at Oswald and Edmundton, and most officers at the other councils, described a key aspect of their role as 'managing' either a programme, process, staff or 'client relationships' (OC2). Officers often described local government or their role as 'business'. The term was most commonly used in relation to 'business planning' and 'business units', but also in a broader sense, as in the several times the cultural services manager at Kent Bay called a library building an 'asset' that her department uses 'to run our business' (KBC2). At Oswald, the arts investment coordinator explained why she did not publish a consultant's report: 'It takes a lot of effort to put material into the public domain and that's not my *core business*.' When asked how her department monitors progress towards its goals, she suggested, 'We measure ourselves in just the same as any other work environment' (OC3). A programme manager, referring to the strategic planning framework at Oswald, stated 'like any good *business sense*, our programmes do need to reflect what Council's goals are' (OC1; my emphasis). Another Oswald manager described 'the current model of local government' as 'fifty-two businesses doing different things' (OC4).

In contrast, there were only two instances in the interviews when any of the 26 officers used the term 'public sector', those who did were arts department managers talking about the context of their work (OC6; EC4). None of the council officers described their role explicitly as a 'bureaucrat' or 'civil servant', although two arts officers at Cordelia pronounced the environment in which they worked as bureaucratic, both using the term pejoratively (CC3; CC6). This 'silence' in the discourse (Yanow and Schwartz-Shea 2006, 123) suggests these officers saw their role as akin to a project manager or service provider in the private sector. Their professional identity aligned more with the market tradition of governance than the classic model of a Westminster bureaucracy.

Calculative practices

Following the market tradition, council departments regularly engaged in efficiency reviews and benchmarking exercises. Each case study council had recently conducted, or was planning, a review of cultural grant categories or criteria. Every cultural plan, along with Oswald's 24/7 City Policy, referred to reviewing several times in its discussion of how the council's goals would be met. Officers at Kent Bay used regional benchmarks of social and cultural infrastructure as evidence to demonstrate the need for new facilities (KBC1; KBC3), and the council collected data against a standardised set of benchmarks six months before and

after the opening of a new library facility (KBC2). Officers also used external benchmarks as rhetorically strong evidence in an internal review at Cordelia City Council. Comparing their structure and activities with those of similar departments in other councils, 'particularly in terms of human and financial resources, the arts and culture unit then put forward an argument to reduce the amount of delivery we had' (CC1).

At Oswald, the arts investment coordinator stated, 'The [arts] strategy sets the scene for us to evaluate and review, and there's a hell of a lot of it going on' (OC3; OAS). A major arts grant review began in 2009 with a benchmarking exercise undertaken by a consultant, which 'demonstrated that we're very costly at delivering some of our grant services, and to that end we embarked on an efficiency review of that program' (OC3). Another officer reiterated, 'We started benchmarking ourselves nationally and internationally, and what came out of that review was that the granting program was in desperate need of change' (OC1). That efficiency review was part of the City's 'continuous improvement' programme, which was based on 'Lean Thinking' and aimed to 'provide value to customers' by eliminating 'waste' in council processes (OCP). Stating that all of Cordelia City's 'business units' 'aim] to give good service to the customers, the business improvement advisor similarly described her role in service reviews as examining processes to 'see where the blockages are, where the waste is, and try and redesign that' (CC5). The corporate plans at Cordelia and Kent Bay also emphasised the importance of efficient customer service, corresponding with the market tradition and demonstrating the dominance of an economic discourse associated with NPM (CCP; KBOP). As I argue below and in other chapters, the rationalistic assumptions and economic knowledge involved in these comparative exercises can conflict with the values and practices of local cultural policy workers.

Reporting was another routine activity at these municipalities, occurring at regular intervals as part of the business planning framework. An officer described the structure and frequency of reporting at Oswald City Council:

The way that we manage our budget and the way that we manage our activities gets reported up through a system 'that's directly derived from this council plan. We do our reporting on a quarterly basis, our finance reporting is done through another process, and so our activities and our outputs, our outcomes in that sense as well, are tracked and linked to the council plan and the business plan that way. (OC5)

Services expected to contribute to Oswald's key strategic objectives, such as late night programme funding in relation to city safety, required monthly reporting: 'We've had to identify milestones and key targets that need to be met and that's what we'll be commenting on each month' (OC2). The measures in these reports were generally not part of genuine evaluation, according to the arts department manager, who suggested that officers typically perceived them 'as an additional layer of work that they view as a form of compliance, rather than a way of generating concepts and innovation around a program' (OC6). At both Cordelia and Edmundton, some managers also compiled monthly reports and some arts officers completed end-of-project reports on a regular basis. The plethora of measures and reports required by Edmundton City Council overwhelmed one officer:

Every six months we have something [to report], and then we also have different measures. I get all confused because I honestly feel like there are so many, that we're constantly reporting on different- quarterly reports, annual reports, providing information in different areas' (EC3)

These comments provide further evidence in support of Australian research that has found, rather than liberating public managers from bureaucratic structures and practices, State government-driven NPM reforms introduced a raft of time-consuming, business-like requirements with which local public managers must comply (Van Gramberg and Teicher 2000).

Performance measures often appeared in project reports and were a prominent feature of all the councils' corporate plans, while also appearing to varying degrees in cultural plans and other departmental documents. In Cordelia's cultural plan, the measures were fairly broad statements, such as, 'Exhibition space program ' delivered' (CACS), while the Kent Bay plan had more specific 'Key Performance Measures' such as the percentage of arts workers participating in professional development activities (KBCDPS). The business plan of the cultural development unit at Kent Bay also had a few key performance objectives [KPOs] linked to the council plan (KBC1), and the cultural services manager had KPOs as part of her contract, which were 'very high level, and target specific ' in terms of infrastructure ' for example, did I deliver this on time and on budget' (KBC2). Describing the monitoring and benchmarking activities at Kent Bay City Council, the manager said, 'We love stats, we love KPOs. It's about demonstrating Return on Investment' (KBC2). Her colleague concurred that the corporate planning division were 'really encouraging' council officers to develop 'good performance measures' (KBC3).

Performance measures are typically designed as incentive structures and mechanisms of control –at a distance– aiming to foster improvement and accountability, particularly in terms of efficiency. They limit the discretion of organisational actors by setting guidelines and targets for their actions. The introduction of indicators-based performance management in government can be seen to epitomise the supplanting of political rationality with technocratic rationality (Vestman and Conner 2008, 58). Various scholars have expressed concern that performance measures in the public sector misrepresent complex political processes and function as perverse incentives, for instance, by encouraging –conformance to standards at the expense of organizational learning– (Hartley and Skelcher 2008, 19; see also Lipsky 1980; Espeland 1997; Radin 2006; Van Gramberg and Teicher 2000).

Several officers interviewed in this study expressed the tension between the institutional requirement for clear and quantifiable outputs and the subjective and unpredictable nature of arts experiences. This was stated strongly by a cultural development officer, discussing challenges for arts programme evaluation in local government:

It’s a real juxtaposition of competing outcomes, because the –corporate beast– wants to see that you’ve had huge amounts of people involved in something and that they have all walked away happy, with exactly the same kind of experience. It’s all about numbers and quantity, whereas, I guess, as an arts and culture worker, if you know that you have reached 5, 10, 15 [or] 20 people with what you’re doing or what you’re presenting, and you’ve been able to impart a valuable experience for any one of those people, or you’ve been able to empower someone in some way, or enlighten them in some way, then that is what it’s all about. (CC1)

In a separate interview, her colleague summarised this view: –What will visitor numbers prove? We need a different way of thinking about valuing people’s experiences– (CC6).

Other researchers have also observed this tension in human services departments of local government (e.g. Tan et al. 2011) and in cultural policy more broadly (e.g. Holden 2004, 21). In their action research on the strategic importance of community arts in Australian local government, Mulligan and Smith (2010, 108) note the limitations of –purely quantitative– evaluation methods, stating that –a profound impact on individual people could have much more enduring benefit than a more ephemeral impact on a greater number of people–. The cultural development coordinator at Kent Bay also objected to the performance measures typically used in local government:

I have a problem with indicators, for the arts! How do you actually do indicators for, you know, developing capacity in the community, short of giving everybody a test? And to link that to the number of people who attend something, or something like that, I mean, that's what we'll do. But I actually think that's bullshit, myself. But I just have to put that aside and do what's supposed to be done. (KBC1)

Despite their resistance to performance measurement, these urban cultural policy workers generally accepted that they had to comply with organisational requirements regarding reporting and indicators, ultimately demonstrating their adoption of practices in accordance with both the bureaucratic and market traditions of public sector governance.

All officers had professional or performance development reviews (PDR), which aligned with council plans and outcomes. Once a year, each officer met with her line manager to assess her performance against role-specific key performance indicators, the department's business plan and/or the council's overarching principles [like] 360 degree trust (KBC1). These reviews represented an opportunity to identify achievements and track progress towards specific targets (EC5; OC5). According to Oswald's council plan, individual performance plans 'ensure that tasks are completed, and that employees have the skills and access to organisational resources to deliver what is required' (OCP).

Some officers saw the PDR as a generic tool that failed to reflect the range of activities in which they engaged (CC1, CC3), or as a compliance activity, which largely involved cutting and pasting into a corporate template (OC1). Oswald's cultural development manager nonetheless suggested the PDR could be an enjoyable, collaborative and useful exercise in reflective practice:

I couldn't do my job without my PDR, because how do you get a sense of how, if you're achieving. How do you get a sense of [whether] your notions of success align with council's ideas of success? It's all about synergy around priorities and I think it's the chance to actually down tools and talk. So I like the PDR process, not because I get rated, not because it gives me a bonus or anything like that. It's that I can actually unpack and [take] a helicopter view of my program and have my manager take on it. We can have philosophical discussions. (OC1)

The PDR process can thus exemplify both creative reflection and organisational compliance in action, even if not all officers experienced it in this way. The principles of creativity, reflexivity and collaboration are more commonly associated with new models of networked

governance than the market tradition. I explore these principles and related practices of outcome evaluation, advocacy and strategic planning in the following section.

The discussion above of performance measurement and management, reporting and benchmarking, business and competition illustrates the strength of the market tradition in these councils. Officers predominantly framed their role as service providers operating in a business context, particularly at Oswald and to a lesser but still significant extent at the other councils. Each council displayed the generic structures and processes of NPM, such as quarterly reporting against business plans and annual performance development reviews for individual officers. In a similar manner to the frustration of some with the council's website and social media protocols, certain arts officers expressed their resistance to institutionalised performance measures. Nonetheless, these market-like techniques and discourses were recognised as inevitable features of the local government landscape.

Networks: the new governance tradition

The ascension of neoliberal rationality in the 1980s and 90s challenged and arguably devalued public services by favouring market solutions. In the twenty-first century, however, in the words of Jean Hartley and Chris Skelcher (2008, 465), a 'more refined version of neoliberalism recognizes the role of government and public services in creating stable social and economic conditions, but in a new coalition with business and civil society actors.' In theory, this 'more refined version' of neoliberal governance extends its devolution of authority to networks, partnerships and citizens (Leonard and Memon 2008; Bevir 2009, 8612; Ryan 2011, 90). This requires a shift from competitive tendering to community-like relationships based on long-term cooperation and mutual trust (Bever 2009, 14; Ryan 2011, 91; Walker 2004), in order to redress the shortcomings of traditional channels of representative democracy and the legacy of NPM (Leonard and Memon 2008, 112; Thomas and Memon 2007). The recently revoked provisions for community planning in New Zealand and Queensland's local government legislation embodied these principles. This second stage of the so-called shift to governance, which has ties with Third Way politics, is sometimes distinguished by the labels 'joined-up government', 'whole-of-government', 'agile', 'networked', 'new governance' or 'community governance'.

I use the label 'new governance' as an umbrella term for developments in the 'network tradition'. This diverges from Bevir's (2009, 469) use of the term 'new governance' to incorporate both the market and network traditions of the 'shift to governance'. Although I do not wish to describe the market tradition, which became prominent in the 1980s, as 'new,' the characteristics of the network tradition have not appeared all of a sudden in the past decade either. As Hal Colebatch (2009) reminds us, the 'rise of governance' refers as much to the embrace of an analytical concept as the emergence of a new practice of governing. For instance, although policy networks were not of great interest to academics until the 1990s, they emerged as an organisational form in the US in the 1970s, and 'prescient scholars' began to note the movement toward networks under the Reagan administration in the early 1980s (Isett et al. 2011, 159).

What is new, therefore, is the way in which researchers are studying and explaining policy and government. The emphasis has shifted away from hierarchical forms of control to more diffuse notions of power and relational approaches, in line with governmentality theory and IPA, which tend to emphasise contingency, plurality and the contextual significance of meanings (see Chapter Four). Scholars' and practitioners' increased recognition of the complexity of policy issues is demonstrated in the now commonplace acknowledgement of 'wicked problems' (Rittel and Webber 1973), which cannot be adequately addressed by one agency or one form of knowledge alone, but require innovative, flexible and 'joined-up' approaches (see, e.g., Innes and Booher 2000; APSC 2007; Isett et al. 2011; Walker 2004). As well as recognising multiple 'ways of knowing' (Hess and Adams 2002; Lejano and Ingram 2009), scholarship on new governance typically draws on systems thinking and organisational sociology to acknowledge 'the increasingly fragmented and uncertain nature of public management in the twenty-first century' (Osborne 2006, 382).

The shift to outcomes

Characteristic of the shift to new governance is the expansion in interest from measuring performance based on output indicators to evaluating outcomes (Ryan 2006, 39; 2011, 97; Tan et al. 2011). Formal systems of outcome evaluation are fairly new in local government, but build on existing reporting and monitoring practices associated with the other two traditions of governance. They represent an extension of, rather than a disjuncture from, NPM (Radin 2006). The cultural and council plans I examined all contained descriptions and

measures of outcomes, and officers at each council spoke of the 'shift to outcomes' occurring within their organisation.

The 'shift to outcomes' was most evident in Oswald and Cordelia City Council's adoption of a results accountability framework (see Chapter Seven) and the references in Edmundton plans to community outcomes under the 'four well-beings' mandate of the Local Government Act. Edmundton's new public art policy and online community grants system provided a structured means of garnering outcome-related information at both the application and acquittal stages of public art projects and cultural grants. Recent efforts to evaluate the impacts or results of Oswald's plans and programmes included the sub-contracted development of a monitoring and evaluation framework for late night programming, the exploration of cultural indicators by the arts and culture department, and the construction of 'creative city' indicators for monitoring and reporting on the long-term community plan. The officer in charge of the community plan indicators noted:

There is a lot of interest at [Oswald] in measuring outcomes.... It's no longer good enough to say, 'We put this much in and we got this much out as an output'. The next question is 'What effect did that have?' (OC5)

At Cordelia City Council, the arts and culture manager similarly stated, 'Progress towards identified outcomes is obviously one way that [we ask]: 'Are we getting there? Are we actually delivering what we said we were going to deliver?' (CC2).

At the time of research, there appeared to have been more talk than action in relation to outcome measures at any of these institutions. While there were outcome indicators in Edmundton's long term plan (ELTP), for instance, the former arts manager said, 'The council's monitoring is, in my opinion, more monitoring for management purposes, rather than reporting on impact or outcomes' (EC4). Edmundton's regular monthly and quarterly reports contained indicators such as 'occupancy rates at the arts centre, number of projects undertaken, number of people attending, ' [which] might give you some indication of value, like value for money, but, the manager suggested, did not offer strategic information about outcomes: 'They're just output measures' (EC4).

Meanwhile, Kent Bay City Council had begun developing a community wellbeing strategy with outcome indicators, yet these could not be populated: 'Many of the outcomes for the community wellbeing strategy would rely on a community survey, a perception-based one,

and we don't currently do that at the council (KBC3). Although a survey was proposed as part of the community wellbeing strategy, the executive managers decided in late 2012 that there was not the political appetite to progress the strategy, following the election of new councillors who were very focused on the economic development of the city (KBC3a). This suggests a return to the market tradition at Kent Bay, corresponding with the most recent changes to the Queensland Local Government Act.

Integrated and strategic approaches to service delivery and planning

Council officers may have been accustomed to performance measurement, but the shift to outcomes was challenging, particularly for those in arts or cultural development units. Other scholars have similarly observed the challenge that outcome measurement poses for policy workers (Radin 2006, 263; Tan et al. 2011). As the research officer at Oswald put it, local government officers are really good at measuring those outputs, they're easy to do, and we do it well. She suggested, however, it's not uncommon that lots of areas within council will find it a little harder to think about, 'How do we measure that outcome?' (OC5). Some interviewees used the terms 'output' and 'outcome' interchangeably, supporting the observation by an officer more experienced with research and evaluation frameworks: 'Whether or not people are understanding what an outcome *is* is another question' (OC7). Another Oswald officer similarly commented: 'Most people don't understand the difference between a KPI and a population indicator. A big barrier is language. We need a common language and an organisational culture interested in measuring outcomes' (OC4).

Some officers also referred to the 'attribution problem' (OC7) and the challenge of 'matching the objectives with measurable outcomes' (CC2). As Kent Bay's community planner expressed, discussing the draft community wellbeing strategy, 'The hard thing is that the outcomes in many cases are going to be influenced by many other factors. They're not purely council outcomes, but the actions are' (KBC3). The interest in, and challenge of, identifying results was connected with the recognition that one programme, one policy or one department was not the only attributing factor in any outcome.

Not only were policy workers recognising the role that other agencies played in influencing outcomes, but they were actively working with others to achieve shared goals. 'Joined-up' and adaptive approaches appeared to be infiltrating these municipalities from both the top down and the bottom up. An awareness of context and desire to respond appropriately to it

featured strongly in documents such as the Oswald Arts Strategy, which stated that regular reviews would respond to socio-cultural, environmental and artistic change. Similarly, the 24/7 City Policy stipulated a lot of reviewing and monitoring of context and policy impacts. It stated, for instance, that data on trends and perceptions of safety would be used to monitor changes to the late night environment, including 'cultural shifts' (O24CP). The market practice of reviewing and the rhetoric of evidence-based policy are thus reoriented in the network tradition. The 24/7 City Policy also offered a prime example of the rhetoric of a 'whole-of-government' and 'networked' approach, through its vision to guide the City's wide-ranging responsibilities by drawing on 'the skills and resources' of a variety of groups, including businesses, government departments and enforcement agencies (O24CP).

The need for flexibility and strategic coalition-building is not new to local government. These can be seen as necessary conditions of the dynamic political environment in which local bureaucrats work, perhaps exacerbated by the increasingly fast pace of change in wider society. Several officers suggested that the changing priorities of councillors and senior managers made it a volatile working environment. Some programmes were described as existing 'at the whim of a CEO' (OC4) or simply 'vulnerable' as one Cordelia officer put it, 'At any moment council could stop funding the gallery' (CC6). Another officer said, 'That challenge is always there ó next year we're getting a new council and there's nothing to say that they will have the same priorities. That's the local government framework in which we operate' (OC2). Kent Bay's community planner revealed, 'As I suppose all government agencies are, we're directed by political things and they can change quite quickly' (KBC3). She later added, 'As an employee in a political organisation you do get used to your work sometimes being derailed due to changes in the political landscape' (KBC3a). The library and cultural centre development, in particular, was 'a long project for council, because the budget has shifted in terms of political priorities that the councillors determine at the time' (KBC2). As a result of this dynamic political environment, officers needed 'a great deal of political acumen í [and] to be quite strategic' (OC6). This observation was particularly acute at Oswald in the case of late night cultural activation, since city safety was 'an election issue' (OC7), and in relation to cultural policy more generally, 'because the arts is a disposable item' within local government (OC6).

Similar issues were raised in my New Zealand interviews, especially as my fieldwork coincided with the final parliamentary reading of the Local Government Act 2002

Amendment Bill 2012, which removed all mentions of 'cultural well-being' and at the same time, a restructure of Edmundton City Council was about to relocate the arts unit from the human services directorate to economic development. The arts team was more worried about this restructure than the legislative change, according to the former manager, who acknowledged the 'potential risk' that all cultural policy at the council would have to be justified in economic terms (EC4). She suggested nonetheless that Edmundton's thirty-year plan was 'at its heart, really an economic development strategy,' so council officers were already using economic arguments about art's potential to 'attract talented people' to the city (EC4). As in Kent Bay, this suggests that the market tradition had re-emerged as the preeminent discourse of urban cultural policy in Edmundton. Discussing such discursive and political shifts, the Kent Bay cultural development coordinator said, 'One of the things that I find most difficult about working in council is that every three or four years I have to go back and make those arguments again: 'Why are we involved in the arts?'' (KBC1). Such comments highlighted the contingency of urban cultural policy and the need for flexible and strategic approaches in this complex, shifting environment.

Encouraged and in some cases required by state legislation, council officers considered their work within a broader institutional and societal context through integrated strategic planning frameworks. Most explicit at Oswald, these local authorities all exhibited an 'Integrated Planning Framework' which aligned strategic and operational plans and focused on broad, sustainable outcomes (OCP). They also had a long-term community plan, except for Cordelia, although one was scheduled to be developed there the following year (CC5). In Queensland and New Zealand, the respective Local Government Act required councils to develop a long-term plan that described the local authority's activities and goals over a period of at least ten years. Both Kent Bay and Edmundton councils met this requirement, and Edmundton additionally developed a thirty-year plan. Oswald also went beyond its statutory requirements in developing a long-term community plan, as well as the requisite four-year council plan. These councils consulted community members and organisations extensively in the development of their community plans, which were then used as the basis for their one- to five-year council plans, as required by state legislation, which in turn informed their annual operational plans and service unit plans.

The arts and culture manager at Cordelia explained the linkages between the unit plans and broader council strategies, which were also noted in the cultural plan (CACS):

The service unit plan is built on that [arts and culture] strategy, and that strategy relates to the council action plan, and a range of other strategies and plans intersect: the health and wellbeing plan, reconciliation plan, multicultural policy. Those sorts of things feed into and intersect with the arts and culture strategy. (CC2)

Although she was comfortable referring to these plans and a couple of other broader cross-functional strategies, such as the land use plan (CC2), this quote recalls those of officers who were slightly overwhelmed by the number of plans and policies they had to follow (EC3; CC3). These comments also suggest a layering of new governance characteristics on the bureaucratic and market traditions. Strategic management can be criticised for its overly rational and programmatic orientation, top-down control, self-discipline and the freezing of goals (Levy, Alvesson, and Willmott 2003, 105-106), thus representing an instrumental approach that contradicts some of the principles of new governance.

Partnerships, collaboration and productive relationships

Every cultural plan in this study, as well as Oswald's 24/7 City Policy, contained references to partnerships, identified as important vehicles for achieving strategic objectives. According to Bill Ryan (2011, 95), partnership is the community-like equivalent of contracting out under NPM, although key differences are that, ideally, in a partnership: Power is shared and negotiated; trust and reciprocity are critical; and there is recognition that each party brings something explicit and valuable to the relationship, especially knowledge and resources, such that it benefits all involved. Partnerships were a central feature of each of the case study projects. In the late night cultural activation programmes at Oswald and the Kent Bay library and cultural centre development, internal partnerships between two to three council units drove the project. External partnerships were particularly important in the other two case studies. For Edmundton's street mural, the Ministry of Justice provided funding and a youth organisation acted as project coordinator. Finally, Cordelia City's public art exhibition, which was evaluated by a project team including arts and research officers and student volunteers, also had external partners including a local tertiary institution and transport agencies.

Council officers willingly engaged in constructive dialogue and collaborative practices, not only with their team, but also with other departments and occasionally with external networks and agencies. Every officer interviewed described liaising and engaging with other council departments as a significant part of their role. For instance, when asked which areas of council her team worked with regularly, the arts manager at Oswald quickly described

projects and connections with seven other council divisions, before concluding that the arts and culture department was 'quite a collaborative branch' (OC6). The cultural development officer at Cordelia also said that, in contrast with 'many units and departments' in local government, who 'work in these little silos, with events and arts you cross such a gamut of skill-sets and knowledge bases,' and that their arts and culture unit was beginning to collaborate with other departments a lot more (CC1). A commitment to 'continuing to collaborate' with various council departments was one way in which the Kent Bay cultural plan asserted it could achieve its goals (KBCDPS). The cultural development coordinator confirmed that her team worked 'closely with a lot of the cultural organisations and community organisations [in Kent Bay] and the universities.' (KBC1). The rhetoric of collaboration and partnership was not as strong at Edmundton City Council, but the case study project, as described above and below, involved strong internal and external relationships.

Oswald's participatory arts project 'At Night' and Edmundton's street mural programme both came about through a productive working relationship between officers in the arts and safety branches. At Edmundton, the council had a surplus from a Ministry of Justice graffiti removal project, and informal conversations between the arts manager and safety manager led to them requesting a variation to the Ministry contract so that the remaining funding could be used for 'some mural projects' [in] hot spots in the city (EC6). The street mural programme aligned with Edmundton City Council's priorities in the lead up to the 2011 Rugby World Cup, 'to clean up the city, and get rid of the graffiti in the CBD' (EC6). The former arts manager described some additional reasons for embarking on this programme from her team's perspective (EC4). Firstly, consultations around the Arts and Culture Strategy resulted in requests from the Pacific community for more public art that reflected their culture, particularly projects involving young people. Secondly, council officers were aware of a problematic site near their workplace, where 'an old mural' was tagged and looking really 'shitty' (EC4). Thirdly, arts officers knew of a potential partner in the form of a community organisation that was already working on street art projects with young people. Fourthly, through conversations with the safety manager, the arts manager was aware of the city's 'big tagging problem,' and her team had organised for a council consultation with street artists, who helped to clarify distinctions between tagging or graffiti and urban art (EC4; EYW). All these factors combined to allow the arts and safety units to take a joint approach, gaining permission from the Ministry of Justice to divert \$55,000 towards street art projects, then

engaging in external partnerships with community and youth organisations to deliver a series of murals around the city in 2011 and 2012.

At Oswald, the safety officers responsible for the 24/7 City Policy had decided that it was important to have an ongoing relationship with branches who could impact change (OC7). Arts and culture was one of four units identified as a potential partner for a cross-department initiative. Meanwhile, the cultural development manager had become concerned about media representations of night-time violence in the city, which spurred her to contemplate a relevant project and begin having a conversation with the officer in charge of the 24/7 City Policy (OC1). That conversation led to the pair developing a brief based on a former artist-in-residence programme. Following the assessment of eight expressions of interest, and a lengthy period of contract negotiation, a trio of artists began exploring a central city site in Oswald from December 2010, before performing a series of live art works at a busy intersection there in early 2011.

Once this arts project was complete, internal dialogue about the site continued at the council. The cultural development manager presented the findings of the At Night project to internal and external stakeholders in September 2011. As at Edmondton, the attitudes and actions of the council officers demonstrate aspects of new governance, notably that policy workers in this tradition are less motivated by rules and less defined by supervision than their peers in other modes of governance:

Instead, they are attentive to the means available to win cooperation from others, more interested in building trust, and more likely to see success as a result of joint action. In place of fixed organizational boundaries and roles, the system promotes *a new rationality* based on the creation of a shared organizational culture. (Considine and Lewis 2003, 134; emphasis added)

New governance does not only involve shifts in rhetoric and practice, but entails a new way of thinking about the role and programmes of local government.

Representing a creative approach to a complex issue, the participatory arts project At Night effectively operationalised the aim in Oswald City's plan to involve creative thinkers in council decision-making processes (OCP). Its cultural plan accordingly set forth the specific goal of collaborating with creative practitioners in order to incorporate arts perspectives and critical debate into significant design projects (OAS). Artists were not normally invited to

participate in council planning processes, so 'At Night' exemplified how this strategy could be achieved in practice, by using artists as researchers to 'broaden our perspectives' (OC1). Although the 'process-driven project' was full of challenges, it influenced the dialogue between council departments about the site redevelopment, particularly by drawing attention to the aesthetics of the site 'the traction happening around the imagery that the artists created from the site, the beauty that's already there' and suggesting that 'to sanitise the place isn't the right thing to do' (OC1). Officers from outside the arts unit also saw the value of the artists' insights and representations:

The best part about having artists do research, if you could call it that, is that they have less of a narrow focus. 'so they told us things like 'It was such a disorganised chaotic space that it felt a bit like a vortex. Having artists explain emotions and feelings fairly succinctly and coherently, although somewhat abstractedly, does allow a different interpretation, which researchers can't provide. (OC7)

The councils' relationship with the artists in some of the case study projects was challenging, but officers were reluctant to discuss such issues for this research, preferring to focus on the positive outcomes of the programmes.

The importance of relationships was a strong theme that emerged from my primary source analysis. In response to the question 'How do you know if you are doing a good job?' every arts and culture officer at Cordelia City Council, and several others, said this involved gauging how their relationships were faring. Each identified key relationships with colleagues, community groups, artists or other organisations. Individual responses included: 'Whether I have a sense of personal fulfilment, if I'm developing good relationships with artists, curators and other external organisations' (CC6); and, 'A big part of our job is based on good relationships and good networks' (EC5). The arts manager at Oswald also stated, without prompting, that to work in urban cultural policy, 'You need to be very good at your relationships' (OC6).

As the arts manager at Edmundton said, 'Whether you do well in relationships' is important albeit difficult to monitor and evaluate (EC5). Many of the officers nonetheless identified 'interpersonal feedback' (CC2) as a means to determine how well their professional relationships were functioning and whether they were doing a satisfactory job. According to an officer at Cordelia, 'You can gauge it on the relationships that you're building within the

community, by the way people respond to invitations extended to them to participate or be involved in something (CC1). An arts advisor at Edmundton similarly said:

Personally, I would judge it mostly on people's experiences and feedback, and the reports that I get back from the artists or the organisations that we might work with, or the fact that someone wants to work with us again. (EC3)

The gallery manager at Cordelia listed the following signs of a good relationship, when asked how she could tell if she was effective in her role: "An element of trust is developed; there's an opportunity to listen, to provide advice or guidance, to think about things from a different perspective" (CC6). Two of the four cultural plans also emphasised the importance of building strong relationships and networks across council directorates and with the arts community (KBCDPS; CACS).

Although cultural policy and arts administration are rarely mentioned in the governance literature, agility and collaboration are particularly relevant in the context of dynamic, adaptive and participatory creative activities. This is the argument put forth by Meg O'Shea (2011), who suggests that manifestations of creativity can increase the strategic capacity of government agencies to recognise and pursue innovation, particularly by increasing the diversity of inputs into the policy sphere, while also engaging and empowering citizens. Such characteristics of the network tradition were on display in these case studies, particularly in the joint approach to the design and delivery of Oswald's "At Night" project and Edmundton's street mural programme.

These collaborative and creative practices of urban cultural policy require more ways of knowing than the narrowly rationalistic forms of knowledge associated with the bureaucratic and market traditions of public sector governance. In contrast to the procedural knowledge of bureaucracy and the economic knowledge of the market; professional experience, interpersonal skills and a constructivist understanding of knowledge are paramount in the network tradition, exemplified in policy workers' use of stories rather than numbers to communicate (Hess and Adams 2005; Rhodes and Bevir 2006). Numbers, and the traditions they are associated with, have not disappeared, however, and some of the new governance features depicted above were layered onto bureaucratic or market structures and practices. The common interest in outcome measurement at the councils studied, even if officers struggled to implement these frameworks and assess the impacts of their work, signalled a

rhetorical shift from outputs to outcomes, exemplary in the distinction between the market and network traditions of public sector governance.

Conclusion: the urban cultural governance medley

Many of the practices described above can be read as an interplay of governance styles. Efficiency reviews aided by external consultants indicate that NPM retains strength in local government. At the same time, the common practice of reviewing can represent an ethic of adaptability and responsiveness to change, which conforms more with principles of new governance. Occasionally, this practice facilitated reflection by individual agents, such as the cultural development manager who embraced the PDR process as a space for dialogue and -dreamingø(OC1). Strategic planning fits the logic of control within both traditional Westminster and marketised bureaucracies, as well as the long-term, integrated approach of new governance. Table 2 adds the key findings from this chapter to the simplified representation of the complex array of governing practices presented earlier. There are, of course, overlaps in these -ideal typeøcategories, and their interpretation depends on the context, but this taxonomy identifies some of the competing and complementary roles, knowledge types and practices that converge in contemporary urban cultural policy.

The different origins of the examples in table 2 have methodological and theoretical significance. The characteristics of Westminster bureaucracy and NPM relate mostly to the broader institutional structure and norms, whereas the descriptions of collaborative and creative practice largely emerged from interview responses about the participatory arts and street mural projects. Rather than indicating that programmes such as -At Nightøare anomalous cases, I argue, it illustrates that attention to programmatic enactments and the everyday practice of council officers can reveal characteristics of new governance that are rarely evident in an analysis of high-level structures or plans. Other researchers also suggest that arts and culture processes (OøShea 2011) and local government practices, in New Zealand at least (Leonard and Memon 2008; Ryan 2011, 110), may offer lessons for policy-makers and analysts interested in contemporary approaches to governance and public administration. Further research is required, particularly at the level of programmes and practices, to furnish a more complex and fine-grained picture than is commonly found in cultural policy studies, local government and public administration literature.

Table 2. The urban cultural governance medley

Tradition	Caricature	Role of council	Preferred type of knowledge	Features	Examples
Westminster bureaucracy	<i>Bureaucracy:</i> control and compliance	Regulator Funder Commissioner	Legal/ procedural	Neutral bureaucracy Hierarchical structure Functional divisions	Arm's length funding Council protocols Hierarchical direction Organisational chart
New Public Management	<i>Market:</i> calculation and competition	Service provider Project manager Reviewer	Economic, quantitative	Market provision of services Management techniques Audit culture	Language of business Silos Efficiency reviews Reporting and performance indicators
New governance	<i>Network:</i> collaboration and creativity	Facilitator Broker Co-producer Advocate	Social-communicative/ relational	Joined-up government Long-term integrated planning Outcome focus Networks and partnerships	Cross-department initiatives Strategic plans Outcome indicator development Collaborative and creative relational practice

Describing urban cultural governance as a medley enables us to see it as a mixture of theories and practices. Cultural policy in these cases involved the simultaneous deployment of various ideas and techniques; officers were not just playing one piece of music in a particular historical tradition. Council officers in this way are a collaborative and competitive ensemble, some of whom are better at particular songs or instruments than others, while a rare few master each tradition. Although their creativity can enhance certain projects, officers are usually required to comply with standard practice and play the same tune as their colleagues. Certain practices are more appropriate in particular contexts than others, and officers need to use their judgement to determine when, for instance, they should comply with conventional reporting practices rather than take a more innovative approach.

The analysis of texts and practices as a medley of overlapping traditions also serves as a useful reminder that neither the policy process nor the traditions of governance are linear or singular. Rather, it supports Skelcher's (2008, 37) claim that 'a number of governance forms are organizational hybrids with constituent elements that interact in varying ways, making them difficult to model in a generalised form. Questions about 'the best form of

governance can therefore only be answered by understanding the predominant discourse applying in a particular context (Skelcher 2008, 43). This is one reason why interpretive research is a valuable form of policy analysis, and it also helps to explain why the following chapter's exploration of urban cultural policy frames is needed before a critical analysis of evaluative practice can be conducted, or any recommendations made.

Finally, this case study analysis suggests that urban cultural governance is a challenging environment in which to work. At these sites, policy workers required an array of skills and the ability to engage different types of knowledge in order to navigate competing expectations and requirements in their pursuit of broad outcomes. While both the bureaucracy and market traditions are characterised by a singular and positivist mode of technical rationality, new governance involves multiple forms of contingent, socially constructed knowledge. I explore the implications of these different knowledge types in urban cultural policy with regard to evaluation practices in Chapter Seven. Recognising this complex layering of traditions provides further evidence of the need for contemporary policy workers to deploy different types of knowledge and interdisciplinary thinking (Tenbensen 2006; Landry 2012; O'Shea 2011). The requisite combination of political values, social understanding and technical expertise can be summed up as 'practical knowledge' (Fischer 2009, 7; see also Forester 1993). As I argue in Chapter Four and demonstrate throughout the thesis, recognising multiplicity within discourses and practices of government is one of the advantages offered by an interpretive approach to policy analysis.

Chapter Six: Framing the Goals and Values of Urban Cultural Policy

Drawing on the theoretical concepts and data analysis methods I have set forth, in Chapter Six I introduce an innovative approach and multidimensional typology for understanding specific instances of cultural policy. While traditions function as an ordering device in Chapter Five, in this chapter I use frames to identify and analyse the particular goals, problematisations and understandings of culture that underlie each case study programme. This chapter demonstrates the value of critical frame analysis for delineating significant discourses of urban cultural policy.

Frames provide an interpretive schema for integrating facts, values, theories and interests (Rein and Schön 1993, 145). Here, I focus on one *meta-frame* and six *issue frames*, all of which are abstract synthetic constructs that diagnose policy problems and either implicitly or explicitly suggest their solutions (Dombos 2012, 5). I constructed the frames iteratively by analysing the discourse of officers working on the case study programmes and the key policy texts listed in Appendix 1, and by drawing on relevant concepts in existing literature. Although I introduced the concept of community wellbeing early in this study, it was not until I had conducted this frame-reflective analysis that I could describe it as a *meta-frame* of urban cultural policy in Australian and New Zealand local government. I additionally developed six issue frames to understand the four urban cultural policy case studies: quality art, community strengthening, safety, the creative city, creative place-making and cultural wellbeing. Before exploring each issue frame in this chapter, I discuss the multiple meanings of the meta-frame of community wellbeing in the context of the case studies. I conclude the chapter by reflecting on the significance of this methodology and typology, considering its potential applications in urban cultural policy analysis and evaluation.

To analyse frames in this way is to recognise the multiple aspirations and various ways of knowing within the urban cultural policy community. Each frame reflects a particular epistemological and normative perspective. These mentalities are formed by assemblages of values, expertise and practical (often tacit) knowledge (Dean 1999, 34). Frames have academic implications in terms of the theories and methods they invoke, and political and practical implications in the types of problems and solutions they represent. Highlighting the

dominant forms of knowledge and conceptualisations of cultural value in the selected cases, the urban cultural policy frames I identify are configurations of governmental rationality. By establishing the salience of particular frames and connections between them, I extrapolate some significant characteristics of contemporary urban cultural policy in Australia and New Zealand. The integrative frames of the creative city, cultural wellbeing and creative place-making allow for multiple ways of knowing and acting, partly by obscuring contradictions and conflicts. Underpinning these approaches to urban cultural policy is a perceived lack of community wellbeing in the city, and an assumption that arts-led projects might help to address this problem.

The meta-frame of community wellbeing

Informed by academic literature as well as my own empirical research, I argue that community wellbeing is a meta-frame of Australian and New Zealand local government and urban cultural policy. As a meta-frame, community wellbeing is an overarching frame that stretches across various policy issues and has a normative foundation (Dombos 2012, 6).

Other local government scholars similarly suggest that community wellbeing is a fundamental goal of municipalities in New Zealand and Australia, even when it is not stated as such in the relevant Local Government Act (Bush 1995; Johnson and O'Connor 2006; Marshall 1997; Walker and Gray 2012).

Community wellbeing is a particularly relevant frame to unite the approaches of scholars and practitioners to understanding and measuring urban cultural policy in local government. Case study research on arts indicators in Victorian municipalities by Johanson et al. (forthcoming, 21) reveals that arts and culture officers hold a strong commitment to and belief in the nexus between local government, participative arts activity and well-being for local residents. In addition, the framework proposed by the UTS (2000, 18) benchmarking project uses a quality of life model to link arts and cultural development activities to broader community purposes, and to suggest areas of measurement for evaluating their contribution. The eight domains it incorporates can be seen as dimensions of community wellbeing: economic vitality, a sense of place, cultural activities, quality housing stock, access to amenities and facilities, safety and security, community networks and environmental sustainability (UTS 2000, 18). In this context, community wellbeing is broadly synonymous with quality of life.

Through the thematic analysis of key texts, I coded the frame of community wellbeing in policy documents and interview transcripts from each council. I observed that officers were fairly comfortable with the concept, even though some found it difficult to define precisely. Nonetheless, some distinct meanings emerged, according to individual officers' perspectives, council policies, the legislative context and common understandings of the term. On the whole, in the primary source material, community wellbeing denotes a healthy and socially connected community, within which individuals feel safe and able to participate meaningfully. Some participants drew connections between community wellbeing and community planning, health or individual choice. At all councils, the idea of community wellbeing was considered a fundamental goal of local government, and conceived of as a holistic concept, corresponding with multidimensional approaches to sustainable development and the social determinants of health. Throughout the primary texts, it was mentioned or described in relation to a dominant issue frame, indicating its connection with the rationality of that council's interventions in the cultural life of the community. This section provides an overview of the relevance and meanings of community wellbeing in the case study contexts. The relationships between the meta-frame and issue frames are then explored in each section that follows.

Unlike most of the frames in this chapter, I prompted participants to discuss community wellbeing, explicitly asking each person I interviewed, 'In your job, do you ever need to take into account the idea of community wellbeing?' All officers except one replied in the affirmative. Cordelia's gallery manager was the only officer to say, 'No. I don't see it as my role' (CC6). As I discuss below, she later suggested the concept of community wellbeing nonetheless had some significance in her work. Officers in various positions in each institutional structure expressed the view that community wellbeing was the fundamental goal of local government, with comments such as:

'Well, it actually underpins the reason why council is involved in cultural development in the first place.' (KBC1)

'Yeah, definitely. That's an overall goal of council.' (CC7)

'Always. That's what we're here for.' (EC5)

'Yes, absolutely.... [in] anything that we do.' (OC3)

Numerous council plans and strategies explicitly identified arts programmes and cultural infrastructure as contributors to 'community wellbeing' or 'quality of life' (KBBCP; KBBCDPS; EACS; ECS; E30P; CACS; OCP).

At Edmundton and Kent Bay, officers discussed community wellbeing in ways that largely aligned with the framework of their respective Local Government Act. Some officers described community wellbeing in terms of a participatory or community planning approach, particularly the idea that the role of local government is to empower and facilitate residents to participate in community life (EC1; KBC1; KBC2). This reflects the original intentions of New Zealand's Local Government Act 2002 (Brosnan and Cheyne 2010), which had inspired Queensland's Local Government Act 2008 (KBC3). Although the concept of community wellbeing and its four dimensions were framed in the Local Government Act 2002 as 'a sustainable development approach', the officers and texts did not make explicit connections between community wellbeing and sustainable development. The only exception was the officer at Kent Bay who had worked in community planning in both countries (KBC3).

Officers at Edmundton City nonetheless shared a common understanding of community wellbeing as an aggregate concept bringing together the 'four well-beings' named in the Act: social, cultural, environmental and economic wellbeing. This could make it difficult to assign any specific meaning to the notion of community wellbeing. As the former manager of Edmundton's arts unit said, 'I haven't really latched on to a concept of community wellbeing, but I would assume that it's the culmination of the four other well-beings' (EC4). The current manager similarly described 'cultural wellbeing and social wellbeing and economic wellbeing, [as] part of the big community wellbeing' (EC5). Community wellbeing was not discussed once in terms of sustainable development or community planning in the Victorian case studies, where the Local Government Act did not contain these discourses.

The connection between health and community wellbeing was strongest at Cordelia City Council. This can also be partly attributed to the legislative context. In accordance with Victoria's Public Health and Wellbeing Act 2008, officers at Cordelia acknowledged the contributions made by arts and culture to community wellbeing by incorporating relevant strategies and measures into the public health plan and related reports (CC2). Several officers at Cordelia who recognised the importance of community wellbeing defined the concept with reference to health (CC3; CC7; CC8), and these ideas were sometimes conflated by officers at other councils too. The idea that 'wellbeing is first and foremost a health issue to be dealt with by health professionals' is a fairly common perception (Aked, Michaelson, and Steuer 2010, 6).

The statutory requirements around public health were not as prominent in source material from the other Victorian council, although some officers at Oswald drew on their professional experience and institutional knowledge to discuss the relationship between health and wellbeing. The research officer suggested that community wellbeing refers to 'that state of physical and mental wellness in the community, and as a general rule it's the people in that community services division who look after that sort of thing' (OC5; see Figure 5, Appendix 3). When asked about community wellbeing, Oswald's cultural development manager described her experience working in arts and health settings, specifically recalling a group of young people 'who were suicidal and struggling with their sexuality, but found solace in a theatre group: 'It was the only three hours a week they could take off the several masks they would wear, which was a very heavy burden, so, you know, I do think that [arts participation] has the power to keep you alive' (OC1). The connections between health, culture and community wellbeing were particularly prominent in the context of the creative place-making, cultural wellbeing and safety frames, as demonstrated in the following sections.

Only At Kent Bay was the relationship between community wellbeing, arts access and cultural participation framed in terms of individual choice. The cultural development coordinator stated:

I actually think that community wellbeing comes from choice. From being able to do what you want to do. So you're not limited by transport, financial constraints, physical constraints, distance constraints, all those sorts of things. (KBC1)

Her manager also suggested that community wellbeing is 'about how you choose to engage. It's about the offer' (KBC2). The term 'choice' was similarly linked to community wellbeing in the overarching vision in Kent Bay's community plan, which described the city's 'common goal, in addition to sustainability, as offering all people 'choice and wellbeing' (KBLTCP). As well as corresponding with the capabilities approach, this emphasis on individual choice suggests that the neoliberal discourse of the market tradition was stronger in this community of practice than in the others studied.

Officers often mixed several interpretations of community wellbeing, commonly including notions of cultural participation. Community wellbeing, one Oswald arts officer suggested, is there, in a kind of a background to everything we do, because in a sense, the work of the arts and culture department is about access to the arts, the opportunity to participate,

and that whole idea of, you know, arts and culture being key to a working city, a kind of happy, liveable city. (OC2)

In this way, the notion of community wellbeing as applied to urban cultural policy incorporates multiple conceptualisations of cultural value. The many connotations of community wellbeing in the quote above illustrate its linkages with various other policy frames as well as its recognition as an important goal of local government. The rest of this chapter explores, in turn, each of the six issue frames connected with the case studies, developing the connections that each has with the meta-frame of community wellbeing.

The quality art frame

An emphasis on artistic merit or ‘excellence’ as a key criterion for council support characterises the *quality art* frame. This frame aligns with the conceptualisation of ‘culture as art’ and the tradition of cultural democratisation, as discussed in Chapter Two. Many citations in this section expressing the aesthetic value of culture reflect the ‘autonomy’ tradition of privileging the ‘intrinsic value’ of the arts (Belfiore and Bennett 2007a, 145). In my case studies, quality art was a prominent frame in most arts and cultural policy documents, but only some of the officers interviewed from arts and culture departments prioritised this frame. Those that did were the least likely to describe community wellbeing as a relevant frame for their work.

The arts and culture departments participating in this research exhibited an understanding of culture as art in their operational scope. The services they provided and roles they employed typically focused on artistic programming rather than taking a broader approach to cultural activities, which might incorporate, for instance, sport, craft and media. As other analysts have noted, the conceptualisation of culture as art is common in governmental approaches to cultural policy (Dunphy, Tavelli, and Metzke 2013; Hawkes 2001, 7; Mulcahy 2006b, 265). Several council policy documents and officers articulated a clear focus on art and artists rather than the other conceptualisations of culture that I identify in Chapter Two – culture as cultivation, way of life or commodity. The quality art frame was expressed most strongly in the Oswald case and least in Kent Bay. At least one officer at each council referred to the significance of quality art several times in her interview. My identification of this frame in at

least one key text in each case study suggests that it shaped urban cultural policy to a varying degree in each of the participating councils.

The quality art frame featured in most of the councils' cultural plans. It was especially strong in the City of Oswald's Arts Strategy, which is not surprising given that the name of the document reflects its clear focus on the 'arts' rather than 'arts and culture'.³⁹ In contrast, equivalent plans at the other councils (CACs, EACS) included the term 'culture' or 'cultural' in the title and all but Kent Bay's Cultural Development Policy also specified the 'arts' (KBCDPS). Oswald City Council set forth a vision of the city as having a highly 'vibrant and diverse arts scene' in which everyone could 'experience and engage with the arts' (OAS). It provided a dictionary definition of art as 'the expression or application of human creative skill and imagination, typically in a visual form such as painting or sculpture, producing works to be appreciated primarily for their beauty or emotional power' (OAS). Cordelia's cultural plan also expressed 'intrinsic value' in this way: 'Arts are integral to the life of our community' (CACs). In comparison, there were barely any expressions of aesthetic value in Kent Bay's cultural plan, which framed culture differently, as discussed below.

Although the quality art frame was not prominent in the cultural plan from Edmundton or Kent Bay, it was strong in their public art plans, which were among the key texts analysed. Quality art was therefore a significant frame for the Edmundton and Kent Bay cases, as well as for late night cultural activation in Oswald. Raising the standard of street art was a key objective of Edmundton's mural programme (EER). Edmundton's Public Art Policy provided a clear directive that, although other council objectives should be taken into account in the selection process, aesthetic value was an important consideration for assessing public art projects. It specifically recommended giving consideration to the artistic qualities of public art proposals, to ensure that 'work of outstanding artistic merit is not dismissed due to a poor fit with the outcomes' (EPAP). With regards to selecting public art proposals, Kent Bay's cultural development coordinator said the main criterion was 'the quality of the work,' which

³⁹ This was also the most well-resourced arts department in my study, with over ten times the budget of the other arts and cultural (development) units. Oswald City Council as a whole was relatively large following the Victorian local government amalgamations in the mid-90s. These factors likely allowed it to specialise more than the other councils I studied.

reflected the basic underlying principles of council's public art policy: specific to the place, standard of excellence ó those sorts of things, nothing unusual (KBC1).

Officers differed in the extent to which they prioritised the quality art frame in their work. For my first interviewee at Edmundton, quality art was of utmost importance: 'I am an arts advisor, I come from a visual arts background. For me, it's all about the artwork; it's about ensuring the best possible quality artwork' (EC1). Even when asked about broader policy objectives, the arts investment coordinator at the City of Oswald talked about the importance of 'having a mix of really earthy arts and cultural stuff out there and also really elite and fantastic, difficult art out there' (OC3). Not all the arts officers interviewed suggested that artistic merit was the most important consideration in their work. Despite her observation that artistic excellence was a key goal of the public art policy, the cultural development coordinator at Kent Bay said, 'An aesthetic judgement of an artwork is just one of the criteria for assessing public art tenders (KBC1). The officer appreciated the aesthetic value of creative projects, but she communicated her understanding that a strong governmental rationality needed to be based on more tangible, external values.

Officers who expressed the quality art frame sometimes resisted the imposition of other frames, seeing this as an instrumentalisation of cultural policy. They tended to distinguish their work from community arts programmes and some also distanced it from the meta-frame of community wellbeing. Of the officers interviewed, the cultural development manager at Oswald expressed the quality art frame most strongly. Even when asked about the relevance of community wellbeing in her work, she focused on the value and quality of art before considering social or economic outcomes:

For us, the first level would be artistic outcome, and looking at the arts, and looking at practice.í [We emphasise] the art-making and making it a real arts experience for people who normally wouldn't participate in the arts, or people who normally wouldn't have the opportunity to engage in the arts in this way. (OC1)

Some officers expressed unease with the label of community cultural development (CCD) or community-based arts (EC1, OC1, CC6), with one explaining that she thought it sounded too 'paternalistic, marginalised, reinforcing people's sense of exclusion' (OC1). Cordelia's gallery manager also distinguished the predominant aesthetic values in her work from the meta-frame. She suggested the concept of community wellbeing was more relevant for CCD

practitioners than the contemporary visual arts sector in which she located her work (CC6). The gallery manager later mentioned a presentation to councillors being planned by a professional group to which she belonged, 'on the value of galleries to community wellbeing' (CC6), suggesting that this concept did indeed have some significance in the context of her work, even if only rhetorically. Nonetheless, there was clearly a tension between the quality art issue frame and the community wellbeing meta-frame. This tension reflects the intrinsic and instrumental dichotomy, which, although I have suggested is problematic, reflects the perspectives of some urban cultural policy workers.

The community strengthening frame

With more dimensions than the quality art frame, the community strengthening frame incorporates various community-oriented approaches to urban cultural policy. Whether emphasising social inclusion, creative empowerment, community resilience or youth development, the *community strengthening* frame is founded on an understanding of culture as a way of life. Because each of these approaches deploys art and creativity to address extrinsic societal problems, this frame can be seen to represent 'policy attachment' (Gray 2007). In Foucauldian terms, the community strengthening frame in urban cultural policy represents 'the conduct of conduct'. In particular, it reflects the shifts I identify in Chapter Three as local governments turn to culture, community and calculative practices. There are clear linkages between this issue frame and the meta-frame, but community strengthening, with its strong emphasis on the social value of culture, is not as broad or all-encompassing as community wellbeing. Community strengthening could be considered the social 'pillar' of community wellbeing, sitting alongside the cultural, economic and environmental dimensions of a sustainable development approach.

The participating arts and cultural departments are all located within community services or development directorates (see Appendix 3). As Hawkins (1993, 84) notes, these directorates typically frame the arts from a welfare perspective. To a varying degree, each council framed the case study project in terms of social inclusion, community resilience or CCD principles. These approaches to urban cultural policy draw on the concept of social capital made popular by Robert Putnam (2000). Understood as 'the resources, trust and networks that are constitutive of social capacity and empowerment', the concept of social capital has underpinned many recent policies on social inclusion, particularly in Third Way politics

(‘Social Capital’ 2006). While they might not have referred to any research or evidence to substantiate their inherent problematisations of low social capital, the councils’ articulations of social value correspond with various studies on the social benefits of arts participation (Matarasso 1997; Williams 1997; Jermyn 2001; Ruiz 2004).⁴⁰

In the primary source material, the most common framing of arts and culture as social policy attachment related to the Third Way concept of social inclusion or cohesion. Many council officers and documents expressed the importance of increasing access to and participation in arts and cultural activities as a means to strengthen social connections in the community. Council documents framed arts activities and cultural policy with aims such as: ‘enhanced social networks and a sense of inclusion’ (KBCDPS); ‘inclusive, tolerant [and] connected’ communities (ELTP); and ‘understanding and inclusion’ (CACS). The Kent Bay cultural services manager suggested that public art and cultural development could be used as a ‘tool that actually cements, builds a sense of community’ (KBC2).

Oswald’s Arts Strategy asserted that cultural programmes generate ‘social benefits’ and create strong ties ‘between government, individuals and communities.’ This statement illustrates the alignment between the community strengthening frame and the theory of governmentality. It evokes Bennett’s (2003) discussion of culture as an instrument for regulating conduct, Rose’s (2000) analysis of ‘government through community’ and Dean’s (2007, 13) description of government as involving the formation of bonds and solidarity.

The focus on social inclusion and community connections may result partly from a need to specify strategic objectives and measure policy outcomes under the market tradition. Discussing the proposed arts and culture evaluation framework at Cordelia City Council, the unit manager suggested that it was much easier to evaluate her team’s activities by attaching them to social value than to the aesthetic value of quality art:

I think when we can attach the value of our arts and culture activity to other preexisting frameworks or established evaluation frameworks, particularly around things like social

⁴⁰ There is some debate about the rigour and generalisability of these studies. Some scholars have raised concerns about the methodologies and validity of arts impacts research (Hacking et al. 2006; Belfiore and Bennett 2007a; Selwood 2006). Such concerns tend to result from correlation being mistaken for causality, methodological flaws, negative impacts being overlooked, or from attempts to overstate the significance of individual studies.

connectedness, which is a well-developed area, that is not too difficult [to evaluate].
(CC2)

Community development through creative empowerment was a central goal in all of the case studies, even if not always explicit. This dimension of the community strengthening frame draws on the discourse of CCD, which aspires for cultural democracy and social equity. It combines the conceptualisations of culture as way of life, art and cultivation, although it differs from traditional approaches to a singular or elitist conception of aesthetic or developmental value. Community engagement and empowerment were key goals in the street mural project and the library and cultural centre development. According to the community facilities officer, the Kent Bay project aimed to 'involve people in the governance and activation of space' (KBC4). Public art officers at other councils talked about the potential for their projects to 'genuinely engage people', but were careful to distinguish their work from 'community arts' (EC3; CC3). 'Equity and social justice' were said to underpin the City of Oswald's Arts Strategy, but some officers avoided describing their work as 'community arts' or 'community-based art', as discussed above. These terms were not used in the key texts analysed from any of the Australian councils, although their cultural plans all reflected CCD principles to a certain extent.

Some managers expressed the community strengthening frame in terms of 'community resilience'. A City of Kent Bay manager talked about 'using cultural development for building resilience in communities', particularly in relation to the problem of large levels of income inequality in Kent Bay (KBC2). The former arts manager at Edmundton spoke about connecting arts activities 'to our strategy around more cohesive communities and resilient communities' (EC4). The community infrastructure manager at Oswald wanted her council to develop population-level measures of the 'fundamental attributes of strong communities, resilient communities' (OC4). The fact that community resilience was referred to by managers but not 'street-level' arts officers may suggest that it is an 'emergent' frame that is not (yet) part of a dominant discourse (Taylor 1997). This understanding of community strengthening as resilience may become more widespread over time, particularly if researchers continue to link arts policy to discourses of sustainability, adaptive governance and disaster recovery (see McManamey 2009; Anwar McHenry 2011; O'Shea 2011).

Youth development, a frame that emerged from the primary source material, but not the cultural policy literature, is another subset of the community strengthening frame. Among the case studies, this was most important in the street mural project and it was also an objective of the Kent Bay library redevelopment. The Kent Bay community facilities officer explained that her team's involvement in developing cultural facilities within the library and cultural centre was informed by a community consultation in the area:

They wanted this place to have a focus on engaging with young people, and so we took the findings from the community consultation within that report to inform the design. [So] it had a stronger cultural focus with the inclusion of rehearsal spaces, recording studio, dance studio, multimedia lab, arts space and the big auditorium space upstairs. We wanted places where young people could engage and participate in increasing their skills in all those areas. (KBC4)

The specific rationale for Edmundton's street mural programme similarly emerged from a forum where community members asked for projects that would involve young people (EC4). The street mural evaluation report subsequently presented the following Project Strengths:

- Young people feel a sense of pride in and ownership of the mural, which creates pro-social behaviour (positive peer pressure) .
- Youth arts development ó working alongside well known artists ó learning new painting techniques and subject ideas (EER)

The social outcomes of engaging and empowering youth were also expressed in interviews (EC1; EC3; EC4; EYW). Youth development or engagement was not a priority within the case study project or cultural plan from Cordelia or Oswald, although other programmes at those councils focused on youth participation.

Officers' responses to the interview question about community wellbeing often evoked the community strengthening frame. They described community wellbeing as signifying that communities are empowered to do things (EC1), and connectedness, that sense of belonging, engagement, capacity building (KBC2; also KBC1). Distinguishing different understandings of wellbeing, Edmundton's safety manager suggested that community wellbeing is how the community might be resilient in themselves (EC6). When asked about community wellbeing, the cultural development manager at Oswald gave specific examples of social capital outcomes in a public housing estate project on which she had worked:

I see it when you find the connections between people that didn't exist prior to, or maybe became more apparent through, the arts project there.... There's all these by-

products of wellbeing and connection out there. Sometimes it's purely just a conversation, someone overcoming a sense of isolation, someone coming down from their flat, after 6 o'clock at night, which they haven't done for years because they were too scared to come down at night. (OC1)

Unlike the quality art frame, there are strong connections between the community strengthening and community wellbeing frames. This adds legitimacy to arts programmes that aim to achieve social inclusion, empowerment, equity or social justice, community resilience or youth development, as officers can hitch on to the meta-frame to articulate and measure the outcomes of these projects (Rein and Schön 1993, 35; see also Fairclough 2003, 127; Gottweis 2006, 470).

The safety frame

Safety was an important issue frame in three of the four case studies. The *safety* frame represents the political value attached to culture in these cases and a key dimension of governmentality, in terms of government's aim to protect the security of the population. Although rarely mentioned in the cultural policy literature, some scholarship on urban revitalisation and the night-time economy discusses local government cultural interventions that aim to create and foster vibrant inner city precincts where locals and visitors feel welcome and safe at all hours of the day and night (Stevenson and Matthews 2012b, 94; see also, e.g., Johnston 2011; Rowe and Bavinton 2011). Safety was particularly important in the case studies that involved external organisations and/or a partnership between the councils' arts and safety departments. Participants identified safety as an important dimension of a council's overarching goal of community wellbeing.

Discourse about the potential of arts and cultural programmes to contribute to safety outcomes was most prominent in material from Oswald and Edmundton. Improving perceptions of safety was an explicit goal of the street mural project and late night cultural activation, but not the councils' cultural plans. Both these projects reflected a priority of the respective mayor at the time: graffiti removal and prevention in Edmundton, and late night safety and vibrancy in Oswald. In Cordelia, improving perceptions of safety at train stations was an objective attached to the public art exhibition.

The late night cultural activation case study reflects a local government approach to the night-time economy, in which safety had a higher priority than in the other urban cultural policy programmes in this research. Of all the documents I coded, Oswald's 24/7 City Policy contained the most references to the safety frame. It identified city safety as a priority to be addressed by a range of harm reduction strategies (O24CP). An arts officer at Oswald explained the connection between late night programme funding and city safety as follows:

So with safety in the city in recent years, you know, violence and disturbing behaviour and alcohol, [we were] trying to inject a different element into the city to bring audiences in that aren't coming in just to drink.... There was no big assumption that bringing arts into the city was going to magically fix everything, but I think the purpose of the initiative was to just try and have in the city.... something else on offer that people can participate in, and feel safe to do so. (OC2)

The At Night project was also inspired by the cultural development manager's concerns about night-time violence in the city and her joint approach with a safety officer was facilitated by the 24/7 City Policy (OC1). At Oswald, the safety frame was therefore important for officers working on late night cultural activation programmes.

In the other cases, the safety frame was more important to partner organisations and community members than to arts officers, but it had strategic value for the latter. The framing of the public art exhibition as contributing to improved safety in Cordelia helped to build partnerships with external agencies who were not otherwise interested in the aesthetic value of culture. At Edmundton, the officer in charge of the street mural programme explained that the council received some funding from the Ministry of Justice in order to use art as 'the means to an end', specifically, 'to develop a mural that would minimise tagging and increase the sense of safety' (EC1). The street mural evaluation report contained numerous references to safety, noting the connection to the Ministry's graffiti prevention campaign, and stating as an outcome of the project: 'Mural contributes to increasing a sense of safety in the laneway' (EER).

The safety manager who coordinated the funding and relationship with the Ministry of Justice highlighted the commonality of safety as an issue frame for local government. In a previous role she had examined the community outcomes of other councils' long term plans. Out of 72 territorial local authorities in New Zealand, 'Sixty-nine of them had safety as an outcome for their community' (EC6). Her comment suggests that, even if it is not an explicit objective of

all arts programmes or cultural plans, safety is an important outcome for local governments seeking to improve community wellbeing.

Safety is commonly understood as a dimension of quality of life, so it is not surprising to see connections between this issue frame and the meta-frame. One officer commented that the late night cultural activation policy at Oswald City had encouraged her to recognise the relationship between safety and community wellbeing (OC2). The safety manager at Edmundton stated, 'I think if individuals in the community can go about their daily business, in whatever that is, feel safe doing it, feel supported, feel part of something, I think that's strong community wellbeing' (EC6). She explained that the link between safety and community wellbeing provided a justification for her department to partner on an arts programme:

Any area that is well cared for has a perception of safety about it. Any area that is covered in graffiti, rubbish, stuff like that, it's perceived to be really unsafe. From a community wellbeing perspective, that's entirely why our city safety unit would get involved [in a mural project]. (EC6)

This discussion demonstrates that officers' prioritisation of issue frames as well as their understanding of community wellbeing tended to be tied to their particular role and responsibilities. Safety officers, for instance, were more likely than arts administrators to describe community wellbeing in terms of perceptions of safety. Noting that her answer was shaped by her 'population health background', the safety officer at Oswald suggested that community wellbeing entailed:

talking about the whole person..., which considers all of their facets, so their health, their education, their ability to engage with society, how connected they are with their neighbours.... It's trying to be more holistic about what people are and how healthy they are in that sense. (OC7)

The increasingly widespread understanding of the social determinants of health may have shaped this understanding of the links between social connectedness, safety, personal health and community wellbeing (Wilkinson and Marmot 2003). In my case studies, the safety frame was therefore not only embedded in a 'reductionist focus on 'safety' and control' in a linear approach to the night-time economy (Rowe and Bavinton 2011, 817), but it was also integrated into a more holistic approach to understanding community wellbeing.

The creative city frame

The internationally popular model of *the creative city* is one of the six issue frames I identify in this case study analysis. The creative city frame is predicated on an understanding that, in a post-industrial knowledge economy, cities are competing with each other for a mobile workforce. Art plays an important role in this frame, for it helps to create a vibrant and welcoming environment, which can attract the creative class (Florida 2005). Ultimately aiming to contribute to the city's economic growth, the creative city frame privileges the economic value of culture as commodity. As I discuss in earlier chapters, the creative city script has been inspired by the work of researchers and consultants such as Florida (2005) and Landry (2000). It can be defined as follows:

The concept of the creative city describes an urban complex where cultural activities of various sorts are an integral component of the city's economic and social functioning. Such cities tend to be built upon a strong social and cultural infrastructure; to have relatively high concentrations of creative employment; and to be attractive to inward investment because of their well-established arts and cultural activities. (Cunningham 2012, 113; based on Throsby 2010, 139)

Not all the municipalities in this study could be described as a creative city based on the above definition, but each had at least one plan that expressed a strong aspiration to achieve this status.

Following my thematic analysis of primary source material, the creative city frame had a higher number of references than any other. It was particularly prominent in the key policies analysed from Edmundton and Oswald City Councils: 12 per cent and 15 per cent, respectively, of their cultural plan made reference to the creative city (EACS; OAS). This frame was also evident in the other councils' cultural plans (KBCDPS; CACS) and in interviews at each council. These documents hitched on to global discourses of the cultural economy, creative class and the night-time economy. Only one of the case study projects was directly connected to an economic development strategy. One of the aims of late night cultural activation was to encourage people into the city at night to support economic prosperity (O24CP). None of the officers interviewed directly mentioned any economic impacts of their work, however, suggesting that while the creative city framed most of the councils' approaches to the arts, these urban cultural policy workers did not prioritise the economic value of culture.

The council plans from Edmundton and Oswald set forth being a creative city as a key outcome, underlining the significance of this frame for these municipalities, especially in terms of their reputation or 'brand'(ELTP; OCP). Describing its role in the arts, for instance, the City of Oswald explicitly stated its aim of ensuring the municipality 'builds on its reputation as a creative city'(OAS). This frame was particularly prominent in the context of late night cultural activation, with the 24/7 City Policy suggesting that the municipality's 'vibrant night time economy' played an important role in 'its status as a world leading cultural city'(O24CP). Edmundton City Council similarly asserted that 'creativity' was an important aspect of the city's identity, 'and an important reason why people choose to live here'(ELTP). Both of Edmundton's long-term plans stressed the perceived need to 'attract more creative people' ' [for] future prosperity', particularly through enhancing the city's 'quality of life appeal,' including 'the accessibility of arts, culture and events ...', as well as a vibrant social scene'(ELTP; E30P). Cordelia City Council even more explicitly hitched on to the global discourse of the creative city in its cultural plan. Along with a report by a 'global accountancy and consulting firm', it cited Landry and Florida as 'experts' to support its claims about the importance of cultural industries and creative city strategies in economic development (CACS).

Several arts officers had adopted the creative city frame at Edmundton, indicating its strength as a discourse of legitimation. The former arts manager suggested that the municipality could achieve its long-term goals, which were primarily about economic development, by 'enabling people to have access to artistic experiences, doing arts activity that builds identities of communities' 'all that stuff is important if we're going to be a place where talented people want to live'(EC4). An arts advisor similarly evoked Florida when she explained that 'the whole council' was now working towards 'that sense of a vibrant city that people want to live in because there are opportunities to do things'(EC2). Officers at Edmundton also spoke of the importance of the liberal values of tolerance and open-mindedness, along with the council's goals of promoting 'creative enterprise' and 'creative learning'(EC5), aligning their discourse with Florida's (2005) '3 Ts' of a creative city: talent, technology and tolerance.

Several primary sources acknowledged the broader value of arts and culture in a knowledge economy. Although not specifically focusing on the creative city, they situated urban cultural policy in the post-industrial context of economic globalisation and demonstrated the common

framing of culture as commodity. One of the five 'strategic drivers' in Kent Bay's cultural plan was supporting art practitioners and creative enterprises, so that they would become 'economically sustainable' (KBCDPS). The thirty-year plan at Edmundton City Council described the importance of the creative sector in connecting the city with 'international markets, knowledge and ideas' (E30P). Cordelia's cultural plan asserted vaguely that its arts and culture programming 'contributes to economic activity' (CACS). The equivalent document at Oswald made a similarly broad claim: 'Creative industries make a significant contribution to the economy' (OAS). These statements may appear unsubstantiated but they allude to national statistics that indicate the growing economic significance of cultural employment and creative industries (see, e.g. Cunningham 2011; Eltham 2013; Florida 2005; SWG 2010). They also hint at the importance of economic knowledge within the creative city frame.

The connection between the creative city and community wellbeing was strongest at Edmundton City Council, where this economic issue frame was entangled with the cultural wellbeing frame, both of which are understood as dimensions of community wellbeing. The coupling of cultural wellbeing and the creative city was not only evident in my primary source material from Edmundton, but also in the grey literature on local cultural policy in New Zealand. A presentation by Creative New Zealand at a local government conference made these connections between the creative city and the cultural dimension of community wellbeing:

The research work of Richard Florida, a prominent American thinker who visited New Zealand recently shows that when local government actively attends to the cultural wellbeing of diverse communities within a town or city and couples cultural and social respect with up-to-date infrastructure, people want to stay and communities thrive. (Austin, Kerr, and Ihakara 2003)

In a monograph on cultural wellbeing sponsored by Local Government New Zealand, Penny Eames (2006, 23) reiterates these connections, drawing on Florida's (2005) theory to argue that 'talent, tolerance and technology' are essential ingredients for community wellbeing in a creative and innovative city in the twenty-first century. The creative city frame could therefore be considered to represent the economic pillar of community wellbeing.

The creative place-making frame

The emergent frame of *creative place-making* refers to an integrated approach to urban cultural policy. The key goals of place-making are to build on the existing qualities of an area and to engage and empower communities in order to create 'good' places to live in. There are different paradigms of creative place-making but they generally share the aim of building and adapting space where human creativity can flourish (Duxbury and Murray 2010). By incorporating multidisciplinary forms of knowledge and a joined-up approach to policy practice, the creative place-making frame integrates many different conceptualisations of culture and modes of governance. It could be seen primarily in terms of an environmental or ecological conceptualisation of culture, but, like the creative city, place-making positions urban cultural policy within discourses of late capitalism and is fundamentally driven by economic development goals. The 'fuzzy rhetoric' varied practice and competing values tied to the different interpretations of creative place-making have both increased its appeal to a range of stakeholders and attracted criticism, notably 'that it is vague and supports development and gentrification over social equity' (Nicodemus 2013, 2, 5). My analysis below suggests that all the case studies involved the deployment of arts objects and activities in pursuit of place-making, even if this frame was not always explicitly articulated within the primary source material.

Cordelia was the only council studied where creative place-making was an explicit urban cultural policy frame. The most recent plan for Cordelia's arts and culture unit explicitly mentioned public art's 'integral role in placemaking', suggesting vaguely that there is 'increasing awareness of how public art contributes to the public realm' (CACSUP). Arts and culture was consequently not the only council department driving public art projects. The place manager whom I interviewed at the City of Cordelia had worked closely with the public art manager. She explained her cross-functional role:

If you look at things through the lens of place, you have to break out of your silos, because you see how everything is inter-related... Traditionally local governments are very siloed, very mono-functional. The whole idea about place is to break down that barrier and look at the integrated whole. In that way, I work across council, primarily [with] economic development, strategic planning, and open space, [but also] social development and cultural development. (CC7)

Place-making thus corresponds with the network tradition of government, challenging the structures of bureaucratic and market traditions. This can make it difficult to achieve in practice, but the place manager suggested that creative place-making was a useful frame for bridging the divide between what I describe in Chapter Three as ‘services to people’ and ‘services to property’.

Generally, arts and culture people and any social development people get the whole place thing very easily, they understand it and they want to work that way. They love the place management role and model, because, for them, it’s a way to try and bridge the gap between them and the planners and engineers. (CC7)

This officer’s understanding of place-making corresponds with a systems-based approach to cultural ecology that might encourage the sustainability of creative spaces but requires interdisciplinary thinking and the recognition of tacit knowledge, aesthetics and emotional affect (Duxbury and Murray 2010).

The term ‘place-making’ rarely appeared in material analysed from the other councils but its principles were nonetheless put into practice by public art officers, especially on urban development projects. In Edmundton’s Public Art Policy, for instance:

There’s one [criterion] around working alongside urban development so when we’re doing a regeneration project, you’ll engage an artist at the start of that so that whatever happens in that space is quite coherent and that art work is built in as part of that rather than decoration at the end. (EC3)

The integration of artwork was also an important part of the Kent Bay library redevelopment (KBC1). In addition, I interpreted references to creative place-making in statements describing the potential for public art to contribute to ‘a sense of place’ and a ‘love of the local’ (EPAP), and the requirement for public artworks to ‘relate to the site’ (EER) or to ‘reflect and express’ aspects of the [city] (KBPAP). Oswald City Council also claimed its ‘myriad art initiatives’ enhanced the visibility of ‘creative energy’ and informed ‘the shape and feel’ of the city (OAS). Creative place-making was thus an implicit frame in the case studies, especially in public art projects.

Because of its infancy as a discourse, its association with gentrification and the perceived imposition of a dominant culture’s idea of place on existing communities, there was some resistance to this frame and confusion about its core values and goals. An officer at Edmundton invoked the place-making frame as follows:

Art has so many fabulous qualities: it makes a place look great, it stimulates an environment, it can create change within a space, so it could revitalise a space, or upgrade a space, or ó I hate this term ó gentrify a space, but That's a way to get to a building developer's heart, to say, "we could gentrify your environment by getting an arts group in here to do something, to create an event." (EC1)

The only explicit mention of place-making in an Oswald City Council document associated it with colonisation and suggested some resistance to it. One of the goals of Oswald's cultural plan was to "encourage debate ... about colonialism; place making; and [Indigenous issues]" (OAS). Even if framed within a more grounded and integrated cultural planning approach, resistance to place-making can be sparked by the conflicting values within this frame. In particular, its compatibility with the creative city frame can cause concern that the economic value of culture as commodity is side-lining the aesthetic value of culture as art or the social value of culture as way of life.

Economic valuations of culture come to the fore when creative place-making is situated within urban regeneration efforts (Markusen and Gadwa 2010b, 18) and align with the quest for "quality of place" within a creative city (Durmaz 2012). The description of the arts in Cordelia's Arts and Culture Strategy, as "critical enablers of place making with both social and economic benefits," echoes the creative city frame, notably its simultaneous Third Way pursuit of social and economic values. Similar discursive mingling occurs in New Zealand, as illustrated in a report on submissions to the LGA02 Amendment Bill 2012: "Many councils and community organisations highlighted councils' central role in "place making" ó creating attractive and healthy places to live and work in, which attract investment capital, entrepreneurs, and skilled workers" (LGEC 2012, 13). Recognising the underlying problematic of competitive cities in a globalising environment over a decade ago, Tom O'Regan (2001, 14) made these connections between the place-making and creative city frames:

The cultural planning increasingly adopted by city councils is about "place making" encouraging cultural tourism, cultural industry capacity building as well as sustainability and social justice.... What is being envisaged here is a way of connecting previously separate social, economic and cultural priorities: urban and rural renewal, their sustainable development, and the realization of ambitions for a "smart" "intelligent" state or networked "creative city"

From a community wellbeing perspective, creative place-making can be considered an important frame for a more holistic cultural planning approach (Redaelli 2013), based on an environmental conceptualisation of culture and connected to sustainable urbanism (Adhya 2012). Although my sources did not draw many connections between community wellbeing and sustainable development, this understanding of the meta-frame aligns with the holistic approach to creative place-making. Some officers nonetheless highlighted the contributions of place-making to community wellbeing. For the place manager at Cordelia, community wellbeing was 'what place-making is about, getting people into places to interact, getting them into places where they feel comfortable, feel safe, and they want to spend time' (CC7). The Kent Bay community planner provided a similar definition of community wellbeing, as 'creating a place that people liked to live, that people enjoyed living, that they were safe and that they had a sense of belonging' (KBC3). These multidimensional understandings of community wellbeing and the integrated approach of creative place-making align with the network tradition of governance. This suggests that for the place-making frame to be well understood and effective, it would require an institutional environment that supports features of new governance such as flexibility, adaptability and the recognition of multiple forms of knowledge. In the meantime, creative place-making could be described as an emergent frame that awkwardly incorporates various conceptualisations of culture and somewhat contradictory forms of knowledge and value.

The cultural wellbeing frame

In the case study contexts, the *cultural wellbeing* frame represents the aspiration for a well-functioning community where people have the opportunity to develop a sense of belonging and to feel comfortable and safe expressing their cultural identity and creativity. Like creative place-making, this is a 'fuzzy' integrative frame. Embodying multiple dimensions of cultural value and connecting with the other issue frames in various ways, cultural wellbeing is based on an ecological or environmental conceptualisation of culture. For some, it is the 'fourth pillar of sustainability' (Hawkes 2001). Unlike the other issue frames, which I created during data analysis, my pre-existing interest in the concept of cultural wellbeing meant I introduced it earlier in the process of data generation. This enabled me to discuss the salience and meanings of this frame with research participants. In this final section, I explore the cultural wellbeing frame in detail, elaborating on its interpretations and its various connections with other frames.

The term 'cultural wellbeing' was not widely used in any of the case studies except at Edmundton City Council. As I have already discussed, this concept was introduced into New Zealand's local government legislation in 2002 as one of the four pillars of community wellbeing within a sustainable development framework. Edmundton City Council's arts policies and programmes consequently fell within the section of the long term plan entitled 'Cultural Wellbeing' (ELTCCP). At Edmundton, cultural wellbeing signified cultural diversity and the celebration of difference, the vitality or vibrancy of the city and its identity or brand. This term did not appear in any of the plans analysed from the Australian councils. In Australia, cultural wellbeing is not a phrase that appears in any local government legislation, nor is it commonly used by council officers. Researchers in Australia have nonetheless suggested that cultural wellbeing is a common goal of both CCD practice and local government arts programmes and cultural plans (Johanson, Glow, and Kershaw forthcoming, 4; Mills and Brown 2004; Salvaris 2007; Walker and Gray 2012, 5). Although it might not always be labelled as such, I found that cultural wellbeing was a frame that could be applied to all four case studies.

When I asked about the significance of cultural wellbeing in their work, most interviewees suggested it was a relevant concept. Some stated that, although cultural wellbeing was not a common term, they thought it usefully described the underlying outcomes they sought to achieve through arts and cultural programmes. At Cordelia, 'cultural wellbeing doesn't come up in terms of the language that council uses internally, but officers there agreed that they aimed, in the words of the unit manager, 'to further cultural wellbeing through the arts and cultural programmes' (CC2; CC3). Cultural wellbeing was not as well understood at the other two Australian councils, although most officers I interviewed did not dispute its relevance. The research officer at Oswald stated, for instance, 'most of the time I really think about community wellbeing, I don't think specifically of cultural wellbeing, to the point where we haven't added it as a fourth pillar' (OC5).

In both Australia and New Zealand, cultural wellbeing was sometimes understood as the 'fourth pillar' of sustainable development. Edmundton City Council (ELTCCP) explicitly adopted the Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2005, 1) definition of cultural wellbeing as cultural vitality, and this continued to shape council officers' understandings of the concept. Cultural vitality in this context signifies the 'healthy' cultural life of a society, as a complex,

intertwined system, similar to a natural ecosystem (Hawkes 2001, 22625; Jeannotte 2005, 126). This idea of a ‘cultural ecology’ also featured in interviews at two councils with officers who emphasised the importance of supporting ‘grassroots’ cultural activity in addition to more established ‘high culture’ institutions such as orchestras and museums (EC5; KBC4). The connection between cultural wellbeing and an environmental valuation of culture corresponds with the place-making frame as well as the emergent discourse of cultural and creative ecologies (see Duxbury and Murray 2010; Hearn, Roodhouse, and Blakey 2007; Howkins 2009; Landry 2010; Makeham, Hadley, and Kwok 2012).

Most of the officers defined cultural wellbeing in terms of ‘access and participation’. They associated cultural wellbeing with notions of cultural rights, cultural democracy, social cohesion and cultural diversity. The cultural wellbeing frame thus overlaps somewhat with the community strengthening frame, but participants’ positioning of the concept within the context of multiculturalism suggests a stronger linkage with the theory of cultural citizenship (Andrew and Gattinger 2005; Duxbury 2008; Yue, Khan, and Brook 2011). Some individuals and texts defined cultural wellbeing as cultural inclusion, which one officer described as ‘high levels of accessibility’ and a diverse range of ages and cultures participating in decision-making (ELTP; OC3). Arts officers at Cordelia articulated a similar understanding of the term: ‘cultural wellbeing is the ability and flexibility to be inclusive; ... therefore open to a very diverse range of conflicting opinions [and] ideas’ (CC3). This would signify ‘a situation where everyone in the community are aware of and respectful of all of the different cultures, and that there is representation publicly of those different cultures, rather than one being the most predominant’ (CC1). Edmundton City Council similarly described cultural wellbeing as being about ‘stories ... from the people of diverse cultures who have settled here’ (ELTP). In a similar vein, an arts advisor described the contribution of public art to cultural wellbeing as ‘reflecting back to people who they are and their community and their lives and their stories’ (EC3).

This understanding of cultural wellbeing as embracing a diverse yet cohesive community is connected with the notions of a sense of identity, place and belonging, reinforcing the overlap with the creative place-making and community strengthening frames. One arts advisor at Edmundton, for instance, suggested that cultural wellbeing means:

that people feel a sense of being part of a community, or feeling proud of a community or proud of their city, and the people that are in it and the work that comes out of it ...

that art can play something in making them think about themselves in their lives, in their city, or their place. (EC2)

The former manager of Edmundton's arts unit expressed a similar idea when volunteering her understanding of the contribution that public art and heritage make to cultural wellbeing:

‘There's something in the environment that connects you to this place, that makes you feel like, ‘Yeah, this place speaks to me and respects me, and I belong here’ (EC4). The manager elaborated that cultural wellbeing was not only about the opportunity to express one's culture, but also about sharing that culture with people from other communities. Ideally, this meant celebrating cultural difference. Naming a couple of multicultural festivals, she asserted, ‘We do that really well in [Edmundton]’ (EC4). While protecting the identity of the council makes it difficult to explore these ideas fully, it is worth noting that this city's reputation as a ‘creative place’ (E30P), with high levels of arts activity and a multicultural population, informs understandings of cultural wellbeing in this context. The distinct interpretation of cultural wellbeing in Edmundton may have been shaped by the Local Government Act 2002, although further research would be needed to determine whether this understanding is specific to Edmundton City or shared by other local government officers in New Zealand.

Some of the officers at Edmundton and one officer at Kent Bay interpreted the idea of cultural wellbeing in relation to indigenous culture. This reflected an understanding of culture as identity more than a recognition of the connections between culture and wellbeing in ways that align with indigenous worldviews (McEwen and Flowers 2004; Durie 2006). The community planner, who had lived and worked in both countries, equated Australia's low level of appreciation for indigenous culture with a lack of cultural wellbeing, and contrasted this with New Zealand's ‘strong sense of cultural identity’ (KBC3). Two officers at Edmundton also drew on the idea of culture as ethnic identity when asked what cultural wellbeing meant in relation to their work. One suggested it was only relevant to some projects, such as an initiative ‘about reflecting the local iwi and M ori’ (EC3); while another defined cultural wellbeing as a person's social identity or cultural background, with culture playing a similar role to gender (EC6). An understanding of culture as ethnicity might be typical in everyday life, but in the context of this research, officers were more likely to conceive of culture as art, and to relate cultural wellbeing to arts participation rather than ethnicity or indigeneity.

Ideas about human flourishing, spirituality and emotional wellbeing also fed into the cultural wellbeing frame, which reflected a broad understanding of culture as cultivation. The former arts manager expressed this distinct interpretation of cultural wellbeing and its centrality as an urban cultural policy frame at Edmundton:

We've got a clear rationale for why we do arts and cultural events, which is about cultural wellbeing.... I've got a really clear concept of what cultural wellbeing is...: It's about emotional and spiritual wellbeing, it [which is] about understanding where you come from. It's about being able to express your views, express yourself, your rituals, your beliefs, and that it's safe to do that. (EC4)

The unit manager at Cordelia similarly described cultural wellbeing as "the individual's opportunities and capacity to express themselves and connect through cultural forms of one way or another, whether that's arts or that's sporting or whether it's religious" (CC2). This broad definition of culture goes beyond aesthetic value, even though arts and cultural policy at these councils did not incorporate sport or religion.

This interpretation of the cultural wellbeing frame connects with the theory of wellbeing as capabilities. A key plan from each council mentioned lives being "enriched" through culture, and both Cordelia's and Oswald's cultural plans explicitly asserted that arts participation contributes to "wellbeing" (CACS; ECS; KBLTCP; OAS). "Through artistic and cultural experiences," Oswald's Arts Strategy elaborated, people can "gain insight into the lives of others and find new meaning in their own." Cordelia's Arts and Culture Strategy described opportunities for cultural participation "as an essential component of human existence," and advocated a view of art as "flourishing and enriching" life in the city. The research officer shared this interpretation of developmental cultural value:

[Art] does seem like a frivolous thing, and yet if you go beyond that, the whole reason we are human is to be able to expand our minds and appreciate beauty, and experience. Otherwise, we're just apes.... To me, it's as fundamental a part of being human as other things, yet no one dies, no one gets sick, so it's harder to define it as a need. But there are some people who would die without art, it [who] would feel really lost without that kind of expression. (CC4)

This recognition of art's role in human flourishing blurs the distinctions between intrinsic and instrumental value.

The idea of cultural wellbeing as human flourishing reinforces the connections between this issue frame and the meta-frame. Focusing on the relationship between art and community

wellbeing, the public art officer at Cordelia suggested that, by 'creating a rich and diverse experiential frame for people, art has a strong role to play in community wellbeing, in terms of intellectual engagement, which is part of a healthy lifestyle' (CC3). At Edmundton and Cordelia City Councils, the importance of opportunities for personal development, learning and economic growth was identified as part of an aggregate or holistic concept of wellbeing, although rarely mentioned at the other sites. At Kent Bay, the cultural services manager described cultural wellbeing in terms of an individual's opportunity to participate in the cultural life of the community, which echoed her definition of community wellbeing as choice (KBC2). This alignment between the two frames suggests that some descriptions of art's contribution to community wellbeing in the Australian texts could be interpreted as referring to cultural wellbeing.

When asked to define community wellbeing, many research participants began to talk about cultural wellbeing. Some explicitly acknowledged that they took 'a cultural perspective' and expressed difficulty in distinguishing the concepts, largely because their work on arts-related projects meant that the cultural dimension of community wellbeing was fundamental to their role. The strongest area of overlap between the two wellbeing frames was in relation to cultural rights, specifically the aim of providing equal access to, or increasing participation in, the cultural life of the city. The Edmundton arts manager, for instance, said that community wellbeing involves, 'enabling the community to have access to arts and culture activities and opportunities to ... enjoy their own culture or culture from other places' (EC5). Her description of community wellbeing from a cultural perspective corresponds with the council's definition of cultural wellbeing as the expression and development of cultural identity through 'participation in recreation, creative and cultural activities' (ELTCCP). It also reflects a cultural rights approach, as expressed in Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948).

Connecting with several other frames, both the issue frame of cultural wellbeing and the meta-frame of community wellbeing incorporate multiple conceptualisations of cultural value. Through this analysis, I have identified various meanings of cultural wellbeing, particularly related to arts participation, cultural inclusion and cultural vitality. I interpreted connections between some statements and philosophical ideas about human flourishing and the aesthetic and social value of culture. I observed that cultural wellbeing was often defined in accordance with the frames of community wellbeing, community strengthening and

creative place-making. Ultimately, for officers at Edmundton, where the meaning of cultural wellbeing was most well developed, it referred to how people feel about themselves, each other and the place in which they live. This corresponds with the definitions and conclusions of the Australian report on benchmarking for local cultural policy, which concludes that quality of life is about how people feel as individuals and the places they are living in, each interacting with the other (UTS 2000, 18). Implicitly adopting a model of cultural wellbeing, the UTS report indicates the relevance of this frame for local government in Australia. In New Zealand, although the term 'cultural wellbeing' has now been removed from the Local Government Act, the concept was widely understood and operationalised by officers at Edmundton City Council. In both countries, I conclude, cultural wellbeing is an important frame of urban cultural policy.

Conclusion

Drawing on my analysis of formal policy documents and the more informal utterances of selected officers, I have explored the policy frames and expressions of cultural value in the four selected case studies of urban cultural policy. Each frame is based on a particular conceptualisation of culture and appreciation of cultural value, and many of the frames were present in each case study. To a varying degree, a mixture of aesthetic, developmental, social, economic, political and environmental values was expressed in relation to each case. These divergent projects can all be described as enactments of 'creative spaces' policy, dependent on multidisciplinary knowledge (Duxbury and Murray 2010).

The meta-frame of community wellbeing was ubiquitous in my analysis. In some councils, there was a shared understanding of community wellbeing, yet it was not defined or applied in the same way across all the cases. The meaning of community wellbeing in these contexts was socially and culturally constructed and polysemic, reflecting my observations in Chapter One of its rhetorical value for policy-makers (Fleuret and Atkinson 2007, 110611; Manderson 2005b, 164). The officers I interviewed generally saw community wellbeing as the fundamental goal of local government, namely the conditions in which community members can achieve health, safety, cultural participation and social connections. In the context of these case studies, local government's responsibility for community wellbeing was largely equivalent to achieving quality of life for residents.

This analysis suggests that the legislative framework and socio-cultural context provide significant scaffolding for the interpretation and enactment of the key rationalities of urban cultural policy. That is, the Local Government Act and related laws passed by the central government in New Zealand and State governments in Australia not only set forth legal requirements with which councils must comply, but the terms used within these statutes shape the ways in which officers conceive of the means and ends of their work. At the same time, these legislative frameworks do not dictate how officers approach their work or understand key concepts. As illustrated in the New Zealand case, officers did not necessarily make connections between community wellbeing and sustainable development, despite this framing in the 2002 Act. Such statutes provide possible interpretations, both legitimating and foreclosing certain discourses, although not necessarily in any predictable way, as their material effects depend on a range of contextual factors and circumstances. This makes it important to consider everyday practices and institutional structures alongside cultural policy discourse, as I have done, in order to better understand the specific enactments of these rationalities. In the following chapter, I explore some 'technologies' of urban cultural policy, specifically the operationalisation of these concepts and frames in practices of measurement and evaluation.

In this chapter, I have presented a new typology of cultural policy frames. This typology is not designed to be applied directly to other sites, but in developing it I have modelled a methodology and framework for urban cultural policy analysis that could interest both scholars and practitioners. Each of the frames represents a particular regime of cultural value (Frow 1995), which could provide insights for constructing relevant evaluation frameworks for specific policies, programmes or departments. If such frames were going to be applied in an evaluation framework, a participatory approach to their development might be beneficial, to ensure that they resonate with policy practitioners and other members of the urban cultural policy community. The work of other frame-reflective policy analysts could provide guidance in this regard (see, e.g., Hampton 2009; Laws and Rein 2003; Schön and Rein 1994).

For the purposes of this study, critical frame analysis has offered a useful academic approach to interpreting the rationalities of urban cultural policy in the four case studies. Importantly, it has enabled me to expand on the four types of cultural value – aesthetic, developmental, social and economic – that I identified in existing literature. I have discussed not only the dominant paradigm of the creative city, the emergent frame of place-making and the more

established labels and practices of community arts and cultural development, as introduced in the literature review, but I have also identified and examined the significant issue frames of cultural wellbeing, quality art, community strengthening and safety, as well as the omnipresent meta-frame of community wellbeing.

Chapter Seven: Evaluation Practices and Challenges in Urban Cultural Policy

The ‘shift to governance’ I have argued, has ushered in an increasing demand for calculative practices. No longer is it sufficient for local government officers to strive for the impartial implementation of carefully considered policies, but policy communities now seek evidence that the delivery of public services meets standards of accountability, efficiency and effectiveness. There may not be a great deal of impact or outcome evaluation occurring in cultural policy practice in Australia and New Zealand, but local governments in these countries certainly engage in much monitoring and performance measurement, and increasingly endeavour to develop outcome indicators (Dunphy 2010; Johnston and Memon 2008). As in the United Kingdom, the discourses of New Public Management and evidence-based policy have:

encouraged in politicians, civil servants, arts funders, cultural administrators and large strands of cultural policy analysis, the development of a ‘toolkit mentality’ and the quest for a straightforward method of impact evaluation, easily replicable in different geographical contexts and equably applicable to different art forms and diverse audiences. (Belfiore and Bennett 2010, 122; see also Belfiore 2004; Dunphy 2010; Johanson, Glow, and Kershaw forthcoming)

Resisting the ‘toolkit mentality’ but nonetheless aiming to contribute to policy-relevant knowledge, in this chapter I offer a critical explanation of evaluation in the case studies. Taking into account the discursive and structural features presented in the preceding chapters, I examine the everyday practices that constitute each council’s approach to monitoring and evaluating the processes and outcomes of its urban cultural policy. I begin by outlining the drivers and definitions of evaluation and performance measurement in this field. After identifying and illustrating four main functions of evaluation, I discuss the key constraints and weaknesses in urban cultural policy evaluation. My attention then turns to the introduction of the Results Based Accountability (RBA) framework within the arts and culture unit at Cordelia City Council. In comparison with the other case studies, this is the strongest example of a structured approach to measuring the processes and outcomes of arts programmes in relation to community wellbeing. After discussing the characteristics of RBA and officers’ responses to this framework, I conclude that its pragmatism makes it an appealing and suitable approach to performance measurement and outcome evaluation in the

local government context. RBA does not, however, resolve all the difficulties of urban cultural policy evaluation, and there remains a risk that it places too much emphasis on easily quantifiable measures at the expense of more intangible forms of local and relational knowledge.

Evaluation in urban cultural policy: definitions and rationalities

A concern about lack of control over policy implementation and a mistrust of experts and public officials is at the heart of much debate around policy and programme evaluation and performance measurement (Colebatch 1995; Friedman 2009; Radin 2006; Vestman and Conner 2008; Gill and Schmidt 2011). Corresponding efforts to improve programme evaluation are typically based on the following rationalist assumptions: policy is about problem-solving, explicit intentions and clear choices; programmes are the specific expressions of these policies; and programmes can be evaluated in terms of the correlation between the problem, the intention and the outcomes (Colebatch 1995, 149-650). The performance movement is based on similar assumptions, notably that goals and outcomes can be clearly defined, controlled, and attributed to certain actors, and that neutral and accurate information about these results is available and can be acted upon by someone with the authority to improve public decision-making (Radin 2006, 19).

Drawing on the insights of interpretive policy analysis, as discussed in Chapter Four, I reject these rationalist assumptions and instead see performance measures as one type of data among many qualitative and quantitative sources of information (Gill and Schmidt 2011). Programme evaluation is the critical site where theory, method, praxis, action, and policy all come together (Denzin and Lincoln 2003, 38). I understand that evaluation and performance measurement are more than just a technical (instrumental) issue because they include internal cultural aspects and external political dimensions as public organisations seek to build legitimacy (Gill and Schmidt 2011, 14). Continuing the critical constructivist approach of this thesis, in Chapter Seven I consider the potential for more meaningful measures to satisfy a range of informational and political requirements in urban cultural policy communities. This discussion highlights the limitations of quantitative evidence and I identify circumstances where other types of information and knowledge might be more appropriate for particular evaluation purposes.

I define evaluation broadly as the informed assessment of the quality or worth of a particular activity (Scriven 1991; Davidson 2004). Two main purposes of evaluation in the local government context, as I explain below, are learning and legitimation. Evaluation may take the form of a structured and rigorous research process, possibly involving carefully constructed quantitative indicators, or it may involve a more informal approach. Although their rationalist approach leads them to be dismissive of informal evaluation, the authors of a textbook on *Program Evaluation* define it as such: 'Informal evaluation occurs whenever one chooses among available alternatives without having somehow collected formal evidence about the relative merit of those alternatives' (Worthen, Sanders, and Fitzpatrick 1997, 667). Adopting this definition, without assuming that formal, structured evaluation is always possible or preferable, my use of the term 'informal' resembles its application in comparative politics and institutional analysis. 'Informal institutions' are the unwritten or unofficial but socially shared rules of political life, including legislative norms and cultural expectations, which address gaps in, and operate alongside, formal institutions (Helmke and Levitsky 2003; Azari and Smith 2012).

Informal evaluation offers a less awkward term than 'calculation' to describe the quantitative and qualitative dimensions of judgement at the heart of government. Michel Callon and John Law's insights are worth noting here, nonetheless. They describe calculation as a three-step process. Firstly, 'the relevant entities' are identified and 'displayed within a single space'; then those entities are arranged and manipulated in such a way that 'relations are created between them'; thirdly and finally, 'a result is extracted' (Callon and Law 2005, 719). Whether a sum, a ranking or a decision, it can be described as 'calculation' ó a calculation or judgement that takes 'time, money, and effort' (Callon and Law 2005, 720). Some governmentality scholars also recognise that the means of governmental calculation can be quantitative or qualitative (Dean 1999) ó even 'aesthetic' (Ghertner 2010).

In the context of my urban cultural policy case studies, evaluation and the related activities of monitoring and reporting involved loosely structured processes of relational feedback and informal analysis alongside more formal measurement regimes prescribed by legislation. As an informal institution, everyday evaluative practices enable policy workers to judge the quality or worth of their activities. Although the specific approaches to evaluation varied slightly at each council, most officers engaged in the following practices: the collation and communication of performance measures, particularly those destined for council reports;

internal service reviews, often involving benchmarking activities; overseeing the assessment of proposals or applications for council grants; and the synthesis of stakeholder feedback for end-of-project reports. The councils occasionally engaged a consultant to conduct an audit, review or programme evaluation, and it was this sort of external, formal activity that officers typically considered to represent evaluation. Seeing it as a standalone process, best carried out by an independent outsider, the majority of arts officers in this study did not see evaluation as an intrinsic part of their work. I, on the other hand, classify all the formal and informal modes of analysis and informed judgement described above and below as examples of evaluation. This is not merely to fill the pages of this chapter; rather, my aim is to examine various forms of evaluative practice in order to better understand opportunities and challenges for the use of wellbeing indicators in urban cultural policy.

Evaluating urban cultural policy for learning and legitimation

Despite the divergent projects and contexts of the case studies, many commonalities emerged regarding the purposes, methods and challenges of evaluation for the local cultural policy workers participating in this research. While paying attention to the specificities of local circumstances, this section focuses on the similarities amongst the case studies with regard to officers' involvement in and uses of technologies of monitoring and evaluation. This section outlines the four main functions of evaluation for these officers, which fall into two categories that are sometimes in tension: legitimation and learning. Within each category, the rationale for evaluation emerges at a different level (see table 3). The institutional requirements for legitimation pave the way for rituals of accountability, while at the level of interpersonal practice, officers promote their work to others. The need for evaluation for learning manifests itself at the institutional level in planning, design and management processes, and at the interpersonal level in efforts to improve practice. The fundamental rationality of local government to improve wellbeing results in the target population underpins each of these types of evaluation. In this section, I illustrate each evaluation purpose in turn, before summarising some common challenges for evaluating arts programmes and cultural policy in urban local governments in Australia and New Zealand.

Table 3. Functions of evaluation in the case studies

	<i>Legitimation</i>	<i>Learning</i>
<i>Institutional requirements</i>	Rituals of accountability	Informing decision-making
<i>Interpersonal practice</i>	–Spruikingøthe work	Improving practice

Rituals of accountability

The most common use of evaluative data collected by the council officers interviewed was performance measurement. Required by state legislation and each council’s concomitant business planning framework, performance indicators were used as evidence that officers, programmes, policies and the council as a whole were operating well. Officers marshalled data to meet these reporting requirements and, in doing so, performed rituals of accountability. Describing a similar practice that represents ‘the myth’ of rational goal setting, Yanow (1996, 1966202) explains that such rituals create an ‘aura of success’ and perpetuate ‘the myth of rationality’ whilst distracting attention from the inability of the agency to achieve the goal. Calling them rituals ‘or referring to ‘the cult of the measurable’ (Belfiore and Bennett 2007a, 137) ‘is not to deny the importance of these accountability practices within the bureaucratic and market traditions of governance (see Chapter Five). Performance measures within monitoring and evaluation systems can be used to indicate ‘that a council is well managed, and thereby, deserving of legitimacy and access to resources’ (Tan et al. 2011, 392693; see also, e.g., Van Thiel and Leeuw 2002, 270; Power 2000, 115).

Rituals of accountability are typical throughout the local government sector, placing a premium on quantitative performance monitoring data. Representing authoritative and objective knowledge, these numbers have symbolic power for a council, helping it to maintain legitimacy as an institution of advanced liberal democracy (Espeland 1997; Radin 2006). There is a risk that councils only measure what is easiest to measure, however, and that, rather than creating ‘usable knowledge’ (Lindblom and Cohen 1979) for policy communities, these rituals ‘police’ the work of local government officers. As local government policy adviser Michael Reid suggests, if councils are not required to monitor and report on specific results, then they are not obliged to achieve them: ‘We know if you’re not measuring whether you’re making a difference then it becomes a bit theoretical really’ (LGNZ1). However, requirements to monitor and evaluate may result in little more than

token evaluations (Mulligan and Smith 2010, 118). Such measurement practices do not necessarily contribute to improving the process or outcomes of policy or programmes, although they may be used for learning purposes; those that fit the latter description are considered later in this chapter.

As I illustrated in Chapter Five, officers collected and used various performance measures for reporting at regular intervals to their superiors, and ultimately to elected councillors and the public via the municipality's annual report. Three of the four case study councils conducted household surveys to derive community satisfaction ratings, which were then used to demonstrably measure the council's performance in regards to services and activities. Specific targets in council plans included: over 80 per cent of surveyed residents agree they have access to arts and cultural opportunities (CCP) and 85% of users are satisfied with [the arts centre] (EAP). Other municipalities in Australia similarly measure levels of awareness and satisfaction of arts access and participation, reflecting this common goal in urban cultural policy (LGAQ1; CDN1; Johanson, Glow, and Kershaw forthcoming). Although the City of Kent Bay did not have such measures at the time of this research, its corporate planning and performance team had been working quite hard to establish a community survey (KBC3).

Oswald's Council Plan contained numerous strategic indicators for most areas, but only two key performance indicators related to arts and culture. Both were broad, vague measures, which the department manager admitted were 'not very important'. I don't think about them until I have to report (OC6). Similarly, the unit manager at Cordelia said she did not focus specifically on the performance measures for which she was responsible, 'because with the service unit plan, I have a whole range of outcomes that I'm responsible for, and I basically take all of those equally seriously' (CC2). It became clear from the interviews that, while the discourse in council plans was important, especially to legitimise particular actions, a council's key performance measures for arts and culture sometimes held little significance for the officers who were supposed to achieve them.

My analysis of performance measurement within the market tradition in Chapter Five reveals that several arts officers expressed their frustration with, or lack of interest in, the sorts of indicators typically used in local government (KBC1; EC3; CC1; CC6). When asked about the results of the council survey, the cultural development officer at Cordelia said:

They're pretty general and they relate specifically to I can't even think what they are now. They relate to levels of involvement and accessibility to arts and culture programs within the municipality. They're pretty generic, kind of across the whole unit. They don't really tell anyone anything in particular. (CC1)

Many council customer satisfaction surveys do not even include questions about arts and culture (CDN1). In addition to her dismissive comments already cited, the cultural development officer at Kent Bay commented on the shifting discourses to which such indicators were attached:

It's always been difficult to find indicators [for the arts], and those indicators have changed. In the 90s, it was all about audience development - then everybody started reading Richard Florida and got really keen on economic outcomes and all that sort of thing. And now everybody's realised that was a crock, and so we're looking for something else. (KBC1)

The research officer at Cordelia articulated her impression that council staff saw performance measurement systems as 'policing' their work (CC4), and Oswald's arts and culture manager suggested that officers perceived them 'as a form of compliance' (OC6). Several officers observed a mismatch between corporate planning requirements and the motivations of arts administrators (EC4; CC4; CC6; KBC1), including the cultural development officer at Cordelia:

Particularly, [for] our unit, arts and culture, I don't think any kind of quantitative evaluation is helpful or constructive. Obviously, you want to know how many people you're reaching - [but] the quality of what you're doing and how that reaches people is a lot more important and it's not something that's actually captured with formal evaluation tools. (CC1)

This quote echoes Mulgan and Worpole's (1986, 85) observation of the tension between finance officers' expectations of measuring cost-effectiveness by calculating 'bums on seats' and the dominant ideology of community arts that privileges the 'process' over the 'output'. The different kinds of measures of success sought by policy workers, depending on their role, and the council's accountability requirements, represents one of the challenges of arts and cultural evaluation in local government, explored further below.

Some types of accountability measures were more important than others for the officers interviewed. Since 'city safety' was one of Oswald's 'key strategic activities' as specified in Victoria's Local Government Act, late night programme funding was closely monitored by

the council, and officers developed milestones and key targets to report on monthly (OC2). Performance monitoring requirements were also more prominent when councils disbursed funds devolved from another government agency. This was the case at Edmondton and Kent Bay, where officers collated statistics on grants allocated through, respectively, Creative New Zealand's Creative Communities Scheme and Arts Queensland's Regional Arts Development Fund (RADF). A Creative New Zealand policy advisor described the relationship with local government as 'a balancing act' in this way:

On the one hand, we want to give councils the autonomy to manage these funds in a way that's appropriate to the community. On the other hand, we're accountable to government; we need to ensure the money is allocated for its pre-determined purpose. (CNZ1)

There are thus various layers of accountability regimes at these councils, depending on local government planning frameworks, state legislation and external funding requirements.

Officers were not powerless in the face of these governmental rationalities and technologies. As the Cordelia gallery officer stated, in relation to conducting surveys: 'If we do them, it gives us more bargaining power, but the reporting requirements can be time-consuming and pointless' (CACU). Recognising the limitations of performance measurement systems, and sometimes resisting the instrumental market rationality that underpins them, officers responded in a variety of ways to these rituals of accountability. As explored later in this chapter, some championed more creative and qualitative methods of data collection and communication, while others called for the development and application of more sophisticated quantitative measures based on the external evaluation of results.

Informing decision-making

At the institutional level of decision-making, officers used various forms of measurement and evaluation for learning, notably in planning, programme design and management. The forms of evaluation for organisational learning ranged from internal reviews and audits to asset mapping and problem identification through population-level indicators or community consultation. Officers used data generated from these forms of evaluation to inform the case study programmes and the redesign of cultural grants. This section demonstrates the ways in which particular forms of data, such as statistics, were valuable in this decision-making function, and also encouraged officers to address particular problem representations.

In accordance with the market tradition of governance, organisational requirements to improve efficiency or effectiveness resulted in internal reviews and audits. Chapter Five contains examples such as Oswald's major review of arts grants and the benchmarking of festivals and events at Cordelia. An Australian study of service reviews in local government suggests the market-like approach seen in these cases is fairly common, with half of the 11 councils it surveyed benchmarking areas such as 'levels of service (quality, timeliness, etc.), costs, processes, and resources' (Walker and Gray 2012, 17). Due to the limited human resources for this type of evaluative activity, the report notes, in most councils undertaking service reviews, 'Time and effort were focused on areas with greatest potential for savings or increase in revenue' (Walker and Gray 2012, 17).

Cordelia's review of its festivals and events indeed hinged on benchmarking performance information. This was despite the Arts and Culture Strategy stating the goal of the review was 'to improve the *quality* of events' in order to have 'more sustained *benefits* to the community'. The aim was apparently to make recommendations on how the programme could result in 'greater *outcomes*' (CACS; emphasis mine). It is not clear if or how officers assessed the benefits of events in Cordelia's benchmarking process. My primary source material referred to performance data but contained no evidence of any outcome indicators or impact evaluation. This focus on evaluation for learning about efficiencies illustrates the ongoing prominence of the market tradition and dominance of financial performance measures in local government.

When they did instigate a programme evaluation, the research participants typically designed it to generate recommendations to council as to the best course of action. Discussing an evaluation of a gallery project, Cordelia Arts Board members agreed that evaluation results should be used to guide decision-making: 'This is why we need an evaluation. We need evidence to find out what council should do' (CAB). Because Oswald's late night programme funding was set up as a trial, the councillors and managers expected some sort of evaluation to determine whether the initial approach was 'successful'. Officers distributed the full amount of pilot funding to five festivals, however, with no sum specifically allocated to evaluation. The arts and culture department consequently bid internally for research funding to contract a consultant for a programme evaluation, which occurred after four of the five festivals/late night events had taken place and before the fifth project was completed.

The subsequent evaluation report referred several times to the limited performance data available, revealing that data collection had not been planned in advance, and reflecting the evaluator's reluctance to analyse audiovisual material (OER). The evaluator nonetheless recommended that further funding be made available to continue late night cultural activation but that these grants be disbursed with clear guidelines, 'adequate lead time' and in accordance with the usual, more transparent process of arts funding at Oswald (OER). Oswald City Council followed this and the evaluator's additional recommendation that a monitoring and evaluation framework be developed to assess 'the appropriateness, effectiveness, efficiency, impact and sustainability' of late night programming (OER). This use of evaluation to inform and justify a particular approach to arts funding demonstrates its legitimisation function.

The case studies provide examples of a connection between the creative place-making frame and the use of population statistics in decision-making. Officers used population-level data to identify and justify the location of Oswald's participatory arts project, Kent Bay's library and cultural centre, and Cordelia's public art exhibition. The Oswald cultural development officer explained that the choice of site for 'At Night' was based on common knowledge of certain statistics: 'there's definitely some really serious violence, alcohol-related violence, traffic issues'. So there were enough indicators for me to go, oh actually, we should do something there' (OC1). Her colleague in the safety department reiterated, 'we chose a space that people have been talking about for many years, about being unsafe'. We knew from our crime stats and injury stats that it's a hot spot' (OC7).

At Cordelia, the public art officer described the value of her programme in 'bringing art to a potentially new audience, on train stations, to commuters,' with reference to certain statistics: 'It's reasonably well documented that in the northern suburbs of [Cordelia], the participation rates in arts and culture, and exposure to it, is a lot less than it is in the southern parts of the municipality' (CC3). The survey of public transport users as part of the exhibition's evaluation revealed very low rates of participation in community and cultural activities, reminding the officer of an underlying social problem that she hoped her programme was helping to address:

They were so disengaged. It didn't matter where you were, really. The figures were so low, for too many people. If we're talking about community wellbeing, it really reflected the deep-rooted problem across society generally, that people are disengaged,

stuck in front of their tellies and computers. The data reflected that. So that's where the battle is. (CC3)

In these ways, officers used population statistics to demonstrate evidence of a problem, and justify the means and ends of particular arts programmes. In contrast, the choice of site for the Edmundton street mural did not involve quantitative data, but was based on local knowledge of a car park building as a problematic site for graffiti, since it was close to the council offices (EC4; EC6).

Additional forms of knowledge were drawn on for the library and cultural centre development at Kent Bay, notably through community engagement along with social and cultural infrastructure audits. The community facilities officer outlined her team's plan to use what she called 'sociocratic' governance structures as a participatory tool for monitoring and evaluating new community and cultural centres:

The creation of the governance structures that involve local residents and user groups gives us a really good conduit between ourselves and the people who are actually utilising the building, and who the buildings are being designed for. We're hoping that ongoing conversation can inform and adapt our operational stuff which is site-specific. That ongoing community engagement throughout the life of a building is what we see as a real strong tool to evaluate on how we're going. (KBC4).

This statement reflects the concern for adaptation and community engagement following the network governance tradition. It contrasts with the systematic collection of performance monitoring data in libraries, following which the cultural services manager planned to use key performance indicators to benchmark the number of visitors, computer bookings, loans and membership at the new library and cultural centre (KBC1; KBC2). These different approaches to monitoring and evaluation show that local knowledge and relational practice can play an important role in evaluation for learning and decision-making alongside more conventional performance measures, although some officers may prefer one form over the other, according to their professional expertise and departmental location.

Advisory panels and boards played an important role as conduits of feedback for monitoring and evaluation at these councils, especially Oswald, which had 'advisory panels for each key [arts programme]' (OC3; OC6). These panels were made up of community representatives and arts experts, who were 'basically there to advise the programs, but they also play an evaluation role; they tend to unpack things after they've happened' (OC6; also OC1, OC3;

CAB). When I asked, 'How do you monitor and evaluate the achievement of the objectives in the [arts] strategy?' the arts investment coordinator at Oswald replied that, in addition to the periodical business planning mechanisms:

We do it through discourse with the boards and we do it through focus groups. For example, in the arts grant category, I invited fifty people to participate in a critique of the annual grant program early this year, and while the sample size was small, that was really great feedback, and informed a little bit of change. (OC3; also OC6)

Edmundton's Public Art Panel and the Cordelia Arts Board played similar roles in providing feedback for learning and improvement. Although there was also a Public Art Reference Group at Kent Bay, it mainly functioned to provide 'technical expertise' and 'aesthetic judgement' in the assessment of public art tenders and other proposals (KBC1; KBC2), whereas community reference groups acted as a vehicle for community engagement and governance (KBC4). This again illustrates different departments' approaches to monitoring and evaluating their work.

An innovative aspect of the 'At Night' project was Oswald City Council officers' use of images and narratives created by the artists to inform the redesign of a challenging site. Although the 'process-driven project' was full of challenges, as I noted in Chapter Five, it influenced the dialogue between council branches about the site redevelopment (OC1; OC7). In particular, officers suggested that the video of the 'At Night' project that they showed to council colleagues 'cut through all the complexity quite quickly' and that the imagery and stories created by the artists prompted 'a much more realistic expectation amongst the engineers and designers that there is a need for change' (OC7; OC1). The Oswald case demonstrates the potential for a more creative approach to evaluation for organisational learning, with the images and narratives generated by artists becoming powerful tools of persuasion. As I illustrate below, however, not all councils encouraged, or even allowed, officers to use artistic data in this way.

This discussion has shown that various sources and forms of data informed decision-making in these urban cultural policy processes, including performance benchmarks, population statistics, expert advice, community feedback and audiovisual recordings. Officers' choice and use of data appeared to be influenced by organisational norms and professional expertise. Population statistics tended to be used more for problem definition than outcome evaluation, and well-known data sometimes became part of local knowledge. Audiovisual data and

artistic narratives created within an arts-led programme were later used in council decision-making processes at Oswald City Council, although not in the other case studies.

‘Spruiking’ the work

In an environment characterised by competition for resources and legitimacy, officers sometimes conduct monitoring and evaluation or draw on existing data to promote their work, strengthen partnerships, and advocate for further funding. The public sector reforms of the past few decades have encouraged these ‘evidence-based’ practices, even if advocacy is not considered an acceptable activity for ‘street-level bureaucrats’ in either the bureaucracy or market traditions of government. At the interpersonal level of urban cultural policy practice, evaluation for legitimation entails making the intangible visible. Often the aim is to actively promote the work of urban cultural policy to a range of audiences. A particularly important group from and for whom officers seek legitimation is the elected council. They also strive to communicate the value of arts and cultural activities to other branches within council, external partners, and the wider community. The type of evaluation for legitimation described in this section is often less formal than the reporting and monitoring processes described above, hence the colloquial Australian term ‘spruik’ reflects policy workers’ approach to generating and communicating data for promotional purposes (LGAQ1).

Arts and culture is a vulnerable portfolio, with low – albeit increasing – priority and prominence in local government. Oswald’s arts manager, for instance, suggested that some councillors saw the arts as ‘a disposable item’ (OC6). ‘A lot of councillors even question why we have an arts and culture unit within council,’ Cordelia’s research officer added (CC4). The arts managers therefore considered it particularly important to spruik arts and cultural activities through evaluation. The increased pressure to justify council interventions through evaluation reflects a layering of network on market practices in public administration. As this officer expressed:

We know what’s going into our programs; we know what we’re delivering as an output. The next step is, how do we know it’s having an impact, and we want to know it’s having an impact because we need to justify it to councillors, we need to justify it to management, we need to justify it to the community, the voters, the businesses, the media, it all needs to be promoted. (OC5)

Focusing on the potential benefits of an arts and culture evaluation framework, a Cordelia Arts Board member suggested, ‘Roads, rates and rubbish are easy to measure, but for the arts

it's harder, so it would be good to have something more concrete and identifiable to measure the success of particular projects (CAB). The elected representative holding the arts portfolio added pertinently, 'especially for councillors who think the arts are a waste of money' (CAB).

A key rationale for developing Cordelia's arts and culture evaluation framework was to recognise 'and advocate' the role of art and the contribution of artists to society (CACS). Cordelia's cultural plan noted the importance, especially in what it described as an 'economic rationalist' context, of making explicit links between arts-related 'investment' and 'population outcomes'. It recommended improving evaluation and 'communication strategies' to build 'a solid rationale for the arts' (CACS). When introducing it to her team, the unit manager expressed the challenge and opportunity of the evaluation framework:

Measurement of arts and culture is still a contentious issue. There's a risk that measures are imposed that don't capture the value of arts and culture. It's an issue of validity. But not having evaluation and measures in place makes arts and culture more vulnerable. (CACU).

The public art evaluation at Cordelia demonstrated the potential for a participatory approach to developing suitable measures. A working group consisting of the unit manager, research officer, public art officer and student volunteers designed and conducted the evaluation, taking into account their different interests and capabilities as well as the specific aims of the exhibition programme and the broader goal of developing an arts and culture evaluation framework. The public art officer used the results from the exhibition evaluation to report back to external partners, who 'responded really well to charts and graphs and a bit of hard-ish data, such as the proportion of respondents who agreed that 'the art gave [them] something to talk about' (CC2; CC3; CEF). The quantitative measures of perceptions from the programme evaluation were treated as evidence of positive results in order to promote the public art exhibition and strengthen its partnerships. The evaluation report on Oswald's late night funding pilot also focused more explicitly on successes than shortcomings. The report's main objective was firstly to 'establish the success, benefits and outcomes' of the pilot project, and secondly, 'to demonstrate the return on investment to Council, arts and the broader community' (OER).

In the Oswald case, as already mentioned in relation to the 'At Night' project, officers used audiovisual data to communicate the outputs and outcomes of late night cultural activation. They also arranged for the projects funded as part of the late night programming pilot to be filmed and edited. The subsequent four-minute video presented images from the funded events and interviews with festival organisers and participants, before concluding with a brief summary of key performance indicators, including the number of events, artists and audiences (OC2). Offering 'a taste of what was happening with late night in that first pilot year' (OC2) and aiming to provide 'some real contextual understanding' (OC7), the video was 'very well received' by councillors (OC2; OCM). The safety officer considered it 'quite powerful in getting the councillors to sign up for more [late night programming]' (OC7).

This informal evaluation was seen to be more powerful than the sub-contracted programme evaluation. According to the safety officer, 'the evaluation that was done by a consultant í was really useful, but it was the video that really tipped it over the edge.' The safety officer suggested the video provided a better understanding of the events and late night issues, which allowed councillors 'to act with a bit more confidence than they may have had through a traditional research report or a survey' (OC7). For local government, this innovative approach to generating data effectively responded to the issue identified above about the mismatch between conventional performance indicators and the experiential value of arts and cultural activities. The next section of this chapter provides further evidence of the perceived value of audiovisual reporting, which may offer a productive alternative to quantitative performance and outcome measurement when more informal or creative approaches are appropriate.

Despite these and other observations about the power of data that communicates the 'taste' or 'feel' of an artistic environment or experience (CC2; CDN1), local policy workers actively sought quantitative indicators to demonstrate the value of their programmes. Several officers told me what one manager effectively summed up: 'in local government, people like numbers to substantiate why we do certain things' (CC8). Corresponding with my earlier observations of cultural indicator frameworks and the authority of numbers, the most common measure for legitimisation purposes in the case study contexts was a statistic representing the level or rate of arts participation in the community. In various contexts, often without prompting, officers identified the potential for indicators of community wellbeing to better promote the results of their work. For the unit manager, the presentation of a list of potential performance and

population indicators was a necessary component of Cordelia's arts and culture evaluation framework (CC2c). Officers at other councils, particularly Oswald, also expressed a growing interest in cultural and community indicators.

Officers at the Australian councils sometimes used indicators as external benchmarks for strategic purposes. Cordelia's arts and culture unit used benchmarking data to demonstrate its stretched resources and persuade councillors to reduce the number of festivals and events it delivered and focus more on quality community engagement through the CCD programme (CC1). In a similar manner, officers at Kent Bay compared the low number of community facilities in their municipality with population benchmarks recommended in a State regional plan, and provided consultation results, such as, 'eighty per cent of the people we talked to said we needed an arts space,' to illustrate the need for council to provide more social and cultural infrastructure (KBC1). Officers thus demonstrated an awareness of the rhetorical weight of quantitative data, selecting information strategically for legitimation and promotional purposes.

In spite of their tacit understanding of the value of the arts and the experience using video at Oswald, officers' awareness of the political context led them to consider quantitative methods of evaluation more convincing for legitimation purposes. Oswald's community infrastructure manager argued that community wellbeing indicators could be strategically used, 'by showing what difference local government is trying to make,' which could give people 'confidence' that council are trying to make a difference on what the community cares about (OC4). A Community Indicators Victoria manager similarly suggested that cultural indicators of community wellbeing could provide 'a good vehicle for an officer within a council to validate why arts and culture has a place in the conversation of wellbeing' (CIV1). These comments hint at some of the opportunities for the broader use of wellbeing indicators in urban cultural policy, while I have also highlighted the value of alternative forms of knowledge for representing the outcomes of arts programmes.

Improving practice

The final function of evaluation to be discussed here is the interpersonal dimension of evaluation for learning: officers' calculative judgements that enabled them to learn from practice and potentially improve the process and ultimate results of council policy. As a Cordelia Arts Board member stated, 'Evaluation needs to be meaningful and acted upon,

especially when public money is involved. We need to know if we're achieving our objectives and, if not, how can we do better? (CAB). Some of the performance measures described above were also used for learning purposes, but quantitative performance data were not the main source of information in informal evaluations of urban cultural policy practice.

On an everyday basis, officers used feedback, observation and self-assessment in informal evaluations of their job performance. Many arts officers told me they gained a sense of how well they were carrying out their role by gauging how their relationships were faring with colleagues, community groups, artists or other organisations. They did so largely through interpersonal feedback (CC2). Sometimes this information was collated in an end-of-project report, which typically contained information such as: individual feedback we've collected, whether it's been through formal surveys or people taking the time to give us feedback without being asked – and any lessons that we've learned from that particular programme or project (CC1; also EC1; EC3; EER). Nonetheless, officers did not routinely reflect on relationships in formal monitoring and reporting activities. Discussing the need to explicitly recognise the importance of relationships in urban cultural policy evaluation, Cordelia's arts and culture manager identified a risk of not having the language to talk about what makes a good and bad relationship, and having the power to do something about it (CC2a). If officers were not able to talk about relationships, she suggested, they might not see them as something that could be managed and improved.

Recognising the importance of local knowledge, the officers in community and cultural development roles contended that conversations with programme participants were a more useful conduit of feedback than formal surveys. A debrief session, for instance, could provide information that is constructive for us to know because it gives us a pretty good indication of what kind of activity is being generated from the programmes that we run (CC1). Such a meeting could encourage officers to record learnings for next time (EYW; EC1; EC3). Although At Night did not end with a formal debrief or report, Oswald's cultural development manager also noted that great learnings emerged from both discussions with the artists and her own reflection on the many issues with this project (OC1). These comments mirror Mulligan and Smith's (2010, 114618) observation that CCD practitioners check their progress and processes through ongoing community engagement and reflective discussions rather than formal quantitative monitoring tools.

The evaluative meetings and reports sometimes included a discussion of outcomes, but officers struggled to pinpoint the exact results of arts programmes and conclusively determine their effectiveness. This was illustrated by the Edmundton evaluation report, which listed as one of the strengths of the street mural project: 'Cultural wellbeing ó creation of an artwork that celebrates the history of [the street] and adds vibrancy to it' (EER). This description corresponds with the dominant understanding of cultural wellbeing, described in Chapter Six as signifying vibrancy, local identity and a sense of place. However, it was unclear how, or to what extent, the mural contributed to the sense of heritage and vibrancy in the area. The programme partners agreed it was a worthwhile initiative and had valuable community benefits (EC1; EC4; EC6; EYW), but their conclusions were based on professional experience and relational knowledge, rather than any formal monitoring or evaluation. The arts advisor responsible for the most recent mural projects suggested that one indicator of success was that the group of artists remained in contact with her, expressing interest in future projects, and asking permission to legally paint walls. 'That, to me, is a marker of a change in behaviour,' she said (EC1). This indicator could not be used at the time of the debrief or evaluation report, however, as such results are not immediately obvious at the conclusion of a project.

The youth worker also observed changes in behaviour, notably that all but one of the young people who took part in this programme had stopped tagging. She observed wider community benefits as well: 'People say they feel safer' when walking in the streets with murals, and that, instead of being excluded from society, young people were taking responsibility for 'putting what they think is beautiful in there, and the rest of the city seems to appreciate it' (EYW). Noting that 'the difference takes a really long time,' she related the outcomes of these projects to the concept of community wellbeing, particularly through their 'ripple effect' in families (EYW).

Despite their recurrent use of local knowledge in informing their work and staging arguments on the value of arts and culture, officers were often dismissive of 'anecdotal evidence'. Several expressed an understanding that informal feedback was not rigorous data and therefore had little to contribute to evaluation. Officers may have presumed that this was my viewpoint, as a researcher with an interest in community wellbeing indicators and outcome evaluation. An arts programme manager at Oswald qualified her observation of the 'interest and buzz' around a late night event in this way:

That's anecdotal at this point. [The funding recipient's] acquittal [report] isn't due for a little while, so all that we can say in that regard is [based on] the feedback that the artists have received when they've been hanging about the work, and when I've sat there, watching the bemusement and interest of people. (OC2)

When I suggested that such observations could become more structured and incorporated into the evaluation framework at Cordelia, the unit manager responded with measured enthusiasm. The idea had 'potential', she said, but she anticipated some 'skepticism around how reliable is that, because it's so subjective.' There would need to be an understanding developed about how that might be a reliable, valid form of evaluation (CACU; CC2). The research officer at Cordelia spoke about her 'ongoing and frustrating struggle' with local policy workers and councillors 'diminishing' qualitative and subjective data (CC4). Urban renewal and cultural development researchers in Australia have similarly noted that policy-makers typically favour quantitative data, despite the insightful assessments of community programmes arrived at through the use of qualitative evaluation methods (Judd and Randolph 2006; Mulligan and Smith 2010). Equating qualitative with anecdotal, officers in this study did not systematically record or reflect upon informal feedback, preventing such information from becoming robust data.

In addition to informing decision-making, advocacy and legitimisation processes, programme evaluations could be seen as useful sources of knowledge for learning from and improving practice. The Cordelia unit manager explained her motivations for the public art exhibition evaluation: 'I'm not just interested in the outcomes. I'm interested in how that [evaluation] process develops relationships and understanding' (CC2). She considered the process to be a success in this regard, especially as it built the public art officer's 'understanding of how evaluation might be useful' and 'provided the opportunity to identify with [the project partners] where some areas for further development and focus might be for the next [exhibition]' (CC2). As well as modelling a process to follow for programme evaluation, and encouraging reflective practice in the arts and culture team, officers' experience with these evaluations provided lessons that were incorporated into the resultant evaluation framework (CEF; CC2; CC2a; CC3).

For learning purposes, officers typically favoured informal feedback and debriefing to a commissioned evaluation that could be shared with others. This was reflected in tensions at

one council around the accidental release of a programme evaluation report and the publication of a critical academic essay on a council arts project, which officers were not comfortable sharing or discussing for the purposes of this research. The social development manager at Cordelia suggested that, in order to facilitate evaluation for learning, her council needed to build a culture where people feel safe to say [things that aren't going well]. She thought the arts and culture evaluation framework might be a step in the right direction in this respect:

I think it's something good to put out there for people to start thinking about: what is the purpose of evaluation? Don't fudge the figures, to make it look good, because you can. Just be really true about it, and use it as a constructive and learning mechanism to make the next time better. (CC8)

The Edmundton arts advisor similarly described the advantages of using a debrief session to assess the street mural projects:

As much as it's great to hear the benefits of a project, it is really important to hear the weaknesses of a project or what went wrong, what was challenging or and it also gives people a chance to air any pent up frustrations they may have. That whole process is incredibly important. (EC1)

Officers' openness to ongoing dialogue as part of evaluation for learning was particularly important because of the unique challenges of each mural project, which made a one-size-fits-all approach inappropriate, and especially when there was a big project team, everyone coming at it with different areas of expertise and different expectations (EC1). This observation simultaneously highlights the need for continuous adaptation based on lessons learned and individual circumstances, as well as the different types of knowledge and values that might be required to evaluate the multiple frames of joined-up arts projects. This discussion has thus highlighted particular demands for, and challenges of, evaluation in the network tradition of governance.

Common challenges in urban cultural policy evaluation

This chapter illustrates several challenges for monitoring and evaluating urban cultural policy. These challenges fall within the broad areas of resourcing, organisational discourse and structure, technical issues, and attitudes to arts and culture. Identifying these constraints helps to understand the lack of formal evaluation practice in this field. After exploring each

of these issues, I conclude this section by considering how arts and cultural evaluation in city councils might more effectively fulfil the dual purposes of learning and legitimisation.

The most obvious reason for weak formal evaluation in these case studies is lack of human and financial capital. Cordelia's arts team stated simply, 'We don't have the resources, budgets or staff that are required for evaluation' (CACU). While Cordelia City Council was encouraging staff to think about evaluation within the context of RBA, it offered no additional resources for it (CC2b; CEF). Officers in other units and councils also indicated that they lacked the time, money and expertise to conduct effective monitoring and evaluation of their policies and programmes. Officers said, for instance, that they did not possess the requisite skills to design and analyse surveys (CACU; CC1; OC6) or the resources to administer them (CC1; CC4; OC2), nor did they recognise the potential value of qualitative data and interpretive analysis in formal modes of evaluation. As evaluation specialist Jane Davidson (2004, 89691) argues, subjective assessments are commonly devalued in our society, but robust human judgement and inter-subjective experiences play an important role in evaluation – as they do in interpretive research.

When councils required formal evaluation, the research unit typically helped recruit a consultant to design and manage the process. Even with this external expertise, however, arts programme evaluations were limited by a lack of existing data, officers' minimal engagement in the evaluation process, and the absence of budget allocations for collecting and analysing data and communicating results. In addition, the delay between generating data and synthesising evaluations did not always enable officers to reflect on results in a meaningful way (CEF).

When external sources of data existed, there were sometimes issues of consistency, reliability, availability and awareness. For instance, the state-wide indicators of health and wellbeing produced by the Department of Planning and Community Development and Community Indicators Victoria (CIV) were of limited use to Cordelia City Council due to their inability to be broken down by suburb (CC4). Research officers sometimes had to suddenly change the indicators they used due to particular studies and indices being discontinued (OC5). As already mentioned, arts officers generally found little information of use in their council's household survey, apart from representing problematic areas or population groups to target. Few of the officers interviewed showed an awareness of external

sources of data on which they could draw information for monitoring and evaluation. Specifically, no arts officers from the Victorian councils referred to CIV (cf. OC5; CC4; CC8), none of the Kent Bay officers discussed the LGAQ Market Facts Community Satisfaction Survey in interviews, and Edmondton officers showed no awareness of the -genuine progress indicatorsø developed for their region. While some officers discussed efforts to develop local community or outcome indicators, few described any such measures being used.

Even when officers could have accessed data related to the outcomes of particular programmes, they did not use it in the design or implementation of the case study projects. Oswald City Council, for instance, had developed a range of quantitative and qualitative indicators to monitor and evaluate the 24/7 City Policy, such as crime statistics, positive and negative media articles, and survey data on perceptions of safety (O24CP), yet officers did not mention these measures in relation to late night cultural activation. They did not refer to police statistics or adapt the generation of survey data in order to evaluate the programmes funded. It may not have been feasible to collect data at the local level of the specific site, but there was no evidence that officers had considered it, even though the council sought to monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of late night funding. Nor did the Edmondton officers use any graffiti monitoring tool to establish the effectiveness of the street art programme (EC1; EC6; EER). This may reflect officersø skepticism about the potential of arts programmes to make a significant difference in relation to the broad policy goals (EC1; OC2; OC3), or their different prioritisation of issue frames, as I outline in Chapter Six. Arts officersø greater concern with relational knowledge and cultural wellbeing outcomes may partly explain their lack of interest in evaluating outcomes in relation to the safety frame in these cases. A lack of resources is thus not the only explanation for these patterns of evaluation practice.

The structure and culture of local government contributed to some officersø perception that evaluation was not their responsibility. Although I recognise the important role of local government officers throughout the policy process, in the bureaucratic tradition of governance, -street-level bureaucratsø are not expected to have as much expertise and authority as their superiors. Following the market tradition, roles have become more specialised, and there is often a division between making and delivering policy, epitomised in -the purchaser-provider splitø (Bevir and Rhodes 2003, 8; Gingrich 2007; Van Gramberg and

Teicher 2000). Although local government is involved in integrated service delivery, these norms contributed to council workers' perception that it was the role of managers to engage in strategic and evaluative thinking and the role of officers to administer programmes according to the guidelines endorsed by the elected council. Managers, in particular, noted the operational focus of their department and limited strategic vision among their staff (CC2; CC2c; CC8; KBC3; OC6), while officers were often unsure of their role in evaluation and unaware of the other units and resources they could call on for support (CEF). Local governments are legally required to focus on performance measurement, and there has been a shift to outcomes thinking at each of these institutions (see Chapter Five). For now, however, in these arts teams, 'There isn't yet a culture where evaluation is embedded into the way that people work' (CC2).

Evaluation for learning and improvement requires the opportunity to identify weaknesses and negative results, but the local government environment was generally not seen as a safe space to acknowledge failure and learn from mistakes. For arts officers, while practice-oriented evaluation for learning can be more meaningful than the other functions discussed above, it can conflict with institutional norms. As Schön (1983 pp. 327-335) points out, reflective practice and organisational learning can actually 'challenge the prevailing knowledge structure' in a bureaucracy and threaten its 'stable system of rules and procedures'. There is a gulf between bureaucratic and market approaches to evaluation, on one hand, and agile or collaborative modes of organisational learning, on the other hand:

In contrast to the normal bureaucratic emphasis on uniform procedures, objective measures of performance, and centre/periphery systems of control, a reflective institution must place a high priority on flexible procedures, differentiated responses, qualitative appreciation of complex processes, and decentralized responsibility for judgment and action. In contrast to the normal bureaucratic emphasis on technical rationality, a reflective institution must make a place for attention to conflicting values and purposes. (Schön 1983, 338; see also Radin 2006)

I identified some of the 'conflicting values and purposes' of the case study programmes in Chapter Six, which demonstrated the potential of frame-reflective analysis for establishing these different goals and rationalities.

A further institutional impediment to arts and cultural evaluation was discursive. In order to be widely understood by key stakeholders, the language used in urban cultural policy evaluation needs to be accessible to artists, councillors and council officers in various

divisions. From a democratic perspective, this discourse should also be open to citizens. Coming from a range of professional and educational backgrounds, some of the people involved in or affected by urban cultural policy may not be comfortable with highly technical terms from a specific field (CC2b), or capable of 'confidently and competently' engaging in public debate about art (CC3).

Local government reports have a particular bureaucratic register that can be considered inadequate for describing the rich details of an artistic programme or experience. Recounting her recent attempt to include in a council report 'the powerful and quite imaginative and subjective statements by the artists themselves describing their work,' the Cordelia unit manager explained that these statements 'got taken out' before the report went to council: 'Because they were anecdotal, or they weren't actually in the accepted language and way of communicating with council.' Observing that, 'The opportunity to inspire and engage is sometimes very limited in these sorts of [local government] environments,' she suggested, 'There is potential to use images and videos much more than we currently do. I think it's very, very problematic to try and describe and promote a creative idea through the limited language of a council report' (CC2).

These comments recall Oswald officers' positive experiences of filming the late night cultural activation programmes. Although the contracted evaluator later stated that, with regard to the video of the late night pilot, the 'sample was too small' to determine the programme's benefits (OER), these audiovisual representations could have been analysed using a formal method of content or interpretive analysis. Similarly, the Cordelia gallery generated feedback through post-it notes, a visitors' book, and blog comments, but none of this material was seen by officers as data that could be incorporated into evaluation practices (CC6; CC7). I consequently identified great potential in improving council officers' understanding of qualitative data analysis (CEF).

Along with institutional constraints pertaining to levels of resourcing and organisational norms, broader attitudes to arts and culture influenced perceptions about the evaluation of urban cultural policy. Many policy workers simply considered it extremely difficult to evaluate cultural and creative activity (CC4; CC7; CAB; KBC1; OC5; see also Salvaris 2007; Dunphy 2010). Others, meanwhile, resisted evaluating art against 'instrumental' goals, expressing concerns that to do so would undermine the 'intrinsic value' of culture (CAB;

CC2b; CC6). Such comments illustrate the problematic dichotomy commonly perceived between intrinsic and instrumental value, as I have already discussed.

The practical constraints and common perceptions I discuss here raise a number of larger questions. If the arts are not broadly understood by society, and artistic expertise is not widely recognised, the lack of common language and established standards for judging artistic quality can result in misguided or non-instrumental evaluation. This is a particular issue for policies and programmes invoking the quality art frame. When arts and culture are seen as mysterious processes with such intangible and subjective responses that they cannot be measured, evaluation is seen as impossible. If cultural policy is marginal, this may not matter, as its evaluation is unlikely to be a priority. On the other hand, when art is treated as a magic pill, and framed as contributing to all kinds of social, cultural, economic and environmental results, evaluation may become complex and overwhelming (Mirza 2006; Goldbard 2008). Conceptualisations of cultural value according to dominant policy frames thus shape attitudes about the feasibility and desirability of urban cultural policy evaluation.

The final category of challenges to be discussed here are technical issues, some of which do not befall arts and culture alone, but are common to many types of evaluation. Firstly, the attribution problem, which sometimes leads to confusing correlation with causality, plagues performance and results evaluation, particularly when indicators are relied upon to indicate success or failure (OC7; see, amongst others, Patton 2001, vii; Galloway 2009). Identifying an improved result, such as strengthened perceptions of safety, does not necessarily indicate that a particular programme has contributed to that outcome. Causality can be established statistically, but officers did not have access to sufficient information and expertise to do so within these case studies.

Many officers were nevertheless able to make an informed judgement about the likely contribution of the intervention to certain results, based on their interpretation of a range of information. An Edmundton arts advisor, for instance, observed that most of the council-initiated street murals, which were in graffiti hot spots, were not tagged for pretty much six months after they were done, so they worked for a certain amount of time (EC1). Both she and the youth worker, as discussed above, also noticed changes in behaviour among the young participants in the programme. As Davidson argues, the level of certainty required in everyday political decision-making differs from scientific standards of proof. Inferring

causation by weighing up evidence both for and against the suspected cause, especially by asking ‘impacted’ or observers directly about their experience, is an acceptable way of generating plausible explanations of a ‘practically significant impact’ in professional evaluation (Davidson 2004, 68682; emphasis in original). There is potential for the experience and expertise of arts officers to be used more effectively in this way, if their managers and elected representatives accept the value of their inter-subjective knowledge.

A further issue relates to the complexity and unpredictability of creative processes and the intangibility of social and cultural outcomes. Unlike rubbish collections and road repairs, much of the activity at the heart of urban cultural policy cannot be measured directly, and results cannot be predicted with any certainty (Mirza 2006; Mulligan and Smith 2010). It is worth noting that this problem is common to many public policies and programmes that involve ‘symbolic activity’ (Radin 2006, 93), not only arts and culture, but also, for instance, planning, social policy and community development (Tan et al. 2011). There are clear, tangible outputs of arts funding, such as the artworks produced and events delivered with council grants. Measures of these outputs commonly appear in council reports, particularly audience numbers. How people respond to an artistic object or event and whether it has any impact on them is not as easy to count, but it is not impossible. Researchers and consultants have made advances in recent years in the development of techniques for measuring audience engagement and the ‘intrinsic’ benefits of creative experiences (Bailey 2009; Brown and Novak 2007; Radbourne, Glow, and Johanson 2010; Tamborini et al. 2010). There remain ample gaps for research to fill about the complex ways in which different forms of artistic experiences achieve these results.

Increasing the legitimacy of subjective data and interpretive analysis is a significant challenge when the public sector is dominated by narrow forms of instrumental rationality. This is particularly problematic for urban cultural policy, as art’s influence is often subtle and ‘slow burning’ (Mulligan and Smith 2010, 80). The value of an individual participating in certain council-funded cultural activities, for instance, might not be evident in time for that year’s annual report. Moreover, different evaluation audiences interpret success and worth in different ways. As I have already illustrated, various policy communities seek different kinds of measures and outcomes, so one particular indicator is unlikely to conclusively determine the success or otherwise of an arts programme or cultural policy.

In sum, there are numerous barriers to rigorous and relevant local cultural policy evaluation. The evaluation practices of local government arts and cultural departments could be improved through: better resourcing; building a culture and capacity of evaluation within these units; and the development and use of a discourse that recognises various forms of cultural value and allows for multiple types of knowledge and policy frames to be considered. As Anna-Luis Cook (2004, i) argues, in a research paper for the New Zealand Treasury, building a culture of outcome-focused evaluation requires more than the imposition of a set of indicators: 'if a results focus is to truly be introduced to the New Zealand public management system then all aspects of the wider system will need to be amended, in order to support a general cultural change.' It is not the purpose of this thesis to prescribe measures to change the public management system, but this analysis of urban cultural policy evaluation may encourage critical reflection on the use and implications of community wellbeing indicators. Given the constraints identified above, and the relevant discourses and practices discussed throughout this thesis, in the following section I consider the advantages and disadvantages of one particular approach to outcome evaluation in an Australian municipality.

Results Based Accountability: a pragmatic framework for local government evaluation

Results Based Accountability (RBA) offers a potentially useful framework for integrating community wellbeing indicators into urban cultural policy practice. At the time of research, it was partially introduced at Cordelia City Council, proposed at Oswald, and largely corresponded with the ideas expressed by officers at Edmundton and Kent Bay. Celebrated by some as a plain language and action-oriented approach, RBA has been adopted by various public agencies in at least ten countries, including New Zealand's Ministry for Social Development and New South Wales' Family Services. For its critics, RBA simplifies and standardises complex processes and information, obscuring and reconfiguring local relational practices and situated knowledges, and in doing so risks defeating its purpose of improving wellbeing results (Keevers et al. 2012). The key characteristics of RBA and their implications for urban cultural policy practice are considered in this final part of the chapter through a discussion of its implementation in Cordelia City Council.

Designed by Mark Friedman, a civil servant turned consultant, RBA is a framework for planning and measuring the process and outcomes of government and non-profit activities. Also trade-marked as Outcomes-Based Accountability (OBA) in the United Kingdom, and sometimes called Results Accountability, RBA is a pragmatic approach to public sector planning and evaluation, with two parts: performance accountability (process evaluation) and population accountability (results evaluation) (Friedman 2009). The key performance questions focus on the effort made in the process of delivering a programme or service, asking, 'How much did we do?' and 'How well did we do?' (Friedman 2009, 67672). Evaluating results is considered more important but also more difficult; in RBA vocabulary, this involves asking, 'Is anyone better off?' (CC5; Friedman 2009, 86, 90691).

Local policy workers and public administration scholars have expressed an increasing interest in outcome measurement, which some see as a logical progression from the emphasis on performance measurement brought in by the market tradition of governance. Making the shift from measuring outputs to evaluating outcomes is challenging, however, and many council officers in this study described the particular difficulty of meaningfully measuring the results of urban cultural policy. RBA has been proposed as an apt vehicle for introducing and integrating outcome indicators into the work of officers at both Oswald and Cordelia City Councils. It is also promoted by CIV, which runs RBA workshops alongside training on its own indicator suite. According to Athena Williams, then CIV capacity building and training manager, RBA provides 'a practical model' for policy workers to 'understand how indicators can be used' (CIV1). The RBA workshops at CIV have been attended and appreciated by 'a lot of local government employees, especially 'social or corporate planners' who, explained Williams, 'have really gravitated to some training or knowledge around indicators, and a framework to apply it' (CIV1).

There are various reasons for the recent appeal of RBA in the context of local government but, I argue, the key is its pragmatism. In Williams' words, 'RBA provides a very simple articulation that people can instantly apply' (CIV1). RBA is a suitable approach for local government because it uses plain language, has a relatively simple methodology, facilitates 'learning by doing' and is designed for services that aim to improve citizens' lives in some way. That is, rather than being a highly technical or specialised model designed for industrial production or some other commercial use, it is a user-friendly, 'one-size-fits-all' framework that conforms with the major traditions of local governance. As Friedman (2009, 65) notes:

Performance measurement comes from the industrial part of the private sector [and] does not translate very well to public or private sector organizations that provide services. The implication that there is a mechanistic relationship between inputting staff resources and outputting customer benefit seems absurd, if not insulting to teachers, health care workers, police officers and other service providers.

The officers cited earlier who complained about performance measurement in arts and culture would likely agree with Friedman's comment. RBA better corresponds with the strategic planning frameworks and integrated services already existing in municipalities, as well as with officers' everyday ways of working, while also enabling internal capacity building. The approach is designed to respect local knowledge and allow managers to begin developing performance measures without the need for particular training or new technology. The basic premise is this, states Friedman (2009, 65): "Most managers know how their program works." Available free of charge to government organisations, it is not surprising that the chief executive and all five directors at the City of Cordelia embraced RBA (CC5).

Cordelia City Council nonetheless faced some difficulties with the implementation of RBA. The arts and culture manager expressed her dissatisfaction with the first set of RBA performance measures developed by officers, which then appeared in the service unit plan (CC2; CC2c). For instance, the sole performance measure for the public art programme was the percentage of attendees who perceived that an event or exhibition "made a contribution to the public realm and place-making in the area" (CACSUP). It was not clear how this indicator would be populated, or how meaningful it would be if participants were asked a survey question with this wording. The research officer also suggested that some of the measures developed in the RBA workshops were so "impossible to measure" that they were laughable (CC4). Officers broadly agreed that the initial RBA measures would need to be refined and supplemented. Indeed, this was a key rationale for the arts and culture evaluation framework (CC2c, CEF).

Interviewees suggested it was officers' inexperience with RBA, rather than a flaw in the framework, that was to blame for the weak measures. Despite the claims outlined above, specialist training and expertise might therefore be needed to effectively implement this approach. Several officers at Cordelia pointed out that the arts and culture unit was one of the first to go through the in-house RBA workshop programme, at which stage council staff,

including those responsible for implementing the RBA framework, were new to the process (CAB, CC1, CC2c, CC5; CC7). Other council departments faced similar difficulties with RBA:

It's been really difficult, especially for place management, because you're trying to do so much, and you're trying to get a measure, and you spend half your time doing it, and it's not been done before, so we've gone around in circles. If you asked any of the place managers, they'd want to just be done with [RBA], you know, and get on with your actual work. We do recognise it's important but it's in its infancy [] We ended up coming up with really notional measures, that (a) had no baseline, and (b) couldn't really be reported or measured on every year, anyway. (CC7)

These comments recall scholarly criticisms of performance measurement frameworks, which may introduce burdensome monitoring and reporting frameworks that impede the ability of policy workers to fulfil their core responsibilities, and can have adverse effects on performance (Van Thiel and Leeuw 2002; Radin 2006). The social development manager similarly described her department's response to RBA, although she recognised the process as an opportunity as well as a challenge:

It was really hard because in the first instance we didn't have any baseline data. It's very hard to find some really good indicators of how we have impacted with our work. The RBA made us focus on our impact and how our work will make a difference. At the moment, we're working towards some measures. They're very simple but it's not very strong. At least the RBA has provided an opportunity for the whole of the organisation to be looking at a consistent way of evaluating the work that we do. (CC8)

The difficulties of developing relevant and effective RBA measures represent a risk of the framework. Many council officers had little to no experience in research and evaluation and consequently had a limited understanding of the methods of both qualitative and quantitative data generation and analysis. Arts officers in particular were often unaware of external sources of data, such as graffiti monitoring tools and community indicators. Even when officers recognised the value of film or other creative tools for documenting their work, they did not see these as methods of data generation. Therefore, while their participation in evaluation processes was important to ensure the relevance of the measures and strategies developed, arts and cultural officers would have required guidance from more experienced researchers or evaluators in order to develop appropriate indicators and evaluation frameworks. Although RBA presents itself as a simple and user-friendly approach, this masks some of the complexity involved in monitoring and evaluation, especially in relation to broad

quality of life results. This is a particular risk when officers are ill equipped for formal evaluation and may propose indicators that misrepresent their work or objectives, but against which their performance will be judged.

Despite these challenges and my academic concerns about the lack of explicit theory or methodological rigour within RBA, this approach provided a useful vocabulary and pertinent principles for introducing Cordelia City Council officers to a more structured approach to evaluation. In agreement with the social development manager, the research officer suggested RBA was worth introducing even if many units initially struggled to develop appropriate measures. As a result of the RBA workshops, she said, departments that had not previously used the council's research services had started thinking about data related to their programmes and asking, 'How will you know if that's improved?' She added, 'Sure, they've been told they have to do this, but it's having some flow-on effects' (CC4). One of the potential effects of RBA is enhancing officers' sense of purpose, thus constituting a productive form of 'the conduct of conduct'. According to Cordelia's business improvement advisor:

People sometimes come to work and do the pedalling without really knowing what strategically they're making a difference for. [With RBA] people can start to have ownership and know they're making a difference. That can help in improving the culture of the workplace. (CC5)

In contrast to the computer-based management system critiqued by Lynne Keevers et al. (2012), which was imposed by an external organisation without the input of the workers affected by it, the Cordelia case demonstrates the potential for RBA to be a technology of empowerment and capacity building. RBA is supposed to engage practitioners in the development of evaluation measures and corresponding strategies (Friedman 2009). This case study corresponds with the findings of an existing study on outcome measurement in New Zealand local government. Research by Chia Yie Tan et al. (2011) shows that despite officers' enthusiasm for outcome indicators within a strategic planning framework, and the institutionalisation of NPM and community planning in New Zealand municipalities, measuring results represents a significant challenge for departments whose outputs and outcomes are harder to define and measure than those in services such as water supply and waste disposal.

The two broad functions of evaluation analysed in this chapter – learning and legitimisation – correspond with the two main purposes of evaluation within RBA: telling an ‘inside story’ and an ‘outside story’. The ‘inside story’, according to Friedman (2009, 89), ‘must be the unadulterated truth’, and can be used for organisational learning, personal and professional development, and continuous improvement. A powerful and compelling ‘outside story’ (Friedman 2009, 89), on the other hand, can help council officers to communicate with elected representatives, the public and other external stakeholders (CER). This important distinction between the internal and external uses of performance information helps to address a key tension between the different functions of evaluation, although it is not unique to RBA (see, e.g., Gill and Schmidt 2011, 16).

Another reason for the appeal of RBA is its alignment with contemporary trends in public policy and governance, notably the focus on shared outcomes and partnerships (Wandersman et al. 2000, 390; Fortuin and Van Marissing 2009). The introduction of RBA at Cordelia City encouraged officers to think about the results of specific interventions, and was similarly proposed at Oswald City Council as an arts programme evaluation framework (OC1) and as a means of introducing health and wellbeing indicators across the organisation (OC4). A key feature of RBA is the need to work with partners, to predict a baseline and to generate ‘ideas that you can work on together to ‘turn the curve’, to provide a better service or to improve the outcome’ (CC5; Friedman 2009, 57659). This ‘big need to identify who your strategic partners are’ is ‘a strength of the model’ (CC5). At the time of this research, however, departments at Cordelia had been working fairly independently on developing performance measures. Broader discussions were anticipated the following year when the council introduced the next phase of RBA – population measures (CC5).

RBA thus combines the market practice of achieving accountability through performance measures with the network ideal of sustainable, integrated governance through collaboration amongst partners with shared responsibility. Friedman (2009) does not use these terms, but RBA is designed to deal with ‘wicked problems’ (Rittel and Webber 1973) through joined-up government and long-term thinking. Community wellbeing is its explicit bottom line:

Results Accountability starts with ends and works backward, step by step, to means. For communities, the ends are conditions of well-being for children, adults, families, and the community as a whole, such as *Residents with Good Jobs, Children Ready for School, A Safe Neighborhood, A Clean Environment*, or even more specific conditions

like *Public Spaces without Graffiti* and *A Place Where Neighbors Know Each Other*. (Friedman 2009, 11; emphasis in original; also cited by CC5)

This description of conditions of wellbeing – albeit from a linear perspective – recalls the capability approach, which provides a philosophical basis for assessing a person's freedom or opportunities to achieve a good quality of life (Sen 1993; Comim, Qizilbash, and Alkire 2008; Nussbaum 2013). Although Friedman eschews theory for common sense, RBA corresponds with particular understandings about the appropriate role of government and of policy workers.

Adopting RBA implies an acceptance that enhancing community wellbeing, or quality of life, is the fundamental goal of government. It suggests that the best way for agencies to achieve this goal is by replacing or complementing bureaucratic and market-oriented performance measurement systems with a participatory and pragmatic approach to goal-setting, performance monitoring and outcome evaluation. My analysis of the Cordelia case study has pointed to some of the risks and difficulties in realising this approach, but it has nonetheless suggested that RBA could be a productive framework for integrating community wellbeing indicators into urban cultural policy practice. The infancy of this approach at Cordelia makes it too early to fully assess the implications of RBA in this context, but it merits further research. It might be particularly fruitful to compare the advantages and disadvantages of RBA with other tools and frameworks for policy and programme evaluation, such as logic models and outcome mapping, if examples can be found of such approaches being used in urban cultural policy practice.

Conclusion: community wellbeing indicators for urban cultural policy?

I have argued that the pragmatism of RBA is both a strength and weakness of this approach. Its low resource requirements and avoidance of sophisticated language and complex concepts are what makes it a useful framework for local government. At the same time, it also lacks an explicit theoretical grounding, giving a misleading impression of its neutrality and universality. Despite its one-size-fits-all appearance, the implementation and application of RBA will vary in different local circumstances, and its basic toolkit might need to be complemented with alternative approaches to planning and evaluation, such as frame-

reflective deliberation or the development of a shared narrative (see, e.g., Fortuin and Van Marissing 2009).

This chapter has provided a specific case study that should not be interpreted as illustrating the only way in which RBA can be used. The complexity and contingency of policy work and public service delivery mean that there is unlikely to be any 'perfect' framework for outcome evaluation in local government, although some approaches may be more coherent and effective than others in certain circumstances. In terms of its suitability for local government practitioners involved in the design and delivery of cultural services and arts activities aiming to achieve community wellbeing outcomes, RBA represents a practical, structured approach to process and results evaluation. In urban cultural policy, it may be more useful for legitimation than learning purposes, as it corresponds better with corporate planning requirements than the values and practices of officers concerned with quality art, cultural wellbeing and community strengthening. RBA offers no panacea, as a variety of responses would be required to address all of the challenges discussed in this chapter, let alone those that did not surface in these case studies.

Before considering the implementation of RBA within the context of arts and cultural evaluation at Cordelia City Council, this chapter outlined the functions and challenges of evaluative practice in the four case studies. Some officers' approaches to evaluation for legitimation and learning signalled a disconnect from the bureaucratic and market traditions of governance. Officers engaging in strategic promotion and reflective practice needed to be creative, proactive, adaptive and argumentative. Their awareness of the need for agile, responsive and relational approaches to evaluation corresponds with principles of new governance. Although council officers demonstrated the importance of advocacy and communications in the context of their work, there was minimal resourcing for these types of activity. To be more effective at legitimation and provide more opportunities for learning, more rigorous evaluation methods would be needed, particularly qualitative approaches that correspond with cultural policy frames and officers' understandings of cultural value. This raises a broader question about public understandings of the limitations of quantitative measurement and the value of interpretive data and analysis. The continued predominance of narrow numerical measures of performance at the institutional level reflects the ongoing strength of the market tradition and the broader neoliberal metanarrative and even while officers are adopting network-style practices.

A preminent theme in this chapter has been the tension between qualitative and quantitative indicators of success, which represents a clash of knowledge and values. In particular, this conflict reflects the different knowledge types associated with the dominant urban cultural policy frames, on one hand, and practices based on council-wide accountability requirements that represent a 'myth of rationality' on the other. By considering the different functions of evaluation for local policy workers, this chapter has suggested that certain approaches to measurement and assessment may be more relevant for some purposes than others. Representing a widely accepted goal and numerical form of knowledge, indicators of community wellbeing could serve an important function in rituals of accountability, promotion and decision-making. They may be less useful for improving practice, though, than local and relational knowledge.

As an accessible, practice-oriented approach, RBA offers a potentially useful framework for integrating community wellbeing indicators into the everyday work of local government officers. There are risks, however, that its implementation displaces or undermines other forms of knowledge, practice and value. Creating wellbeing indicators does not automatically enhance the capacity of urban cultural policy workers for meaningful outcome evaluation. Officers' involvement in developing outcome indicators can nonetheless encourage them to think about the results of their work and the means of evaluating local government policy and programmes. In sum, my analysis suggests that community wellbeing indicators are unlikely to be effective in urban cultural policy evaluation, unless they are developed in a participatory manner, integrated into the structure and culture of local government, interpreted in accordance with local knowledge and arts expertise, and accompanied by other efforts to build the culture and capacity of evaluation within local government.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

Urban cultural policy involves the design and delivery of services, funding and infrastructure by local government officers who use creative activity and symbolic expression to pursue a range of goals in the city. This study has investigated the discourses and practices of local arts and cultural policy workers as they enact governmental rationalities and articulate their contributions to quality of life outcomes. Despite its rhetorical significance, and a proliferation of regimes of measurement and rituals of accountability, I found little evidence of formal outcome evaluation in urban cultural policy practice in Australia and New Zealand.

My critical explanation of urban cultural policy has drawn on the limited literature from this field and selected scholarship in cognate disciplines, along with original, empirical research based on interpretive methods of data generation and analysis. Four case studies have provided specific examples of the discourses and practices of urban cultural policy: late night cultural activation at the City of Oswald (Victoria), a library and cultural centre development at the City of Kent Bay (Queensland), a street mural at the City of Edmundton (New Zealand), and a public art exhibition and evaluation framework at the City of Cordelia (Victoria). Each of these case studies is situated in a particular temporal and spatial context ó aspects of which are not fully revealed to protect participants' identity. The shared history of local government and cultural policy in Australia and New Zealand has allowed for the abstraction of some common patterns, notably: European traditions of cultural policy and forms of cultural value (Chapter Two); the shift from 'roads, rates and rubbish' to 'community, culture and calculative practices' (Chapter Three); major governance traditions (Chapter Five); policy frames (Chapter Six); and evaluation practices (Chapter Seven).

Together, these patterns of cultural value, policy discourses, governmental structures, public management practices and calculative techniques characterise my depiction of urban cultural policy in Australia and New Zealand. Informed by the theory of governmentality and relevant scholarly analyses of local government and cultural policy, I have argued that this particular blend of knowledge, goals and values, embodied in interpersonal practices and institutional norms and structures, is what constitutes urban cultural policy. My interpretive analysis of various forms of cultural value and policy discourse has thus recognised both rationalistic and

constructivist forms of knowledge in municipalities' programmatic pursuit of quality of life outcomes.

According to the theories of governmentality and wellbeing as capabilities, along with local government scholars and the officers interviewed for this study, the concept of community wellbeing underpins local government's *raison d'être*. As well as several issue frames of urban cultural policy, the meta-frame of community wellbeing is a multidimensional, inter-subjective goal that is difficult for local government officers to define and achieve.

Researchers and practitioners alike struggle to determine the extent to which specific programmes and policies contribute to these broad outcomes. Such problems of meaning and measurement permeate urban cultural policy. Without seeking to resolve these problems, this research clarifies key concepts and contributes to an enhanced understanding of the issues at stake in urban cultural policy, particularly the rationalities and technologies associated with outcome evaluation.

Meanings and measures of urban cultural policy: a summary

In the theoretical discussion and literature review in the first chapters of this thesis, I establish that urban cultural policy is an important dimension of contemporary government. This is in the Foucauldian sense that we are governed both by and through culture, and based on the more common understanding of urban cultural policy as constituted by city council plans and programmes involving artistic activities and cultural institutions. This research implies that our capability to form place-based communities, engage in creative activity and construct cultural identity is in part influenced by the discourses and practices of local government workers. In the discussion that follows, I summarise the main arguments and contributions of each chapter, before more explicitly addressing the research questions in the following section.

In Chapter Two, I highlight several widely observed trends in 'Western' cultural policy, notably the significance of the 'cultural democracy moment' and the 'the creative city' for local government. Cultural policy, I argue, is informed by particular conceptualisations of cultural value – aesthetic, developmental, social and economic – each based on a certain understanding of culture, whether as art, cultivation, way of life or commodity. These

definitions of culture and associated forms of cultural value provide useful heuristic categories, which I expand in my frame-critical analysis in Chapter Six.

The theoretically-informed literature review of Chapter Three draws attention to the increasing prominence of arts, culture and community in Australian and New Zealand local government. Through a genealogical analysis, I outline the shared municipal traditions in these two countries, notably the expansion of ‘services to people’, the ‘turn to community’ in both the arts and government, and the rise of cultural planning and urban revitalisation programmes. In recent decades, local government has increasingly drawn on calculative practices, such as strategic planning and performance measurement, as higher-level governments in Australia and New Zealand have accorded municipalities both more freedom and more responsibility. As in Chapter Two, in Chapter Three I highlight gaps in the literature, pointing to the lack of attention to practice in these fields, and the particular paucity of scholarship on local and urban cultural policy in New Zealand and Australia.

Building on the theoretical groundwork of Chapter One, in Chapter Four I elucidate the ontological and epistemological foundations for this study. The theories of governmentality and wellbeing as human flourishing inform my premise that the measurement of community wellbeing is an important dimension of urban cultural policy. My interpretive-comparative research design recognises historical contingency, and multiple interpretations and forms of expertise, particularly local and tacit knowledge. By adopting an ethnographic sensibility, conducting genealogical and frame-critical analysis, and engaging in abductive reasoning, I have generated relevant data and articulated a critical explanation of contextualised interpretations. After modifying my research questions and design in light of initial findings, I responded to the challenge of accessing research settings by taking a more participatory approach to the final case study. Although the processes of negotiating access and co-producing data proved challenging, my fieldwork at Cordelia City Council was valuable for getting closer to urban cultural policy practice in order to critically examine rationalities and technologies of evaluation.

Urban cultural policy practitioners work in a complex environment with tensions arising from the competing traditions of governance. This is the main argument of Chapter Five, where I delineate officers’ approaches to the case studies and the broader context of urban cultural policy, strategic planning and arts programming within three public management traditions:

bureaucracy, market and network. Although I discuss each tradition separately, they co-exist within urban cultural governance. An arm's length funding programme with clear criteria represents the classic bureaucratic tradition, while participatory arts, cultural planning and community cultural development correspond more with a networked governance approach. The two different examples of late night cultural activation at Oswald City Council – the late night programme funding 'pilot' and the participatory arts project 'At Night' – effectively demonstrate the different traditions in the same local context. The prevalence of performance measurement, reporting and benchmarking practices, as well as the language of business and principles of New Public Management, illustrated in numerous examples, indicate the strength of the market tradition in all four case study councils.

Describing this combination of traditions as the medley of urban cultural governance, I propose that working in this sector requires a constellation of different forms of knowledge and skills. In addition to the traditional bureaucratic norms of transparency and neutrality, and the competitive and calculative behaviour encouraged by marketisation, the more recent tradition of network governance calls for relationship-building, communication skills and strategic thinking. Officers' practice in the case study programmes reflected the opportunities and demands of 'new governance', layered upon the two other traditions.

By articulating a frame-critical analysis of selected texts in Chapter Six, I develop an enhanced understanding of urban cultural policy rationalities. Drawing on my thematic analysis of primary source material, and paying attention to the values and goals of each case study programme, I examine six issue frames of urban cultural policy: quality art, community strengthening, safety, the creative city, creative place-making and cultural wellbeing. Each of these frames is goal-oriented and provides a justification for governmental action by integrating knowledge, values and interests in relation to an inherent problem representation. There is some overlap in terms of goals and values among these cases, all of which can be described as 'creative spaces' policies aiming to improve the overarching goal of community wellbeing. Certain frames were more important in different cases and to different actors, according to their professional background, institutional location and the discourses embedded in local government legislation. Arts officers were typically more concerned with quality art and cultural wellbeing than the frames of the creative city or safety, despite the latter being important rationales for the case study programmes' partners and funders, as well as significant goals of the wider council. As in other post-industrial countries, the creative

city is a prominent frame in local government plans in Australia and New Zealand, even if its prioritisation of economic value is not widely embraced by cultural development practitioners.

Finally, in Chapter Seven, I outline the main functions and challenges of urban cultural policy evaluation. There was little formal evaluation in the case studies, and when it did occur, it was mostly for accountability purposes. Although they might not describe it as evaluation, officers engaged in informal calculative practices for advocacy and for learning, in order to improve policy processes and outcomes or inform decision-making. The barriers that I identify to rigorous and relevant urban cultural policy evaluation include: resourcing, technical issues, organisational norms and common conceptualisations of arts and culture. If these are considered problems, then possible solutions would be: increased resources dedicated to evaluation; building a culture of and capacity for evaluation within arts and culture departments; structural requirements to evaluate results; and the development of a shared language that recognises the various forms of cultural value and allows for multiple types of knowledge and policy frames to be considered. Cordelia's partial adoption of a Results Based Accountability (RBA) framework provides a useful example of the potential and limitations of a practice-oriented planning and outcome measurement regime. Even if the assumptions and actions within a results accountability framework are useful in this context, such a process is unlikely to address all of the evaluation barriers identified above. Moreover, it risks reinforcing the emphasis on narrow quantitative measures of success.

Addressing the research questions

Responding to the research questions throughout the thesis, I consider how community wellbeing indicators relate to the discourses and practices of urban cultural policy in Australia and New Zealand. My answers are necessarily partial and contextualised, descriptive and analytic, yet they provide an insight into the multiple forms of power and knowledge circulating in this field. Set forth in Chapter One, my research questions are:

- (1) What are the discourses and practices of urban cultural policy in Australian and New Zealand local government?
- (2) For what reasons and purposes do local government cultural policy workers use or seek outcome indicators?

(3) What are the implications of using community wellbeing indicators in urban cultural policy calculations?

To answer these research questions, I have uncovered significant rationalities and technologies of urban cultural policy from two main sources: a genealogical literature review and an interpretive-comparative case study analysis. Each case study programme represents one or more broad practices of urban cultural policy: allocating public funds to artistic projects; contracting artists to create a performance or artefact for a public space; organising an event to exhibit creative works or facilitate cultural expression in the municipality; designing, constructing and maintaining venues where creative activity takes place; and developing and revising plans, policies, strategies and guidelines related to any of the above.

This research design has enabled me to observe the continued local significance of several major policy paradigms: 'intrinsic value' in the quality art frame, cultural democracy and community arts, and cultural utilitarianism in the form of 'policy attachment' to the frames of community strengthening, safety, creative place-making and the creative city (Gray 2007). The overarching discourse or meta-frame of community wellbeing sits above these issue frames. It is not named in all of the relevant local government statutes, although it was prominent in New Zealand's Local Government Act from 2002 until 2012. Community wellbeing is nonetheless widely understood as the fundamental goal of local government in Australia and New Zealand. This is a point on which practitioners' and scholars' views typically coalesce.

Its meaning varies slightly in different contexts but, in my case studies, urban cultural policy workers generally understood community wellbeing to signify the conditions in which individuals can achieve health, safety, social connections and cultural participation. This conceptualisation of community wellbeing corresponds with the social determinants of health, as well as the theory of wellbeing as capabilities, which sees government's underlying goal as providing the conditions in which humans can flourish and achieve a good quality of life. Of the multiple dimensions of community wellbeing, cultural wellbeing was a particularly important frame for urban cultural policy-makers. The shared understanding of cultural wellbeing in this context refers to a well-functioning community whose members have the opportunity to develop a sense of belonging and to feel comfortable and safe expressing their cultural identity and creativity. My study thus proffers a relevant definition

of cultural wellbeing, which I identify as a key rationality of urban cultural policy, especially in New Zealand, following the term's appearance in the Local Government Act 2002.

Significant other discourses and practices in this domain build on the traditions of local government in these countries. Born out of pragmatism, and demonstrating an ongoing concern with services to property, municipalities continue to focus on infrastructure and tangible problems, even in their approach to cultural services. The local government sector has nonetheless been significantly influenced by international discourses of cultural rights and the creative economy, as well as the movement and techniques of community arts. These discursive and social practices shape urban cultural policy, especially when they become embedded in the structures and services of municipalities following their incorporation into local government legislation. Edmundton's street art programme, for instance, used a typical medium of community art – the mural – and invoked various policy frames under the rubric of community wellbeing. This included a broad public desire to prevent graffiti in order to increase perceptions of safety, as well as an understanding of the factors motivating young people to make their mark on public walls and of the distinction between quality street art and amateur tagging. In articulating their approach to this programme, officers drew on various regimes of value, notably the community planning framework and cultural wellbeing concept that were legitimated by New Zealand's Local Government Act 2002. Officers also expressed ideas of talent and tolerance in the creative city, tapping into the global discourse institutionalised in Edmundton's long-term plans.

The practices of urban cultural policy – the improvised and repeated actions of local government officers who design, deliver and assess arts and cultural programmes – involve an array of informal calculations of the quality or worth of particular activities. Some evaluative practice is formally structured by local government legislation that prescribes periodic monitoring and reporting within a corporate planning framework. For urban cultural policy practitioners, such performance measurement regimes constitute important rituals of accountability but rarely provide an opportunity to learn from practice in order to improve the process or results of council policies. Alongside these structured assessments that typically rely on quantitative data for comparative purposes, officers use interpersonal feedback and other forms of local knowledge and relational practice in informal evaluations of their work.

My analysis of these processes of calculation and evaluation provides insights into the attractions and implications of community wellbeing indicators. I suggest, in particular, that outcome indicators are likely to fit into formally structured approaches to programme evaluation and performance measurement, which appeal to local government senior management and elected councillors, but that informal evaluation corresponds better with the everyday practices of 'street-level' arts officers. Scholarly analyses of 'the performance movement' (Radin 2006) and the 'mechanical objectivity' of numbers (Porter 1996) suggest a cautious approach should be taken to outcome measurement regimes, since they are typically based on instrumental rationality, require significant levels of resourcing and may create perverse incentives (Espeland 1997; Keevers et al. 2012; Vestman and Conner 2008; Tan et al. 2011).

By quantifying outcomes in relation to clearly identified, shared goals, scholars and practitioners have suggested community wellbeing indicators are useful policy tools for informing assessments of government interventions. According to various theories of public management and governance, including governmentality, contemporary government is dependent upon measurement. To make sense as a form of government, urban cultural policy must therefore be measurable. To be accepted as a legitimate form of liberal democratic governance, urban cultural policy must actually be measured. This is a theoretical justification of the contemporary demand for policy indicators, but there are also many practical reasons for which local government officers show an interest in outcome measures. As I interpret in Chapter Seven, calculating policy outcomes is important for various purposes, notably learning and legitimation. Moreover, as I argue throughout the thesis, numbers are a valued form of seemingly objective and reliable knowledge in the local government context.

A key issue emerging from my genealogical and frame-critical analysis is the clash of knowledge types and different values between the three traditions of public sector governance. This tension is most apparent in the different approaches to assessment. Asserting objectivity, disinterestedness and universal standards, the bureaucratic tradition is epitomised in transparent, arm's length funding structures. In the market tradition, officers' approaches to assessment become more competitive, targeted and concerned with efficiency and accountability. Finally, personal experience, interpersonal relationships, political manoeuvring and strategic thinking are important in the network tradition, which legitimises

the subjectivity and contingency of value judgements, relational practice and context-specific knowledge. The first two modes of government, based on instrumental rationality and positivist approaches to knowledge, can be labelled 'modern', while the third 'postmodern' approach has a constructivist epistemology. Although local government officers do not typically make such distinctions between the overlapping norms and models that shape their work, this academic interpretation of governance helps to understand seemingly contradictory discourses and practices.

Both the bureaucratic and market traditions of government depend on rationalistic models of objective knowledge, epitomised by numbers. While the network tradition is founded on a broader conception of rationality and recognises multiple forms of legitimate knowledge, it does not displace the other traditions of government. Society's desire for clear measures of progress by which to judge government has not disappeared. Community wellbeing indicators seem to be suitable measures in this context, representing the shared goals of a multitude of agencies seeking to enhance citizens' capabilities to achieve a good quality of life.

There are, however, few empirical examples of community wellbeing indicators being used to inform or evaluate cultural policy at any level of government. Some recent studies from the United Kingdom apply measures of subjective wellbeing to evaluations of cultural participation (Fujiwara 2013; Marsh and Bertranou 2012; O'Brien 2010), but they do so within the constraining, technocratic framework of economic valuation. These studies suffer from both methodological weaknesses and philosophical objections to the monetisation of non-market values (Brown and Trimboli 2011; Fourcade 2011; Keat 1999). Furthermore, while there is burgeoning literature on wellbeing measurement, community indicators, cultural indicators, interpretive policy analysis and urban cultural policy, there is very little scholarly discussion of how policy practitioners use outcome indicators. There may be emergent practices that researchers have not yet studied, but I have found no evidence of local cultural policy workers explicitly incorporating community wellbeing indicators into their work. My fieldwork suggests that such indicators, while of interest to many scholars and practitioners, are not being applied within urban cultural policy in Australia or New Zealand.

My research addresses this knowledge and practice gap, especially through the Cordelia case study, although there is still a lot of work to be done to enhance cultural policy workers' and

scholars' understandings of the potential use and implications of community wellbeing indicators. The Cordelia City Council case study provides a concrete, specific illustration of the 'shift to outcomes' and the 'cult of the measurable' in urban cultural policy. My analysis highlights the interest of, and difficulties faced by, council officers in developing relevant performance and population-level indicators within a results-oriented framework. Further research is needed to better understand the implications of using outcome indicators in cultural policy, especially if current trends continue, and practitioners find ways of integrating these measures into their work.

Indicators of community wellbeing, I argue, can make a useful contribution to an understanding of problems and outcomes in urban cultural policy, but they only become meaningful if they are embedded in practice. One way this can happen is through a framework like RBA, which corresponds with existing ways of working and knowing in local government. Based on the assumption that enhancing community wellbeing or quality of life is the fundamental goal of government, RBA implies that the best way for government agencies to achieve this goal and monitor their progress is by replacing market-oriented performance measurement systems with a participatory, pragmatic approach to goal-setting, performance monitoring and outcome evaluation. It connects with the values of many public sector workers who agree that their role is to make life better for people and that it is possible to know whether they are making a difference.

Depending on its application, RBA can enable indicators to be developed with what seem to be only slight changes to the structure and practice of the organisation. It may encourage officers to think about their work in a different light, by engaging them in the process of creating and applying performance and outcome measures that correspond both with their own objectives and with those of the organisation and community that employs them. Incorporating frame-reflective analysis into that process might be productive. As I illustrated in Chapter Six, critical frame analysis is useful for identifying multiple goals and values within urban cultural policy communities. Such a methodology could potentially enhance outcome-oriented planning and evaluation frameworks like RBA. A practice-based, results-oriented indicator framework provides a means to connect tacit professional knowledge, value judgements and technical expertise. As I argue in Chapter Seven, such a measurement framework should complement, rather than replace, 'reflection-in-action' and other forms of informal evaluation (Schön 1983). These forms of 'practical knowledge' are important in

contemporary democratic governance in advanced liberal societies (Innes 1990; Forester 1993; Fischer 2003).

This interpretive analysis of developing indicators in a results accountability framework has illustrated some of the implications of applying such measures to urban cultural policy. While the discourse of RBA corresponds with the traditions and structures of local government in Australia and New Zealand, the practice of developing and using outcome indicators is relatively new and presents a challenge for urban cultural policy workers. RBA's fundamental goal of community wellbeing corresponds with the underlying discourse of my theoretical framework, literature review and primary source material. I also identify several other important frames in urban cultural policy – quality art, community strengthening, safety, creative place-making, the creative city and cultural wellbeing – and there are no doubt additional frames in other local contexts and for other relevant policy communities, especially artists and residents. Because community wellbeing is such a broad, multidimensional construct, it can accommodate these multiple frames.

There are times, however, when policy-makers must make value judgements to decide which frame should take priority in a particular instance or to determine the best method of evaluating particular goals or outcomes. Policy frames, I argue, are incommensurate evaluative regimes, each privileging a particular type of knowledge and certain values. Since there are some competing frames, conflict inevitably arises in policy-making and evaluation processes. A linear model like RBA may not provide sufficient scaffolding to make decisions about these incommensurate regimes of value. Such calculations may be better guided by deliberative processes and frame-reflective analysis.

If local government officers seek to evaluate the full range of outcomes to which urban cultural policy contributes, not merely their own priorities, they will need to recognise different forms of value and knowledge. In some circumstances, officers might find that community wellbeing indicators are not the best symbols for representing or calculating the worth or quality of a particular aspect of urban cultural policy. Aesthetic and developmental valuations connected to the quality art and cultural wellbeing frames, for instance, are likely to require interpretive methods of assessment. In sum, community wellbeing indicators might be useful for some cultural policy calculations, but they are unlikely to be a suitable tool for every evaluative activity in urban cultural policy.

Contributions, caveats and conclusions

Urban cultural policy is a complex field in which council officers are but one of many types of actors and local government is not the only organisation with the means and authority to influence citizens' conduct. My focus and scope have been necessarily limited. I have focused on street (art) level bureaucrats, particularly because of my theoretical understanding of their important role in policy-making. Much of the existing literature on local government and cultural policy is far removed from the community of practice, focusing instead on abstract theories and elite perspectives. I opted to design a rigorous theoretical and methodological framework to critically engage with the issues in the field, specifically by developing four case studies of municipal cultural policy. My interpretive-comparative approach has provided a foundation for a critical engagement with the questions of the possibility and desirability of integrating community wellbeing indicators into urban cultural policy. This study was predicated on an understanding of the importance of both discourse and practice in the constitution and interpretation of policy, which are interconnected from a constructivist viewpoint.

A government's ability to intervene in citizens' lives, in order to protect or enhance their wellbeing, depends on techniques of classification and calculation. The categorical objectives of local government policies and programmes, and the means of monitoring and reporting on them, are thus important forms of governmentality, without which community wellbeing cannot be explicitly managed or governed. My analysis of evaluation practice in the case studies noted the aptness of an easy-to-understand, practice-based framework for measuring performance and outcomes. The implicit theories within RBA correspond with existing frameworks of strategic planning and performance measurement, as well as with the discourse of new governance. Examining the challenges of arts and cultural evaluation in local government, particularly the difficulty of constructing and using meaningful outcome indicators, I have argued that there is potential to strengthen calculative practice through the deployment of a results accountability framework.

As well as demonstrating the significance of community wellbeing in the context of Australian and New Zealand local government, this research has identified several other important frames of urban cultural policy. Each frame implies that local government has a

legitimate role in the cultural sphere. As regimes of value, the frames offer a discursive schema for articulating and evaluating the means and ends of urban cultural policy. A relevant outcome measurement framework in this context would take into account the different forms of knowledge, values and goals embedded in these frames.

Indicators of community wellbeing could be useful tools for urban cultural policy, making tacit knowledge explicit. Local government officers' development and applications of community wellbeing indicators may contribute to better informed and more thoroughly justified urban cultural policy. This could benefit cultural policy workers, local government managers, elected representatives, artists, community organisations and citizens. Local cultural policy workers are unlikely to effectively integrate community wellbeing indicators into their work, however, unless these measures are developed in a participatory way and embedded in a practice-oriented institutional framework and a culture of evaluation. The fulfilment of these conditions would not guarantee effective planning, monitoring and evaluation, but my case study analysis suggests it would be difficult to achieve meaningful outcome measurement without them.

There remains a risk that community wellbeing indicators are treated as a narrow, privileged and supposedly neutral form of scientific knowledge, rather than socially-constructed, politically-motivated, context-dependent symbols. If used within rationalistic performance management systems, such indicators could become perverse incentives, lacking connection to everyday practice and local knowledge, distracting the policy community from less explicit goals, and demanding so much time, money and expertise that they could instead contribute to negative outcomes. The influence of indicators depends on how they are constructed and used. In principle, community wellbeing indicators can be developed and applied in a democratic, integrated approach to urban cultural policy. A fuller understanding of their practical applications and political implications, however, would require much more action and analysis.

A methodological limitation of this research is the limited nature of the fieldwork. A more fully ethnographic approach, involving a greater length of time at each council and wider use of methods such as participant observation, would have added depth to each case study. Incorporating reciprocity and collaboration into the research design, as I did in the modified approach to the Cordelia case study, could have helped me to gain access, generate relevant

data and make a meaningful contribution at other councils. It could also have been informative to study an arts and culture department over an extended period of time to analyse the effects of particular calculative regimes, such as RBA, on their discourses and practices. As my experience in Cordelia demonstrated, however, local government officers tend to have limited time for and interest in participating in such research, even when it is designed in a mutually acceptable way. In addition, for the researcher, gaining university ethics approvals and negotiating consent and access through various layers of a council bureaucracy can be complex and time-consuming. These processes can also encumber relationship-building and flexibility, which are important aspects of interpretive policy analysis and participatory action research.

The issue of de-identification, which complicates the question of access, can be seen as both limiting and liberating. Although many participants agreed to reveal their identity, some local government officers and directors would not have agreed to participate, or would have withdrawn information previously provided, had I insisted on identifying them in the thesis. Rather than lose access to valuable perspectives and relevant data, I anonymised the case studies and individual council officers. This presented the challenge of describing each case in sufficient detail and of differentiating between individual participants and research sites without identifying them explicitly. It is challenging to create a thick description, especially of a site-specific arts programme, and to analyse the significance of context-dependent knowledge in place-based communities, without revealing the identity of a particular geographic location or local government institution. By giving the councils pseudonyms, using codes and job titles for individual participants and providing direct citations from interview transcripts and council documents, I have nonetheless articulated a rich analysis of four distinct case studies.

De-identifying the case studies and participants meant I could not provide full references to my primary source material, which may make it difficult for others to check or challenge my interpretations. This could seem to reduce the credibility of my analysis, although I have carefully followed academic and ethical procedures to ensure this research meets appropriate standards. Besides, as other researchers have also discovered, the possibility of anonymising local government authorities, due to the number of institutions with similar characteristics and locations, can make for productive, critical comparisons that would not be feasible at other levels of government (see, e.g., Considine, Lewis, and Alexander 2009; Johanson,

Glow, and Kershaw forthcoming; Pierre 2005; Tan et al. 2011). If it were necessary to fully identify all research participants, it would be more difficult for researchers to gain and maintain access to local government to conduct ethnographically-sensitive case study analysis.

It is also important to acknowledge the 'silent voices' in this thesis. These silences could be construed as avenues for further inquiry. In particular, research into the roles, frames and practices of artists, consultants, community members and other actors involved in the development and implementation of urban cultural policy could provide further insights into the traditions and lived effects of this increasingly important field of government.

In presenting this interpretive analysis of urban cultural policy, this thesis contributes to interdisciplinary scholarship. I focus on four city councils in two countries, but the issues discussed are of interest to scholars and practitioners in a range of fields around the world. Along with my concern for local knowledge and scholarly engagement, my attention to both discourse and practice has enabled me to develop a critical explanation of key characteristics without misrepresenting the contingency and complexity of this field. I have identified and illustrated multiple discourses and practices in the under-examined domain of urban cultural policy, encouraging scholars to broaden their perspectives beyond the limited but still pertinent frames of 'community arts' or 'the creative city'

For cultural policy analysis and local government studies, I have demonstrated the value of an interpretive-comparative approach to studying policy as a window to governmentality. With an ethnographic sensibility and abductive reasoning, I have developed an understanding of practitioners' perspectives and institutional norms. Overcoming the unhelpful dichotomy of intrinsic and instrumental value, and forgoing state-centric models of cultural policy paradigms, I have developed multi-dimensional typologies of cultural value and urban cultural policy frames. Engaging with theories and models from public management, particularly relating to 'the shift to governance' and regimes of performance and outcome measurement, I have traced the origins of calculative practices in local government in Australia and New Zealand, and demonstrated the synchronicity of competing traditions, which I characterise as bureaucracy, market and network. While the rationality of wellbeing for policy and the technology of community wellbeing indicators might represent relevant approaches and hold democratic potential in an advanced liberal society, I argue that neither

is a neutral, ideal or discrete mode of government. The complexities of meanings and measures in policy practice, as I have demonstrated throughout this thesis, demand a critical, interdisciplinary approach to policy analysis.

Rather than predicting or prescribing policy recommendations in a probabilistic manner, I have sought to provide theoretically-informed, empirically-based illustrations of possibility. In particular, I have depicted some of the forms that urban cultural policy can take, and analysed some of the frames that suggest what local government officers seek to achieve. Responding to problems of meaning and measurement, I have argued that community wellbeing indicators are no panacea, but they correspond with an integrated approach to planning, accountability and evaluation in urban cultural policy. A significant challenge in developing and applying meaningful measures for urban cultural policy calculations is integrating the multiple forms of knowledge, competing traditions and various understandings of cultural value that circulate in this complex and dynamic field.

Appendix 1. Cited Council Documents

Documents from ‘Cordelia City Council’

CACS: Arts and Culture Strategy 2011-2016
CACSUP: Arts and Culture Service Unit Plan (2011-12; 2012-13)
CCP: Council Plan 2009-2013
CEF: Arts and Culture Evaluation Framework (2012)

Documents from ‘Edmundton City Council’

E30P: Thirty-year plan (2012)
EAP: Annual Plan 2011-12
EACS: Arts and Culture Strategy (2011)
ECS: Culture Strategy (2001)
EER: Evaluation Report, Street art series II (2012)
ELTCCP: Long Term Council Community Plan (2006)
ELTP: Long Term Plan 2012-22
EPAP: Public Art Policy (2012)

Documents from ‘Kent Bay City Council’

KBCP: Corporate Plan 2009-2014
KBCDPS: Cultural Development Policy and Strategy (2007)
KBCM: Economic Development Committee Meeting ó Adopted Report (November 2009)
KBLTCP: Long Term Community Plan (2009)
KBOP: Operational Plan 2011-2012
KBPAP: Public Art Policy (2007)

Documents from ‘Oswald City Council’

O24CP: 24/7 City Policy (2010)
OAS: Arts Strategy 2010-2013 (2011 ed.)
OCP: Council Plan 2009-2013 (2011 ed.)
OER: Evaluation of the Late Night Programming Pilot, attachment to Council Report
(October 2010)
OCM: Council Meeting Minutes (October 2010)

NB. The names of the councils and some documents have been changed to protect the identity of research participants.

Appendix 2. Interviews and Participant Observation

Interviews and participant observation at Cordelia City Council (Victoria, Australia)

- CAB: Cordelia Arts Board. Notes from meeting (participant observation), 14 June 2012.
- CACU: Arts and Culture Unit Meeting. Notes from meeting (participant observation), 26 April 2012.
- CC1: Programme Manager (Community Cultural Development), Arts and Culture. Interviewed 17 April 2012.
- CC2: Unit Manager, Arts and Culture. Interviewed (part one) 18 April 2012 and (part two) 27 April 2012.
- CC2a: Unit Manager, Arts and Culture. Notes from meeting (participant observation), 27 April 2012.
- CC2b: Unit Manager, Arts and Culture. Notes from phone conversation (participant observation), 5 June 2012.
- CC2c: Unit Manager, Arts and Culture. Notes from phone conversation (participant observation), 30 October 2012.
- CC3: Programme Manager (Public Art), Arts and Culture. Interviewed 19 April 2012.
- CC4: Research Officer, Research and Communications. Interviewed 19 April 2012.
- CC5: Business Improvement Advisor, Planning and Performance. Interviewed 24 April 2012.
- CC6: Programme Manager (Gallery), Arts and Culture. Interviewed 27 April 2012.
- CC7: Place Manager, Planning and Economic Development. Interviewed 9 May 2012.
- CC8: Unit Manager, Social Development. Interviewed 10 May 2012.

Interviews at Edmundton City Council (New Zealand)

- EC1: Arts Advisor. Interviewed (part one) 11 September and (part two) 17 September 2012.
- EC2: Arts Advisor. Interviewed 11 September 2012.
- EC3: Arts Advisor. Interviewed 11 September 2012.
- EC4: Arts Manager (former). Interviewed 12 September 2012.
- EC5: Arts Manager (current). Interviewed 14 September 2012.
- EC6: Safety Manager. Interviewed 26 November 2012.
- EYW: Youth Worker (from a community organisation, partner on Edmundton's street murals programme). Interviewed 12 September 2012.

Interviews at Kent Bay City Council (Queensland, Australia)

- KBC1: Cultural Development Coordinator, Cultural Services. Interviewed 2 November 2011.
- KBC2: Manager, Cultural Services. Interviewed 2 November 2011.
- KBC3: Community Planner, Social Planning and Development. Interviewed 2 November 2011.
- KBC3a: Community Planner, Social Planning and Development. Email correspondence, 24 June 2013.
- KBC4: Community Facilities Officer, Community Venues and Services. Interviewed 2 November 2011.

Interviews at Oswald City Council (Victoria, Australia)

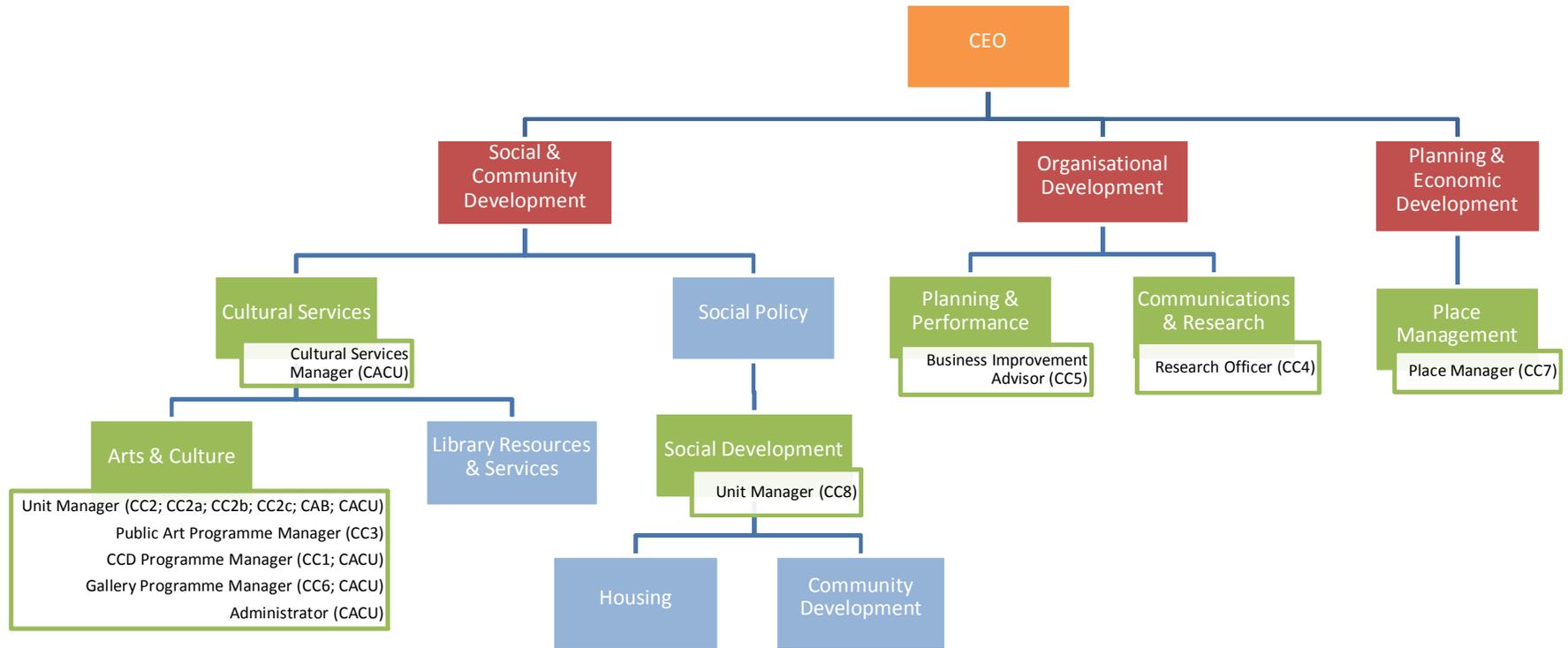
- OC1: Programme Manager (Cultural Development), Arts and Culture. Interviewed 8 September 2011.
- OC2: Programme Manager (Arts Investment), Arts and Culture. Interviewed 13 September 2011.
- OC3: Coordinator (Arts Investment), Arts and Culture. Interviewed 13 September 2011.
- OC4: Manager, Community Infrastructure. Interviewed 13 September 2011.
- OC5: Research Officer, City Research. Interviewed 22 September 2011.
- OC6: Manager, Arts and Culture. Interviewed 30 September 2011.
- OC7: Policy Officer, Community Safety. Interviewed 5 October 2011.

Interviews with experts in urban cultural policy and community indicators

- ANDI1: Mike Salvaris, Adjunct Professor, RMIT. Interviewed 5 October 2011, Melbourne.
- AV1: Erica Sanders, Policy Officer, Arts Victoria and Department of Planning and Community Development. Interviewed 8 December 2011, Melbourne.
- CDN1: John Smithies, Cultural Development Network, Victoria. Interviewed 8 December 2011, Melbourne.
- CIV1: Athena Williams, Manager, Capacity Building and Training, Community Indicators Victoria. Interviewed 14 June 2012, Melbourne.
- CNZ1: Calvin Scott, Policy Advisor, Creative New Zealand. Interviewed 18 September 2012, Wellington.
- LGAQ1: Charles Cush, Senior Advisor, Arts and Culture, Local Government Association of Queensland. Interviewed 4 November 2011, Brisbane.
- LGAQ2: Cathryn McKenzie, Social Policy Advisor, Local Government Association of Queensland. Interviewed 4 November 2011, Brisbane.
- LGNZ1: Michael Reid, Principal Adviser, Policy, Local Government New Zealand. Interviewed 7 September 2012, Wellington.

Appendix 3. Organisational Charts for the Case Study Councils

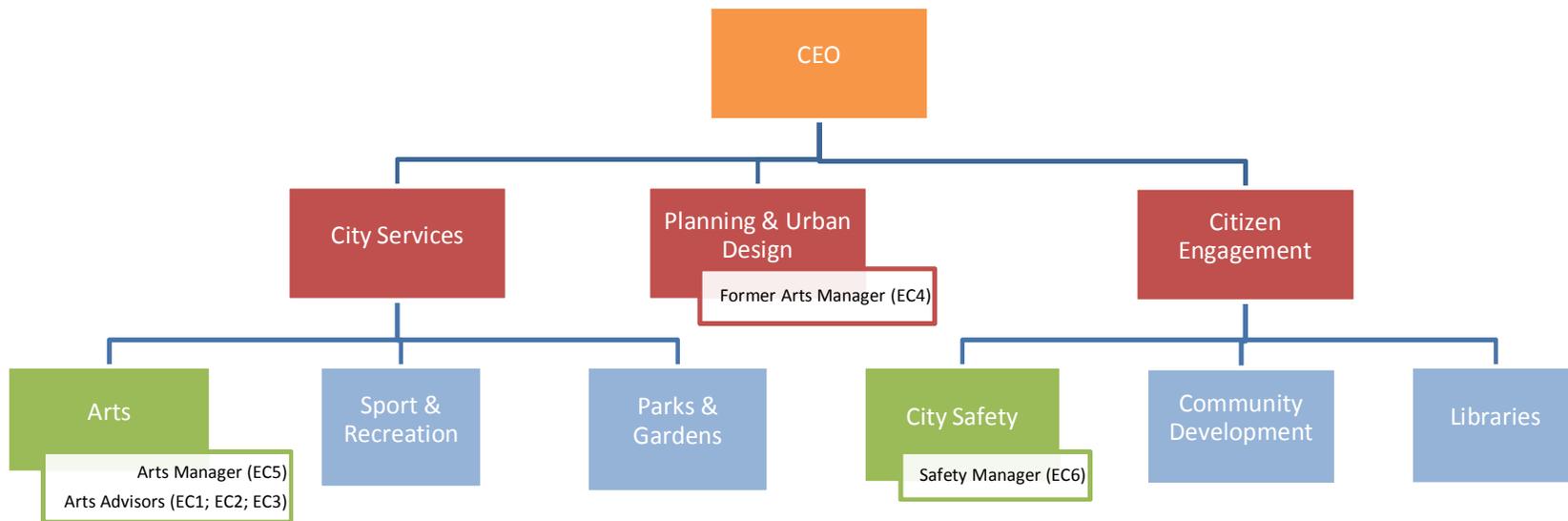
Figure 2. Cordelia City Council organisational chart



KEY

- Directorates involved in this study
- Departments with participants in this study
- Other departments connected to participants in this study

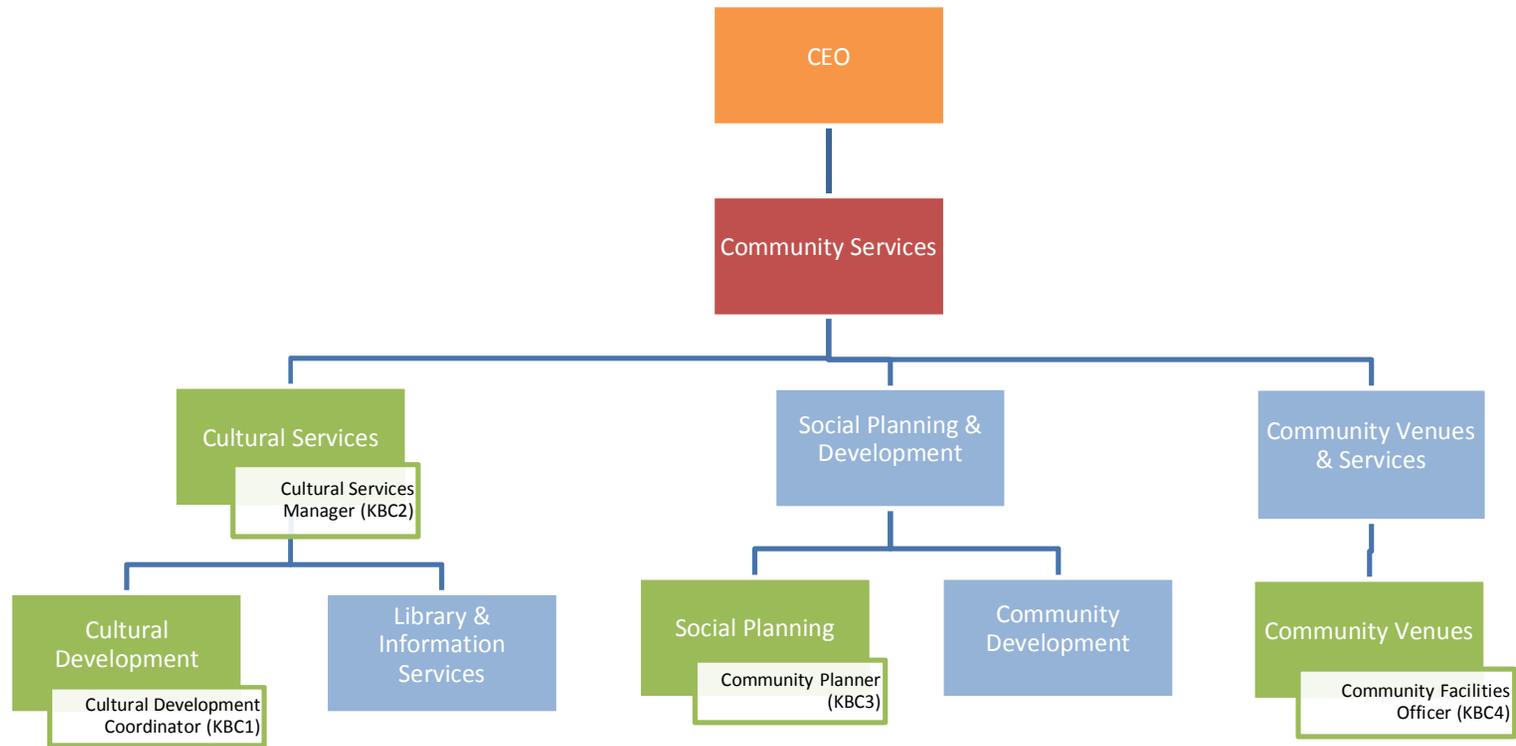
Figure 3. Edmundton City Council organisational chart



KEY

- Directorates involved in this study
- Departments with participants in this study
- Other departments connected to participants in this study

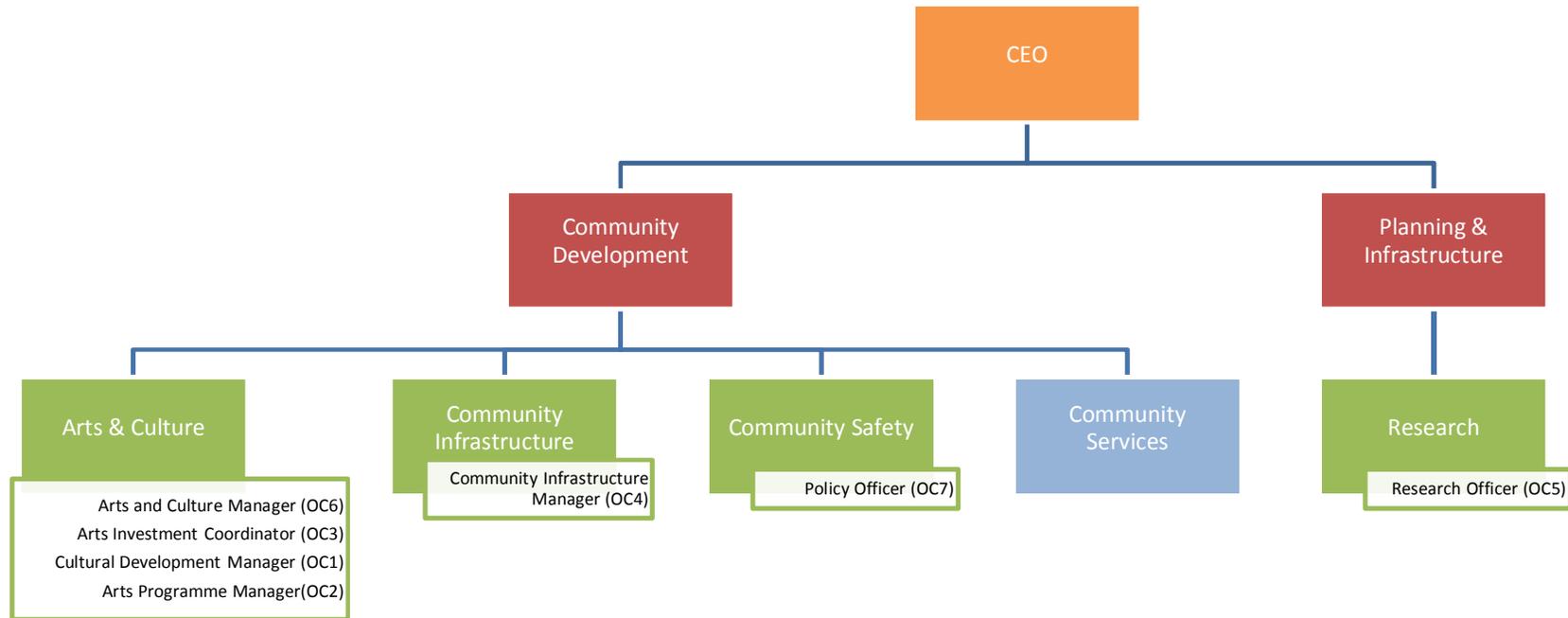
Figure 4. Kent Bay City Council organisational chart



KEY

- Directorates involved in this study
- Departments with participants in this study
- Other departments connected to participants in this study

Figure 5. Oswald City Council organisational chart



KEY

- Directorates involved in this study
- Departments with participants in this study
- Other departments connected to participants in this study

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UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

24-Feb-2012

MEMORANDUM TO:

Dr Jennifer Curtin
Political Studies

Re: Application for Ethics Approval (Our Ref. 7921)

The Committee considered your application for ethics approval for your project titled **Meaning and measures of Community well-being in local cultural policy** on 24-Feb-2012.

Ethics approval was given for a period of three years.

The expiry date for this approval is 24-Feb-2015.

If the project changes significantly you are required to resubmit a new application to the Committee for further consideration.

In order that an up-to-date record can be maintained, you are requested to notify the Committee once your project is completed.

The Chair and the members of the Committee would be happy to discuss general matters relating to ethics approvals if you wish to do so. Contact should be made through the UAHPEC secretary at humanethics@auckland.ac.nz in the first instance.

All communication with the UAHPEC regarding this application should include this reference number: **7921**.

(This is a computer generated letter. No signature required.)

Secretary
University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee

c.c. Head of Department / School, Political Studies
Ms Emma Blomkamp

Appendix 5. Interview Schedules

Interview Schedule 1: Local government agent/representative (2011)

The following list of questions provides a general indication of the areas to be covered by each semi-structured staff interview.

1. How long have you been in this position / working for the council?
2. Were you in a similar role prior to working here? (Please tell me about your previous work experience.)
3. What are your key responsibilities in your current position?
4. Describe the role of the people you work with in your unit / at the council / outside your organisation?
5. Which key council strategies, policies or outcomes do you need to consider in your role?
6. Tell me about how your unit/department/organisation monitors progress towards its goals/outcomes.
7. Tell me about how your role is evaluated, formally and/or informally.
8. In your job, do you ever need to take into account the idea of community wellbeing? In what circumstances?
9. How would you define community wellbeing? What about cultural wellbeing?
10. Can you tell me about a specific time when you've had to define community, social or cultural wellbeing (perhaps when speaking to someone outside the council or when preparing a document)?
11. Are you aware of any reviews or evaluations of council strategies, policies or programmes that are either underway, planned, or have been conducted in the past few years? Please tell me what is/was involved.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 8 APRIL 2011 FOR (3) YEARS REFERENCE NUMBER 2011 / 081.
APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 3 JUNE 2011. REFERENCE NUMBER 1135983.

Interview Schedule 2: Local government officers (final case study 2012)

The following list of questions provides a general indication of the areas to be covered by each semi-structured staff interview.

1. How long have you been in this position / working for the council?
2. Were you in a similar role prior to working here? (Please tell me about your previous work experience.)
3. What are your key responsibilities in your current position?
4. Describe the role of the people you work with (a) in your unit, (b) at the council, and (c) outside your organisation.
5. Which key council strategies, policies or outcomes do you need to consider in your role?
6. Tell me about how your unit/branch/organisation monitors progress towards its goals/outcomes. (What sort of reporting and evaluation tools are in place?)
7. Tell me about how your role is evaluated, formally and/or informally. How do you know if you are doing a good job?
8. What are the broad impacts or community outcomes of the policies and programs related to your role?
9. How can you or others tell if you are achieving these outcomes?
10. In your job, do you ever need to take into account the idea of community wellbeing? In what circumstances?
11. How would you define community wellbeing? What about cultural wellbeing?
12. Please tell me about any reviews or evaluations of council strategies, policies or programs that you have been involved in recently. (What was involved? How well did it go? What did you learn?)
13. What are some of the challenges faced by people evaluating the arts and cultural policy and programs of a local government?
14. What are the strengths and weaknesses of your organisation in evaluating arts and cultural policy and programs?
15. What suggestions would you have for the development of an evaluation framework for the Arts and Culture Unit in your organisation?
16. Do you have any other comments you would like to add or any questions for the interviewer?

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 24 FEBRUARY 2012 FOR (3) YEARS REFERENCE NUMBER 7921.

APPROVED BY THE VCA HUMAN ETHICS ADVISORY GROUP AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE ON 21 FEBRUARY 2012 FOR (3) YEARS. HREC NUMBER 090001. ETHICS ID 1135983.2.

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